

Living betwixt and between:

A study of the title ‘elder of the porch’

(*sms.w h3y.t*) and its holders – a

prosopographical approach

Volume I

A thesis submitted for the Doctor of Philosophy

by

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis entitled “Living betwixt and Between: A study of the title ‘elder of the porch’ (*sms.w h³y.t*) and its holders – a prosopographical approach” has not been previously submitted for assessment at a tertiary institution.

The research and findings within are my own work, and any assistance received and sources of information used have been acknowledged and referenced where appropriate.

Dated this day of , 2017

Milena Kooyman

ABSTRACT

Titles are one of the primary sources about ancient Egyptian society and government providing invaluable information on how each sphere was organised. The title ‘elder of the portal’ (*sms.w h3y.t*) is an enigmatic title belonging to the administration of the Egyptian palace and occurs in sources throughout Egyptian history. Yet very little prior research on this office has been undertaken. As a result, the meaning of this title and the function and status of its holders has remained unresolved.

This study begins with the cataloguing of all individuals who bore the title ‘elder of the portal’ from the beginning of the Old Kingdom to the end of the New kingdom in a prosopography. The corpus of 176 title-holders, their titularies, social networks, and monuments, is assessed within the framework of each historical period. The common characteristics and attributes of holders of the title ‘elder of the portal’ are identified to determine their role and social position in the state and in society. Any other sources referring to the ‘elder of the portal’ are also incorporated into the analysis. The orthography and lexicography of the elements ‘elder’ and ‘portal’ is completed to ascertain their meaning, which greatly impacts how the title is to be interpreted. Finally, the Egyptian palace as well as the concept of ‘liminality’ is explored to situate the ‘elder of the portal’ in the physical space of the king’s residence and within the socio-political networks of the royal court.

The primary finding of this investigation is that the ‘elder of the portal’ was an official active in a specific liminal zone in the palace. Title-holders were courtiers at the royal court physically and socially close to the king and were frequently involved in affairs of the state. The ‘elder of the portal’ was a functional regular palace appointment from the Old Kingdom to the end of the Second Intermediate Period. A shift from a palace to a temple context occurred during the New Kingdom, which altered the nature of the title and the function of its holders in society.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AEO</i>	Gardiner A.H., <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> I-II (London, 1947).
<i>ANOC</i>	Simpson W.K., <i>The terrace of the great god at Abydos: The offering chapels of dynasties 12 and 13</i> (New Haven, 1974).
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Services des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i> (Cairo).
<i>ÄZ</i>	<i>Aegyptische Zeitschrift</i> (Leipzig) (predecessor of <i>ZÄS</i>).
<i>BACE</i>	<i>Bulleting of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i> (North Ryde).
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Francais d'Archéologie Orientale</i> (Cairo).
<i>BMSAES</i>	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i> (online).
<i>CdÉ</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i> (Brussels).
<i>DE</i>	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i> (Oxford).
<i>FCD</i>	Faulkner R.O., <i>A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian</i> (Oxford, 1962).
<i>GM</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i> (Göttingen)
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Centre in Egypt</i> (Boston, New York, Cairo).
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i> (London).
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i> (Chicago).
<i>JSSEA</i>	<i>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities</i> (Toronto).
<i>HT</i>	British Museum, <i>Hieroglyphic Inscriptions from Egyptian Stelae etc. in the British Museum: Volumes 1-10</i> (London, 1911-1982).
<i>KRI</i>	Kitchen K.A., <i>Ramesside Inscriptions: historical and bibliographical</i> , Volumes 1-6. (Oxford, 1969-1990).
<i>LÄ</i>	Helck W. and Otto E., <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> , Vols. 1-8 (Wiesbaden, 1975-1992).
<i>LD</i>	Lepsius K.R., <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien: nach den Zeichnungen der von Seiner Majestät dem Könige von Preussen Friedrich Wilhelm IV nach diesen Ländern gesendeten und in den Jahren 1842-1845 ausgeführten wissenschaftlichen Expedition</i> , vols. 1-6, (Berlin, 1849-1859).
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft</i> (Berlin/Leipzig).
<i>MIO</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Instituts für Orientforschung</i> (Berlin).
<i>PM</i>	Porter B. and Moss R.L.B., <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient</i>

Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings I-VII (Oxford, 1927-1999).

PN Ranke H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen* (Glückstadt, 1935-1977).

RdÉ *Revue d'Égyptologie* (Paris).

SAK *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* (Hamburg).

Wb. Erman A. and Grapow H., *Das Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache: zur Geschichte eines grossen wissenschaftlichen Unternehmens der Akademie* (Berlin 1953).

Urk. Sethe K., Helck W., Schäfer H., Grapow H., and Firchow, O. *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, vols. I-VIII (Oxford, 1903-1957).

ZÄS *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* (Berlin/Leipzig).

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Chapter One:

The Study of ‘Titles’ – Preliminaries

Egyptian titles are not empty formulae devoid of meaning but a marker of identity representing the holder’s social rank, seniority, and sphere of authority. Titles were a source of pride and achievement, important enough to emphasise in private monuments. This thesis focuses on one particular title, *sms.w h3y.t* ‘elder of the portal’¹ and its holders. This first chapter seeks to establish definitions to key terms and give a basic overview of central ideas relevant to research into this title, and situating it into the broader field of the study of titles and the ancient Egyptian administration. The approach and methodology of the thesis is outlined as well as the purpose and aims of the entire investigation. The chapter concludes with a review of the current literature on the title *sms.w h3y.t*.

The term ‘state’ can be defined as an institutional authority or body politic that exercises a monopoly of the political, administrative, and legal power over a population in a defined territory.² The ancient Egyptian state comprised of a number of occupational sectors, which were to varying degrees autonomous of and dependent on each other, (1) Residence/palace, (2) central or state administration, (3) local or provincial administration, and (4) temple administration and priesthood (fig. 1.1a). The central administration was primarily concerned with the management and production of resources and commodities for the entire country, although the Residence and its people, remained its main priority (hence its location in the centre of the diagram). The Residence consisted of the king, his family, his court, and members of his household, but is thought to also have had its own administrators concerned with the maintenance and upkeep of the palace complex. It is unknown to what extent it overlapped with the state administration, and some palace administrators may also have held positions in the state hierarchy (fig. 1.1b). The vizier, for example, was the head of both the state and the palace administration indicating that the state and royal granaries, treasuries, and workshops might have been closely intertwined. Moreover, the Residence and central administration seem to have been managed from the same physical location (at Memphis) accounting for this overlap. The

¹ Wb. II 476.8-9. D. Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom II*, (Oxford, 2000), 3313, 3314-3317; W.A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut, 1982), 1081, 1272, 1309.

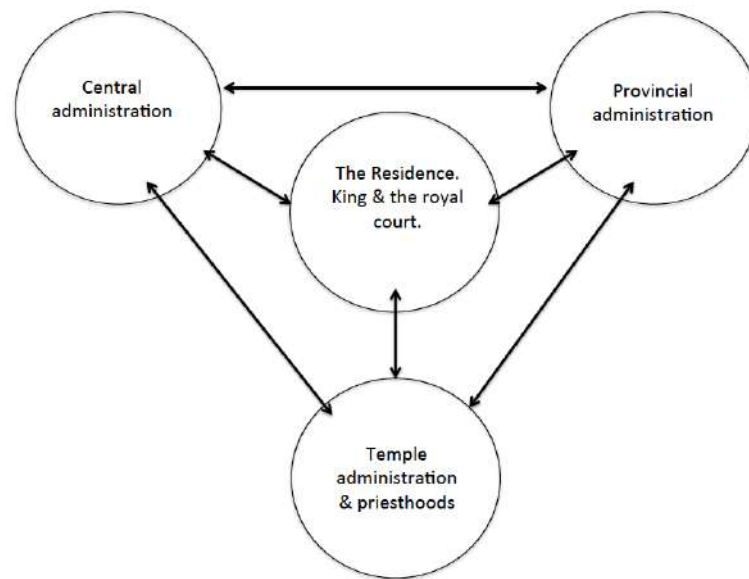
² Oxford English Dictionary (online) ‘State’; M. Weber, *Politik als Beruf* (Munich, Leipzig, 1919), 4 (English translation, “Politics as Vocation,” translated and edited by H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York, 1946), 78.

governors/nomarchs were in charge of the local administration comprised of its own body of officials, who worked closely with agents of the central administration to provide for the state, as well as their own province and community. According to Grajetzki, in the Middle Kingdom, the elements of a strong central administration are visible alongside traits of a decentralised system where local governors had a high degree of independence.³ Temples similarly had their own administrative personnel and priesthood, although temples were under the supervision (and answerable to) the state, which made donations to maintain the temple and its personnel. Local cults, however, were likely managed by the provincial administration. In the New Kingdom, certain temples, such as the Amun temple at Karnak,⁴ had a higher degree of independence and were perhaps less reliant on the state for income, although they were still answerable to the king, who gifted temples with much tribute and donations.⁵ While one must allow for differences in each historical period, this is a general overview of the different spheres of authority in ancient Egypt, into which a 'title' can be placed.

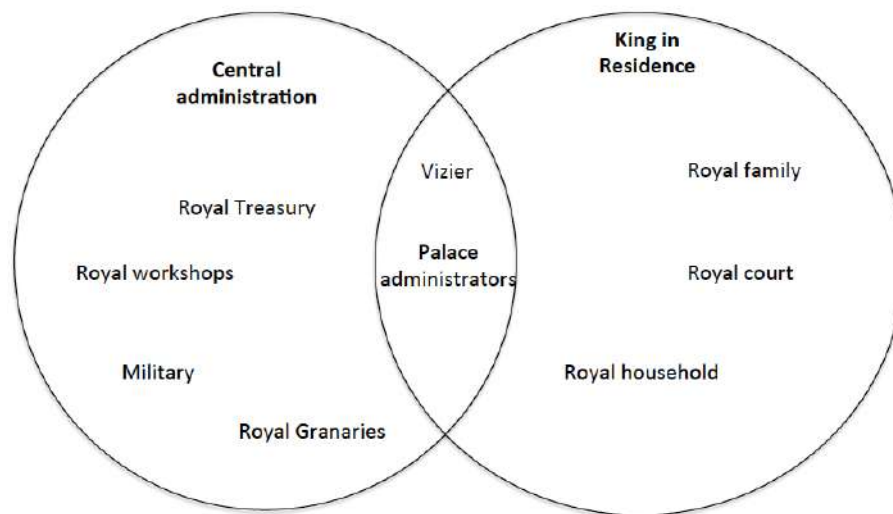
³ W. Grajetzki, "Setting a State Anew: The Central Administration from the End of the Old Kingdom to the End of the Middle Kingdom," in J.C. Moreno-Garcia (ed) *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden, 2013), 225.

⁴ The temple estate of Amun in Thebes had its own resources consisting of fields, granaries, treasuries, workshops, personnel, herds, etc. separate from central administration and king's Residence: B. Haring, "The Rising Power of the House of Amun in the New Kingdom," in J.C. Moreno-Garcia (ed) *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden, 2013), 635.

⁵ Haring, "Rising Power of the House of Amun," 635-636.



(a)



(b)

Figure 1.1. Diagrams showing (a) the occupational sectors of the ancient Egyptian state and how they connect each other circling the king in the Residence, and (b) the overlap between the central administration and the Residence.⁶

⁶ Diagram created by M. Kooyman.

1. 1. What is a ‘title’?

In its most basic sense, the term ‘title’ in Egyptology refers to fixed words or phrases describing an individual. A ‘title’ is always found before a personal name in both hieroglyphic inscriptions and cursive documents.⁷ Titles reflect a person’s function and social position in society and the apparatus of the state (see above). While both occur in the same context, i.e. preceding the name, a title differs from an ‘epithet’ in several ways. Doxey defines ‘epithet’ as a word or phrase describing the *qualities* or *attributes* of an individual, often glorifying and full of self-praise.⁸ They can be likened to the schematised “ideal biographical” statements.⁹ A title is, in contrast, a standard and fixed label for self-identification. Unlike titles, epithets are not, for the most part, unique to a specific individual or deity.¹⁰ An epithet simply makes a general (and sometimes ‘ideal’) statement about an individual, which can be shared by others from different ranks and offices.¹¹ Along with the name and titles, epithets are another way to identify and characterise an individual.¹² Some epithets can, thus, be useful in describing the person. For example, the epithet, *mḥ-ib nsw.t* (lit.) ‘one who filled the heart of the king, confidant’ expresses the king’s trust and confidence in this individual. Thus, from this particular designation one can gain insight into the rank and social status of the person.¹³ Others, such as *im³h.y* ‘revered one’ used in practically all funerary inscriptions, designates a non-functional status, and due to its wide usage, does not really state anything specific about that person.¹⁴

Titles and epithets are frequently placed into sequences known as a ‘titulary.’¹⁵ The manner in which the ancient Egyptians arranged these title strings is still open to debate. Titularies represent an official’s career at the time their tomb (or other monument) was

⁷ LÄ VI 596; D. Franke, “Probleme der Arbeit mit altägyptische Titeln des Mittleren Reiches,” *GM* 83 (1984), 104; K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties* (Chicago, 1960), 4; S. Quirke, *Titles and bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC* (London, 2004), 1; S. Quirke, “Four Titles: What’s the Difference?”, in D.P. Silverman, W.K. Simpson, and J. Wegners (eds) *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt* (New Haven, 2009), 305; H. Goedicke, “Titles for Titles,” in S. Allam *Grund und Boden in Altägypten (Rechtliche und Sozio-Ökonomische Verhältnisse). Akten des internationalen Symposions Tübingen 18.-20. Juni 1990* (Tübingen, 1994), 227.

⁸ D.M. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: a social and historical analysis* (Boston, Leiden, 1998), 1.

⁹ Franke, “Probleme der Arbeit,” 124.

¹⁰ Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets*, 1.

¹¹ Franke, “Probleme der Arbeit,” 124; Baer, *Rank and Title*, 4-5.

¹² Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets*, 1.

¹³ W. Grajetzki, *Court Officials in the Egyptian Middle Kingdom* (London, 2009), 8.

¹⁴ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 1.

¹⁵ LÄ VI 596-601; Franke, “Probleme der Arbeit,” 124.

decorated, which may have happened earlier or later in their lifetime.¹⁶ Title strings do not necessarily offer a chronological progression of a career, and some positions may have been held at the same time. Care needs to be taken in reading too much into the specific order of the titularies. According to Helck, the most important titles tend to be placed as close to the name as possible.¹⁷ Grajetzki, on the other hand, determined that the most significant titles are arranged at the beginning of the sequence, and least important ones at the end.¹⁸ The entirety of a titulary can (theoretically) describe an individual's place in the apparatus of the state as well as their place in society and among their peers.

There are two distinct groups of titles: 'function' titles and 'ranking' titles. Several categories or sub-groups of 'titles' can be established within these groups based on specific characteristics and nuances, although not without some difficulties (see Section 1.2).

1. 1. 1. 'Function' titles

As the phrase suggests, 'function' titles are characterised by sets of tasks and duties in a particular occupational sector of ancient Egyptian society (fig. 1.1) and belong to a particular hierarchy within that sphere (e.g. vizierate, treasury, priesthood, etc.).¹⁹ Religious or priestly titles often form their own category even though they are still part of the same 'system' of titles, yet in a sacred context.²⁰ It can be difficult to ascertain the tasks of certain 'function' titles. The division between these sectors is not always clear, and titles related to the palace administration and the state, for example, are sometimes not easily distinguished from each other. A title-phrase is often not specific, so context is the determining factor situating an office in a particular occupational sector.²¹ Quirke refers to 'function' titles as a 'position of responsibility' within one of the spheres above.²² A 'function' title can refer to a formalised 'office' or a 'profession' held by an individual.²³ In addition, a certain amount of income is implied by every 'function' title.²⁴ Within this

¹⁶ N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their Holders* (London, 1985), 174.

¹⁷ *LA* VI 599.

¹⁸ Grajetzki, "Setting a State Anew," 216.

¹⁹ M. Bárta, "Kings, Viziers, and Courtiers: Executive Power in the Third Millennium B.C.," in J.C. Moreno-Garcia (ed) *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden, 2013), 157; Franke, "Probleme der Arbeit," 106, 124.

²⁰ Bárta, "Kings, Viziers, and Courtiers," 157.

²¹ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 16.

²² Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 1.

²³ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 5; Bárta, "Kings, Viziers, and Courtiers," 157.

²⁴ Bárta, "Kings, Viziers, and Courtiers," 157.

category of ‘function’ titles there seem to be three types: ‘regular’ function titles, ‘temporary’ function titles, and ‘occupational’ function titles.

The ‘regular’ function title (German ‘Amtstitel’) denotes a fixed ‘office’ or ‘appointment’ within an administration (in one of the occupational sectors mentioned above).²⁵ These titles are called ‘regular’ titles because they are widely attested; as Quirke points out, single or double occurrences are not indicative of a title being fixed in the structure of the state.²⁶ These titles are held for the long-term, reflecting tasks and responsibilities undertaken on a habitual basis.²⁷ Thus, they can be considered among the more stable markers of identity, and likely universally recognised within society.²⁸ For example, consider the following titles *im.y-rʾ šnw.(w)t/šnw.(w)ty* ‘overseer of the (double) granaries’²⁹ and *sš šnw.(w)t* ‘scribe of the granaries’³⁰ (or even *sš n(.y) pr-ḥd* ‘scribe of the treasury’³¹). These designate a fixed office in the central (or local) administration within the hierarchy of officials working in the granaries/provision quarters of the country. The ‘overseer’ and ‘scribe’ here have a fixed set of duties; to keep the granary records and accounts, and supervise personnel in this setting. These positions are held long term, until retirement, death or promotion. Another defining aspect of regular titles is that they are ‘a designation of a man’s position in the structure of the state which does not depend solely on that man’s existence but has an independent status in the manner of an item of property.’³² Therefore, when an official holding a regular title retires or dies, the title is passed onto a successor and does not disappear with the death of its holder.³³ This is another crucial difference between titles and epithets. It is individuals with such appointments who are usually referred to as ‘officials’ or ‘administrators.’ They can execute the full authority and power of an ‘office.’ From the late Middle Kingdom onwards, the term *ḥw.t* is considered to designate such an ‘office.’³⁴

²⁵ *LÄ* VI 596; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 2.

²⁶ S. Quirke, “The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom,” *RdÉ* 37 (1986), 109.

²⁷ S. Quirke, “Horn, Feather and Scale, and Ships: On Titles in the Middle Kingdom,” in P. der Manuelian (ed) *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, vol. 2 (Boston, 1996), 670; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 1-2.

²⁸ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 2; Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 108.

²⁹ Jones, *Index*, I 916; Ward, *Index*, 385.

³⁰ Jones, *Index*, II 3203; Ward, *Index*, 1440.

³¹ Ward, *Index*, 1382.

³² Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 107.

³³ Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 107.

³⁴ Wb. I 29.7-13; FCD 7. Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 108.

Temporary ‘function’ titles also describe particular duties and tasks carried out by a person, but (as the phrase indicates) in contrast to the regular titles, they are only carried out on a temporary or seasonal basis. Franke defines it as a title of function that indicates a particular activity for a particular reason on a particular occasion.³⁵ Rock-inscriptions from the Sinai or Eastern Desert record many such temporary ‘function’ designations. For example, the title *hṯm.ty nṯr* ‘seal-bearer of the god’³⁶ in the Middle Kingdom was a temporary office designating the leader of an expedition. It was only applied to an individual within the time frame for a particular expedition.³⁷ Temporary function titles reflect particular honours accumulated through a career and can still be a point of pride for an official because they were selected. Temporary function titles include ritual titles (German ‘Ritualtitel’) bestowed for a particular religious festival, for example. The official Nebi-pu-senusret included the designation ‘holder of the *b3y*-vessel for the king’ in the Festival of Years in his titulary. This position reflects his role in a specific time and place. It is short-lived and thus cannot be indicative of a long-term marker of social identity.³⁸ Temporary titles reflect a ‘moment’ or ‘event’ in a life/career, rather than the consistent tasks and duties signified by regular appointments carried out in the long-term. Individuals holding these temporary appointments are still part of officialdom. Some officials hold regular function titles as well as one or more temporary appointments.³⁹

Another category of ‘function’ titles is designations of ‘profession’ or ‘occupation.’ These include occupational titles such as ‘baker’ (*ps(.y)*, *kfn.y*)⁴⁰ or ‘brewer’ (*cf.ty*)⁴¹ or ‘draughtsman’ (*sš-ḳdw.t*)⁴² – and are more difficult to place within the administration.⁴³ Quirke suggests that it might simply describe what a person does, without ever being used

³⁵ Franke, “Probleme der Arbeit,” 124.

³⁶ Jones, *Index*, II 2792; Ward, *Index*, 1480.

³⁷ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 2.

³⁸ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 3.

³⁹ Many religious or priestly office from the Old Kingdom can be considered temporary ‘function’ titles, such as *hṯm-nṯr* or *shḏ hṯm(.w)-nṯr* ‘inspector of *hem-netjer*-priests’ (Jones, *Index*, I 1885, 1886, II 3438; Ward, *Index*, 897, 1326). These were members of the priesthood of various cults, likely with an administrative component (especially for the latter), and thus had a set of responsibilities and duties. However, priests and members of Old Kingdom temple phyles served at the temple once every three months, on rotational shifts. They would not be an official’s main source of income, although it was no insignificant thing to serve at the temple so it was likely a source of pride and honour: H. Vymazalová, “The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes,” in J.C. Moreno-Garcia (ed) *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden, 2013), 185-186.

⁴⁰ Ward, *Index*, 1540.

⁴¹ Jones, *Index*, I 1312.

⁴² Jones, *Index*, II 3208.

⁴³ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 3.

in appointments of personnel to a position within an administration.⁴⁴ They designate a specific function or activity, which are fixed and held for the long-term, but these individuals are not counted among ‘officials.’ It is sometimes difficult to distinguish between a ‘profession’ and a ‘regular’ title, and an occupational title either overlaps with or is distinct from designations of responsibility and authority.⁴⁵

1. 1. 2. ‘Auxiliary’ titles

An auxiliary title (German ‘Beititel’) is, essentially, a supplement to the regular ‘function’ titles (Amtstitel). It either describes an official’s regular appointment more specifically, or stands on its own and extends the authority and activities of an official.⁴⁶ For example, the Old Kingdom title *im.y-r3 hw.t-wr.t 6* ‘overseer of the six great houses’⁴⁷ is an auxiliary title held by viziers (*t3.ty*). It specifically describes that the office of vizier is responsible over the ‘six great houses.’ The title *im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n(.y) nsw.t* ‘overseer of all works of the king’⁴⁸ is considered a supplementary title, in all periods of ancient Egyptian history, describing an additional function which is not part of that official’s regular office.⁴⁹ It may even have a temporal aspect, and apply to the official’s involvement in a single building project. An auxiliary title can thus reveal secondary assignments or ranks of an official.⁵⁰ Auxiliary titles can also provide additional comments on an official’s rank

⁴⁴ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 3.

⁴⁵ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 3. For example, the *ir.w-šn(.y)* ‘keeper of hair, hairdresser’ (Jones, *Index*, I 1131; cf. Ward, *Index*, 838/ 449 *nš.t/ir.t-nš.t* ‘hairdresser’ or Ward, *Index*, 1316 *sns* ‘hairdresser’) dealt with tasks related to hair and wigs (?) and the physical appearance and style of others. These individuals likely served private household including administrators and the like. This was an occupation not part of an administration in any occupational sector. However, the variants *ir.w-šn(.y) pr-č3* ‘hairdresser of the palace’ (Jones, *Index*, I 1132) and *ir.w-šn(.y) nsw.t* ‘hairdresser of the king, royal hairdresser’ (Jones, *Index*, I 1135), and their superiors *im.y-r3 ir(w)-šn(y) pr-č3* ‘overseer of hairdressers of the palace’ (Jones, *Index*, I 284) may be indicative an internal hierarchy in the Residence/palace administration. They were personal attendants of the king in matters to hair and personal style, suggesting an occupation but they are also attached to the ‘palace’ under supervision of an ‘overseer’ perhaps suggesting a more regular ‘office’ as part of a fixed hierarchy (?). Similarly, the *ir.y-čt n(.y) č.t-hnk.t* ‘chamber-keeper of the chamber of beer’ was part of the palace/state provisions quarter (*šnč*) (economic branch of the Residence/palace) suggesting a regular function, yet they were not necessarily involved in its administration, in the sense that they had no authority over the contents of those storerooms, they simply supervised them suggesting a profession: Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 243-244.

⁴⁶ LÄ VI 596; Franke, “Probleme der Arbeit,” 124.

⁴⁷ Jones, *Index*, I 630.

⁴⁸ Jones, *Index*, I 949-955; Ward, *Index*, 1179.

⁴⁹ LÄ VI 596; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 217.

⁵⁰ LÄ VI 600.

or social standing (German ‘Ehrentitel’).⁵¹ These may originally have been functional offices but had become obsolete and only indicative of rank.

1. 1. 3. ‘Ranking’ titles

A ‘ranking’ title (German ‘Rangtitel’) or ‘court’ title (German ‘Hofrangtitel’) denotes the social position or status of a person in the social hierarchy.⁵² It does not reflect an individual’s function or activity nor does it designate a fixed ‘office.’ A person’s rank or status is quite separate from their position within an administrative hierarchy denoted by a regular function title. A ‘ranking’ title refers to a person’s standing in the royal ‘court,’ often expressed through a person’s proximity to the ruler.⁵³ It was an indicator of an individual’s relationship with the king.⁵⁴ The most frequently attested ‘court’ or ‘ranking’ titles, during the Old Kingdom in particular, include *ir.y-p^c.t/rp^c.t* ‘hereditary prince,’⁵⁵ *h³.ty-c* ‘count,’⁵⁶ and *smr w^c.ty* ‘sole companion.’⁵⁷ Individuals bearing these ranks belonged to the highest spheres of the king’s court and can be presumed to have been in close proximity to the king. The ‘ranking’ title *ir.y-p^c.t* translated as ‘hereditary prince’ is attested in the source material from the 1st dynasty onwards. It was bestowed on a small number of people, part of the inner circle of the king, or given to those in the highest level of officialdom.⁵⁸ Similarly, during the Middle Kingdom, the ranking title *htm.ty-bi.ty* ‘seal-bearer of the king’⁵⁹ was held by the king’s top administrators (frequently as a prefix to their regular title) and expressed their inclusion in the highest ranks at the king’s court.⁶⁰

1. 2. Limitations and difficulties

The study of titles and the ancient Egyptian administration is not without certain limitations and difficulties. Some of them are outlined below, and should be kept in mind for the present study. The ancient sources are themselves problematic in several ways. Titles are everywhere, appearing in numerous sources and contexts, in every period of Egyptian history. Titles are found on monuments (tomb inscriptions, stelae, statues, seals

⁵¹ Franke, “Probleme der Arbeit,” 124.

⁵² Franke, “Probleme der Arbeit,” 106, 124; Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 175.

⁵³ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 5.

⁵⁴ Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 175; Franke, “Probleme der Arbeit,” 124.

⁵⁵ Jones, *Index*, I 1157; Ward, *Index*, 850 (*rp^c.t*).

⁵⁶ Jones, *Index*, I 1858; Ward, *Index*, 864.

⁵⁷ Jones, *Index*, II 3268; Ward, *Index*, 1288.

⁵⁸ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 5.

⁵⁹ Jones, *Index*, II 2775; Ward, *Index*, 1472.

⁶⁰ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 5; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 224; Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 123.

etc.) as well as hieratic documents (archives, royal decrees, letters, etc.). The variability and incompleteness of the sources and contexts can be difficult to assess and interpret accurately. Few truly administrative documents are attested, which may be partly attributed to their lack of preservation, but the use of document keeping may itself have been quite selective.⁶¹ Certain activities such as accounting (of grain, cattle, etc.), records of property and transactions, etc., required written documentation. Other areas of the administration may have been less meticulous relying more on oral procedures or *ad hoc* decisions than on formal, written procedures (e.g. dispensation and administration of justice).⁶² In addition, administrative documents indicate that the format and layout was convenient for the immediate working process, rather than organisation that would facilitate medium or long-term use for cross-reference. Thus, the focus of administrators was on order and expedience, rather than reading or storage in a reference archive.⁶³ This scribal practice can make it extremely difficult to reconstruct administrative processes and procedures. Moreover, informal networks, such as patronage, social connections, the king's 'favour,' leave no trace in the evidence, and yet must have played an important role in the way society operated.

One of the main problems is that the majority of titles are attested in a funerary context, from tombs and funerary stelae and statues. Funerary inscriptions tend to portray an ideal version of the individual's life tending towards hyperbole and do not necessarily reflect the conditions of life as they actually were.⁶⁴ Thus, these designations are at times difficult to reconcile with the reality of the administrative structure. Titles, then, can exaggerate an official's authority or rank in an effort of self-promotion for the afterlife. Moreover, in many cases where administrative documents are preserved, they represent exceptional situations and/or are of a specific local context. As a result, it can be difficult to reconstruct any institution, or form a picture of the administration entirely, at a given period.⁶⁵ Information obtained through the study of titles or an official's career through his autobiography is only useful to a certain extent, if it cannot be contextualised.⁶⁶ Administrative sources, such as Papyrus Boulaq 18, the temple archive of Neferirkare, or the royal decrees from Coptos, assume knowledge of the administration, and are never

⁶¹ C. Eyre, *The Use of documents in Pharaonic Egypt* (Oxford, 2013), 17-19.

⁶² J. C. Moreno-Garcia, "The study of ancient Egyptian administration," in J.C. Moreno-Garcia (ed) *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden, 2013), 2, 10-11; In addition, documents Eyre, *Use of documents*,

⁶³ Eyre, *Use of documents*, 53-54.

⁶⁴ Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 173.

⁶⁵ Moreno-Garcia, "Study of ancient Egyptian administration," 15.

⁶⁶ Moreno-Garcia, "Study of ancient Egyptian administration," 15.

explicit in their language about particulars concerning the structure of the administration and its officials.

Titles and administrative institutions can be attested over a long period of time, but despite the same terminology, their meaning, scope and characteristics can vary greatly from one period to the other. The title-phrase may stay the same while the activities/function of the title change over time, and may be taken over by different or new departments and/or officials.⁶⁷ Context - whether archaeological or historical is, thus, essential to forming as accurate an interpretation as possible. A title should be evaluated and interpreted in its specific archaeological and historical context. An indiscriminate use of the evidence applied to long periods of time in order to fill in gaps of the historical record is dangerous and can lead to incorrect interpretations.⁶⁸

There are several limitations concerning the ‘system’ or ‘classifications’ of titles outlined above (Section 1.1). First, and perhaps most significantly, these are arbitrary modern groupings and do not reflect any ancient Egyptian organisational system. It is unlikely that the ancient Egyptians had a systematic and consistent approach to their titles. This is also observable in the variability, and at times inconsistency, of the evidence. Secondly, not all ancient titles are so easily categorised. The lines between the classifications can often become blurred. This is perhaps best evident with regular titles and occupations. For example, the late Middle Kingdom title *ḥw n(.y) niw.t* ‘soldier of the regiment’ is a regular title because it is a fixed appointment and fixed within the “military” organisation at the time. However, these individuals are not part of the administration *per se* in that their function as a soldier or as a labourer is more of an occupation. It has qualities of both a regular title and a profession. Compared to the occupation ‘baker’ which is clearly a profession and not part of the state hierarchical structure. Context is key in determining in which category a title belongs. Titles and epithets can consist of identical phraseology so only context and repetition will distinguish an office from a personal and unofficial self-description.⁶⁹ Quirke uses the example of the designation ‘stretcher of the cord’ which is only attested in the Middle Kingdom Papyrus Harageh 3. As the phrase indicates, it designates a man whose role was to stretch a rope for the measuring of the fields. This title

⁶⁷ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 5; Moreno-Garcia, “Study of ancient Egyptian administration,” 15.

⁶⁸ Moreno-Garcia, “Study of ancient Egyptian administration,” 15. Content can only be properly assessed if one compares like with like; it has been argued that titles on stelae should only be compared with titles on stelae, as tombs or other monuments may be subject to different set of rules: Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 3; Quirke, “Four Titles,” 309.

⁶⁹ Quirke, “Horn, Feather and Scale, and Ships,” 671.

is only attested in this administrative papyrus not on any other monument. Consequently, it would suggest that this individual had this task for that one occasion. Furthermore, this designation is perhaps closer to a caption (similar to those in tomb scenes) than a title as the emphasis is on the activity not the individual.⁷⁰ Third, it appears that these modern classifications are predominantly based on whether a function (a series of habitual tasks) can be established for a title, which is difficult for a number of titles (e.g. *wr mḏw šm^c.w*) and thus they are usually relegated to an honorific designation. This assumes that titles are only defined by a series of regular fixed tasks, which is not necessarily the case, and highlights our lack of understanding regarding the nuances of the ancient title system. This would result in a skewed interpretation of the entire administrative structure.

The translation of titles is a challenging task. Firstly, title phrases are often abbreviated (with missing phonetic complements) which can make reconstruction difficult.⁷¹ Translations are also only possible if the meaning behind the title is properly understood. Franke points out that when the meaning of a title is uncertain, or the phrase/reading is too obscure, rendering a translation can be difficult.⁷² For example, the late Middle Kingdom title, *ḥr.y (n) tm* ‘chief of the *tem*’⁷³ remains an obscure title, primarily because the term *tm* is not found in any other context and is thus difficult to define with any accuracy. Quirke observed that title-holders are associated with other titles related to security and labour, and suggests that the *ḥr.y (n) tm* may have been the security official for the labour enclosures (*hnr.t*).⁷⁴ Yet, beyond this, it is difficult to ascertain anything more about the office.

The process of translation, from an ancient to a modern language, can greatly impact our interpretation of titles. Each language - whether ancient or modern - has its own words, syntax, and idioms. It can thus be extremely difficult, and sometimes impossible, to render the entirety of a term or concept - with all its language-specific nuances - in a different language. The translator has to choose the words and expressions of the new language that match the original language the closest, in terms of semantic content and intent of the ancient author. A literal translation, for example, may not represent in the new language the same meaning or sense the original author intends. Thus, a figurative translation that

⁷⁰ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 2.

⁷¹ Franke, “Probleme der Arbeit,” 108.

⁷² Franke, “Probleme der Arbeit,” 109.

⁷³ Ward, *Index*, 1087.

⁷⁴ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 95.

keeps true to the author's intent rather than word choice might offer a better translation. In terms of translating an ancient language, such as Egyptian, into a modern one, in this case English, there is the added complication of modern terms having a particular bias or connotation not present in the ancient term, which can present a misguided or completely wrong interpretation.⁷⁵ One must accept that there are always aspects that are 'lost to translation.' As stated by Quirke, 'translating is the compromised but unavoidable form for transmission of content from past to present.'⁷⁶ In the case of title-phrases, a translation should keep as close as possible to the original Egyptian in terms of meaning and intent. The reading and meaning of a title are usually only possible if one has access to its context.⁷⁷ Only then will the function and status of a position (usually) be revealed. A translation should be consistent and systematic, and suit all contexts in which it is found.⁷⁸ Franke uses the examples of the titles *wb3* and *wdp.w* as 'butler.' Translating them by the same English term assumes they are identical, when the ancient Egyptian clearly reflects two different designations.⁷⁹ Franke notes that intuition and imagination, coupled with substantial knowledge and the ability to obtain a balance between these, play a certain role in the interpretation of the evidence.⁸⁰

1. 3. Significance of titles

Essentially, titles represent the "backbone" of ancient Egyptian society. The study of the ancient Egyptian government and society is (among other things) based on titles. Titles were markers of identity and provide insight of how the ancient Egyptians perceived themselves, and structured their society and government.⁸¹ Regular and occupational titles, in particular, provide a glimpse into the way the ancient Egyptian government was organised, the hierarchy and responsibilities of officials. Titles (ranking titles especially) also reflect how ancient Egyptian society was structured, how individuals were arranged around the central figure of the king. It reflects how status was expressed and how the

⁷⁵ In his 2004 compendium of titles and offices of the Middle Kingdom (*Titles and Bureaux*), Quirke uses 'secretary' instead of the usual 'scribe' when referring to *sš*. He rules out 'writer' because this would imply that the Egyptian *sš* was the 'author' and creative force behind the words, which is often not the case. Quirke does realise that the term 'secretary' has its own modern, rather negative, connotations that are not present within the Egyptian term. The translator/scholar should at least attempt to find the term with the least degree of incorrect nuance and 'baggage' as Quirke puts it, to convey content: Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 15.

⁷⁶ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 15.

⁷⁷ Franke, "Probleme der Arbeit," 109.

⁷⁸ Franke, "Probleme der Arbeit," 109.

⁷⁹ Franke, "Probleme der Arbeit," 110.

⁸⁰ Franke, "Probleme der Arbeit," 109.

⁸¹ Franke, "Probleme der Arbeit," 105.

royal court operated. Having a good understanding of the function, rank, and scope of an individual title is crucial for creating an accurate reconstruction of the administration and society as a whole. The study of individual titles, in essence, forms the building blocks for the study of these broader subjects. A correct understanding and interpretation of a single title is thus highly significant. This thesis aims to contribute to these aspects of ancient Egyptian culture.

1. 4. Methodology: the prosopographical approach

A prosopography is the ‘inquiry into the common characteristics of a group of historical actors by means of a collective study of their lives.’⁸² A prosopography examines a population, or social group, that shares one or more attributes (i.e. profession, social origins, geographic origins).⁸³ A prosopographical study collects data about this well-defined group of people, bringing together all relevant biographical data in a systematic way.⁸⁴ A prosopography is a system for organising data in a way that they acquire additional significance by revealing connections and patterns influencing historical processes.⁸⁵ A prosopography focuses on the common aspects of people’s lives, not their individual histories, i.e. it looks at the data as a whole, rather than a single person.⁸⁶ Verboven et.al. states, ‘the individual and exceptional is important only insofar as it provides information on the collective and the ‘normal.’”⁸⁷ A prosopographical approach is particularly useful for looking at career and promotion patterns, power accumulations, social networks, political influence and other non-institutional aspects of organisations or groups.⁸⁸ The social context of a family and its members is also of interest for a prosopographical study.⁸⁹ Attention is not only directed towards family members but also

⁸² K. Verboven, M. Carlier, and J. Dumolyn, “A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography,” in K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (ed) *Prosopography Approaches and Applications. A Handbook* (Oxford, 2007), 39; T.F. Carney, “Prosopography: Payoffs and Pitfalls,” *Phoenix* 27 (1973), 156; L. Stone, “Prosopography,” *Daedalus* 100 (1971), 46.

⁸³ Verboven, et.al., “Short Manual,” 39; K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, “Biography, Identity and Names: Understanding the Pursuit of the Individual in Prosopography,” in K.S.B. Keats-Rohan (ed) *Prosopography Approaches and Applications. A Handbook* (Oxford, 2007), 143, 151.

⁸⁴ Verboven, et.al., “Short Manual,” 37, 39; Keats-Rohan, “Biography, Identity and Names,” 151.

⁸⁵ Such an approach provides insight into the different types of connection between the individuals, and how they operated within and upon the social, economic, and other institutions of their time. Verboven, et.al., “Short Manual,” 37; Keats-Rohan, “Biography, Identity and Names,” 141.

⁸⁶ Verboven, et.al., “Short Manual,” 41; Keats-Rohan, “Biography, Identity and Names,” 143.

⁸⁷ Verboven, et.al., “Short Manual,” 37.

⁸⁸ Verboven, et.al., “Short Manual,” 47; Carney, “Prosopography,” 157.

⁸⁹ Verboven, et.al., “Short Manual,” 40.

towards in-laws, friends, clients, business contacts, etc. Even one-time contacts may be important.⁹⁰

A prosopographical approach is increasingly being undertaken in Egyptology in recent years. It can shed light on areas in Egyptology that have not been investigated such as the holders of low-mid ranking titles, who have been skipped over in favour of the better attested high-ranking administrators, such as the vizier. While less information survives on this demographic, they form the core of society and government and are thus worthy of attention. For example, Onstine's study (2001) of the female title *šmꜣyt* 'songstress' catalogued 861 women who held this title.⁹¹ She studied the various temple contexts (festivals, processions, etc.) in which these women occur as well as any inscriptional and literary evidence, studied their family groups, and traced the title's historical development. The result yielded patterns regarding their chronological and demographical distribution and changes in the social position of these women over time. The focus was on an individual title, or more specifically on the individuals who have this title in common.⁹² A prosopography need not be limited to a specific title, however, and the works of Strudwick (1985), and Grajetzki (2003), focused on individuals who held the highest offices in the central administration in the Old and Middle Kingdom respectively.⁹³ Both scholars collected biographical information on all individuals with specific high-ranking titles with the aim of reconstructing a holistic representation of the upper strata of the state administration. Similarly, Eichler (2000) collected all biographical information about persons who held a title related to the temple of Amun during the 18th dynasty.⁹⁴ Her shared attribute was a title explicitly linked to the temple allowing her to reconstruct the temple administration, its personnel and hierarchy, within that defined time period.⁹⁵

⁹⁰ Verboven, et.al., "Short Manual," 40.

⁹¹ S. L. Onstine, *The Role of the Chantress (šmꜣyt) in Ancient Egypt*, PhD dissertation, (Toronto, 2001).

⁹² Other examples include van de Walle (2014) who studied individuals who bear the title *sꜣb* collecting all attestations of these title-holders from the Old to the New Kingdom. While his focus is quite broad, analysis of the data would reveal any diachronic developments related to this title through the course of Egyptian history: E. Van de Walle, *sꜣb Corpus I Prosopographie I-III* (Brussels, 2014). Callender used a prosopographical approach to determine the function, status, and scope of the office of *rꜣ-Nḥn* in the Old Kingdom. She includes a prosopography (biographical entries) at the end of her analysis: V. G. Callender, "À propos the title of *r NXn n zꜣb*," in Bárta M. and Krejčí J., *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2000* (Prague, 2000), 361-380.

⁹³ N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom: The Highest Titles and their Holders* (London, 1985); W. Grajetzki, *Die Höchsten Beamten der Ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reiches: Prosopographie, Titel und Titelreihen* (Berlin, 2003).

⁹⁴ S.S. Eichler, *Die Verwaltung des "Hauses des Amun" in der 18. Dynastie* (Hamburg, 2000).

⁹⁵ Even works such as Kitchen's 'biography' of Ramesses II (1982), where he collected data on all the king's top officials (shared attribute: served Ramesses II), or Ilin-Tomich (2015), who looked only at individuals

Comparably, Binder (2008) focused on the ‘gold of honour’ during the New Kingdom, including the individuals who received this reward, their social position and any other attributes including a prosopography of rewardees.⁹⁶



This thesis focuses on the title, *sms.w h3y.t* ‘elder of the portal’ and its title-holders, and its scope is from the beginning of the Old Kingdom to the end of the New Kingdom. The corpus will be large enough to draw conclusions and track any chronological changes. The thesis will primarily look at inscriptional evidence that mentions, or is related to, the title *sms.w h3y.t* ‘elder of the portal’ – including inscriptions in tombs, temples, and on stelae, statues, scarabs/seals, and documentary papyri. The first stage of research consisted of data collecting, and all (to the best of the writer’s ability and effort) ‘elder of the portal’ title-holders have been included in the prosopography. The prosopography includes of the name of the individual, all titles they held, any family members and others they are associated with and their titles, and the monuments and their date upon which they are recorded (as well as references). A prosopography of title-holders is included as a second volume to supplement this thesis. The second stage of research is an analysis and discussion of title-holders (first volume), focusing in particular on the responsibilities and scope of the office in the administration and the social position of these persons in society at large. A comparison of common traits allows for a more comprehensive analysis of this individual title. The title-holders are analysed within their historical context, although the wide scope of the thesis will also reveal any diachronic developments of the title.

with titles related to the administration of Thebes in the late Middle Kingdom (specific characteristic: geographical region),⁹⁵ reflects a prosopographical approach. K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant: The Life and Times of Ramesses II* (Warminster, 1982); A. Ilin-Tomich, “Theban Administration in the Late Middle Kingdom,” *ZÄS* 142 (2015), 120-153. Similarly, B. Bryan, “Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III,” in E. H. Cline and D. O’Connor (eds) *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 69-122, also looks specifically at officials during the reign of Thutmose III.

⁹⁶ S. Binder, *The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt* (Oxford, 2008). Moreover, various Egyptological works have prosopographical aspects, while not strictly speaking being a prosopography. Quirke’s annotated index of titles and offices of the Middle Kingdom (2001), for instance, is a useful tool for further prosopographical research. He includes a translation, description, and further references of numerous titles: S. Quirke, *Titles and bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC* (London, 2004). Franke’s *Personendaten* (1984) is a collection of dossiers on persons dating to the Middle Kingdom, organised by personal name. Each dossier is, basically, a biographical profile with the name and title(s) of the individual as well as any of their family members, as well as the monuments (and its date) upon which this data is recorded. His work remains an extremely useful reference tool and starting point for any prosopographical research for that period: D. Franke, *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich (20.-16. Jahrhundert v. Chr.): Dossiers 1-796* (Wiesbaden, 1984). See also D. Stefanovič, *Dossiers of ancient Egyptian women: the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period* (London, 2016).

1. 5. The ‘elder of the portal’ – a review of the literature

This literature review on the title *sms.w h3y.t* ‘elder of the portal’ aims to evaluate and summarise scholarly opinion and prior research. This will highlight any gaps and debate related to this title.

The earliest theory about the function and role of individuals bearing the title *sms.w h3y.t* was that it was equivalent to a doorkeeper or usher. Gardiner first proposed this in Davies’ monograph (1944) on the tomb of the vizier, Rekhmire at Thebes (TT100). The autobiographical text of Rekhmire includes the pertinent passage (l.5-6): ‘I (=Rekmire) reached the doorway of the approach (of the palace), the courtiers having bent their backs. I having found the ‘elder(s) of the portal’ clearing the [secret?] way for me.’⁹⁷ From this extract, Davies/Gardiner comments that the *sms.w h3y.t* was ‘an old title signifying the ushers of the palace or a temple.’⁹⁸ This is followed by Gardiner’s entry in his *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica* (1947). Gardiner stated that the ‘elder of the portal’ or ‘forecourt’ was a ‘rather common title’ usually of the palace but in some cases (e.g. *Report of Wenamun*) in connection with a temple.⁹⁹ Gardiner also observed that it was frequently attested during the Old and Middle Kingdoms. Gardiner considered the above passage in Rekhmire’s tomb to be the only text that threw definite light on the function of the title, agreeing that it was a ‘dignified name for a doorkeeper.’¹⁰⁰ Gardiner further compared the *sms.w h3y.t* to the title *im.y-r3 ʿ-hnw.ty* ‘overseer of the interior of the palace’ or ‘chamberlain.’ The latter title refers to an official working in the inner sectors of the palace.¹⁰¹ He suggests that the *sms.w h3y.t* fulfilled a similar function but at the front of the palace.¹⁰² Gardiner also argued that the second element in the title-phrase, ‘*h3y.t*,’ alluded to a portal or forehall, which is supported by the autobiography of Rekhmire as well as some of the term’s determinatives (e.g. ).¹⁰³ Gardiner saw a connection between this term and the word *h3y.t* ‘ceiling, sky,’ which is additionally supported by the frequent Middle Kingdom usage of the determinative/ideogram .¹⁰⁴ Thus, Gardiner determined that *h3y.t* was a ‘roofed structure, a portico or the like.’¹⁰⁵

⁹⁷ N. de Garis-Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-re at Thebes* (New York, 1944), 80.

⁹⁸ Davies, *Rekhmire*, 80 fn 7.

⁹⁹ Gardiner, *AEO* I, 60*. The title’s connection with the palace and temples is also listed in the Wb. II 476.8-9.

¹⁰⁰ Gardiner, *AEO* I, 60*.

¹⁰¹ Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 125-126.

¹⁰² Gardiner, *AEO* I, 60*.

¹⁰³ Gardiner, *AEO* I, 61*.

¹⁰⁴ Gardiner, *AEO* I, 60*-61*.

Lacau's translation and analysis (1949) of the Karnak 'judicial' stela (Cairo JE 52453) added another dimension to the interpretation of the title.¹⁰⁶ This stela records the transfer of the title of mayorship of Edfu, which was 'validated' by the *sms.w h3y.t Rn-snb* [111]. Lacau determined that the *sms.w h3y.t* also had a judicial function, acting as a judicial officer.¹⁰⁷ Sauneron's article (1954) on the dispensation of justice at the entrance of temples added more information to this theory.¹⁰⁸ Sauneron showed that justice was rendered in the doorways of certain temples from the New Kingdom onwards. According to Sauneron, the entrance of Egyptian palaces, like temples, were often preceded by wooden porticoes, which played a similar role as the later propylaea at the front of the temples.¹⁰⁹ Sauneron identifies these small structures as *h3y.t*.¹¹⁰ This practice, in combination with the Karnak 'judicial' stela, as well as the place of the *sms.w h3y.t* at the front of the palace, as shown by Rekhmire's autobiography, might lead one to deduce that the 'elder of the portal' was a kind of senior figure on a small council of judges, to which the 'porch' in the title-phrase alludes and where matters of law were settled.¹¹¹ Sauneron's idea is also supported by Wild (1954) who suggests the role played by the *sms.w h3y.t* was judicial, perhaps acting as the head of a tribunal, as suggested by the late documentation of legal practices.¹¹² Hayes in his study (1955) of Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 believes that Lacau overestimated the significance of the office of *sms.w h3y.t*, agreeing with Davies/Gardiner that it likely designated a doorkeeper in the palace or temple.¹¹³ Hayes further suggests that the title might be an honorary designation, without an exact function bestowed on older men in recognition of loyal service in a different office.¹¹⁴

Helck (1954, 1958) also briefly comments on the office of the 'elder of the hall' stating that the activities of title-holders during the Old Kingdom is not as clear as in the later periods of Egyptian history.¹¹⁵ The 'elder of the portal' was frequently preceded by *s3b*

¹⁰⁵ Gardiner *AEO* I, 61*.

¹⁰⁶ P. Lacau, *Une stèle juridique de Karnak* (Cairo, 1949).

¹⁰⁷ Lacau, *stèle juridique*, 45-46 (l.27-28).

¹⁰⁸ S. Sauneron, "La justice à la porte des temples (à propos du nom égyptien des propylées)," *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 117-127.

¹⁰⁹ Sauneron, "justice à la porte," 122.

¹¹⁰ Sauneron, "justice à la porte," 122.

¹¹¹ Sauneron, "justice à la porte," 122.

¹¹² H. Wild, "Statue de Hor-Néfer au Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lausanne [avec 3 planches]," *BIFAO* 54 (1954), 187-188.

¹¹³ W. C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum [Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446]* (Brooklyn, 1955), 76.

¹¹⁴ Hayes, *Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 76.

¹¹⁵ W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (Glückstadt, 1954), 83 fn. 31.

during the Old Kingdom, which, Helck argues, indicates that they were attached to the office of vizier.¹¹⁶ He further noted that the title was sometimes attached to Old Kingdom pyramid temples, and thus may be associated with the administration of these funerary cults. Helck situates these officials at the porch of the royal palace.¹¹⁷ They had the duty to lead officials to an audience with the king (based on the autobiography of Rekmire).¹¹⁸ He, like Gardiner, observes that the number of these officials decreased substantially in the New Kingdom (post-Rekmire). He further asserts that the title is indicative of a high-ranking official only in a temple context. Commenting on their role on the Karnak ‘judicial’ stela, Helck claims that the *sms.w h3y.t* could fill in for the vizier in case of the latter’s absence.¹¹⁹

Goedicke’s interpretation (1975) of the title varied from that of Gardiner.¹²⁰ Goedicke’s interest in it lay in its occurrence in the literary text, the *Report of Wenamun*. The main protagonist of this fictional narrative, Wenamun, bore the title, *sms.w h3y(.t) n(.y) pr Imn* ‘elder of the portal of the estate of Amun’ and was sent on an expedition to the Levant to obtain timber for the barque of Amun-Re.¹²¹ Since Wenamun was in service to the temple of Amun, Goedicke contends that Gardiner’s explanation of the title cannot be applied to this context. While the temple had a similar administration to the palace, it was subject to a different organisational system, so the role of the *sms.w h3y.t* would be different.¹²² Goedicke suggests that the term *h3y.t* may be better understood as a collective designation of the administrative quarters located outside the limits of the restricted royal quarters.¹²³ Therefore, Goedicke views the *sms.w h3y.t* as a ‘senior administrator’ which had no specific function, but designated a rank.¹²⁴ He asserts that the translation, ‘senior administrator,’ would best suit the few features ascertainable for the holder of this designation.¹²⁵ However, Goedicke does not mention the function or tasks that the *sms.w h3y.t* would perform in the temple’s administration. He further suggests that Wenamun was chosen for this voyage because he was familiar with the administration of the Amun

¹¹⁶ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 83 fn. 31.

¹¹⁷ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 83 fn. 31.

¹¹⁸ W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs* (Leiden, 1958), 280.

¹¹⁹ Helck, *Verwaltung*, 280.

¹²⁰ H. Goedicke, *The Report of Wenamun* (Baltimore, 1975).

¹²¹ Wb. II 476 [9]; Goedicke, *Report of Wenamun*, 17 (l.1); E. Wente (ed), *The Libyan Anarchy: Inscriptions from Egypt’s Third Intermediate Period* (Leiden, 2009), 88 l.1.

¹²² Goedicke, *Report of Wenamun*, 18.

¹²³ Goedicke, *Report of Wenamun*, 19.

¹²⁴ Goedicke, *Report of Wenamun*, 19.

¹²⁵ Goedicke, *Report of Wenamun*, 19.

temple.¹²⁶ In regards to the passage of Rekhmire, mentioned above, Goedicke proposed that it was common practice for important personages to be met by senior personnel, who accompanied them into the palace.¹²⁷ As ‘senior administrators’ it would then not be unusual for them to escort a man like Rekhmire to an audience with the king. Goedicke, however, asserts that the situation described in Rekhmire’s autobiography was special and not a usual courtesy, and that the *sms.w h3y.t* must have exercised a more substantial office than this (although he does not expand on what that might be, especially considering he suggested earlier that it was a rank, and not an office).¹²⁸

Moreno-Garcia’s examination of titles constructed with ‘*sms.w*’ during the Old and Middle Kingdoms included a more in-depth study of the *sms.w h3y.t* (see also Section 3.6.1).¹²⁹ His observations are based on prosopographical data from the Old Kingdom; he notes nineteen attestations of the title as well as two administrative texts from the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period.¹³⁰

Moreno-Garcia remarks that the *sms.w h3y.t* is connected to activities usually in the purview of the vizier. The Karnak ‘judicial’ stela (Cairo JE 51453) shows that the *sms.w h3y.t Rn-snb* was a high-ranking official, with the authority to give his approval to a legal act which ordinarily involved the vizier, provincial governors and other heads of state.¹³¹ The Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 includes a petition from a *sms.w h3y.t* to the vizier seeking permission to bring in labourers from Thebes to the Residence for questioning.¹³² Moreno-Garcia concludes from these texts that the *sms.w h3y.t* were representatives of the palace, who enjoyed a certain degree of independence from the vizier.¹³³ Moreno-Garcia also observed that a group of ‘elder of the portal’ title-holders held other titles composed with the term *hw.t-wr.t* ‘great house,’ a governmental institution that may have been particularly associated with the vizier and be equivalent to the ‘office’ of vizier.¹³⁴ According to

¹²⁶ Goedicke, *Report of Wenamun*, 19.

¹²⁷ Goedicke, *Report of Wenamun*, 19.

¹²⁸ Goedicke, *Report of Wenamun*, 19.

¹²⁹ J.C. Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration, le pouvoir et l’idéologie en Égypte, de l’Ancien Empire au Moyen Empire* (Liege, 1997), 109-128.

¹³⁰ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 122.

¹³¹ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 118.

¹³² Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 118.

¹³³ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 118.

¹³⁴ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 120. The *hw.t-wr.t* ‘great court’ or ‘great house’ was probably both a physical space/structure (of unknown number/size) probably somewhere in the Residence and an institution or assembly of officials, attached to the vizierate, which acted as representatives of the state throughout the country in administrative and judicial matters: Wb. III 4.7-10 ‘Gerichtshof’; FCD 165 ‘law

Moreno-Garcia, the *hw.t-wr.t* was under the responsibility of the *sms.w h3y.t* and *s3b r3-Nhn* ‘*sab* speaker of Nekhen,’ the latter also often being associated with the ‘elder of the portal.’ In three cases,¹³⁵ an ‘elder of the portal’ held the title *sm3c wd3c-mdw n(y) hw.t-wr.t*.¹³⁶ Moreno-Garcia defines the verb ‘*sm3c*’ as ‘to put in order, render just, validate’ which he determined may refer to the activities accomplished in the *hw.t-wr.t*.¹³⁷ This fits well, as Moreno-Garcia states, with the content of the Karnak “judicial” stela where the *sms.w h3y.t* represents the vizier’s office.¹³⁸ He interprets the *sms.ww h3y.t* as officers of the king who were an informal body of relatively independent officers of the vizier.¹³⁹

Another group of *sms.ww h3y.t* show a connection with the function of the *hr.y-wdb* ‘chief of reversions.’¹⁴⁰ The *hr.y-wdb* are often connected with the *hw.t-3nh* ‘house of life,’ a rather obscure institution that may be connected to the provisioning of the palace, hence a connection with the ‘chief of reversions.’ Moreno-Garcia does admit that definite conclusions are not possible due to the limited recurrences, but does suggest that they were members of some sort of council who ran these institutions (as part of both the *hw.t-3nh* and *hw.t-wr.t*).¹⁴¹ Moreno-Garcia further comments that some Old Kingdom ‘elders of the portal’ have titles related to the royal priesthoods.¹⁴² Yet, the absence of the title *sms.w h3y.t* in the archives of the royal funerary complexes (of Neferirkare, and Illahun) indicates that they were not primarily involved in the administration of the royal pyramids.¹⁴³

Finally, Moreno-Garcia argues that the *sms.w h3y.t* had access to the highest levels of power and was very close to the king.¹⁴⁴ Several ‘elders of the portal’ held titles that reflect

courts’; R. Hannig, *Die Sprache der Pharaonen: Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800 - 950 v. Chr.)* (Mainz, 2009), 550 ‘Gerichtshof, Ministerium’; Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 188-198; S. Jin, *Richten und Schlichten: Formen, Normen und Werte der altägyptischen Rechtskultur* (Münich, 2014), 22-23, 60-61. See also A. Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit en Égypte pharaonique. Contributions à l’étude des structures et mécanismes juridictionnels jusqu’au Nouvel Empire*, (Brussels, 2008), 27-33. E. Martin-Pardey, “Richten im Alten Reich und die sr-Beamten,” in B.M. Bryan and D. Lorton (eds) *Essays in Egyptology in honor of Hans Goedicke* (San Antonio, 1994), 157-167. The Old Kingdom title *im.y-r3 hw.t-wr.t* 6 only appears in titularies of viziers signifying their overall authority of these ‘houses’: Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 190.

¹³⁵ [10], [12], [32].

¹³⁶ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 120.

¹³⁷ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 121.

¹³⁸ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 121.

¹³⁹ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 120.

¹⁴⁰ Jones, *Index*, I 2212-2218; Ward, *Index*, 974-976 ‘master of largess.’

¹⁴¹ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 121.

¹⁴² [15], [19], [39], [47].

¹⁴³ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 119.

¹⁴⁴ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 119.

their association with the king, such as the ‘ranking’ title *rh-nsw.t* ‘king’s acquaintance,’¹⁴⁵ for example.¹⁴⁶ This, Moreno-Garcia argues, confirms their presence in the royal entourage.¹⁴⁷ Based on his own observations, and the study of Quirke of royal palace personnel (based on Papyrus Boulaq 18) (see below), Moreno-Garcia concludes that the *sms.w h3y.t* was a high-ranking dignitary whose precise functions are difficult to determine but was a courtier in the palace and closely associated with the royal family.¹⁴⁸ Moreno-Garcia suggests they formed an informal and small council for the king.¹⁴⁹ They could also be put in charge of special missions where the confidence of the king was considered more important than the rank occupied in a particular administrative hierarchy.¹⁵⁰

In summary, Moreno-Garcia determined that the *sms.w h3y.t* were connected to the vizierate, the *pr hr.y-wdb* (distribution of food) and royal funerary complexes. Moreno-Garcia maintains that the functions of the *sms.w h3y.t* were ill-defined, and that they acted in the manner of direct agents of the king monitoring and validating decisions of the vizier and his offices (i.e. the *hw.t-wr.t*, *hw.t-chnh*).¹⁵¹ Moreno-Garcia argues that their role as representatives of the king justifies their participation in various activities (being sent to the provinces, grain control etc.).¹⁵² An unusual characteristic of the *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders is the relative modesty of any additional titles, their lack of specialisation, but they were in close proximity to the king.¹⁵³ Due to the scarcity of the evidence, Moreno-Garcia suggests that there was only one *sms.w h3y.t* at any a time.¹⁵⁴ However, Moreno-Garcia does not rule out the possibility that the *sms.w h3y.t* was not an honorary title bestowed on a distinguished, loyal official who has retired from his official position or that it is an honorific referring to a guardian of the gates to the palace or temple.¹⁵⁵

Quirke’s annotated index of titles (2004) states that the title, ‘elder of the portal,’ is among the most frequent titles of the late Middle Kingdom, although its scope remains

¹⁴⁵ Jones, *Index*, I 1206; Ward, *Index*, 857a.

¹⁴⁶ [19], [39], [46].

¹⁴⁷ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 120.

¹⁴⁸ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 119.

¹⁴⁹ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 122.

¹⁵⁰ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 122.

¹⁵¹ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 121-122.

¹⁵² Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 121-122.

¹⁵³ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 122.

¹⁵⁴ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 122.

¹⁵⁵ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 121.

uncertain.¹⁵⁶ The title appears in the late Middle Kingdom Papyrus Boulaq 18 studied by Quirke (1990).¹⁵⁷ This papyrus records the expenditure of the king's court at the palace in Thebes during a royal visit in the early-mid 13th dynasty. The document lists food and drink distributed to people at the palace including feasts. Quirke's study revealed that the *sms.w h3y.t* could be categorised among officials of the 'inner palace.' Papyrus Boulaq 18 presents the position at different grades (receiving different amounts in the palace name lists) rendering a definition by rank alone unlikely.¹⁵⁸ Quirke's conclusions support Moreno-Garcia's statements about the *sms.w h3y.t*'s close association with the king in the palace.

Quirke (2009) discusses the *sms.w h3y.t* in more depth along with three other titles regularly attested in the late Middle Kingdom, 'great one of tens of Upper Egypt' (*wr mdw Šm^c.w*), 'sab mouthpiece of Nekhen' (*s3b r3-Nhn*), and 'king's acquaintance' (*rh nsw.t*).¹⁵⁹ These titles have the same quality in common, the fact that they are 'non-self-explanatory,' meaning that the title-phrases are not explicit regarding their function.¹⁶⁰ While no tasks or responsibilities have been attributed to these four titles, they do occur in the 'same contextual slot as self-explanatory regular titles.'¹⁶¹ Therefore Quirke deduced that they belong to the same 'system' of titles explored in Section 1.1, despite their 'generic' and 'non-specific' nature.¹⁶² A general feature of late Middle Kingdom titles is that a title-phrase is very precise and explicit. There appears to be a rigid and highly differentiated administrative structure at this time.¹⁶³ Quirke suggests that the *sms.w h3y.t* (and the other three title-holders) may have been general commissioners who acted as representatives of the state/palace when required, and did not necessarily have a series of habitual tasks.¹⁶⁴ Title-holders of *sms.w h3y.t* may have acted as a group of officials upon which the palace could draw for commissions.¹⁶⁵ These offices may have offered a 'counterbalance of

¹⁵⁶ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 33.

¹⁵⁷ S. Quirke, *The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom: The Hieratic Documents* (Surrey, 1990).

¹⁵⁸ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 33; Quirke, "Four Titles," 312.

¹⁵⁹ S. Quirke, "Four Titles: What's the Difference?," in D.P. Silverman, W.K. Simpson, and J. Wegners (eds) *Archaism and Innovation: Studies in the Culture of Middle Kingdom Egypt* (New Haven, 2009), 305-316.

¹⁶⁰ Quirke, "Four Titles," 305, 312.

¹⁶¹ Quirke, "Four Titles," 305.

¹⁶² Quirke, "Four Titles," 305.

¹⁶³ Grajetzki uses the example of *im.y-r3 st* which appears in the late Middle Kingdom in several variants, such as *im.y-r3 st n(.y)* *im.y-r3 htm.t* 'overseer of storerooms of the overseer of sealed goods,' *im.y-r3 st n(.y) ˁ.t-hnk.t* 'overseer of storerooms of the chamber of beer,' *im.y-r3 n(.y) st ˁ.t-t3* 'overseer of storerooms of the chamber of bread': Grajetzki, "Setting a State Anew," 224-225.

¹⁶⁴ Quirke, "Four Titles," 314; Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 80.

¹⁶⁵ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 33.

imprecision' to the rigidity of the 'hyper-specific' regular offices.¹⁶⁶ Quirke offers two ways to interpret the title:

(1) The title *sms.w h3y.t* (and the three others) derived their 'meaning' from a particular source of authority or a 'bureau' within the state.¹⁶⁷ Quirke suggests that title-holders of *sms.w h3y.t* belong to the *h3 n(y) dd rmt* 'department of the giving of people' which deals with the organisation of manpower, and assignment of labourers.¹⁶⁸ Quirke does not explain why he categorised them as such, but this is likely to be based on the text in Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 where the *sms.w h3y.t* writes to the vizier about incarcerating a labourer for an unspecified crime.

(2) The title *sms.w h3y.t* is defined by a reference to architecture in the palace. It may have been a position defined by the ritual landscape of the royal court.¹⁶⁹ It is highly likely that the landscape of the Residence may have been the means by which certain officials were organised, rather than being assigned to one of the very precise positions identified by the more numerous self-explanatory administrative regular titles of the late Middle Kingdom.¹⁷⁰

Quirke does, however, also concede that it remains possible that each of the non-self-explanatory titles designated a rank or honorary position.¹⁷¹

Franke, in his catalogue of Egyptian stelae from the British Museum (2013), briefly alludes to the *sms.w h3y.t*.¹⁷² Franke proposes that *sms.w h3y.t* was another inner court title originating in the Old Kingdom, when it was often combined with the prefix-title *s3b*. He suggests that a roofed portico, denoted by *h3y.t*, would be situated at the entrance to the inner part of the palace. From this he proposes that the 'elder of the portal' dealt, at least originally, with the affairs of etiquette and business at this entrance.¹⁷³ He bases this on the description of the *sms.w h3y.t* in the autobiography of Rekhmire, mentioned previously. Franke observed that the role of the 'elder of the portal' during the Middle Kingdom is difficult to distinguish from that of the *s3b r3-Nhn* and *wr mdw Šm^c.w*; although these official may have been attached to the outer palace.¹⁷⁴ The title *sms.w h3y.t* may refer to an

¹⁶⁶ Quirke, "Four Titles," 314.

¹⁶⁷ Quirke, "Four Titles," 312.

¹⁶⁸ Quirke, "Four Titles," 313.

¹⁶⁹ Quirke, "Four Titles," 313.

¹⁷⁰ Quirke, "Four Titles," 313-314.

¹⁷¹ Quirke, "Four Titles," 312.

¹⁷² D. Franke and M. Marée (ed), *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum from the 13th to 17th Dynasties: Volume I, Fascicule 1: Descriptions* (London, 2013).

¹⁷³ Franke and Marée, *Egyptian Stelae I*, 57.

¹⁷⁴ Franke and Marée, *Egyptian Stelae I*, 57.

official entrusted with administrative matters and commissions outside the palace, as demonstrated by their function in the Karnak ‘judicial’ stela.¹⁷⁵

1. 5. 1. Critical evaluation, initial observations and summary

There are three key avenues of investigation for this topic:

(1) Title-phrase. The title, constructed of two elements, ‘elder’ + ‘portal,’ is poorly understood. The term ‘elder’ is imbued with particular connotations, the most apparent being that of “old age.” Similarly, the word ‘portal’ is a vague and generic choice of word conveying very little information about the position. The general problems related to translating titles were highlighted previously, and establishing a suitable translation is crucial in understanding how the title should be interpreted. The title-phrase can provide useful insights into the role and character of the office. For instance, what are the implications and intention of using the word ‘elder’ – what does it reflect about the officials holding this position? Moreover, this title is not the only one constructed with the term ‘*sms.w*’ ‘elder,’ and this study briefly looks at the qualities and attributes of these types of positions. This official is undoubtedly closely associated with the structure denoted *h3y.t*, defined by Gardiner as a ‘roofed portico,’ which Franke situates at the entrance of the ‘inner palace.’ There is limited discussion of this term, and it appears to occur both in reference to the palace (Rekhmire, pBoulaq 18) and temple (Wenamun). Another look at the meaning and identification of this term is warranted – what does it allude to? Where was it located? What did it look like? This thesis aims to study the orthography and lexicography of this word, as the identification of this term in regards to the official may be key to understanding aspects of his function and responsibilities. The connection between the title-phrase and the function of the official is not always apparent, and may not reveal the entirety of the office, yet it remains an important aspect of this appointment. The role and function of the ‘elder of the portal’ may, in fact, not be understood because the title-phrase remains enigmatic.

(2) Role. Currently, any details regarding the function and role of the ‘elder of the portal’ are unresolved. It remains open to interpretation whether the title is a ‘function’ title consisting of particular tasks and duties, or is a ‘ranking’ title bestowed on retirees or persons close to the king, and thus only a marker of status. Based on the previous research, it is clear, however, that the ‘elder of the portal’ is, in the Old Kingdom at least, connected to several occupational sectors; the Residence/palace, central administration, and the

¹⁷⁵ Franke and Marée, *Egyptian Stelae I*, 57-58.

temple. Helck first noted that, during the Old Kingdom, the title-phrase was often preceded by *s3b* – which he viewed as attachment to the vizierate – and was often associated with the pyramid temples. Similarly, Moreno-Garcia’s research into the office during the Old Kingdom notes associations with the vizierate, the royal funerary cults, as well as the *hr.y-wdb* ‘chief of reversions.’ Yet, he does not elaborate on what this implies for the office of *sms.w h3y.t* since his focus was on the broader study of *sms.w*-titles. Moreno-Garcia’s study could be improved with more prosopographical material. Moreno-Garcia, as well as Lacau, and Sauneron, also observed the apparent judicial function of the ‘elder of the portal.’ Their conclusions were based primarily on the Karnak ‘judicial’ stela, but also on the official’s connection with the Old Kingdom *hw.t-wr.t* and activities described as *wdc-mdw* ‘judging.’ Since there were no permanent judges in ancient Egypt, as the administrative and judicial branches of the government were unified, this was not their sole function.¹⁷⁶ It appears that title-holders are involved in a number of different occupational spheres, something that needs to be investigated in greater detail.

Moreno-Garcia and Quirke consider the title-holders as agents of the king, who carried out commissions on his behalf, and were therefore present in various occupational sectors. Goedicke, too, determined a general ‘administrative’ function to the appointment in the temple. This apparent deliberate vagueness and generality (and lack of specialisation) of the *sms.w h3y.t* could be due to the current modern system of titles, which is predominantly based on the assumption that each office is defined by a set of specific and tangible duties and responsibilities. Moreno-Garcia points out that titles are often relegated to the “confused” category of ‘ranking’ titles or honorific designations, when it becomes difficult to ascribe well-defined and immediately evident tasks to them.¹⁷⁷ This may be the reason no function can be attributed to this office. The *sms.w h3y.t* belongs the small group of titles (cf. *s3b r3-Nhn*, *wr mdw Šm^c.w*) whose function may not be expressed as a series of regular duties, but defined by different attributes, which makes it difficult to reconcile with the modern groupings. The lack of defined tasks is also shared by other titles and this study looks at whether – and to what degree – these titles overlap, and those implications.

Palace officials are not well investigated due to the lack of data generally available about the palace and its personnel, which would include the ‘elder of the portal.’ It appears this office does play a role in the management of the Residence/palace, which is an aspect of

¹⁷⁶ Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 21-22.

¹⁷⁷ Moreno-Garcia, “Study of the ancient Egyptian administration,” 8.

the title not examined in much detail, probably because of the current limited knowledge about this sphere of Egyptian culture. This may be, in part, the reason the office is described as ‘honorary.’ The passage of Rekhmire is often used to highlight the role of the *sms.w h3y.t* as an usher and their place at the front of the palace; this needs to be investigated more closely. Gardiner connected the ‘elder of the portal’ with the *im.y-r3 3-hnw.ty* often translated as ‘chamberlain’ (although literally ‘overseer of the interior of the palace’). A comparison of these titles is also briefly explored, mainly to determine whether there is a correlation between them. Quirke proposes that the title may also be defined by its attachment to an architectural sector, so an investigation into the social and spatial dimensions of the palace, and its personnel, would be useful in examining this particular aspect of the office, as well as the location of the *h3y.t* ‘portal.’ Similarly, the passage in Rekhmire’s tomb describes a role similar to a doorkeeper, also suggested by the title-phrase itself, and a comparison of doorkeepers and thresholds (in the palace in particular) may shed light on this.

(3) Social position. Title-holders display qualities that situate them in close proximity to the king and as members of his court. Moreno-Garcia showed that ‘elders of the portal’ held certain ranks at court, such as ‘king’s acquaintance,’ while Quirke noted they belonged to the inner parts of the palace (pBoulaq 18). Other social factors, such as more informal channels of power and authority, social connections, and individual favour of the king, would have contributed to an individual’s place in the administration and the court, and the *sms.w h3y.t* would be no exception. The thesis will investigate the implications of this on the office, and their role in the royal court, and whether this implies that the office was an honorary designation? Is there more evidence of their close association with the royal family and the king himself? Is this a regular aspect of the title?

A systematic study of the accessible sources for this title and its holders, from its beginnings in the Old Kingdom to the end of the New Kingdom, may provide insight into the function and scope of the office as well as the social position of these persons in the ancient Egyptian administration, and society at large. The aim of this study is to gain a better understanding of this office, whether it had a particular set of habitual tasks, whether it was an agent of the king carrying out various duties, or an honorary designation, and situate this title in the current understanding of the ‘system’ of titles. In essence, what particular characteristic(s) defined this group of officials? This thesis aims to reinvestigate all the sources mentioned above, the passage in the autobiography of Rekhmire, the

Karnak ‘judicial’ stela as well as the Papyrus Boulaq 18 and Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 in combination with a prosopographical analysis of the title-holders. The sources and title-holders will be considered in their own archaeological and historical context, from which a diachronic progression of the title will become clear.¹⁷⁸ The goals of this study are to investigate the role and rank of the *sms.w h3y.t* and any attributes reflected by title-holders through a prosopographical approach to confirm or deny the results of prior research outlined above. The aim is to ‘decrypt’ this title, which remains somewhat of a question mark in Egyptology – and situate it within the framework of ancient Egyptian society and government.




¹⁷⁸ This would also shed light on whether the title phrase is an example of title archaism, especially in the later periods.







Chapter Two:

The Orthography and Lexicography of the title, *sms.w h3y.t*

This chapter will focus on the orthography and lexicography of the title-phrase, *sms.w h3y.t*. The aim is to resolve the meaning of the phrase, through a study of its individual elements, and establish an appropriate translation. The way the terms are written, the use of determinatives in particular, can be expected to have a bearing on its meaning. The correct interpretation of the title-phrase is likely to provide insight into the role and scope of the title itself.

2. 1. The first element: the writing and meaning of ‘*sms.w*’

The word *sms.w* meaning ‘old man, oldest, eldest, elder’ is widely used in ancient Egyptian texts throughout Egyptian history.¹⁷⁹ The term is written phonetically with one of  (Gardiner’s A19),  (A20), or  (A21A), as a determinative or written as an ideogram using the same signs.¹⁸⁰

During the Old Kingdom, the title-phrase occurs forty-six times (on forty-three monuments), and is written exclusively as an ideogram. The ideogram  (A19; bent over holding staff, which is not forked) is used in the title-phrase on twelve monuments,¹⁸¹  (A20; bent over holding forked staff) is used on seventeen,¹⁸² and  (A21A; upright holding staff) on nine monuments.¹⁸³ On four monuments, the ideogram  is used but the figure’s back is straight and not bent with age.¹⁸⁴ In two instances, the staff in the hieroglyph is too damaged on the monument so it could be either  or , and on a third monument, it could be any of the three.¹⁸⁵ During the Middle Kingdom, there are eighty-five title-phrases attested (excluding those on scarabs). The monuments are relatively

¹⁷⁹ Wb. IV 142.8-143.1; FCD 229; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 767-768.

¹⁸⁰ Wb. IV 142.8.

¹⁸¹ [05], [06]+[11]+[36] (on same monument), [08], [15], [16], [24], [25], [31], [38], [46].

¹⁸⁰ ~~Wb. IV 142.8~~ [04]+[28]+[26]+[37]+[44]+[48] (written twice), [09], [10], [12], [14], [17], [20], [22], [23], [27],


















¹⁸¹ [05], [06]+[11]+[36] (on same monument), [08], [15], [16], [24], [25], [31], [38], [46].




¹⁸² [02], [04]+[18]+[26]+[37]+[44]+[48] (written twice), [09], [10], [12], [14], [17], [20], [22], [23], [27], [32], [33], [34], [42], [45].

¹⁸³ [03], [13], [28], [29], [30], [35], [40], [43], [41].

¹⁸⁴ [19], [21], [39], [47].

¹⁸⁵ For [49] and [50], it is either A19 or A20 (bottom of staff is missing), [51] could be all three. No image was accessible for [07].

average in quality, and the title is roughly incised in most cases making distinguishing between small details difficult. In the majority of cases, the word is written with an ideogram, as in the Old Kingdom;  is only used in one instance,¹⁸⁶  is used in thirty-seven title-phrases¹⁸⁷ while  is used in the phrase on forty-five monuments.¹⁸⁸ In three instances, it is difficult to distinguish between  and .¹⁸⁹ The Karnak ‘judicial’ stela (JE 52453) [111] has an unusual writing of *sms.w* in the title-phrase: . This may be  (A17A) or  (A17C). The monuments of two individuals write the title phonetically with no determinatives at all:  [68] and  [116]. Twenty-five scarabs¹⁹⁰ write *sms.w* with an ideogram, although it is difficult to distinguish between  and .¹⁹¹ The small details, such as a forked staff, are usually not visible. During the New Kingdom, seven monuments are attested on which the title appears. On three monuments, *sms.w* is written phonetically,  [175],  [172], and  [169]. The ideogram  is used on three monuments,¹⁹² while  is used on one.¹⁹³

It is difficult to determine whether *sms.w* refers to an old man or elder in terms of age, or whether it refers to a ‘senior’ official, someone who is distinguished and esteemed; both nuances may be suggested by the determinatives. The variability and inconsistency of the usage of /  compared to  (often used as an ideogram for *sr* ‘official’) suggests that the title-holders were not physically old, and the metaphorical sense of the word is intended. More likely, the term *sms.w* referred to someone ‘older’ in experience, rank, or knowledge. Synonyms of *sms.w* include *i3w* and *wr*, although the exact nuance between all three is difficult to discern. The former, meaning ‘old man, elder, eldest’ or ‘old age,’ is also often used as a verb ‘to be aged, become old.’¹⁹⁴ Like *sms.w*, *i3w* can also be used in the sense of

¹⁸⁶ [54].

¹⁸⁷ [53], [57], [58], [64], [70], [82], [94], [101], [103], [104], [105], [112], [115] (=two monuments), [118], [121], [122], [123], [137], [140], [144], [156], [157], [163], and [59]+[67]+[73]+[76]+[81]+[89]+[102]+[109]+[110]+[133]+[139]+[152]+[165] (=pBoulaq 18).

¹⁸⁸ [61], [62], [63], [65], [66], [74], [79], [80] (on three monuments), [86], [88], [92], [93], [95], [96], [97], [98], [99], [100], [107], [108], [113], [115], [117], [125], [126], [127], [134], [135], [136], [138], [142], [143], [145], [146], [147], [148], [150], [153], [154], [159], [164], [167], [168].

¹⁸⁹ [90], [114], [120].

¹⁹⁰ Of the remaining six scarabs no photo/drawing was accessible.

¹⁹¹ [55], [56], [60], [71], [69], [72], [75], [77], [78], [83], [85], [87], [91], [119], [124], [128], [129], [130], [141], [149], [151], [155], [161], [162], [166].

¹⁹² [170], [171], [173], [174], [176] (= in TT82).

¹⁹³ [176] (= rock-stela).

¹⁹⁴ Wb. I 28. 11-12; FCD 8.

the ‘oldest, senior’ official.¹⁹⁵ According to the Wörterbuch, it is first used in the literary texts of the Middle Kingdom.¹⁹⁶ The term *wr* is a general noun meaning ‘great’ in terms of size, quantity, or degree (of importance), or of age, i.e. ‘eldest.’¹⁹⁷ In titles, it refers to the ‘great one’ in the sense of a distinguished man and one of importance.¹⁹⁸ Faulkner translates this term as ‘magnate’ and ‘chief.’¹⁹⁹ In titles, it is often followed by plurals where it should be read as a superlative, ‘the greatest one of...’ such as *wr mḏw Šmꜥ.w* ‘greatest one of the tens of Upper Egypt.’²⁰⁰ This further suggests that *sms.w* should be read as ‘senior’ or ‘elder’ in the metaphorical sense.

A number of other titles are constructed with *sms.w*, including *sms.w pr*, *sms.w snw.(w)t*, etc. (see Section 3.6.1). The significance and word-choice of *sms.w* is also further discussed there.

2. 2. The second element: the writing and meaning of ‘h3y.t’

The term *h3y.t* is more controversial and difficult to define than *sms.w* and will therefore be discussed in greater detail. The word *h3y.t* is a feminine noun with three possible meanings listed in the dictionaries:

1. ‘Ceiling, sky.’²⁰¹
2. ‘(Entrance) portal, porch, hall (and forehall), long transverse hall.’²⁰² Also, forehall of a temple, beside the lake, and Ptolemaic propylaea, can be located on the roof of the Ptolemaic temples.²⁰³
3. ‘Bakery, kitchen.’²⁰⁴ Spencer states that the final definition of ‘bakery’ is not connected to the two former, and is instead related to the verb *h3* ‘to roast’ and is thus connected to a kitchen or bakery. This term only occurs in the Rollin Papyri (accounts during the reign of Seti I).²⁰⁵

¹⁹⁵ Wb. I 29. 1-2.

¹⁹⁶ Wb. I 28. 11-12.

¹⁹⁷ Wb. I 328.14-329.18; FCD 63-64.

¹⁹⁸ Wb. I 328.14; Doxey, *Non-Royal Epithets*, 159-160.

¹⁹⁹ FCD 64.

²⁰⁰ Wb. IV 329.6.

²⁰¹ Wb. II 476.12-13; FCD 156; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 519.

²⁰² Wb. II 476.4-7; FCD 156; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 519.



²⁰³ Wb. II 476.5-7; D. Meeks, *Annee Lexicographique Volume I (1977)* (Paris, 1980), 226. Gardiner, too, defines *h3y.t* as ‘portal’ or ‘forehall’ based on the passage in the autobiography of Rekhmire (TT100): Gardiner, *AEO I*, 60*.

²⁰⁴ Wb. II 476.14; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 519.

²⁰⁵ P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study* (London, 1984), 157.

2. 2. 1. ‘h3y.t’ – independent from the title-phrase

The word is rarely attested independent of the title-phrase before the Third Intermediate Period.²⁰⁶ Spencer’s work (1984) is the primary study to have considered this term in any detail, and her work is drawn upon here where necessary.²⁰⁷ She focuses, however, only on the term’s use and meaning in the context of temple architecture.

The word *h3y.t* appears to have two principal meanings, (1) ‘ceiling, and sky’ (2) ‘portico, porch, hall.’ The hieroglyph  (Gardiner’s N1), used as a determinative or an ideogram, is characteristic of both terms – in its independent usage and as part of the title-phrase. The etymology of *h3y.t*, however, remains difficult to determine beyond any doubt. Gardiner proposed that the term *h3y.t* is likely originally derived from the word *h3(y).t* ‘ceiling, sky,’ the latter of which is always determined by ; an appropriate and expected determinative for this word.²⁰⁸ Gardiner connects the term with the Coptic *halet* ‘gateway, porch,’ although this has not been definitively established.²⁰⁹ Gardiner states that the term must be derived from a *nisbe*-form of *h3.t* (such as *h3y.ty*) due to the Coptic retention of the final – *t*.²¹⁰ However, he admits that there are some problems with this interpretation. The *nisbe* – *y* is never present, with all examples reflecting a feminine – *t* ending.²¹¹ The terms are also written *h.t* with omission of the aleph *3* and – *y* as well as the final feminine – *t* ending. Spencer and Van den Boorn, however, posit that there was only one term, *h3(y).t*, originally meaning ‘ceiling’ in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, which was extended to also mean ‘portico’ or ‘porch’ sometime during the Middle Kingdom (Spencer) or even the 18th dynasty (Van den Boorn), but particularly visible in the sources from the Late Period onwards.²¹² Spencer argues that this is more likely than having two separate words, which happen to share similar writings. Spencer suggests that the most important aspect of this ‘portico’/‘porch’ must therefore have been that it was covered by a ceiling or roof, denoted

²⁰⁶ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 161.

²⁰⁷ P. Spencer, *The Egyptian Temple: A Lexicographical Study* (London, 1984).


²⁰⁸ Gardiner, *AEO* I, 60*-61*.











²⁰⁹ Gardiner, *AEO* I, 60*; J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary* (Cambridge, 1976), 298; W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford, 1939), 713-714 ‘gateway, porch, forecourt’; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1965), 360.

²¹⁰ Gardiner, *AEO* I, 60*.


²¹¹ Gardiner, *AEO* I, 61*.

²¹² Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 157ff; G.P.F. van den Boorn, “Wḏꜥ-ryt and Justice at the Gate,” *JNES* 44 (1985), 6 fn. 21.

by the , for which the word was originally used.²¹³ The evidence seems to best support the interpretation of Spencer and Van den Boorn.

In a number of texts, the term *h³(y).t* undoubtedly simply means ‘ceiling’ as is apparent from the following examples. One of the earliest appears in the tomb of Ankhtifi at Moalla (First Intermediate Period) in a rather obscure passage describing the tomb entrance where the term  *h³.wt* seems to refer to the ‘ceiling’.²¹⁴ Spencer, however, suggests that it seems to refer to part of the door itself, perhaps the doorframe, which is suggested by the  determinative.²¹⁵ The 18th dynasty stela of the overseer of the double-treasury (*im.y-r³ pr.wy-ḥd*) Thutmose, states, ‘I sealed the treasury of all precious stones in the temple of Amun at Karnak to fill his tribute up to their  *h³.t* ‘ceiling’.²¹⁶ The seated statue of Amenmose, chief of works and high-steward in the reign of Ramesses III (20th dynasty) describes the ‘house of gold’ of Amun-Re: ‘I was superintendent of works for the house of Amun-Re, in every monument of his house, and in his ‘house of gold’, its ceilings  *h³.wt* and its walls being made of gold, and its pavement of pure silver, its door being beaten copper with images in good gold.’²¹⁷ Similarly, in Chapter 125 of the Book of the Dead, the deceased tells one of the gatekeepers of the Netherworld to announce him to the one whose ‘ceiling’ (*h³y.t*) is fire, whose wall as living uraei, the floor of whose house is the flood.’²¹⁸ A 21st (?) dynasty text describes the house of Osiris: ‘his house of gold, its  *h³.wt* ceilings and its walls were of gold, its floor of silver ...’²¹⁹ The sign , indicative of the ‘ceiling,’ and the use of the plural –w suggests that the translation of ‘ceiling’ best fits these contexts. The Middle Kingdom literary text, *Teaching of Amenemhat I for his son, Senwosret* states, ‘I (Amenemhat I) made for myself a house (i.e. tomb) adorned with gold, its *h³.wt* ‘ceilings’ of lapis lazuli, its walls of silver, its doors of copper with bolts of bronze. It has been built for eternity...’ The term is written as  and  on the two Ramesside papyri, pMillingen and pSallier II (respectively) and is written as  /  on the New Kingdom Ostraca

²¹³ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 169.


²¹⁴  *ir.n ʕ k³w n(y) pt h³.wt pw wd(?) iw ht=f m pt iw s?p.t sb³.wt* ‘I made a door to the height of the sky, its portico like the ceiling covered with stars...’: J. Vandier, *La tombe d’Ankhtifi et la tombe de Sébekhotep* (Cairo, 1950), 232-233.








²¹⁵ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 157.

²¹⁶ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 159; Urk. IV 429.6-7.

²¹⁷ KRI V 415: 1.

²¹⁸ E.A.W. Budge, *The Book of the Dead. The Chapters of Coming Forth by Day* (London, 1898), 267, 6.

²¹⁹ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 158; A. Hamada, “Statue of the Fan-bearer ,” *ASAE* 47 (1947), 16-17.

Malinine.²²⁰ In case of the latter, the hieratic is difficult to reconstruct. Maspero, Helck and Volten transcribe the determinative as  while Adrom and Griffith read .²²¹ Griffith, however, notes that the sign was likely intended to represent an architectural determinative, possibly a vaulted or columned hall.²²² Identified by Helck as the *tyw*-bird  (G4), its inclusion in pMillingen and pSallier II (but not O.Malinine) may be a corruption from the original text, which may have been poorly understood by the Ramesside period.²²³ It is unsure how accurately these New Kingdom copies reflect the original Middle Kingdom writing since no Middle Kingdom version survived. The determinative in O.Malinine (and perhaps also pMillingen) suggests a ‘hall’ or ‘portico’ of some sort, although one made of lapis lazuli seems unlikely, while a blue ceiling (even of this precious material) is more plausible. The determinative , and even the signs  / , however, do not match the more likely meaning of ‘ceiling.’ The plural strokes in all cases also suggest ceiling, and not portico. These translations are undoubtedly ‘ceiling’ denoted by  and plural strokes and/or explicit –w.²²⁴

2. 2. 1. 1. ‘h3y.t’ during the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period

The term is only sporadically attested in the Old and Middle Kingdoms where the meaning is usually ‘ceiling,’ although a widening of the term’s meaning is already evident (see above). In this period, the term occurs in inscriptions related to temple building activities. The south dedication (19th dynasty) on the ceiling of the first inner room or ‘astronomical’ room at the Ramesseum describes the construction of a ‘portico’ structure.²²⁵ ‘He (= Ramesses II) has made as his monument for his father, Amun-Re ... the making for him of a *sdb.t*-hall of papyrus-bud columns...the walls of stone and the

²²⁰ Papyrus Millingen III, 4; Papyrus Sallier II, 3 1-2; Ostraca Malinine 5-6. See F. Adrom, *Die Lehre des Amenemhet* (Brussels, 2006), 71; W. Helck, *Der Text der “Lehre Amenemhets I für seinem Sohn”* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 80; A. Volten, *Zwei Altägyptische Politische Schriften: Die Lehre für König Merikare (Pap. Carlsberg VI) und Die Lehre des Königs Amenemhet* (København, 1945), 119. For translations of the text see M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature Volume I: the Old and Middle Kingdoms* (Berkley, 1973), 137; W.K. Simpson, *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: an Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (New Haven, 2003), 170.



²²¹ Helck, *Lehre Amenemhets I*, 80; G. Maspero, *Les Enseignements d’Amenemhait Ier à son fils Sanousrit Ier* (Cairo, 1914), 16; Volten, *Zwei Altägyptische Politische Schriften*, 119; Adrom, *Lehre des Amenemhet*, 71; F.L. Griffith, “The Millingen Papyrus (teaching of Amenemhat), *ÄZ* 34 (1896), 35-51.



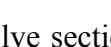


²²² Griffith, “Millingen Papyrus,” 47.

²²³ Helck, *Lehre Amenemhets I* (Wiesbaden, 1969), 80.

²²⁴ Lichtheim translates ‘ceilings of lapis-lazuli’ while Simpson chooses to translate ‘portals of lapis-lazuli’ perhaps indicating both terms may fit in this context: Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I*, 137; Simpson, *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 170.

²²⁵ W. Helck, *Die Ritualdarstellungen des Ramesseums* (Wiesbaden, 1972), 146; KRI II 651: 5ff.

walls inscribed with the writings of Thoth, its  *h3y.t* ‘portico’ covered with sandstone beams like wood from Lebanon...’ The *h3y.t* is attached to this columned hall, suggesting some sort of ‘porch’ or ‘entrance-portico.’ The comparison this text makes with timber of Lebanon may also imply that the *h3y.t* is usually made of wood, rather than stone. The statue base of Queen Karomama (Louvre N 500), wife of Takelot II (22nd dynasty), states ‘I built a statue in her (Mut) house at the  *h(3)y.t* ‘portico,’ I equipped (it) with everything for his festivals.’²²⁶ Based on these examples, the *h3y.t* was a relatively small columned ‘porch’ or ‘entrance-portico’ probably mainly made from wood (and stone overlaid with precious materials, at least in the temple) situated in front of an entrance.

Several ostraca were found in Sheik Abd el-Gurna describing the activities of the tomb builders. Ostraca Hayes 63 and 66 describe the work of tomb builders detailing the construction of the tomb of Senmut (TT71) (18th dynasty) on a particular day. Ostraca Hayes 63 states, ‘Fourth month of *pr.t*, fifth day. Work of this day in the tomb: the mason *Tty* faced two sections, *Hpy-hr-s3=f* trimmed half a section, *Sn.wy-nfr* smoothed [...] cubits in the  *h3y.t*. The scribe, *Iy-m-htp* applied (?) colour, twenty cakes (?). Finished.’²²⁷ Ostraca Hayes 66 is quite fragmentary, although references involving the *h3y.t* can be identified: ‘[...] in the  *h3y.t* [...] work of this day [...] split one portions [...] applied [...] colour of ever [...] cakes (?) [...] *Sn.wy-nfr* smoothed cubit in the  *h3y.t* of the *rs[...]* twelve sections *Bh3.w* [...] one section. *Tty* [...]’²²⁸ Hayes translates *h3y.t* as ‘entrance hall’ stating that in this context the term can only refer to the long transverse columned entrance-hall of the tomb.²²⁹ Senmut’s tomb (TT71) has a transverse columned hall consisting of eight columns. In the writing of *h3y.t*, both  and  are used in these ostraca, which suggests that they are interchangeable as the meaning is likely to be the same.

Ostrakon Cairo 25, 269 (20th dynasty) describes the activities of a day in the construction of a royal tomb, probably of Ramesses IV (KV 2).²³⁰ The text states, ‘Fourth year, third month of the inundation, eighteenth day, the distribution of charcoal, at the end of the first

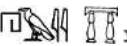





²²⁶ *kd.n=i hw.t=s twt(y) r h(3)y.t iri.n=i h3b.w=f m wnn.t nb.t*. K. Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften des Spätzeit, Teil II: die 22.-24. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2016), 226.

²²⁷ W. C. Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-mut (No. 71) at Thebes* (New York, 1973), no. 63, 21, pl. XIII.

²²⁸ Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, no. 66, 22-23, pl. XIV.

²²⁹ Hayes, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, 38.

²³⁰ H. Carter and A.H. Gardiner, “The Tomb of Ramesses IV and the Turin Plan of a Royal Tomb,” *JEA* 4 (1917), 134-135.

corridor, for the job. On this day, they were stopped (?) in the  *h3y(.t)* ‘doorway.’²³¹ Then, they penetrated into the next corridor (namely) the second one...’ It seems that the workers ran out of charcoal for their lamps, so they had to pause in the doorway between the first and second corridor before they could continue further into the tomb. The term here has two unusual determinatives,  (similar to Gardiner’s O27 ) and  (N23). The former suggest a doorway, and it is telling that the roof of the determinative comprises of . The hieroglyph  represents an irrigation canal and usually accompanies words related to land. It does, however, also determine words associated with boundaries and time.²³² It may be the case that *h3y.t* here simply means ‘doorway’ or ‘entryway.’ There is no transverse hall at this location in the tomb, so it must refer to the doorway at the end of the first corridor (fig. 2.1).

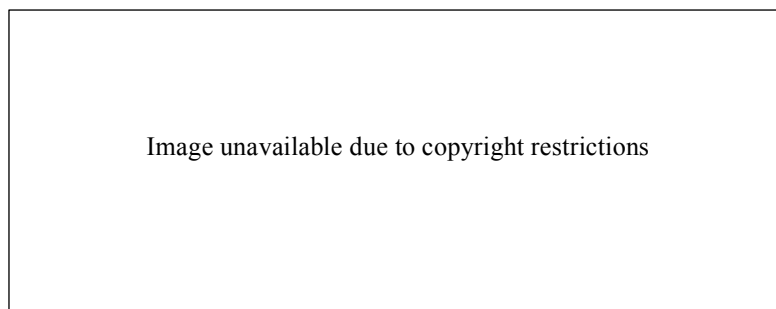



Figure 2.1. Reconstruction of KV 2 with a possible *h3y.t* doorway marked.²³³

Finally, ostraca DeM 1059, recto, is a cryptic text found at Deir el-Medina (Ramesside Period), which discusses a cure or remedy for a man who cannot walk (?).²³⁴ The text states, ‘exalted is the name of the place at this/her  *h3y(.t)* ‘portico.’ Twice according to the instructions of the text, chopped chaff is to be taken. A man who cannot walk: milk of a pregnant woman on the day of birth, the name of the goddess of the seven days of the Sokar festival.²³⁵ The ‘man’ (*si*) refers to a ‘patient’ with an unnamed ailment


²³¹ Lit. ‘the doorway they were stopped (?) in it.’





²³² A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs* (Oxford, 1957), 488.

²³³ Theban Mapping Project, *KV 2 (Ramesses IV)*, viewed 23 May 2017, <http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/sites/browse_tomb_816.html>.

²³⁴ H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, “Ein Mann, der nicht gehen kann” Erste Annäherungen an das Heilritual aus dem Hypogäum von Kapelle 1190 in Deir el-Medineh (Ostr. DeM 1059 und Ostr. Berlin P. 14291)” in Hans-W. Fischer-Elfert & T.S. Richter (eds.) *Religion und Literatur im alten Ägypten: Ein Symposium zu Ehren von Elke Blumenthal* (Leipzig, 2011), 75-106.

²³⁵ *k3 rn <n> s.t r t3y=s h3y<.t> sp sn m dd sh sd.w dh3 n sw.t n mrit sib w sm.t=f irt.t n bk3 hrw ms<w.t> rn n t3 ntr.t n p3 sfh hrw.w n k3 yhr k3*: Fischer-Elfert, “Ein Mann, der nicht gehen kann,” 79.

or disability, and he can apparently be cured using threshed straw and mother's milk.²³⁶ According to Fischer-Elfert, the prescribed application of chopped grain or threshed straw could indicate a dummy of the patient, comparable to the Osiris figurines produced by the Sokar ritual.²³⁷ The term may also be translated as 'ceiling': 'exalted is the name of a place which is above that of its ceiling,' which Fischer-Elfert suggests may mean that the name of the goddess is on the ceiling, perhaps a sky goddess Nut or Neith (the latter is mentioned earlier in the text).²³⁸ It may also, as Fischer-Elfert suggests, refer to a sacred place, a portico or colonnade-hall, where one, among other things, prays for the birth of children.²³⁹ Alternatively, Fischer-Elfert also suggests the following translations, 'exalted is her (Neith) name as that of her ceiling/portico' or 'exalted is her name on her portico.'²⁴⁰ Neith is among other things a warrior goddess 'mistress of the bow...ruler of arrows,' and her symbol is a set of crossed-over arrows,²⁴¹ which may be the feathered protrusions in the  sign.²⁴² In addition, she is also a creation goddess, which makes sense if the milk of a pregnant woman is involved. Two interpretations may be offered for this text: (1) translating 'ceiling,' that this man/patient is literally 'under' the protection of Neith, (2) translating 'portico' (of Neith), and considering the emphasis placed on these constructions in temple architecture (especially in later times, see below), it is possible it referred to a 'portico' constructed in Neith's honour. This may have been a sacred place, where rituals and other magic was sought and performed to heal the ill and disabled.

The *h3y.t* appears to refer to a 'porch/entrance-portico' but also generally to an 'entrance' or 'doorway.' When *h3y.t* refers to a 'portico' or 'porch,' it is often determined using  and , although there are sporadic additional determinatives, such as  (M3) or  (N23). The feminine *-t* as well as the aleph *3* is sometimes omitted. In reference to tomb architecture, the term *h3y.t* appears to represent a columned entrance-hall (Senmut TT71) but can also designate simply an 'entrance' (Senet TT60) or specific 'doorway' (KV2). In temple architecture, it appears to be a 'portico' or 'porch' attached to the exterior of a building or room, such as a columned-hall (Ramesseum) or the temple itself (Karaoma) constructed in honour of a deity (such as Amun-Re, Mut, Neith). The most frequently

²³⁶ Fischer-Elfert, "Ein Mann, der nicht gehen kann," 84-85.


²³⁷ Fischer-Elfert, "Ein Mann, der nicht gehen kann," 85.



²³⁸ Fischer-Elfert, "Ein Mann, der nicht gehen kann," 83.

²³⁹ Fischer-Elfert, "Ein Mann, der nicht gehen kann," 79.

²⁴⁰ Fischer-Elfert, "Ein Mann, der nicht gehen kann," 84.


²⁴¹ G. Hart, *The Routledge Dictionary of Egyptian Gods and Goddesses* (London, 2005), 100.


²⁴² Rather than  which represents moisture falling from the sky: Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 485.



attested determinatives  and  confirm that it is a structure or room, which has a roof or canopy of some sort.

2. 2. 1. 2. ‘h3y.t’ from the Late Period onwards

From the Late Period onwards, the term *h3y.t* is frequently attested, in particular, in temple inscriptions. The term *h3y.t* appears to have designated a stone temple ‘portico’ or ‘kiosk’ constructed in honour of a deity. The texts all describe a similar structure consisting of a number of columns and are mainly made of stone.

1. The commemorative restoration inscription of Shabaka (25th dynasty) is inscribed on the western face of the north tower of the Fourth Pylon of the temple of Amun at Karnak. It records the restoration of this gateway including its porch: ‘[He (= Shabaka) made as a monument for his father,] Amun-Re, the restoration of the great and noble gateway (*sb3*) ‘Powerful of majesty/respect is Amun-Re’ (*Imn.w-Rc.w-shm-šfy.t*) making for it a great protective overlay in fine gold that the majesty of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt...Shabaka (*š3b3k3*)...had brought away in victories that his father, Amun-Re had ordained, and a great  *h(3)y.t* ‘porch’ overlaid in fine gold with two columns worked in electrum and two supporting bases in pure silver ...’²⁴³


2. The autobiographical inscription of Montuemhat (25th dynasty) is inscribed on the walls of a crypt in the temple of Mut at Karnak, details Monutemhat’s benefactions to the gods. On the south wall (twelfth column), the text states, ‘I erected for her (= Mut) a  *h(3)y.t* ‘portico’ with twenty-four columns in good white sandstone, made of festive [...]’²⁴⁴



3. The ‘Dream Stela’ (Cairo JdE 48863) of Tanuatamun (25th dynasty) details, among other things, the building of another ‘portico’ in the temple of Amun of Napata, at Gebel Barkal: ‘His majesty’s heart was elated to make a monument for his father Amun of Napata, and he issued a decree concerning it to Nubia in order to build for him a new  *h(3)y.t* ‘portico’ ... his majesty caused that it be built specifically of stone, overlaid with gold, with its shrine of cedar censed with dry myrrh of Punt, the door-leaves pertaining to it of electrum with hinges of lead. For him he built another  *h(3)y.t*



²⁴³ J. Leclant, “Les Inscriptions ‘Éthiopiennes’ sur la porte du IV^e pylône du grand temple d’Amon à Karnak [Planches 4 et 5]” *RdÉ* 8 (1951), 111-112; Wenté, *Libyan Anarchy*, no. 150, 498ff.; Lepsius *Denkmäler* V, B1. 1,b; J. Yoyotte, “Une porche doré: la porte du IV^e pylône au grand temple de Karnak” *CdÉ* 28 (no.55) (1953), 34ff; K. Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit. Teil III: Die 25. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2009), 5.


²⁴⁴ Wenté *Libyan Anarchy*, 556-564, no. 166; J. Leclant, *Montouemhat, quatrieme prophete d’Amon* (Cairo, 1961), Doc. 44, 25. For the complete text see Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit III*, 201 (l. 6-7).


‘portico’ for the rear exit in order to furnish milk for his numerous herds in the tens of thousands, thousands, hundreds, and tens, with incalculable numbers of calves, all the young mothers.’²⁴⁵

4. On his statue Louvre A88 (26th dynasty) Hor describes the donations he gave to the god Herakleopolis Magna and Horshefi by Hor: ‘[I made] a <portico> (*hnn.t*) in the great forecourt of Horshefi, excellent work that has no equal, the columns are granite, the  *h3y.t* ‘portico’ is of good wood from Lebanon, the many ornaments are gold in imitation of the horizon of the sky, its north and south walls are of beautiful white limestone, the inner thickness (*wm.t*) is made of granite inlaid with gold, and the doors are made of electrum.’²⁴⁶

5. The inscription of Nectanebo I (30th dynasty) describes the construction of various temple structures. At Ashmunein, he constructed a temple for the goddess, Nehmetawy, which states, ‘he made for her a  *h3y.t* ‘portico’ of *bhn*-stone columns in its midst [...] as [...] each one of them with four sistrum faces ...’ Similarly, at the temple of Isis, on Philae, Nectanebo I made for her ‘a  *h3y.t* ‘portico’ anew in beautiful white sandstone surrounded by columns...’²⁴⁷

6. Nectanebo II (late 30th dynasty) constructed a portico with plant-form columns at the front of the temple and one at the rear in the temple of Hibis in the Khargeh Oasis. He describes this structure as follows ‘...a  *h(3y).t* ‘portico’ for all the festivals of his father, Amun-Re’ and ‘a great  *h3y.t* ‘portico’ like the horizon of heaven...’²⁴⁸

7. In the northwest quarter of the Karnak complex is a monumental gate called the ‘Chapel of Thoth’ which is all that remains of a small temple of Thoth that stood there. The dedication inscription on this gate (decorated by Ptolemy IV) states, ‘he made as his monument for his father, Thoth-who-lives-in-Thebes a  *h(3y).t* ‘portico’ made of beautiful limestone for the causeway (?) as a monument of eternity.’²⁴⁹

8. In the time of Philip Arrhidaeus work was completed on the *wcb.t* of the falcon at Athribis, which included the construction of a portico: ‘the great  *h3y(.t)* ‘portico’ beside the first entrance of this *wcb.t* has eight papyriform columns...’²⁵⁰

²⁴⁵ Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften der Spätzeit III*, 238.13-239.1; Wente, *Libyan Anarchy*, 566.


²⁴⁶ J. Vercoutter, “Les statues du général Hor, gouverneur d’Hérakléopolis, de Busiris et d’Héliopolis (Louvre A.88, Alexandrie s.n.) [avec 5 planches]” *BIFAO* 49 (1949), 87-88 (85-114).





²⁴⁷ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 159-160.

²⁴⁸ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 160.

²⁴⁹ M. Dewachter, “A propos de quelques édifices méconnus de Karnak-Nord” *CdÉ* 54 (107) (1979), 8-25.

²⁵⁰ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 160.

9. The demotic papyrus, Papyrus Vindob D.6319 (A) (l.20) (Roman Period), is part of a collection of Wisdom books found in the ‘library’ of the temple at Suchos, in Crocodilopolis in the Fayum. The fragmentary text describes the history of the temple’s construction: ‘...in the  *h(ȝy).t* ‘portico’ ... the temple area...by the side of the pylon ...’²⁵¹

10. During the Graeco-Roman Period, the term could be used for the roof-chapel of the temple of Hathor at Denderah (written: ) and for similar structures situated beside the sacred lakes of the temples.²⁵² The roof chapel at Denderah is very like the 30th dynasty porticoes. There are also Graeco-Roman ‘porticoes/kiosks’ at Esna, Karnak, and Edfu.²⁵³ Finally, there are also three names that include the term *hȝy.t* and translating it as ‘ceiling’ in these contexts seems unlikely: (1) Old Kingdom  *Iw(=i)-m-h(ȝy).t* ‘I am in the portico (?)’,²⁵⁴ (2) New Kingdom  *Iw(=i-m)-hȝy(.t)* ‘I am in the portico (?)’,²⁵⁵ and (3) Ptolemaic Period  *Tȝ-di-hȝy.t* ‘the one whom the porch gave (?)’.²⁵⁶

The inscriptions of Shabaka and Hor suggest that, even during this later period, the *hȝy.t* could still refer to be a relatively small porch consisting of two columns supporting a roof at an entrance (cf. Ramesseum inscription). The statue of Hor is particularly interesting as it describes the construction of a stone colonnade, to which a *hȝy.t* ‘porch’ ‘of good wood from Lebanon’ was attached (fig. 2.2). It appears that a *hȝy.t* was originally a smaller wooden canopy or roofed porch in front of an entrance, but gradually developed into a general term for a more elaborate temple portico of stone.²⁵⁷ The later texts support such an observation. While there are many similarities between these stone ‘porticoes,’ they vary greatly in appearance and size. The *hȝy.t* of Montuemhat consisted of twenty-four columns, which brings to mind a colonnaded hall, the ‘portico’ of Philip Arrhidaeus had eight sistrum-faced columns, while the *hȝy.t* of Shabaka consisted of two supporting pillars only. The construction of stone porticoes or kiosks with columns often set into screen-walls is characteristic for Late Period temple architecture, which suggests that the term’s

²⁵¹ E.A.E. Reymond, *From the Contents of the Libraries of the Suchos Temples in the Fayyum: Part II: From Ancient Egyptian Hermetic Writings* (Wien, 1977), 69, 98.

²⁵² Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 160; Wb. II 476 [6], 476 [7].


²⁵³ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 160.

²⁵⁴ K. Scheele-Schweitzer, *Die Personennames des Alten Reiches: Altägyptische Onomastik unter lexikographischen und sozio-kulturellen Aspekten* (Wiesbaden, 2014), 220 [158].

²⁵⁵ Statue of *Pth-mȝy* (Berlin 2297): G. Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Stadtlichen Museen zu Berlin II* (Leipzig, 1924), 2297.

²⁵⁶ Name of a female musician of Amun-Re: E. Doetsch-Amberger, “Eine Stele der Mwt-jr-dj-s,” *GM* 19 (1976), 23-26.

²⁵⁷ Urk. VIII 52, 63, 152, 237; Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 160.

association with these structures was a new development.²⁵⁸ The design of these structures appears to consist of two or more columns that support a roof located in front of, or in the vicinity of, the entrance (of the temple). According to Spencer, *h3y.t* was firmly established as the name of these columned-porticoes and its use was thus easily extended to be applied to all structures of a similar design, whatever their position in the temple complex.²⁵⁹ This can be observed in the inscriptions of Tanutamun and that of Nectanebo II, which indicate that a *h3y.t* can now be located at the rear of the temple. The roof chapel at Denderah is written using the kiosk determinative  and there is no reason that this should not be designated as a *h3y.t*.²⁶⁰ The earlier and probably simple designs of these porches or porticoes became more elaborate and decorative, but the term *h3y.t* was retained and consistently applied to these temple porticoes and kiosks.²⁶¹







From the Late Period onwards, the determinatives/ideogram ,  (O27),  (O6), and  (O21) are attested, although  and  are still present. The determinatives also reflect that the term developed an association with larger the stone ‘porticoes.’ By this time, the term *h3y.t* was a generic term for the freestanding stone temple ‘portico’ or ‘kiosks’ at the front of the temple, on the roof, or beside the sacred lakes, which often had screen-walls and engaged columns.



Figure 2.2. Plan of the front of the temple based on the description of the statue of Hor (Louvre A88).²⁶²

²⁵⁸ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 159.



²⁵⁹ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 160.












²⁶⁰ See Wb. II 476 [6], 476 [7].

²⁶¹ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 168.













²⁶² Vercoutter, “statues du général Hor, 113 fig. 1.












2. 2. 2. ‘h3y.t’ – in the title-phrase

During the Old Kingdom, the occurrence of the term independent of the title is very rare²⁶³ so one must rely on the orthography of the term within the title-phrase to provide insight into its meaning during this period. The determinatives are quite different from the later writings, both independent of and within the title phrase. The characteristic  is not attested during this time, and neither is . Instead, the signs most often attested are:

-  (Gardiner’s Aa12) – a thin rectangular shape with sharp edges. The following arrangement of signs is attested in the following forms ²⁶⁴, ²⁶⁵ and ²⁶⁶.
-  (N17) – similar to the above, with rounded edges; the arrangement of the signs is similar, ²⁶⁷ and ²⁶⁸. Occasionally, these signs are broader resembling  (N18) (²⁶⁹, ²⁷⁰, ²⁷¹).²⁷²

The determinatives, / are positioned most often before the final *-t* ending.²⁷³

Other determinatives attested are  [20] (N37),  [05] (O39), and  [40] (Z8). The aleph bird is attested only twice in the writing of the term: [46]   and [24]   /  . For the latter, the title is also written without the aleph-bird . In several cases no determinatives are written, [34]  and [46] .

The length and breadth of the determinatives, / (Aa12/N37) and / (N17/N18), varies. For example, the writing for [27] is  is relatively short in length, compared to [03] , and [20] , which is even shorter and a little broader than [19] . For [19], the title is written  and , where the former is shorter in length than the latter. Some of this variability must be due to the medium (monument type). For instance, [05]  is close to O39 but because it is a rock-inscription carving a thinner

²⁶³ It is only found in an Old Kingdom name and tomb inscription of Werkhoo (latter is discussed in Section 4.6.2.2).

²⁶⁴ [03], [17], [21], [23], [04]+[18]+[26] [37]+[44]+[48] (= written twice).

²⁶⁵ [02], [11], [12] [13], [19], [27], [32], [47].

²⁶⁶ [06], [09], [10], [11], [14], [19], [24], [36].

²⁶⁷ [16], [24], [29], [31], [33], [51].

²⁶⁸ [39], [43], [45].



²⁶⁹ [25], [30], [35], [49].

²⁷⁰ [38].























²⁷¹ [41]; N18 is shorter in length than usual.











²⁷² [50] is too damaged, and could be either Aa12 or N17.

²⁷³ Also observed by H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies III: Varia Nova* (New York, 1996), 228.

rectangle may have been too difficult. Similarly, [14]  was written on papyrus, on which it is easier to write a thin line. It must also be noted, however, that in many cases, when no photograph was available, it has been necessary to rely on copies and line drawings. Fischer likewise noted that publications tend to make the edges of these determinatives rounded, but that is likely not what was intended.²⁷⁴ Therefore, they are all likely meant to represent .

There are also some unusual writings and determinatives attested during the Old Kingdom.

- [15]  – Gardiner’s N35 , instead of Aa12 , is used. This may have been an error on the part of the scribe.
- [28]  – the determinative M3  perhaps denotes an attribute of the structure; that it was made of wood?
- [22]  – the sign is drawn as , which may be a corrupted or poorly written *h*  so that  was intended (?).
- [42]  – the determinative used in this instance is likely to be Aa20  (see below).
- [08]  – drawn by Edel as , either intended to represent  (N1), or close to this but, not quite.
- [52]  – this example using  (N23) dates to the First Intermediate Period. This same determinative is used in Ostrakon Cairo 25, 269, where       *h3y(.t)* refers to the ‘doorway’ of the first corridor of KV 2.²⁷⁵

During the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, the sign  is regularly used as determinative or ideogram for *h3y.t*: ²⁷⁶, ²⁷⁷, ²⁷⁸, ²⁷⁹, ²⁸⁰ and ²⁸¹. During this time,  is also frequently used as a determinative, ²⁸², ²⁸³ and

²⁷⁴ Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 228-229.

²⁷⁵ Carter and Gardiner, “Tomb of Ramesses IV,” 134-145.

²⁷⁶ [99].


²⁷⁷ [57].

²⁷⁸ [150].

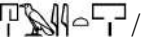


















²⁷⁹ [64], [154].



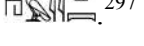


²⁸⁰ [80].

²⁸¹ [62], [82], [80], [113].



²⁸² [115] (e.g. .

²⁸³ [94].

.²⁸⁴ In one case, the term is determined with O27 .²⁸⁵ The determinatives / are still occasionally attested, in all writings of the title in pBoulaq 18  (perhaps due to the medium)²⁸⁶ as well as the problematic case of [121] .²⁸⁷ In the rock-inscription of *K3y* [159] at Wadi Hammamat the term is written  – similar to [05] – using a short and broad sign like  (O39). However, the majority of attestations simply write *h3y.t* using  as an ideogram; .²⁸⁸ In some instances, the feet of the *sms.w*-figure touch : .²⁸⁹ and .²⁹⁰ These examples all date to the 13th dynasty. In some cases, no determinative is used ,²⁹¹ ,²⁹² ,²⁹³ and .²⁹⁴ For the latter, the *r* was probably a mistake for / (?).



During the New Kingdom, the term *h3y.t* in the title-phrase is written similarly to those dating to the Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period. The term *h3y.t* is sometimes written with  as an ideogram²⁹⁵ or determinative, .²⁹⁶ and .²⁹⁷ In two instances, no determinative is used, .²⁹⁸ and .²⁹⁹ In the tomb of *Nfr-rnp.t*, it is written in the

²⁸⁴ [103], [137].

²⁸⁵ [122]. Cf. *Teaching of Amenemhat I*,  *h3.wt* ‘ceilings’ of lapis lazuli (Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I*, 137), though Simpson translates it as ‘portals’ (*Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 170). Cf. Ostrakon Cairo 25, 269  *h3y(t)* ‘doorway’ of the first corridor of KV 2 (Carter and Gardiner, “Tomb of Ramesses IV,” 134-135).

²⁸⁶ [59], [67], [73], [76], [81], [89], [102], [109], [110], [133], [139], [153], [165] (pBoulaq 18) and [64] (pBrooklyn 35.1446).

²⁸⁷ *Hnsw-htp* [121] is attested on the doorjamb (Cairo JdE 91218) of the 6th dynasty official, Pepy-nakht, though the names and titles of the subsidiary figures, such as *Hnsw-htp* were added later sometime during the Middle Kingdom: W.K. Simpson, *Inscribed Material from the Pennsylvania-Yale Excavations at Abydos*, (New Haven, 1995), 5, Fig. 4, pls 2-3. See also Section 5.2.4.

²⁸⁸ [53] () , [54], [58], [61], [63], [65], [66], [74], [79], [86] () , [101], [92], [93], [94], [95], [96], [97], [98], [100], [104], [105], [107], [108], [111], [112], [114], [115], [117], [118], [109], [120], [125], [126], [127], [134], [135], [136], [138], [140], [142], [143], [144], [145], [146], [153], [156], [157], [163], [167], [168]. Scarabs: [56], [60], [71], [69], [72], [75], [77], [78], [85], [83], [87], [91], [119], [124], [128], [129], [130], [141], [149], [151], [155], [161], [162], [166].

²⁸⁹ [53], [58], [101], [104], [105], [112], [114], [118], [120], [140], [144], [147], [149], [163], [166].

²⁹⁰ [63], [72], [79], [95], [97], [126], [128], [134], [135], [138], [149], [167], [168].

²⁹¹ [68], [88], [116].

²⁹² [55].

²⁹³ [70], [123].

²⁹⁴ [90].






²⁹⁵ [170], [171], [173].


















²⁹⁶ [176].

²⁹⁷ [169].

²⁹⁸ [174].

²⁹⁹ [175].

manner of the Old Kingdom, , with  Aa12.³⁰⁰ In this same tomb, *h³y.t* in the title is also written   , indicating that different writings are attested in the same context.³⁰¹

The meaning of the Old Kingdom determinatives, , , , and occasionally  or , has been difficult to identify. Gardiner interprets  as a log, / as a stone roof-beam, while  hints at a wooden roof.³⁰² Based on this, Gardiner argues that a *h³y.t* was a ‘roofed structure, a portico or the like.’³⁰³ To Gardiner, these determinative reflect the *material* from which the structure was constructed. In contrast, Fischer asserts that these determinatives reflect an *attribute* of the official, not the structure. He also doubts that a communal or public hall would have had stone beams, and the latter would be more regularly represented by the shorter O39  ‘stone’ than .³⁰⁴ Thus, Fischer argues that determinative variants of the title suggest that / was a ‘baton’ or ‘short stick.’³⁰⁵ This is supported by the determinative  (Aa20) [41], which Fischer identifies as an elongated bag used, among other things, to store sticks and staves (see fig. 2.3).³⁰⁶ Fischer further supports his hypothesis by noting that the stick in  (A25) is sometimes replaced by  in Old Kingdom inscriptions. Since the former, and  (D40), do not appear as a determinative in titles during this time, the ‘stick’ alone would necessarily have sufficed, if it was to be introduced at all.³⁰⁷ These ‘batons’ are often used in punishments scenes to carry out justice (see fig. 2.3), and since Fischer assumes that the title was ‘judicial in character’ this would be an appropriate determinative.³⁰⁸

³⁰⁰ [172].

³⁰¹ [174].

³⁰² Gardiner, *AEO* I, 61*.

³⁰³ Gardiner, *AEO* I, 61*.

³⁰⁴ Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 232 fn 446.

³⁰⁵ Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 229.

³⁰⁶ Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 229-230.

³⁰⁷ Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 230.

³⁰⁸ Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 229-230.

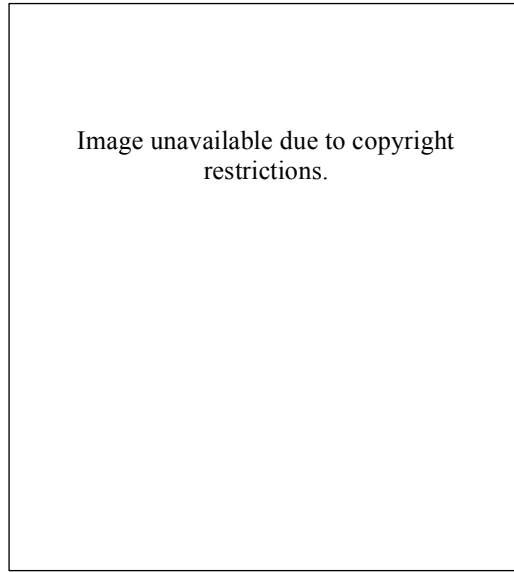












Figure 2.3. Punishment scene with elongated staves bag (left) from the mastaba of *Ty* (Saqqara).³⁰⁹

While Fischer's theory is plausible, his ideas rest on the notion that this position is a judicial title, which is by no means certain. Additionally, he assumes that the determinatives comment on the *function* of the title, on the person not the structure itself. This argument is also based on just one variant, which is not regularly associated with the term *h3y.t* or the title. Gardiner's theory has perhaps more merit in the sense that it comments on the word *h3y.t* and not the title as a whole, although it is not completely convincing. Spencer similarly noted that the most important aspect of this structure must have been that it was covered by a ceiling or roof, hence  is used.³¹⁰ However, this must have been a distinctive roof for the structure to be have been so closely associated with it.

The term *rw.t* 'entrance' and 'portico' is similarly denoted with the  determinative during the Middle Kingdom, while during the Old Kingdom, the term regularly appears with the determinatives, ,  and .³¹¹ The determinative  may denote some kind of a roofed structure (pictured in front view), and  is a more definite representation of a doorway, or similar structure.³¹² It may be compared with  (Gardiner's O27) *h3* in which  represents the roofed hall and  the columns inside the hall.³¹³ These






³⁰⁹ Fischer, *Varia Nova*, fig. 35.

















³¹⁰ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 169.


³¹¹ Wb. II 404.1-10; FCD 147; Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 202; Van den Boorn, "Wd^c-ryt and Justice," 5.

³¹² Van den Boorn, "Wd^c-ryt and Justice," 6.

³¹³ Van den Boorn, "Wd^c-ryt and Justice," 6.

determinatives may thus reflect some of the extended meanings for *rw.t*.³¹⁴ According to Van den Boorn,  appears to be used as a stylised “abbreviation” for the determinatives  and .³¹⁵ Similarly,  in the term *h3y.t* may also represent a stylised way to denote a ‘porch.’ For both terms there is a shift in meaning from a ‘nuclear’ to an ‘extended’ meaning, for *h3y.t* ‘ceiling’ widened into ‘porch’ and *rw.t* ‘doorway’ widened into ‘portico’ as well.³¹⁶ This supports the notion that there was one term whose original meaning was extended, and that portico/porch-like structures are often designated with  (as is observed by *h3y.t* and *rw.t*).

The determinative  was probably adopted for the title-phrase sometime during the late Old Kingdom but definitely by the early Middle Kingdom. It is also at this time that  was introduced. The autobiography of *Isi* [08] uses the sign  (drawn by Edel),³¹⁷ which is perhaps an early version of , and represents a transitional phase. The determinatives/ideograms may thus reflect the following progression:  →  → . It is possible that the determinatives // may similarly have been an abstract way to designate a ‘porch’ or ‘portico’ in the Old Kingdom. Alternatively, the variability of //, in terms of length, breadth, and rounded versus sharp edges, may suggest that it was the general sense of a boundary that was intended. These determinatives bear a resemblance to the determinative/ideogram for  *t3* ‘land.’ It is possible that they represent a threshold, boundary or limit, indicating the position of this structure in the liminal space between the ‘outer’ and ‘inner’ environments. The examples in Section 2.2.1 show that this structure was located in-between two spaces, and that occasionally it generally referred to an ‘entrance’ or ‘doorway.’ This would also explain the sporadic use of  (N23) for the term. In fact, the ‘sky’ or ‘heavens’ was one of the most important mythological liminal boundaries, which may explain why  was adopted for the title-phrase.


Finally, the Early Dynastic stela of *Hr-k3* [01] from Abydos is the only, very tentative, example of this title attested prior to the Old Kingdom; it is very tentative because the writing is unusual (fig. 2.4). The first element, *sms.w* is relatively misshapen, although the ‘baton’ like staff may have been intended to represent the long official’s staff of . The second element, *h3y.t*, is also unusual, written with the *-t* before the *h*, and without a

³¹⁴ Van den Boorn, “Wd^c-ryt and Justice,” 6.

³¹⁵ Van den Boorn, “Wd^c-ryt and Justice,” 6.

³¹⁶ Van den Boorn, “Wd^c-ryt and Justice,” 6 fn. 21.

³¹⁷ Photograph was unavailable.

determinative, as is found in Old Kingdom attestations, such as . The unusual orthography may be due to the inconsistency and early stage of development of the script at the time, although this cannot be said beyond any doubt.

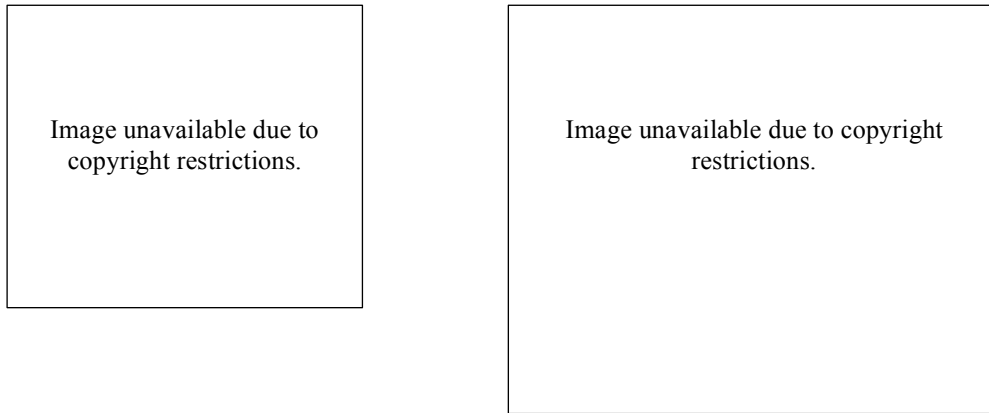




Figure 2.4. Early Dynastic stela of *Hr-k3* from the royal cemetery at Abydos.³¹⁸

2. 3. The ‘porch’ of Thutmose IV and Shabaka

The commemorative restoration inscription of Shabaka (25th dynasty) (see Section 2.2.1.2) describes the porch that abuts the gateway of the Fourth Pylon at the Amun temple in Karnak, ‘a great  *h3y.t* ‘porch’ overlaid in fine gold with two columns worked in electrum and two supporting bases in pure silver ...’³¹⁹ This ‘porch’ was first constructed at this particular gateway under Thutmose IV (18th dynasty) when the Fourth Pylon was still the main entrance of the temple of Amun. This ‘porch’ (*h3y.t*) is discussed in detail by Leclant (1951) and Yoyotte (1953) who identify the ‘porch’ in Shabaka’s inscription as the porch of Thutmose IV. The latter is also depicted in three reliefs:

1. The tomb of Amenhotep-sa-si (*Imn-htp-s3-si*) (TT 75) dates to the reign of Thutmose IV, under whom he was second priest of Amun.³²⁰ On the east side of the south wall of the transverse hall, Amenhotep is depicted displaying his royal gifts from the king to Amun.³²¹ This includes a representation of a doorway captioned *sb3 3 n dcmw*  *Imn-shm-šfyt* ‘the

³¹⁸ G.T. Martin, *Umm El-Qaab VII: Private Stelae of the Early Dynastic Period from the Royal Cemetery at Abydos* (Wiesbaden, 2011), 181, pl. 68.

³¹⁹ Leclant, “inscriptions ‘Éthiopiennes’”, 111-112; Yoyotte, “porche doré,” 34ff; LD V B1. 1b; Wente, *Libyan Anarchy*, no. 150, 498ff.

³²⁰ N. de Garis-Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Thutmosis IV (nos. 75 and 90)* (London, 1923), 4.

³²¹ Davies, *Tombs of Two Officials*, 14, pl. XII.

great doorway of fine gold of King NN ‘powerful of majesty/respect is Amun.’³²² The depiction (fig. 2.5) of the gateway shows an entrance flanked by two columns that support a roof.³²³

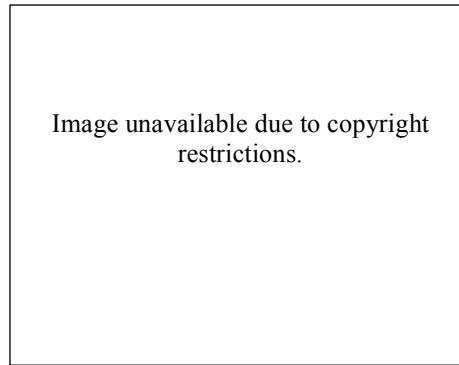


Figure 2.5. Depiction of the Fourth Pylon doorway of Thutmose IV from the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49).³²⁴

2. Karnak block relief (H. 1.3 m. W. 65 cm.) portrays a nearly identical image of the structure depicted in TT75 (fig. 2.6).³²⁵ Yoyotte reconstructs the inscription as *n Imn nb ns.wt t3.wy* [...] *hrp mnw n dcmw* ‘...for Amun, lord of thrones and the Two Lands, [...] create a monument of fine gold...’³²⁶

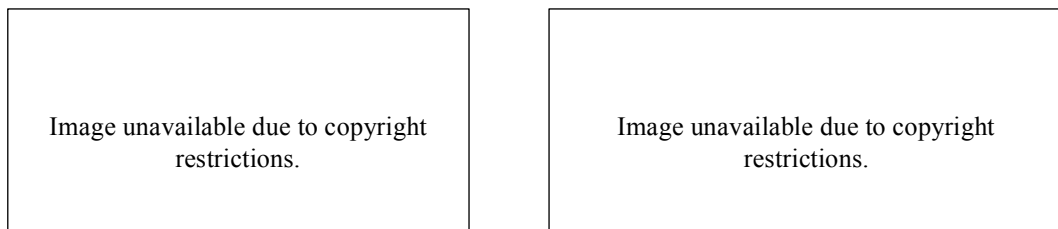


Figure 2.6. Photograph and line drawing of the Fourth Pylon doorway on the Karnak block relief.³²⁷

³²² Thutmose IV did not complete much construction work in the temple, and not being able to change the name of the door nor willing to insert any other royal name, the artist left the cartouche empty: Davies, *Two Tombs of Officials*, 14.

³²³ Due to the lack of perspective in Egyptian art, it is unclear whether these columns should be imagined in front or behind the entrance, but since only two are present the former is more likely.

³²⁴ Davies, *Two Tombs of Officials*, p. XII; Yoyotte, “porche doré,” fig. 7.

³²⁵ Leclant, “inscriptions ‘Éthiopiennes,’” 113, fig. 6, 8.

³²⁶ Yoyotte, “porch doré,” 29.

³²⁷ Yoyotte, “porche doré,” fig. 6, 8.

3. The tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49), dated to the reign of Tutankhamun/Ay/Horemheb, is well-known for its reliefs of the Karnak temple complex.³²⁸ It is generally assumed that the temple depicted in the tomb is that of Amun. It depicts a side-view of a porch located between the Third and Fourth Pylons (fig. 2.7).³²⁹ The profile of the Third Pylon can be seen on the left, and the Fourth on the right, with the sanctuary of the temple on the far right behind the Fourth Pylon.³³⁰ Between the pylons is a courtyard with the obelisk standing of Thutmose I, and a column supporting the curved roof of the porch attached to the Fourth Pylon; this is highly likely to be the porch of Thutmose IV.³³¹

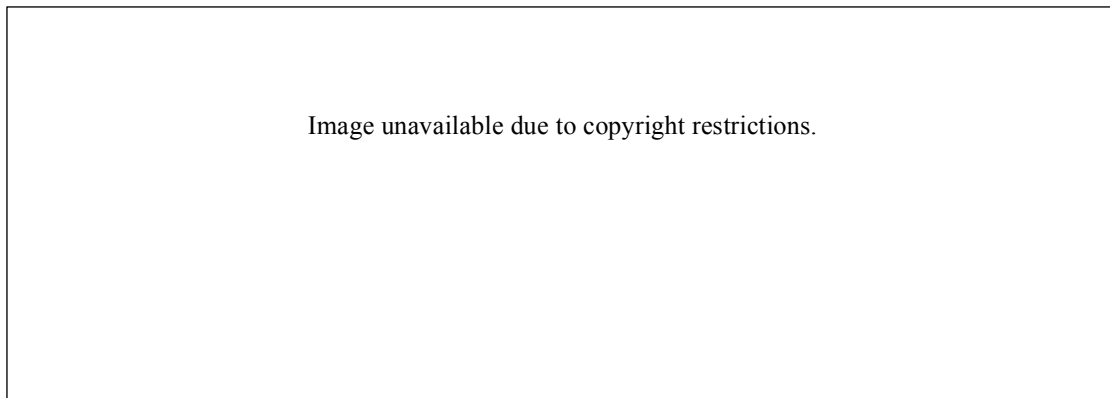


Figure 2.7. Side-view representation of the temple of Amun at Karnak with the porch of Thutmose IV (middle) from the tomb of Neferhotep (TT49).³³²

The first two representations are from the reign of Thutmose IV while the third is a post-Amarna depiction yet the appearance of the porch does not seem to have altered at all. This depiction shows that its roof of this porch was probably made of wood, not stone, as it curves towards the doorway. Whether, the porch of Shabaka looked exactly like these examples is uncertain, although the inscription does describe it as having ‘two columns worked in electrum and two supporting bases in pure silver,’ which matches the depictions. Yoyotte argues that this porch attached to the Fourth Pylon was made of wood, which would account for the lack of archaeological remains.³³³ Leclant and Yoyotte noted that a granite columns base (1.8 m in diameter) is preserved at the right side of the southern end of the Fourth Pylon. It is notched to fit the base of Thutmose I’s obelisk in the southeast corner (fig. 2.8) and could have been the base on which one of the porch’s supporting

³²⁸ N. de Garis-Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes* (New York, 1933), pl. III.

³²⁹ Leclant, “inscriptions ‘Éthiopiennes,’” fig. 10.

³³⁰ F. Larché and C. van Siclen, “The Chapel of Amenhotep II embedded between obelisks of Thutmosis I,” *Cahiers de Karnak* (2010), 301.

³³¹ Larché and van Siclen, “Chapel of Amenhotep II,” 301.

³³² Davies, *Tomb of Neferhotep*, pl. III.

³³³ Yoyotte, “porche doré,” 29.

columns stood.³³⁴ Mud-brick structures were also found where Thutmose IV's porch once stood and new foundations for the pillars are thought to have been constructed some time during the Ramesside Period.³³⁵ Does this indicate that a porch was still there at this time?

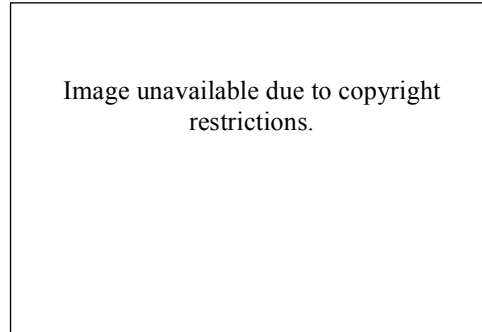


Figure 2.8. Diagram showing the approach to Fourth Pylon in the Amun temple at Karnak.³³⁶

The porch may even have existed prior to Thutmose IV, perhaps even when Thutmose I first built the Fourth Pylon, although this cannot be said with certainty. It appears that the porch remained until the late 18th dynasty (see Neferhotep scene), even though the main entrance of the temple was no longer at the Fourth Pylon. During the 25th dynasty, it was restored by Shabaka, further witness to its importance in the temple landscape.

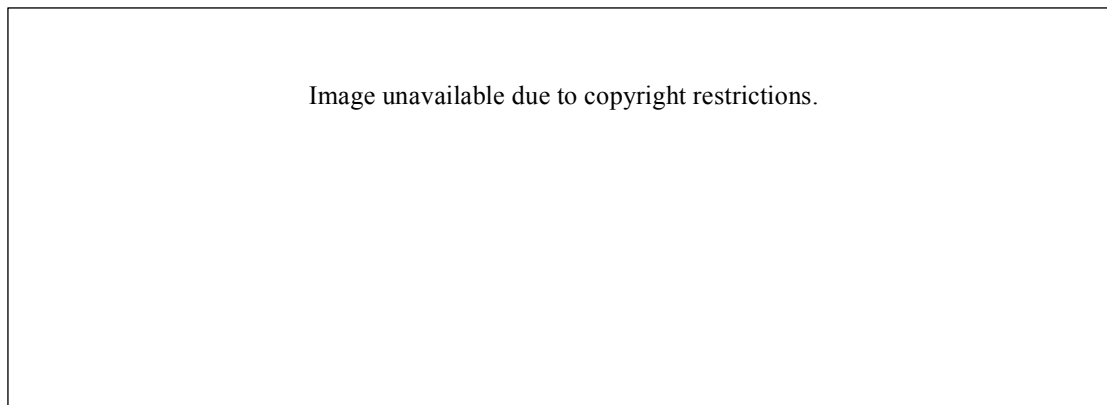
Structures similar in appearance are also attested, even though no name for them is specified. The tomb of Mahu in Amarna depicts Mahu and the vizier situated in front of the palace complex (fig. 2.9a). The attached porch is nearly identical to the one portrayed in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT49) (fig. 2.9b-c). Another porch is depicted in the tomb of Neferhotep attached to the palace exterior, in front of the Window of Appearance, which is very similar to the temple porch. (fig. 2.10).³³⁷

³³⁴ Yoyotte, "porche doré," 30, fig. 9; Leclant, "inscriptions 'Éthiopiennes,'" 103, fig. 2.

³³⁵ A. Masson & M. Millet, "Sondage sur le parvis nord du IV^e pylone," *Cahiers de Karnak XII 2007 facsimile 2*, 666-667.

³³⁶ Yoyotte, "porche doré," fig. 9.

³³⁷ R. Lepsius, *Königliche Museen Abtheilung der Aegyptischen Alterthümer: Die Wandgemälde* (Berlin, 1882), pl. X.



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 2.9. (a) Mahu brings prisoners to the vizier in front of the palace from the tomb of Mahu at Amarna, (b) temple porch of Thutmose IV from TT 49 (c) palace porch of Amarna palace from the tomb of Mahu.³³⁸

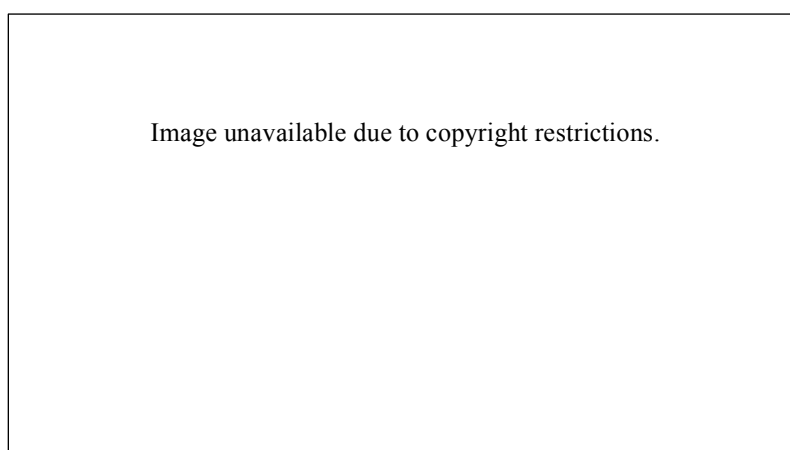
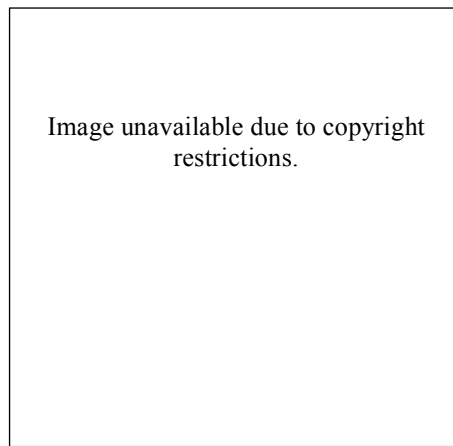


Figure 2.10. King Ay (?) receiving the harem in front of the palace (Window of Appearance) from the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49).³³⁹

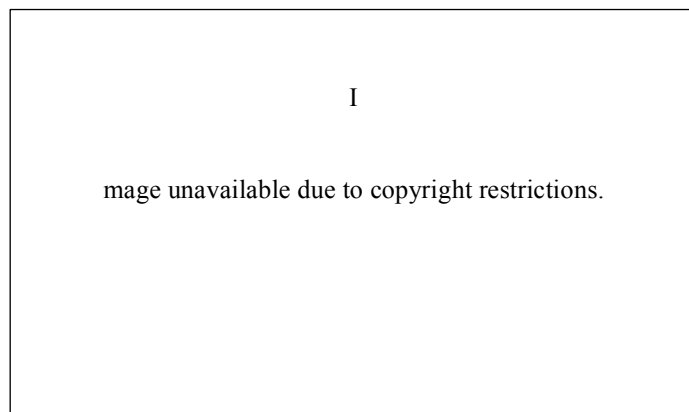
³³⁸ (a), (c) N. de Garis-Davies, *The rock tombs of el-Amarna: Part IV. – Tombs of Pentu, Mahu, and others* (London, 1906), pl. XXVI; (b) Davies, *Tomb of Neferhotep*, III.

³³⁹ Davies, *Tomb of Neferhotep*, pl. XIV.

The ‘Window of Appearance’ was the location where the king would hold audiences with senior officials as well as official ceremonies. The king is depicted interacting with his courtiers as well as bestowing the ‘gold of honour’ (fig. 2.11a-b).³⁴⁰ This takes place underneath two columns supported by a roof.



(a)



(b)

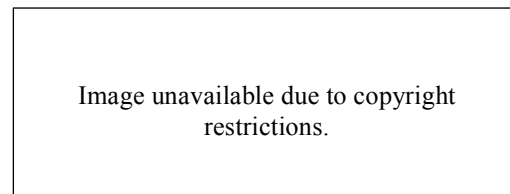
Figure 2.11. (a) Horemheb(?) and (b) Akhenaten at the Window of Appearance receiving courtiers and rewarding Neferhotep and Panehesy (respectively).³⁴¹

Similar porch-like structures also appear in the daily life of officials as they carry out their duties. Two scribes are seated holding a stylus and palette, beneath a three columned structure, recording the work being done in front of them (fig. 2.12a). Similarly, a wooden model (inv. 6080) from the tomb of Meketre (TT 280, 11th dynasty) (fig. 2.12b) shows several men seated and standing counting the cattle as they are herded by. All these

³⁴⁰ For an examination on the ‘gold of honour’ see S. Binder, *The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt* (Oxford, 2008).

³⁴¹ (a) Davies, *Tomb of Nefer-hotep*, pl. I; (b) C. Tietze, *Amarna: Lebensräume – Lebensbilder – Weltbilder* (Potsdam, 2008), 210 fig. 12.

structures are very similar to the depictions of the porch of Thutmose IV as well as the descriptions of a *h3y.t*; a porch with two or more columns supporting a roof or canopy. The *sms.w h3y.t* may then have been an official attached or literally situated ‘under’ such a structure.



(a)



(b)

Figure 2.12. (a) Relief: scribes at work, (b) 11th dynasty model of officials counting cattle from the tomb of Meketre (TT 280).³⁴²

The terms *h3y.t* and *rw.t* are synonyms in the metaphorical sense (see Section 2.2.2), in that they can designate similar looking structures. In the Shabaka inscription, the word *h3y.t* is used to designate the porch attached to the Fourth Pylon, because at this time this was the most regularly used word for the porticoes and kiosk-like structures erected in front of the temple gates.³⁴³ During the New Kingdom, however, this same ‘porch’ or ‘gateway’ is referred to by two different terms. In the tomb of Amenhotep-sa-si (TT 75) the gateway of the Fourth Pylon was designated *sb3*, simply ‘doorway.’ In fact, many doorways in New Kingdom temple inscriptions are called *sb3*; monumental pylons and smaller doorways alike.³⁴⁴ A relief-block of Thutmose IV from Karnak (fill from the Third Pylon), also alludes to this same entrance of the Fourth Pylon referring to the *sb3 3 Imn.w-shm-šfy.t*

³⁴² (a) R. Lepsius, *Königliche Museen Abtheilung der Aegyptischen Alttenthümer: Die Wangemälde* (Berlin, 1882), pl. X. (b) J.-P. Corteggiani, *Das Ägypten der Pharaonen – Museum Kairo* (Nottbeck, 1979), 78-79 no. 29.

³⁴³ Van den Boorn, “Wdꜥ-ryt and Justice,” 11.

³⁴⁴ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 208.

...*sbh.t m nbw ʕ3.t-ʕš3.wt* ‘the great door (called) ‘powerful of majesty/respect is Amun’...the ‘portico’ in gold and many precious stones.’³⁴⁵ *Sbh.t* is another term usually rendered ‘portico’ attested in texts from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period.³⁴⁶ A *sbh.t* referred to a screen-walled portico protecting an important entrance, enclosing the door and protecting it.³⁴⁷ Evidently, during the 18th dynasty, this same ‘porch’ is referred to as *sb3* and *sbh.t*. Although a *sbh.t*, like a *h3y.t*, was a porch in front of the temple entrance, its physical appearance was quite different.³⁴⁸ A *sbh.t* was a more solid construction with stone-built walls designed to provide both physical and spiritual protection to the only means of access to a sacred area.³⁴⁹ The shape and appearance of this porch – referred to as *sb3*, *sbh.t*, *h3y.t* – are clearly similar, if not the same. It is probably the case that different names were used even in the same periods to designate essentially the same gates and porticoes.³⁵⁰ From the aforementioned structures that look similar in appearance to the temple porch depicted in Neferhotep’s tomb, which is later designated *h3y.t* by Shabaka, it is clear that such structures/porches could be designated by any of these terms. The terms *rw.t*, *sb3* and *sbh.t* are used more regularly than *h3y.t*, which may be indicative of a more specific context for the latter, of which limited evidence survives. The *h3y.t* was likely a structure that matched these architectural designs, alongside other terms such as *rw.t*.

2. 4. Final observations and summary

This title *sms.w h3y.t* is most frequently translated as ‘elder of the portal,’ which is too vague and non-specific; essentially void semantically. There is no consistent translation used by scholars, and the following translations are observed:

- ‘Ältester des Eingangsportal’ (‘elder of the entrance portal’),³⁵¹
- ‘Elder of the portal,’³⁵²
- ‘Elder of the ‘judicial’ court’ and ‘elder of the hall,’³⁵³

³⁴⁵ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 165-166.

³⁴⁶ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 162.

³⁴⁷ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 163, 168. This noun is derived from the verb *sbh* ‘to enclose,’ which renders *sbh.t* as a structure that encloses something. The term *sbh.t* often occurs mainly in mythological and religious texts as the doors or gates through which the deceased had to pass before he could reach the afterlife. It referred not to the door but the space created by the screen walls in front of the entrance, in which the ‘guardian’ of the portico would sit: Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 162-164.

³⁴⁸ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 168.

³⁴⁹ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 168-169.

³⁵⁰ Alternatively, it is possible the inscriptions referred to different architectural elements of that gateway.



³⁵¹ Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 768.

³⁵² Ward, *Index*, 1309.

- ‘Ältester des Halle’ (‘elder of the hall’),³⁵⁴
- ‘Elder of the portal’ or ‘forecourt.’³⁵⁵

All of these translations have different connotations and suggest different things about the title. A portico is defined as a structure ‘consisting of columns at regular intervals supporting a roof’ often attached to the exterior of a building (like a porch).³⁵⁶ It can, however, also enclose a courtyard, like a peristyle court or colonnade, so specifying it as an ‘entrance-portico’ is important. Similarly, a porch is ‘an exterior structure forming a covered approach to the entrance of a building.’³⁵⁷ The two former terms match the description and depictions of the ancient term most accurately.³⁵⁸ Based on a study of the term *sms.w* and *h3y.t*, the title phrase is best translated as ‘distinguished one’ or ‘elder of the porch’ or ‘entrance-portico.’ Moreover, this again raises the issue of how titles should be translated, literally or perhaps taking into account the function of the title, which may be more abstract and not in keeping with the literal meaning of the term.

A noticeable trend is observed in the development of the title-phrase compared to the term on its own. The title phrase, and thus the position itself, is frequently attested from the Old Kingdom to the end of the Second Intermediate Period and then decreases in use in the New Kingdom and later times. On the other hand, the term *h3y.t* independent of the title is very rare before the New Kingdom but increases in frequency through the Late Period and into the Ptolemaic Period. This trend will be further discussed in Chapters Six and Seven.

The term originally referred to ‘ceiling’ before it was extended to include ‘porch’ or ‘entrance-portico,’ and perhaps also (as the New Kingdom examples indicate) generally ‘doorway/entrance.’ The widening in meaning of *h3y.t* as ‘porch’ is visible in the sources from the Middle Kingdom onwards, as determined by Spencer. It is difficult to determine whether, during the Old Kingdom, the term also meant ‘porch’ rather than a more generic ‘entrance’ or ‘ceiling’ as suggested by the determinatives. During the Old Kingdom, the determinative  (threshold?) denoted *h3y.t* in the title-phrase while  (porch) did not become associated with this word (in the title) until the early Middle Kingdom. It is

³⁵³ Jones, *Index*, II 3313-3317.






³⁵⁴ Wb. II 476.8-11.

³⁵⁵ Gardiner, *AEO*, 60*.

³⁵⁶ Oxford English Dictionary (online) ‘portico.’

³⁵⁷ Oxford English Dictionary (online) ‘porch.’

³⁵⁸ In contrast, a hall is a large room used for receptions, meetings, banquets and other events, roofed space for communal use. An entrance-hall or fore-hall point to such a rooms position at the front of a building, while a ‘hall’ may be anywhere within a building.

possible the physical design of the structure was not important but rather its location at the front of a building, in the liminal environment. However, it is more likely that the change in determinatives/ideograms from  to  simply represented a different way to designate the same concept or meaning (as it did with the term *rw.t*). The Old Kingdom determinatives, therefore, may similarly have designated ‘porch’ in an abstract way and that despite its scarceness, even in the Old Kingdom, the term *h3y.t* denoted ‘porch’ as well as ‘ceiling.’ In fact, where was the official situated if the meaning ‘porch’ is a latter attribution? Therefore, based on a study of all the data, the *h3y.t* was a small possibly wooden porch in front of an entrance to a significant space (in the temple, palace, tomb, etc.) consisting of two or more columns supporting a roof. During the New Kingdom, it appears this term could also refer generally to an ‘entrance’ or ‘doorway.’ Gradually, from the Third Intermediate Period onwards, *h3y.t* developed into a general term for stone ‘portico’ – conveyed by the later determinatives such as that of ‘kiosk’ , , and  – not seen prior to the Late Period and never for the title-phrase. The term is primarily encountered in a temple context but since it is a generic architectural term, there is no reason why this structure should not have (initially?) appeared in palace architecture (which is poorly preserved).

Based on the orthography of the title-phrase and the term *h3y.t* independent thereof, the ‘elder of the entrance-portico’ was likely attached to this structure (possibly literally seated within it), located at a liminal point within the temple/palace building. It is clear that the term *h3y.t* was a general architectural term for ‘porch’ or ‘entrance-portico’ in the palace or temple, though the term in the title-phrase likely refers to a *specific*, not *general*, structure. The construction and the official associated with it, the *sms.w h3y.t*, was situated in the palace complex, so the *h3y.t* ‘porch’ must have had a counterpart in palace architecture, and from Mahu it is evident that such a porch is associated with palace architecture. The following chapter will look at the placement and function of this ‘porch’ and the official associated with it in this setting.

Chapter Three:

The ancient Egyptian palace and the concept of ‘liminality’

This chapter aims to provide a background and discussion of two key attributes of the *sms.w h3y.t* observed from prior research – its association with the Residence/palace and the liminal environment. Therefore, this chapter looks at what can be reconstructed of the palace interior and its officials and situate the *sms.w h3y.t* and the ‘porch’ in this setting. The ‘porch’ is central feature of this office and closely connected with the official, and thus its role in the liminal milieu is also investigated. This chapter also provides a solid context for later discussion of the title.

3. 1. The ancient Egyptian Residence/palace: an introduction

A ‘palace’ is the ‘official’ living place of the ruler and his family. The palace in each culture has its own particular features and characteristics and ancient Egypt is no exception. The nature of the ancient Egyptian palace, however, remains rather enigmatic and poorly understood. The textual and archaeological evidence is fragmentary and often vague about life in the palace, its administration, internal organisation, personnel, design/architecture, etc. While the ‘palace’ as both an institution and structure is attested as early as the Early Dynastic Period, it is not until the New Kingdom that the archaeological remains are comparatively more substantial and prevalent, and the texts are more specific and explicit, allowing for a greater degree of interpretation and understanding.³⁵⁹ Very little survives from the Middle Kingdom, and no palace of the Old Kingdom has been found to date.

While each Egyptian ruler may have had several palaces or residences across the country, there was only one palace or, rather, locality known as the ‘Residence’ (designated *hnw*) at any one time.³⁶⁰ The ‘Residence’ was, essentially, the principal living place of the reigning

³⁵⁹ D. O’Connor, “Beloved of Maat, the Horizon of Re: the Royal Palace in New Kingdom Egypt” in D. O’Connor and D.P. Silverman (eds) *Ancient Egyptian Kingship* (Leiden, 1995), 269.

³⁶⁰ S. Quirke, “The Residence in Relations between Places of Knowledge, Production and Power: Middle Kingdom Evidence,” in R. Gundlach and J.H. Taylor, *4th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology: Egyptian Royal Residences, London, June 1st - 5th 2004* (Wiesbaden, 2009), 111; K. Spence, “Court and palace in ancient Egypt: the Amarna period and later Eighteenth Dynasty,” in A.J.S. Spawforth (ed) *The Court and Court Society in Ancient Monarchies* (Cambridge, 2007), 302; O’Connor, “Royal Palace in New Kingdom Egypt,” 270. The term *hnw* ‘residence’ is derived from the word’s basic meaning ‘interior, inside’: Wb. III 369.16-370.14; FCD 202; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 684. According to Goelet, this may be due to the fact that the ‘residence’ of the king would be a well-protected structure in the innermost part of the

king. However, the term ‘Residence’ did not only encapsulate the living place for the king and the royal family, it was also the centre of government and the primary seat of kingship.³⁶¹ The ‘Residence’ was probably a small ‘city’ and not one large building complex. It was likely an enclosed area or ‘district’ of sprawling administrative offices of various institutions, granaries, treasuries, workshops, temples, storerooms, assorted residential areas, etc.³⁶² The Residence incorporated within it an administrative organisation that managed from one central location both the king’s personal affairs and those concerned with the broader state.³⁶³ This central (or state) administration was responsible for providing provisions, supplies, and commodities for the Residence; for the king, royal family, palace personnel, and state officials (fig. 1.1b).³⁶⁴ The ‘Residence’ should be distinguished in the scholarship from ‘palace’ (where possible), as there were several palaces in use at one time,³⁶⁵ while the ‘Residence’ was used specifically for the category of a unique place of kingship.³⁶⁶

complex of buildings or a town: O. Goelet, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace in the Egyptian Old Kingdom*, PhD Dissertation (New York, 1982), 3-4.

³⁶¹ Goelet, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace*, 155; Quirke, “Residence in Relations between Places of Knowledge,” 111; Spence, “Court and palace,” 302; O’Connor, “Royal Palace in New Kingdom Egypt,” 270; M. Verner, “Several Thoughts on the Old Kingdom Residence,” in M. Bárta and H. Küllmer (eds) *Diachronic trends in ancient Egyptian history: Studies dedicated to the memory of Eva Pardey* (Prague, 2013), 119.

³⁶² Spence, “Court and palace,” 302-303; Goelet, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace*, 155.

³⁶³ H. Papazian, “The Central Administration of the Resources in the Old Kingdom: Departments, Treasuries, Granaries, and Work Centres,” in J.C. Moreno-Garcia (ed) *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden, 2013), 52.

³⁶⁴ Papazian, “Central Administration,” 57-58.

³⁶⁵ Two terms translated as ‘palace’ include the *pr-ꜥ* and *pr-nsw.t*. The term, *pr-ꜥ* ‘great house’ (lit.) is perhaps a more specific term for ‘palace’ than the broader *ḥnw* ‘Residence-city.’ There is a close association of this term with the living king and the royal household. In fact, from the 18th dynasty onwards, it had become another word for the king himself. The term seems to be the word for the palace proper, in which the king actually lived, the setting for domestic life of the king and royal family: Wb. I 516.2-12; FCD 89; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 296; Goelet, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace*, 536, 631. The *pr-nsw.t* ‘king’s house’ may have been a general term for the royal administration or ‘administrative palace.’ It designated the palace as an economic institution, which encompassed all the administrative ‘departments’ (e.g. of the vizier, treasurer, etc.), the granaries, treasuries, storehouses. It may have been used to refer to the official quarters of the central administration in the Residence-city, where matters of state were decided and organised: O.D. Berlev *The King’s House in the Middle Kingdom* (Moscow, 1960), 2-3; Doxey, *Non-Royal Epithets*, 121; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 296. According to van den Boorn (based on the *Duties of the Vizier*), the *pr-nsw.t* ‘domain of the king’ seems to be a general term for the royal estate at large, that is the palace-precinct, the *pr-ꜥ* ‘great house’ denotes the royal living quarters (within the *pr-nsw.t*), and *ḥnw* describes the ‘residence-city’, the entire district/locality itself. The *ḥnw* is used as a regional and institutional term, which covers a larger unit than the *pr-nsw.t* and *pr-ꜥ*, the two latter being part of former: G.P.F. van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier: Civil administration in the early New Kingdom* (London, 1988), 49.

³⁶⁶ Quirke, “Residence in Relations between Places of Knowledge,” 112. It is, however, not always possible to know whether the Residence or another ‘palace’ is meant (as kings could have a number of palaces) especially when other terms such as *pr-ꜥ* or *pr-nsw.t* are used, hence the dual Residence/palace is occasionally adopted in this thesis.

3. 2. The ancient Egyptian royal ‘court’

Ancient Egypt can be considered a ‘court’ society because the administration (on a state and local level) was principally concerned with matters of the king, and the supply of food and commodities to the Residence/palace and its people.³⁶⁷ A royal ‘court’ is not only the physical place where the ruler resided (i.e. the Residence/palace), but also a complex social configuration or network with the king as the central figure.³⁶⁸ In other words, the ‘court’ was the retinue or entourage of the king, essentially his socio-political circle.³⁶⁹ Interactions between the king and his ‘court’ must have been the focus of life at ‘court’ (in the palace) and yet they are not often described or depicted.³⁷⁰ As a result, a large part of life at the palace remains mostly blank.³⁷¹

Individuals attached to the royal court, or ‘courtiers,’ can be considered close to the king to varying extents. The figure of the king was at the centre of the court; he held the absolute power and authority and his policies and decisions affected the lives of everyone.³⁷² The king was surrounded by numerous people vying for his attention and favour and attempting to influence and advise him.³⁷³ The royal court can be thought of as being organised into various circles or spheres of influence around the king (fig. 3.1). Since proximity to the throne defined one’s status in a monarchy, one’s standing in the court was of great consequence. The inner circle or ‘closed court’ represents individuals who are present daily, who are close to the king – both physically and metaphorically – and who will also have had the king’s trust. Individuals belonging to this group include the king’s top administrators, his advisors, and perhaps some members of his household as well as a few trusted favourites.³⁷⁴ The outer circle or ‘extended court’ consisted of individuals not always present at court, perhaps administrators (including provincial governors) of various ranks (and their families), the king’s favourites, and other wealthy individuals.³⁷⁵ The

³⁶⁷ Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 225.

³⁶⁸ Spence, “Court and palace,” 302; C. Raedler, “Rank and Favour at the Early Ramesside Court,” in R. Gundlach and J.H. Taylor (eds) *4th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology: Egyptian Royal Residence. London, June 1st – 5th 2004* (Wiesbaden, 2009), 134.

³⁶⁹ Spence, “Court and palace,” 302; Raedler, “Rank and Favour at the Early Ramesside Court,” 134. Cf. J. Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe’s Dynastic Rivals, 1550-1780* (Cambridge, 2003), 3.

³⁷⁰ Spence, “Court and palace,” 271.

³⁷¹ Spence, “The Palaces of el-Amarna: Towards an architectural analysis,” in R. Gundlach and J.H. Taylor (eds) *4th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology. Egyptian Royal Residences. London, June 1st–5th 2004* (Wiesbaden, 2009), 187.

³⁷² Spence, “Court and palace,” 268.

³⁷³ Spence, “Court and palace,” 268.

³⁷⁴ Raedler, “Rank and favour,” 134; Spence, “Court and palace,” 283.

³⁷⁵ Raedler, “Rank and favour,” 134.

king's innermost circle was reserved for a relatively small group of highly privileged individuals, while the outer circle was filled with the king's extended social and political circle.

The closest equivalent to the English terms 'court' and 'courtiers' is found in the Egyptian term *šny.t* deriving from the verb *šni* 'to encircle'.³⁷⁶ It is a collective term usually written with a human determinative and referring to a small group of high status individuals close to the king rather than the whole royal household or even all of the officials present at the palace at any time.³⁷⁷ The term *smr* is often used for 'courtier' literally meaning king's 'companion.' For example, in the *Story of Sinuhe*, the king determined that Sinuhe 'is to be a courtier (*smr*) among officials (*sr*)' and put 'amid the court' (*šny.t*).³⁷⁸

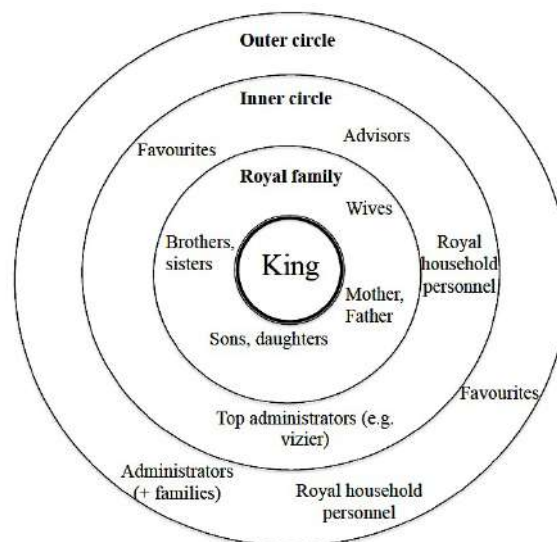


Figure 3.1. Diagram showing the various circles of influence around the king at the royal court.³⁷⁹

Ranking or court titles express the close association of an individual with the king and membership of the court (see Section 1.1.3). Titles such as *ir.y-p^c.t* 'hereditary prince,' *h³.ty-^c* 'count,' *rh-nsu.t* 'king's acquaintance,' and *smr w^c.ty* 'sole companion,' are court designations reflecting a close and intimate relationship with the king; as being part of his innermost circle.³⁸⁰ These titles reflect that the bearer is in close proximity to the king, defining their social rank, without necessary being physically present at court.³⁸¹ Some

³⁷⁶ Spence, "Court and palace," 280.

³⁷⁷ Spence, "Court and palace," 280.

³⁷⁸ The 'Story of Sinuhe' (Papyrus Berlin 3011 280-281) *iw=f r smr mimi sr(y)w rdi.t(w)=f m k**3**b šn.yt*: J. P. Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature: Eight Literary Works of the Middle Kingdom* (Cambridge, 2015), 146.

³⁷⁹ Diagram created by M. Kooyman.

³⁸⁰ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 5ff; Doxey, *Non-Royal Epithets*, 125-128.

³⁸¹ Raedler, "Rank and favour," 141.

epithets are formed using the word *mḥ-ib* ‘confidant’ (lit. ‘the one who fills the heart’), implying a position at court and direct contact with the king.³⁸² The category of ‘king’s favourite’ belongs to individuals who were favoured by the king for some reason, perhaps because they grew up together (likely expressed through the title, ‘child of the inner palace,’ for example)³⁸³ or perhaps those who had proven their loyalty (e.g. through military exploits, competence, etc.) though did not come from the wealthiest or highest ranking families. Individuals who held only ranking titles such as *smr w^c.ty* or *ḥ³.ty-^c* may belong to this group; part of the court, favoured by the king, but holding no official position in the palace or administration.

The court is representative of the king’s social and political environments, which were closely intertwined. The people comprising the royal court would have varied from king to king as the balance of power inevitably shifted. The king promoted and retained those administrators, courtiers, and palace personnel he trusted.³⁸⁴ Many courtiers also doubled as the highest-ranking officials of his administration.³⁸⁵ They were part of his government and ran its various institutions, such as the treasury, granaries, temples, etc.³⁸⁶ The line between the king’s senior officials and courtiers are, thus, often blurred. The links between the palace and other ‘departments’ of state was maintained through these high-ranking administrators, who often also held titles reflecting their close ties to the king.³⁸⁷ The royal court was therefore not simply the social circle of the king, but it also played a significant role in the politics of the country and was, basically, the centre of government.³⁸⁸ The royal court allowed for the making of social and political alliances, and decisions of state were likely often made under the guise of social networking at court; during banquets, ceremonies, promotions, etc. The presence of higher ranking officials at court presumably allowed the king to keep an eye on them and ensured that his functionaries remained focused on his own person and the social competition of life at court rather than on establishing entrenched power bases within institutions.³⁸⁹ The fact that some courtiers held titles associated with more than one branch of the administration must have assisted here. The dual role of individuals as courtiers and as governmental

³⁸² Doxey, *Non-Royal Epithets*, 144-145; Raedler, “Rank and Favour,” 146-147.

³⁸³ Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 237; B.M. Bryan, “Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III,” in E.H. Cline and D. O’Connor (eds) *Thutmose III: A New Biography* (Ann Arbor, 2006), 96-97.

³⁸⁴ Spence, “Court and palace,” 286.

³⁸⁵ Spence, “Court and palace,” 268.

³⁸⁶ Spence, “Court and palace,” 290.

³⁸⁷ Spence, “Court and palace,” 283.

³⁸⁸ Spence, “Court and palace,” 290; Raedler, “Rank and favour,” 134-135.

³⁸⁹ Spence, “Court and palace,” 290.

officers results in considerable blurring of the divisions between the palace and other institutions, perhaps useful for maintaining an aura of ultimate authority.³⁹⁰ It, essentially, cemented the relationship between the king and his government.

The king's favour was the ruling element of the ancient Egypt court.³⁹¹ The favour of the king, rather than individual merit or competence, was often the key factor in the success and influence of a courtier or official, and often the catalyst for promotions and rewards.³⁹² The autobiographies of officials often attribute their wealth and success to a combination of competence, loyalty, and favour.³⁹³ Being in close proximity to the king at court was seen as an opportunity for courtiers to prove themselves, and gain the king's favour and loyalty.³⁹⁴ The ruler could not favour everyone; so favour was a rare commodity. Flattery, intrigue, rivalries, and backstabbing between courtiers was characteristic of court societies.³⁹⁵ This is hinted at in autobiography of Weni, who attributes his successes to being the king's favourite.³⁹⁶ Weni was present at the trial of one of Pepy II's queens, who was part of a plot to assassinate the king, indicative of shifting power and attempted coups. Likewise, Sinuhe was forced to flee Egypt in the aftermath of Amenemhat I's assassination because he felt unsafe due to the tensions and power play at court. There must have been constant tension and contention at court, of courtiers vying to elevate their position. The king would award those he favoured with promotions or material gifts such as tombs, burial equipment, jewellery, luxury goods, or even captives of war.³⁹⁷ Numerous tombs belonging to various palace personnel such as guards (e.g. *hnt.y-š pr-ꜥ3*, *šms.w pr-ꜥ3*), musicians, and other lower-ranking officials of the Old Kingdom attest to the economic, social, and political advantages of gaining the king's favour at court.³⁹⁸ Similarly, a 'fan-bearer on the right hand of the king,' under Akhenaten, May claims he was 'a poor

³⁹⁰ Spence, "Court and palace," 290; Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 51-57.

³⁹¹ Raedler, "Rank and Favour," 141; H. Guksch, *Königsdienst: Zur Selbstdarstellung der Beamten in der 18. Dynastie* (Heidelberg, 1994), 39-45.

³⁹² Spence, "Court and palace," 276.

³⁹³ Spence, "Court and Palace," 286.

³⁹⁴ Spence, "Court and palace," 284.

³⁹⁵ Spence, "Court and palace," 276; Raedler, "Rank and favour," 134-135; J.C. Moreno-Garcia, "The 'other' administration: Patronage, factions, and informal networks of power in ancient Egypt," in J.C. Moreno-Garcia (ed) *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden, 2013), 1032.

³⁹⁶ Urk. I 101.4-7: 'Never before had the like been heard in private (*sšt*) in the king's private apartments (*ip3t-nsw.t*), except for his majesty having appointed me to listen because of my competence, because I was in the heart of his majesty, more than any of his officials (*sr*), more than any of his courtiers (*sꜥh*), and more than any of his servants (*b3k*).'

³⁹⁷ Spence, "Court and palace," 284; Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 41-42, see especially p. 43.

³⁹⁸ Spence, "Court and palace," 281; N. Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace: Unis to Pepy I* (London, 2003), 14-24; A.-M. Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants: including G 2084-2099, G 2230 + 2231 and G 2240* (Boston, 1995), 40-43.

man...but the ruler built me up, he fed me by means of his *ka* when I was without property...he caused me to mingle with officials and courtiers when I was the least of underlings.’³⁹⁹ May was of a humble socio-economic background, yet association with the king and court allowed him to gain success beyond his means. The privileges that could be gained at court could raise an individual to a position of great wealth and influence, as is evident by May’s testimony.⁴⁰⁰ The opportunity for interaction with the king would be essential if a courtier were to gain royal favour, so access to the court was instrumental for this purpose.⁴⁰¹ Having access to the court, and thus to the king, was greatly desired by all individuals.

3. 3. The right of entry and access in the Residence/palace

One major feature of ancient Egyptian palaces (and temples) was that access to the palace (and the king) was highly restricted, and as a result the activities taking place within were regarded as ‘mysterious’ and ‘confidential’ accessible only to a select group.⁴⁰² For an individual to have access to the palace proper, and partake in its activities, would differentiate him from his peers and greatly elevate his status.

The interior of the palace was regarded as highly ‘restricted’ and ‘enigmatic’ by the majority of the Egyptian population.⁴⁰³ Even should an official have permission to enter the palace proper, there were various levels of access within that which were off-limits to most officials. To gain access to even the outer parts of the palace would have distinguished him from among his peers.⁴⁰⁴ The monuments of officials often feature self-descriptive phrases boasting of their access to restricted parts of the palace.⁴⁰⁵ Some claim *hnt.y st m pr-ꜥ* ‘foremost place in the palace’⁴⁰⁶ and *hnt.y st m pr-nsw.t* ‘foremost place in the king’s house.’⁴⁰⁷ Others assert they were one who *ꜥk r hnw ꜥh* ‘entered into the interior

³⁹⁹ Spence, “Court and palace,” 285.

⁴⁰⁰ Spence, “Court and Palace,” 286.

⁴⁰¹ Spence, “Court and palace,” 290.

⁴⁰² Spence, “Court and palace,” 291, 302; Spence, “Palaces at el-Amarna,” 172; S.Z. Balanda, “The title ‘*hr.y-sšb*’ to the end of the New Kingdom,” *JARCE* 45 (2009), 320.

⁴⁰³ Spence, “Court and palace,” 309.

⁴⁰⁴ Spence, “Court and palace,” 309.

⁴⁰⁵ Doxey, *Non-Royal Epithets*, 178-179; R.J. Leprohon, “Gatekeepers of this and the other world,” *JSSEA* 24 (1994/1997), 78-80.

⁴⁰⁶ Doxey, *Non-Royal Epithets*, 123, 356 ‘foremost of places in the palace’; J. Janssen, *De traditioneele Egyptische autobiografie voor het Nieuwe Rijk* (Leiden, 1946), III S 13; Leprohon, “Gatekeepers,” 79.

⁴⁰⁷ Doxey, *Non-Royal Epithets*, 124, 356 ‘foremost of places in the palace’; Janssen, *Autobiografie*, III S12; Leprohon, “Gatekeepers,” 79.

of the palace⁴⁰⁸ or to be a *si n w^c.yw* ‘man of the private apartments (of the king).’⁴⁰⁹ The 6th dynasty official, Sabu, states, *rdi hm=f^ck(=i) r^c-hⁿw* ‘his majesty granted me access to the inner area (of the palace).’⁴¹⁰ How far an individual was given access to the inner sectors of the palace was a mark of status.⁴¹¹ These epithets clearly portray a society in which access to the inner corridors was limited to a privileged few.⁴¹² This recurring theme in the statements and epithets of officials indicates that access was highly sought after and was, as Sabu claims, granted by the king.⁴¹³

Since entry to the palace was limited, it fostered the impression of mystery regarding the activities that took place within.⁴¹⁴ Palace affairs and governmental activities are often referred to using the word *št3* and its causative form *sšt3* regularly translated as ‘secret.’ Balanda argues that there may be a misunderstanding between the meaning of ‘secret’ as opposed to ‘mystery’ or ‘mysterious.’⁴¹⁵ The reason behind this emphasis on privacy does not seem to have been motivated by the intention to preserve secrets hidden behind the walls, but rather to protect the upper echelon and state interests itself.⁴¹⁶ For example, a seal found in the mastaba of Djaty from the reign of Sahure bears the title, *hr.y-hb.t m33.ty mdw št3 n(.w) mdw-ntr* ‘lector priest who reads (lit. sees) the secret words of the sacred writings.’⁴¹⁷ Balanda points out that since Djaty is a lector priest, he would have recited

⁴⁰⁸ Doxey, *Non-Royal Epithets*, 360 ‘man of the private apartments’; Janssen, *Autobiografie*, II O13; Leprohon, “Gatekeepers,” 79.

⁴⁰⁹ Janssen, *Autobiografie*, IV Ao7; Leprohon, “Gatekeepers,” 79.

⁴¹⁰ Urk. I 83.14.

⁴¹¹ Spence, “Court and palace,” 309.

⁴¹² Leprohon, “Gatekeepers,” 80. A similar situation is observed concerning access to the temple proper: admittance to the temple proper was also strictly controlled. Pepy-ankh from Meir (6th dynasty) tells us that he “spent a great amount of time as an overseer of *hm-ntr*-priests of Hathor, when I (was allowed to) enter before Hathor seeing and performing the cult for her with my (own) hands” (Urk. I, 222:1-2). This is also suggested by the priestly epithet *w^cb^c k^c* ‘wab-priest who has entry.’ A text from Edfu states: “No man may ascend to it (the sanctuary) except one who is the great priest (*w^cb^c 3*) and who is to perform the divine ritual.” These examples confirm that the inner sanctuary of the temple was off-limits, that only specific personnel such as particular priests were allowed entry into the inner rooms of the temple. A letter addressed to a deity, from Ramesside Period, states, “When I was looking for you (the god) to tell you about some of my affairs, you happened to be hidden in your sanctuary and there was no one who had access to it to send it (the letter) in to you. Now as I was waiting I encountered Hori, this scribe of the temple of Usermaatremery-Amun, and he said to me: “I have access.” So I am sending him in to you.” This example demonstrates that most individuals had no way to reach their deity, the well-connected administrators were able to gain access via such a third party: Leprohon, “Gatekeepers,” 77-78; E. Wente, *Letters from Ancient Egypt* (Atlanta, 1990), 219 no. 355.

⁴¹³ Leprohon, “Gatekeepers,” 78.

⁴¹⁴ Spence, “Court and palace,” 302; Spence, “Palaces of el-Amarna, 172.

⁴¹⁵ Balanda, “*hr.y-sšt3*,” 320.

⁴¹⁶ Balanda, “title “*hr.y-sšt3*,” 320.

⁴¹⁷ Jones, *Index*, II 2857; H. Junker, *Giza VII. Grabungen aus dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches in den Pyramiden von Giza* (Wien, Leipzig, 1944), 233; Balanda, “title “*hr.y-sšt3*,” 323.

these words aloud at temple ceremonies. Thus, the word “secret” is not really appropriate, and ‘restricted’ or ‘mysterious’ seems more likely.⁴¹⁸ The terms *stḳ(.w)* and *sṯḳ(.w)* is more appropriately interpreted as ‘private’ or ‘restricted’ in the following examples. For instance, the Old Kingdom title *im.y-rḳ šhmḥ-ib nb nfr m ḥnw stḳw pr-ḥ* ‘overseer of every good amusement in the private/restricted interior of the palace.’⁴¹⁹ Amusements and entertainment would hardly be secret, but since they took place in the palace interior they were restricted and not accessible to most people. Officials describe themselves as, *ḥk m wsṯn ḥr st stḳ.t* ‘one who freely enters into restricted/inaccessible places’⁴²⁰ or *ḥk rh.w nb sṯḳ* ‘one who had access to all private/confidential knowledge.’⁴²¹ Once again, it is a matter of having the right to enter the restricted sectors of the palace and having access to the confidential information or ‘knowledge’ one would be privy to within its walls. The autobiography of Weni states that ‘he alone, with the vizier heard all matters of a confidential nature (*sṯḳ*)...concerning the person (lit. name) of the king, of the royal household (*ipḳ.t-nsw.t*), and of the administrative houses (*ḥw.t-wr.t* ḳ).’⁴²² Werkhū held the title, *sdm mdw m sṯḳ nb* ‘one who hears the words in all confidential/private matters’⁴²³ Both Weni and Werkhū dealt with important matters, which required discretion and were considered ‘confidential.’⁴²⁴ Being “in the know” or having knowledge of these activities perceived or actual was another marker of social status given by admittance into these restricted buildings. It was another way to differentiate between social groups. For restricted affairs and knowledge to be made public was considered disastrous as is evident from the *Admonitions of Ipuwer*, which states ‘as for the great house, its records are removed and the mysteries laid bare....’⁴²⁵ Balanda argues that the meaning of ‘secret’ for the word *stḳ* is rarely intended, and that it should have connotations of ‘inaccessibility, restriction, or remoteness.’⁴²⁶ The activities and business of audiences and council-meetings with the king regarding matters of state or the palace, which probably occurred in

⁴¹⁸ Balanda, “ḥr.y-sṯḳ,” 322.

⁴¹⁹ Jones, *Index*, I 860.

⁴²⁰ Doxey, *Non-Royal Epithets*, 280 (3.14) ‘one who enters unhindered into the secret places’; Janssen, *Autobiografie*, II O17; Leprohon, “Gatekeepers,” 78.

⁴²¹ Doxey, *Non-Royal Epithets*, 280 (3.14) ‘one who enters into all secret knowledge’; Leprohon, “Gatekeepers,” 78

⁴²² Urk. I 99.5.

⁴²³ Urk. I 48.2; Jones, *Index*, II 3643.

⁴²⁴ Balanda, “ḥr.y-sṯḳ,” 327.

⁴²⁵ Leprohon, “Gatekeepers,” 82. Cf. Lichtheim’s translation, ‘...the private chamber, its books are stolen, the secrets in it laid bare, magic spells are divulged, spells are made worthless through being repeated by people’: Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I*, 155. Alternatively, Simpson’s version is as follows, ‘...the sacred chamber, its writings are stolen, and the place of secrets, which was therein, is disclosed’: Simpson, *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 197.

⁴²⁶ Balanda, “ḥr.y-sṯḳ,” 326.

the inner palace, were considered ‘private’ and ‘confidential,’ in the sense that only a select group was privy to them. Officials attached increased social standing and influence to being granted the right of entry to the restricted areas in the Residence/palace and being involved in its private and confidential affairs, as it elevated them above their peers and increased their proximity to the king.

3. 4. The Residence/palace configuration and organisation

It appears that the Residence/palace may have been divided into an outer and inner sector. Papyrus Boulaq 18 provides key insight into how the king’s palace at Thebes may have been organised during the 13th dynasty. The main palace building appears to have been divided into two sections: the *hnt.y* ‘outer palace’ at the front, consisting of the official and ‘semi-public’ quarters, and the *k3p* ‘inner palace,’ the inner sector comprised of the private residential quarters at the back of the palace.⁴²⁷ This is supported by the way the two terms are used contrastingly in account list S30.⁴²⁸ The palace proper was likely encompassed by several storerooms and the servicing quarters (*šn*).⁴²⁹ This was the place where resources and supplies for the inner and outer sectors were stored and prepared and would have included a kitchen area⁴³⁰ Quirke has reconstructed a theoretical plan of what the main palace building may have looked like (fig. 3.2). The *k3p* was probably an enclosed area and highly protected part of the palace.⁴³¹ The term *k3p* is also used in several Middle Kingdom titles, *hrd n(.y) k3p* ‘child of the inner palace,’ in particular.⁴³² This title indicates that the *kap* may have been characterised by the presence of children.⁴³³ The *k3p* or ‘inner palace’ likely comprised the suites or series of rooms where the royal children were raised and educated, together with the children of particularly favoured officials.⁴³⁴ Quirke points out that in list S9 commodities for the queen are sent to the *k3p* strengthening the association between this word and the royal family.⁴³⁵ The ‘child of the

⁴²⁷ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 39, 44; Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 26; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 237.

⁴²⁸ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 39; A. Scharff, “Ein Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes aus der 13. Dynastie,” *ZÄS* 57 (1922), pl. 9**.

⁴²⁹ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 39.

⁴³⁰ This part of the palace was likely administrated by the treasury, however. Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 26.

⁴³¹ Bryan, “Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III,” 96.

⁴³² Ward, *Index*, 1229, given as ‘page.’

⁴³³ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 40.

⁴³⁴ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 40; I. Shaw, “Seeking the Ramesside royal harem: new fieldwork at Medinet el-Gurob,” in M. Collier and S. Snape (eds) *Ramesside Studies in honour of K.A. Kitchen* (Bolton, 2011), 453.

⁴³⁵ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 40; Scharff, “Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes,” pl. 3**.

inner palace' probably alluded to individuals who were raised at court, often from youth.⁴³⁶ They do not appear to have held the highest administrative positions. Some of these men, as trusted friends of the king, held palace positions, such as royal nurse or royal butler, while others accompanied the king on military expeditions.⁴³⁷ Part of the 'inner palace' or perhaps synonymous with this word was the *pr-mn^c.wt* 'house of nurses.' This term further indicates that this sector of the palace was related to the care-taking of children or perhaps generally the people living there.⁴³⁸

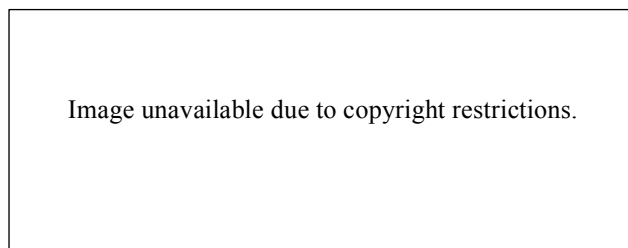


Figure 3.2. (Theoretical) plan of the main palace building.⁴³⁹

Another architectural term, although not one occurring in pBoulaq 18, is *ip³.t-nsw.t* 'private apartments of the king' or 'royal private apartments.' This term may also have been used to designate the 'royal harem,' the group of women and children attached to the king's household.⁴⁴⁰ The title *hrd n(.y) k³p n(.y) ip³.t-nsw.t* 'child of the inner palace of the king's private apartments' indicates that the *kap* may have been a subsection of the 'private quarters of the king.'⁴⁴¹ Since this term is absent from pBoulaq 18, this sector was perhaps not present at this Theban palace, and may be specific to the main Residence at *Itjtawy*.⁴⁴² The term *ip³.t* or *ip.t* is interpreted differently by various scholars mainly due to the variation of the term's writing. Sometimes the term is determined by a seated women determinative 𓏲 (Gardiner's B1) while in various instances it is determined by the house determinative 𓏲 (O1) and/or the domed building sign 𓏲 / 𓏲 (O45/O46). The word is also sometimes written with the flying pintail duck sign 𓏲 (G40) rendering it *ip³.t*. The

⁴³⁶ E. Haslauer, "Harem," in D.B. Redford (ed) *Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, vol. 2 (New York, Oxford, 2001), 76-80.

⁴³⁷ Bryan, "Administration," 96.

⁴³⁸ Grajetzki, "Setting a State Anew," 237.

⁴³⁹ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 41 fig. 1.

⁴⁴⁰ M. Yoyotte, "The harem in ancient Egypt," in C. Ziegler (ed) *Queens of Egypt: from Hetepheres to Cleopatra* (Monaco, Paris, 2008), 76.

⁴⁴¹ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 40.

⁴⁴² Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 40. Founded by Amenemhat I, *Itjtawy*, the Residence during the Middle Kingdom is thought to be situated somewhere in the region of el-Lisht, though the structure itself has not yet been uncovered. It is possible that it lay on the floodplain and is now lost under the cultivation: Quirke, "Residence in Relations between Places of Knowledge," 115; Grajetzki, "Setting a State Anew," 221.

word *ip.t* in its earliest variant implies an idea of a ‘private’ or ‘concealed’ space (cf. shrine), which is an element both the royal harem and the apartments of the king would certainly possess.⁴⁴³ Thus, the term has been interpreted as both a collective of women attached to the king and/or the private quarters of the king within the Residence.⁴⁴⁴ The term *ip3.t-nsw.t* is not generally attested; it is mostly known from the titles, *im.y-r3 ip3.t-nsw.t* ‘overseer of the king’s private apartments,’ and *s3 ip3.t-nsw.t* ‘scribe of the king’s private apartments.’⁴⁴⁵ These terms are difficult to define beyond doubt due to the lack of explicit information available in the ancient sources. Yet, clearly it referred to apartments or a secluded area in the palace particularly associated with the king, children and royal women, possibly being where they resided.

3. 4. 1. Palace administrators and the royal household

The administration of the Residence/palace consisted of personnel whose members perform functions directly related to the king’s person (royal household) or in connection with the maintenance (provisions, accounts, staff, etc.) of the palace itself and the court (palace administrators). It is not always easy or even possible to distinguish between them.

The entries of pBoulaq 18 suggest a formal separation into three architectural zones (see above), which was mirrored in the classification of palace officials. Quirke surmised that three groups of palace personnel appear to be evident in the records of pBoulaq 18, which

⁴⁴³ A. Badawy, “About Three Hieroglyphs,” *JNES* 15 (1956), 175 (full article: 175-179).

⁴⁴⁴ G. Callender, “The Nature of the Egyptian ‘Harim’ Dynasties 1-20,” *BACE* 5 (1994), 9; A. H. Gardiner, “Inscriptions from the tomb of Si-renpowet I, the prince of Elephantine,” *ZÄS* 45 (1908), 127; Shaw, “Seeking the Ramesside royal harem,” 454; Haslauer, “Harem,” 76-80. Conversely, Ward and Lorton favoured the interpretation that *ip.t nswt* was the ‘royal counting house’ (see Ward, *Index*, 36, 1349). In their view, *ip.t* is taken from the verb *ip* ‘to count up.’ They propose that this was a royal bureau or granary attached to the royal court. Many scholars have discounted their interpretation, however. As stated by Franke, the royal court had no need for such an institution, and the translation of this term as *ip3.t* ‘private quarters’ of the palace fits every context in which the term occurs. For example, the autobiography of Weni (Urk. I 100.13) states, ‘when matters were undertaken in the king’s private apartments (*ip3.t-nsw.t*) against the king’s wife... in private, his majesty appointed me to listen.’ The king’s private quarters and royal harem fit this context much better than counting house’ Callender, “Nature of the Egyptian ‘Harim,’” 9-10. D. Franke, “Review: Essays on Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Related Subjects by William A. Ward,” *JEA* 76 (1990), 231.

⁴⁴⁵ Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 237; Ward, *Index*, 36, 1349 as ‘royal counting house.’ See in particular, stela Stockholm NME 17 includes, *idnw im.y-r3 ip3.t-nsw.t* ‘deputy overseer of the king’s private apartments,’ *Spdw-m-s3=f* and *s3 n(y) ip3.t-nsw.t* ‘scribe of the king’s private apartments,’ *Spdw-m-s3=f (ir.n St-ip)*, see [123]; G. Andreu, “La stèle Louvre C.249: un complément à la reconstitution d’une Chapelle Abydénienne,” *BIFAO* 80 (1980), 140ff.

correspond to this layout.⁴⁴⁶ The ‘inner palace’ naturally included the king and the royal family.⁴⁴⁷ The residents of these private quarters of the Residence/palace are identified in pBoulaq 18 as the *rmṯ pr-mn^c.wt* ‘people of the house of nurses.’⁴⁴⁸ The term initially referred to royal children and their nurses but is also more expansive to include other inner palace officials and personnel.⁴⁴⁹ Thus, the ‘people of the house of the nurses’ were members of the royal household and other officials with access to the *k3p* ‘inner palace’ who also had a close connection to the royal family. According to pBoulaq 18, the *sr.w* ‘functionaries’ or ‘officials’ seem to refer to officials of the central administration attached to the palace.⁴⁵⁰ List S11 is a good example of the separation of the two sectors; it features three columns.⁴⁵¹ The first column only includes officials (*sr.w*) starting with the vizier at the top of the list.⁴⁵² These officials comprised the state/administrative quarters of the palace complex, which equated to the *hnt.y* outer palace.⁴⁵³ The second column lists the royal family (headed by the queen), followed by men and women of the *rmṯ pr mn^c.wt* who belong to the inner palace.⁴⁵⁴ This list reflects the separation between the administrative sector concerned with governmental affairs and the domestic life of the royal family in the palace complex.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁴⁶ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 37.

⁴⁴⁷ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 43.

⁴⁴⁸ The term *k3p* seems to refer to the actual building and sector while *rmṯ pr mn^c.wt* appears to refer to the personnel itself: Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 37, 40, 43-44.

⁴⁴⁹ Quirke points out that in list S9, commodities for the queen are sent to the *k3p* strengthening the association between this word and the royal family: Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 40.

⁴⁵⁰ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 43-44.

⁴⁵¹ A. Scharff, “Rechnungsbuch des königliche Hofes,” pls. 3**-4**.

⁴⁵² Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 44.

⁴⁵³ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 43-45, 58.

⁴⁵⁴ These can be thus differentiated as they also appear in accounts that exclusively list personnel of the *rmṯ pr mn^c.wt* (e.g. S1, S38). Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 44, 58. See also Section 5.4.2.

⁴⁵⁵ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 44-45. The third group of palace personnel in pBoulaq 18 are the serving staff of the *šn^c* designated *kyw ʕ3j*. These were low ranking menial workers primarily engaged in the preparation of meals for the palace. This group is only attested in the day summary accounts of pBoulaq 18, not any of the lists, which makes sense since they are the serving staff and thus would not receive many provisions from the state. The serving staff would have access to the *šn^c* ‘provisions quarter’ (where food and drink were stored and prepared) and then likely serve the people in the palace (probably the *w3h.y*-hall, the hall where feast were probably held): Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 37, 40.

(1) The inner palace

The royal household was comprised of personal attendants in the service of the king and his family and many would have had access to the inner parts of the palace.⁴⁵⁶ There are not many titles directly connected with the ‘inner palace’ (*k3p*, *ip3.t-nsw.t*, *pr-mn^c.wt*) – and this aspect may have been implicit for many positions. One of the more frequent titles associated with the *k3p* are the aforementioned *hrd n k3p* ‘child of the inner palace’⁴⁵⁷ and *hrd n k3p n ip3.t-nsw.t* ‘child of the inner palace of the king’s private apartments’ (see above).⁴⁵⁸ Two others are *ir.y-^c.t (wr) n(.y) k3p* ‘(chief) chamber-keeper of the inner palace’⁴⁵⁹ and *hk3.y n(.y) k3p* ‘magician of the inner palace.’⁴⁶⁰ The former indicates that the inner palace may have includes specific storage spaces likely for the exclusive use of its residents – administered by its own sector (not the provisions quarter?). The ‘*heka*-official of the inner palace’ presumably provided the inner palace with the books of ‘magic’ words, deemed necessary for the safety of its residents.⁴⁶¹ He may have had general responsibility for their health, perhaps administering prescriptions and collaborating with the chief physician where surgery was required.⁴⁶²

One of the principal officials of the inner palace, and probably the palace generally was the *im.y-r3^c -hnw.ty* ‘overseer of the inner section (of the palace)’ often translated as ‘chamberlain.’⁴⁶³ This title is not attested in the Old Kingdom and first appears in the 12th

⁴⁵⁶ These include nurses, tutors, manicurists, hairdressers, physicians as well as individuals in charge of the king’s meals or his throne. These include the *im.y-r3^c i^cw/^cbw-r3^c nsw.t* ‘overseer of the king’s repast’ (Jones, *Index*, I 263-265); *mn^c.t pr-^c* ‘nurse of the palace’ (Jones, *Index*, I 1605), *mn^c/mn^c.t* ‘nurse, tutor’ (Ward, *Index*, 798, 799), *im.y-r3^c st pr-mn^c.t* ‘overseer of the place of nurses’ (Jones, *Index*, I 878), *swnw pr-^c* ‘physician of the palace’ (Jones, *Index*, II 3021), *šms.w swnw pr-^c* ‘chief physician of the palace’ (Jones, *Index*, II 3026, Ward, *Index*, 1281), *hr.y-st nsw.t* ‘he who is in charge of the king’s throne’ (Nimaatre), *ir.w-^cn.t-pr-^c* ‘manicurist of the palace’ (Jones, *Index*, I 1122), *im.y-r ir.w-^cn.t pr-^c* ‘overseer of manicurists in the palace’ (Jones, *Index*, I 280), *ir.w-šny-pr-^c* ‘hairdresser of the palace’ (Jones, *Index*, 1132). The *hr.y-tp nsw.t* ‘he who is under the king’s head’ or king’s liegeman/royal chamberlain (Jones, *Index*, II 2874, 2878), was likely an important figure in the palace, perhaps acting as the king’s chamberlain or manservant. Goelet examined the various groups of titles with the extension *pr-^c* concluding that many of the titles seem to involve service on behalf of the king and his household – nursing, jewellery making, singing, manicuring, medicine, food preparation, care of the royal apartments, etc.: Goelet, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace*, 642.

⁴⁵⁷ Ward, *Index*, 1229.

⁴⁵⁸ Ward, *Index*, 1230.

⁴⁵⁹ Ward, *Index*, 465, 493.

⁴⁶⁰ Ward, *Index*, 1121.

⁴⁶¹ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 28.

⁴⁶² Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 28. The chief physician was not attached explicitly only to the inner palace; the more specific location of the *heka*-official suggests a particular need, presumably that of mother and child.

⁴⁶³ Wb. I 227.1-2; Ward, *Index*, 72; Gardiner, *AEO* I, 44*

dynasty and is regularly attested in the late Middle Kingdom.⁴⁶⁴ It becomes relatively scarce after this period.⁴⁶⁵ There has only been limited discussion of the title and more study on these title-holders would offer more insight. The phrase *ḥnw.ty* is a compound term consisting of the word *ḥ* ‘region’ or ‘part’ and the adjectival form *ḥnw.ty* ‘inner’ associated with the word *ḥnw* ‘interior’ – thus the term appears to denote the inner part of a building, in this case the palace, most likely the most private part that was the least accessible.⁴⁶⁶ These individuals likely managed the king’s household, hence the translation ‘chamberlain.’

The title *im.y-rʿ ḥnw.ty* is attested solely during the early Middle Kingdom contrasting with the more specific variants towards the later half of this period.⁴⁶⁷ Among them are *im.y-rʿ ḥnw.ty n(y) kʿp* ‘overseer of the inner section of the inner palace’⁴⁶⁸ and *im.y-rʿ ḥnw.ty n(y) pr-ḥ* ‘overseer of the inner section of the palace.’⁴⁶⁹ The *im.y-rʿ ḥnw.ty* was probably responsible for directing inner palace personnel and was involved in the administrative affairs of this sector, including its provisioning, as well as its maintenance and upkeep. As part of their responsibilities, the *im.y-rʿ ḥnw.ty* probably also controlled and regulated access to and activities within different parts of the palace.⁴⁷⁰ Helck suggests that the *im.y-rʿ ḥnwti (n kʿp)* may also have been in charge of organising particular expeditions outside the palace complex.⁴⁷¹ This is supported by the stela of the *im.y-rʿ ḥnw.ty* Senusret, who asserts ‘I was wise in my ways, one who reported well to him (= king) who sent him. I performed commissions for the king and was rewarded in the palace interior (*ḥnw.ty*).’⁴⁷² This indicates these men reported directly to the king and performed special assignments for which Senusret was clearly rewarded, notably in the inner parts of the palace. According to the documentation provided by pBoulaq 18 the *im.y-rʿ ḥnw.ty n(y) kʿp* was (among other things) responsible for supplying the palace

⁴⁶⁴ M. H. Gauthier, “Le titre [...] (*imi-ra Akhnouti*) et ses acceptions diverses,” *BIFAO* 15 (1918), 169; Gardiner, *AEO* I, 44*.

⁴⁶⁵ Gardiner, *AEO* I, 44*.

⁴⁶⁶ Gardiner, *AEO* I, 44*; Gauthier, “*imi-ra Akhnouti*,” 170.

⁴⁶⁷ Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 222-223. There also appears to be a hierarchy within this group of officials, as indicated by the following titles, *im.y-rʿ ḥnw.ty wr* ‘chief overseer of the inner part (of the palace)’ (Ward, *Index*, 78), *im.y-rʿ ḥnw.ty wr n im.y-rʿ ḥtm.ty* ‘chief overseer of the inner part (of the palace) for the overseer of sealed goods’ (Ward, *Index*, 79); *im.y-rʿ ḥnw.ty wr n pr-ḥ* ‘chief overseer of the inner part (of the palace) of the treasury’ (Ward, *Index*, 80).

⁴⁶⁸ Ward, *Index*, 91. For attestations of *im.y-rʿ ḥnw.ty n kʿp*, see Gauthier, “*imi-ra Akhnouti*,” 195ff.

⁴⁶⁹ Ward, *Index*, 81.

⁴⁷⁰ Spence, “Court and palace,” 291.

⁴⁷¹ Helck, *Verwaltung*, 252.

⁴⁷² Louvre C 174, P. Pierret, *Recueil d’inscriptions inédites du Musée du Louvre*, 2 (Paris, 1874-1878); Balanda, “ḥr.y-sšṯ,” 336.

personnel and royal family with food (see below).⁴⁷³ Since the inner palace encompassed the living quarters of the king and his family it follows that only the overseers associated with this sector of the palace completed this task.

These officials are also attached to other institutions and departments within the Residence/palace, such as those of the *im.y-r3 ʿ-hnw.ty n(.y) ʿb.ty* ‘overseer of the inner part (of the palace) of the vizier’⁴⁷⁴ and the *im.y-r3 ʿ-hnw.ty n(.y) h3 n(.y) ʿb.ty* ‘overseer of the palace interior of the office of the vizier.’⁴⁷⁵ The same variants are also attested for the treasurer.⁴⁷⁶ These variants may suggest that they undertook commissions or assignments on behalf of these departments or assisted with the management that particular quarter of the palace.⁴⁷⁷ The *im.y-r3 ʿ-hnw.ty n(.y) pr-hd* ‘overseer of the inner part (of the palace) of the treasury’⁴⁷⁸ is also attested and may denote officials sent out from the bureau of the treasurer to procure resources for the treasury; many are attested from expeditions outside the valley and constructions sites in the valley.⁴⁷⁹ From the New Kingdom onwards, the variant *im.y-r3 ʿ-hnw.ty n(.y) k3p* is no longer attested.⁴⁸⁰ However, since the variant, *im.y-r3 ʿ-hnw.ty n(.y) ip3.t-nsw.t* ‘chamberlain of the king’s private apartments’ does occur, the actual function of these officials may not have altered significantly and its association with the inner palace remained.⁴⁸¹

⁴⁷³ Helck, *Verwaltung*, 252; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 27; Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 102-105.

⁴⁷⁴ Ward, *Index*, 93.

⁴⁷⁵ Ward, *Index*, 87.

⁴⁷⁶ *im.y-r3 ʿ-hnw.ty n(.y) im.y-r3 htm.t* ‘overseer of the inner part (of the palace) for the overseer of sealed goods’ (Ward, *Index*, 73), *im.y-r3 ʿ-hnw.ty n h3 n im.y-r3 htm.ty* ‘overseer of the palace interior for the office of the overseer of sealed goods’ (Ward, *Index*, 86)

⁴⁷⁷ Some are more difficult to interpret, however. For instance, *im.y-r3 ʿ-hnw.ty n(.y) wʿr.t* ‘overseer of the inner part (of the palace) of the guild/district’ (Ward, *Index*, 76) or *im.y-r3 ʿ-hnw.ty n(.y) wʿr.t tp-rs.y* ‘overseer of the inner part (of the palace) of the district of the head of the south’ (Ward, *Index*, 77) are difficult to situate within the palace. It is possible these variants were aimed at increasing its prestige or importance. Alternatively, during the late Middle Kingdom, since title-phrases became highly demarcated and very precise, indicative of the way the administration became more streamlined (?), it could simply be a new way of presenting titles. Rather than being actual different positions it was another way of referring to the core office ‘overseer of the inner part (of the palace)’. Moreover, the system of titles is quite unsystematic and each variant is (realistically) unlikely to represent a different office.

⁴⁷⁸ Ward, *Index*, 84.

⁴⁷⁹ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 57. Other variants include *im.y-r3 ʿ-hnw.ty n ʿ.t-hnk.t* ‘overseer of the inner part (of the place) of the kitchen (lit. chamber of provisions)’ (Ward, *Index*, 75); *im.y-r3 ʿ-hnw.ty n hnr.t* ‘overseer of the inner part (of the palace) of the (labour) enclosure’ (Ward, *Index*, 90).

⁴⁸⁰ Helck, *Verwaltung*, 252-253.

⁴⁸¹ Helck, *Verwaltung*, 253.

The other palace appointment associated with the ‘inner palace’ is the *im.y-rʒ ipʒ.t-nsw.t* ‘overseer of the king’s private apartments’⁴⁸² and *sš ipʒ.t-nsw.t* ‘scribe of the king’s private apartments.’⁴⁸³ While both are only occasionally attested in the evidence, the former was the main person associated specifically the king’s private living quarters. The *im.y-rʒ ipʒ.t-nsw.t* Iha mentions in his autobiography that he was responsible for educating the king’s children.⁴⁸⁴ Gratjetzki thus argues that these officials might not be in charge of the economic affairs of the king or the royal harem but were charged with the care of the people living within this section of the palace, which likely included the king, his royal female relatives, and the royal children.⁴⁸⁵ The title *im.y-rʒ ipʒ.t-nsw.t* may be a different way to express the same position of authority as the *im.y-rʒ ʕ-hnw.ty n(.y) kʒp* ‘overseer of the interior of the inner palace’ as these titles do not occur together in any one source. This would also explain why the term *kʒp* is replaced by *ipʒ.t-nsw.t* for this office, as they were probably synonyms. If they were in use at the same time, however, then the *im.y-rʒ ipʒ.t-nsw.t* may have been a more general and higher position of authority in the inner palace, rather than a synonymous expression.

(2) The outer palace

The outer palace also served as an important administrative centre with its own officials, who presumably had links with inner palace officials although they were usually classed separately.⁴⁸⁶ These include the *sš n(.y) hnt.y* ‘scribe of the outer palace,’⁴⁸⁷ *im.y-rʒ st n(.y) hnt(.y)* ‘overseer of the places of the outer palace,’⁴⁸⁸ *im.y-hnt* ‘he who is in the outer palace’⁴⁸⁹ and *wr hnt* ‘great one of the outer palace.’⁴⁹⁰ Alongside the *im.y-rʒ ʕ-hnw.ty n(.y) kʒp*, the *sš n(.y) hnt.y* is the chief authority in provisioning the inhabitants of the inner palace.⁴⁹¹ Presumably he had to supervise and record the movement of goods, primarily meals, across the outer into the inner palace zone.⁴⁹² The ‘scribe of the outer palace’ is only active in that part of the palace, and his role was perhaps more closely

⁴⁸² Jones, *Index*, I 271, Ward, *Index*, 36 incorrectly renders the term, ‘royal counting house.’

⁴⁸³ Ward, *Index*, 1349.

⁴⁸⁴ Gratjetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 237.

⁴⁸⁵ Gratjetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 237-238.

⁴⁸⁶ Spence, “Court and palace,” 283.

⁴⁸⁷ Ward, *Index*, 1414.

⁴⁸⁸ Ward, *Index*, 324.

⁴⁸⁹ Ward, *Index*, 425. On an early Middle Kingdom stela, the *im.y-hnt* Semty records his role in the robing and crowning of the king: *HT* II, 6 146 [574], pl. 8; Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 34.

⁴⁹⁰ Ward, *Index*, 728.

⁴⁹¹ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 32-33.

⁴⁹² Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 32-33.

related to the economic institution of the palace.⁴⁹³ The ‘scribe of the outer palace’ may have been required to record the deliveries of goods such as food from the outer to the inner palace (see below).⁴⁹⁴ Another official associated with the outer palace is the *hrp wsh.t* ‘director of the broad court’⁴⁹⁵ classified by Quirke as an outer palace official, although he admits this is by no means certain.⁴⁹⁶ There is very little information on the responsibilities and areas of authority of the director of the broad court, but presumably this official managed this area of the Residence/palace. Others attached to the *wsh.t* include the *hrp sš.w wsh.t* ‘director of scribes of the broad hall’⁴⁹⁷ and *im.y-wsh.t* ‘he who is in the broad hall,’⁴⁹⁸ suggesting administrative activities did take place here. The function and nature of this ‘broad hall’ is not clear although it is sometimes found in the administrative sources and may also have had a judicial role.⁴⁹⁹

The majority of officials who worked in the outer parts of the palace seem not to have been allowed access to the inner parts of the palace.⁵⁰⁰ There is some evidence in pBoulaq 18 of how the outer and inner palace communicated (fig. 3.3). Two different ways of how an order was transferred from one sector of the palace to another are recorded. The first account records that the cupbearer (*wdp.w*) takes an order (from the place where it was issued) to the scribe of the outer palace, who in turn related it to the scribe who was in charge of the palace accounts (the compiler of pBoulaq 18).⁵⁰¹ The second account describes the *im.y-rʿ ʿ-hnw.ty n(y) kʿp* carrying out both stages of this process, while in his absence two different persons complete each phase.⁵⁰² This suggests that a barrier, restricting access, existed, which the cupbearer and scribe of the outer palace could not cross, and probably corresponded to a division between the palace sectors.⁵⁰³ The *im.y-rʿ ʿ-hnw.ty n(y) kʿp* is able to operate in both sectors, but the ‘scribe of the outer palace’ has no access to the place where the orders are issued (i.e. the inner palace), and takes the

⁴⁹³ Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 243.

⁴⁹⁴ Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 243.

⁴⁹⁵ Ward, *Index*, 1147.

⁴⁹⁶ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 28-29.

⁴⁹⁷ Jones, *Index*, II 2699, 2700.

⁴⁹⁸ Jones, *Index*, I 252.

⁴⁹⁹ Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 34-35.

⁵⁰⁰ Spence, “Court and palace,” 291.

⁵⁰¹ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 104.

⁵⁰² Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 104. (*wpwt*) *iyi.tn im.y-rʿ ʿ-hnw.ty n kʿp Rn=f-m-ib hr=s m pri.tn=f hr=s* ‘(the commission) upon which came the ‘chamberlain of the inner palace,’ Renefemib, came, being that for which he had come forth’ cf. (*wpwt*) *iy.t.n sh n hnt.y Snby hr=s m prt.n wdpw Hkʿ-ib hr=s* “(the commission) upon which came the ‘scribe of the outer palace,’ Senby, came being that for which the ‘cupbearer’ Heqaib had come forth” (attested only in S27 and S71): Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 102-105.

⁵⁰³ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 104.

order from a cupbearer, whom clearly does have access.⁵⁰⁴ Quirke identifies these two sectors as the inner and outer palace.⁵⁰⁵ It is not clear, however, whether the scribe of accounts received the orders within the outer palace sector or whether he stood in the provisioning sector (*šn^c*) and received orders on the threshold of the outer palace.⁵⁰⁶ The format for recording supply orders bears out the schematic division of the palace into functionally separate sectors, as established from pBoulaq 18.⁵⁰⁷

Since access was severely restricted, members of the royal household and palace administrators must have been considered trustworthy and loyal by the king. It therefore seems likely that many of the king's personal attendants were drawn from the families of officials associated with the inner palace reducing the potential influence of outsiders.⁵⁰⁸ This protected the king from any threat represented by outsiders.

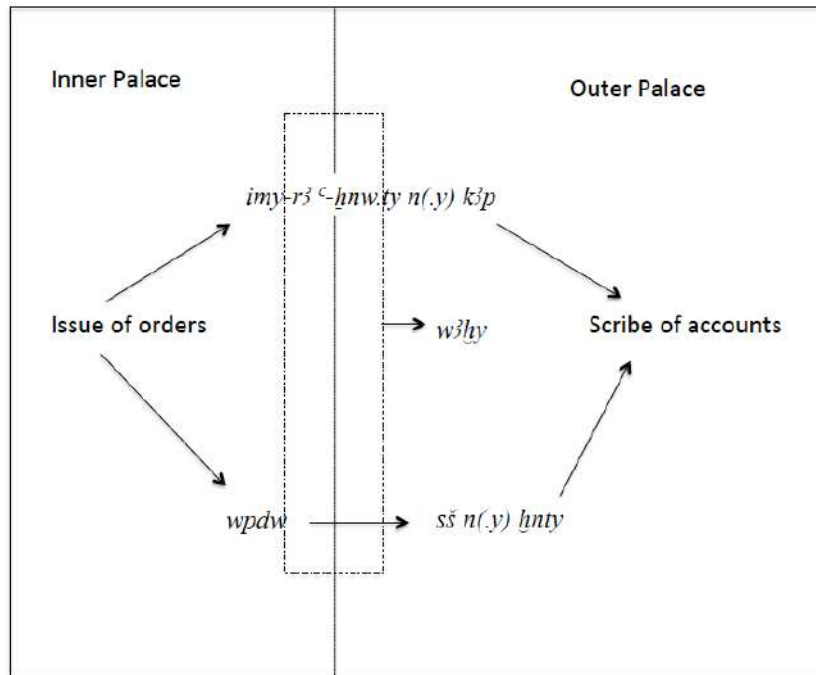


Figure 3.3. Diagram showing the process by which the inner and outer palace may have communicated.⁵⁰⁹

⁵⁰⁴ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 104.

⁵⁰⁵ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 104.

⁵⁰⁶ From the day summary accounts and the layout of list S11, in particular: Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 104.

⁵⁰⁷ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 105.

⁵⁰⁸ Spence, "Court and palace," 282.

⁵⁰⁹ Diagram created by the M. Kooyman, based on Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 104 fig. 4.

3. 5. The concept of 'liminality'

A liminal entity refers to any situation or object that is “betwixt and between,” something/someone that is neither here nor there.⁵¹⁰ The concept of liminality is usually associated with rites of passage marking important social and cultural transitions, such as birth, marriage, coming of age (puberty), and death.⁵¹¹ Yet, liminality is essentially a spatial concept.⁵¹² At the most basic level, the ‘door’ can be a boundary or ‘transitory’ zone between two worlds, in a house between the ‘domestic/private’ and ‘public,’ and in the case of temples it marks the progression from secular space to the sacred.⁵¹³ Essentially, to cross a threshold is to unite oneself with a new ‘world.’⁵¹⁴ The spatial dimension of liminality can relate to specific places and thresholds such as a particular gateway, doorways, porticoes, but also broader areas and zones, essentially, any structure or space situated ‘in-between’ (including, in a modern sense, border areas between countries).⁵¹⁵

The concept of liminality can also be expressed in social structure, i.e. possession or absence of a particular rank or inclusion in a particular social group or institution. A ‘ritual of status elevation’ is where the ritual subject, or novice, is conveyed (irreversibly) from a lower to a higher position in an institutionalised social system.⁵¹⁶ This can include birth and marriage, but also to political offices or membership of an exclusive club or secret society.⁵¹⁷ Van Gennep identifies the transition from one social position to another within the category of ‘territorial passage.’⁵¹⁸ Usually ‘territorial passage’ is ritually expressed by literal movement across a liminal threshold/zone (from one space to another), or by an ‘opening of doors,’ but it can also refer to the figurative movement from one state to another. The spatial separation of distinct groups is an aspect of social organisation.⁵¹⁹

⁵¹⁰ V. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-structure* (New York, 1969), 95; B. Thomassen, *Liminality and the Modern: Living through the In-Between* (Surrey, 2014), 89.

⁵¹¹ See A. von Gennep, *Rites of Passage* (London, 1960) who was the first to study these rites in various cultures focusing primarily on African societies.

⁵¹² Thomassen, *Liminality and the Modern*, 91.

⁵¹³ Thomassen, *Liminality and the Modern*, 91.

⁵¹⁴ Von Gennep, *Rites of Passage*, 20.

⁵¹⁵ Thomassen, *Liminality and the Modern*, 91.

⁵¹⁶ Turner, *Ritual Process*, 167.

⁵¹⁷ Turner, *Ritual Process*, 168.

⁵¹⁸ Von Gennep, *Rites of Passage*, 192.

⁵¹⁹ Von Gennep, *Rites of Passage*, 192.

One of the ways the spatial and social aspects of liminality are observed in ancient Egypt is through right of entry. The privilege of having access was the means for separating between social groups, which is also expressed physically by restricting access into or within the structure (such as the Residence/palace, temples, tombs) (see Section 3.3). Therefore, liminal boundaries and its officials form a crucial element in this social and spatial system.

3. 5. 1. Liminal spaces in the Residence/palace

Naturally, thresholds and doors are architecturally significant in the construction of any structure. From an engineering perspective, doorways are necessary to preserve the structural integrity of the building; the doorways support the weight of the entire structure. Apart from this, thresholds are nonetheless significant in ancient Egyptian thought and culture.⁵²⁰ Doorways and porticoes represent a liminal boundary or zone, a point of ‘in-between,’ in which various palace activities could and did take place.

(1) Palace exterior | interior

The liminal zone where the ‘outside’ transitioned into the ‘inside’ was at the main entrance to the palace complex. The area preceding the entrance to the palace (or temple) was referred to as the *ꜥrry.t* (also *ꜥꜣy.t*, *ꜥry.t*) ‘approach.’ The basic meaning of *ꜥrry.t* was the ‘approach’ of a building.⁵²¹ The *ꜥrry.t* had all the ideological characteristics of a gateway because it is a general term referring to the area immediately in front of a

⁵²⁰ For example, Egyptian kings dedicated and constructed doorways or gateways to the gods as a sign of devotion. Seti I states in his temple at Abydos that ‘he made as his monument for his father, Re-Horakhty...the making for him of a great doorway (*sbꜣ*) in electrum’: KRI I 132. 3. The importance of doorways is also reflected in the way the afterlife was structured, the doorways of the Underworld, and their doorkeepers, are a predominant feature within the afterlife. Senemiah (TT 127): ‘May you go out and go in without being driven back (*hnhn*) and without being turned away (*šnꜥ*) from the doorway of the Underworld. May the two doors of the horizon (*ꜥꜣ.wy ꜣht*) be opened (*wn*) for you, and the two door-bolts (*swy*) themselves be pushed open (*wn*) for you’: Urk. IV. 498.7-11; Leprohon, “Gatekeepers,” 83. Amenemhat (TT 82): ‘May you go in and go out in the West, and may you stride freely (*wstn*) through the doorway of the Underworld’: Urk. IV 1063.13-14; Leprohon, “Gatekeepers,” 83. Tomb of Amenemib: “Praise to you, *ka*, doorkeeper of the gate of the Underworld. May you cause going in peace to the place of truth to the *ka* of Osiris...”: L. Manniche, *Lost Ramessid and Post-Ramessid Private Tombs in the Theban Necropolis* (Copenhagen, 2011), 25-27. The *Book of the Dead* includes various spells allowing the deceased to pass through these doorways unhindered: Leprohon, “Gatekeepers,” 82-83.

⁵²¹ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 152, 154-155. The term *ꜥrry.t* in Old Kingdom documents (Abusir archive, decrees from Coptos) was used to describe a section in front of the temple incorporating the main gate. In the New Kingdom, too, it was used in connection with both temples and the Residence/palace: Van den Boorn, “Wꜥꜥ-ryt and Justice,” 12. For example, the autobiography of Rekhmire describes the vizier crossing the *ꜥrry.t* to enter the palace (‘I reached the door (*sbꜣ*) of the palace approach (*ꜥrry.t*)’ (Urk. IV. 1073.5).

‘building of authority,’ which included the gate and portico.⁵²² The palace approach, entrance, and portico, was considered a liminal space between the outside world and the enclosed world of the Residence/palace where the exalted residents lived (in this case, king and his representatives (i.e. officials) and where they presented themselves in their ‘official’ functions to the public at large.⁵²³

Sources indicate that the *ḥrry.t* can operate as an administrative department, even serving as a meeting place and audience hall.⁵²⁴ The inscription of Mes shows that the palace approach was, in fact, an institution where documents were deposited, stating *ir.w m sn.y [rdi] m ḥrry.t n.t pr-ḥ* ‘made as a copy and placed in the *ḥrry.t* of the palace.’⁵²⁵ This hints at its administrative function. This is further demonstrated in the ‘Dream Stela’ of Tanutamun (I.23): ‘They said to his majesty, “They (the Delta-chieftains) are here waiting at the palace approach (*ḥrry.t*)”’⁵²⁶ as well as in the stela of Intef in which it is stated that the palace approach served as a reception area where officials collected taxes.⁵²⁷ Similarly, the *Duties of the Vizier* states, ‘as for any messenger (*wp.wty*) whom the vizier sends with a message...it is his message that takes the governors (*ḥ.ty.w-ḥ*) and settlement-leaders (*ḥk3.w-ḥw.wt*) to the palace approach (*ḥrry.t*).’⁵²⁸

Several titles include the term *ḥrry.t*, which reveal its role in various governmental activities, such as appeals and petitions, the giving of reports etc. For example, the *whm.w n(.y) ḥrry.t* ‘herald/reporter of the palace-approach’⁵²⁹ would presumably greet petitioners in front of the palace entrance, where they would await being summoned into the administrative offices or reception rooms.⁵³⁰ In addition, the *im.y-r3 ḥrr.wt* ‘overseer of the palace approach’⁵³¹ *sš n(.y) ḥrry.t* ‘scribe of the palace approach,’ *ir.y ḥrry.wt* ‘keeper of the palace approach,’⁵³² and *htm.ty n(.y) ḥrry.t* ‘sealer of the palace approach’ shows that an

⁵²² Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 152, 154-155; Van den Boorn, “Wd^c-ryt and Justice,” 12.

⁵²³ Van den Boorn, “Wd^c-ryt and Justice,” 8, 12.

⁵²⁴ Van den Boorn, “Wd^c-ryt and Justice,” 9.

⁵²⁵ KRI III 432.7-8; Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 153; A.H. Gardiner, *The inscription of Mes: a contribution to the study of Egyptian judicial procedure* (Hildesheim, 1964), 6; G.A. Gaballa, *The Memphite Tomb Chapel of Mose* (Warminster, 1977), 24; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 65.

⁵²⁶ Urk. III 72.3; K. Jansen-Winkel, *Inschriften des Spätzeit, Teil III: die 25. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 2009), 239.11-12.

⁵²⁷ Stela Louvre C 26; Urk. III 23.10; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 67; Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 154.

⁵²⁸ R 11: Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 89.

⁵²⁹ Ward, *Index*, 744.

⁵³⁰ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 153.

⁵³¹ Jones, *Index*, I 344.

⁵³² Jones, *Index*, I 1143.

entire hierarchy of officials was involved in this sector of the Residence/palace complex. Various security personnel, including the *šms.w ʿrry.t* ‘guard of the palace-approach’⁵³³ *ʿnh.w n(.y) ʿrry.t* ‘soldier of the palace-approach,’⁵³⁴ protected this approach to the palace. The 12th dynasty stela of Wepwawet-aa describes his reception at the palace as follows, *htm.tyw nty m pr-nsw.t ʿnh.w n(.w)t ʿrry.t hr m33=i st3 r pr-nsw.t* ‘the seal-bearers who are in the palace, the soldiers who were at the palace-approach, saw my admittance to the palace.’⁵³⁵ This is indicative that this area was bustling with activity, well protected and had to be transversed before entry to the palace proper.

Helck observed that the key aspect of these activities is that they all pertain to the communication between the Residence/palace and the king’s subjects, and accordingly describes the *ʿrry.t* as a channel.⁵³⁶ This aspect is best observed in the stela of Initef, which states, *tkn st hrw n(.y) sʿš3 wb3 n=f nsw.t mdw=f r ir.t ʿrry.t hr=f* ‘...who approaches the throne (on) the day of assembly, to whom the king divulges his words to act (as) the ‘approach’ for him.’⁵³⁷ This confirms the function of the *ʿrry.t* as a conduit for the king’s messages and wishes, in essence, his royal authority. The above examples indicate that the palace-approach acted as a liminal “in-between” space connecting the outer world and the enclosed ‘world of authority’ (i.e. Residence/palace).⁵³⁸

Other liminal boundaries and structures, denoted by *rw.t/rw.ty* and *sb3*, also played a role in the routine of the highest officials. Papyrus Anastasi IV reveals that the *rw.ty-wr.ty* ‘great double-doors,’ which regularly designated the main entrance to a palace, was the place for making reports, stating *mk.wi iwi.kw r dd smi r-gs p3 rw.ty-wr.ty* ‘see, I am come to make reports at the side of the great double-gate.’⁵³⁹ Similarly, the *Duties of the Vizier* states, ‘the vizier shall appear (*wbn*)⁵⁴⁰ in the doorway (*sb3*) of the great double-doors

⁵³³ Ward, *Index*, 1520; Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 153.

⁵³⁴ Stela München 3, 15-16; H.G. Fischer, “The Inscription of In-It.f, Born of Tfi,” *JNES* 19 (1960), 266 (3).

⁵³⁵ Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 153; K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im Akademischen Unterricht: Texte des Mittleren Reiches* (Hildesheim, 1983), 74 (1.14).

⁵³⁶ Helck, *Verwaltung*, 65-70; Van den Boorn, “Wd^c-ryt and Justice,” 9.

⁵³⁷ H.G. Fischer, “Inscription of In-it.f,” 261 (1.7), fig. 1.

⁵³⁸ Van den Boorn, “Wd^c-ryt and Justice,” 12.

⁵³⁹ Papyrus Anastasi IV 4. 9-10; Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 65-66; R.A. Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (London, 1954), 149.

⁵⁴⁰ Van den Boorn (*Duties of the Vizier*, 54-55) translated the term as ‘east’ (FCD 59). Alternatively, O’Connor observed that *wbn* is allotted a determinative indicating that in this context it is a verb related to movement, rather than orientation, and one might then reasonably translate it as simply ‘to appear’ (FCD 58) with no reference to orientation. O’Connor further suggests that this phrase, originally referring to the rising sun, is usually applied to gods or kings, but can be used for private persons as well. Having just attended to the king, and having received his instructions, vizier is now a vessel of royal authority and can thus be

(*rw.ty-wr.ty*). Then, the ‘overseer of sealed goods’ shall come to meet him, and he (the latter) shall report to him (the vizier).’⁵⁴¹ Essentially, once the vizier had updated the king about the current events and news of the country, the vizier would exit through the main entrance of the palace to meet the treasurer to discuss business for the day, having received his orders from the king.⁵⁴² The text confirms that top officials discussed administrative affairs in front of the entrance to the palace. The area in front of a main gate was considered to be the place *par excellence* for the flow of information between the outer spheres and the interior of the palace (and vice versa).⁵⁴³ Finally, several tomb-scenes at Amarna depict some of the activities that took place in front of a doorway. The aforementioned tomb of chief of police Mahu shows the tomb-owner bringing several prisoners before the vizier (see Section 2.3, fig. 2.9a). This entire exchange takes place in front of a porch attached to the palace. As in the texts above, such reporting and informing took place at the palace entrance, in this case the porch specifically. A scene in the tomb of Tutu (fig. 3.4) shows the king receiving Tutu and other courtiers at the front of the palace, perhaps the palace approach (?).

The above examples illustrate that liminal zones in ancient Egypt were governmental spaces where officials interacted with each other. The activities that took place in this liminal zone related predominantly to the transmission of information, such as reports and appeals. Liminal spaces such as the *ꜥrry.t*, *rw.t(y)*, and *sbꜣ*, were locations where the authority of the king (and thus the government) manifested and therefore acted as the sole line of communication between the Residence/palace and the rest of the world.⁵⁴⁴

described as ‘appearing in glory.’ If this interpretation is accepted, then *m wbn* may simply refer to an act of appearance, not compass orientation: O’Connor, “Royal Palace in New Kingdom Egypt,” 273-274.

⁵⁴¹ R5-R6: Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 49, 55, 59; Urk. IV 1105, 14-17. Above translation based on O’Connor’s interpretation, “Royal Palace in New Kingdom Egypt,” 272-274.

⁵⁴² O’Connor, “Royal Palace in New Kingdom Egypt,” 272-274. Based on this description, O’Connor has theorised that this Theban palace was situated in the area northwest of the temple, along a north-south axis, of the temple of Amun at Karnak. Van den Boorn (*Duties of the Vizier*, 55-63, 66-67), in contrast, considers the vizier and treasurer to meet at the front of the palace *before* the vizier enters through the palace entrance to meet the king. He also believes that the ‘northern flagstaff’ was situated in front of the main entrance of the palace, and not the Karnak temple as O’Connor suggests. The temple as the location of this ‘northern flagpole’ seems more plausible as temples are regularly depicted and described as having them, while palaces are not: Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 55-63, 66-67. The Karnak temple in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49) and the Aten temple in Amarna in the tomb of Meryra I are depicted with flagpoles while the palace in Amarna also in the tomb of Meryra I are represented without flagpoles: Davies, *Tomb of Nefer-hotep*, pl. XLI; N. de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of el-Amarna: Part I. – The Tomb of Meryra* (London, 1903), pls. XII (temple), XVIII (palace).

⁵⁴³ It seems logical then that the vizier exchanges the last updated reports and information at the gateway of the *pr-ꜥꜣ*, after having entered to pay his respects to his king and give him a full report.

⁵⁴⁴ Van den Boorn, “Wꜥꜥ-ryt and Justice,” 8; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 65.

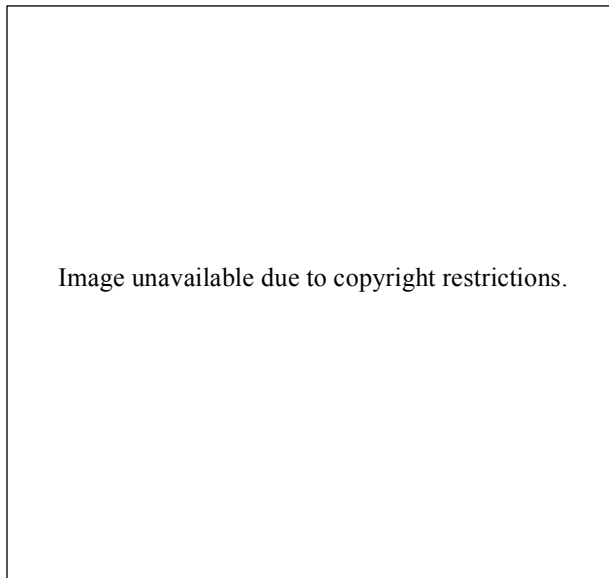


Figure 3.4. The king receives Tutu at the front of the palace from the tomb of Tutu at Amarna.⁵⁴⁵

(2) ‘Outer’ palace | ‘Inner’ palace

As argued in Section 3.4, a distinction was made between the ‘outer’ palace (*hnt.y*) and the ‘inner’ palace (*k3p*) (also designated as *pr-mn^c.t* and *ip3.t-nsw.t*).⁵⁴⁶ This is known from pBoulaq 18 and references to the inner palace in self-descriptive phrases and titles (see Sections 3.3 and 3.4). The outer palace and inner palace may also be viewed as the separation between the governmental or semi-public sector, and the domestic or private sector of the palace building, respectively. This is suggested by the lists of pBoulaq 18, which divides the individuals into belonging to the outer and inner sector; those designated ‘inner’ show a close association with the royal family, while those designated ‘outer’ are listed under the vizier and with the highest administrators of the country. As is described in Section 3.4.1, the outer and inner palace had its own personnel and did interact with each other, but each was administered separately.⁵⁴⁷ The people associated with the inner palace include the royal family, the families of the king’s top administrators, nurses and tutors, musicians, and specific personal attendants. The outer palace, on the other hand, was managed by the vizier and consisted of palace and state administrators.

This division must have been mirrored in the spatial dimension, there must have been a liminal space where the outer palace transitioned into the protected inner palace, and this must have been expressed in some way. Quirke proposed that the precise liminal boundary

⁵⁴⁵ N. de Garis-Davies, *The rock tombs of el-Amarna: Part VI. – Tombs of Parennefer, Tutu, and Ay* (London, 1908), pl. XVII.

⁵⁴⁶ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 37-41; Spence, “Palaces at el-Amarna,” 168; Spence, “Court and palace,” 283.

⁵⁴⁷ Spence, “Court and palace,” 283.

between the outer and inner palace may have been in the form of an audience-hall (fig. 3.5).⁵⁴⁸ Quirke further suggests this may have been designated by *w3h.y* ‘columned hall,’ a recurring term in pBoulaq 18. Several lists indicate that officials were given special provisions in this columned hall.⁵⁴⁹ Lists S60 and S74 show that over sixty people were present at two feasts held at the palace in this hall, indicative not only of its size but also its importance in the palace grounds.⁵⁵⁰ Offerings to the gods Montu and Horus were also performed in this hallway.⁵⁵¹ According to Quirke, the *w3h.y* may, therefore, have acted as an audience-hall, the point where the outer and inner sectors of the palace came together, and presumably court formalities took place. The lists of pBoulaq 18 usually designate the officials as belonging either to the ‘inner’ or ‘outer’ palace, yet in these lists (S60 and S74) all officials are listed together further indicating that since there was no division, this hall was the liminal point of both palace sectors. This *w3h.y*-hall was situated in between the private rooms of the palace and the working administrative sector.⁵⁵²

Consequently, the division of the outer and inner palace represents a significant liminal zone within the palace, which factored into the social differentiation of palace officials. It was one thing to be granted access to the palace proper itself (the outer sphere) which was significant enough, but to gain access across the threshold from the outer to the inner sphere was another level of privilege and a sign of trust and perhaps favour. The status of an individual was influenced by how far he could advance into the palace. For example, some officials claim that they were allowed access freely in and out of the palace’s private quarters, while others could only reach the doorway/threshold of the *k3p* (see Section 3.3). They would have had to wait at this doorway while another official who did have access beyond this point went inside to get what was needed.⁵⁵³ Orders from the inner palace were transferred to outer palace personnel at this location, and vice versa (see Section 3.4.1). Outer palace personnel were not allowed past this liminal point. Having a physical liminal boundary at key points in the palace, where the outer palace became the inner palace, for example, enforces that social separation of outer/inner palace.

⁵⁴⁸ Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 30.

⁵⁴⁹ See lists S36, S60, S74 in Scharff, “Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes,” pls. 10**, 18**-19**, 22**-23**, Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 40.

⁵⁵⁰ Scharff, “Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes,” pls. 18**-19**, 22**-23**; Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 40.

⁵⁵¹ See lists S16, S24, S65, Scharff, “Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes,” pls. 6**, 8**, 20**; Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 40.

⁵⁵² Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 105.

⁵⁵³ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 102-105; Leprohon, “Gatekeepers,” 78.

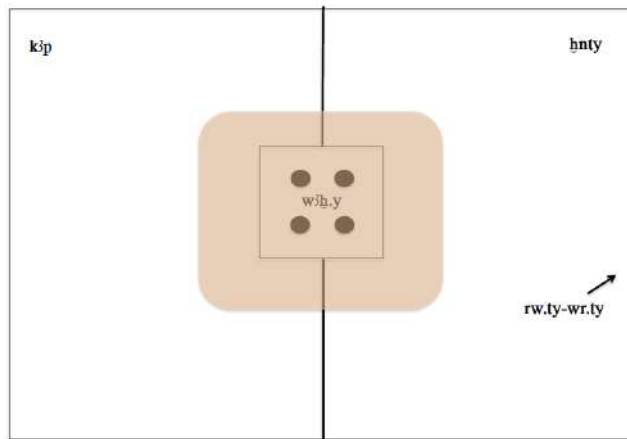


Figure 3.5. Theoretical plan of the palace (based on Quirke from pBoulaq 18) showing the inner and outer palace and the *w3h.y*-hall – the orange shading marks the entire liminal zone.⁵⁵⁴

These outer and inner sectors are very difficult to identify within the surviving palace structures, the relationship between archaeology and terminology remains problematic.⁵⁵⁵ The Main Palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata has features considered indicative of a residential type of palace, and is likely to have been the place where the king actually stayed long-term when he visited Thebes and the surrounding area.⁵⁵⁶ As is evident from the palace's layout (fig. 3.6) the building comprised of multiple inner rooms and pillared halls as well as various doorways, courtyards and corridors along the outer areas, but identifying which area was designated 'inner palace' is difficult.⁵⁵⁷

⁵⁵⁴ Diagram created by the M. Kooyman.

⁵⁵⁵ Spence, "Palaces of el-Amarna," 187.

⁵⁵⁶ P. Lacovara, "The Development of the New Kingdom Royal Palace," in R. Gundlach and J.H. Taylor (eds) *4th Symposium of Egyptian Royal Ideology. Egyptian Royal Residences. London, June 1st–5th 2004* (Wiesbaden, 2009), 84, 86-86; O'Connor, "Royal Palace in New Kingdom Egypt," 279.

⁵⁵⁷ It is interesting to note that another building, known as 'House West 1' (Ho. W 1) is situated northwest of the Main Palace enclosure opposite the entrance ramp. It is designed around a large central hall (cf. 'standard Amarna villa'), which gave access to two suites of private rooms. The entrance to this 'House' is through a long off-axis corridor. To the south west of the central hall is a group of three large rooms one of which contained an altar. House West 1 was likely part of the Main Palace building, rather than a separate, independent structure. It may, in fact, have been the private residential quarters of the king; away from the rest of the palace. This is mirrored to a certain extent by the Great Palace and King's House at Amarna; the former can be considered the king's administrative palace and the latter his short-term residence when he visited the central city: Lacovara, "New Kingdom Royal Palace," 89.

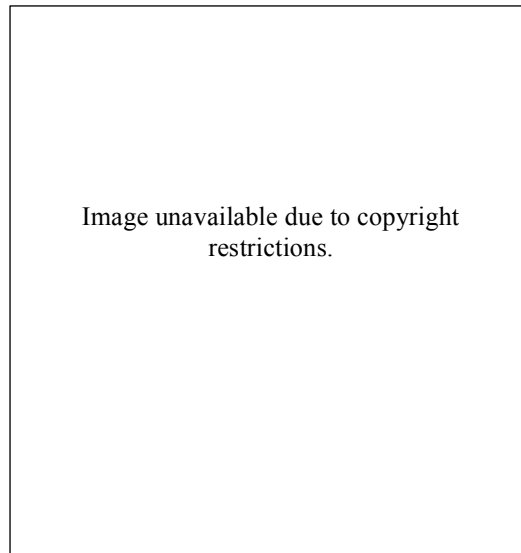


Figure 3.6. Plan of the palace complex of Amenhotep III at Malkata.⁵⁵⁸

3. 5. 2. Justice in the liminal environment

In addition to particular administrative activities and the daily routine of officials, liminal spaces were also the places where justice was dispensed. Sauneron's conclusions that doorways and porches at temples and the palace played a role in the dispensation of justice was summarised in Section 1.5. Sauneron concluded that in the later periods of Egyptian history, it was customary to administer justice at a gate or portico/porch. There were several such doorways designated *Rw.t-di-M³c.t* 'door-of-the-giving-of-justice/*maat*' at the temples of Edfu, Esna, and the door of Tiberius at Medamud, which hint at its use in judicial procedures.⁵⁵⁹ This is further supported by the accompanying inscription at the doorway at Edfu, which states, 'it is the place where the complaints of all the plaintiffs are heard, in order to distinguish the justice of iniquity: it is the great place where the weak are protected, and saved from the powerful.'⁵⁶⁰ Archaeological evidence at the doorway of Tiberius at Medamud has uncovered four pillars situated in front of the pylon, with room to place a statue or platform, which was probably covered by a canopy or light wooden roof.⁵⁶¹ This was likely where the tribunal was seated in this law-court.

⁵⁵⁸ Lacovara, "New Kingdom Royal Palace," 86 fig. 2.

⁵⁵⁹ Sauneron, "justice à la porte," 118.

⁵⁶⁰ Sauneron, "justice à la porte," 119.

⁵⁶¹ Sauneron, "justice à la porte," 126; H. Brunner, "Die Rolle von Tür und Tor im Alten Ägypten," *Symbolon* 6 (1982), 45, 59 fig. 9.

Sauneron considered this custom derived from earlier periods in Egypt's history when justice was (perhaps first) dispensed at the entrance of the Residence/palace.⁵⁶² This is confirmed by the evidence which indicates that the approach to the palace (*ḥrry.t*) was used as the place to render justice. For example, Papyrus Berlin 3047 states, 'on this day, in the *ḥrry.t* of the king, in the southern residence, near "Satisfied-of-truth," the great door of Ramesses II, life, prosperity, health, in front of Amun,' suggesting judicial processes took place at the palace approach near this doorway.⁵⁶³ In fact, this doorway is also mentioned by a New Kingdom scribe who refers to the doorway as *hr-ib hr ir.t m³.t* 'Satisfied-with-practicing-justice.'⁵⁶⁴ Evidently, this doorway was thought of as a place of judgement, which according to Sauneron, would most likely have been in close proximity of the actual court even though the scribe only mentions the door.⁵⁶⁵ A passage from the *Duties of the Vizier*, states, 'any chief official (*sr*) controls the dispensation of justice in his own office. When a severe accusation is levelled at one of the officials in his office, he (the chief official) will see to it that he (the subordinate official) is taken to the *ḥry.t*. It is the vizier who will punish him according to his offence,' which confirms that justice was dispensed at the palace-*ḥrry.t*.⁵⁶⁶

The judicial function of the *ḥrry.t* is probably also extended to other liminal spaces and structures such as *rw.t* 'doorway, portico,' and *sb³* 'door, gateway'.⁵⁶⁷ A marriage contract to a slave contains a possible reference to the *sb³* as a place where corporal punishment was carried out.⁵⁶⁸ A letter from the temple archive of Neferirkare (pBerlin 11310) at Abusir describes a dispute between two officials during the reign of Djedkare-Isesi. The sender of the missive was in charge of the transport of goods for the funerary cult, and was accused of not delivering the goods by the recipient of the letter, a temple administrator. The accused was tried before the 'great house' (*ḥw.t-wr.t*).⁵⁶⁹ At the end of the hearing, he was found not guilty of the charge, stating: *in rr iyi.n(=i) m^c sr.w n(.w) rw.t ḥw.t-wr.t* 'Am

⁵⁶² Sauneron, "justice à la porte," 122; M. Lurje, *Studien zum altägyptischen Recht* (Weimar, 1971); R.A. Caminos, *Literary Fragments in Hieratic Script* (Oxford, 1956), 46, pl. 20.

⁵⁶³ Papyrus Berlin 3047.3-4, recto, see Sauneron, "justice à la porte," 120-121; Van den Boorn, "Wd^c-ryt and Justice," 12.

⁵⁶⁴ Pap. Anastasi IV, 4, 7; A.H. Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies* (Brussels, 1937), 39 l. 1-2.

⁵⁶⁵ Sauneron, "justice à la porte," 120-121

⁵⁶⁶ R8-R9: Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 77-78; Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 76-77.

⁵⁶⁷ Van den Boorn, "Wd^c-ryt and Justice," 10.

⁵⁶⁸ Van den Boorn, "Wd^c-ryt and Justice," 7 fn 28; J. de Linage, "L'Acte d'établissement et le contrat de mariage d'un esclave sous Thutmès III" *BIFAO* 38 (1938), 219, II. 13-14.

⁵⁶⁹ Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 29.

I not returned with the officials (=ad hoc judges) of the door of the great house.’⁵⁷⁰ The term *rw.t* is clearly attested in a judicial context that suggests the doorway played a role in the judicial proceedings even during this early period.⁵⁷¹ The ‘great house’ was an institution of the Old Kingdom where governmental decisions and policies of the state were administered and judicial affairs were settled.⁵⁷² Evidently, at the doorway of this space these legal matters were rendered.

Doorways/Gateways (*rw.t(y)*, *sbj*), the small porches/porticoes (*h3y.t*) in front of them, as well as the larger area in front of a centre of authority (*‘rry.t*), could be used as places of justice in certain contexts.⁵⁷³ Sauneron focuses on Late Period doorways (*rw.t*) but since it is a gate/doorway in general, and not one specific gate that is associated with this custom, it can be concluded that *rw.t*, *‘rry.t* and *sbj* should be considered equivalent terms in this context.⁵⁷⁴ The administrative and judicial role of these liminal spaces/structures is derived from the notion that it functioned as a liminal entity or, according to Helck, as a channel between the secluded interior of the palace and the outside, as the literal and metaphorical passage of interaction and contact between two ‘worlds.’⁵⁷⁵ To the Egyptians, these were appropriate places for undertaking administrative duties and dispensing of justice because they were the place where the authority of the king best manifested; a direct result of their liminal character.⁵⁷⁶ The *h3y.t* ‘porch’ can be considered another liminal structure alongside the ones described above. Sauneron proposed that the *sms.w h3y.t* were part of this ancient custom of judicial practice and belonged to a small group of judges who sat under this wooden, and roofed *h3y.t* ‘porch’ to settle and resolve legal matters in the palace.⁵⁷⁷ In light of the above discussion, this seems plausible (see also Section 3.7).

⁵⁷⁰ Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 30; P. Posener-Krieger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakai (Les Papyrus d’Abusir)* II, 453, 458-60, 464-465; Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 192.

⁵⁷¹ Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 193; Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 113; Van den Boorn, “Wd^c-ryt and Justice,” 8.

⁵⁷² See Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 22-23, 60-61; Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 176ff., 188-198; Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 27-33; Martin-Pardey, “Richten im Alten Reich,” 166; Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 120.

⁵⁷³ Van den Boorn, “Wd^c-ryt and Justice,” 12, 21.

⁵⁷⁴ Van den Boorn, “Wd^c-ryt and Justice,” 7 fn 28.

⁵⁷⁵ Van den Boorn, “Wd^c-ryt and Justice,” 8-10; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 65-70.

⁵⁷⁶ Van den Boorn, “Wd^c-ryt and Justice,” 14.

⁵⁷⁷ S. Sauneron, “justice à la porte,” 122.

3. 5. 3. Officials in the liminal environment

Some officials are particularly connected with the liminal environment; some who were mentioned previously, such as those attached to the *ꜥrry.t*, see Sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.2. The *im.y-rꜣ rw.ty* ‘overseer of the doorway/entrance,’ for example, was the official situated at the main entrance of the palace. This position has not been studied in great detail. The entrance to the palace was, as suggested by the arguments set out above, a place where governmental matters took place.⁵⁷⁸ The 18th dynasty *im.y-rꜣ rw.ty* and *wḥm.w-ns.w.t* ‘royal reporter,’ Iamnedjeh, for instance, was an influential figure with considerable authority over this entry.⁵⁷⁹ He organised and directed the reports and goods delivered to the palace and assessed petitioners’ applications for admittance.⁵⁸⁰ The most frequently attested official in the liminal environment, and one studied in more detail, were those designated *ir.y-ꜥꜣ* ‘keeper of the door.’

3. 5. 3. 1. The *ir.y-ꜥꜣ* ‘doorkeeper’

The title *ir.y-ꜥꜣ* ‘doorkeeper’ also rendered ‘doorman, gatekeeper, concierge, or porter,’⁵⁸¹ first appears during the Middle Kingdom (with the exception of some occurrences in the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts), and becomes very frequent during the New Kingdom.⁵⁸² However, positioning someone at entrances and important doorways must have been practised from very early times, even in an unofficial capacity, fulfilling the basic function of protecting and keeping the unauthorised out.

The *ir.y-ꜥꜣ* could be attached to various institutions and specific buildings.⁵⁸³ During the Middle Kingdom, several extensions to the core title are attested, such as *ir.y-ꜥꜣ n(.y) ḥw.t-ntr* ‘doorkeeper of the temple,’ *ir.y-ꜥꜣ n(.y) ḥꜣ n(.y) ḫ.ty* ‘doorkeeper of the office of the vizier,’ and *ir.y-ꜥꜣ n(.y) šnw.t* ‘doorkeeper of the granary.’⁵⁸⁴ The Middle Kingdom sources

⁵⁷⁸ Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, R5-R6 49, 55, 59.

⁵⁷⁹ Bryan, “Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III,” 87-88.

⁵⁸⁰ Bryan, “Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III,” 87-88.

⁵⁸¹ Jones, *Index*, 1140; Ward, *Index*, 500; M. Goecke-Bauer, “Untersuchungen zu den ‘Torwächtern’ von Deir el-Medine” in J.J. Janssen, E. Froid and M. Goecke-Bauer (eds) *Woodcutters, Potters and Doorkeepers: Service Personnel of the Deir el-Medina Workmen* (Leiden, 2013), 63.

⁵⁸² *LÄ* VI 787; Jones, *Index*, 1140; E. Jelinkova-Reymond, “Recherches sur le rôle des “gardiens des portes” (*ir.y-ꜥꜣ*) dans l’administration générale des temples égyptiens” *CdÉ* 28 (no. 55) (1953), 47; Goecke-Bauer, “Untersuchungen zu den ‘Torwächtern,’” 63.

⁵⁸³ *LÄ* VI 787.

⁵⁸⁴ Ward, *Index*, 502, 504, 505 respectively.

indicate that the doorkeepers were regarded as low-ranking officials.⁵⁸⁵ Yet, the title can be relatively important depending on where they are positioned; for example the doorkeepers at the temple entrances, or even the vizier's office, may have been considered more esteemed than their colleagues guarding the door to a specific granary or storeroom. Their function was not simply to supervise or protect the doorway or threshold, however, and the evidence suggests they had a broader role.

The evidence is more abundant during the New Kingdom. The 20th dynasty Papyrus Harris I shows that doorkeepers of the temples were divided into phyles, 'I appointed the doorkeepers in the phyle equipped with men to guard and maintain your front courtyard.'⁵⁸⁶ Clearly, there may have been additional security personnel at important doorways to assist the doorkeeper in keeping unwanted individuals out. It also seems that the doorkeepers were responsible for maintaining the property entrusted to their supervision.⁵⁸⁷ The title is regularly attested in the documentation from the workmen's community of Deir el-Medina in Thebes. Initially, Černý argued that the main function of the doorkeepers at Deir el-Medina was to open, close and guard the tomb, which is not apparent in the evidence.⁵⁸⁸ They were more likely doorkeepers not of the tomb, but of the village itself.⁵⁸⁹ In addition, the *ir.yw-ꜥ3* of Deir el-Medina were involved in the routine of the community but (naturally) did not take part in the actual building of the royal tombs.⁵⁹⁰ The sources suggest that the role of doorkeeper was not necessarily very stationary or inactive, and the doorkeepers were often in motion performing a myriad of errands and tasks.⁵⁹¹ Based on the evidence gleaned from Deir el-Medina, the *ir.yw-ꜥ3* did not only act as guardians of the village entrance, or the like, but were involved in other menial work. The doorkeepers were, essentially, intermediaries functioning "between" the community and the outside world, in particular the administrators from which rations were obtained, located somewhere along the floodplain (perhaps in the vicinity of the mortuary temples).

⁵⁸⁵ Jelinkova-Reymond, "Recherches sur le rôle des "gardiens des portes," 47.

⁵⁸⁶ Papyrus Harris I 28.7-8; Jelinkova-Reymond, "Recherches sur le rôle des "gardiens des portes," 49.

⁵⁸⁷ Jelinkova-Reymond, "Recherches sur le rôle des "gardiens des portes," 49.

⁵⁸⁸ J. Černý, *A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period* (Cairo, 2001), 170; R. Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead: a selection of topographical and administrative terms in the documents of the Theban necropolis* (Göttingen, 1986), 109.

⁵⁸⁹ Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead*, 109.

⁵⁹⁰ Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead*, 107.

⁵⁹¹ Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead*, 107.

The doorkeepers were frequently sent to collect supplies and rations of food (primarily grain) and other goods, on behalf of the workmen.⁵⁹² Ostraca Giomale 3 (recto II) describes that the ‘workforce is idle. Sending two doorkeepers to Thebes to demand grain rations.’⁵⁹³ It seems that there were delays in the supply of cereal rations so the doorkeepers were sent to Thebes to ensure the workers were supplied.⁵⁹⁴ The doorkeepers were not only responsible for collecting the rations, but were entrusted with keeping them until they could be delivered to the workmen.⁵⁹⁵ Ostraca DeM 426 (recto) states, “100 *p3w.t*-bread, 100 cakes, 100 cups of beer, 60 jugs...[on day 2] through the doorkeeper Papenmer,” which shows that the provisions were distributed to the workers by the doorkeeper.⁵⁹⁶

The doorkeepers also acted as messengers, envoys, and delivery persons for the community.⁵⁹⁷ They delivered messages and news from the village to the state administrators, and vice versa.⁵⁹⁸ For example, Papyrus Turin 2074 (recto II), from year 8 of Ramesses IX consists of a letter to the vizier from the workmen stating, ‘give cereal rations, copper, and equipment from the village (*p3-hr*) with the two doorkeepers.’⁵⁹⁹ The doorkeepers came back with a letter from the vizier, and presumably the requested rations, which informed the village that the ‘*mšwš* (Libyans) are coming to Thebes.’⁶⁰⁰ This shows that the doorkeepers were envoys for the village bringing back news with them about what was happening in Thebes at large.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹² LÄ IV 788; Goecke-Bauer, “Untersuchungen zu den ‘Torwächtern,’” 99; Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead*, 108. For example, Papyrus Turin 2044, vso II relates, ‘Year 1, first month, twelfth day...sending three *ḥ-n*[...] going to *mryt* [to receive the] *sgnn*-ointment and the copper ... send the doorkeeper Paenpamer.’ The doorkeepers were also entrusted with other goods and food products in addition to bread, emmer and barley, such as fish, vegetables, beer, dates, wood, basketry, sandals, fruit, and occasionally meat, Goecke-Bauer, “Untersuchungen zu den ‘Torwächtern,’” 96-98, 101.

⁵⁹³ Goecke-Bauer, “Untersuchungen zu den ‘Torwächtern,’” 98-99.

⁵⁹⁴ Goecke-Bauer, “Untersuchungen zu den ‘Torwächtern,’” 99.

⁵⁹⁵ Černý, *Community of Workmen*, 173.

⁵⁹⁶ Similarly, Ostraca IFAO 1239, for example, states that a certain amount of bread was ‘under supervision’ of the doorkeeper, until the beneficiaries could collect their share. Ostraca DeM 393 shows them supplying honey and fat to the woodcutter, Goecke-Bauer, “Untersuchungen zu den ‘Torwächtern,’” 96-97, 102.

⁵⁹⁷ LÄ IV 788.

⁵⁹⁸ Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead*, 108. Goecke-Bauer, “Untersuchungen zu den ‘Torwächtern,’” 99. The doorkeepers were known to bring messages from the vizier (O. Berlin 10663, 3), or even from the king’s butler (O. Petrie 73, 3-4) to the workmen’s gang: Černý, *Community of Workmen*, 173.

⁵⁹⁹ Goecke-Bauer, “Untersuchungen zu den ‘Torwächtern,’” 98.

⁶⁰⁰ Goecke-Bauer, “Untersuchungen zu den ‘Torwächtern,’” 98.

⁶⁰¹ The doorkeepers at Deir el-Medina also acted as intermediaries in private transactions. For example, ostraca Turin 57150 relates that in ‘year 19, the second month of *shemu*, the fifth day, this day, has brought to the doorkeeper Tja-aa, the cattle of Amenemopet for the songstress of Amun, Bak-Seth, what does she give for that ...’ The doorkeeper, Tja-aa, here acts as the middle-man taking the cattle over from the owner to the buyer. Similarly, Ostraca Michaelides 5, rto, states, ‘Year 26, the third month of *peret*, tenth day, the transfer of the donkey of the worker, Pa-re-hetepu, to the doorkeeper Pa-en-pa-mer, to the coppersmith Pthah-

Finally, they also acted as a type of bailiff and enforcer for the village law court and council (*knb.t*)⁶⁰² They were sometimes sent out to seize property of debtors because of a decision made by the *knb.t*.⁶⁰³ A debtor, whose name is lost, was found guilty by a magistrate of delay in payment for the services of a donkey, ‘He (= magistrate) [sent] the doorkeeper Khaemwose saying; “go to his [house and] bring whatever you will find there.”’⁶⁰⁴ According to Papyrus Anastasi V, 16, 5-6, ‘the scribe has landed at the riverbank and is about to register the harvest tax, the doorkeepers carrying staffs and the rod of palm-tree. They say, ‘give corn!’ though there is none. They beat (him) furiously. He is bound and thrown into the well.’⁶⁰⁵ Evidently, the doorkeeper acted as enforcers and individuals that handed out the punishments when necessary.⁶⁰⁶

The doorkeepers were evidently constantly working with the community and the outside, regularly delivering provisions and other materials, as well as messages to the village and escorting individuals back and forth.⁶⁰⁷ While the *ir.yw-ꜥ3* did not live in the village, the documentation at Deir el-Medina does mention the *ḥꜥ st n(.y) nꜥ ir.y(w)-ꜥ3* ‘the place of the doorkeepers,’ alluding to a station house where doorkeepers on duty would stay.⁶⁰⁸

pa-khapi for his work.’ In these two instances, the doorkeeper was the middleman between two parties exchanges by bringing the negotiated goods from one to the other: Goecke-Bauer, “Untersuchungen zu den ‘Torwächtern,’” 105-106, 111.

⁶⁰² *LÄ* IV 788; Černý, *Community of Workmen*, 172. Doorkeepers also served as witness to oracles, in private barter transactions, or to oaths taken in the court: Černý, *Community of Workmen*, 173; Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead*, 108.

⁶⁰³ Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead*, 108.

⁶⁰⁴ Černý, *Community of Workmen*, 172.

⁶⁰⁵ Černý, *Community of Workmen*, 171-172; Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 247ff.; Jelinkova-Reymond, “Recherches sur le rôle des “gardiens des portes,” 51. Cf. “Now the scribe lands on the shore. He surveys the harvest. *Attendants* are behind him with staffs...one says to (him): ‘give grain.’ ‘There is none!’ He is beaten savagely. He is bound, thrown in the well.” Papyrus Lansing 7, 2: Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature III*, 170-171

⁶⁰⁶ Cf. Old and Middle Kingdom title, *sꜥ-pr* ‘law-enforcer,’ J. Yoyotte, “Un corps de police de l’Égypte pharaonique” *RdÉ* 9 (1952), 139-151. See also Section 4.2.2.2.

⁶⁰⁷ Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead*, 117.

⁶⁰⁸ Papyrus Salt 124, 2,1; Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead*, 118-119. It was likely an easily accessible and visible structure, perhaps somewhere along the paths leading from the fields to the settlement, or perhaps even at the entrance of the village (Ventura suggests somewhere not far from where the Ptolemaic Temple now stands): Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead*, 119.

3. 5. 3. 2. Liminal personnel in reliefs

Persons at doorways are also relatively frequently found as minor figures in tomb reliefs. They are not captioned ‘doorkeepers’ or the like but since they are positioned at or near a doorway this is a reasonable assumption. The tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49) depicts the tomb owner being honoured by the king in front of the Window of Appearance. On the bottom-left of this scene, a doorkeeper leans out of the doorway, brandishing a short stick, to chase away revellers of the festivities (who may have awakened him from his sleep?) (fig. 3.7a.).⁶⁰⁹ A late New Kingdom block-relief from Saqqara depicts a doorkeeper leaning against the doorway, asleep.⁶¹⁰ Similarly, the tomb of Intef (TT 155) depicts a group of personnel carrying wine amphorae to the storeroom, which is guarded by a doorkeeper, portrayed asleep next to the door (fig. 3.7b.).⁶¹¹ The accompanying caption reveals that the doorkeeper may have sampled the wine and fell asleep after being intoxicated.⁶¹²

⁶⁰⁹ Davies, *Tomb of Nefer-hotep*, pl. XIV (bottom-left); P. F. Houlihan, *Wit and Humour in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2001), 47.

⁶¹⁰ Houlihan, *Wit and Humour*, 48 fig. 44.

⁶¹¹ T. Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs* (Oxford, 1957), pl. XV.

⁶¹² Houlihan, *Wit and Humour*, 49.

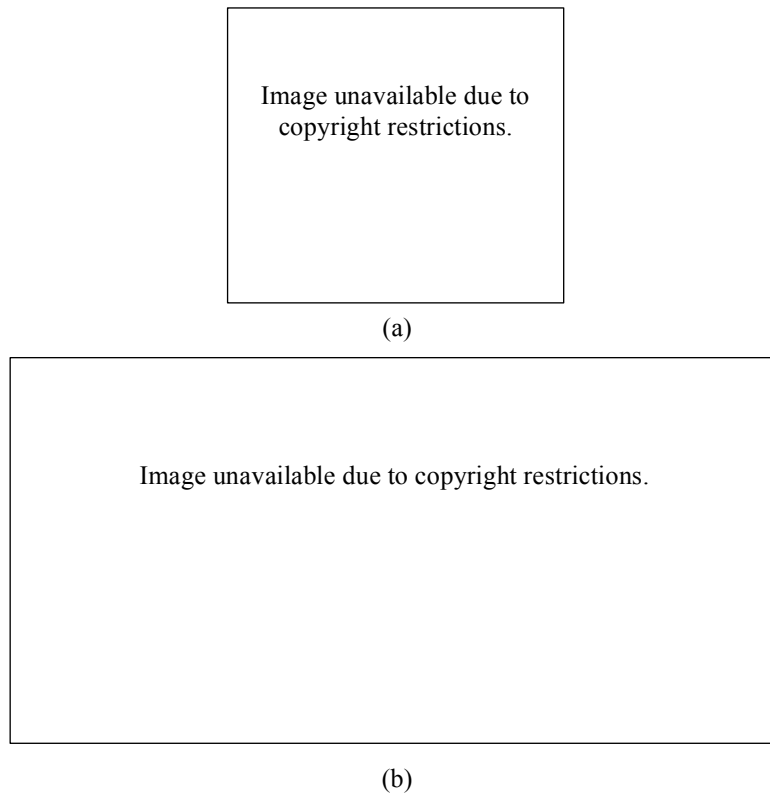


Figure 3.7. (a) Doorkeeper driving away revellers attending celebrations at the palace in the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49),⁶¹³ (b) Servants carrying amphorae into a storeroom and waking the sleepy and drunk doorkeeper from the tomb of Intef (TT 155).⁶¹⁴

Scenes from several Amarna tombs depict the palace including its personnel and the occasional doorkeeper. The representations in the tombs of Meryra I and Panehesy show hunched-over figures sweeping the forecourt, who may have also been the doorkeepers (figs 3.8a-b).⁶¹⁵ The aforementioned passage from pHarris I indicates that doorkeepers assisted in maintaining the premises where they were situated. In that same relief from Panehesy, a doorkeeper is also visible within the palace, sitting bent over as if asleep (fig. 3.8b). A very detailed representation of the palace is pictured in the tomb of Ay at Amarna.⁶¹⁶ The palace staff are shown busy maintaining the palace grounds and various doorkeepers are also depicted: “chatting” with another official while leaning against the door, seated next to the door, and one bored-looking fellow is shown resting his chin on his hand. Doorkeepers are also depicted seated beside the doorways in front of a brazier (to keep warm?) and eating (?) while inside musicians entertain and provisions are being organised (fig. 3.9).⁶¹⁷

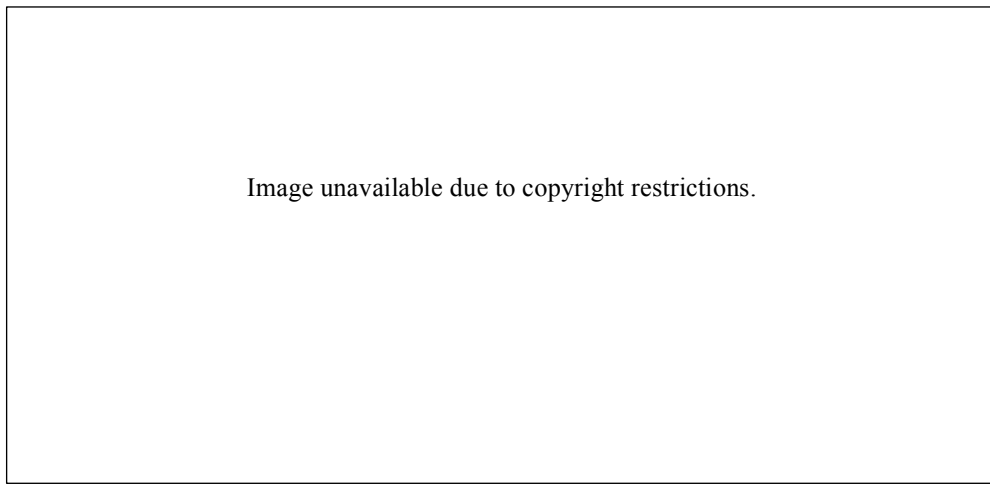
⁶¹³ Davies, *Tomb of Nefer-hotep*, pl. XIV (bottom-left).

⁶¹⁴ Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, pl. XV.

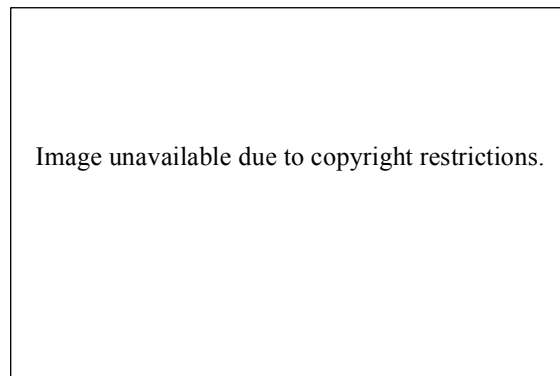
⁶¹⁵ Davies, *Rock tombs of el-Amarna I*, pl. XVIII.

⁶¹⁶ Davies, *Rock tombs of el-Amarna VI*, pl. XXVIII.

⁶¹⁷ Davies, *Rock tombs of el-Amarna VI*, pl. XXVIII.



(a)



(b)

Figure 3.8. Side-view representations of the palace in the tombs of (a) Meryra I, and (b) Panehesy, at Amarna, dozing doorkeeper circled in orange.⁶¹⁸

⁶¹⁸ Davies, *Rock tombs of el-Amarna I*, pl. XVIII, II, pl. XIV.

Images unavailable due to copyright restrictions.

Figure 3.9. Representation of the palace from the tomb of Ay at Amarna.⁶¹⁹

⁶¹⁹ Davies, *Rock tombs of el-Amarna VI*, pl. XXVIII.

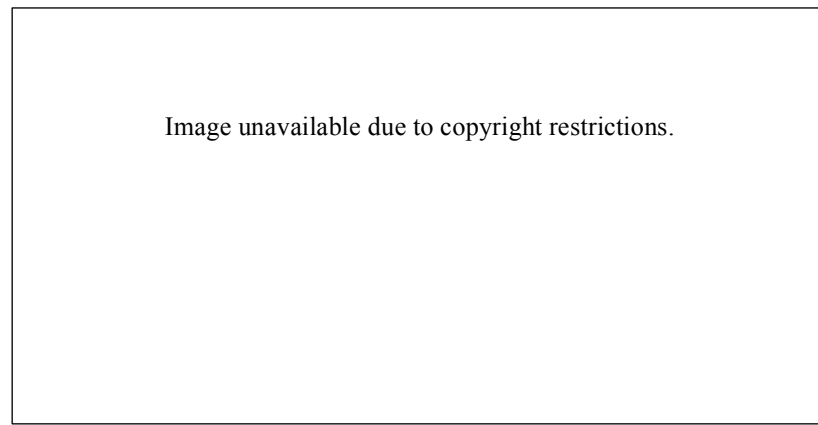
The aforementioned tomb of Neferhotep also depicts him riding out from the palace precinct in a chariot accompanied by an armed escort (fig. 3.10). Behind him, a man is leaning on a staff, although there is a chair situated next to him, while he talks to begging children, perhaps to keep them away from the doorway. An official holding a baton appears to be giving instruction to his subordinates next to him. Another doorkeeper is depicted holding a 'baton' in Neferhotep's tomb suggesting that 'batons' were key instruments held by these officials to keep the unauthorized out (fig. 3.10b-c, 3.7a.).

Another scene in Neferhotep's tomb depicts celebrations in the palace, with men and women eating and drinking and enjoying the festivities (fig. 3.11).⁶²⁰ On the left of party, palace staff is depicted carry food and drink for the celebrations through the entrance, where a man (perhaps the doorkeeper) appears to be directing people and allowing them entry. A subsidiary scene in the larger scene of Parennefer being rewarded by the king in front of the Window of Appearance shows a group of personnel carrying provisions and jugs walking by and being observed by two doorkeepers (on the right and left) (fig. 3.12).

⁶²¹ The doorkeeper on the left is bent over and holding a stick/baton, while the one on the right has his hands cupped in front of his mouth, perhaps calling out (?) or clapping (?).

⁶²⁰ Davies, *Tomb of Nefer-hotep*, pl. XVIII.

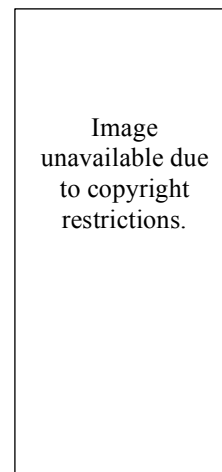
⁶²¹ Davies, *Rock tombs of el-Amarna VI*, pl. IV.



(a)



(b)



(c)

Figure 3.10. Scenes from the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49): (a) Neferhotep leaves the palace precinct in a chariot, (b) activity in front of the palace entrance, and (c) doorkeeper holding two batons.⁶²²

Doorkeepers are often portrayed inactive, seated, sleeping, eating, etc., even though they were in the centre of life at the palace, as part of the daily routines as well as important events and ceremonies. They must have been aware of everyone's coming and going. Their position at the door allowed them to interact with all manner of people, including their own peers, and they are sometimes portrayed talking to others (see above). In several instances they are depicted holding 'batons,' revealing the security or 'enforcer' aspect of their role, to keep those without access away. As is also observed from the various Deir el-Medina ostraca, none of their activities calls for any special training; the only skills or qualities required were physical fitness, trustworthiness, and good knowledge about the region and its inhabitants.⁶²³ These activities do, however, relate to the communication between two localities, the delivering of goods and news, the reporting of messages, etc. As enforcers of the court's decisions they were also even involved in dispensing justice.

⁶²² Davies, *Tomb of Nefer-hotep*, pls. XIII, XVI.

⁶²³ Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead*, 108.

All these activities took place in and around the liminal environment (see Sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.2), and clearly the duties of these officials are determined by the space in which they were situated.

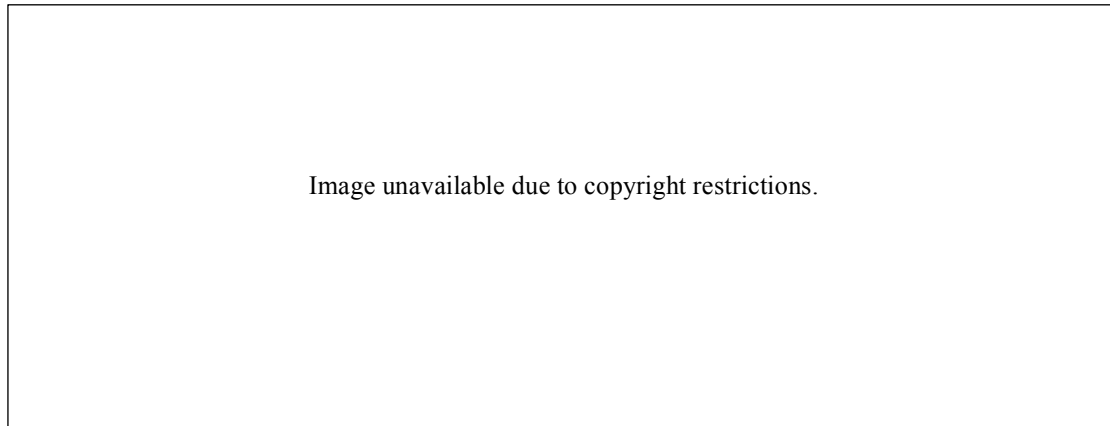


Figure 3. 11. Provisions arrive for the palace festivities, from the tomb of Neferhotep (TT 49).⁶²⁴

◆◆◆

This section demonstrates the significance of the liminal environment, both of the structures associated with it and its officials. They controlled and restricted access and acted as the intermediary between two palace sectors and even localities. Thus, the importance of the key role played by liminal officials in the life and the routine of the Residence/palace should not be underestimated.

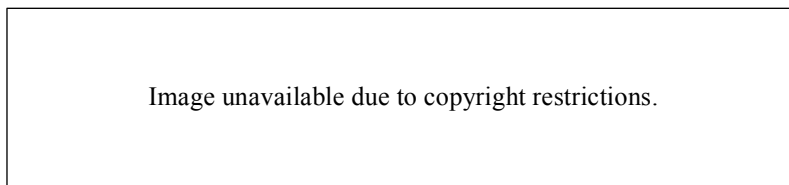


Figure 3.12. Personnel walking past two doorkeepers with supplies for the celebrations from the tomb of Parennefer at Amarna.⁶²⁵

⁶²⁴ Davies, *Tomb of Nefer-hotep*, pl. XVIII.

⁶²⁵ Davies, *Rock tombs of el-Amarna VI*, pl. IV.

3. 6. Defining the *sms.w h3y.t*

Numerous palace titles are constructed with architectural terms: *hrp wsht*, *w3m.w/imy-r3 ʕrry.t*, *im.y-r3 rw.t(y)*, *im.y-r3 ip3.t-nsw.t*, *imy-r3 ʕ-hnw.ty n(y) k3p*, *s3 (n.y) hnt.y*, etc. These terms are all extremely generic and vague although in most cases it likely referred to a specific structure or space within the Residence/palace.⁶²⁶ The title *sms.w h3y.t* can be included among them.

Since the title-phrase *sms.w h3y.t* is constructed with an architectural term, it makes sense that, at least, initially the official was closely affiliated with this structure. Holders of this title were defined by their attachment to this physical space, and any activity in which they may have been involved, whether administrative, judicial, or domestic, is likely to have involved that specific area.⁶²⁷ It would therefore make sense that their function, at least in part, was to supervise and monitor this particular area of the palace. Some of these titles, such as the *hrp wsht* and *sms.w h3y.t*, are dismissed as honorary or a designation of rank, rather than a functional office, largely because so little is known about the ‘space’ which defines them. The possibility that the *sms.w h3y.t* performed a function in the Residence/palace in the space known as ‘*h3y.t*’ palace porch should at least be considered.

Certain terms are widely used in title-phrases to indicate a position or rank in a wider hierarchy. Those regularly attested include, *im.y-r3*, nearly always translated as ‘overseer,’ *idnw* ‘deputy,’ *shd* ‘director, supervisor, inspector,’ *hrp* ‘director,’ *hr.y* ‘master, chief,’ and *s3* ‘scribe, secretary.’⁶²⁸ Modern designations are used even though the exact nature and nuance of the ancient Egyptian is still undetermined. For instance, the difference in rank between *shd* and *hrp* is still unknown. Quirke argues that in an administrative context, the Egyptian title *s3* denotes a manager who was tasked with record keeping. Similarly, the term *im.y-r3* also denotes a managerial role, but with a focus on organisation of personnel. According to Quirke, the managerial aspect of these titles is not adequately expressed through the English terms ‘scribe’ or ‘overseer.’⁶²⁹ The language used for palace titles is

⁶²⁶ This is also generally the case with administrative terms: *ʕ.t*, *is.t*, *h3*, *hw.t-wr.t*, *pr-hd*, *d3d3.t*. For example, *h3* ‘hall’ designated an administrative ‘office,’ such as in *h3 n(y) ʔ.ty* ‘office of the vizier’ (Wb. III 221.18-222.4), or *hw.t-wr.t* ‘great house/estate’ (Wb. III 4.7-10) Old Kingdom state institution probably run by the vizier. Similarly, the basic word *ʕ.t* ‘chamber, room’ is often used in the late Middle Kingdom to refer to single storage units: Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 243-244.

⁶²⁷ This is proposed by Quirke, “Four Titles,” 313-314, which was outlined in Section 1.5.

⁶²⁸ FCD 18-19, 35, 196, 239; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 15.

⁶²⁹ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 15.

often different compared to more regular administrative titles, mainly because they are not as regularly attested or only appear in combination with specific titles. For example, titles constructed with *sms.w* (e.g. *sms.w h3y.t*, *sms.w is.t*), *hrp* (e.g. *hrp wsh.t*, *hrp ʿh*), *wr* (e.g. *wr mḏw Šmʿ.w*), *r3* (e.g. *r3-Nhn*) are often regarded as even more cryptic than *im.y-r3/ir.y/shḏ*. What terms, such as *sms.w* ‘elder’ and *wr* ‘great one,’⁶³⁰ designated in titles is poorly understood, and probably part of the reason they are designated ‘cryptic’ and/or ‘honorific.’

Based on the overview of palace titles (see Sections 3.4.1), the *sms.w h3y.t* can be categorised as a palace appointment defined by a particular architectural element in the Residence/palace. Compared to many palace titles, this one is not exceptional, only poorly understood. No systematic and in-depth study of many of the palace titles has been completed, which greatly limits the current discussion. The general lack of data about the Residence/palace structure and palace titles probably also accounts for this.

3. 6. 1. Titles constructed with ‘*sms.w*’

The designation *sms.w*, the first element in *sms.w h3y.t*, is encountered in a number of other titles, such as *sms.w snw.(w)t*, *sms.w is.t*, *sms.w ḏb3.t*, etc. These designations have only been studied by Moreno-Garcia who looked at titles comprised with this element during the Old Kingdom. Moreno-Garcia posits that titles constructed with *sms.w* and an architectural term related to the Residence/palace express a close affiliation with the king and signified membership of his circle of advisors.⁶³¹

During the Old Kingdom, the series of titles constructed with *sms.w* comprise of sectors of the palace, such as *h3y.t*, *is.t*, *sn.wt*, and *ḏb3.t*. Nearly all of these are only attested in the Memphite region and are mutually exclusive in the same titularly.⁶³² Moreno-Garcia determined that each of the titles formed with *sms.w* designates a quality or a category of official who is differentiated from other officials in some way.⁶³³ His theory is based on the fact that a council of advisors must have existed in the Residence/palace, whose duties consisted of informing the king when making political and administrative decisions and


⁶³⁰ For *wr* see Doxey, *Non-Royal Epithets*, 159-161. In the Middle Kingdom, *wr* seems to have designated individuals association with the royal administration and the Residence.

⁶³¹ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, 96.

⁶³² With the exception of Weni of Abydos, who held both *sms.w ḏb3.t* and *sms.w sn.w(w)t*. Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, 109.

⁶³³ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, 109.

monitoring their proper execution.⁶³⁴ This selective circle of officials dealt with matters denoted in many titles and phrases as ‘confidential’ (*sšt*) and/or had access to restricted (*sšt*) places where the king met with his advisors (see also Section 3.3).⁶³⁵ The underlying premise of Moreno-Garcia’s hypothesis is convincing. The *sms.w*-element characterises the person as being involved in these activities and being part of this inner circle of the king’s court. Some of these titles are explored below.

(1) The  *sms.w sn.w(w)t* ‘elder of the *senut*-house’⁶³⁶ is connected to the ‘house of divine writings’ (*pr-md̩3.t-ntr*), which was situated in the space designated *sn.wt* in the palace. This is evident from the autobiography of Khentika, which states ‘offer incense to me, so I am equipped...as this confidential (*st*) writing of hieroglyphs of the art of the lector priest...for me...there are no secrets (*sšt*) for me in any writing of the house of divine writings (*pr-md̩3.t-ntr*), for I was an attendant in confidence, in addition I know every road...being instructed in the restricted matters (*sšt*) of the house of divine writings in the *sn.w(w)t*.’⁶³⁷ This passage connects the *sn.w(w)t* with the ‘house of divine writings’ as well as activities designated ‘restricted.’ Moreno-Garcia’s study of the *sn.w(w)t* revealed that it was a type of ‘sanctuary’ (sometimes associated with certain deities, such as Seshat), often connected with another the institution called the *pr-md̩3t hnms-nsw.t* ‘house of documents of the king’s friends.’⁶³⁸ These ‘houses’ may have been the place where certain documents and texts were stored, and which were only accessible by the king and a limited group of officials.⁶³⁹ According to Moreno-Garcia, these places may have had an educational component, and thus played a role in the training of select dignitaries.⁶⁴⁰ Therefore, the *sn.w(w)t* was probably a ‘council’ or ‘institution’ in the palace where the king discussed confidential matters with his most trusted advisors, who were designated *sms.w sn.w(w)t*. Moreno-Garcia considers the notion of brotherhood to be a key

⁶³⁴ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 96.

⁶³⁵ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 96-98.

⁶³⁶ FCD 230; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 774; Jones, *Index*, II 3318, 3319; Ward, *Index*, 1311.

⁶³⁷ *[H]tp.ti.fi ꜥpr ir n(=i) sntr ꜥpr[k(wi)] ...[š]t̩3 n mdw ntr n rh̩ 3h̩ nb ikr ink ... [sš]t̩3 nb r(=i) m sš nb n pr-md̩3.t w̩3t nb ... [ib]s.k(wi) hr sšt̩3 nb n pr-md̩3.t ntr nti snw(.t)*: T.G.H. James, *The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi* (London, 1953), 36 pls. V, VI. Moreno-Garcia also includes the following examples: a passage in the annals of Neferirkare also links the palace *sn.w(w)t* and the house of divine writings (*pr-md̩3t ntr*), it reports the donation of land attached to the king’s pyramid, located in the Memphite region, for the benefit of the Ennead in the *pr-md̩3t ntr*: Urk. I 246.13-16. Sahure made several donations in connection with the institutions of the *sn.w(w)t*: at the *pr-md̩3t ntr*, a building whose name is damaged, the palace *sn.w(w)t* and on the terrace of Horus (*tp-hw.t Hr*), Re in the *sn.w(w)t* and finally of Seshat in the *pr-md̩3t hnms nswt* ‘of the house of documents of the king’s friends’: Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 110-111.

⁶³⁸ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 111.


⁶³⁹ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 113.

⁶⁴⁰ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 112.

characteristic of the palace *sn.w(w)t*. He therefore determined that it was a distinguished ‘collegium’ or ‘conclave’ reserved for individuals close to the king, perhaps brought up with him, where they met in an atmosphere of trust and friendship.⁶⁴¹

The title *sms.w sn.w(w)t* is regularly attested among viziers of the Old Kingdom.⁶⁴² This supports the above notion that the title was reserved for important state officials.⁶⁴³ For example, prince *Nb-m-ḥt* was *sms.w sn.w(w)t n(.y) it=f* ‘elder of the *senut*-house of his father,’ *sš mdḥt-ntr n(.y) it=f* ‘scribe of the divine documents of his father,’ and *smr w^cty n(.y) it=f* ‘sole companion of his father’ highlighting the high status of *sms.w snw.(w)t* title-holders.⁶⁴⁴ The title *sms.w sn.w(w)t* indicates the holder’s education at the royal court and a preparedness to exercise the highest positions in government; it also means that the individual was educated as the king’s son since childhood and from a young age was incorporated into the administrative elite of the country.⁶⁴⁵

Therefore, the title *sms.w sn.w(w)t* seems to designate a special category of officials which included only viziers and dignitaries very close to the king who acted as advisor and were educated at the palace from childhood with access to secret and expert texts in various subjects.⁶⁴⁶

(2) The  *sms.w is(.t)* ‘elder of the palace *is(.t)*-chamber’ is associated with a room denoted *is(.t)*, although its function is not clearly described in any text in the Old Kingdom.⁶⁴⁷ The term *is.t* can generally refer to an administrative space or even a workshop, but in context of the palace it is sometimes used to denote a ‘council-chamber.’⁶⁴⁸ The term also occurs in the titles *im.y-rḥ is(.t)* and *ḥm is(.t)* ‘servant of the *is(.t)*-chamber’ indicating that this space had a governmental use.⁶⁴⁹ The term also appears in phrases such as *sḏm.yt w^c m is.t* ‘one who listened alone in the *is.t*’ and *w^c m md m is.t* ‘one of ten in the *is.t*’ suggesting that this space acted as a meeting place for councils and

⁶⁴¹ Moreno-Garcia compares the palace *snw.(w)t* to the *itrty*, an assembly of deities who accept the king as a newcomer in this brotherhood: Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 113.

⁶⁴² In total, 14/25 viziers include this appointment in their titulary. Eleven of them were buried in the Memphite area: Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 115.

⁶⁴³ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 115.

⁶⁴⁴ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 117.

⁶⁴⁵ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 116.


⁶⁴⁶ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 117.

⁶⁴⁷ Jones, *Index*, II 3296; Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 122.

⁶⁴⁸ Wb. I 127.2, 7-9; FCD 29-30; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 113.

⁶⁴⁹ Jones, *Index*, I 290, 1874 respectively: Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 122-123.

assemblies.⁶⁵⁰ Moreno-Garcia found nineteen title-holders, all from the Memphite area, indicating their close affiliation to the Residence.⁶⁵¹ While some *sms.w is(.t)* attained the title of vizier, it was not a characteristic aspect of this appointment as it was for the *sms.w sn.w(w)t*.⁶⁵² Instead, title-holders were connected to various branches of government and appear to play a role in directing royal building projects, expeditions, and affairs abroad.⁶⁵³ The *sms.w is(.t)* may designate involvement of title-holders in this council-chamber where a myriad of affairs were discussed and resolved, hence their involvement in various branches of government as well as the modesty of the title.⁶⁵⁴

(3) The  *sms.w db̓.t* ‘elder of the robing/dressing room’ is not as frequently attested as the other *sms.w* titles and appears only in the 6th dynasty.⁶⁵⁵ The title *shd̓ db̓.t* ‘inspector of the robing room’ is also attested suggesting that this area of the palace had a hierarchy of personnel.⁶⁵⁶ The *db̓.t* ‘robing room’ was probably the area in the Residence/palace used by the king (and royal family?) as a dressing area. Persons affiliated with this space were likely involved in the king’s morning routine and other matters relating to his attire. This was a job physically close to the king, which implies these individuals had certain qualities, such as the king’s trust and favour. Due to the personal nature of the activities taking place in this room, it was likely used in titles, such as *sms.w db̓.t*, to reflect the close association between the title-holders and the king. No *sms.w db̓.t* is known to have held the position of vizier, indicating that they were not part of the upper echelon of society, although some are connected to the administration of the king’s documents.⁶⁵⁷ Moreno-Garcia suggests a provincial origin of the title, which reflected the

⁶⁵⁰ See [121] and [122], Sections 5.2.4 and 5.4.1.

⁶⁵¹ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 122-123.

⁶⁵² In addition, those that did become vizier did not hold any other high-ranking positions in any administrative sectors (such as the granaries or treasury) or the *Hw.t-wr.t* ‘great estate’: Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 123.

⁶⁵³ Some title-holders held other titles related to building works of the king (*k̓.t n.t nsw.t*), others have links to military activities or the mobilisation of workers (*im.y-r̓ m̓šc* ‘overseer of troops’, *hrp mrt T̓-M̓hw Šm̓w* ‘director of serfs in Lower and Upper Egypt’) while still others held titles related to foreign countries (*h̓s.t*): Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 123-124.


⁶⁵⁴ Variants of *sms.w is(.t)* include *sms.w is(.t) n(.y) Iwnw* ‘elder of the *is.t*-chamber of Heliopolis’ (Jones, *Index*, II 3297), *sms.w is(.t) n(.y) Pth* ‘elder of the *is.t*-chamber of Ptah’ (Jones, *Index*, II 3299) and *sms.w is(.t) m pr.wy* ‘elder of the *is.t*-chamber in the Two Houses’ (Jones, *Index*, II 3298; Ward, *Index*, 1306). These may refer to council-chambers or workshops in the temples of Ptah and Heliopolis and ‘Two Houses’ may allude to the palace.

⁶⁵⁵ FCD 321; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 1078; Jones, *Index*, II 3321; Ward, *Index*, 1313. Or the more specific variant, *sms.w db̓.t n(.y) Ppy* ‘elder of the robing room of Pepy’ (Jones, *Index*, II 3322); Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 125-126.

⁶⁵⁶ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 126.

⁶⁵⁷ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 126.

education of young nobles from the provinces at court.⁶⁵⁸ It is possible that part of this included being privy to the private aspects of the king's daily routine, which may have involved access to confidential matters. Weni was *sms.w db3.t* in his early career, signifying his inclusion in the inner royal circle.⁶⁵⁹ Exceptionally, he also held the title *sms.w sn.w(w)t* indicating that he managed to win the confidence and esteem of the king to a great degree.⁶⁶⁰

(4) Moreno-Garcia's conclusions about the  *sms.w h3y.t* were discussed in Section 1.5. He determined that the 'elders of the porch' were courtiers at the Residence/palace and formed a small informal council for the king.⁶⁶¹ They acted as controllers of the activities the vizier's office, and exceptionally executed special missions where the king's confidence was more important than the rank occupied in a particular administrative branch.⁶⁶²

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Moreno-Garcia recorded twenty-five *sms.w snw.(w)t* and nineteen *sms.w h3yt* and *sms.w is.(t)* in the Old Kingdom. Therefore, he suggests that there could only be one representative of each category at any one time. However, the number of *sms.w h3y.t* can now be increased to fifty in total suggesting that more than one 'elder of the porch' could have been in office at the same time, and perhaps that certain kings may have entrusted this appointment to more individuals at various times.

In summary, the *sms.ww sn.w(w)t* are distinguished by their education at court and access to 'confidential' documents, the *sms.ww is.(t)* were distinguished by their involvement in particular councils taking place in the *is.t* related to the more practical aspects of the administration (such as agriculture, shipping, taxation, etc.), the *sms.ww db3.t* were distinguished by their exceptional access to the personal routine of the king, and the *sms.w h3y.t* were charged with commissions for various purposes on behalf of the king.⁶⁶³ All four belonged to an 'institution' or 'conclave' of '*sms.ww*' 'elders' to which access was restricted to a selective number of individuals.⁶⁶⁴ Moreno-Garcia concluded that these *sms.ww* had direct access to the king and were privy to confidential matters of

⁶⁵⁸ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, 126.

⁶⁵⁹ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, 99.

⁶⁶⁰ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, 126.



⁶⁶¹ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, 122.

⁶⁶² Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, 122.

⁶⁶³ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, 125.

⁶⁶⁴ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, 125.

government.⁶⁶⁵ It appears that the *sms.w* formed a small private council, which attended to the king according to their particular experience and knowledge in the area where they were situated and had built their careers (royal court, vizierate, administration, etc.).⁶⁶⁶

Moreno-Garcia argues that the use of the term *sms.w* ‘old, elder’ in relation to people close to the king recalls the council of elders who ran the affairs of tribal communities or even the kingdoms of the Near East.⁶⁶⁷ Perhaps the term evokes a bygone era, when a tribal chief or king of an archaic state was assisted and advised by the leaders of the most powerful families who held power.⁶⁶⁸ Based on the orthography of the term (see Section 2.1), the ideogram  and  is used interchangeably further indicating the term does not denote a physically old person. The First Intermediate Period graffiti of *Dḥwty-nḥt* in Sheikh Said states, *sms.w m i3t=f sms.w m sḥ=f* ‘elder in his position, senior in his dignity.’⁶⁶⁹ A parallel phrase in an inscription of Iby at Deir el-Gebrawi, *wr m i3t=f sms.w m sḥ=f* ‘great in his office, elder/senior in his dignity/nobility,’ further supports this notion.⁶⁷⁰ Elders in many cultures were the repositories of knowledge of the community; hence the term *sms.w* is used, but likely in the metaphorical sense.

However, a number of *sms.w* titles do not suggest that their title-holders were members of the king’s council or court, or were close to the king at all. The *sms.w whr.t* ‘elder of the dockyard/workshop’⁶⁷¹ designates the person responsible for building boats, as officials with this title also often hold offices related to tasks carried out by carpenters or to boats in general.⁶⁷² The *sms.w pr* ‘elder of the estate,’⁶⁷³ *sms.w pr n(.y) ir.y-p^c.t* ‘elder of the estate of the hereditary prince,’⁶⁷⁴ and *sms.w pr ḥw.t-ḥ.t* ‘elder of the house of the great enclosure’⁶⁷⁵ incorporate the general word ‘*pr.*’ The more obscure variants, *sms.w ḳd-ḥtp* ‘elder of the *ket-hotep* (?)’⁶⁷⁶ and the Middle Kingdom *sms.w n(.y) sp³.t* ‘elder of a district’⁶⁷⁷ are more difficult to interpret. The title, *sms.w wh^cw* ‘elder of the fowling’⁶⁷⁸ is

⁶⁶⁵ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 129.

⁶⁶⁶ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 122, 125.

⁶⁶⁷ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 110.

⁶⁶⁸ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 110.

⁶⁶⁹ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 128.

⁶⁷⁰ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 127.

⁶⁷¹ Jones, *Index*, II 3301, and *sms.w whr.t ḥ.t* ‘elder of the great shipyard’ (Jones, *Index*, II 3302).

⁶⁷² Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 127.

⁶⁷³ Jones, *Index*, II 3305; Ward, *Index*, 1308.

⁶⁷⁴ Jones, *Index*, II 3308.

⁶⁷⁵ Jones, *Index*, II 3309.

⁶⁷⁶ Jones, *Index*, II 3320.

⁶⁷⁷ Ward, *Index*, 1310.

the only example not constructed with an architectural term.⁶⁷⁹ While some of these are unlikely to have been situated in close proximity to the king, and even the palace, it is possible the term ‘elder’ was used, in these instances, to indicate a particular area of expertise or knowledge in a particular field, whether that was fowling or woodwork. The ‘elder of the estate’ and ‘elder of the estate of the hereditary prince’ may have referred to the king and prince’s estates, respectively, and their particular expertise in financial and practical matters concerning these properties. Moreno-Garcia’s hypothesis would still be applicable. These titles, however, are not particularly related to the Residence/palace but the state at large, and thus may not have the same connotations.⁶⁸⁰

In general, the term *sms.w* introduces a prestigious nuance in the exercise of a function, hence its limited application to a category of titles closely affiliated with the king and his advisory council.⁶⁸¹ Thus, one can conclude that the first element in *sms.w h3y.t*, ‘elder, senior,’ implies two things, (a) a close relationship with the king and the royal court, and (b) that these official were known for a particular expertise or proficiency.

3. 7. Situating the *sms.w h3y.t* and the ‘*h3y.t*-porch’ in the Residence/palace

The *h3y.t* ‘porch, entrance-portico’ was an architectural term not consistently used independent of the title until the New Kingdom, and is regularly attested in temple inscriptions from the Late Period onwards. It was argued in Chapter Two that *h3y.t* referred to a columned, roofed structure in front an entrance, thus ‘entrance-portico’ or ‘porch.’ It was one of the terms that denoted structures that match the physical design of the porch of Thutmose IV and other similar structures. Since the term is rare on its own before the Third Intermediate Period, the individual associated with this structure must be closely identified with it. The term itself points to a general porch structure, but the title-phrase likely alludes to a *specific* one in the Residence/palace. Based on what is currently known about the interior of the Residence/palace, it is likely that this ‘porch’ is situated somewhere in the important liminal zone where the outer palace transitioned into the inner palace. The ‘inner palace’ (*k3p*) and palace interior (*ḥnw.ty*), largely dedicated to the domestic life of the king and royal family, may have been a separate building within the larger palace complex, with a small porch at its main entrance. This threshold is perhaps

⁶⁷⁸ Jones, *Index*, II 3300.

⁶⁷⁹ As with *sms.w db3.t* and *shd db3.t*, there is also a *im.y-r3 whw* ‘overseer of fowlers’: Jones, *Index*, I 421.

⁶⁸⁰ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 127.

⁶⁸¹ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 127.

the only one significant enough to warrant a porch outside the entrance. The *wḥy*-hall, a liminal audience hall in between the outer and inner palace division, may have been situated in its vicinity (see Section 3.5.1). What this liminal zone actually looked like is unknown, but since no mention is made of the *sms.w hḥy.t* at the main entrance of the Residence/palace (*rw.ty-wr.ty*, *rw.t*) or the *ḥrry.t* it seems to further support the notion that the *sms.w hḥy.t* belongs further inside the palace building. In addition, the *sms.w* element, possibly denoting a close affiliation with the person of the king, may in this instance also support the *sms.w hḥy.t*'s close *physical* proximity to the king, at the entrance to his living quarters (especially considering the fact that the person is closely tied to the structure). Since the palace 'porch' cannot physically be located in the surviving archaeological remains, this remains quite theoretical.

3. 7. 1. The autobiography of the vizier, Rekhmire (TT 100)

Rekhmire was vizier (*tḥty*) in the latter part of the reign of Thutmose III and the early years of Amenhotep II and buried in TT 100 on the West Bank of Thebes.⁶⁸² The autobiographical text occupies the entire height and width of the south wall of the hall of his tomb.⁶⁸³ The text, consisting of twenty-three horizontal rows, is quite damaged, mainly because the plaster attached to the wall has fallen off in many places.⁶⁸⁴ Rekhmire's autobiography has received very little attention, and very few sources currently deal with it. Many more studies are focused on the *Duties of the Vizier* also inscribed in Rekhmire's tomb; the most complete and longest version of this text. The earliest hieroglyphic transcription was completed by Newberry and published in 1900. This was followed by Sethe in the *Urkunden* IV (1906) and a translation by Gardiner also appears in Davies' monograph (1944) on the tomb.⁶⁸⁵

The autobiography begins with the titulary of Rekhmire, after which he emphasises his own importance, 'I was a noble making second with the king, and a fourth with him who decided between the Twain (Horus and Seth); advanced of place in the privy chamber' (l.4).⁶⁸⁶ Then follows his promotion to vizier (l. 4-8), which will be studied in more detail below. This passage is followed by his description of his audience with the king, where the

⁶⁸² Davies, *Tomb of Rekhmire*, 3.

⁶⁸³ Davies, *Tomb of Rekhmire*, 79.

⁶⁸⁴ Davies, *Tomb of Rekhmire*, 79.

⁶⁸⁵ Urk. IV 1071-1085; P.E. Newberry, *The Life of Rekhmara* (Westminster, 1900); Davies, *Tomb of Rekhmire*, (New York, 1944).

⁶⁸⁶ Davies, *Tomb of Rekhmire*, 79-80 l. 4.

king appoints Rekhmire as his deputy to follow the king's wishes so that Maat will rule (1.8-11).⁶⁸⁷ The rest of his autobiography is concerned with descriptions of Rekhmire's power and influence (1.11-16),⁶⁸⁸ his closeness to the king (l. 16-18),⁶⁸⁹ the great deeds he accomplished (1.19-25, 30-34),⁶⁹⁰ and self-praise (l. 35-38).⁶⁹¹ The text ends with Rekhmire's supplications to his peers (1.40-45).

The Relevant Passage: Rekhmire's promotion to vizier (lines 4-8).

From the passage below, it is evident Rekhmire is summoned to the palace and received by the *sms.w h3y.t* on his way to accept his new appointment as vizier and priest of *Maat* (these titles go hand in hand). Rekhmire notes that upon receiving the 'adornments' and responsibilities of the vizier, he felt changed and altered.

... ^{4|} *sp tp.y pw n i3š/cš.n=i sn.w=i nb m h3 rw.ty pri.n=i* ^{5|} */// ... /// .kw m šsr///=sn*
im=i ph.n=i sb3 n(.y) rcy.t smr.w h3m n s3=sn gmi.n=i (i)r=f ^{6|} *sms.w(w) h3y.t hr sdsr*
w3.t [št3t m hr=i] /// ///w šs3.w n=i nn sw mi wnn km3.w=i n(.y) sf tn(i).n=f sw
dr pri.t=i m hkr.w ^{7|} */// dhn.kw (?) m hm-ntr M3c.t /// wn hr hs(i).wt=i mn.ti m-hr-ib*
k3.w hw^c.w dg3y=i bw-nb.w /// n.wt (?) inb.t ^{8|} */// mfk3.t.*

^{4|} It was the first time I was summoned, all my brothers being in the outer office. I came forth ^{5|} *///* I being [clad] in [fine?] linen *///* they *///* with me. I reached the doorway of the palace-approach, the courtiers (lit. companions) having bent their backs, (and) I found ^{6|} the elders of the porch clearing⁶⁹² the [restricted/private] pathway for me *///* [the *///*] which I knew, it was not like what my nature of yesterday had been, it having elevated itself since I had come forth in the adornments ^{7|} [of the vizier] I having been [inducted] as priest of Maat *///* then praise of me is established among the great and small, everyone looking upon me *///* walls ^{8|} *///* with

⁶⁸⁷ Davies, *Tomb of Rekhmire*, 80 l. 8-11.

⁶⁸⁸ E.g. 'he (=king) gave me a court of justice under my authority, and none of them could overrule me': Davies, *Tomb of Rekhmire*, 80 l.11.

⁶⁸⁹ E.g. 'I rose early to perform it (his duties) every day. I was [near to the king?]; I [saw] his person in his (true) form...' (l.13). He further describes himself as the 'ears and eyes of the Sovereign': Davies, *Tomb of Rekhmire*, 81, l.16.

⁶⁹⁰ E.g. 'I gave bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, meat and ointment and clothes to him who had nothing': Davies, *Tomb of Rekhmire*, 81, l. 21.

⁶⁹¹ E.g. 'I was clever in all undertakings, deliberate in counsel, ready to listen': Davies, *Tomb of Rekhmire*, 82, l. 36.

⁶⁹² Wb. V 609.12-610.1; FCD 260, 324; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 1090.

turquoise.⁶⁹³

This is the most explicit text of a *sms.w h3y.t* inside the palace performing specific tasks, and yet their presence is always skimmed over in this text. Various aspects of their role in the Residence/palace can be extrapolated from this passage.

(a) The text confirms the *sms.ww h3y.t* are connected to a sector or threshold inside the palace proper. From the above passage, it is clear, that Rekhmire passes through the doors of the palace-approach (*sb3 n(.y) ʿrʿyt*)⁶⁹⁴ presumably the main entrance into the palace structure (from outside to inside the liminal boundary), which suggests that the *h3y.t* and its personnel was further inside the building. It is likely that due to the importance of the occasion Rekhmire was escorted to the more private, inner sector of the palace, hence being met by the ‘elder of the porch,’ since officials from the outer or front part of the palace were not able to move beyond this liminal boundary (see Section 3.4.1). This further suggests that this porch marked the entrance to the secluded section of the Residence/palace. The *sms.ww h3y.t* are clearly allowed to move freely in between the outer and inner palace, and were not located at the palace’s main entrance.

(b) The *sms.ww h3y.t* acted as escorts for visitors who had an audience with the king in the palace interior. Rekhmire describes the *sms.ww h3y.t* as ‘clearing the restricted pathway;’ in this context *sdsr* probably has the sense of ‘revealing’ and ‘unveiling’ rather than ‘unobstructing’ and ‘vacating.’⁶⁹⁵ One major aspect of the Residence/palace was that admittance was highly restricted, contributing to the notion that it was a place of ‘mystery’ and ‘awe’ (see Section 3.3).⁶⁹⁶ Visitors were not allowed to move freely about, and even some palace officials themselves had limited access to certain areas. The adjective *s3t3* often qualifies activities or concepts that are ‘private, restricted, or confidential’ in nature, which here applies to the physical approach to the king. This text should be interpreted as the *sms.w h3y.t* escorting Rekhmire and thus disclosing and (physically) showing the way

⁶⁹³ Urk. IV 1073.5; Wb. II 476 [8]; Davies, *The Tomb of Rekhmire*, 80, pl. XI (line 6); Newberry, *Life of Rekhmara*, pl. VII (line 6).

⁶⁹⁴ For *ʿrry.t* ‘palace approach’ see Sections 3.5.1 and 3.5.2.

⁶⁹⁵ The verb *dsr* (caus. *sdsr*) means to ‘to clear, vacate, open, unveil, and consecrate’: Wb. V 609.12-610.1; FCD 260, 324; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 1090. As a transitive verb, it also means ‘to clear the way’ particularly for the dead, for Osiris, and for the god in the temple: Wb. V 609.12-610.1. See also A.H. Gardiner, “Davies’ Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription,” *JEA* 32 (1946), 51, *l*.

⁶⁹⁶ This would also fit with the basic meaning of *dsr* ‘to separate, segregate’ in the sense of separating the right path from the others; to highlight the mystery and inaccessibility of the palace, and thus the high regard in which Rekhmire was held and his privileged position.

through the restricted halls and passages of the palace to receive his promotion from the king. In addition, this reflects a direct link between the *sms.w h3y.t* and the king's court, acting as a middleman between the king and the court, and the outer world. Their task of escorting Rekhmire and of showing him the way through the many halls and corridors of the palace for his audience with the king may be one of their duties simply because they were situated at this "porticoed" entrance to the palace interior. Whether they were responsible for escorting all visitors or simply significant figures is unknown. This task of 'escorting' implies that the *sms.ww h3y.t* were familiar with the palace layout and could move through the building(s) unhindered, which is highly significant considering the secluded nature of the palace.

(c) The presence of the *sms.ww h3y.t* in this passage may allude to particular palace procedures or ceremonies connected with this office. The promotion of a vizier will have been a formal event where the king received the vizier-to-be in his throne room in an official capacity. This may explain the *sms.ww h3y.t* acting as Rekhmire's escort as part of particular court ceremonies, formalities, or traditions including but not limited to important promotions. The use of the verb *sdšr* may also suggest ritual overtones, such as 'hallowing' or 'consecrating' the way.⁶⁹⁷ Rekhmire no doubt chose to mention the *sms.ww h3y.t*, who may have been part of the king's court and inner sphere (see Section 3.6.1), to emphasise his importance and the significance of his promotion. Since the title is written in plural, Rekhmire was escorted by a small group of 'elders,' which in light of the important and ceremonial occasion is not surprising.

This text, essentially, describes a major rite of passage for Rekhmire, denoting an important personal accomplishment which he wanted to forever immortalise in his tomb. It highlights the three phases associated with rites of passage or transition, more specifically in this case of status elevation (see Section 3.5).⁶⁹⁸ The first phase of 'separation' or 'aggregation' (also called the pre-liminal phase) signifies the detachment of the individual (or group) either from an earlier fixed point or 'state' in the social structure.⁶⁹⁹ This refers to the condition of Rekhmire before he takes on the responsibilities and privileges of the

⁶⁹⁷ Gardiner points out that the causative verb *sdšr* can also mean 'to sanctify, consecrate, hallow': Gardiner, "Davies' Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription," 51, *l*. For example, The Great Speos Artemidos inscription states, 'I consecrated/hallowed it, built anew, and I sculptured her (= Hathor, Lady of Cusae) sacred image of gold...': Urk. IV 386.10. Similarly, the stela of Thutmose I in the temple of Osiris at Abydos states, *sdšr hm.wt=sn n m-ht* 'I consecrated their (= the gods') shrines afterwards': Urk. IV 102.1.

⁶⁹⁸ Turner, *Ritual Process*, 94, 167-168.

⁶⁹⁹ Turner, *Ritual Process*, 94.

vizier. During the intervening “liminal” period, the characteristics of the ritual subject are ambiguous; he passes through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of his past state or coming status.⁷⁰⁰ The *sms.w* *h3y.t* were present during the ‘liminal’ period, when he was in a state of ‘in-between’ not yet having formally accepted the burdens and adornments of vizier. The ‘elder of the porch’ may have acted as a ‘guide’ or ‘master of ceremonies’ leading Rekhmire through the ritual transition into his new, altered state, in the spatial and social dimension. The *sms.w* *h3y.t* acted as an intermediary between the king and Rekhmire. In the third phase of ‘re-aggregation’ or ‘reincorporation’ (also post-liminal phase) the rite is completed, and the subject is expected to behave in accordance with certain customary norms and ethical standards that accompany his new social position.⁷⁰¹ Rekhmire states he had ‘come forth in the adornments’ of the vizier and makes reference to his ‘manifestation’ not being like before indicating he was accepted into to his elevated position. Here, it is possible to see that the spatial progression correlates with the ritual of marking a cultural passage (his promotion).⁷⁰² Rekhmire literally and figuratively moved from one space (i.e. palace entrance → inner audience hall (= king’s presence) and state (i.e. pre-vizier → vizier) to another.⁷⁰³

This text may thus convey a ritual aspect to the office of *sms.w h3y.t*, as ‘advisor’ and repository of knowledge concerning formal palace ceremonies and rites of passage. Their role was likely limited to that of participants but was on the liminal edge, orchestrating and guiding but never fully participating. Very little to nothing is known about palace rituals or interactions between the king and palace officials, both formally and informally, so nothing more specific about the *sms.w h3y.t* in that context can be determined at this point. It must also be kept in mind that this is an exceptional circumstance, related to a highly important state official, and may portray the extraordinary, not the norm.

Very few audiences with the king are depicted or described in ancient Egypt. A comparative scene may be found in the Middle Kingdom *Story of Sinuhe*, when Sinuhe returns and is received by the king and the royal family. Sinuhe is summoned to the palace, which is described as follows:

⁷⁰⁰ Turner, *Ritual Process*, 94.

⁷⁰¹ Turner, *Ritual Process*, 94-95.

⁷⁰² Thomassen, *Liminality and the Modern*, 91.

⁷⁰³ This is known as ‘territorial passage,’ see Section 3.5.

‘...ten men (*si*) were coming, ten men going, conducting (*st3*)⁷⁰⁴ me into the palace I touched (my) forehead to the ground between the sphinxes, while the king’s children stood in the thickness (*wmt*) (of the palace-gateway)⁷⁰⁵ making my reception (*hsfw*),⁷⁰⁶ and the courtiers (*smr.w*) conducting me (*st3*) to the *w3h.y*-hall⁷⁰⁷ placing me upon the pathway to the inner apartments (of the palace) (*c-hnw.ty*).⁷⁰⁸ I found his majesty upon the ‘great seat’ in a niche (lit. thickness) of electrum...’⁷⁰⁹

Like Rekhmire, Sinuhe was escorted to an audience with the king by several courtiers and was ‘shown’ the ‘path’ to the palace interior by the king’s courtiers, where the king sat enthroned. Sinuhe’s spatial progression began at the palace’s main gateway (denoted *wmt*) moving through the *w3h.y*-audience hall where the king’s courtiers accompanied him further on, to the hall where the king sat enthroned.⁷¹⁰ It is only when Sinuhe reaches the *w3h.y*-hall that he entered the inner parts of the palace, supporting Quirke’s suggesting that this hall was a liminal zone where the outer palace transitioned into the palace interior. It is also there that the ‘companions’ began to accompany Sinuhe, presumably because the ‘ten men coming, ten men going’ did not have access beyond this point. In Rekhmire’s autobiography it is the *sms.ww h3y.t* who act in the same manner as the ‘courtiers’ do in the *Story of Sinuhe*. This demonstrates that important visitors were accompanied by the king’s courtiers, and that the *sms.w h3y.t* may have belonged to that group. Section 3.6.1 showed that the *sms.w* element marked these title-holders as belonging to a privileged council in the king’s court, in light of the above passage in *Sinuhe*, it may then not be surprising that they acted as escorts on behalf of the king. It also supports the idea that the *h3y.t*, *w3h.y*, and the *sms.w h3y.t* were part of the outer to inner palace liminal zone. While it is not explicit in Rekhmire’s autobiography, the *sms.ww h3y.t* began to accompany the vizier into the palace interior once he had passed beyond the outer spheres of the palace. It is likely,

⁷⁰⁴ FCD 255 *st3*: admit, usher in.’

⁷⁰⁵ The word refers to an entranceway that is several feet deep, such as the pylons at the entrance to a temple: Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, 138. The palace gateway would be the only structure in the palace that thick in this context.

⁷⁰⁶ FCD 197 *hsfw*: ‘meet’; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 669 *hsfw* ‘treffen, entgegengehen’ ‘to meet, to go to meet.’

⁷⁰⁷ See Section 3.5.1.

⁷⁰⁸ See Section 3.4.1. The stela of Senusret (Louvre C 174) indicates he was rewarded in this section of the palace, and clearly in *Sinuhe* this could also be the area where courtiers were received.

⁷⁰⁹ B 248 – 252 (= pBerlin 3011): *si 10 m iy.t si 10 m šmt hr st3/st3=i r c h dh(n).n=i t3 im.ytw šspw msw-nsw.t c h c(w) m wmt.w hr irt hsfw=i smr.w st3.w r w3h(y) hr rdi.t=i hr w3t c hnw.ty gm.n=i hm=f hr is.t wr.t m wmt.w n.t d m*: Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, 136-138.

⁷¹⁰ After he was received by the king, the text states, *pr.t=i r=f m hnw c hnw.ty msw-nsw.t hr rdi.t n(=i) c w=sn šm.n m ht r rw.ty-wr.ty* ‘my emergence from inside the audience hall, the king’s children giving me their arms as we went thereafter to the great double gate’ (B 283-285). This once again shows the spatial progression from ‘inside,’ i.e. the palace interior and the audience hall, to the ‘outside,’ i.e. the great double-doors of the main entrance of the palace: Allen, *Middle Egyptian Literature*, 147.

however, that the *sms.w h3y.t* were not limited to this role of intermediary or ‘master of palace rituals.’

♦♦♦

The *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders can be considered palace administrators, belonging to the category of palace officials attached to a specific palace sector, in the same manner as the *hrp wsh.t*, *im.y-r3 ip3.t-nsw.t*, *im.y-r3 ʿhnnw.ty n k3p*, *whm.w ʿrry.t*, etc. These offices were defined by their affiliation to a particular structure or quarter in the Residence/palace. Therefore, the ‘elder of the porch’ was closely tied to this structure and its physical location in the palace, and can be assumed to have presided over this space. It further implies that their function was related to the activities that took place there; just as the *whm.w ʿrry.t* ‘herald of the palace-approach’ was defined by the tasks related to the palace-approach, so was the *sms.w h3y.t* connected with what occurred in the *h3y.t*-porch. The importance of liminal spaces and thresholds in the ancient Egyptian palace and governmental activities was discussed in Section 3.5. The *h3y.t* ‘porch’ was not only a construction in the Residence/palace, but was a liminal structure and can thus be presumed to have certain attributes shared by other liminal structures like doorways and gateways (*sb3*, *ʿ3*, *rw.t*), and the approach (*ʿrry.t*) of a building.

The *sms.w h3y.t* were most likely involved in activities that directly concerned the *h3y.t* and entrance into this inner palace zone. The *h3y.t* will have functioned in ways similar to other liminal structures and the *sms.w h3y.t*, likewise, performed duties that echo those performed by other liminal officials, such as the ‘doorkeepers’ (see Section 3.5.3). This included controlling and regulating the flow information (reports, messages, appeals), and provisions and commodities (and other deliveries) through this entrance-portico.⁷¹¹ In light of the highly restricted nature of the inner palace, they doubtless also restricted the admittance of unauthorised people. They may also have acted as an intermediary, delivering messages on behalf of inner/outer palace officials, giving and receiving relevant reports, essentially tasks related to the communication between the palace interior and the outer palace. Their role as middleman is, to a certain extent, demonstrated by the passage in Rekhmire’s autobiography. As was evident from Section 3.5.3, personnel in the liminal environment were a crucial part of the Residence/palace network observing all manner of activities.⁷¹² It is not unlikely considering the *sms.w h3y.t*’s location at entrance to the

⁷¹¹ cf. doorkeepers (*ir.y-ʿ3*) of Deir el-Medina, Section 3.5.3.1.

⁷¹² This is especially observed in the various reliefs of doorkeepers showing them in an assortment of contexts, see Section 3.5.3.2.

king's private apartments, that he acted as the ruler's 'eyes and ears' and reported to him about all the goings-on – hence the designation 'sms.w' as member of this exclusive circle.

Liminal spaces, i.e. porticoes and doorways, were places of justice. This can be seen as part of an ancient, largely, oral tradition, which continued throughout Egyptian history. There is one reference that the *h3y.t* 'porch' also functioned in this way. The titulary of the 5th dynasty official, Werkhū (*Wr-hww*), recorded in his tomb at Giza, includes the title-phrase *wḏꜥ-mdw m h3y.t*.⁷¹³ Werkhū did not hold the title *sms.w h3y.t*. Instead, he held the relatively high-ranking title, *sš ʿ-n-nsw.t pr-ʿ3* 'scribe of the king's documents of the palace.' He was also an *s3b shḏ sš(.w) n(.w) ḥw.ty-wr.(y)t im.y-wr.t n.t ḥnw*, an inspector of scribes attached to the 'great house' in the Residence as well as *shḏ sš(.w) mḏ3.t* 'inspector of scribes of the documents/archive.' His title *ḥrp sš(.w) ir.yw spr.w m ḏ3ḏ3.t-wr.t* 'director of the scribes of the petitions in the great council,'⁷¹⁴ indicates his role was concerned with the writing down of petitions and appeals made by individuals seeking resolution for their disputes and grievances. This is perhaps also suggested by his title *s3b shḏ sš(.w) n(.y) wp.(w)t* 'sab inspector of reports/messages.' His auxiliary (?) title *wḏꜥ-mdw m h3y.t*, 'he who arbitrates in the porch' (listed after the title *ḥrp sš(.w) ir.yw spr.w*) may be directly related to such tasks.⁷¹⁵ This inscription definitively indicates that 'judgments,' the settling of disputes, perhaps the organisation of petitions, took place in the *h3y.t* 'porch.' Thus the *h3y.t*, like other liminal structures may have been the place where petitions and appeals were received and organised before petitioners entered beyond this threshold.⁷¹⁶ These aspects are usually combined with judicial functions. As the only officials specifically affiliated with this structure, it is highly likely that the *sms.w h3y.t* participated in such activities within this 'porch.' It makes sense that the judicial aspect of the *h3y.t* rises to the forefront, as judicial tasks, linked to the official's duty to uphold *maat*, are more likely to be emphasised by officials than routine administrative tasks.⁷¹⁷ Essentially, the responsibilities and duties of the *sms.w h3y.t* can be seen to be related to the *h3y.t*'s function as a conduit in between the palace interior and the outer palace, referred to in this thesis as a liminal attribute.

⁷¹³ Urk. I 46-48; LD II 43d, S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza: Volume V. 1933-1934* (Cairo, 1944), 241, fig. 101.

⁷¹⁴ Jones, *Index*, II 2698.

⁷¹⁵ *wḏꜥ-mdw* 'to judge, litigate': Wb. I 405.10-13; FCD 76.

⁷¹⁶ Since the palace porch was situated at the entrance to the inner palace, these petitions could only be lodged by other officials and courtiers, perhaps to appeal to have an audience with the king.

⁷¹⁷ Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 21-22.

The *sms.w h3y.t* was not simply an ‘usher,’ as proposed by Gardiner, and title-holders had a more extensive role in the Residence/palace.⁷¹⁸ All the above inferences would make the *sms.w h3y.t* an influential figure in palace politics, one who was trusted by the king to ‘guard’ the restricted apartments in the palace interior. The role of the *h3y.t*-thresholds and their officials will have been quite significant in palace administration and life (further explored in this thesis).

3. 8. Summary

Based on the discussion in this chapter, the study of the ancient Egyptian palace and its officials, as well as liminal boundaries and its officials, the function and role of *sms.w h3y.t* was connected to the matters and concerns directly related to the entrance to the palace interior, in particular to regulating access, and tasks related to the communication between the two palace sectors. The *sms.w h3y.t* is not a unique title, but is one of a number of palace titles constructed with an architectural term, and defined by a connection to a particular space or construction. The function and scope of the *sms.w h3y.t* only emerges when considered in the broader context of the Residence/palace. When viewed in this way, the ‘elder of the porch’ was likely not a purely honorific designation but had a practical component. It is increasingly likely that they did play a role at court, suggested both by the autobiography of Rekhmire and the first element in the title-phrase, *sms.w*. These themes will be explored in further chapters, starting with the title-holders during the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period.

⁷¹⁸ Davies, *Tomb of Rekhmire*, 80 fn 7.

Chapter Four:

The *sms.w h3y.t* in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate

Chapter Four focuses on the office *sms.w h3y.t* and its title-holders during the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period. The evidence for this period comprises primarily of the titularies of these individuals with very little information available about their social connections. However, the title-combinations of the *sms.w h3y.t* are revealing concerning their function and status in the government and society.

4. 1. The Prosopographical Data

There are a total of fifty *sms.w h3y.t* in the Old Kingdom, catalogue numbers [02] – [51], which are attested on forty-three monuments, and one *sms.w h3y.t* in the First Intermediate Period [52].

Catalogue [01] may be the only attestation of the title before the Old Kingdom. The stela of *Hr-k3* [01] may be the earliest attestation of the title *sms.w h3y.t*, though the reading is far from certain (fig. 2.4). Since stela dates to the Early Dynastic Period, it may explain the unusual orthography of the title; the writing of *h3y.t* is inverted $\overline{\text{𓏏}}$, and the *sms.w* glyph is also quite unusual. The hieroglyphic script was still a little inconsistent so it would not be unsurprising that this is indeed a pre-Old Kingdom version of the title *sms.w h3y.t* (see Section 2.2.2).

Forty-three monuments are attested, of which thirty-eight have known provenance.⁷¹⁹ Their geographical distribution is presented in Figure 4.1. The overwhelming majority of *sms.w h3y.t* are been centred in the Memphite region (88.4%) with their monuments spread across the cemeteries of Giza (46.5%),⁷²⁰ Saqqara (23.2%),⁷²¹ and Abusir (13.9%).⁷²² Only one individual [08] was buried outside the Memphite region, in Edfu. Additionally, one other *sms.w h3y.t*, *Imhy* [05] is attested outside the Nile Valley in a rock inscription at Wadi Hammamat. The predominant distribution of the *sms.w h3y.t* within the Memphite region is likely due to the location of the Residence in this area, even though

⁷¹⁹ The location of the remaining five is unknown: [17], [21], [29], [30], and [34].

⁷²⁰ 20/43.

⁷²¹ 10/43.

⁷²² 6/43.

no archaeological evidence of it remains today. As a palace official, it follows that these men would be closely linked to the physical structure of the palace. During the First Intermediate Period, the title *sms.w h3y.t* does not often occur; it is not (to my knowledge) attested within the Nile Valley but one individual bearing the title *sms.w h3y.t* [52] is known from a rock-inscription in Wadi Hammamat. The unsettled political situation at the time, the lack of strong centralised administration, as well as problems with locating the cemetery of the Residence, may, however, account for their absence in the record.

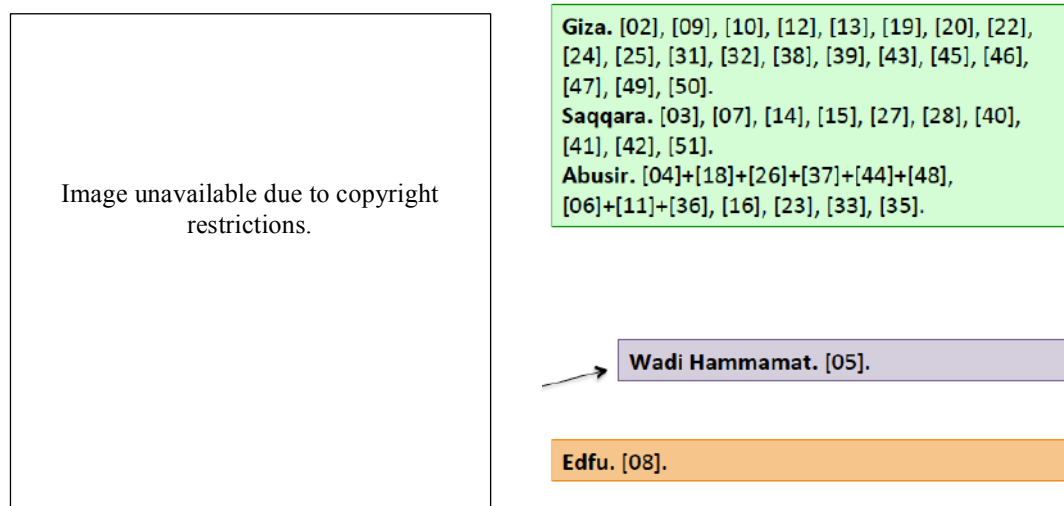


Figure 4.1. Map of Egypt showing the geographical distribution of monuments in the Old Kingdom.⁷²³

Seventeen *sms.ww h3y.t* have their own tomb,⁷²⁴ while eight are attested in the scenes of someone else's tomb.⁷²⁵ Fourteen *sms.ww h3y.t* are known from various objects found within the Memphite cemeteries, some in a tomb or tomb shaft. Three are known from their false door⁷²⁶ and five from their statue;⁷²⁷ objects which would probably originally have stood in their tombs. Seven *sms.ww h3y.t* have their name and titulary inscribed on a lintel,⁷²⁸ on an offering table,⁷²⁹ and on two small obelisks which likely framed the owner's false door.⁷³⁰ Two reliefs from the Causeway of Sahure at Abusir record seven *sms.ww h3y.t* and, as mentioned above,⁷³¹ the name and title of one [05] is included in an expedition inscription at Wadi Hammamat. Finally, one [16] is attested in the papyrus archive of

⁷²³ Diagram created by M. Kooyman; for map see S. Moons, *Map of Ancient Egypt* (updated 2012), viewed April 2017, <http://www.desheret.org/egypt_map.htm>

⁷²⁴ [02], [03], [06], [07], [08], [10], [12], [20], [23], [25], [31], [35], [39], [42], [45], [46], [47].

⁷²⁵ [11], [14], [36], [24], [43], [49], [50], [51].

⁷²⁶ [19], [21], [32].

⁷²⁷ [27], [28], [29], [40], [41].

⁷²⁸ [09], [12], [15], [38].

⁷²⁹ [17], [34].

⁷³⁰ [22].

⁷³¹ [04]+[18]+[26]+[37]+[44]+[48] and [33].

Raneferef; the only Old Kingdom attestation not from a mortuary context.⁷³² For discussion of this issue see Section 1.2.

The dates of these monuments are generally and consistently not specific enough to establish a chronology of *sms.w h3y.t* through the course of the Old Kingdom. The earliest attestation in the Old Kingdom is dated to the reign of Sahure (early 5th dynasty).⁷³³ The latest attestations in the Old Kingdom are towards the end of the 6th dynasty.⁷³⁴ No monuments of any *sms.w h3y.t* from the 3rd and 4th dynasties are attested. Nineteen monuments (twenty-four individuals) can be dated to the 5th dynasty, primarily from Djedkare to (mid-late) Unis.⁷³⁵ There are also ten monuments (belonging to ten individuals) can be dated to the late 5th to early 6th dynasty.⁷³⁶ Finally, twelve monuments (of fourteen individuals) are dated to the 6th dynasty, mainly from Teti to end of Pepy II.⁷³⁷ Two monuments (of two individuals) are loosely dated to the 5th and/or 6th dynasty: [24] and [34]. Based on the date of their monuments, which will have been constructed either at the peak or end of their career, the *sms.w h3y.t* during the Old Kingdom are mainly visible in the sources in the 5th and 6th dynasties. Therefore, the dates given in the catalogue should be understood as being approximate.

The central administration and Residence were still managed by the royal family during the 3rd and 4th dynasties. At the end of the 4th dynasty, the state had become too complex and expansive and its administration was too monumental an undertaking for one family. Thus, at the beginning of the 5th dynasty, there is an increase in titles and offices within the state held by men of modest means and non-royal origin. Even at the highest levels, such as vizier, these posts were now predominantly held by men of non-royal descent.⁷³⁸ This trend may explain why the title may originate at the beginning of the 5th dynasty (in which case the reading of the title on the stela of *Hr-k3* [01] may need to be considered). That said, the situation within the Residence may not mirror that of the state necessarily; the position of *sms.w h3y.t* may have existed in the palace during the 3rd and 4th dynasties but

⁷³² In one instance, the monument of *Rdi-n-k3.w* [30] is unknown.

⁷³³ The block-reliefs from the causeway of Sahure in Abusir, [04]+[18]+[26]+[37]+[44]+[48] and [33].

⁷³⁴ [15], [42], and [46].

⁷³⁵ [02], [03], [04]+[18]+[26]+[37]+[44]+[48], [14], [16], [21], [25], [28], [29], [32], [33], [39], [40], [41], [43], [47], [49], [50], [51].

⁷³⁶ [08], [09], [10], [17], [20], [23], [27], [30], [31], [45].

⁷³⁷ [05], [06]+[11]+[36], [07], [12], [13], [15], [19], [22], [35], [38], [42], [46].

⁷³⁸ Bárta, "Kings, Vizier, and Courtiers," 165-166; Bárta, "The sun kings of Abusir and their entourage: 'Speakers of Nekhen of the King,'" M. Bárta and H. Küllmer (eds) *Diachronic Trends in Ancient Egyptian History: Studies dedicated to the memory of Eva Pardey* (Prague, 2013), 26-27.





those who bore it are simply not visible in the sources. At the end of the 6th dynasty, the state gradually became more unstable and decentralised with more authority and power residing in the provinces with the nomarchs rather than at the Residence. The upheaval may have adversely affected the *sms.w w h3y.t* during the First Intermediate Period to the extent that they no longer received the means to construct monuments. Exactly what happened to the *sms.w w h3y.t* at the end of the Old Kingdom is difficult to establish due to the scarce documentation.

4. 2. Titularies of the *sms.w h3y.t* in the Old Kingdom

Thirty out of the fifty (60%) *sms.w w h3y.t* attested during the Old Kingdom have an extended titulary, that is, appointments and ranks other than *sms.w h3y.t*. Examining the other titles included in their titulary will give insight into their activities and role in the palace and the state. Therefore, the necessary background for relevant titles has been included to provide adequate context and enable an analysis of these individuals within the larger framework of the ancient Egyptian state.

4. 2. 1. ‘Ranking’ Titles




The titularies of the *sms.w w h3y.t* in the Old Kingdom reveal that many held ‘ranking’ titles. A ‘ranking’ title denotes the status of an individual rather than a function or office within the state hierarchy (see Section 1.1.3). The rank of individuals is usually specified in terms of their relationship to the king and designates them as a member within the king’s court.





The most frequently attested ‘ranking’ or ‘honorary’ designation in the corpus is *rh nsw.t*; held by 30% of title-holders.⁷³⁹ The position of *rh nsw.t*, , , , , ‘king’s acquaintance’ or ‘one who is known to the king’ is regularly attested during the Old Kingdom.⁷⁴⁰ Additionally, two women, *N.y-k3.w-Rc.w* and *Nb.t* (wives of [12] and [40], respectively) hold the feminine equivalent, *rh.t nsw.t*.⁷⁴¹ This title is thought to relate to their standing within the king’s court, although its exact nuance is undetermined. According to Moreno-Garcia, the title describes an official who is closely related to the

⁷³⁹ 15/50: [03], [10], [19], [21], [23], [24], [27], [30], [31], [32], [38], [39], [45], [46], and [47]. Or 50% out of the thirty individuals with a longer titulary.

⁷⁴⁰ Jones, *Index*, I 1206, 1214; Wb. II 446.9-447.3; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 507, FCD 152.

⁷⁴¹ Wb. II 447.4-5.

palace, and who would undertake assignments on behalf of the king.⁷⁴² Strudwick views the *rh nsw.t* as the lowest-ranking designation of all the ‘court’ titles of the Old Kingdom.⁷⁴³ He further states they were held by officials with titles below those of the upper echelons at court, whose positions were perhaps less significant.⁷⁴⁴ It is often compared to the higher-ranking ‘court’ titles *ir.y-p^c.t* , *h³.ty-^c* , and *smr w.^cty*  ‘prince, count,’ and ‘sole companion.’⁷⁴⁵ These three ranks are only present in the titulary of the nomarch and vizier, *Isi* [08] while *Sndm-ib* [35] only held the latter. These honorary titles were of the highest-ranking designations at this time, signifying the inclusion of that individual with the inner circle of the king.⁷⁴⁶ Indeed, *Sndm-ib* was the son of the vizier Qar IA and belonged to a prominent family of the 6th dynasty reflecting his high social standing. Similarly, as a nomarch and vizier it is unsurprising that *Isi* was part of the king’s circle at court. The rank *rh nsw.t* is thought to sit below these, yet was comparatively still significant and a point of pride and honour within officialdom.

Finally, several other honorary designations held by *sms.ww h³y.t* are attested in the Old Kingdom corpus. *Nfr-hr-n-Pth* [24] was a *sb³ nsw.t*  ‘pupil/student of the king.’⁷⁴⁷ The meaning of this title is unclear but it points to a close association between the king, royal family and the palace. It may even have referred to his education within the palace. *Ihy* [07] held the honorific epithet *m^h-ib n(y) nsw.t m nd rn=f*  ‘confidant of the king in proclaiming his name’⁷⁴⁸ (lit. ‘one who fills the heart of the king’) which suggests, as the designation expresses, a close relationship with the king. *Sndm-ib* [35] held the archaic title *hr.y-tp Nhb*  ‘chief of Nekheb’ (Elkab).⁷⁴⁹ In addition to the various court titles mentioned earlier, *Isi* [08] also held the position *hr.y-tp nsw.t*  ‘one under the head of the king’ or ‘royal chamberlain,’ which is further indicative of his close association with the king.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴² J.C. Moreno-Garcia, “The territorial administration of the kingdom in the 3rd Millennium,” in J. C. Moreno-Garcia (ed) *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden, 2013), 110.

⁷⁴³ Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 310.

⁷⁴⁴ Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 183.

⁷⁴⁵ Jones, *Index*, I 1157, 1858, II 3268; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 5: he refers to their significance in the Old Kingdom.

⁷⁴⁶ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 5.

⁷⁴⁷ Jones, *Index*, II 3234; FCD 221; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 741.


⁷⁴⁸ Jones, *Index*, I 1676.

⁷⁴⁹ Jones, *Index*, II 2374; Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 311.

⁷⁵⁰ Jones, *Index*, II 2874.

The ‘ranking’ titles outlined above reflect different levels of ‘favour’ that these *sms.w h3y.t* gained with the king, all implying a certain level of intimacy. The rank of ‘king’s acquaintance,’ held most regularly, signifies their inclusion in the king’s court, situating them within the king’s circle of courtiers. While they are not consistently ranked among the highest echelons of the court, for a modest palace official being part of the court at all was no insignificant thing. Yet, occasionally they would rise through to these highly coveted positions close to the king’s inner circle.

4. 2. 1. 1. The ‘prefix’ title *s3b* –

The designation  *s3b* appears before numerous Old Kingdom titles including *sms.w h3y.t*. Unlike the situation in the Middle and New Kingdoms, the term *s3b* does not appear independently in the Old Kingdom.⁷⁵¹ The Old Kingdom corpus includes twenty-eight (56%) individuals *with* the *s3b* prefixed to *sms.w h3y.t*⁷⁵² and twenty-five individuals (50%) *without* this prefix.⁷⁵³ Three individuals include both forms in their titulary.⁷⁵⁴

The meaning of this prefix title remains obscure, and the question of how it qualifies the title to which it is attached is equally undetermined. Possible meanings of the title given in the dictionaries and title indices include: a ‘judge’ or ‘judicial official,’⁷⁵⁵ a ‘dignitary’ of unknown rank perhaps indicating a level of seniority,⁷⁵⁶ and a generic designation for a ‘state official.’⁷⁵⁷ By the end of the Old Kingdom, it is no longer as prevalent and occurs independently. By the 18th dynasty, this prefix-title had become a designation of reverence of a son for his deceased father, and had no bearing on their offices or social status.⁷⁵⁸

Franke, Callender, and Bárta propose that *s3b* was a logogram for ‘jackal,’ which they interpret as a reference to the king.⁷⁵⁹ In the same way the falcon is connected with Horus

⁷⁵¹ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 82-83.

⁷⁵² [02], [03], [04], [05], [06], [09], [10], [14], [15], [17], [18], [20], [21], [23], [26], [27], [29], [30], [37], [38], [40], [41], [44], [45], [48], [49], [50], [51].

⁷⁵³ [02], [03], [07], [08], [11], [12], [13], [16], [19], [22], [24], [25], [28], [31], [32], [33], [34], [35], [36], [39], [42], [43], [45], [46], [47].

⁷⁵⁴ [02], [03], [45]. These were, therefore, counted twice in the above statistics.

⁷⁵⁵ Wb. III 421.7-422.2; Hannig 712.

⁷⁵⁶ Hannig 712; FCD 209; Jones, *Index*, II 2932.

⁷⁵⁷ Hannig 712.

⁷⁵⁸ S. Whale, *The family in the 18th Dynasty of Egypt: a study of the representation of the family in private tombs* (Sydney, 1989), 260-261.

⁷⁵⁹ D. Franke, “Ursprung und Bedeutung der Titelsequenz Z3b R3-N3n,” *SAK* 11 (1984), 211-212; V. G. Callender, “À propos the title of *r N3n n z3b*,” in M. Bárta and J. Krejčí (eds) *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year*

and the living king, the jackal may allude to Anubis, and thus, the deceased king.⁷⁶⁰ The *s3b* particle usually appears in front of titles, but in several examples, the *s3b* prefix follows the title linked with *n*.⁷⁶¹ Since it is subject to honorific transposition, it may support the notion that it is a reference to the king.⁷⁶² Thus, the attachment of *s3b* may indicate that the official was closely connected to the king in that particular office, or generally highlight that the individual was a representative of the state. Franke further concluded the *s3b* logogram signified the judicial function of the king. He argues that originally the king would have been personally involved in dispensing justice; he was figuratively described as a jackal (and perhaps equated with Anubis). In the course of time, the king would have had to appoint another individual, first probably the vizier, to take on this duty, and then increasingly other officials who are marked in the Old Kingdom by the *s3b* designation.⁷⁶³ Conversely, Helck proposed that, during the Old Kingdom, the *s3b* prefix visibly denoted the official was under the authority of the vizier's office, the judicial 'department' in particular.⁷⁶⁴ It makes sense, then, that during the Old Kingdom the *s3b* prefix was a consistent element in the vizier's title, *s3b t3y.ty t3.ty*, since the vizier was, in essence, the king's deputy in all affairs.

However, the hypothesis that *s3b* designated the judicial role of an official, may no longer be correct. The current understanding of the ancient Egyptian justice system is that professional or permanent judges did not exist at any time.⁷⁶⁵ The administrative and judicial branch of government was unified.⁷⁶⁶ Any (usually a senior) official could act in a judicial capacity in the course of their duties, likely limited to matters related to their office.⁷⁶⁷ Consequently, it is unlikely that the *s3b* designation had anything to do at all with the judicial organisation of the country.

Van de Walle collected numerous titles that include the *s3b* prefix. He considered this prefix to allude to the training of the official, that it was a marker of competence. He does

2000 (Prague, 2000), 362; M. Bárta, "The sun kings of Abusir and their entourage: 'Speakers of Nekhen of the King,'" in M. Bárta and H. Küllmer (eds) *Diachronic Trends in Ancient Egyptian History: Studies dedicated to the memory of Eva Pardey* (Prague, 2013), 24.

⁷⁶⁰ Franke, "Z3b R3-Nhn," 212.

⁷⁶¹ e.g. [34], [45].

⁷⁶² Bárta, "Speakers of Nekhen of the king", 24.

⁷⁶³ Franke, "Z3b R3-Nhn," 212

⁷⁶⁴ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 82.

⁷⁶⁵ Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 21-22.

⁷⁶⁶ Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 21-22.

⁷⁶⁷ Most officials were called upon when needed, often in the short term, and therefore have different careers in different administrative sectors: Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 22, 25.

not suggest *s3b* refers to a judge but to someone familiar with the laws of Egypt. Similar to scribal training, officials were taught the rules and precedents relating the practice of justice. These officials could then lend their expertise when necessary. Van de Walle notes that the title *s3b sš* denoted the first level of this training, and then each official would specialise for the various institutions most relevant to their office, thus accounting for the different titles with this designation. Yet, it seems more likely that knowledge about judicial traditions and practice was part of the scribal education, since it was each official's duty to hear petitions.⁷⁶⁸

Another alternative, and one which seems most appealing, is that *s3b* was an indicator of status or a social marker, likely a non-functional one. If it was an archaic reference to the king that survived to the Old Kingdom from the Early Dynastic Period, perhaps it may have reflected a close association to the king.⁷⁶⁹ However, many low-ranking officials such as *s3b nht-hrw* and *s3b sš*, also bear this prefix, and it is unlikely they were closely connected with the king. Philip-Stéphan suggested *s3b* represents a higher rank or distinctive sign granted as an honour, awarded when officials were delegated judicial powers to resolve any dispute arising in the performance of their duties.⁷⁷⁰ However, this would then imply that those without the *s3b* designation were *not* allowed to participate in the judicial process. Again, this seems unlikely in light of the nature of the judicial system where any official could, and likely did, handle legal petitions and judicial proceedings. Since the bearer of every title had the capacity to deal with judicial matters as they arose in the performance of their duties, it seems redundant to have this *s3b* prefix in front of the office to emphasise this. It is also possible that it had nothing to do with the king at all, and may simply have reflected a higher-level of seniority, perhaps one an official received for competence or loyalty in the performance of his duties. Callender suggests that it may indicate a 'senior' or 'junior' grade.⁷⁷¹ This would then be one universally applicable to all titles.

⁷⁶⁸ Any official, whatever his office, is expected to listen to petitioners, to be patient and attentive, and do what he can to resolve the matter. This is reflected in a number of literary texts, including the *Teaching of Ptah-hotep*: "If you are a man of authority, be patient when you are listening to the words of a petitioner; do not dismiss him until he has completely unburdened himself of what he planned to say to you. A man who has been wrong desires to express his frustrations even more than the accomplishments of the (justice) for which he came; but concerning him who dismisses petitions, men say, 'Why ever did he reject it?' Not everything about which he has petitioned will be done, but a sympathetic hearing is a means of calming the heart": Simpson, *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 137 (17); Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 163.

⁷⁶⁹ For 'archaism' in titles, see Moreno-Garcia, "study of ancient Egyptian administration," 7ff.

⁷⁷⁰ Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 54.

⁷⁷¹ Callender, "*r Nhn n z3b*," 376.






The fact that a number of *sms.w h3yt* have this prefix and some do not, does suggest that there was a difference between them. For example, *Snḏm-ib* [35] is *sms.w h3y.t* while his brother *Inti* [06] is *s3b sms.w h3y.t*. *Inti* has two sons, *Snḏm-ib* [36] and *ḥnḫ-m-ṯnn.t* [11] who hold the position *sms.w h3y.t* without the *s3b* prefix preceding it. This may be indicative that *Inti* held a slightly higher position than his brother and sons.⁷⁷² In addition, three officials have both in their titulary supporting Callender’s notion that they represent a different ranking.⁷⁷³ The exact nature of this differentiation is still elusive. There is no visible difference in the sources between *sms.w h3y.t* who have this prefix (in terms of status or function), than those without. The *s3b* prefix is most likely a visible manifestation of a more senior rank, perhaps that they were rewarded in the performance of their duties. It does not seem to have designated a function. That it refers specifically to the king or vizier’s office or a judicial role seems unconvincing.

4. 2. 2. Regular titles and occupations

This section focuses on the regular function titles and occupations held long term by the *sms.w h3y.t* during the Old Kingdom (see Section 1.1.1).

4. 2. 2. 1. (s3b) r3-Nḥn

The title (*s3b*) *r3-Nḥn* is attested from the Old Kingdom through to the New Kingdom.⁷⁷⁴ It is rarely attested without the *s3b* prefix. The meaning and function of this title is still poorly understood. Sixteen *sms.w h3y.t* during the Old Kingdom include this title in their titularies.⁷⁷⁵

The title *s3b r3-Nḥn* is regularly written as  or  but also as , , or . The *s3b* element was discussed above. The first element in the second part of the title, ‘*r*’, is the logogram for ‘*r3*’ ‘mouth’.⁷⁷⁶ The Middle Kingdom writing of this title often has a vertical stroke accompanying the *r*, which suggests it should be understood as a






⁷⁷² This is also unusual since *Inti* is the younger brother of *Snḏm-ib* [35].

⁷⁷³ [02], [03], [44].

⁷⁷⁴ Jones, *Index*, II 2953; Wb. II 310. 11. According to Bárta, the title is first attested during the reign of Neferirkare or slightly later: Bárta, “Kings, Viziers, and Courtiers,” 169.

⁷⁷⁵ 16/50 (32%): [02], [03], [06], [07], [10], [12], [13], [20], [21], [23], [24], [27], [30], [35], [38], and [42]. Or 53% when only considering those whom have longer titularies.

⁷⁷⁶ FCD 145.

logogram for ‘r3’.⁷⁷⁷ Franke asserts that there is no reason to suppose that the reading of the title differed from the Old to the Middle Kingdom, especially considering the orthography remained the same.⁷⁷⁸ According to Franke, the reading of the title as *iry-Nhn* (*nisbe* form based on the preposition *ir*) is incorrect.⁷⁷⁹ Fischer, too, believes that the writing *iry-Nhn*  (sometimes *iry* is written ) is a survival of a different title of the Old Kingdom, *s3w* or *mnw Nhn* ‘guardian of Nekhen’ both written as .⁷⁸⁰ The second element  or  (Gardiner’s O48 and O49, respectively) refers to the toponym *Nhn* ‘Nekhen’ commonly known as ‘Hierakonpolis’.⁷⁸¹ Based on this reading, the title has been translated as ‘mouth of Nekhen’,⁷⁸² ‘mouthpiece of Nekhen’,⁷⁸³ and ‘speaker of Nekhen’⁷⁸⁴ or ‘speaker of Nekhen of the king’.⁷⁸⁵ The *s3b* element is usually left untranslated, with the exception of the latter. Bárta interprets *s3b* as a reference to the king, hence ‘king’s speaker of Nekhen’.⁷⁸⁶

The interpretation of the role and function of bearers of the title *r3-Nhn* is primarily based on one’s interpretation and reading of the actual title-phrase. The *r3-Nhn* were individuals close to the king and likely served in the palace. Even though the title is first attested at the beginning of the 5th dynasty, the position may have had its origins in the Early Dynastic Period. The term *Nhn* refers to the town of Hierakonpolis located at the southern frontier of Upper Egypt and the likely site of one of the first (fortified) royal residences.⁷⁸⁷ Franke posits that the *r3-Nhn* was, therefore, closely linked to the administration of this early palace.⁷⁸⁸ Title-phrases may be purposely archaic expressing a particular ideological message and connect the new system with that of the renowned past to legitimise it, and use the title as a source of status in the new and different context.⁷⁸⁹ Bárta argues that, in this way, the 5th dynasty kings deliberately sought to link themselves to this bygone era through this reference to an important archaic palace, signifying the power of the early

⁷⁷⁷ Franke, “Z3b R3-Nhn,” 210; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 44.

⁷⁷⁸ Franke, “Z3b R3-Nhn,” 211.

⁷⁷⁹ Franke, “Z3b R3-Nhn,” 210.

⁷⁸⁰ Jones, *Index*, II 2929, I 1597 respectively; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 44.

⁷⁸¹ Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 1158; FCD 138.

⁷⁸² Wb. II 310.11; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 43ff.

⁷⁸³ Quirke, “Four Titles,” 305ff.

⁷⁸⁴ Franke, “Z3b R3-Nhn,” 210, 213

⁷⁸⁵ Bárta, “Sun kings of Abusir,” 24ff.

⁷⁸⁶ Bárta, “Sun kings of Abusir,” 24.

⁷⁸⁷ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 22; Franke, “Z3b R3-Nhn,” 213.

⁷⁸⁸ Franke, “Z3b R3-Nhn,” 213.

⁷⁸⁹ Moreno-Garcia, “Study of ancient Egyptian administration,” 7.

kings who created their country.⁷⁹⁰ The first king of the 5th dynasty, Userkaf, might have wanted to distance himself from his predecessors by claiming kinship to the ancient and famous Early Dynastic rulers, who resided in Hierakonpolis.⁷⁹¹ Bárta noted that Userkaf named his solar temple ‘Nekhen of Re’ which may support this supposition.⁷⁹² The administrative structures were reorganised and expanded in the early 5th dynasty to accommodate new burdens of the flourishing state. As a result, numerous titles were introduced around this time and bestowed onto officials of non-royal origin who gradually assumed even the highest positions in the administration.⁷⁹³ It is in this context that the title *s3b r3-Nhn* first appeared (or was re-introduced?) and perhaps the archaic version of an old title was reinvented. Bárta suggests that the *s3b r3-Nhn* was important in the politics of the kings who were looking for a new means to highlight their symbolic identity and legitimacy — in a different way from the 4th dynasty kings — which they did by establishing a historical link with the Upper Egyptian site of Hierakonpolis.⁷⁹⁴ It would create goodwill and loyalty within these mid-ranking non-royal men who were suddenly honoured and elevated in status. Helck also surmised that some archaic titles (like the *s3b r3-Nhn*) were reintroduced at this time to increase the rank and prestige of these non-royal individuals, in this case, by visibly linking them to an ancient royal seat.⁷⁹⁵ Additionally, Quirke and Callender suggests that Nekhen might also be associated with the word *nhn* ‘child’ referring to the place of the ‘young’ king or the king as a divine child.⁷⁹⁶ Thus, the term ‘Nekhen,’ which refers to the seat of kingship in Egypt’s archaic past, could in the Old Kingdom be a figurative way to allude to the Residence/palace, and perhaps the king himself.

The term *r3* may allude to certain attributes of the official’s role, in this case perhaps related to ‘speech’ or ‘speaking.’⁷⁹⁷ Franke concluded that the *s3b r3-Nhn* acted as a “relay station” or “filter” for the words and speech of the king.⁷⁹⁸ He may have acted as an

⁷⁹⁰ Bárta, “Sun kings of Abusir,” 25-27.

⁷⁹¹ Bárta, “Sun kings of Abusir,” 25-26. For example, pWestcar shows that the 5th dynasty kings negatively portrayed their predecessors in the 4th dynasty: Simpson, *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 13-24.

⁷⁹² Bárta, “Sun kings of Abusir,” 25-26. Moreover, the desire of a king to associate himself with an earlier tradition is a regular practice of ancient Egyptian culture.

⁷⁹³ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 23; Bárta, “Sun kings of Abusir,” 27; Bárta, “Kings, Vizier, and Courtiers,” 165-166; Papazian, “Central Administration,” 46.

⁷⁹⁴ Bárta, “Sun kings of Abusir,” 28

⁷⁹⁵ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 23; Bárta, “Sun kings of Abusir,” 25-26.

⁷⁹⁶ FCD 138; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 451; Quirke, “Four Titles,” 313; Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 85-86 n. 5; Callender, “*r Nhn z3b*,” 363.

⁷⁹⁷ FCD 145; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 481.

⁷⁹⁸ Franke, “*Z3b R3-Nhn*,” 214.

intermediary between the king and his officials and subjects.⁷⁹⁹ The *s3b r3-Nhn* may have been responsible for receiving inquiries and announcing the arrival of those who sought an audience with, or justice from, the king.⁸⁰⁰ Fischer suggest that the title *r3-Nhn* may also have been a pun on the phrase *r3 n hn* ‘mouth of utterance’ which would fit well with the role of this official.⁸⁰¹ While this expression is only attested from the Middle Kingdom onwards, it may suggests that the function of this position was concerned with matters related to the ‘mouth.’⁸⁰² The *s3b r3-Nhn* may, therefore, have acted as the figurative ‘channel’ or ‘conduit’ for the king’s wishes; the person through whom the king communicated with the rest of the world, especially the central administration. Based on the above arguments, perhaps the title can be rendered ‘spokesman of the palace’ or ‘of the king’? No archaeological evidence and only very vague textual references to Old Kingdom palaces have survived. Thus, the above suppositions are difficult to verify. His role as ‘speaker’ for the king is not visible in the sources because of these gaps in the record. If all the above interpretations are correct, the *s3b r3-Nhn* acted as a ‘spokesman’ for the king representing his interests, and those of the Residence/palace and government. They were likely appointed by the king, served as part of his court, and were entrusted with particular tasks and missions in the central administration.⁸⁰³

The main source, however, on the *r3-Nhn* and their role within the central administration is the 6th dynasty autobiography of Weni (Teti to Merenre) in his tomb at Abydos.⁸⁰⁴ He was *im.y-r3 hnt.y(w)-š pr-c3* ‘inspector of palace-guards’ before being appointed to the position of *s3b r3-Nhn* by Pepy I. Weni’s autobiography highlights two features about the office of *r3-Nhn*. First, title-holders worked closely with the vizier on matters related to the king, and royal family and household in the palace (*ip3.t-nsw.t*) as well as the central administration (*hw.t-wr.t 6*).⁸⁰⁵ Weni claims that, as *s3b r3-Nhn*, he and the vizier, attended

⁷⁹⁹ Franke, “Z3b R3-Nhn,” 216.

⁸⁰⁰ Callender, “*r Nhn n z3b*,” 362.

⁸⁰¹ Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 43.

⁸⁰² Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 43.

⁸⁰³ Franke, “Z3b R3-Nhn,” 216; Bárta, “Kings, Viziers, and Courtiers,” 169.

⁸⁰⁴ Urk. I 98-105. For translations, see Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I*, 18-23; Simpson, *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 402-407.

⁸⁰⁵ Urk. I 99. 3-8: [*rđi hm*]=*f m s3b r3-Nhn ib=f m mh im r b3k.w=f nb sdm ht w't=k hn^c t3yty s3b t3ty m sst3 nb ... m rn n.(y) nsw.t n.(y) ip3.t-nsw.t n.(y) hw.t-wr.t 6 n m mh ib n.(y) hm=f im r sr.w=f nb r s^ch.w=f nb r b3k.w=f nb*. “His majesty appointed me as *sab* ‘spokesman of Nekhen’, his heart being filled with me more than any amongst his servants, I alone listened to matters, together with the vizier in private and all [things] related to the reputation (lit. name) of the king, of the king’s private apartments (i.e. royal family and household), of the six great houses (i.e. the central administration), for the heart of his majesty was filled with me more than any amongst his officials, any amongst his dignitaries/courtiers, and any amongst his servants.’ See Section 3.4 for discussion of the phrase *ip3.t-nsw.t*. The *hw.t-wr.t 6* ‘six great houses’ is a

to ‘confidential’ (*sšt3*) affairs on behalf of these spheres of society. This suggests that their role was more holistic and varied, and not purely judicial. It supports the notion outlined above that these men acted as the a personal representative of the king. This text does, however, definitively situate the *s3b r3-Nhn* in a judicial context. Weni was assisted by an unnamed *s3b r3-Nhn* when he presided over the trial of Pepy I’s queen, which does suggest that part of the duties of these men was to assist during legal trials and to record the proceedings.⁸⁰⁶ This was an exceptional honour and consequence for a man in his position, as ‘overseer of palace-guards.’ Secondly, title-holders were considered loyal and highly trusted by the king and were part of his inner circle at court. The reason for Weni’s success was due, at least in part, to the king’s favour and trust. Weni consistently emphasises he was trusted by the king more than any other official, courtier or servant.⁸⁰⁷ He describes that he was selected to conduct the trial instead of the vizier or anyone else because he had the king’s confidence and trust. It must be kept in mind that this entire circumstance was unusual, and perhaps does not reflect the usual attributes and roles of the *s3b r3-Nhn* but of Weni as an individual instead. However, the vizier, Qar IA who constructed a family tomb complex in South Abusir, held the title *s3b r3-Nhn* until he was promoted to vizier late in

phrase predominantly found in the title *im.y-r3 hwt.wr.t 6* held only by viziers. Therefore, Strudwick proposed that it was likely a way to stress the vizier’s overall authority of the *hwt.wr.t* ‘great house’ and it did not refer to a different institution, or six separate courts: Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 178, 188-189, 190, 193; Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 22-23, 26, 60. It makes sense that the phrase is also used here as Weni claims he worked alongside the vizier, whom is usually associated with the *hwt.wr.t 6*. Moreover, Weni likely used the phrase to indicate his authority over, and access to, the entirety of the administration.

⁸⁰⁶ Urk. I 100.13-101.7: *šn.(w)t iht m ip3.t-nsw.t r hm.t wr.t hts m sšt3 rdi hm=f h3y(=i) r sdm wci=kw nn wn.t t3y.ty s3b t3.ty nb sr.w nb im wp.yw-(i)r wci=kw n ikr(=i) n w3b(=i) hr ib n(.y) hm=f n m mh hm=f ib=f im(=i). ink iri m sš.w wci=kw hn^c s3b r3-Nhn w^c st i3.t(=i) m im.y-r3 hnt.y(w)-š pr^{c3}. nn sp p3y mi.tw(=i) sdm sšt3 n(.y) ip3.t-nsw.t d-b^chr wp.yw-(i)r r rdi.t hm=f sdm(=i) n ikr(=i) hr ib n(.y) hm=f r sr.w=f nb r s^ch.w=f nb r b3k.w=f nb. ‘(When) matters were undertaken in the king’s private apartments against the king’s wife, the great favourite, in private, his majesty appointed me to go down to listen, I being alone, there being not being any vizier, nor any official, except for me alone, because of my proficiency/competence for I was rooted upon the heart of his majesty, as his majesty’s heart was filled with me. I put (it) in writing, I alone, together with a sole *sab* ‘spokesman of Nekhen’, while my office was overseer of palace-guards. Never before had the like been heard in private in the king’s private apartments, except for his majesty having appointed me to listen because of my competence, because I was in the heart of his majesty, more than any of his officials, more than any of his courtiers, and more than any of his servants.’*

⁸⁰⁷ Urk. I 99. 7-8: *n mh ib n hm=f im r sr.w=f nb r s^ch.w=f nb r b3k.w=f nb. ...for the heart of his majesty was filled with me more than any amongst his officials, any amongst his dignitaries/courtiers, and any amongst his servants.’* He also declares that, as ‘overseer of palace-guards,’ he exposed a plot involving four other ‘overseer of palace-guards’ though specifics are not stated. His loyalty likely earned him the king’s trust and favour. Weni lived through the assassination of Teti, the father of Pepy I, who may have been killed by his own bodyguards, the same position held by Weni. It is not unfathomable that in the aftermath of his father’s death, Pepy I valued loyalty in his officials, over competence and socio-economic background. On the assassination of Teti by his bodyguards as recorded by Manetho: Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace* (2003).

life. This promotion confirms that this office and their title-holders had a high level of trust and favour with the king.

Auxiliary titles regularly held by *s3b r3-Nhn* include those incorporating the expression *wd^c-mdw* and *hw.t-wr.t*.⁸⁰⁸ The corpus indicates that the title of *s3b r3-Nhn* is expanded in three cases with the following phrases:

- *s3b r3-Nhn n(.y) hw.t-wr.t* ‘*sab* spokesman of Nekhen of the great house’ [23].
- *s3b r3-Nhn wd^c-mdw sst3 [n(.y) hw.t-wr.t]* ‘*sab* spokesman of Nekhen who judges/decides the private (matters) [of the great house]’ [02].
- *s3b r3-Nhn c3 n(.y) ir.ww sm3^c wd^c-mdw* ‘*sab* spokesman of Nekhen, who is great of witnesses, who regulates judgements’ [42].⁸⁰⁹

The *hw.t-wr.t* ‘great house/estate’ or ‘great enclosure’ was probably both a physical space/structure (of unknown number/size) probably located somewhere in the Residence, and an institution or assembly of officials run by the vizier and *im.y-r3 hw.t-wr.t*.⁸¹⁰ It is unlikely this ‘enclosure/estate’ was purely a law court or had a purely judicial function.⁸¹¹ Officials attached to the *hw.t-wr.t* acted as representatives of the state throughout the country in an administrative and judicial capacity. Various title-phrases include the expression *wd^c-mdw* meaning ‘to judge or arbitrate’ between two conflicting parties.⁸¹² Philip-Stéphan determined that this phrase conveys the ‘judicial’ (German ‘richtende’) function of the king.⁸¹³ According to Philip-Stéphan, the addition of the phrase *wd^c-mdw* in titularies was indicative of the purely judicial responsibilities of the official.⁸¹⁴ However, it may also refer to ‘judgements’ in the sense of general decision-making on state affairs, in both administrative and legal.⁸¹⁵

⁸⁰⁸ Callender, “*r Nhn n z3b*,” 376ff. Auxiliary titles usually reveal secondary roles or specify aspects about the primary office, see Section 1.1.2.

⁸⁰⁹ For *ir.ww* see Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 100.

⁸¹⁰ Wb. III 4.7-10 ‘the large Hall, alten hohen Gerichtshöfe’; FCD 165 ‘great mansion’; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 550 ‘Gerichtshof, Ministerium’; Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 22-23, 60-65; Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 176, 188-198; Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 27-33; Martin-Pardey, “Richten im Alten Reich,” 166; Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 120.

⁸¹¹ Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 22-23, 60-65; Martin-Pardey, “Richten im Alten Reich,” 157-167.

⁸¹² Wb. I 405. 10-20; FCD 76; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 246.



⁸¹³ Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 199-200.

⁸¹⁴ Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 57.


⁸¹⁵ Officials often used judicial disputes as a source of pride in their tomb autobiographies when they were involved in the proceedings, as it reflected well on them and their duty to uphold *maat*. This may explain why they are emphasised in their titles and autobiographies.

While their role was likely not limited to a role in the ‘great house,’ these statements (and Weni’s association with the *ḥw.t-wr.t* 6) do confirm they participated in its affairs. These extended title-phrases (and Weni) confirm that part of their role as *s3b r3-Nḥn* was to arbitrate and contribute in decision-making. In the case of [42] he acted, perhaps like that unnamed *r3-Nḥn* in Weni’s autobiography, as a witness or observer, perhaps he had a secondary role to advise the officials in charge. According to Callender, these officials were closely tied to the royal inner circle and thus had the special duty to represent the king’s interest, especially in regard to judicial decisions.⁸¹⁶ Similarly, Philip-Stéphan considered the *s3b r3-Nḥn* a spokesman of the king responsible for communicating the delivery of decisions.⁸¹⁷ Therefore, the inclusion of these auxiliary titles in the titularies of majority of *s3b r3-Nḥn* is indicative of their involvement with affairs of the state, in particular of those of the vizierate, and decision-making in judicial and administrative matters.

There are two titles that have been interpreted as designating a type of ‘guard’ in the Old Kingdom, *hnt.y-š (pr-^{c3})* and *s3-pr*. The title *šhd hnt.y(w)-š* was held by *Hnw* [32] and *St-w^{cB.w}* [39] while *(s3b) im.y-ht s3(w)-pr* was held by *‘nh-m-tnn.t* [12] and *K3-hr-Pth* [46]. In addition, *Inti* [06] bears the title *hnt.y-š (m) Dd-swt-Tty*, but since this position is attached to a royal mortuary temple, it will be discussed in Section 4.2.4.

The title *hnt.y-š* , det. , was originally considered to designate a ‘tenant’ or ‘tenant land-holder.’⁸¹⁸ This interpretation is, however, now disputed.⁸¹⁹ While the title *hnt.y-š* is regularly not further qualified, it is frequently qualified by reference to a

building rather than a person, either the palace or to a king's mortuary temple.⁸²⁰ Accordingly, this would affect the function and role of the *hnt.y-š*.⁸²¹

An examination of *hnt.y-š* title-holders shows that the activities of this position seem to be mainly connected with transport, escorting, and guarding rather than agricultural activities and land-ownership as was previously believed.⁸²² Reliefs of 5th dynasty funerary temples show the *hnt.y(w)-š* acted as escorts to the king in victory celebrations, military expeditions and hunting events.⁸²³ Kanawati noted that *hnt.yw* literally means 'one who is in front of' and *š*  may refer to a locality where the palace was located, so perhaps a watcher, escort or a guard/bodyguard.⁸²⁴ Weni describes his duties as a *im.y-r3 hnt.yw-š pr-š* as "I did what his majesty would praise, in providing protection (and) in preparing the king's way..."⁸²⁵ Additional titles held by the *hnt.y(w)-š* show that they hold other titles related to the Residence and the court.⁸²⁶ From the 6th dynasty, these officials held other diverse positions in the palace, some of which placed them in close proximity to the king.⁸²⁷ Titles related to the feeding, bathing and clothing of the king are found within their titularies.⁸²⁸ The fact that these guards were also involved in the feeding, bathing, dressing, and even entertainment of the king does not contradict their duty of ensuring the king's security.⁸²⁹ Protecting the king required close proximity to the king's person, and what better official to see to the king's needs than a guard sworn to protect and serve the king. Therefore, the *hnt.y(w)-š* were probably responsible for the security of the Residence, and some also acted as the king's bodyguard. This was a prestigious position and they were likely held in great esteem and trust by the king.

⁸²⁰ Jones, *Index*, II 2532, 2533, respectively; Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 41. Holders of the title *hnt.y-š* attached to the king's mortuary temples are not found until the reign of Djedkare (based on the Abusir Papyri), and they are not attested in tombs until the reign of Unis. Based on the dates of these officials' tombs, this office was connected to the palace several reigns earlier. This delay between the appearance of the title in the palace and its emergence in the mortuary cult might explain the lack of the *pr-š* extensions in many of the titles' attestations. Since the *hnt.y(w)-š* were initially, and only, attached to the palace, it did not need be specified and the title was used as it was. Therefore, members of the *hnt.y-š* where no attachment to a building is specified can usually be assumed to be *hnt.y-š* of the palace: Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 41 fn 21.

⁸²¹ Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 41 fn 21.

⁸²² Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace*, 16.

⁸²³ Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace*, 15-16.

⁸²⁴ Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace*, 16.

⁸²⁵ Urk. I 100. 7-10; Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace*, 16.

⁸²⁶ Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace*, 18.

⁸²⁷ Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace*, 18.


⁸²⁸ Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace*, 18.

⁸²⁹ Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace*, 19.

While Kanawati prefers the translation ‘guard,’ Roth favours the translation ‘attendant’ as it is suggestive of the relationship of personal service to the king, which seems to be the distinguishing feature of this office.⁸³⁰ Both terms can be applied to the title; this official seems to act both as a guard and as a personal attendant. It does seem that their main duty is in matters of security, as the majority of the *hnt.yw-š* (especially those in the palace) would act as guards and would not have an intimate relationship with the king. That privilege belonged to only a few *hnt.y(w)-š*. It is difficult to find one term in English that encapsulates both of these functions.⁸³¹ The term ‘guard’ or ‘palace-guard’ is used in this thesis, with the understanding of the particular characteristics of this position.

Roth and Kanawati agree that the hierarchy within this office is as follows (in ascending order): *hnt.y-š* ‘guard’ → *im.y-ht hnt.y(w)-š* ‘assistant supervisor of guards’ → *shd hnt.y(w)-š* ‘inspector of guards’ → *im.y-rš hnt.y(w)-š* ‘overseer of guards.’⁸³² *Hnw* [32] and *St-w^cb.w* [39] held the second highest level within this hierarchy. While no career trajectory is evident from their titularies, they presumably started out a simple ‘guard’ in the palace and gradually made their way up to ‘inspector.’ Apart from the title *sms.w hšy.t*, and temporary temple positions, ‘inspector of palace-guards’ is their other main office. Both positions situate them within the palace complex. Additionally, they both hold the ranking title *rh-nsw.t* indicative of their presence among the king’s court. It remains possible that *St-w^cb.w* and *Hnw* carried out tasks of a more personal nature on behalf of the king on matters of security and protection, either as a guard or *sms.w hšy.t*.

The *sš-pr*

The title *sš-pr*  literally translates to ‘son of the house’ or ‘estate’⁸³³ or *sš.w-pr(.w)* in the plural ‘sons of the estate(s).’⁸³⁴ One aspect of the function and role of the *sš-pr* is illustrated in a number of Old Kingdom tomb reliefs. The 6th dynasty tomb of Ti, depicts the collecting of bread supplies by state officials; it shows the *im.y-rš pr* ‘steward’ together with several scribes and the ‘crier’ (*nht-hrw*) announce the results of the weighing. The result must not have been satisfactory, as the next scene shows another the *sš-pr*, named Nikai-iuni, beating the *im.y-rš šn^c* ‘overseer of the provision storehouses,’

⁸³⁰ Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace*, 18; Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 41.



⁸³¹ See Section 1.2.

⁸³² Kanawati, *Conspiracies in the Egyptian Palace*, 20; Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 41: Roth also includes the less frequently attested *im.y-rš st hnt.y-š pr-š* in between the rank of ‘inspector’ and ‘overseer.’

⁸³³ Jones, *Index*, II 2908; Wb. I 515.14.

⁸³⁴ Yoyote, “Corps de police,” 140.

who was responsible for the bread stores.⁸³⁵ The tomb of Djadjaemankh similarly depicts a *s3-pr* beating another man with a baton.⁸³⁶ The 6th dynasty tomb of Idut portrays a row of *s3-pr* armed with a baton dragging labourers before the ‘steward.’⁸³⁷ The tombs of Neferuptah and of Reshepses also depict a *s3-pr* grasping a man with one hand while holding a rod or baton in the other hand.⁸³⁸ In his study of this title, Yoyotte concluded that the *s3-pr* acted like a police officer (‘gendarme’), in charge of punishing the farmers and labourers who sought to escape tax payments or because they did not complete the work satisfactorily.⁸³⁹ These reliefs indicate that the *s3-pr* were likely subordinate to the *im.y-r3 pr* ‘steward,’ who managed the estate. Fischer agrees with Yoyotte stating that the *s3(.w)-pr* are clearly involved in the administration of the provincial estates and fields and are specifically concerned with the collection of the harvest.⁸⁴⁰ They seem to be identified by their batons and how they wield it. It is unlikely that this was their only function, however, and they likely also acted generally as a guard for officials and focused on keeping order, perhaps ‘law-enforcer’ or the like.

K3-hr-Pth [46] held the title *im.y-ht s3(.w)-pr*  ‘assistant supervisor of the sons of the estate’⁸⁴¹ while *nh-m-tnn.t* [12] was  *s3b im.y-ht s3(.w)-pr*.⁸⁴² ‘Assistant supervisor’ *im.y-ht* is the only supervisory level comprised with the *s3-pr*, and thus the hierarchy was presumably *s3-pr* ‘son of the estate’ → *im.y-ht s3(.w)-pr* ‘assistant supervisor of the sons of the estate.’ The ‘assistant supervisor’ was probably in charge of a group of ‘sons of the estate’ or a certain locality. A relief from the causeway of Sahure depicts eight (unnamed) *s3(.w)-pr* together with a *sms.w h3y.t Hr.y-n(.y)-Rc.w* [33] (fig. 4.2). The *s3(.w)-pr* all carry batons, and one even carries a quiver of arrows. This is not an agricultural scene, demonstrating that they also played a role outside the provinces. Their presence on these reliefs indicates that they may also have been responsible for the security of the king, in this case, while the king was awaiting the return of the Punt expedition. The *sms.w h3y.t* [51] and an unnamed *im.y-ht s3(.w)-pr* and an unnamed *s3-pr* also appear together as part the entourage of the vizier, *Ihy* (fig. 4.3). It is possible that the (*im.y-ht*)

⁸³⁵ G. Steindorff, *Das Grab des Ti* (Leipzig, 1913), pl. 86; Yoyotte, “Corps de police,” 144.

⁸³⁶ Yoyotte, “Corps de police,” 142; L. Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo. Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Teil I.* (Berlin, 1937), 244, pl. 52.

⁸³⁷ R. Macramallah, *Le mastaba d’Idout* (Cairo, 1935), pl. 5A; Yoyotte, “Corps de police,” 142.

⁸³⁸ Yoyotte, “Corps de police,” 142.

⁸³⁹ Yoyotte, “Corps de police,” 144; see also Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 705.

⁸⁴⁰ H.G. Fischer, “Old Kingdom Inscriptions in the Yale Gallery,” *MIO* 7 (1960), 310.



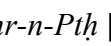
⁸⁴¹ Jones, *Index*, I 1081.

⁸⁴² Jones, *Index*, II 2943.

s3(.w)-pr could also act as bodyguards for the king, perhaps when the king travelled around the country.

For discussion of the *sms.w h3y.t* and security personnel, see Section 4.6.1.2.

4. 2. 2. 3. Treasury and Granaries

The titularies of some *sms.w h3y.t* in the Old Kingdom include a number of primarily mid-ranking positions related to the treasury and granaries. The highest of position in the treasury was held by *Snđm-ib* [35] who was *htm.ty-bi.ty* ‘treasurer’ or ‘seal bearer of the king of Lower Egypt.’⁸⁴³ The title *htm.ty-bi.ty*  was held by the leading treasury official, who was also a personal representative of the king in matters concerning the administration of the treasury.⁸⁴⁴ The vizier handled most matters related to the transmission of commands from the king. According to Papazian, the treasurer represented a parallel layer of control exercised by the *htm.ty-bi.ty* for affairs related to the treasury.⁸⁴⁵ This title was bestowed on officials of very high rank.⁸⁴⁶ *Snđm-ib* [35] was the son of the vizier, Qar IA, held the high-ranking court title *smr w^cty*, and was also *s3b r3-Nhn*, which was a position close to the king in the Residence/palace.⁸⁴⁷ Another relatively important official was the *htm.w šnw.(w)t [pr-]nsw.t* ‘treasurer/sealer of the granaries of the king[’s house]’ ,  held by *Nfr-ḥr-n-Pth* [24].⁸⁴⁸ As the title suggests, *Nfr-ḥr-n-Pth* was responsible for matters relating to the granaries of the palace, not an insignificant appointment in the Residence. From his titulary, it can be determined he was relatively influential in the palace and court, holding the positions *sms.w h3y.t*, *s3b r3-Nhn* and *rh nsw.t* and *sb3 nsw.t*.

⁸⁴³ Jones, *Index*, II 2775; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 675-676. This title is also rendered *sd3w.ty-bi.ty*, see Franke, “Probleme der Arbeit,” 112-114.

⁸⁴⁴ Papazian, “Central Administration,” 75.

⁸⁴⁵ Papazian, “Central Administration,” 75.

⁸⁴⁶ Wb. V 638.12-14.

⁸⁴⁷ His elder brother, Qar IIA, with whom he shares a tomb, was also *htm.ty-bi.ty* suggesting *Snđm-ib* [35] may have taken over this office from his brother.

⁸⁴⁸ Jones, *Index*, II 2816; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 675. Papazian argues that that *nsw.t* here is an abbreviation for *pr-nsw.t*, which is considered the economic branch of the Residence, ‘domain of the king,’ and considered part of the central administration at that time: Papazian, “Central Administration,” 54.

Titles incorporating *shr*w and *sh.t*

The rather enigmatic and rare term *sh(rw)(t)* is attested in the titularies of only five Old Kingdom officials.⁸⁴⁹ Table 4.1 below lists the titles in which the term is found, as well as the accompanying determinative.








	Title	Determinative
1.	<i>shd sh</i> ⁸⁵⁰	
2.	<i>shd sh.t</i> ⁸⁵¹	
3.	<i>s3b nht-hrw (n.y) sh</i> ⁸⁵²	
4.	<i>sms.w h3y.t n(y) pr-shrw</i> ⁸⁵³	
5.	<i>shd sh-Hr</i> ⁸⁵⁴	

Table 4.1. Table showing the titles and accompanying determinatives in which the term *sh(rw)(t)* occurs.⁸⁵⁵

According to Fischer, the terms *sh*, *shr*w and *sh.t* are the same word.⁸⁵⁶ Fischer suggests that *sh* seems to be the usual form of the word in title phrases, but the full writing may be *shr*w, where the *r* is clearly often dropped.⁸⁵⁷ Fischer suggests the *-t* ending in example no. 2 was miscopied from the original *r*.⁸⁵⁸ Since the term *shr*w occurs in a similar context as *sh* it is highly likely the two terms are the same word.⁸⁵⁹ Fischer argues that the meaning of *sh(rw)* is revealed through the use of the determinatives. In all five attestations of the term in titles, the determinative is a round-topped structure. There is also a small rectangle at the bottom-right corner, perhaps a doorway, present in other words designating a type of structure, such as *hw.t*  and *ip3.t* ⁸⁶⁰ In two cases (nos. 2 and 4 in the table), small granule-like particles are present suggestive of grain or dried fruits (as Fischer suggests).⁸⁶¹ In one case, the domed structure is filled in with horizontal stripes; while in the other cases

⁸⁴⁹ H.G. Fischer, “The Inspector of the *Sh* of Horus, *Nby*,” *Orientalia* 30 (1961), 174 .

⁸⁵⁰ Jones, *Index*, II 3567.

⁸⁵¹ Jones, *Index*, II 3567.

⁸⁵² Jones, *Index*, II 2952.

⁸⁵³ Jones, *Index*, II 3315; also [34].

⁸⁵⁴ Jones, *Index*, II 3425.

⁸⁵⁵ Figures taken from Fischer, “Old Kingdom Inscriptions,” 308, fig. 7.

⁸⁵⁶ Fischer, “Old Kingdom Inscriptions,” 306.

⁸⁵⁷ Fischer, “Old Kingdom Inscriptions,” 306-307; Fischer, “Inspector of the *Sh* of Horus,” 174-175.



⁸⁵⁸ Fischer, “Old Kingdom Inscriptions,” 306-307.

⁸⁵⁹ Fischer, “Inspector of the *Sh* of Horus,” 174-175.

⁸⁶⁰ Fischer, “Old Kingdom Inscriptions,” 309.

⁸⁶¹ Fischer, “Old Kingdom Inscriptions,” 309.

it is empty (nos. 3, and 1 and 5, respectively, see table above). Fischer therefore concluded that the *sh(rw)* was a small domed storehouse in which grain, dried fruit and the like were accumulated before being distributed.⁸⁶² Additionally, officials linked to the *sh* / *shrw* also hold the title *nht-hrw* (in three cases), and *s³-pr* (in two cases) both of which are linked to the granaries.⁸⁶³ The former called out the final tally of the products and the latter administered punishments when needed.

Since the word *sh* also occurs in the title *shd sh Hr*, Fischer suggests there may be a connection to the phrase *shw Hr* attested twice in the royal decrees of Pepy II from Coptos (with determinatives  ).⁸⁶⁴ The latter term, however, does not occur in titles, and it therefore remains difficult to relate the word *shw* to *shrw*. Fischer states he is not convinced, however, that *sh* / *shrw* and *shw* are the same word.⁸⁶⁵ The *shw Hr* may be similar or identical to the term *wsh.t Hr* ‘broad hall of Horus’ (Papyrus Berlin 8869) the only other phrase comprised with *Hr*.⁸⁶⁶ In the Coptos decrees, the *shw Hr* was where provisions for the temple of Min, at Coptos, were organised, similar to the events recounted in the decree of Neferirekare from Abydos.⁸⁶⁷ In pBerlin 8896, judicial proceedings concerning theft were decided in the *wsh.t Hr*. The *shw Hr* may be interpreted as another term referring to a particular administrative place or authority (cf. *hw.t-wr.t* ‘great house’).⁸⁶⁸ Thus, the *sh* / *shrw* was likely a domed complex or area concerned with the collection and storage of grain, fruits, and other agricultural products. Fischer concluded that *sh(rw)* was a more specific adaptation of the more generic term for granary, *šnw.t*.⁸⁶⁹ Fischer also suggests it was also the place where justice was administered for crimes relating to tax evasion etc., which seems highly probable.⁸⁷⁰

The term *shrw* appears among the titularies of the Old Kingdom *sms.w h³y.t* twice, in those of *S³-ntf* [34] and [*S*]ndm-ib [38]. *S³-ntf* holds the titles *sms.w h³y.t n(y) pr-shrw*

⁸⁶² Fischer, “Old Kingdom Inscriptions,” 310.

⁸⁶³ Fischer, “Old Kingdom Inscriptions,” 309.

⁸⁶⁴ Urk. I 283.13-287.16; Fischer, “Inspector of the *Sh* of Horus,” 175, fig. 7.

⁸⁶⁵ Fischer, “Inspector of the *Sh* of Horus,” 175.

⁸⁶⁶ Fischer, “Inspector of the *Sh* of Horus,” 175; Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 34-35.

⁸⁶⁷ Urk. I 283.13-287.16; Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 62; Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 33-34.

⁸⁶⁸ The word *Hr* ‘Horus’ may be a reference to the king or central government. Due to the local context of pBerlin 8869 and the Coptos decrees, state officials may have sought to emphasize that the *shw* and *wsh.t* acted on behalf of the king: Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 35.

⁸⁶⁹ Fischer, “Old Kingdom Inscriptions,” 310.

⁸⁷⁰ Fischer, “Old Kingdom Inscriptions,” 310; Fischer, “Inspector of the *Sh* of Horus,” 175. This would also explain why the *s³-pr* are associated with these granary structures, the men carrying out the punishments.

𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏 and *shd nht-hrw (n) s3b* while [S]ndm-ib was *shd sh.t* ‘inspector of the sekheru-storehouse/granary’⁸⁷¹ as well as *sms.w h3y.t* and *s3b r3-Nhn*. The latter also has the ranking title, *rh nsw.t* and auxiliary titles related to the *hw.t-wr.t* and *hw.t-nh* (see Section 4.2.3). Considering the scarceness of the term *shrw* in the sources it is significant that it is linked to a *sms.w h3y.t* in two separate instances.

The *nht-hrw*

The *nht-hrw* 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏, 𓆎𓅓𓏏𓏏, literally meaning ‘strong-of-voice,’⁸⁷² is thought to refer to individuals who called or “cried” out a final tally, accounts, or measurements, usually of grains and agricultural products and commodities, to scribes or other supervising personnel.⁸⁷³ According to Van de Walle, the *nht-hrw* was a person distinguished by the power of his voice enabling the transmission of facts to those in charge. The *nht-hrw* are often present in Old Kingdom agricultural scenes. A scene from the offering chapel of Sekhem-ankh-Ptah shows workers scooping grain from a large pile, captioned *h3.t it in d3d3.t* ‘measuring grain in the *djadjat*.’⁸⁷⁴ Beside him is a *nht-hrw* presumably calling out the measurements to the supervising scribe.⁸⁷⁵ The tomb of Nikau-isesi (Teti Cemetery, Saqqara) depicts an unnamed *nht-hrw (n.y) šnw.t* ‘tally-man of the granary’ working with an overseer of storehouses.⁸⁷⁶ Based on the current understanding of the role of the ‘tally-man,’ he was likely assisting the overseer with recording the commodities to be stored within, and calling out quantities of the goods to the overseer. This scene is indicative of the close working relationship between the granaries and its officials, and the storehouses of the Residence.⁸⁷⁷ Clearly, the position of ‘tally-man’ could also be attached to the treasury and storehouses assisting scribes and other personnel with recording the commodities that were stored there.⁸⁷⁸ Moreno-Garcia concluded that the *nht-hrw* were state officials active in the provinces, and not part of the local administration, who

⁸⁷¹ Jones, *Index*, II 3567.

⁸⁷² Jones, *Index*, I 1818.

⁸⁷³ Fischer, “Old Kingdom Inscriptions,” 309.

⁸⁷⁴ The term *d3d3.t* (Wb. V 530.2-3; FCD 319) exists alongside terms such as *hw.t-wr.t* or *wsh.t* referring to a space or building and/or a council of officials concerned with administrative and judicial activities. Clearly accounting matters of the treasury and granaries took place here as well. See Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 24-27; Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 69-74.

⁸⁷⁵ W. K. Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Sekhem-ankh-Ptah in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston, 1976), 15.

⁸⁷⁶ N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Tomb of Nikauisesi* (Warminster, 2000), 17.


⁸⁷⁷ Kanawati and Abder-Raziq, *Tomb of Nikauisesi*, 17.

⁸⁷⁸ S. Desplancques, *L’institution du Trésor en Égypte des origines à la fin du Moyen Empire* (Paris-Sorbonne, 2006), 189.

monitored and inspected the production and storage of grain, and reported to the granaries of the Residence.⁸⁷⁹

The title *s3b nht-hrw*⁸⁸⁰ is attested five times in the titularies of five *sms.w w h3y.t*.⁸⁸¹ In case of *S3-ntf* [34], he held the title *shd nht-hrw n(y) s3b* ‘inspector of the tally-man of the *sab*’.⁸⁸² For the significance of the *s3b* prefix, see Section 4.2.1.1. *N.y-k3.w-Rc.w* [21] also holds the position, *s3b shd ir.yw md3.t* ‘*sab* inspector of the keepers of the documents/archive’.⁸⁸³ Evidently, *N.y-k3.w-Rc.w* was among other things responsible for record keeping and clerical work. Finally, *Nht-s3=s* [27] also held positions related to the administration of the pyramids towns of Khufu and Khafre⁸⁸⁴ and the oases,⁸⁸⁵ and of cattle management.⁸⁸⁶ These titles reflect his involvement in the management of resources and products for these areas. *S3-ntf* [34] held a title connecting his role of *sms.w h3y.t* to the *pr-shrw*. In light of his role as ‘inspector of the *nht-hrw*,’ the tasks required for both may have overlapped, although in what way is not quite clear. Their role as *s3b nht-hrw* is quite a low level position in the central administration and may reflect the beginning of their career. With the exception of *S3-ntf*, all also hold the title, *s3b r3-Nhn* and the rank, *rh nsw.t* indicating they were in close proximity to the king and served at his court.

The *hr.y-wdb*

The *hr.y-wdb*  were a group of officials belonging to the administrative unit or ‘department’ called the *pr-hr.y-wdb* ‘house of the chief of reversions’.⁸⁸⁷ The term *wdb* in the title meaning ‘to revert, redistribute, redirect’⁸⁸⁸ suggests a function related to the management and distribution of resources (including the reversion of temple offerings (*wdb-rd*)).⁸⁸⁹ The *pr-hr.y-wdb* can be considered a subsidiary branch of the treasury (*pr-hd*)

⁸⁷⁹ J. C. Moreno-Garcia, *Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien du IIIe millénaire. Économie, administration et organisation territoriale* (Paris, 1999), 225ff.

⁸⁸⁰ Jones, *Index*, II 2951.

⁸⁸¹ [21], [23], [27], [30], [34].

⁸⁸² Jones, *Index*, II 3424.

⁸⁸³ Jones, *Index*, II 2975.

⁸⁸⁴ *cd-mr grg.t rs.ty mh.ty* ‘administrator/governor of the southern and northern settlements,’ Jones, *Index*, I 1344. He also holds an abbreviated version, *cd-mr grg.t* ‘administrator of the settlements,’ Jones, *Index*, I 1342.

⁸⁸⁵ *cd-mr tnw* ‘administrator of the boundary region (oases?),’ Jones, *Index*, I 1346.

⁸⁸⁶ *im.y-r3 t3-ihw* ‘overseer of the land of cattle,’ not in Jones’ *Index*.

⁸⁸⁷ Jones, *Index*, II 2212, Wb. III 139. 1-6.

⁸⁸⁸ Wb 1 408.3-15; FCD 76; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 250.

⁸⁸⁹ Papazian, “Central Administration,” 77. For the term *wdb-rd*, see FCD 76.

dealing specifically with the distribution of provisions.⁸⁹⁰ Consequently, the *pr-hr.y-wdb* is also closely connected to the administration of the granaries, royal mortuary temples and the local administration.⁸⁹¹ The *pr-hr.y-wdb* may also be closely associated with the *hw.t-nh* (see Section 4.2.3).⁸⁹² The *pr-hr.y-wdb* was responsible for controlling and directing the distribution of agricultural production, determining where these provisions and revenue should be circulated, as state wages, temple offerings etc..⁸⁹³ It was also a distribution centre for supplies and provisions for the Residence.⁸⁹⁴ The ‘department of the chief redistribution officer’ is part of the large agrarian system on which the ancient Egyptian economy is based.⁸⁹⁵

The *hr.y-wdb* ‘chief of reversion’ or ‘chief of (re)distribution’ were the main officials of this particular branch of the treasury.⁸⁹⁶ They were essentially responsible for coordinating the distribution of wages and resources to the Residence and throughout the provinces.⁸⁹⁷ The *hr.yw-wdb* and other officials connected to this ‘unit’ frequently held other titles connected to the agricultural production, such as ‘overseer’ or ‘scribe of the fields.’⁸⁹⁸ Thus, Helck and Papazian argue that the *hr.yw-wdb* were also involved in the organisation of labour for the fields in various provinces.⁸⁹⁹ This collaboration between these two units of governments – between the local and state officials – would allow the ‘chief of reversions’ to assess yield surplus for the purpose of determining and distribution appropriate rates for wages.⁹⁰⁰

Among the titularies of the Old Kingdom *sms.w h3y.t* four officials hold titles related to the *pr-hr.y-wdb*.⁹⁰¹ While the text is damaged, *3h.t-mh.w*’s [02] title may be reconstructed as *wḏ^c-mdw m3^c n(.y) hr.y-wdb* ‘true judge of the chief of (re)distribution’ or he ‘who gives

⁸⁹⁰ Papazian, “Central Administration,” 75-76.

⁸⁹¹ Papazian, “Central Administration,” 79.

⁸⁹² Wb. III 139.3; Papazian, “Central Administration,” 77.

⁸⁹³ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 70; Papazian, “Central Administration,” 77-78; Moreno-Garcia, “Territorial Administration,” 110.

⁸⁹⁴ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 70.

⁸⁹⁵ Papazian, “Central Administration,” 77.

⁸⁹⁶ Helck posits that this title-holder was initially responsible for supplying the royal table and court with provisions, during the Early Dynastic Period. The scope of this title was eventually expanded to include the entirety of the country, including state officials: Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 68.


⁸⁹⁷ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 68; Papazian, “Central Administration,” 78.

⁸⁹⁸ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 68-70.

⁸⁹⁹ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 68; Papazian, “Central Administration,” 78.

⁹⁰⁰ Papazian, “Central Administration,” 78.

⁹⁰¹ [02], [17], [44], [45].

true orders to the chiefs of (re)distribution.’⁹⁰² The term ‘judgement’ may not specifically refer to a judicial dispute but to a general sense of reaching a decision, a ruling or assessment of a situation, which as the official responsible for determining state revenue and deciding where the provisions would be transported, would actually be the case. Inherent in the title seems to be an authority or capacity to make decisions related to the country’s rations. *K3-nb* [45] was *hr.y-wdb rhy.t* ‘chief of (re)distribution of the *rekhyt* people.’⁹⁰³ This variant of *hr.y-wdb* is frequently attested in the sources. According to Papazian, the *hr.y-wdb rhy.t* referred to a subsidiary division within the *pr-hr.y-wdb*. This unit focuses specifically on the *rekhyt* people and employed its own scribal personnel.⁹⁰⁴ The term *rhy.t*, , likely referred a group or class of the ancient Egyptian population alongside terms such as *rmṯ* ‘mankind’ and *p^c.t* ‘noble, patrician.’⁹⁰⁵ The exact meaning and etymology of the term is still unknown. According to Gardiner, it referred to the lower classes of the population (“plebeians”) although it could also (like the term *rmṯ*) signify ‘man’ and ‘mankind’ more generally.⁹⁰⁶ Nibbi, however, argues that the term may be associated with a specific group of inhabitants of the western Delta, perhaps a population of foreign peoples living there.⁹⁰⁷ This may explain why they were administered separately. As ‘chief of reversions for/of the *rekhyt* people’, *K3-nb* likely dealt with matters of food distribution and supply to this group of people, in particular. It seems this group of people were clearly administered separately or differently from everyone else. This title suggests a more narrow focus in terms of duties and function. *M3^c-hrw-Pth* [17] and *K3-nb* [45] hold supervisory positions as ‘inspector of the chiefs of (re)distribution.’ Their role was perhaps more managerial supervising the activities of a small group of (*s3b*) *hr.y-wdb*. Presumably, *M3^c-hrw-Pth* was a *hr.y-wdb* before assuming the role of *shd*, although this is not evident from his titulary since it does not record a step-by-step career path within this administrative branch. In the case of *K3-nb*, however, he held the title *hr.y-wdb rhy.t* before being promoted to ‘inspector.’ Whether his role as ‘inspector’ was still involved in matters related to the *rhy.t* or not is undetermined.

The role of ‘chief of (re)distribution’ can be quite broad — and groups of these officials likely had a different focus in the administration. It is likely some of the ‘chiefs of

⁹⁰² Jones, *Index*, I 1502.

⁹⁰³ Jones, *Index*, II 2214.

⁹⁰⁴ Papazian, “Central Administration,” 78.


⁹⁰⁵ Wb. II 447.9-448.2; FCD 152; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 507; Gardiner, *AEO* I, 98*-107*; Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 69.


⁹⁰⁶ Gardiner, *AEO* I, 99*, 106*.

⁹⁰⁷ A. Nibbi, “The *rhy.t* again,” *DE* 46, 45.

reversions' were attached to the royal mortuary temples while others visited various provinces and towns to organise the distribution of the state's provisions. Officials like *K3-nb* do not seem to be attached to the workings of the fields or a branch within the administration but to a group of people, the *rhy.t* 'rekhyt people'. In light of their role as *sms.w h3y.t* in the palace, it is possible their role in the *pr-hr.y-wdb* was connected to providing food provisions for the Memphite area and Residence specifically, and did not take them to the provinces or if it did, only temporarily. Looking only at palace and state positions, these four officials have very little in common. *3h.t-mh.w* [02] was *s3b r3-Nhn* and *im.y-r3 pr-c3h3* 'overseer of the armoury'⁹⁰⁸ and *M3c-hrw-Pth* [17] also held the scribal position, *s3b shd ir.yw-md3.t*. *K3-nb* [45] held two successive (?) positions related to the *pr-hr.y-wdb* as well as the court title, *rh nsw.t*. *K3-hr-Pth* [46] also held the title *im.y-h3 s3.w-pr*, perhaps reflecting his role of administering punishments to farmers in the provinces for crimes related to revenue collection. As *s3b hr.y-wdb*, perhaps also situated in the provinces, he would be in the ideal position to observe such offences. As *rh nsw.t*, however, he also served at the royal court in the Residence.

4. 2. 2. 4. Miscellaneous non-recurring offices

There are several titles that occur only once in the titularies of the *sms.ww h3yt* and will be discussed briefly here. Among his titles, *3h.t-mh.w* [02] also includes  *im.y-r3 pr-c3h3* 'overseer of the armoury' (lit. 'house of weapons'). This position was likely concerned with the storing of weapons at the palace.⁹⁰⁹ It is perhaps closely associated with the guards and other security personnel at the Residence.

nh-m-s3=f [10] held the appointment,  *im.y-r3 sr.w* 'overseer of *seru*-officials',⁹¹⁰ a designation whose meaning is still disputed. Bárta considers the *sr.w* to be representatives of the vizier, responsible for collecting taxes and recruiting of labourers in the provinces.⁹¹¹ According to Martin-Pardey, they had a primarily judicial role in the state administration, directly subordinate to the vizier, although they were active in the provinces.⁹¹² She argues that in judicial matters, the vizier, as head of the state, represents the king, and under the vizier's direct command are the *sr*-officials. These are members of the state administration

⁹⁰⁸ Jones, *Index*, I 470.

⁹⁰⁹ Jones, *Index*, I 470.




⁹¹⁰ Jones, *Index*, I 849.

⁹¹¹ Bárta, "Kings, Viziers, and Courtiers," 167.

⁹¹² Martin-Pardey, "Richten im Alten Reich," 159, 165.

to which local administrative bodies are subordinate.⁹¹³ Conversely, Philip-Stéphan considers *sr* to be a generic term referring to any state official to distinguish them from the remaining population.⁹¹⁴ Philip-Stéphan further defines this designation, as referring to any person with the authority of the king be it a minor official or senior administrator of the state.⁹¹⁵ Similarly, Jin regards the term *sr* as indicative of the status of an individual, specifically that it designates such a man as a representative of the central administration.⁹¹⁶ Jin does not view the *sr.w* as having fixed judicial tasks referring to the autobiography of Weni who claims no vizier and no *sr.w* were present at the queen's trial.⁹¹⁷ Jin asserts that *sr.w* here does not mean judicial officials or 'judges' but any other state official.⁹¹⁸ Jin also argues that the appellation *sr* was a privilege received by officials as is demonstrated in the autobiography of the nomarch, Henqu, who states that he bestowed the status of *sr* to those who were previously *mr.w* 'servants.'⁹¹⁹

A number of miscellaneous scribal titles are listed in the table below with a brief description of their function (where necessary):

Cat.	Title(s)
[47]	 <i>im.y-r3 pr</i> 'overseer of the estate, steward'
Description:	Title concerned with property management at the Residence or at a provincial level. ⁹²⁰
[13]	 <i>s3b sš</i> 'sab scribe'
Description:	– an entry level scribal appointment. ⁹²¹
[17], [21]	 <i>s3b šḥd ir.yw-md3.t</i> 'sab inspector of the keepers of the archive/documents'
Description:	Individuals were likely in charge of personnel responsible for record-keeping certain matters of state. ⁹²²

⁹¹³ Martin-Pardey, "Richten im Alten Reich," 167.

⁹¹⁴ Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 51.

⁹¹⁵ Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 52.

⁹¹⁶ Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 29.

⁹¹⁷ Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 30.



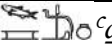





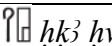
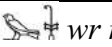
⁹¹⁸ Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 30.

⁹¹⁹ Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 30.

⁹²⁰ Jones, *Index*, I 461.

⁹²¹ Jones, *Index*, II 2964.

⁹²² Jones, *Index*, II 2975. The title *iry-md3t* 'the one who is in charge of writings' or 'keeper of documents' was a low level scribal title, usually held by scribes' assistants: Jones, *Index*, I 1167; P. Piacentini, "Scribal titles in the third millennium B.C.: innovations, continuity and transformations," in H. Vymazalová and M. Bárta (eds) *Chronology and Archaeology in Ancient Egypt (The Third Millennium B.C.)* (Prague, 2008), 86.

[27]	 <i>ḥd-mr grg.t rs.ty mh.yt</i> ‘administrator/governor of the southern and northern settlements,’ ⁹²³ and  <i>ḥd-mr grg.t</i> ‘administrator of the settlements’ ⁹²⁴
Description:	Titles concerned with the administration of the pyramids towns of (Khufu and Khafre).
	 <i>ḥd-mr tnw</i> ‘administrator of the boundary region(s)’ ⁹²⁵
Description:	A office related to the management of the oases (?).
	 <i>im.y-rʿ tʿ-iḥw</i> ‘overseer of the land of cattle’
Description:	Probably a title concerned with the management of cattle herds (?).
[08]	 <i>hr.y-tp ʿ n(y) spʿ.t</i> ‘great chief of the province, nomarch.’ ⁹²⁶
	 <i>sʿb tʿyty tʿty</i> ‘vizier.’ ⁹²⁷
	 <i>mdḥ sš(.w) nsw.t</i> ‘royal architect (?)’
Description:	More likely ‘overseer of the king’s documents,’ ⁹²⁸ likely an archaic variant of <i>im.y-rʿ sš(.w) ʿ-n-nsw.t</i> . ⁹²⁹ It is regarded as the highest-ranking scribal position in the central administration, often also held by the vizier. ⁹³⁰
	 <i>sʿb ḥd-mr</i> ‘sab governor, land administrator.’ ⁹³¹
Description:	Title held by many provincial officials.
	 <i>ḥkʿ ḥw.t</i> ‘ruler of the estate.’ ⁹³²
Description:	Obscure administrative title, perhaps responsible for managing the king’s estates (?).
	 <i>wr mdw šmʿ.w</i> ‘great one of tens of Upper Egypt.’ ⁹³³
Description:	This is another enigmatic position, perhaps involved in judicial matters. ⁹³⁴ This title becomes very frequent in the late Middle

⁹²³ Jones, *Index*, I 1344.

⁹²⁴ Jones, *Index*, I 1342.

⁹²⁵ Jones, *Index*, I 1346.

⁹²⁶ Jones, *Index*, II 2393.

⁹²⁷ Jones, *Index*, II 3706.

⁹²⁸ Jones, *Index*, I 1739.

⁹²⁹ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 75-76.

⁹³⁰ Jones, *Index*, I 780. The department of ‘royal documents’ (*ʿ-n-nsw.t*) was probably responsible for recording all activity carried out in the king’s name. It is a title frequently attested in the titularies of viziers during the Old Kingdom: Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 199ff., 214.


⁹³¹ Jones, *Index*, II 2947.

⁹³² Jones, *Index*, II 2453.

⁹³³ Jones, *Index*, I 1437.

4. 2. 3. Auxiliary titles

Since auxiliary titles simply describe the activities of an official in conjunction with their primary office(s), and were not the regular titles, they are separately discussed in this section. A number of auxiliary titles are attested in the titularies of the *sms.ww h3y.t* primarily related to the *hw.t-wr.t* and constructed with *hr.y-sšt3* and *wd^c-mdw*. Sixteen *sms.ww h3y.t* have such an auxiliary title.⁹³⁶

Thirteen individuals have an auxiliary title formed with *hr.y-sšt3* , a title which commonly appears in Old Kingdom titularies.⁹³⁷ Balanda has argued convincingly for the translation of *št3/sšt3* as ‘private, restricted’ instead of ‘secret’ (see also Section 3.3).⁹³⁸ This would render the title ‘privy to restricted matters’ or ‘chief of private affairs’ or the like. The title *hr.y-sšt3* (without protractions) is attested in the titulary of nine *sms.w h3y.t*.⁹³⁹ It is unknown definitively, at this point, whether the title *hr.y-sšt3* represented an honorary designation reflecting status or an actual office with a set of duties. While it is sometimes referred to as *i3t* ‘office’ no specific set of duties have been determined for this title.⁹⁴⁰ This title could be the sole appointment of an official, but it is also widely attested as part of an official’s titulary, as is the case here.

During the 4th dynasty, the title-holders of *hr.y-sšt3* were almost exclusively the king’s sons or other close family members.⁹⁴¹ These men are thought to have performed duties and tasks related to the king’s person and his daily rituals, which were considered ‘private’ and ‘confidential’ by those outside the royal circle.⁹⁴² The title *hr.y-sšt3* became prolific during the 5th dynasty, a time when men of non-royal origin began to hold positions in the government previously held only by royal family-members. Bárta proposes that the title applied to those non-royal officials who replaced members of the royal family in roles

⁹³⁴ Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 18-19.

⁹³⁵ Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 236.

⁹³⁶ [02], [03], [06], [07], [10], [12], [17], [20], [21], [23], [30], [35], [39], [42], [47].

⁹³⁷ 14/50 (28%): [02], [03], [06], [07], [17], [20], [21], [23], [30], [32], [35], [39], [42], [47]. Or 46.7% when only considering those with extended titularies. See Jones, *Index*, II 2233.

⁹³⁸ Balanda, “hry-sšt3,” 322ff.

⁹³⁹ [03], [06], [07], [17], [20], [21], [23], [39], [47].

⁹⁴⁰ Balanda, “hry-sšt3,” 321.

⁹⁴¹ Balanda, “hry-sšt3,” 330.

⁹⁴² According to Helck, it is likely that, at least originally, the ‘restricted matters’ related to the every day actions of the king; his rising/waking, food and drink, dressing etc.: Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 43.

previously only accessibly to them.⁹⁴³ This meant having access to certain privileges, prerogatives, and knowledge previously off limits to them. This was eventually also extended to include ‘confidential’ affairs of government. This would support Balanda’s idea that the title alone seems to mean ‘expert’ or ‘master of ceremonies’ or ‘chief of protocol’ or the like.⁹⁴⁴

Balanda has shown in his study that the title-holders of the 5th dynasty can be divided into two groups. The first group often held other titles related to the personal service and affairs of the king (e.g. king’s hairdresser, king’s physician, etc.).⁹⁴⁵ He suggests that, accordingly, the title can be intended to mean ‘confidant’ or ‘dependable one’ in this context.⁹⁴⁶ The second group was more visibly linked with the state, and only indirectly associated with the king’s person.⁹⁴⁷ This group includes the numerous of variants of the title linking to particular governmental activities (see below). It is not always easy to distinguish between them as some officials hold both titles.⁹⁴⁸ Balanda suggests the *hr.y-sšt3* (with and without extensions) formed a select group (“college”) singled out for a variety of different reasons (depending on their other appointments) likely by the king, on a temporary or permanent basis.⁹⁴⁹ It designates the official was selected to perform tasks requiring particular expertise (knowledge, skill, loyalty); Rydström’s assertion that it was a “titular confirmation of competence” should thus not be dismissed.⁹⁵⁰ This title likely was both functional and highly esteemed within the king’s court. This is further supported by *Ihy* [07] who reiterates he was *hr.y-sšt3 sdm m w^c.ty* ‘privy to the restricted matters, who listens alone.’ The inclusion of *hr.y-sšt3* in the titularies of several *sms.w h3y.t* expresses their familiarity with the king’s person, and perhaps his daily routine. It also signified that they carried out special assignment on his behalf because they possessed certain expertise valued by the king.

Seven *sms.w h3y.t* held extended variants of the core title *hr.y-sšt3*, in fact, [03], [20], and [21] held both the core title and a variant.⁹⁵¹ The title *hr.y-sšt3 n(.y) h^w.t-wr.t*

⁹⁴³ Bárta, “Kings, Viziers, and Courtiers,” 170.

⁹⁴⁴ Balanda, “*hry-sšt3*,” 334.

⁹⁴⁵ Balanda, “*hry-sšt3*,” 328.

⁹⁴⁶ Balanda, “*hry-sšt3*,” 328.





⁹⁴⁷ Balanda, “*hry-sšt3*,” 328.



⁹⁴⁸ Balanda, “*hry-sšt3*,” 331.

⁹⁴⁹ Balanda, “*hry-sšt3*,” 321, 334.

⁹⁵⁰ K.T. Rydström, “*hr.y-sšt3* In Charge of Secrets, The 3000-Year Evolution of a Title,” *DE* 28 (1994), 72.

⁹⁵¹ [02], [03], [20], [21], [30], [35], [41].

 ‘privy to the private matters of the great house’⁹⁵² is observed in the titularies of [03], [20], [21], [30], and *hr.y-sšt3 n wd^c-mdw*  ‘privy to the private judgements/decisions’⁹⁵³ was held by [02], [20], [35]. These two titles are likely identical in meaning. Balanda concluded that they are only indirectly connected with the king and instead play a role in the activities of the central administration.⁹⁵⁴ According to Philip-Stéphan and Strudwick, the title *hr.y-sšt3 n(.y) hw.t-wr.t* signified the lowest-level of entry into the *hw.t-wr.t*.⁹⁵⁵ *3h.t-mh.w* [02] also holds the designation, *hr.y-tp wd.(wt)-mdw n(.y) wd^c-mdw n(.y) sšt3 n(.y) hw.t-wr.t*  ‘chief of the decrees of the private judgements of the great house.’ *Špss-Pth Impy* [42] describes himself as *hr.y-sšt3 n(.y) sdm.t(y) w^c(.ty) m hw.t-wr.t* 6  ‘privy to the private matters of that which is heard in private in the six great houses.’⁹⁵⁶ These designations reflect the involvement of these *sms.w h3y.t* in the ‘confidential’ affairs of the great house and the act of ‘judging’ and ‘deciding’ governmental issues. *Špss-Pth Impy* claims he ‘alone’ was included, emphasising the restricted and exclusive nature of the great house. His reference to the ‘six great houses’ was a figurative way to refer to the entirety of the ‘great house’ system, which was likely under the vizier’s supervision.⁹⁵⁷ His use of this expression probably signifies his high rank and perhaps reflects an affiliation to the vizierate.

Another auxiliary title frequently attested in the Old Kingdom corpus is the title, *sm3^c wd^c-mdw*  ‘one who regulates the judgements,’⁹⁵⁸ held by [07], [10], [42]. The titularies of [12] and [32] include the extended variant, *sm3^c wd^c-mdw n(.y) hw.t-wr.t*  ‘one who regulates the judgements of the great house.’⁹⁵⁹ This designation reflects the role of the official as an arbitrator, responsible for making the decisions and judgements lawful and right, and making sure it was enforced.⁹⁶⁰ Therefore, it is unsurprising this designation is frequently connected to the *hw.t-wr.t* ‘great house.’

⁹⁵² Jones, *Index*, II 2326.

⁹⁵³ Jones, *Index*, II 2252.

⁹⁵⁴ Balanda, “‘hry-sšb,’” 328.

⁹⁵⁵ This title disappears sometime during the early 6th dynasty. Strudwick suggests that its duties were incorporated into the office of *im.y-r3 hw.t-wr.t*, which appears to be the only regular administrative title connected with the *hw.t-wr.t* during the later 6th dynasty. Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 57; Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 197.



⁹⁵⁶ Jones, *Index*, II 2359; FCD 227; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 761.


⁹⁵⁷ Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 190.

⁹⁵⁸ Jones, *Index*, II 3256.

⁹⁵⁹ Jones, *Index*, II 3259.

⁹⁶⁰ Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 50.

Two men, [30] and [38], held the titles, *wr mḏw ḥw.t-wr.t*  'great(est) one of ten of the great house.'⁹⁶¹ In case of the latter, he was also *wr mḏw ḥw.t-ḥnh*  'great(est) one of ten of the house of life.'⁹⁶² The nature and nuance of these titles remain obscure, but it likely describes their involvement in the governing bodies, 'great house' and 'house of life.' The meaning of the latter is still largely unknown. The *ḥw.t-ḥnh* may be related to the *pr-ḥr.y-wḏb* which was responsible for the (re-)distribution of food at the Residence, as argued by Gardiner.⁹⁶³ However, references to the *ḥw.t-ḥnh* do not appear in any inscriptions related to the distribution of provisions.⁹⁶⁴ The *ḥw.t-ḥnh* was, however, like the *ḥw.t-wr.t*, probably situated at the palace. Instead, Faulkner suggests that 'house of life' alluded to the royal living quarters.⁹⁶⁵ Similarly, Moreno-Garcia proposes that this title alludes to a restricted circle of dignitaries and courtiers who acted as a council to the king.⁹⁶⁶ These designations, therefore, may signify they were part of these exclusive groups of officials within these institutions, at the Residence/palace (*ḥw.t-ḥnh*) and central administration/vizier's office (*ḥw.t-wr.t*).⁹⁶⁷

Finally, the title *ḥm-nṯr M3^c.t*  'priest of Maat'⁹⁶⁸ was held by ten *sms.w ḥ3y.t*.⁹⁶⁹ This position is included here because it is more secular and administrative in function than religious (at least in the Old Kingdom).⁹⁷⁰ This title appears at the beginning of the 5th dynasty and is considered synchronic with that of *s3b r3-Nḥn*.⁹⁷¹ Indeed, ten out of the eleven *ḥm-nṯr M3^c.t* in this corpus were also 'sab spokesman of Nekhen.'⁹⁷² According to Bárta, both the 'sab spokesman of Nekhen' and priest of Maat assisted the king with ritual and judicial aspects of his rule.⁹⁷³ It was established earlier that, among other duties, the former had a judicial role. Therefore, the title priest of Maat may allude to his duty to

⁹⁶¹ Jones, *Index*, I 1436.

⁹⁶² Jones, *Index*, I 1435.

⁹⁶³ A.H. Gardiner, "The Mansion of Life and the Master of the King's Largesse," *JEA* 24 (1938), 83-91.

⁹⁶⁴ E. Brovarski, "*Ḥw.t, Ḥw.t-wrt, and Ḥwt-ḥnh*," *Études et Travaux* 26 (2013), 150.

⁹⁶⁵ FCD 165.

⁹⁶⁶ J. C. Moreno-Garcia, *Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien du IIIe millénaire: Economie, administration et organization territoriale* (Paris, 1999), 44-48.

⁹⁶⁷ Whether they were actually one out of ten men is unknown, but may be a figurative way to describe how restricted the group was, and that only select officials had access.

⁹⁶⁸ Jones, *Index*, I 1930.

⁹⁶⁹ 10/50 (20%): [02], [03], [13], [17], [20], [21], [23], [24], [30], [42]. Or 36.7% when only considering those with longer titularies.

⁹⁷⁰ Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 54.

⁹⁷¹ Bárta, "Sun kings of Abusir," 29.

⁹⁷² With the exception of *M3^c-ḥrw-Pth* [17].

⁹⁷³ Bárta, "Sun kings of Abusir," 29.

uphold justice and order in a more figurative and spiritual sense. It may also reflect a ceremonial role at the palace or even temple.

The only other auxiliary title held by *Nfr-Inpw* [23] is the title *im.y-r³ k³.t nb.t wd.t(w) n=f* ‘overseer of all works ordered to him,’⁹⁷⁴ probably signifying his involvement in building projects for the king, though whether this was a temporary role (i.e. held for the duration of one construction) or a regular function is unknown.⁹⁷⁵ Since *Nfr-Inpw* is the only *sms.w h³y.t* with this designation, the former seems more plausible.

4. 2. 4. Religious titles in the royal funerary temple

This section will look at the titles relating to the temple administration and the priesthood. The titularies of the *sms.w h³y.t* in the Old Kingdom include twenty-four titles, held by seventeen officials (34%), which can be categorised as priestly or religious titles and as belonging to the king’s funerary cult.

There is no pattern and very little overlap regarding the specific royal funerary cult in which these individuals worked. Connection to a specific temple complex, king or deity is expressed in different ways.

- Priest type + royal funerary cult.
- Priest type + king’s name (Throne, Horus, Nebty names).
- Priest type + deity’s name.

The royal cults specified in the titles are the pyramid temples of Khufu (*³h.ty-Hwi=f-wi*), Khafre (*wr H³y=f-R³.w*), Niuserre (*Mn-swt-N.y-wsr-R³.w*), Djedkare (*Nfr-swt-Dd-k³.w-R³.w*) Unis (*Nfr-swt-Wnis*), Teti (*Dd-swt-Tty*), and Pepy I (*Mn-nfr-Ppy*).⁹⁷⁶ The two sun temples mentioned are of Neferirkare (*St-ib-R³.w*) and Niuserre (*Šsp-ib-R³.w*).⁹⁷⁷ The kings specified by their names are Khufu, Khafre, Menkaure, Neferirkare and Niuserre.⁹⁷⁸ The two deities mentioned in the title phrases are Re and Hathor (or Re-Hathor), and ‘Horus, who is in his palace’ [23] (*Hr hr.y-ib ³h*), which may actually be a reference to the

⁹⁷⁴ Not in Jones, *Index*. Cf. Jones, *Index*, I 948.

⁹⁷⁵ It appears to be a variant of the more frequently attested *im.y-r³ k³.t nb.t (n.t) nsw.t* and *im.y-r³ k³.t (n.t) nsw.t*. According to Strudwick, title-holders were primarily concerned with the organisation of workforces, including builders, craftsmen and agricultural labourers: Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 249. See also Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 217.

⁹⁷⁶ [43], [47], [23], [42], [35], [06], (again) [35] respectively.

⁹⁷⁷ [03] and [17], [23] respectively.

⁹⁷⁸ [19], [46], [25] and [32], [03], [23] respectively.

king. The title *hm-ntr R^c Hw.t-Hr* (see [21] and [30]) may actually be an abbreviated form of the longer title *hm-ntr R^c.w Hw.t-Hr (m) St-ib-R^c.w* ‘priest of Re (and) Hathor (or Re-Hathor?) in the sun temple of Neferirkare’ [17]. In four cases, an official holds a priestly title, which cannot be connected to a king or temple. The title *w^cb nsw.t* is held by [28] and [31], although which king is intended is not clear. This same title is also held by [23], [47] and [19] but since they have other religious titles connected to Niuserre, Khafre, and Khufu (respectively), the *nsw.t* may refer to these kings also. Similarly, [42] and [49] are *hm-k3* priests but no king is specified. Table 4.2 below sums up the priestly titles and the associated royal funerary cult held by the *sms.ww h3y.t* in the Old Kingdom corpus.

With the exception of *Sndm-ib* [35] who holds a position in two different pyramid temples (of Pepy I and Unis), each individual is linked to one king and his cult. Three *sms.ww h3y.t* have a priestly role in the cult of Neferirkare (if the title of *N.y-k3.w-R^c.w* [17] and *Rdi-n-k3.w* [30] is indeed an abbreviation), and two served in the cult of Khufu ([19], [43]). This is not enough data for this to be a meaningful observation. The remainder of individuals served the cults of different kings, with no overlap.

Official	Temple complex / King / Deity	Position / Level
1. <i>Nfr-Inpw</i> [23]	Pyramid temple of Niuserre, <i>Mn-swt-N.y-wsr-R^c.w</i>	<i>hm-ntr</i> <i>w^cb</i>
	Sun temple of Niuserre, <i>Šsp-ib-R^c.w</i>	<i>hm-ntr R^c.w</i>
	Niuserre (= throne name)	<i>hm-ntr</i>
	<i>St-ib-t³.wy</i> (= Horus name of Niuserre)	<i>hm-ntr</i>
	<i>Hr hr.y-ib^ch</i> (?)	<i>hm-ntr</i>
2. <i>K³y</i> [43]	Pyramid temple of Khufu <i>ḥ.ty-Ḥwi=f-wi</i>	<i>w^cb nsw.t</i>
3. <i>Inti</i> [06]	Pyramid temple of Teti, <i>Dd-swt-Tty</i>	<i>hnt.y-š</i>
4. <i>M^{3c}-hrw-Pth</i> [17]	Sun temple of Neferirkare, <i>St-ib-R^c.w</i>	<i>hm-ntr R^c.w Ḥw.t-Ḥr</i>
5. <i>Hnw</i> [32]	Menkaure	<i>hm-ntr</i>
6. <i>Mr.w-k³</i> [19]	Khufu	<i>hm-ntr</i>
7. <i>K³-dw³</i> [47]	Khafre	<i>hm-ntr</i>
	<i>Wsr-ib</i> (=Horus name of Khafre)	<i>hm-ntr</i>
	<i>Wsr-m</i> (= Nebty name of Khafre)	<i>hm-ntr</i>
8. <i>N.y-k³.w-R^c.w</i> [21]	<i>R^c Ḥw.t-Ḥr</i> (= no.4?)	<i>hm-ntr</i>
9. <i>Rdi-n-k³.w</i> [30]	<i>R^c Ḥw.t-Ḥr</i> (= no.4?)	<i>hm-ntr</i>
10. <i>Sndm-ib</i> [35]	Pyramid temple of Pepy I, <i>Mn-nfr-Ppy</i>	<i>im.y-ht hm(.w)-ntr</i>
	Pyramid temple of Unis, <i>Nfr-swt-Wnis</i>	<i>im.y-ht hm(.w)-ntr</i>

Table 4.2. Table showing the priestly titles held by the *sms.w h³y.t* and the associated royal mortuary cult.

Priests: *ḥm-nṯr*, *w^cb*, *ḥnt.y-š*, *ḥm-k3*

Seven *sms.w* *h3y.t* hold one or more *ḥm-nṯr* positions in a royal mortuary temple(s):

1. [17] *ḥm-nṯr R^c.w Ḥwt-Ḥr m St-ib-R^c.w* (= sun temple of Neferirkare).⁹⁷⁹
2. [19] *ḥm-nṯr Ḥwi=f-wi*.⁹⁸⁰
3. [21] *ḥm-nṯr R^c.w Ḥw.t-Ḥr*.⁹⁸¹ (Cf. no. 1)
4. [23] *ḥm-nṯr Mn-swt-Ny-wsr-R^c.w* (= pyramid temple of Niuserre).⁹⁸²
ḥm-nṯr Ny-wsr-R^c.w.⁹⁸³
ḥm-nṯr Ḥr ḥr.y-ib ^cḥ.⁹⁸⁴
ḥm-nṯr Ḥr St-ib-t3.wy (= Horus name of Niuserre).⁹⁸⁵
ḥm-nṯr R^c Šsp ib R^c.w (= sun temple of Niuserre).⁹⁸⁶
5. [30] *ḥm-nṯr R^c.w Ḥw.t-Ḥr*.⁹⁸⁷ (Cf. no. 1)
6. [32] *ḥm-nṯr Mn-k3.w-R^c.w*.⁹⁸⁸
7. [47] *ḥm-nṯr Ḥr Wsr-ib* (= Horus name of Khafre).⁹⁸⁹
ḥm-nṯr Nbty Wsr-m (= Nebty name of Khafre).⁹⁹⁰
ḥm-nṯr Ḥy=f-R^c.w.⁹⁹¹

Additionally, one *sms.w h3y.t* [06] holds the title *ḥnt.y-š (m) Dd-swt-Tty* ‘guard in (the pyramid temple) ‘Durable are the (cult) places of Teti.’⁹⁹²

Vymazalová and Roth observed that the *ḥm-nṯr* and the *ḥnt.y-š* attached to a royal mortuary temple have largely similar functions and roles on a daily basis despite technically being two different offices.⁹⁹³ The accounts from Neferirkare’s temple show that both *ḥnt.y-š* and *ḥm-nṯr* priests participated together in cult purification rituals and libations.⁹⁹⁴ This also involved preparing ritualistic instruments and provisioning the

⁹⁷⁹ Jones, *Index*, II 2001.

⁹⁸⁰ Jones, *Index*, II 2087.

⁹⁸¹ Jones, *Index*, II 1998.

⁹⁸² Jones, *Index*, II 1939.

⁹⁸³ Not in Jones’ *Index*.

⁹⁸⁴ Jones, *Index*, II 2064.

⁹⁸⁵ Jones, *Index*, II 2071.

⁹⁸⁶ Jones, *Index*, II 2006.

⁹⁸⁷ Jones, *Index*, II 1998.

⁹⁸⁸ Jones, *Index*, II 1940.

⁹⁸⁹ Jones, *Index*, II 2053.

⁹⁹⁰ Jones, *Index*, II 1911.

⁹⁹¹ Jones, *Index*, II 2085.

⁹⁹² Jones, *Index*, II 2537.

⁹⁹³ Vymazalová, “Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes,” 188; Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 41.

⁹⁹⁴ Vymazalová, “Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes,” 188.

offering table.⁹⁹⁵ The *hnt.y-š* were as much responsible as the *hm-ntr* priests for rites related to the king's cult statue, such as its dressing and 'feeding'.⁹⁹⁶ It was the *hm-ntr* priest, however, who completed the final purification ritual.⁹⁹⁷ The *hm-ntr* priests and, in the case of [06], a temple *hnt.y-š*, were subordinate to an 'assistant supervisor' (*im.y-ht*) and 'inspector' (*shd*) in the temple complex.⁹⁹⁸

Six *sms.w h3y.t* held the position of *wcb* priest:

- *wcb nsw.t*.⁹⁹⁹ [19], [23], [28], [31], [47]
- *wcb Mn-swt-N.y-wsr-Rc.w*.¹⁰⁰⁰ [23]
- *wcb nsw.t n(.y) 3h.ty-Hwi=f-wi*.¹⁰⁰¹ [43]
- *wcb nsw.t n(.y) wr-Hcy=f-Rc.w*.¹⁰⁰² [47]

The development, hierarchy and ranks of the *wcb* priests are similar to that of the *hm-ntr* priests.¹⁰⁰³ The *wcb* priests could serve in more than one pyramid complex at a time.¹⁰⁰⁴ The *wcb* priests and *hm-ntr* priest do not occur together in the same account - though they can occur on the same papyrus roll in different records.¹⁰⁰⁵ The archives show that sometimes the phyle-divisions of *wcb* priests were directed by a *shd hm.w-ntr* while at other times this position was held by a *shd wcb.w*.¹⁰⁰⁶ The *wcb* priests are mentioned after the inspector and assistant supervisor of the *hem-netjer* priests, as members of the same phyle.¹⁰⁰⁷ *Nfr-Inpw* [23] and *K3-dw3* [47] held more than one *hm-ntr* position, and both also hold two *wcb* titles. Similarly, *Mr.w-k3* [19] holds both *hm-ntr* and *wcb* positions.

⁹⁹⁵ Vymazalová, "Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes," 188.

⁹⁹⁶ Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 41; Vymazalová, "Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes," 189.

⁹⁹⁷ The *hnt.y-š*, however, additionally dealt with the more practical matters of the temple administration, mainly the transportation of offerings and other products into the temple. The role of the *hnt.y-š* probably did mirror its counterpart in the palace attending to the same personal services for the dead king as the palace *hnt.y-š* did for the living king at the Residence: Vymazalová, "Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes," 189; Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 41.

⁹⁹⁸ Vymazalová, "Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes," 189. Vymazalova also notes that there are no overseers or inspectors of *hnt.y-š* working at the funerary cults so they were likely subsumed in the ranks of the *hm-ntr* priests.

⁹⁹⁹ Jones, *Index*, I 1382.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Jones, *Index*, I 1376.

¹⁰⁰¹ Jones, *Index*, I 1383.

¹⁰⁰² Jones, *Index*, I 1369.

¹⁰⁰³ Vymazalová, "Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes," 189.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Vymazalová, "Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes," 189.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Vymazalová, "Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes," 190.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Vymazalová, "Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes," 190.

¹⁰⁰⁷ Vymazalová, "Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes," 190.

Whether they could have held them at the same time, or one after the other is unknown. The order in which they were obtained is also unknown.

Finally, three *sms.w h3y.t* officials are also *hm-k3* priests: [45], [42], and [49].¹⁰⁰⁸ In the case of *Ts-n(s)-Pth* [49], his name and perhaps titles found in the tomb of Senedjemib Mehi were a later addition, so it is unknown whether the title was his or belonged to the original figure in the relief.

Supervisory personnel: *shd*, *im.y-ht*, *hrp*

Seven individuals (also) hold a supervisory position (*im.y-ht*, *shd*, *hrp*) within the royal funerary cult.

- [27] *hrp im.yw-s3(.w)* ‘director of the phyle members.’¹⁰⁰⁹
- [32], [39], [47] *shd wcb(.w)* ‘inspector of *wab*-priests.’
- [15] *shd hm(.w)-k3* ‘inspector of *hem-ka*-priests.’
- [06] *im.y-ht hm(.w)-ntr (m) Dd-swt-Tty* ‘assistant supervisor of *hem-netjer*-priests in (the pyramid temple) ‘Durable are the (cult) places of Teti.’
- [35] *im.y-ht hm(.w)-ntr (m) Mn-nfr-Ppy* ‘assistant supervisor of *hem-netjer*-priests in (the pyramid temple) ‘Eternal and Beautiful are the (cult) places of Pepy I.’¹⁰¹⁰
- [35] *im.y-ht hm(.w)-ntr (m) Nfr-swt-Wnis* ‘assistant supervisor of *hem-netjer*-priests in (the pyramid temple) ‘Beautiful are the (cult) places of Unis.’¹⁰¹¹

Various levels within the temple hierarchy appear in the titularies of these officials. Temple priests were grouped into five phyles (*s3*), which were each comprised of two ‘divisions.’¹⁰¹² Each phyle was directly supervised by the *hrp im.y.w-s3.w* ‘director of the phyle’ though this title rarely appears in the accounts of temple archives.¹⁰¹³ At the top of the hierarchy, as ‘director’ *Nht-s3=s* [27] was in charge of the activities and organisation of the entire phyle; it is unknown to what extent they actually participated in the daily services and routines of the temple. A *shd hm.w-ntr* ‘inspector of *hem-netjer*-priests’ and

¹⁰⁰⁸ Jones, *Index*, II 2167.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Jones, *Index*, II 2546.

¹⁰¹⁰ Jones, *Index*, I 1047.

¹⁰¹¹ Jones, *Index*, I 1054.

¹⁰¹² The names of the five phyles seem to have been the same in each temple complex, *wr*, *st*, *w3d*, *ngs* and *im.y-nfr.t*. Vymazalová, “Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes,” 185-186.

¹⁰¹³ Vymazalová, “Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes,” 186.

an *im.y-ht hm.w-ntr* ‘assistant supervisor of *hem-netjer*-priests’ were in charge of one of the ten phyle-divisions.¹⁰¹⁴ As assistant supervisors of *hem-netjer* priests, *Snḏm-ib* [35] and *Inti* [06] represent this next level down; they may have had more direct oversight of the priests, and were more involved on a daily basis.¹⁰¹⁵ The exact distinction between the *shḏ* and *im.y-ht* is largely unknown, and both likely had similar duties in the temple. As ‘inspectors,’ *Bbi* [15], *Hnw* [32], *Sṯ-w^cb.w* [39], and *K3-dw3* [47] likely assisted the ‘assistant supervisor’ in the organisation and delegation of tasks in the temple. The *hm-ntr* and *w^cb* priests represent the core of the royal funerary cult personnel and are situated below these supervisors within the hierarchy of the temples.¹⁰¹⁶ The rations of ‘inspectors’ and ‘assistant supervisors’ were higher than the other positions in the phyles, indicating these titles were ranked higher within the temple than ordinary priests and guards.¹⁰¹⁷ The titulary of *K3-dw3* [47] shows that he first held the position of *w^cb*-priest but was eventually promoted to ‘inspector.’ The order of his other religious titles is unknown, however. Similarly, *Inti* [06] (presumably) first held the position of *hnt.y-š* in the temple of Teti, but eventually gained the position of ‘assistant supervisor of *hem-netjer* priests.’

A significant aspect of the workings of royal mortuary temples is that the phyle-divisions rotated on a ten month cycle; each division worked at the temple for one month at which point their shifts were taken over by the other division.¹⁰¹⁸ Therefore, these titles do not represent their main function or role within the state administration and society.¹⁰¹⁹ These positions in the mortuary cult were basically temporary shifts that must only have supplemented their income and status. Thus, these religious titles are temporary or seasonal ‘functional’ titles held for a short time-span rather than a regular, long term office (see Section 1.1.1).

¹⁰¹⁴ Vymazalová, “Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes,” 186.

¹⁰¹⁵ However, it is likely that many of the *hm-ntr* priests and high-ranking officials with a position in the temple did not actually carry out their duties in this office. Raneferef’s records indicate that some priests (and other officials) actually sent *ḡ.t* servants to do their work. The scribe carefully noted this in his accounting of the temple records. *Snḏm-ib* [35] and *Inti* [06] are members of a high-ranking family, sons of the vizier Qar, who constructed a large family complex in South Abusir. Thus, it may be possible that they never actually carried out their duties in the mortuary cult. Lower-ranking officials or servants working for their family may have acted in their stead: Vymazalova, “Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes,” 188.

¹⁰¹⁶ The former were less numerous at the temples, and always mentioned before the *hnt.y-š*, which may be indicative of a higher status in the temple: Vymazalová, “Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes,” 187.


¹⁰¹⁷ Vymazalová, “Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes,” 186; P. Posener-Kriéger, M. Verner, and H. Vymazalová, *Abusir X: The Pyramid Complex of Raneferef. The Papyrus Archive* (Prague, 2006), 365.

¹⁰¹⁸ Vymazalová, “Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes,” 185-186.

¹⁰¹⁹ Vymazalova, “Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes,” 185-186.

4. 3. Titularies of the *sms.w h3y.t* in the First Intermediate Period

The title *sms.w h3y.t* is rare during the First Intermediate Period; only one attestation of this office may be attributed to this time period. *Hkk/Mry* [52] carved his inscription into the rock face at Wadi Hammamat, the inscriptions of which are notoriously difficult to date. Couyat and Montet noted that the inscription is written in the style of the Old Kingdom but by an unskilful hand.¹⁰²⁰ The inscription can, therefore, date from anytime from the late Old Kingdom to the early Middle Kingdom.

His titulary, however, matches that of the numerous *sms.ww h3y.t* of the Old Kingdom. He was *s3b r3-Nhn*; an appointment regularly held by *sms.ww h3y.t* (see Section 4.2.2.1). He also held the title *htm.ty-bi.ty* ‘treasurer’ (see Section 4.2.2.3) and *im.y-r3 wd(.wt) nb.t n.t hnw*  ‘overseer of all commands of the Residence.’¹⁰²¹ The latter was likely an auxiliary title, perhaps indicating that his role in the mission was to ensure the commands of the Residence were fulfilled. Expeditions were often sent on behalf of the treasury to obtain certain raw materials, so *Hkk/Mry* may have received the appointment as treasurer for that reason. The king may have sent *Hkk/Mry* on an expedition because as one of his important palace officials he would act in the best interests of the king and the Residence. This inscription suggests that the title may still have been in use – in a limited capacity – even during the tumultuous time of the First Intermediate Period given that expeditions were still sent out to the Eastern Desert.

4. 4. Other sources related to the *sms.w h3y.t* during the Old Kingdom

Textual sources on the function of the *sms.w h3y.t* are scarce, especially regarding their role in the Residence/palace. The only autobiography of a *sms.w h3y.t* is that of *Isi* [08] who does not comment on his activities as holder of this office. The only evidence about tasks carried out by the *sms.w h3y.t* is depicted on two reliefs positioned in the Causeway of Sahure at Abusir. These *sms.w h3y.t* may be directly connected to the activities of the Residence/palace, and will be discussed below.

¹⁰²⁰ M.M. Couyat and P. Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouadi Hammamat* (Cairo, 1912), 90.

¹⁰²¹ Jones, *Index*, I 438.

4. 4. 1. The Autobiography of Isi of Edfu

The first high official to be buried at Edfu was *Isi* whose career began under Djedkare and ended under Teti.¹⁰²² It is during Teti's reign that he took up the position of nomarch at Edfu. Other inscriptions in his tomb indicate that his final promotion was to the office of vizier. The end of his autobiography is damaged beyond repair or reconstruction so whether it also described his appointment to vizier after obtaining the title *ḥr.y-tp ʿ3 n sp3.t* 'great-chief of the province' is not clear, but it is likely.¹⁰²³

Isi was both a nomarch and vizier, and was the only nomarch who was buried in an Upper Egyptian province.¹⁰²⁴ He was later deified and many objects dedicated to him were placed in and around his tomb at Edfu during the 13th dynasty. *Isi* appears to have been the head of the local branch of the central administration, which received royal orders about, and to reported on, the situation in southern Egypt.¹⁰²⁵ It is unusual for the vizier to be based in Edfu at this time; *Isi* was the only vizier operating from Edfu.¹⁰²⁶ Kanawati suggests because of the political and economic situation at the time, the southern parts of the country required more supervision.¹⁰²⁷ He also held the title, 'overseer of the king's documents'; the highest scribal position often held by vizier indicating that he was a true vizier, not a titular one.¹⁰²⁸

¹⁰²² N. Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt* (Warminster, 1980), 23.

¹⁰²³ Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 23.

¹⁰²⁴ Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 28.

¹⁰²⁵ Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 27.

¹⁰²⁶ Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 27.

¹⁰²⁷ Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 24.

¹⁰²⁸ Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms*, 23-27.

The autobiography of *Isi* [08] is inscribed on the false door in his tomb.¹⁰²⁹

smr w^cty Isi dd=f:

Left side: ^{1|} *pri.n(=i) m niw.t(=i) h3i.n(=i) m sp3(=i) iri.n(=i) nfr.t n sp3.t dd.n(=i) m3.t* ^{2|} *n nb[=s] iw wp.n(=i) sn.wy htp=sn. ink dd(.t) nfr.t whm nfr.t n sp* ^{3|} *dd(=i) ih.t nb(.t) rmt mry(=i) nfr(=i) im hr ntr* ^{3|} *ink mr.y n(.y) it=f* ^{4|} *hsy n(.y) mw.t=f. n sp it.y ih.t n.t rmt nb m* ^{3|} *h3.*

The sole companion, *Isi*, says:

^{1|} I came forth from my city, I came down from my province, I did a good thing for my province, I said the truth ^{2|} to [their] lord. I separated two (parties) so that they were satisfied. I am one who talks well, who repeated what is good. Never ^{3|} did I say anything evil against people, (I) desiring that I would be good therein before the great god. I am beloved of his father, (and) ^{4|} praised of his mother. Never did I take the property of a person violently.

smr w^cty Isi dd=f:

Right side: ^{5|} *[iw] iri.n(=i) sms.w h3y.t n.t [...] m rk Issy. rdi.n(=i) i3w.t m h33 hw.t m rk Wni=s.* ^{6|} *iw rdi.n(=i) i3w.t mdh s3 nsw.t s3b d-mr hr.y-tp nsw.t m rk Tty. iw* ^{7|} *iri.n(=i) mrr.t nb(.t) ntr pn. rdi.n(=i) i3w.t m h3.ty-^c smr w^cty hr.y-tp* ^{8|} *n sp3.t hr hm n ntr pn nh d.t n ikr spss hr.y-ib n hm=f r sr=f nb. rs=k* ^{9|} *hr k3.t nb.t n.t nsw.t ip.t m sp3.t n r* ^{10|} *hs.wt hm=f hr.y=s iri.n(=i) wp.t n hnw.*

The sole companion, *Isi*, says:

^{5|} I acted as ‘elder of the porch’ [...] in the time of king Djedkare. I was appointed to the office of ‘manager (lit. ‘ruler’) of the estate’ in the time of king Unis. ^{6|} I was appointed to the office of ‘overseer (?) of the king’s documents,’ ‘*sab* governor,’ ‘foremost of the king,’ in the time of king Teti. ^{7|} I did all that this god loved. I was appointed to the office of ‘hereditary prince,’ ‘count,’ ‘sole companion,’ ‘great-chief of the province,’ ^{8|} under the majesty of this god, living eternally, for I was excellent and noble in the heart of his majesty, more than any of his officials. I was vigilant ^{9|} concerning all the work of the king, accounting

¹⁰²⁹ E. Edel, “Inschriften des Alten Reichs,” *ZÄS* 79 (1954), 11-17; M. Alliot, *Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé dans l’Égypte ancienne* (Cairo, 1937); N. Strudwick, *Texts from the Pyramid Age* (Atlanta, 2005), 340-342 no. 246.

in the province, so that his majesty ¹⁰¹praised me for having done the arbitrating on behalf of the Residence.

According to *Isi*, he acted as a judge settling disputes between two conflicting parties, and acted in the provinces on behalf of the Residence (l. 2, 10). *Isi* attributes his success and influence to the king's favour, claiming he was favoured more than any other official. His high status is also confirmed by his 'ranking' titles: 'hereditary prince, count, sole companion, ' and 'chamberlain of the king.' The activities described are more likely related to his roles as vizier and/or 'nomarch' than his other offices.

This is the only explicit career trajectory that can be reconstructed for a *sms.w h3y.t*: *sms.w h3y.t* (Djedkare) → *ḥk3 ḥw.t* (Unis) → *mdḥ sš(.w) nsw.t / s3b cḏ-mr / ḥr.y-tp n(.y) sp3.t* (Teti) [→ vizier] (Teti). Additionally, no other *sms.w h3y.t* was appointed vizier apart from *Isi*, not even *Inti* [06] and *Snḏm-ib* [35] who were sons of a vizier.

4. 4. 2. Reliefs from the causeway of Sahure at Abusir.

Numerous reliefs were uncovered along the causeway of Sahure at Abusir, which linked his valley temple to his pyramid temple. Two reliefs from this causeway feature several *sms.w h3y.t*. The reliefs that survive are estimated to represent only 2% of the original decoration program.¹⁰³⁰ They represent the only evidence of *sms.w h3y.t* carrying out a tasks during the Old Kingdom.

(a) Relief 1: block SC/south/2003/07: left side of block.¹⁰³¹

This relief consists of a smaller scene depicting the *sms.w h3y.t Ḥr.y-n.y-Rc.w* [33] (fig. 4.2). The relief portrays the arrival of the royal fleet from Punt.¹⁰³² It originally spanned three blocks of reliefs, but only the middle part of the entire scene has been recovered.¹⁰³³ The main (top) register depicts the large figure of Sahure holding an adze in his right hand and a long staff in his left hand greeting the expedition. He stands in front of a row of trees from Punt. The queen mother and Sahure's royal wife, shown holding hands, are positioned directly behind the king. Two subsidiary registers show a number of courtiers and high-ranking state officials who also attended this welcome. The bottom two registers

¹⁰³⁰ T. el-Awady, *Abusir XVI: Sahure — the Pyramid Causeway: History and Decoration Program in the Old Kingdom* (Prague, 2009), 50.

¹⁰³¹ Awady, *Abusir XVI*, pl. 5.

¹⁰³² Awady, *Abusir XVI*, 165-166.

¹⁰³³ Awady, *Abusir XVI*, 155.

depict ships laden with animals and families from Punt.¹⁰³⁴ *Hr.y-n.y-R^c.w* is visible at the bottom left side of the relief. The scene depicts eight men in the act of running (facing right), four of them are clad in short tight belted kilts, and the other four are clad in loincloths. From right to left, *Hr.y-n.y-R^c.w* is the first man shown running with his two arms bent at the elbow, and hands clenched into fists.¹⁰³⁵ The caption above him reads, *sms.w h3y.t Hr.y-n.y-R^c.w*. The man behind/beside him holds a cylinder of arrows, and is identified as *s3-pr* ‘son of the house’ but he is not named.¹⁰³⁶ The six remaining men carry long batons, the fourth man also holds another quiver of arrows, and the sixth man carries a rope.

Only a few traces of this scene remain, as the entire top left of this relief is damaged.¹⁰³⁷ Given the placement of this tiny scene, it was likely part of the larger repertoire of scenes depicting the royal expedition’s return from Punt on Sahure’s causeway. Traces of water are still visible above these eight men.¹⁰³⁸ Moreover, Awady observes that running men were only depicted in the scenes where the royal boat was depicted.¹⁰³⁹

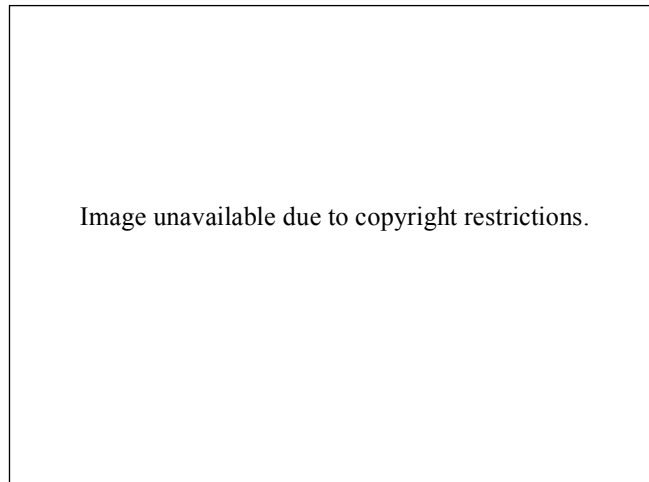


Figure 4. 2. Block relief (1) from the causeway of Sahure at Abusir (SC/south/2003/07).¹⁰⁴⁰

¹⁰³⁴ Awady, *Abusir XVI*, 155, pl. 5.

¹⁰³⁵ Awady, *Abusir XVI*, 165-166.

¹⁰³⁶ Jones, *Index*, II 2908.

¹⁰³⁷ Awady, *Abusir XVI*, 165.

¹⁰³⁸ Awady, *Abusir XVI*, 165.

¹⁰³⁹ Awady, *Abusir XVI*, 165 fn. 1011.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Awady, *Abusir XVI*, pl. 5.

(b) Relief 2: “Bedouin” scene on block SC/north/1994/03. 5th register.¹⁰⁴¹

This relief includes the appearance of six *sms.ww h3y.t*, *Iy-nfr* [04], *Mmy* [18], *Nht.y* [26], *Sn3m-ib* [37], *K3(.y)-m-st* [44], and *Tnty* [48] (fig. 4.3). This relief was part of the larger scene (SC/north/1994/03-SC/north/1994/01) representing the procession of funerary objects into the king’s mortuary complex.¹⁰⁴² The scene includes numerous offering bearers carrying food and furniture and dancers celebrating the occasion.¹⁰⁴³ A line of twenty-three men is shown dragging the king’s pyramidion (presumably on a sledge).¹⁰⁴⁴ The festivities also include several groups of men represented in a bowed over position with their hands resting on their knees and holding batons and cylinders of lances. They are designated *šms.ww pr-3* ‘retainers/guards of the palace,’¹⁰⁴⁵ *šms.ww nfr* ‘young retainers/guards’¹⁰⁴⁶ and *3pr šms.ww S3hw-R3.w*¹⁰⁴⁷ ‘crew of the retainers/guards of Sahure.’¹⁰⁴⁸ These are likely the palace security personnel charged with protecting the commodities and people attending the occasion.

On the far left of the 5th register, six men are depicted (facing right) bent over, with their hands hanging by their knees.¹⁰⁴⁹ They are clad in short tight wigs and short belted kilts.¹⁰⁵⁰ The inscription above the first three officials (right to left) reads: *s3b sms.w(w) h3y.t*. The same inscription is also inscribed above the last three men. Each man is named (from right to left): *K3(.y)-m-st*, *Sn3m-ib*, *Nht.y*, *Iy-nfr*, *Tnty*, *Mmy*.¹⁰⁵¹ In front of these six men, eleven squatting, emaciated Bedouin (nine men, two women) are depicted, distributed across two subsidiary registers.¹⁰⁵² Their ribs and collarbones are visible and they have thick curly hair with small pointed beards. Several of the Bedouin have their hands raised in the air as if they are supplicating to the king.¹⁰⁵³ The position of the arms

¹⁰⁴¹ Awady, *Abusir XVI*, pl. 9.

¹⁰⁴² Awady, *Abusir XVI*, 194.

¹⁰⁴³ Awady, *Abusir XVI*, pl. 9, SC/north/1994/03, 2nd- 4th register, pl. 10, SC/north/1994/02, 2nd-3rd register, pl. 11, SC/north/1994, 3rd register.

¹⁰⁴⁴ The scene breaks off at this point, but the pyramid was likely placed on a sledge: Awady, *Abusir XVI*, pl. 11, SC/north/1994/01, 2nd register.

¹⁰⁴⁵ Jones, *Index*, II 3669.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Not in Jones’ *Index*.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Not in Jones’ *Index*.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Awady, *Abusir XVI*, pl. 9, SC/north/1994/03, 2nd register, 4th register, pl. 10, SC/north/1994/02, 2nd-3rd register. One group is designated *3pr rh.w Nb.ty Nb h3w* ‘crew of those who are known (affiliated with) the Two Ladies, *Nb-h3w*’ likely referring to one of the ships in the royal fleet: Awady, *Abusir XVI*, pl. 9, SC/north/1994/03, 4th register.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Awady, *Abusir XVI*, pl. 9, block SC/north/1994/03, 5th register.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Awady, *Abusir XVI*, 202, pl. 9 (5th register).

¹⁰⁵¹ Awady, *Abusir XVI*, 203-204.

¹⁰⁵² Awady, *Abusir XVI*, 202, pl. 9 (5th register).

¹⁰⁵³ Awady, *Abusir XVI*, 202, pl. 9 (5th register).

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Figure 4. 3. Relief (2) of the ‘Bedouin’ from the causeway of Sahure at Abusir (SC/north/1994/03).¹⁰⁶⁰

4. 5. Social Networks of the *sms.w h3y.t*

There is minimal evidence about the families of the *sms.w h3y.t* during the Old Kingdom. There is only information available on the paternal line (father/son) for 20% of the family groups.¹⁰⁶¹ In only 8% can a father to son succession of the title *sms.w h3y.t* be observed, which is largely due the fragmentary state of the evidence.¹⁰⁶² Where the names of sons are recorded, not many held a title. Seven sons held the entry level scribal positions *s3b sš* ‘*sab* scribe’,¹⁰⁶³ and *K3-hs=f*, son of *K3-dw3* [47], held the mid-level position of *s3b shd sš(.w)* ‘*sab* inspector of scribes.’¹⁰⁶⁴ *Hm.w*, son of *K3-dw3* [47], held the positions, *shd pr-č3* ‘inspector of the palace’¹⁰⁶⁵ and *ir.y mrh.t* ‘keeper of the *mrh.t*-oil.’¹⁰⁶⁶ *K3r* succeeded his father *Isi* [08], as *hr.y-tp č3 n(.y) sp3.t* ‘nomarch’¹⁰⁶⁷ but earlier in his career he also held the titles, *im.y-r3 hnt.y(w)-š pr-č3* ‘overseer of guards of the palace’,¹⁰⁶⁸ *im.y-r3 Šm^c.w it* ‘overseer of Upper Egyptian grain’,¹⁰⁶⁹ *im.y-r3 Šm^c.w* ‘overseer of Upper Egypt.’¹⁰⁷⁰ *Hrwi*, son of *Isi* [08], was *im.y-r3 šn^c.w* ‘overseer of provisioning quarters’¹⁰⁷¹ while another son,

¹⁰⁶⁰ Awady, *Abusir XVI*, pl. 9.

¹⁰⁶¹ 10/50 (20%): [02]+[13], [06]+[11]+[35]+[36], [19]+[47], [40]+[41], [03], [08], [10], [23], [27], [47].

¹⁰⁶² (4/50) (8%): [02] → [13]; [06] → [11] and [36]; [19] → [47]; and [40] → [41].

¹⁰⁶³ [13] *čnh-ħr-Pth* (son of [02]), *Ny-čnh-Pth* son of [03], *Mrr-k3(.y)* son of [10], *Nfr* son of [23], *čnh-w3d=s* and *Hm.w* sons of [47], *Shm-k3y* son of [27]. *Tnty*, the brother of [06] and [35] also bears this title, perhaps indicative of his young age at the time his father’s tomb was constructed. The title *s3b sš* (Jones, *Index*, II 2964) and *sš* is an entry-level scribal position, often the stepping stone for a myriad of career paths, and often not recorded in tombs or monuments due to its low rank within the hierarchy.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Jones, *Index*, II 2974.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Jones, *Index*, II 3401. His role as ‘inspector of the palace’ may have been bestowed due to his father’s position in the palace as ‘elder of the porch.’

¹⁰⁶⁶ Jones, *Index*, I 1163.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Jones, *Index*, II 2393.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Jones, *Index*, I 710.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Not in Jones’ *Index*.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Jones, *Index*, I 985.

¹⁰⁷¹ Not in Jones’ *Index*.

Šps, was *ḥkṣ ḥw.t* ‘ruler of the estate’¹⁰⁷² and *sḥb ʿd-mr* ‘land-administrator,’¹⁰⁷³ which were also held by *Isi* earlier in his career. The latter was also held by yet another of *Isi*’s sons, *Idw*. Additionally, *Inti* [06], *Snḏm-ib* [35], and *ʿnh-ḥr-Pth* [13] inherited the title *sḥb rṣ-Nḥn* from their fathers, Qar IA and *ḥ.t-mḥ.w* [02], respectively. Lastly, in nine instances, the father/son also held religious titles,¹⁰⁷⁴ and in two family-groups the sons of the *sm.sw ḥṣy.t* held several ‘court’ titles.¹⁰⁷⁵

In several instances, individuals are recorded on the monuments of the *sm.s.w ḥṣy.t* where no kinship is specified.¹⁰⁷⁶ These men may have been included because they were colleagues or superior/subordinates, family servants or friends; this is difficult to distinguish from the current state of the evidence.¹⁰⁷⁷

4. 6. The *sm.s.ww ḥṣy.t* in the occupational sectors of society

Of the fifty Old Kingdom *sm.s.ww ḥṣy.t*, twenty (40%) do not possess any other titles.¹⁰⁷⁸ This is at least partly due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence, which provides limited and incomplete data on the career of the *sm.s.w ḥṣy.t*. On the other hand, it is likely some simply never accumulated any other offices.

For example, *ʿnh-m-tnn.t* [11] and *Snḏm-ib* (ii) [36] were the sons of *Inti* [06] and grandsons of the vizier, Qar IA and are only recorded in their father’s tombs with the title

¹⁰⁷² Jones, *Index*, II 2453.

¹⁰⁷³ Jones, *Index*, II 2947.

¹⁰⁷⁴ *Nfr* son of *Nfr-Inpw* [23] was *shḏ ḥm.w-kṣ*. Qar IA and *Inti* [06] held the title *im.y-ḥt ḥm(.w)-ntr Dd-swt-Wnis* ‘assistant supervisor of *hem-netjer* priests ‘Beautiful are the places of Unis.’ Qar IA also held the priestly title, *ḥm-ntr (m) Nfr-swt-Wni*. His son *Snḏm-ib* [35] was *im.y-ḥt ḥm.w-ntr* ‘assistant supervisor of priest’ in this same temple complex. *Kṣr*, son of *Isi* [08], was *im.y-rṣ ḥm.w-ntr* ‘overseer of priests.’ Four other sons of *Isi* [08], *Kṣri* (son of *Ibi*), *Kṣri* (son of *In.t*), *Tṣw-iyi* (son of *Nfr-ʿnk.t*), and *Ppy-snb* were *shḏ ḥm.w-kṣ* ‘inspector of *hemu-ka*-priests.’ The latter was also a *wab*-priest. *Ḥm.w* son of *Kṣ-dwṣ* [47] also held the titles *wḥb nsw.t* and *ḥm-ntr Ny-wsr-Rḥ.w*.

¹⁰⁷⁵ *Ḥm.w* son of *Kṣ-dwṣ* [47] held the ranking titles *rh-nsw.t*, *smr wḥ.ty*, *ḥr.y-sṣtṣ*, *ḥkr-nsw.t* ‘ornament of the king.’ The eldest son of *Isi* [08] *Kṣr* was *smr wḥ.ty* and *šps.y-nsw.t* ‘king’s noble’ while two of his brother, *Ḥrwi* and *Ḥr-nḥt.w*, held the high-ranking honorary title *ḥr.y-tp nsw.t* like their father *Isi* [08], while *Kṣri* (son of *Isi* [08] by *In.t*) was ‘sole companion’ and *Kṣri* (son of *Isi* [08] by *Ibi*) and *Tṣw-iyi* (son of *Isi* [08] by *Nfr-ʿnk.t*) were *rh nsw.t*. All four of *Isi*’s [08] daughters were *rh.t-nsw.t* as well.

¹⁰⁷⁶ See [05], [08], [15], [25], [46], and [47].

¹⁰⁷⁷ For instance, the name and titles of *Bbi* [15] are inscribed together with those of *im.y-ḥt ḥm(.w)-kṣ*, *Imi*. Since *Bbi* [15] was also ‘inspector of *hemka*-priests’ they may have worked together in the same temple complex. In the case of [08] and [47], they included men designate *ḥm-kṣ*-priest, which may have been family servants or subordinates who were included to partake in the funerary offering rituals, as they could not afford a tomb themselves.

¹⁰⁷⁸ [04], [05], [09], [11], [14], [16], [22], [25], [26], [29], [33], [36], [37], [40], [41], [44], [48], [50], and [51].

sms.w h3y.t. Their own tomb has so far not been found. They may have been relatively young and/or at the beginning of their careers when *Inti*'s tomb was completed, and had not yet acquired more titles. So it is entirely possible *ḥnh-m-ṯnn.t* and *Sndm-ib* (ii) followed in the footsteps of their father and father's brother *Sndm-ib* (i) [35] and acquired several more offices. If they did, however, no evidence of them has been found so far. Similarly, the six *sms.ww h3y.t*¹⁰⁷⁹ pictured on a relief from Sahure's Causeway, also have no additional titles. No monuments of their own have survived so any other offices they may have held are lost. They may have only held this one title but this cannot be said with absolute certainty. That they were recorded on Sahure's monument suggests that their role in the 'Bedouin' situation was significant and worthy of commemoration (see Section 4.4.2). This is also the case for *Wp.w-m-nfr* [14] and *Anonymous* [51] who are memorialised in the tombs of the viziers Ptah-hotep II and Ihy, respectively. They appear only once in the tomb and no monuments of their own have been found - so again, if they had more titles, they are now lost to us. Yet, these men were clearly important enough to be included in the vizier's tomb.

The other thirty *sms.ww h3y.t* (60%) have longer titularies with various title combinations consisting of regular, temporary, ranking, and auxiliary appointments. The major difficulty with them is that it is impossible to determine the order in which the official obtained his titles, unless they also wrote an autobiography detailing their career step-by-step (see Section 1.1). The sequence of titles does not necessarily represent a chronological accumulation over time. Moreover, an official chose which titles he included in his titulary; those that were of the highest rank or the most significant were included. This means some of the intermediate positions may be omitted. It can, therefore, be extremely difficult to reconstruct a sequential career path, and this is also the case with the *sms.ww h3y.t*.

Considering only the regular titles, twenty-six individuals (52%) held only the title *sms.w h3y.t* as their main office.¹⁰⁸⁰ The remaining twenty-four *sms.ww h3y.t* (48%) held other regular offices.¹⁰⁸¹ The regular appointments of nine of those individuals (18%) are centred

¹⁰⁷⁹ [04], [18], [26], [37], [44], and [48].

¹⁰⁸⁰ [04], [05], [09], [11], [14], [15], [16], [19], [22], [25], [26], [28], [29], [31], [33], [36], [37], [40], [41], [43], [44], [48], [49], [50], and [51]. Six of these twenty did also hold a religious title alongside their main appointment as *sms.w h3y.t*: [15], [19], [28], [31], [43], [49].

¹⁰⁸¹ [02], [03], [06], [07], [08], [10], [12], [13], [17], [20], [21], [23], [24], [27], [30], [32], [34], [35], [38], [39], [42], [45], [46], and [47].

in the Residence (only),¹⁰⁸² while ten (20%) held regular titles connected to *both* the Residence/palace and central administration,¹⁰⁸³ and five (with the exception of *sms.w h3y.t*) (10%) held only appointments related to the central administration.¹⁰⁸⁴ This shows that most the careers of the *sms.w h3y.t* primarily overlapped between the Residence/palace and the central administration.

4. 6. 1. The *sms.w h3y.t* in the Residence/palace

Since 52% (26/50) held only the office of *sms.w h3y.t* as their primary appointment, it indicates that most title-holders did not move beyond the confines of the Residence/palace – except to fulfil their duties at the temples.¹⁰⁸⁵ As an official likely involved with the management and affairs of the royal household as it pertains to the entrance-portico at the protected inner quarters of the Residence/palace, it follows that these men are primarily centred in this sector of society. Nineteen individuals (38%) held other appointments in the Residence/palace.¹⁰⁸⁶ These appointments are not varied, and the predominant recurring palace appointment held by these men is that of *s3b r3-Nhn* ‘*sab* spokesman of Nekhen,’¹⁰⁸⁷ and to a lesser degree, certain titles associated with the security of the Residence/palace.

The interior of the palace in the Old Kingdom in terms organisation, personnel, hierarchy, layout etc. remains frustratingly blank. More is known from other periods, but it is dangerous to assume that the structure and organisation of the Middle and New Kingdom palaces were the same as those of the Old Kingdom. There are no textual sources commenting on the role of the *sms.w h3y.t* at this time. The reliefs of Sahure’s causeway are perhaps the most explicit source on the activities of the *sms.w h3y.t*. Unlike many of the

¹⁰⁸² 9/50 (18%): [02], [03], [06], [07], [12], [13], [32], [39], and [42].

¹⁰⁸³ 10/50 (20%): [10], [20], [21], [23], [24], [27], [30], [35], [38], and [46].

¹⁰⁸⁴ 5/50 (10%): [08], [17], [34], [45], and [47].

¹⁰⁸⁵ [04], [05], [09], [11], [14], [15], [16], [19], [22], [25], [26], [28], [29], [31], [33], [36], [37], [40], [41], [43], [44], [48], [49], [50], and [51]. Six of these twenty did also hold a religious title alongside their main appointment as *sms.w h3y.t*: [15], [19], [28], [31], [43], [49]. Since these temple positions were exercised on rotational shifts they do not represent a permanent office, and was thus their main role was ‘elder of the porch’ in the Residence/palace.

¹⁰⁸⁶ 19/50 (38%): [02], [03], [06], [07], [10], [12], [13], [20], [21], [23], [24], [27], [30], [32], [35], [38], [39], [42], and [46].

¹⁰⁸⁷ It is difficult to determine whether the *s3b r3-Nhn* belonged to the central administration or the palace administration because they were regularly involved in both sectors as the king’s intermediary. Due to the close association between title-holders and the king and the court they have been categorised as part of the palace administration.

figures in these reliefs, all the *sms.ww h3y.t* were named, perhaps indicative of their importance in the Residence/palace and the king's sphere.

4. 6. 1. 1. The (*s3b*) *sms.w h3y.t* and *s3b r3-Nhn*

The (*s3b*) *sms.ww h3y.t* is predominantly associated with that of *s3b r3-Nhn* 'sab spokesman of Nekhen' during the Old Kingdom. The titularies of sixteen out of the nineteen title-holders (84.2%) with other palace titles are characterised by their appointment of *s3b r3-Nhn*.¹⁰⁸⁸

These sixteen officials also the auxiliary titles *hm-ntr M3c.t* and those containing the phrases *hw.t-wr.t* and *w3c-mdw*. These auxiliary titles only appear in the titularies of the *sms.ww h3y.t* who also hold the title *s3b r3-Nhn* (with two exceptions). Of the sixteen individuals in this group:

- Nine out of the ten officials (90%) that hold the title *hm-ntr M3c.t* are also (*s3b*) *sms.w h3y.t* and *s3b r3-Nhn*.¹⁰⁸⁹
- Four out of the five officials that hold the auxiliary title, *sm3c w3c-mdw* are also (*s3b*) *sms.w h3y.t* and *s3b r3-Nhn*.¹⁰⁹⁰
- All seven individuals that hold the auxiliary title *hr.y-s3t3 w3c-mdw* and/or *hr.y-s3t3 n(.y) hw.t-wr.t* are also (*s3b*) *sms.w h3y.t* and *s3b r3-Nhn*.
- The two individuals that held the auxiliary designations *wr mdw hw.t-wr.t* and *wr mdw hw.t-3nh* are also (*s3b*) *sms.w h3y.t* and *s3b r3-Nhn*.

The titles listed above nearly always accompany either or both the (*s3b*) *sms.w h3y.t* and *s3b r3-Nhn*. This was also observed by Philip-Stéphan and Moreno-Garcia who noted that these auxiliary positions were often shared by these two titles, though they do not expound on this fact.¹⁰⁹¹ The common factor is the title of *s3b r3-Nhn*; this position and the above auxiliary titles do not appear in the remaining fourteen out of the thirty *sms.w h3y.t* with longer titularies. Many more *sms.ww h3y.t* are attested that do not have these characteristics, which indicates that they may complement the title *s3b r3-Nhn* rather than *sms.w h3y.t*. That said, the *M3c-hrw-Pth* [17] and *Hnw* [32] do hold the titles *hm-ntr M3c.t* and *sm3c w3c-mdw n(.y) hw.t-wr.t* respectively, but are not *s3b r3-Nhn*. This may indicate that the activities of the (*s3b*) *sms.w h3y.t* and *s3b r3-Nhn* do overlap; or, at the very least,

¹⁰⁸⁸ 16/19 (84.2%): [02], [03], [06], [07], [10], [12], [13], [20], [21], [23], [24], [27], [30], [35], [38], and [42].

¹⁰⁸⁹ *M3c-hrw-Pth* [17] held the title *hm-ntr M3c.t* but was not *s3b r3-Nhn*.

¹⁰⁹⁰ *Hnw* [32] held the title *sm3c w3c-mdw n(.y) hw.t-wr.t* and did not obtain the office *s3b r3-Nhn*.

¹⁰⁹¹ Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 57; Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, 120-121.

share certain similarities. It is difficult to discern which titles complement or is associated with which specific appointment, since the chronological sequence in which the individual obtained his offices is unknown.

There are half as many *s3b r3-Nhn* (25) than there are *sms.w h3y.t* (50) in the Old Kingdom. Callender records twenty-five *s3b r3-Nhn*, where twenty-one of them have additional titles, and of that number half (11/21 or 52.5%) of them also held the position, *sms.w h3y.t*.¹⁰⁹² Of the twenty-four *sms.w h3y.t* that hold additional regular titles, just over half were also holders of *s3b r3-Nhn* (16/24), suggesting these two offices are interconnected.

These positions have a number of similarities, the most obvious being that they both have close connections to the Residence/palace. The *s3b r3-Nhn* was a representative of the king and the royal family and household (in the Residence) acting as intermediary between the king and the sectors of state (see Section 4.2.1.1).¹⁰⁹³ The ‘spokesman of Nekhen’ are closely associated with the act of arbitrating (*wḏ^c-mdw*) and sometimes connected with the *hw.t-wr.t* ‘great house.’ Title-holders were influential and close to the king. The *sms.w h3y.t*, on the other hand, was closely attached to the ‘porch’ (*h3y.t*) at the entrance to the king’s residential apartments in the palace. He was the main figure presiding over this liminal space, dealing primarily with movements of people and things through this threshold (controlling access), and communication with the rest of the Residence as the king’s middleman and informant (see Sections 3.7 and 7.1.1). While the *sms.w h3y.t* is defined by his attachment to a physical structure, both appear to act as an agent through which the king communicated with different spheres of society, the former situated at the important entrance to the secluded palace interior, and the latter in affairs of government. It seems that the *s3b r3-Nhn* is an “extended” version of the *sms.w h3y.t*; both offices appear to be representatives or ‘channels’ of the king’s authority. It may explain the reason both show involvement in *sṣṭ3* ‘restricted’ judgements and administrative matters designated through their auxiliary titles (see above). Hence, they are frequently of a higher social position but have modest regular/occupational titles. Since fewer officials held the title ‘spokesman of Nekhen’ than ‘elder of the porch,’ it may suggest the latter is subordinate to the former.¹⁰⁹⁴ Therefore, the interconnection between these appointments may represent the following career trajectory: (*s3b*) *sms.w h3y.t* → *s3b r3-Nhn*.

¹⁰⁹² See the prosopography in Callender, ‘the title *r Nhn n z3b*’ 376ff.

¹⁰⁹³ Bárta, “Kings, Viziers, and Courtiers,” 169.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Callender (in “*r Nhn n z3b*,” 376ff.) records 25 *s3b r3-Nhn* while there are 50 *sms.w h3y.t* in the Old Kingdom corpus.

4. 6. 1. 2. The *sms.w h3y.t* and security personnel

The reliefs from Sahure's causeway (see Section 4.4.2) show that the *sms.ww h3y.t* were often accompanied by security personnel. Relief 1 (fig. 4.2) situates *Hry-n.y-R^c.w* [33] in the vicinity of the king, though not among the group of attending courtiers. It appears he acted as the head of a security detail, perhaps for the protection of the king and the royal family in attendance. The *s3(.w)-pr* are usually associated with the punishment of crimes related to the collection of the harvest in the provinces, hence their possession of a baton. However, from this relief, they can also be situated in the "capital" and perhaps as bodyguards protecting the king during important events and ceremonies outside the palace complex. They may also have assisted in the transportation of all the luxury goods and commodities from Punt, from the dockside to the Residence. The main focus of the *s3(.w)-pr* may have been to enforce the law, in regard to taxation but also generally to keep peace and order. Due to his position at the head of the line of *s3(.w)-pr*, *Hry-n.y-R^c.w* was likely in charge and of higher status than the *s3.w-pr*. This scene implies that the *sms.ww h3y.t* and *s3(.w)-pr* worked together, if not regularly, then in some situations. The *sms.w h3y.t* also appears in the same context as the *s3(.w)-pr* in the tomb of vizier, *Ihy*, where the latter is surrounded by a number of officials, among them *Anonymous* [51] and an unnamed *im.y-ht s3(.w)-pr* and *s3-pr*. Similarly, in the "Bedouin" relief (fig. 4.3), a long row of twenty-seven men holding batons is represented on the right side. They are identified as *pr šps.w S3hw-R^c.w* 'crew of noble-men of Sahure,' *šms.ww pr-č3* 'retainers/guards of the palace,' and *hnt.y(w)-š pr-č3* 'guards of the palace.' This further situates the six *sms.ww h3y.t* with various guards, in this case probably those responsible for detaining these captives.

While these reliefs associate the *sms.w h3y.t* with a number of guards and retainers, this is not regularly reflected in their titularies. Only four men functioned as some sort of guard, the *šd hnt.(w)y-š* 'inspector of guards' [32], [39] and (*s3b*) *im.y-ht s3(.w)-pr* 'assistant supervisor of sons of the house' [12], [46]. Additionally, *3h.t-mh.w* [02] held the appointment *im.y-r3 pr-čh3* 'overseer of the armoury,' probably in charge of the weapons at the Residence/palace. The primary offices held by *Hnw* [32] and *St-w^cb.w* [39] were *sms.w h3y.t* and *šd hnt.y(w)-š* perhaps indicating they may have progressed from 'inspector of guards' to 'elder of the porch.'¹⁰⁹⁵ Similarly, *nh-m-tnn.t* [12] was *sms.w h3y.t*, *s3b r3-Nhn*

¹⁰⁹⁵ The influence of palace-guards should not be underestimated, as demonstrated by the career of Weni of Abydos.

and *s3b im.y-ht s3.w-pr* indicating that the two former positions somehow overlaps with the role as “law-enforcers.”¹⁰⁹⁶ Conversely, *K3-hr-Pth* [46] held the titles, *sms.w h3y.t*, *im.y-ht s3.w-pr*, and *s3b hr.y-wdb*. The *s3.w-pr* were probably agents of the palace (‘estate’) enforcing the law on behalf of the palace. This position may have been held alongside their role as *sms.w h3y.t*, *s3b r3-Nhn* ([12]) or *hr.y-wdb* ([46]) (see Section 4.6.2). As “law-enforcer” they may have had a closer association with the activities of the palace, as Sahure’s causeway relief demonstrates, than is currently thought.

As the official situated at the porch fronting the domestic quarters of the Residence/palace, which one imagines is a highly protected entrance, it makes sense that he would be concerned or associated with its security. The occasional overlap with security personnel and ‘law-enforcers’ may have been through the *sms.w h3y.t*’s association with these guards, and vice versa. The *sms.w h3y.t* may have had to collaborate with guards and other security officials in the Residence/palace due to their physical position at a significant liminal threshold. This would explain this occasional connection between these titles.¹⁰⁹⁷

4. 6. 2. The *sms.w h3y.t* and the central administration.

The titularies of the *sms.w h3y.t* shows that fifteen individuals (30%) held one or more regular appointments, other than ‘elder of the porch,’ in the central administration.¹⁰⁹⁸ Ten of those fifteen also held one or more palace appointments (see above), indicative of the close connection between the Residence and the state administration. The “head-quarters” of the central administration was located in the Residence, which accounts for this overlap. The Residence consisted of the official quarters of government, with its various institutions and storehouses, as well as the residential living quarters of the king and royal family (see Section 3.1, fig. 1.1b). To what degree the state and Residence/palace operations were intertwined is difficult to determine. But it is perhaps unsurprising that palace officials

¹⁰⁹⁶ Police officer or policeman has a specific modern connotation, which may not be applied to this ancient title.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Furthermore, the son of [08], *K3r*, was ‘overseer of palace-guards’ further highlighting the interaction between the occupation of ‘guard’ or ‘enforcer’ and a *sms.w h3y.t* title-holder. Weni, too, started out as *im.y-r3 hnt.y(w) n(y) pr-c3* before being appointed *s3b r3-Nhn*. This further emphasises the secluded nature of the Residence/palace. The pool of Residence/palace officials was likely relatively small, and outsiders were unlikely to acquire a position in the palace, hence the occasional promotion of trusted security personnel to these important appointments at the palace-porch and as the king’s spokesman.

¹⁰⁹⁸ 15/50 (30%): [08], [10], [17], [20], [21], [23], [24], [27], [30], [34], [35], [38], [45], [46], and [47].

occasionally also held positions in the state hierarchy in light of this dual function of the Residence.¹⁰⁹⁹

For the *sms.ww h3y.t*, whose titularies include both palace and state appointments, the following question can be raised. Did they start out as a palace officials, as *sms.w h3y.t*, and consequently acquired their additional titles in the central administration, or did they hold a position in the state hierarchy before being promoted to the position of *sms.w h3y.t* in the palace? There does not appear to be a standard career path, each official is different. The most likely scenario is the former. The Residence was by its very nature restricted and secluded, unlikely to easily allow outsiders from other occupational sectors to gain unfettered access (see Sections 3.3 and 3.4). Thus, the title *sms.w h3y.t* was likely obtained early in their careers, and likely their first appointment. Whether this meant that their titles related to the central administration represented roles held simultaneously as *sms.w h3y.t* or whether they relinquished their role as *sms.w h3y.t* for a position in the central administration is unknown – and perhaps depended on the official. A position in the Residence/palace, such as *sms.w h3y.t*, would have been highly coveted as it placed the person in closer proximity to the king and was more advantageous for a successful career, than the mid-level state positions they otherwise would have held.

The *sms.ww h3y.t* predominantly held state positions related to the granaries and *pr-ḥr.y-wdb* ‘department of the chief of (re)distribution.’¹¹⁰⁰ Seven out of fifteen held positions related to the granaries (likely of the Residence):

- [21], [23], [27], [30]. *sab* tally-man’ (*s3b nḥt-ḥrw*)
- [24]. Treasurer of the king’s granary’ (*ḥtm.ty šnw.t [pr-]nsw.t*)
- [34]. Inspector of tally-men’ (*shd nḥt-ḥrw*)
Elder of the porch (on behalf) of the *sekheru*-granary’
(*sms.w h3y.t n(.y) pr-shrw*)
- [38]. Inspector of the *sekheru*-granary’ (*shd sh.t*)

Four out of sixteen individuals, [17], [20], [45], [46], held a title within the *pr-ḥr.y-wdb* ‘house of the chief of (re)distribution,’ which dealt with provisions distributed to the

¹⁰⁹⁹ According to a study conducted by de Cenival one-hundred-and-twenty-six (126) titularies fall into a limited number between palatial and administrative sectors. The division between these two branches is far apart. An official’s career was pursued in the palace or in an administrative ‘department,’ without any bridge between the two sectors: J. L. de Cenival, “À propos de la stèle de Chéchi. Étude de quelques types de titulatures privées de l’Ancien Empire,” *RdÉ* 27 (1975), 62-69; Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 50. Clearly, however, some *sms.ww h3y.t* do not fit that pattern.

¹¹⁰⁰ 12/15 (80%): [17], [20], [21], [23], [24], [27], [30], [34], [38], [35], [45], [46].

Residence. In addition, *Snḏm-ib* [35] *sms.w h3y.t* became *htm.ty-bi.ty*, one of the highest-ranking treasury officials in the central administration. A total of twelve *sms.w h3y.t* (80%) held titles related to the economic institutions of the Residence/palace.

In addition to this, several title-holders held administrative offices, including *Isi* [08] who held the highest-ranking scribal office, ‘overseer of the king’s documents’ (*mdḥ sš(.w)-nsw.t*); this is not unsurprising as he was a nomarch and later vizier. Two others, *M3^c-hrw-Pth* [17] and *N.y-k3.w-R^c.w* [21], also held the mid-level scribal position, *s3b shḏ ir.yw-md3.t*. The former was also *shḏ hr.y(w)-wdb* ‘inspector of the chiefs of distribution,’ and the latter *s3b nḥt-hrw*. Consequently, their role as ‘inspector of record-keepers’ may have been related to accounting matters for the *pr-hr.y-wdb* and granaries (respectively). Finally, *K3-dw3* [47] is ‘overseer of the estate’ (*im.y-r3 pr*), *ḥnh-m-s3=f* [10] was ‘overseer of *seru*-officials’ (*im.y-r3 sr.w*), *Nḥt-s3=s* [27] was an administrator over various ‘settlements’ (*ḥd-mr grg.t rs.yt mh.yt*, *ḥd-mr tnw*); the pyramid towns of Khufu and Khafre as well as some in the oases, as well as *s3b nḥt-hrw*. It is evident that the *sms.w h3y.t* held a wide variety of positions in the state, from the economic branches to its administrative sectors.

The *sms.w h3y.t* primarily hold varying positions attached to the granaries and treasury (mainly the *pr-hr.y-wdb*) with some also holding scribal and other sporadic state appointments. The connection between the *sms.w h3y.t* and these sectors of central administration is not immediately apparent. Most of their positions in the state are all crucial to the provisioning of the Residence; perhaps the king needed loyal palace servants in these positions? It was a way for the king to (personally?) keep a closer eye on state activities and to make sure the Residence’s interests were secure. The variant held by *S3-ntf* [34], *sms.w h3y.t n(.y) pr-shrw* ‘elder of the porch (on behalf?) of the *sekheru*-granary,’ directly connects such a granary with the office of *sms.w h3y.t*. Since many title-holders also dealt with activities related to the granaries and *pr-hr.y-wdb* (including [34] who was also *s3b shḏ nḥt-hrw*), such a connection makes more sense. They may have been responsible for directing the flow for food and wages/rations for other palace officials, possibly from the *h3y.t*-porch (to inner palace personnel?) or from the Residence’s own granaries (whether *shrw* or *šnw.wt*).¹¹⁰¹ Furthermore, since *S3-ntf* is also ‘inspector of tally-men’ presumably working at the granaries, he may have added this reference to the specific *shrw*-granary to his palace title to emphasise his role in this sector (for some

¹¹⁰¹ See Section 7.1.1.

reason). While this is the only attestation of this variant, it confirms that the *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders were often involved in the provisioning of the Residence. The control over the collection of revenue and commodities and their distribution was a great priority for the king and his administration, and the importance of the officials involved even at the low-mid ranking levels should not be underestimated.¹¹⁰²

Since the titularies include both appointments in the palace (mainly as *sms.w h3y.t* and *s3b r3-Nhn*) and the central administration, the latter titles were likely directly attached to the Residence city-complex itself, or at least operated within the vicinity of the Memphite area. Those holding the title *s3b nht-hrw*, for example, probably acted as ‘tally-men’ for the granaries or treasuries of the Residence, and/or other towns in the Memphite region. A similar situation also applied to the other titles. As part of the central administration, these positions may have necessitated temporary visits to the provinces, but it is unlikely they were permanently based there.

It is likely that some of their titles were held simultaneously, while they were still acting as *sms.w h3y.t*. These positions may reflect additional posts held temporarily or alongside their office of *sms.w h3y.t*. If they were sent to the provinces – perhaps as *hr.y-wdb* – on special assignments, it was likely as a more personal and trusted representative of the Residence/king. These state offices should, then, be regarded as special missions and duties in addition to their role as *sms.w h3y.t* though recorded in their titularies as separate offices. Only the *s3b r3-Nhn* – and the few other higher-ranking positions such as *htm.ty-bi.ty* [35], ‘overseer of the king’s documents,’ nomarch and vizier [08] – likely reflect a progression in their careers. For example, *Nfr-hr-n-Pth* [24] was *sms.w h3y.t*, *s3b r3-Nhn* and *htm.ty šnw.t* [*pr-ns*]. He may have acted as the treasurer of a granary in the Residence during his tenure as either *sms.w h3y.t* or *s3b r3-Nhn*. Similarly, *K3-nb* [45] was *sms.w h3y.t* as well as *hr.y-wdb rh.yt* and *shd hr.y(w)-wdb*; in the two latter positions he may have been responsible for the immediate Memphite area operated from the Residence, or it reflects a special commission undertaken in the provinces. In this same way, *Imhy* [05] is attested in a list of personnel in an expedition inscription at Wadi Hammamat marking the *sed*-festival of Pepy I. While it is unsure if this means he was important enough to have contact with the king, the king or vizier may have wanted a palace official to oversee this expedition. *Imhy* performed this additional role outside the palace, only for the duration of the expedition. That these titles represent special assignments and

¹¹⁰² Papazian, “Central Administration,” 79.

supplementary tasks/duties is particularly appealing, as it would account for the variability of the evidence and their involvement in different aspects of the central administration. These appointment were not guaranteed and clearly some *sms.w h3y.t* were not granted such additional offices and were limited to the palace. Interpreting most of these state appointments as being held simultaneously as that of *sms.w h3y.t* is also probable in light of the restricted nature of the Residence/palace, which was unlikely to promote an outsider and low-mid ranking state official attached to the treasury or granaries to a position at a significant entrance within the Residence.¹¹⁰³

Therefore, the *sms.w h3y.t* in the Old Kingdom were frequently chosen as representatives or emissaries of the king in the central administration, in various occupational sectors of state; this would depend on what the king required of them. Based in their titularies this mainly involved commissions and tasks related to the economic departments of the Residence. This may also explain why a number of *sms.w h3y.t* held the title *hr.y-sšt3* (and its variants) as this designation was held by individuals who had special expertise or knowledge, and were thus selected for assignments and commissions on behalf of the king.

4. 6. 2. 1. The *sms.w h3y.t* and the vizier

The vizier was the second most significant person in ancient Egypt, and as such, for an official to be part of the administrative or social sphere of the vizier is almost as advantageous and profitable as being part of the king's sphere. The vizier was the individual who put the king's orders, wishes and commands into practice, so having the vizier's ear is no small matter.¹¹⁰⁴ Presumably, the vizierate would have specific officials assisting the vizier in all manner of tasks as well as liaison officials for each branch of the state administration including the palace, temples and provinces. All the king's commands flowed down through this office, and all tasks completed, complaints submitted etc. flowed back up this office to the king. The vizier was also the head of the palace, which may explain why the *sms.w h3y.t* were often connected with the vizierate.

A number of *sms.w h3y.t* during the Old Kingdom are directly associated with the vizier. Based on the titularies, only *nh-m-s3=f* [10] held a regular title placing him, in an official capacity, directly subordinate to the vizier, as *im.y-r3 sr.w*. If indeed the *sr.w* were the state representatives of the vizier, and not a general designation for state appointed official (see

¹¹⁰³ Spence, "Court and palace," 282. See also Sections 3.3 and 3.4.

¹¹⁰⁴ Papazian, "Central Administration," 46.

Section 4.2.2.4). There are, however, various other ways in which the *sms.w h3y.t* is affiliated with the vizier. The advantageous social connections of *Snđm-ib* (i) [35] and *Inti* [06] as well as the latter's sons *nh-m-tnn.t* [11] and *Snđm-ib* (ii) [36] have already been discussed. As sons and grandsons of the vizier, and despite Qar IA's late promotion to the vizier's office, it is revealing of the sphere in which the *sms.w h3y.t* operated.

Four *sms.w h3y.t* are depicted or named within the tomb of a vizier. *Bbi*'s [15] name and titles are inscribed on a door lintel of one of the storerooms of the tomb of Nebkauhor tomb, who was a vizier late in the reign of Pepy II and also held several titles related to the temple administration.¹¹⁰⁵ Since *Bbi* was also 'inspector of *hm.w-k3*-priests,' Nebkauhor may have been his superior in the temple complex as 'inspector of *hem-netjer* priests' assuming they both served in the same temple. As vizier, and *im.y-r3 mr.wy pr-c3* 'overseer of the beloved two of the palace' and *im.y-r3 is.wt šps.wt pr-c3* 'overseer of noble rooms of the palace' he may have been associated/worked with Bebi in the palace as *sms.w h3y.t*. *Wp.w-m-nfr* [14] is depicted in the Saqqara tomb (D64) of Ptahhotep 'Tjefi' (II) and his father Akhethotep II (son of the vizier Ptahhotep I of D62), both viziers. Ptahhotep II was a man of considerable influence, a third generation vizier. *Wp.w-m-nfr* appears in the scene depicting Ptahhotep at his morning ablutions, attended by retainers and receiving reports from his subordinates (fig. 4.4). The scene depicts two rows of six officials (twelve in total), *Wp.w-m-nfr* as *s3b sms.w h3y.t* is seated fifth in the top row. Two officials are *s3b im.y-r3 sš.w* 'sab overseer of scribes', seven are *s3b šd sš.w* 'sab inspector of scribes,' one is *smsw im.y-r3 pr hr.yt* 'senior overseer of the slaughter-house,'¹¹⁰⁶ and another official who is a *hr.y hr.t-ḥ(3)b* 'chief lector priest.' A similar scene is found in the tomb of the vizier Ihy (usurped in the reign of Teti by Teti's daughter Idut) (fig. 4.5); Ihy was a vizier under Unis. The usurped figure of Ihy supervises the activities of the Delta accompanied by fifteen officials, including an unnamed *s3b sms.w h3y.t* [51]. The titles of the other unnamed officials included: *im.y-ht s3(.w)-pr* (1), *s3-pr* (1), *s3b šd sš.w* (2), *s3b sš* (3), *s3b iry-mḏ3t* (2), *hm-k3 pr-c3* (1), and *im.y-r3 sšr.w* (4). Ptahhotep II and Ihy are primarily accompanied by scribal personnel, and in case of the latter guards as well. These two scenes indicate that *Wp.w-m-nfr* [14] and *Anonymous* [51] were likely part of the vizier's personal entourage. They were important enough to be included among those individuals

¹¹⁰⁵ For example, *sš mḏ3.t ntr* 'scribe of the god's documents,' *im.y-r3 wcb.ty* 'overseer of the two (female?) priests,' and *šd hm.w-ntr Nfr-swt-Wnis* 'inspector of *hem-netjer* priests of (the temple) 'Beautiful are the cult places of Unis.'

¹¹⁰⁶ Wb. III 322.6-323.7.

with whom the viziers dealt with directly. In the case of Ptahhotep II, *Wp.w-m-nfr* was important enough to be named.

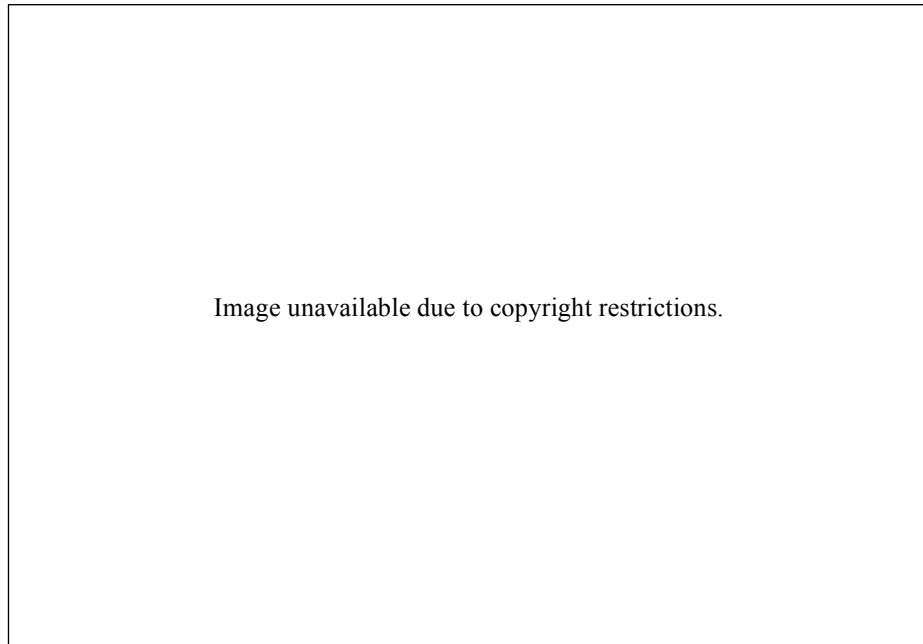


Figure 4. 4. Ptahhotep II at his morning ablutions and receiving reports from officials from tomb of Ptah-hotep II and Akhethotep II (Saqqara).¹¹⁰⁷

Lastly, the Giza tomb (G2378) of Senedjemib Mehi, a vizier in the early 6th dynasty, depicts a nameless figure captioned *s3b sms.w h3y.t* [50].¹¹⁰⁸ In the Giza tomb (G2370) of the vizier Senedjemib Inti (late 5th dynasty), a thurifyer named *Is-n(s)-Pth* [49] appears with the title, *sms.w h3y.t* and *hm-k3*.¹¹⁰⁹ In case of the latter, however, analysis of the scene has shown that the name was a later addition; inscribed in smaller, rougher signs than the original caption, and squeezed into the available space between the figure and the word *sntr* ‘incense.’¹¹¹⁰ This same name is also attached to another figure elsewhere in the tomb. They were probably altered by a later official wanting to partake in the funerary rituals of Senedjemib Inti. Thus, in this case, this *sms.w h3y.t* official and vizier were most likely not contemporary nor associates. This vizier’s tomb was most likely chosen because he was an

¹¹⁰⁷ R.F.E. Paget and A.A. Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-hotep* (London, 1989), pl. XXXV.

¹¹⁰⁸ Room III, west wall, 5th register: E. Brovarski, *The Senedjemib Complex: Part I. The Mastaba of Senedjemib Inti (G2370), Khnumenti (G 2374), and Senedjemib Mehi (G 2378)* (Boston, 2000), 141-142, fig. 113.

¹¹⁰⁹ Room III, west wall, 6th register: Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex I*, 65, 87, figs. 53, 54, pl. 32.

¹¹¹⁰ Brovarski, *Senedjemib Complex I*, 65.

important figure but whether this reflects a particular attachment of the vizierate and the office of *sms.w h3y.t* is undetermined.

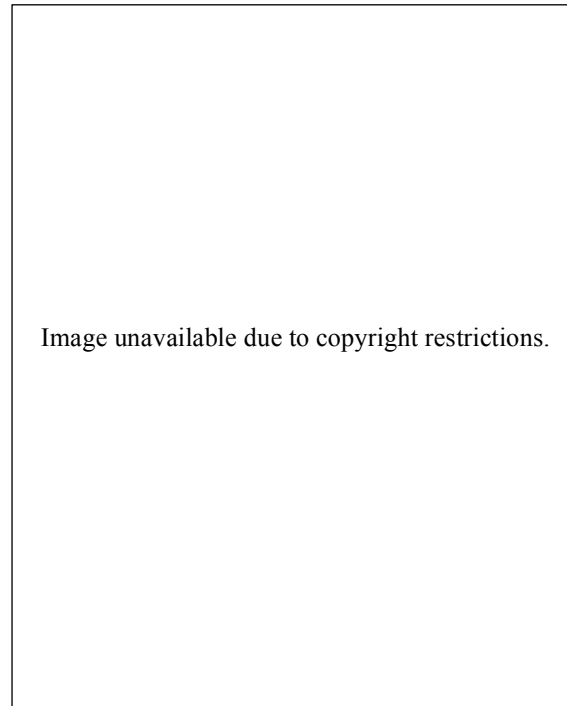


Figure 4.5. Idut (originally Ihy) observing activities in the Delta marshes accompanied by an entourage of officials from the tomb of Ihy/Idut (Saqqara).¹¹¹¹

The *sms.ww h3y.t* also seem to have a close association with the *hw.t-wr.t* through certain auxiliary titles, primarily held by those who were also *s3b r3-Nhn* (except for [32]). The *hw.t-wr.t* was probably specified in these auxiliary titles because, a palace official (whether *sms.w h3y.t* or *s3b r3-Nhn*), would ordinarily not play a role in the ‘great house,’ which was run by the vizier.¹¹¹² Since the activities of the *s3b r3-Nhn* and *sms.w h3y.t* seem closely intertwined (see Section 4.6.1.1), and the former is usually associated with the ‘great house’ and the vizier anyway, it follows that as *sms.w h3yt* they may already have operated within the sphere of the vizier before their appointment to ‘spokesman of Nekhen.’

While the titularies of the *sms.w h3y.t* are not necessarily revealing of their connection with the vizierate, it is clear from the above associations that the *sms.w h3y.t* was occasionally

¹¹¹¹ N. Kanawati and M. Abder-Raziq, *The Unis Cemetery at Saqqara: Volume II. The Tombs of Inyefert and Ihy (reused by Idut)* (Oxford, 2003), pl. 54.

¹¹¹² Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 22-23, 60-61; Strudwick, *Administration of Egypt*, 188-198; Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 27-33; Martin-Pardey, “Richten im Alten Reich,” 165-166; Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 120.

part of the vizier's entourage and operated within the same sphere, perhaps in the confines of the palace. They may even have reported to the vizier regarding their duties at the entrance-portico (*h3y.t*) in the palace. It is not unexpected that the *sms.w h3y.t* came into contact with the vizier, the king's deputy, head of the palace and ultimate judicial authority, at some point.

Isi of Edfu: from *sms.w h3y.t* to vizier

Isi [08] has quite an unusual titulary and career compared to the others (see 4.4.1 for his autobiography). He is the only *sms.w h3y.t* who became vizier; his career progressed as follows, *sms.w h3y.t* (Djedkare) → *hk3 hw.t* (Unis) → *s3b ʿd-mr, mḏḥ sš(.w) nsw.t* (Teti) → *hr.y-tp ʿ3 n(.y) sp3.t* (Teti) → vizier (Teti). He was 'ruler of the estate' a rather obscure title perhaps showing involvement in managing the king's property. He then received one of the highest scribal appointments, 'overseer of the king's documents' as well as *s3b ʿd-mr* 'land administrator,' often held by provincial officials. The peak of his career was as 'nomarch' and 'vizier.' This represents the exceptional career and is not applicable to the "average" *sms.w h3y.t*. *Isi* is very unusual in that regard; he did not hold the appointment of *s3b r3-Nhn* perhaps indicating that this was simply only one of the career directions open to the *sms.w h3y.t* but not mandatory. He was buried in Edfu, not Memphis, and held a number of provincial titles which are not evident in the titularies of the other *sms.w h3y.t*. However, that a *sms.w h3y.t* could rise to the vizierate during the 6th dynasty may reflect that this position was advantageous and influential enough to launch a successful career.

4. 6. 2. 2. The *sms.w h3yt* in the justice system

There are three main indications that *sms.w h3yt* were involved in hearing petitions or resolving disputes, and other judicial activities (see also Section 3.7).

First, the number of auxiliary titles containing the terms *wḏʿ-mdw* and *hw.t-wr.t*. These include *hr.y sšt3 n(.y) wḏʿ-mdw / hw.t-wr.t* 'privy to the restricted judgements / of the great house' and *sm3ʿ wḏʿ-mdw (n(.y) hw.t-wr.t)* 'regulator of the judgements (of the great house).' For the most part (with one exception [32]) these titles are held by those *sms.w h3y.t* who were also *s3b r3-Nhn*.¹¹¹³ When they were acquired – before or after the latter appointment – is undetermined as these titles are often part of the same titularies. These titles reflect the involvement of these individuals in the restricted/private proceedings of

¹¹¹³ *Hnw* [32] has the title *sm3ʿ wḏʿ-mdw n(.y) hw.t-wr.t* and does not hold the title, *s3b r3-Nhn*.

the ‘great house.’ It was to arbitrate, decide on rulings and resolve matters put before this governing assembly.

Second, the 5th dynasty inscription of Werkhoo (*Wr-hww*) in his tomb at Giza, discussed in-depth in Section 3.7.¹¹¹⁴ Werkhoo was, among other things, *s3b shd sš(.w) n(.y) hw.ty-wr.(y)t im.y-wr.t n.t hnw sab* inspector of scribes of the great house on the right side of the Residence,¹¹¹⁵ *s3b shd sš(.w) n(.y) wp.(w)* ‘sab inspector of reports,’¹¹¹⁶ and *hrp sš(.w) ir.yw spr.w wd^c-mdw m h3y.t* director of scribes of the petitions,¹¹¹⁷ (he) who arbitrates in the (palace-)porch.¹¹¹⁸ Most of Werkhoo’s titles related to the administration of documents (in the *hw.t-wr.t*) and petitions and organising of reports in the Residence/palace. He was in charge of administrating and probably hearing petitions and appeals, which may be directly linked to his comment on the activities of the *h3y.t*-porch. As was mentioned in Section 3.7, the entrance of the palace interior, which housed the kings’ private apartments, was a significant liminal space, where like other liminal spaces, petitions, reports, and judgements were likely resolved. This directly connects the *h3y.t* to such activities. It also supports the above notion that the auxiliary titles describing the action of *wd^c-mdw* ‘arbitrating’ may also be associated with the role of the *sms.w h3y.t* in the Residence/palace, and not solely to the title *s3b r3-Nhn*. It also gives more credence to the fact that these two appointments were interconnected, and represent two stages of a career trajectory. Even though this statement is not directly linked to the *sms.w h3y.t* it may still provide valuable information about their role during the Old Kingdom.¹¹¹⁹

¹¹¹⁴ Urk. I 47.6-48.2; Lepsius II 43d, Hassan, *Giza V*, 241, fig. 101. Titulary (excluding religious titles) Urk. I 46-48: *rh nsw.t, sš c-n-nsw.t pr-c3, s3b im.y-r3 sš(.w), s3b shd sš(.w) n(.y) hw.ty-wr.(y)t im.y-wr.t n.t hnw, hrp sš(.w) ir.yw spr.w, wd^c-mdw m h3y.t, phr mh m šwi.t, s3b shd sš(.w) n(.y) wp.(w)t, shd sš(.w) md3.t, hr.y-wdb, hrp sš(.w) ir.yw spr.w m d3d3.t-wr.t, im.y-r3 m im.y-wr.t c3 hr mr, im.y-r3 st d3t, im.y-r3 mšc nfr.w, s3b shd sš(.w) [... sdm] mdw [m sšt3 nb]*. ‘King’s acquaintance, scribe of the king’s documents of the palace, sab overseer of scribes, sab inspector of scribes of the great house on the right side of the Residence, director of scribes/writings of petitioners, (he) who arbitrates in the (palace-)porch, turner of the shadow cubit, sab inspector of reports, inspector of scribes of the documents/archive, chief redistribution officer, director of scribes/writings of the petitioners in the great council, overseer of the great phyle of priests upon the pyramid, overseer of the place of provisions, overseer of young recruits/workers, sab inspector of scribes [... he who hears every] word [in private].’ He also has the following priestly titles: *hm-ntr St-ib-Rc.w* ‘priest in Setibre (sun temple of Neferirkare,’ *hm-ntr Nfr-ir-k3.w-Rc.w* ‘priest of Neferirkare,’ *hm-ntr Mn-k3.w-Rc.w* ‘priest of Menkaure,’ *hm-ntr M3c.t* ‘priest of Maat,’ and *hm-ntr Wsir* ‘priest of Osiris.’

¹¹¹⁵ Jones, *Index*, II 2985.

¹¹¹⁶ Jones, *Index*, II 2982.

¹¹¹⁷ Jones, *Index*, II 2697; probably an abbreviation of *hrp sš(.w) ir.yw spr.w m d3d3.t-wr.t*, also held by Werkhoo.

¹¹¹⁸ Jones, *Index*, I 1510.

¹¹¹⁹ Werkhoo also held two titles reflecting a role in the in the management of supplies for the palace, *hr.y-wdb* ‘chief of distribution’ and *im.y-r3 st d3t* ‘overseer of the place of provisions.’ Cf. *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders were also frequently linked to such activities, see Sections 4.2.2.3 and 4.6.2.

Third, the “Bedouin” scene is a relief (fig. 4.3) from the causeway of Sahure at Abusir and depicts six *sms.w w h3y.t* present at one event, though their task in this scene is difficult to interpret.¹¹²⁰ This is largely because it is a scene with very few captions. They are depicted bent over resting their hands on their knees, which was likely a position of veneration aimed at the missing figure of the king located somewhere to the right of this scene. The six *s3b sms.w w h3y.t* are connected with the *hw.wt-wr.t* ‘great houses’ the governing body where all manner of state affairs were decided. In this instance, the ‘great house(s)’ was involved in some sort of dispute relating to Sahure’s pyramidion, perhaps, as Awady suggested, because of an attack against a royal expedition by Eastern Desert tribes. It may indeed be a fragmentary representation of a judicial proceeding against this group of Bedouin. Their depiction as emaciated may simply be figurative, implying their weakness and defeat by the king’s troops. This implies that the *sms.w w h3y.t* were involved in these proceedings in some fashion – doubtless a significant event if six were involved – perhaps as advisors to the king or *ad hoc* ‘judges.’ The nature of their involvement is unclear but it appears they do seem to be participants in some way. In light of some of the other pieces of evidence, this relief may also support the idea that the *sms.w h3y.t* could be called upon to act as arbitrators and mediators (by the king in this instance).

Another aspect which may reflect their roles as *ad hoc* judges is the title prefix *s3b* held by many *sms.w h3y.t* (see Section 4.2.1.1). However, there is no evidence that *sms.w h3y.t* with this prefix had more judicial duties than those that did not have this prefix. There are indeed several *sms.w w h3y.t* without the prefix who show *no* evidence of being involved in judicial affairs¹¹²¹ and there are also various *s3b sms.w w h3y.t* who *do* show evidence of acting as a judge.¹¹²² Yet, there are a number of *s3b sms.w w h3y.t* who shows *no* evidence of participating in judicial tasks despite having this prefix. For example, most of the other titles of *K3-nb* [45] were related to the *pr-hr.y-wdb*, which is not judicial in nature or focus. Various *sms.w h3y.t* (without the prefix) show that they held a judicial role.¹¹²³ For example, some individuals, [07], [12] and [32] for instance, held the auxiliary title *sm3c wd3c-mdw* and the title *s3b r3-Nhn* for the two former, but included no *s3b* for *sms.w h3y.t*. The presence or absence of the *s3b* prefix is too inconsistent to be linked to an official’s

¹¹²⁰ [04], [18], [26], [37], [44], [48].

¹¹²¹ [11], [16], [19], [22], [25], [28], [31], [33], [34], [36], [39], [43], and [47].

¹¹²² [02], [03], [04]+[18]+[26]+[37]+[44]+[48], [06], [10], [13], [17], [20], [21], [23], [24], [27], [30], and [38].

¹¹²³ [07], [08], [12], [32], [35], and [42].

judicial role. Therefore, it is unlikely to reflect involvement of the judicial duties for the office of *sms.w h3y.t*. If, generally speaking, the *sms.w h3y.t* were involved in judicial activities, why did some have it and others not?¹¹²⁴

4. 6. 3. The *sms.w h3y.t*, and the king and the court

The king was the ultimate authority in ancient Egypt, the central figure in all aspects of life, social, economic, political, judicial, or religious. An official's standing was measured by his, sometimes physical, proximity to the king. During the Old Kingdom, there is limited evidence of the interaction of the *sms.w h3y.t* with the king, although some aspects may be extrapolated.

Direct contact and interaction with the king, beyond the highest-ranking offices (such as the vizier) is often difficult to establish from the evidence. Many *sms.w h3y.t* in the Old Kingdom hold several titles of rank, which can reveal their status and standing within society, and within the king's sphere. Those that recurred most frequently are *rh nsw.t* 'king's acquaintance' held by 30% of title-holders,¹¹²⁵ and *hr.y-sšt* 'privy to the private matters' and variants held by 26% of title-holders.¹¹²⁶ Others are *ir.y-p^c.t* [08], *h3.ty-c* [08], *smr w^c.ty* [08], [17], [35], *sb3 nsw.t* [24] and *hr.y-tp nsw.t* [08]. These titles place them within the king's immediate sphere and among the palace courtiers. In addition, many *sms.w h3y.t* became *s3b r3-Nhn*, an influential position close to the king (exemplified by Weni and Qar IA), which automatically increases their standing. Whether they would have had contact with the king prior to this promotion is unknown, but not outside the realm of possibility. Their promotion to this title may reflect a certain amount of influence and rank inherent in the appointment of *sms.w h3y.t*. Their position in the palace – physically and socially – should, therefore, not be underestimated.

Some of the autobiographical statements may suggest interaction with the king at some point during their life. While ideal autobiographies are formulaic and standardised, they

¹¹²⁴ The autobiography of *Isi* [08] also describes his judicial activity on behalf of the Residence and the king in the provinces. *Isi* states, *iw wp.n(=i) sn.wy htp=sn... rs=k hr k3.t nb.t n.t nsw.t...hs.wt hm=f hr.y=s iri.n(=i) wp.t n hnw*. 'I separated two (parties) so that they were satisfied... I was vigilant upon every work of the king, ... so that his majesty praised me for having done the arbitrating for the Residence.' (l. 2, 9-10) However, this probably reflects his duty as nomarch (and possibly vizier), and not his role as *sms.w h3y.t*.

¹¹²⁵ 15/50: [03], [10], [19], [21], [23], [24], [27], [30], [31], [32], [38], [39], [45], [46], and [47]. Or 50% out of the thirty individuals with a longer titulary.

¹¹²⁶ 13/50 (26%): [02], [03], [06], [07], [17], [20], [21], [23], [30], [35], [39], [42], [47]. Or 43.3% when considering only the thirty individuals with a longer titulary.

may still offer some glimpse into the personal life of the official. *ḥ.t-ḥtp-ḥr* [03] states, “I made this tomb because I was honoured by the king, who brought me a sarcophagus.”¹¹²⁷ This implies royal favour, which resulted in the construction of a tomb. In his appeal to the living, *ḥ.t-mḥ.w* [02] claims he is ‘one whom the king loves’ and states ‘everything effective and noble has been done for (me).’¹¹²⁸ This suggests that he was in the king’s good graces.¹¹²⁹ *Isi* [08] was a nomarch based in Edfu as well as vizier; making him the highest-ranking individual to hold the title *sms.w ḥȝy.t*. He states in his tomb, ‘I was excellent and noble in the heart of his majesty, more than any of his officials.’¹¹³⁰ Although less active in the king’s court due to his post in Edfu, he would, nevertheless, have had a close relationship with the king; as vizier and as a nomarch. As sons of the vizier Qar IA, *Sndm-ib* [35] and *Inti* [06] are likely to have had some sort of relationship with the king. Due to their father’s position, they had access to the highest levels of society, which would have greatly elevated their own status and influence.¹¹³¹ They had the advantage of an influential family making it easier to gain royal favour and success. This influence and authority would also have extended to *Inti*’s sons, *Sndm-ib* (ii) [36] and *ḥnh-m-tnnt* [11]. As sons and grandsons of a vizier these *sms.ww ḥȝy.t* belonged to the highest and most exclusive social group at court. The importance of family connections should not be underestimated. *Inti* and *Sndm-ib* followed in their father’s footsteps as *sȝb rȝ-Nḥn* and held several titles of rank (*rḥ nsw.t*, *ḥr.y-sštȝ*, *smr wꜥ.ty*).

Who had royal favour is not easily discerned from the available evidence and tends not to be preserved in the archaeological and historical record. Since some *sms.ww ḥȝy.t* reached higher rank than others (reflected by their monuments and additional titles) it suggests that royal favour was a key factor in their careers (would also explain why some had tombs and others did not). The physical presence of the *sms.ww ḥȝy.t* in the palace would be ideal to make connections, gain favour, and for some of them to ingratiate themselves with the king or vizier (see also Section 3.7).

¹¹²⁷ Right side of false door, l. 4: *ir.n(=i) is pw m imḥ rḥ nsw.t ini.n(=i) n ḥrs*: G. Maspero, *Les Mastabas de l’Ancien Empire* (Hildesheim, 1976), 342 (inscription B).

¹¹²⁸ Tomb façade, right side, appeal to the living, l. 4: *iw(=i) r [ḥȝ=sn m ḏȝȝ.t] tf šps ir ir(.w) n(.y) ḥt nb.t ḥ šps*: V. Chauvet, “Entrance-porticoes and Portico-chapels: The Creation of an Outside Ritual Stage in Private Tombs of the Old Kingdom,” in M. Bárta, F. Coppens and J. Krejčí (eds) *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010 / I* (Prague, 2011), 292.

¹¹²⁹ It should be noted that in addition to *sms.w ḥȝy.t*, both men were also ‘*sab* spokesman of Nekhen’ making it difficult to attribute these privileges to a particular office.

¹¹³⁰ l.8: ... *ikr šps ḥr.y-ib n ḥm=f r sr=f nb*...: Edel, “Inschriften des Alten Reiches,” 13.

¹¹³¹ Despite the fact that their father was a vizier, *Sndm-ib* [35] and *Inti* [06] would have been relatively mid-ranking for their early careers since their father was only promoted from *sȝb rȝ-Nḥn* to vizier late in his life.

4. 6. 4. The *sms.w h3y.t* in the royal funerary cult

Seventeen *sms.w h3y.t* held religious titles in the pyramid temples of the Old Kingdom.¹¹³² Since these were not permanent positions, it was not their primary function and simply supplemented their income. It does reflect a certain amount of influence as they managed to acquire such positions. It also indicates that the *sms.w h3y.t* were involved in all three key spheres of society: palace, central administration, and the temple.

A recurring variant of the title *sms.w h3y.t* in the Old Kingdom is *sms.w h3y.t* + pyramid-temple,¹¹³³ held by only 10% of title-holders.¹¹³⁴

1. [42]. + (m) *Nfr-swt-Dd-k3.w-Rc.w*.
2. [47]. + *n(.y) wr Hcy=f-Rc.w*.
3. [43]. *sms.w h3y.t* + *3h.ty-Hwi=f-wi*.¹¹³⁵
4. [25]. + (m) *Ntr.y-Mn-k3.w-Rc.w*
5. [16]. + Pyramid temple of Raneferef.

The occurrence of non-priestly offices in temples is not unusual. Numerous other types of titles are attested in the Abusir archives such as various levels of scribes, treasury officials, palace officials (hair-dressers, companions, royal chamberlains etc.) and other members of the central administration.¹¹³⁶ In addition, the archives frequently list the profession or office of these men but not their name, so while it is known that cooks, potters, gardeners, and physicians etc. received a share of the temple provisions, their place within the organisation of the temple is not determined.¹¹³⁷ They may have acted as assisting staff and were not necessarily associated with the temple phyles.¹¹³⁸ Due to the fragmentary state of the archive, their position and function within the funerary cult cannot be specified.¹¹³⁹ Similar concerns can be raised with the position of the *sms.w h3y.t* within the royal funerary cults. Were these officials part of the phyle system or did they have separate

¹¹³² 17/50 (34%): [06], [15], [17], [19], [21], [23], [27], [28], [30], [31], [32], [35], [39], [42], [42], [47], [49]. Seven *sms.w h3y.t* only hold a priestly or supervisory roles in a royal funerary temple: [15], [19], [28], [31], [39], [43], and [49], while ten *sms.w h3y.t* hold a priestly and/or supervisory role in addition to several regular offices in the palace and/or the central administration: [06], [17], [21], [23], [27], [30], [32], [35], [42], and [47].

¹¹³³ Jones, *Index*, II 3314.

¹¹³⁴ 5/50 (10%): [16], [25], [42], [43], [47].

¹¹³⁵ Jones, *Index*, II 3316.

¹¹³⁶ Vymazalová, "Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes," 187, 192.

¹¹³⁷ Vymazalová, "Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes," 193.

¹¹³⁸ Vymazalová, "Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes," 193.

¹¹³⁹ Vymazalová, "Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes," 192.

duties and tasks within the temple separately. How did they fit into the temple structure and hierarchy? Was it a permanent or, like most temple offices, a temporary role?

The likeliest scenario is that the *sms.w h3y.t* in the mortuary cult was an honorary or perhaps ritual position.¹¹⁴⁰ These men may never actually have acted within this role in the same way the palace *sms.w h3y.t* acted within the confines of the palace. The *sms.w h3y.t* in the temples may have had some ritualistic aspects perhaps performing rites or other symbolic actions at specific times or on special occasions. It is undetermined whether their role in the temple can be seen as an extension of their core activities from the Residence to the “palace” of the deceased king.¹¹⁴¹ This temple role is likely another manifestation of the core *sms.w h3y.t* office — a position not given regularly, but as a special favour. It may explain why only four officials had this position in the temple. The ancient Egyptian administration was not always systematic and structured, the many variants and rare examples of titles in general attest to that.

Hnw [32] and *Špss-Pth* [42] hold both titles, *sms.w h3y.t* (in the palace) and *sms.w h3y.t* in the mortuary temples of Khafre and Djedkare respectively. They probably held the title *sms.w h3y.t* first, before also acquiring this same title within a royal funerary cult. Due to the lack of evidence it is unknown if it was possible to obtain the position *sms.w h3y.t* within a temple if that official was not already *sms.w h3y.t* in the palace. On the other hand, [16], *Nfr-htp* [25] and *K3y* [43] only hold the position *sms.w h3y.t* in a temple, those of Raneferef,¹¹⁴² Menkaure, and Khufu respectively. The evidence about the latter three officials is more limited and incomplete — it is doubtful that their entire titulary survived — so perhaps they also had the “original” *sms.w h3y.t* title. In the case of [16], who is only known from an account list in the temple archive of Raneferef, and not his own monument, this is highly likely. Alternatively, since attachment to the temple is not specified in the title-phrase of [16], he could usually have worked in the palace but been given special tasks or instructions to carry out at the temple temporarily. It is also possible that these officials chose not record both *sms.w h3y.t* and *sms.w h3y.t* + a pyramid-temple on their

¹¹⁴⁰ Cf. the title *hnt.y-š* (see Section 4.2.2.2). The *hnt.y-š* could be attached to the palace or the royal mortuary cult, though in case of the latter they acted more as priests performing rituals in honour of the dead king, rather than acting as guards/bodyguards and/or personal attendants to the living king in the palace.

¹¹⁴¹ However, since a royal funerary temple is thought to mimic the layout of the palace to a large extent, it perhaps unsurprising that certain palatial titles are also found in a mortuary temple context with the altered function of attending to the needs of the king in the afterlife.

¹¹⁴² It is not specified in his title phrase that he was attached to the funerary temple of Raneferef, though it is implied by his presence in the temple’s accounts.

monuments, choosing the latter over the former. This does give credence to the suggestion that it was a special honour to be a *sms.w h3y.t* in the royal funerary cult. *K3-dw3* [47] holds various positions in the priesthood linked to one temple, that of Khafre, as is his title of *sms.w h3y.t*. This is probably not a coincidence. It may also have been intended to increase the prestige or significance of his appointment in the Residence/palace. This role in the temple, whether actual or honorary, did guarantee an income; a share from temple provisions.¹¹⁴³ Being a member of a phyle, or even holding a position in the funerary cult, brought profit to an official even if his inclusion may only have been formulaic and others did their work.

4. 6. 4. 1. The *sms.w h3y.t* in the temple archive of Raneferef

The temple archive of Raneferef (dated to the reign of Djedkare) records a list of officials within a phyle (*st* phyle) and the relevant rations of several types of bread, beer, and vegetables they received. The titles within this group are listed (in the order they appear in the archive) in the Table 4.3 below.

Name	Title	Amount of provisions
1. <i>Ipi</i>	<i>smr</i>	20
2. <i>M3^c-hrw- R^c.w</i>	<i>im.y-r3</i>	20
3. <i>cnh-m^c-R^c.w</i>	<i>ir(.w)-šn(.y)</i>	24
4. <i>Htp</i>	<i>hr.y-tp nsw.t</i>	10
5. <i>[///]p</i> [16]	<i>sms.w h3y.t</i>	10 (text damaged)
6. <i>Isi</i>	<i>h3t.y^c</i>	60
7. <i>K3-ir-is</i>	?	3 (text damaged)

Table 4.3. Table listing the name, title, and amount of provisions received by a phyle in the temple from the archive of Raneferef (Abusir).

¹¹⁴³ Vymazalová, "Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes," 185; Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives*, 565-609; Posener-Kriéger et.al., *Abusir X*, 365, 370-374.

The leader of this phyle is undetermined. The title of *im.y-rʒ* ‘overseer’¹¹⁴⁴ is rarely independently attested, and this example is probably an abbreviation of a longer title. It is possible *Mʒc-hrw-Rc.w* was an ‘overseer of the phyle’ or a group of officials within the phyle (a phyle-division). There are various levels of ‘overseers’ attested, from overseer of the entire temple to overseer of a group of phyle-members within the temple. According to Vymazalová, however, this is a title infrequently attested in the Abusir papyri, making it less likely. It is possible that higher-ranking officials, such as the *hʒty-c* or *hr.y-tp nsw.t* acted as phyle leaders instead of an inspector or assistant supervisor of priests.¹¹⁴⁵ In fact, the leader of the phyle may not even be mentioned in this list.

The officials listed were probably not the only members of phyle; it seems that the list contained only those individuals that held a title, i.e. the more important members of the phyle.¹¹⁴⁶ This list of officials follows no particular order. They are not listed according to rank or income. It is possible they are listed in the order the officials collected their earnings.¹¹⁴⁷ The account list is informative about the income, and consequently rank, of each official. The *hʒty-c* ‘count’ earned a total of 60 of the various foodstuffs which is the highest amount among these officials. His high earnings is a reflection of the high-rank of this position. The *ir(.w)-šn.yw* ‘hairdresser,’ *smr* ‘companion,’ and *im.y-rʒ* ‘overseer’ follow the ‘count’ with 24 and 20 in total of the various provisions. The *sms.w hʒy.t* and *hr.y-tp nsw.t* ‘royal chamberlain’ follow with a total of 10 of the various foods. Some of the columns are damaged so this may not be a complete reconstruction.

These positions - companion, hairdresser, foremost of the king - are all positions physically close to the king. While they may not have ranked highly in terms of the state administration, they had a high social status due to their close proximity to the king. In life, they would have performed personal duties for the king and as a result were probably considered highly trusted. The *ir(.w)-šn.y* ‘hair-dresser, hair-doer’ probably carried out tasks related to the hair (or wigs?) and general presentation of the king.¹¹⁴⁸ The *hr.y-tp nsw.t* ‘royal chamberlain, king’s liegeman’ or lit. ‘he who is under the head of the king’ is

¹¹⁴⁴ Jones, *Index*, I, 255.

¹¹⁴⁵ Vymazalová, “Administration of Royal Funerary Complexes,” 187.

¹¹⁴⁶ Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives*, 365 fn 183.

¹¹⁴⁷ This is highly plausible. As Eyre determined, the focus of the scribes was often on the immediacy of purpose and not for composition with the intent to archive the document. Thus, the scribe making these accounts may simply have noted down the order in which the individuals approached him for their provisions, and was not concerned with laying out the text in a particular format for easy reference or taking into account social rank since they would not be archived long-term: Eyre, *Use of Documents*, 53-54.

¹¹⁴⁸ Jones, *Index*, I 1131; Wb. I 113 [2] “Haarordner”; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 894; FCD 268.

thought to be a man close to the king.¹¹⁴⁹ Gunn states that this individual is ‘an officer who attended the king in his bedroom,’¹¹⁵⁰ which implies a very trusted personal attendant. The title *smr* ‘companion, courtier’ as well as *h3.ty-c* ‘count’ are also ranking titles close to the king’s presence in court.¹¹⁵¹ That the *sms.w h3y.t* is among these inner palace officials may imply he was also close to the king, perhaps also entrusted with various issues and duties of a personal nature. [16] presumably worked with these men in the funerary temple, which may be a reflection of the sort of individuals he worked with in the palace as well. This list highlights that the funerary cult sought to imitate the king’s palace in life, perhaps with the same officials surrounding him in death.¹¹⁵² The function and role of the *sms.w h3y.t* in the royal funerary cult was likely a symbolic, ritualistic or an abstract imitation of the usual office in the palace. Their attestation in this mortuary context - and in one instance among trusted officials of the (deceased) king - implies this official was among those trusted in the palace and perhaps even in proximity to the king himself. This would explain why they are also found in the king’s presence after death.

4. 7. Summary

There are fifty *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders in the Old Kingdom corpus, and only one for the First Intermediate. They are first attested on the block-reliefs in the causeway of Sahure during the early 5th dynasty. The Early Dynastic stela [01] may indicate that this title had its origins prior to this period, but the reading is not certain. The title is attested up to the late 6th dynasty before the collapse of the stable administration and king’s authority at the end of this dynasty. The absence of this office during the First Intermediate Period may be thus explained.

The titularies of the *sms.w h3y.t* provide a number of insights into their role during the Old Kingdom. The appointment *s3b r3-Nhn* recurs most often in their titularies and was held by 32% of the *sms.w h3y.t*. The regularity with which this title appears in connection with the *sms.w h3y.t* indicates that they were closely associated. In fact, it may represent the career path, ‘elder of the porch’ → ‘*sab* spokesman of Nekhen.’ The latter title was the personal representative of the king in the central administration and the Residence/palace, often involved in judicial affairs, and title-holders display a close connection to the king.

¹¹⁴⁹ Jones, *Index*, II 2874.

¹¹⁵⁰ B. Gunn, “Notes on Egyptian Lexicography,” *JEA* 27 (1941), 145. (144-148).

¹¹⁵¹ Jones, *Index*, II 3263, I, 1858 respectively.

¹¹⁵² It is open to debate whether a similar closeness to the living king be assumed.

The *sms.w h3y.t* must have been an influential presence in the Residence/palace and the court to be regularly promoted to this appointment.

The titularies of the *sms.w h3y.t* indicate that some of them also played a role in the apparatus of the state, with 30% bearing various regular titles in the central administration. 80% of titles held by these *sms.w h3y.t* are related to the economic branches of the Residence/palace, specifically the granaries and the ‘department of the chief of (re)distribution.’ Otherwise, the specific titles are varied and low-mid level appointments within the state hierarchy. In addition, title-holders also showed a close affiliation with the vizier, with several *sms.w h3y.t* being depicted or mentioned in their tombs. The title, *s3b r3-Nhn* is sometimes affiliated with the *hw.t-wr.t*, which was run by the vizier suggesting that the some *sms.w h3y.t*, *s3b r3-Nhn*, and vizier operated in the same sphere.

The auxiliary titles present in the titularies of title-holders including *hr.y-s3t3 wd^c-mdw* ‘privy to the restricted judicial matters’ and *sm3^c mdw n(.y) hw.t-wr.t* ‘regulator of judgements of the great house’ show that the *sms.w h3y.t* could act in a judicial capacity in confidential matters related to the state. While majority of these titles appear in the titularies of individuals who held both the title, *sms.w h3y.t* and ‘*sab* spokesman of Nekhen,’ it is a further indication that the duties of these appointments are closely intertwined. The judicial role of the *sms.w h3y.t* is also supported by the reference to judgements taking place in the *h3y.t* from the autobiography of Werkhui as well as the possibly judicial nature of the Bedouin scene.

Title-holders were members of the king’s court, which was expressed by a number of ‘ranking’ titles. The most frequently attested rank was ‘king’s acquaintance’ observed in 30% of titularies. The prefix *s3b* is also observed preceding the title-phrase, *sms.w h3y.t*, in 56% of titularies. While its exact meaning remains unclear, it was probably an honorific designation of esteem and regard.

The *sms.w h3y.t* during the Old Kingdom were very much associated with the Residence and Memphis area, which is where they were all (except [08]) were buried. In light of the absence of a strong royal authority during the First Intermediate Period, it follows that such a title would be less visible (or at all) in the sources. The one attestation [52], indicates that the office did not disappear entirely at this time. How the role of this official was affected

by this tumultuous time is unclear given the absence of sources. The title did reappear at the end of the 11th dynasty and the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.

Chapter Five:

The *sms.w h3y.t* in the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period

Chapter Five explores the office *sms.w h3y.t* during the Middle Kingdom (late 11th to 13th dynasty) and Second Intermediate Period (16th and 17th dynasties). There are numerous title-holders during this period, predominantly dating to the 13th dynasty.¹¹⁵³ Unlike the longer titularies of the Old Kingdom, nearly all title-holders held only this one position. As a result, few details can be extracted about their role nor can the occupational sector they were associated with be determined. Several autobiographical statements, however, as well as pBoulaq 18 B, offer insight into their role and rank in the palace, information that the data from the Old Kingdom does not provide. In addition, there are a number of other sources that offer insight into the role and social position of these title-holders, including pBrooklyn 35.1446, the Karnak ‘judicial’ stela (JE 52453), and the decree of Intef VI (JE 30770). For the late Middle Kingdom, there is more prosopographical data available about the family and social groups associated with bearers of *sms.w h3y.t*. It provides insight into their socio-economic background and with whom they associated in their lifetime. It is crucial that the evidence is considered in light of the political and socio-economic changes of the time. The late Middle Kingdom was a time when royal authority gradually decreased, and tensions in the royal court increased, before the government collapsed and was greatly reduced. The historical and political events –

¹¹⁵³ The main issue in Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period chronology is classifying the 13th dynasty to the former or the latter. Quirke and Grajetzki consider the 13th dynasty as part of the late Middle Kingdom, on the basis that the royal family line was not broken, but continued from the end of the 12th to the beginning of the 13th dynasty. The two sons of Amenemhat IV, penultimate king of the 12th dynasty (counting Queen Nofrusobek), were the first two kings of the 13th dynasty. The vast majority of Egypt was still under the control of one Egyptian ruler at this time, and the Residence remained in the north at *Itjtawy*. In addition, the administrative structures remained more or less the same during the 12th and 13th dynasties suggesting that the latter belonged to the Middle Kingdom: Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 3; Grajetzki “Setting a State Anew,” 217, 221. Ryholt, on the other hand, argues that it should be included as the early part of the Second Intermediate Period. He regards the Second Intermediate as beginning from the end of the 12th dynasty to the beginning of the 18th dynasty. Ryholt proposes that it was the rise of the Canaanite foreign power in the Delta at the end of the 12th dynasty that caused the distinction between the 12th and 13th dynasties in the Turin king-lists rather than a change in the royal family. He argues intermediate periods are characterised by the division of Egypt between two or more rulers, which Egypt certainly was even during the early 13th dynasty: K.S.B. Ryholt, *The political situation in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, c. 1800-1550* (Copenhagen, 1997), 75, 184, 311-312. Shirley, too, argues that despite the cultural continuity between the 12th and 13th dynasties, the changes in political power, diminished resources, shorter reigns, and the rise of foreign powers, signify that the 13th dynasty should be regarded as part of the Second Intermediate Period: J.J. Shirley, “Crisis and Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses,” in J.C. Moreno-Garcia (ed) *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden, 2013), 521. Both arguments are valid, but in this thesis, the 13th dynasty will be considered as part of the (late) Middle Kingdom.

especially of the 13th dynasty – had a major impact on the social position and role of *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders at this time.

5. 1. The Prosopographical data

The Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period corpus consists of one-hundred-and-sixteen (116) *sms.w h3y.t*, catalogue numbers [53] to [168]. The majority of individuals are attested on the fifty-one private funerary stelae from Upper Egypt.¹¹⁵⁴ Thirty-eight have a known provenance:¹¹⁵⁵ twenty-six were found at Abydos (primarily in the northern cemetery),¹¹⁵⁶ three were found in Thebes,¹¹⁵⁷ one was given both a Abydene/Theban provenance,¹¹⁵⁸ five are from Edfu,¹¹⁵⁹ and three from Elephantine.¹¹⁶⁰ The evidence indicates that title-holders lived primarily during the 13th dynasty. Five stelae are dated to the 12th dynasty,¹¹⁶¹ fourteen are dated somewhere between the late 12th dynasty and 13th dynasty,¹¹⁶² and twenty-seven stelae can be dated to the 13th dynasty.¹¹⁶³ Two stelae could only be dated to belonging somewhere between the 13th and 17th dynasties,¹¹⁶⁴ and three were similarly dated to the 12th / 13th dynasty.¹¹⁶⁵ In addition to these stelae, the title is attested in a rock-inscription dated to the late 11th dynasty in the Wadi Hammamat.¹¹⁶⁶

Three statues survive of *sms.w h3y.t*, [86], [164], [100], the first two found in Nubia (Kerma?) and Thebes respectively, while the provenance of the latter is unknown. The statue [164] is dated to the late 12th or early 13th dynasty and Franke dates the statue [100]

¹¹⁵⁴ [53]+[104]+[105], [54], [57], [58]+[101]+[112]+[118]+[163], [61], [62], [63], [65]+[145]+[146], [66]+[107], [70], [80]+[113] (= three stelae), [88], [90], [92], [93], [95], [97]+[135], [98], [99], [100], [103], [108], [114], [115]+[94] (= four stelae), [117], [120], [122], [123], [125], [126], [127], [134], [136], [137], [138], [140]+[144], [142]+[143], [147], [148], [150], [153], [154], [156], [157], [167], [168].

¹¹⁵⁵ No provenance was recorded for the remaining thirteen: [57], [58]+[101]+[112]+[118]+[163], [70], [88], [90], [97]+[135], [108], [114], [134], [136], [140]+[144], [154], [168].

¹¹⁵⁶ [54], [62], [65]+[145]+[146], [66]+[107], [79], [80]+[113] (= three stelae), [92], [93], [103], [122], [123], [125], [126], [127], [137], [138], [142]+[143], [147], [148], [150], [153], [156], [157], [167].

¹¹⁵⁷ [53]+[104]+[105], [98], [99].

¹¹⁵⁸ [120]

¹¹⁵⁹ [94]+[115] (= four stelae), [117].

¹¹⁶⁰ [61], [63], [95].

¹¹⁶¹ [62], [70], [103], [137], [150].

¹¹⁶² [53]+[104]+[105], [54], [93], [97]+[135], [98], [99], [117], [122], [134], [136], [142]+[143], [153], [167], [168].

¹¹⁶³ [57], [58], [65]+[145]+[146], [66]+[107], [79], [80]+[113] (= three stelae), [88], [90], [92], [95], [108], [114], [115]+[94] (= four stelae), [120], [123], [125], [127], [138], [140]+[144], [147], [156], [157].

¹¹⁶⁴ [63], [148].

¹¹⁶⁵ [61], [126], [154].

¹¹⁶⁶ [159].

between the 13th to 17th dynasties. No photograph was available of [86] making dating it impossible. Various funerary objects were retrieved from the tomb of *Imn.w.w-m-h3t* [68] at Deir el-Medina that likely dates to the Second Intermediate Period. A doorjamb in the late 6th dynasty tomb of Pepy-nakht includes the Middle Kingdom figure of [121]. Finally, the tomb of [82] is undecorated and uninscribed except for the tomb's pillars. The tomb probably dates to the 13th dynasty. The title *sms.w h3y.t* is also attested on thirty-two scarab-seals in Martin's corpus of private-name seals of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period.¹¹⁶⁷ The provenance of twenty-nine of them is unknown, while the remaining three [72], [78], [155] were found in Khartoum, Lisht, and Thebes, respectively. Based on Martin's dating criteria, twenty-five date to the 13th dynasty, four date from end of the 12th dynasty to the early 13th dynasty, one to the 12th dynasty, another to the 16th or 17th dynasty, and another one was too fragmentary and damaged to date. Finally, a number of *sms.ww h3y.t* are attested in several administrative texts, including two 13th dynasty administrative papyri, Papyrus Boulaq 18¹¹⁶⁸ and Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 [64], as well as the 16th dynasty Karnak 'judicial' stela [111] found in the Amun temple and the 17th dynasty decree of Intef VI [74] in the temple of Min at Coptos.

The information gleaned from the geographical distribution of the evidence is only useful to a certain extent. The data reflects an Upper Egyptian bias, which is not unusual for the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. None of the funerary stelae or statues comes from Lower Egypt, even though this is where the central administration in the Residence was located at this time. The Residence at *Itjtawy (It-t3.wy)* is yet to be located, meaning that a large part of the administration and society for this period remains blank. The evidence is also primarily from a mortuary context, which may not reflect the reality of the administration at the time but an idealised version created by the individual (see Section 1.2). The aforementioned administrative documents are therefore extremely valuable and can be expected to be more reliable. It should also be kept in mind that the above evidence attests to the distribution of monuments, not necessarily the individuals themselves. The location of the funerary stelae at Abydos indicates that these families sought to take part in the Osirian funerary rituals; they may not have lived, worked or been born in this region. This would, naturally, also depend on the titles they held. Similarly, the monuments found in Edfu and Elephantine may attest to the family origins and

¹¹⁶⁷ [55], [56], [60], [69], [71], [72], [75], [77], [78], [83], [84], [85], [87], [91], [106], [116], [119], [124], [128], [129], [130], [131], [132], [141], [149], [151], [155], [158], [160], [161], [162], [166].

¹¹⁶⁸ See [59], [67], [73], [76], [81], [90], [102], [109], [110], [133], [139], [152], [165].

hometown rather where they spent most of their careers, especially if they held titles related to the palace or central administration, as is the case here.

The majority of the monuments can be attributed to the 13th dynasty with occasional attestations dating to the 12th dynasty and 16th/17th dynasties. The great concentration of *sms.ww h3y.t* during this time period is quite unusual, and one wonders what historical, political and social factors can be responsible for this. Or is it due to the accident of preservation? This issue will be revisited later in this chapter and in Section 7.5.

5. 2. Title-holders and their titularies during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period

One of the key limitations of investigating the *sms.ww h3y.t* during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period is a lack of extended titularies and thus, title sequences. The majority of *sms.ww h3y.t* during this period have only the one title recorded on their monument(s). As a result, little can be directly determined about their involvement and activity – if any – within the central administration or other occupational sector. It is likely then, that as a functionary working in a particular area of the palace, the *sms.w h3y.t* did not have any regular duties outside it. The majority of *sms.ww h3y.t* are known from funerary stelae, which usually does not incorporate lengthy descriptions or longer titularies. Similarly, the abbreviated nature of the administrative papyri means that little is explicitly stated. Thus, the evidence itself may also play a role in why an individual is identified by one – doubtless their most significant – title. Only four *sms.ww h3y.t* during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period held other appointments.

5. 2. 1. The inscription of K3y [159]

The inscription of K3y [159] in the rock-face at Wadi Hammamat is dated internally to the reign of Montuhotep IV of the late 11th dynasty.¹¹⁶⁹ This is the earliest re-appearance of the *sms.w h3y.t* title after the re-unification of Egypt at the end of the First Intermediate Period.

¹¹⁶⁹ G. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hammamat*, (Paris, 1957), 76 no. 52, pl.18.

Like many of his Old Kingdom predecessors, *K3y* held the title *s3b r3-Nhn* ‘*sab* spokesman of Nekhen.’¹¹⁷⁰ This title was discussed in-depth in Section 4.2.2.1, and frequently appeared in the titularies of the *sms.w w h3y.t*. The title is very frequent during the late Middle Kingdom and into the Second Intermediate Period.¹¹⁷¹ Comparatively, the title is not as frequently connected with the *sms.w h3y.t* at this time, and is only seen in the in the titulary of this early Middle Kingdom official. As with the *sms.w h3y.t*, no specific sets of tasks have been established for this office, however, as in the Old Kingdom, it continues to be closely associated with the vizier.¹¹⁷² Quirke suggests that the ‘spokesman of Nekhen’ may have been responsible for the *w3r.t tp-rs.y(.t)* ‘head of the southern sector’¹¹⁷³ since if *Nhn* probably refers to the city of Hierakonpolis (see Section 4.2.2.1) it would have been a major town within this region.¹¹⁷⁴ Moreover, title-holders are primarily attested in Upper Egyptian sources, and very few from the Memphite region.¹¹⁷⁵ He may have been the vizier’s representative in this part of the country. It may possibly also be an honorary title reflecting the status of the person at court, as someone close to the vizier and the king.¹¹⁷⁶ Quirke’s study on the *s3b r3-Nhn* in pBoulaq 18 B indicates that title-holders were connected to the inner palace, appearing in lists (S1, S11, S38) connected with the royal family.¹¹⁷⁷ It seems that this office remained a position close to the king and the royal family operating within the palace.

K3y’s other titles were *sš* ‘scribe’ and *s3b im.y-r3 sš(.w) n hft-hr* ‘*sab* overseer of the documents/writings of the court.’¹¹⁷⁸ The latter is not attested among the Old Kingdom titles in Jones’ *Index* (2000). The phrase *n hft-hr* literally means ‘in the presence’ (= king) and it was taken literally during the Old Kingdom, occurring in the high-ranking scribal

¹¹⁷⁰ Ward, *Index*, 523, 1265; Wb. III 310.11; FCD 209; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 712; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 88.

¹¹⁷¹ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 88.

¹¹⁷² Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 88.

¹¹⁷³ Territory from the First Cataract to Akhmim, administered from Thebes; Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 4.

¹¹⁷⁴ Quirke, “Four Titles,” 313.

¹¹⁷⁵ A. Ilin-Tomich, “Theban Administration in the late Middle Kingdom,” *ZÄS* 142 (2015), 128.

¹¹⁷⁶ Gratzetki, “Setting a State Anew,” 236.

¹¹⁷⁷ Scharff, “Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes,” lists S1 XIV, 11 pl. 1**, S11 XVII, 15 pl. 4**, S38 XXVII, 9 pl. 11**.; Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 89. In the case of the *r3-Nhn Tity* he was promoted during the period covered by the papyrus as at one point he acquires the prefix-title *hmt.ty-bi.ty* (list S60, XXXVII, 6 pl. 18**). He is listed below the vizier and among high officials such as the *hmt.ty-bi.ty im.y-r3 šh.wt* ‘seal bearer of the king, overseer of fields,’ and *hmt.ty-bi.ty sš 3-n-nsw.t* ‘sealbearer of the king, scribe of the king’s documents’ (S60 XXVII, 3-5, pl. 18**). This title signifies that an official belongs the highest-ranking members of state: Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 62, 89; Gratzetki, *Court Officials*, 96.

¹¹⁷⁸ Ward, *Index*, 1264a.

title, *sš ʕ-n-nsw.t (n) hft-ḥr*.¹¹⁷⁹ During the Old Kingdom, it referred to a ‘personal’ scribe of the king who had access to records of the royal household/palace.¹¹⁸⁰ By the Middle Kingdom, however, the *n hft-ḥr* phrase no longer had such connotations and was no longer a reference to ‘personal’ royal service.¹¹⁸¹ Instead, Ward determined it should be interpreted as an idiomatic phrase for ‘of the court’ and was no longer an indication for a direct association with the king.¹¹⁸² Thus, *Kȝy* was likely in charge of documents and record-keeping serving at the court and no ‘personal’ relationship with the king is implied. The vizier, on the other hand, had numerous scribes at his disposal and supervised the administrative division of the royal documents (*ʕ-n-nsw.t*), which may have included *Kȝy*.¹¹⁸³

As ‘spokesman of Nekhen’ *Kȝy* was an official of the inner palace closely associated with the king’s inner circle, who also functioned as supervisor of court/palace records. Based on his titulary, it appears reminiscent of the *sms.ww hȝy.t*’s Old Kingdom title combinations; many others were *sȝb rȝ-Nḥn*, some even had scribal offices,¹¹⁸⁴ and even the *sȝb*-prefix was retained in this inscription. In light of the early date of this inscription, these offices should be interpreted as remnants of the Old Kingdom or First Intermediate Period administrative system.¹¹⁸⁵

During this period, the Egyptian state was recently unified and consolidated under one ruler. The king was focused on rebuilding the country, which included sending out expeditions for raw materials such as stone from Wadi Hammamat. This wadi is relatively close to Thebes, where the royal Residence was still located at this time. In such times, trusted and dependable men would have been highly valued by the authorities to oversee important tasks. The rock-inscription attests to the fact that a palace official was chosen to accompany this quarry expedition. His skills as a scribe may have been useful, but perhaps

¹¹⁷⁹ W.A. Ward, “Old Kingdom *sš ʕ n nsw n hft-ḥr*, “Personal Scribe of Royal Records,” and Middle Kingdom *sš ʕ n nsw n hft-ḥr*, “Scribe of the Royal Tablet of the Court” *Orientalia Nova Series* 51 (1982), 384 (full article: 382-389).

¹¹⁸⁰ Ward, “Old Kingdom *sš ʕ n nsw n hft-ḥr*,” 384; cf. Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 72.

¹¹⁸¹ Ward, “Old Kingdom *sš ʕ n nsw n hft-ḥr*,” 388.

¹¹⁸² Ward, “Old Kingdom *sš ʕ n nsw n hft-ḥr*,” 388.

¹¹⁸³ Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 224, although it may be doubted whether these administrative offices were already in place this early in the Middle Kingdom.

¹¹⁸⁴ E.g. *mḏḥ sš(.w) nsw.t* [08], *sȝb shḏ ir.yw-mḏȝ.t* [17] and [21].

¹¹⁸⁵ In fact, the administration was not fully realised until the mid-12th dynasty: Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 217, 219.

his close connection to the palace (indicative of his loyalty?) was surely a contributing factor.

5. 2. 2. The stela of *Nsw-Mntw* [103]

Nsw-Mntw [103] is the owner of stela Louvre C1.¹¹⁸⁶ Obsomer has shown convincingly that while *Nsw-Mntw* may have lived under the reigns of both Amenemhat I and Senwosret I, the stela itself is from the reign of the latter king.¹¹⁸⁷ The exact year is difficult to reconstruct as the inscription is damaged but Obsomer concluded that the date on the stela is of Year four, seven, or eight, positing that year eight of the reign of Senwosret I is preferable.¹¹⁸⁸

The autobiographical section (l. 5-14) on this stela represents perhaps the most explicit description of a *sms.w h3y.t* about his own activities and status.¹¹⁸⁹ His titulary on the stela is given as follows (l. 5-6):

^{5l} *rh nsw.t ir.y-p^c.t h3.ty-^c htm.ty-bi.ty smr w^c.ty im.y-r3 mš^c(.w)*
Nsw-Mntw ink hr(.y)-tp sms.w(w) h3y.t tkn st mty m pr-nsw.t ^{6l} c3
shr m ip3.t-nsw.t iy n=f wr.w m ksw h3.ty(w)-^c m rdi.y hr ht.

‘...^{5l} The king’s acquaintance, hereditary prince, count, seal bearer of the king, sole companion, overseer of the troops, *Nsw-Mntw*. I was chief (of the) elder(s) of the porch, one who approaches the throne, who is reliable in the palace, ^{6l} whose counsel is important in the king’s (private) apartments, to whom the great come bowing (and) the counts placing themselves upon their bellies.’

¹¹⁸⁶ Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, no. 21, 81-82.

¹¹⁸⁷ C. Obsomer, “La date de Nésou-Montou (Louvre C1),” *RdÉ* 44 (1993), 103-140.

¹¹⁸⁸ According to Obsomer, it is highly likely that the stela of *Nsw-Mntw* (Louvre C1) and the stela of *Mr.y* (Louvre C3) were inscribed by the same hand or at least belongs to the same workshop. Thus, they have specific textual, stylistic, and iconographic characteristics in common, which means there is a good chances that they also have a similar date. Based on his comparative study of the two stelae, Obsomer was able to establish that stela Louvre C3 was inspired by Louvre C1 meaning that the date of *Nsw-Mntw*’s stela was earlier than that of *Mr.y*. The date on Louvre C3 is given as year 9, second month of *akhet*, 20th day so Louvre C1 has to be earlier than year 9 of Senwosret I. The reconstruction of year 9 for Louvre C1 is unlikely as the stela is dated to the last month of the year (4th month of *shemu*). Therefore, Obsomer concluded that the year on the stela of *Nsw-Mntw* has to be year 4, 7 or 8 of Senwosret I: Obsomer, “Date of Nésou-Montou,” 130-132; C. Obsomer, *Sésostri Ier: étude chronologique et historique du règne*, (Brussels, 1995), 55ff.

¹¹⁸⁹ For a full translation of the text see Obsomer, “Date de Nésou-Montou,” 125-126, 105 fig. 1.

His primary office was *im.y-rʿ mš^c(.w)* ‘overseer of troops,’ often also translated as ‘general’ or ‘overseer of the army.’¹¹⁹⁰ His function and role as a military leader is the focal point of his autobiography. He recounts his military and fighting prowess, exclaiming ‘I am the sole one (to be called) ‘victor of this land’, one who is quick of arm, alert (?) of leg, an excellent man-at-arms’¹¹⁹¹ and highlighting his triumphs on behalf of the king, ‘I took the head of the troops and conducted the fighting of the Two Lands, I being victorious ... I destroyed the enemies and overthrew the opponents of my lord.’¹¹⁹² While *Nsw-Mntw* is not specific about where he fought, he likely led military expeditions south of Egypt into Nubia to quell rebellion and maintain Egypt’s control so newly obtained since the First Intermediate Period. He may also have participated in campaigns to the north of Egypt to uphold Egyptian control in that region. It is likely that *Nsw-Mntw* never viewed the geographical aspects of his fighting as important, instead seeking to highlight that he was a staunch protector and defender of the king and his country for which (he claims) he was highly praised and rewarded. As ‘overseer of the troops’ *Nsw-Mntw* was at the top of the military hierarchy, and likely to be relatively influential and powerful.¹¹⁹³

Nsw-Mntw holds a number of ‘ranking’ titles; ‘king’s acquaintance, hereditary prince, count, seal bearer of the king, sole companion’ (in that order). During the Middle Kingdom, there were four ‘ranking’ titles, which expressed an individual’s high position in the king’s court.¹¹⁹⁴ The titles *ir.y-p^c.t*,¹¹⁹⁵ *hʿ.ty-^c*,¹¹⁹⁶ and *smr w^c.ty*¹¹⁹⁷ were high-ranking court titles known since the Old Kingdom, signifying individuals close to the king and part of the royal inner circle.¹¹⁹⁸ These titles are less frequently attested towards the late Middle Kingdom.¹¹⁹⁹ The title *htm.ty-bi.ty*¹²⁰⁰ was a highly significant honorary position within

¹¹⁹⁰ Ward, *Index*, 205; Wb. I 155. 16; FCD 119; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 389; Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 11.

¹¹⁹¹ Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 82 l. 6-7; Obsomer, “Date de Nésou-Montou,” fig. 1, l. 12; Obsomer, *Sésostris Ier*, 548 l.12: *ink w^c nht n(.y) tʿ pn wn(=i) ^c.wy tbn šm w^cr.yt nds(.w) ikr n r-ht*.

¹¹⁹² Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 82 l. 8-10; Obsomer, “Date de Nésou-Montou,” fig. 1, l. 13-14; Obsomer, *Sésostris Ier*, 548 l. 13-14: *ndr.n=i dʿdʿ n(.y) pd.t sšm.n=i ^chʿ n(.y) tʿ.wy nht.kwi... sšh.n=i hr.yw shr.n(=i) hft.w n.w nb=i*

¹¹⁹³ A. Spalinger, “The organisation of the Pharaonic army (Old to New Kingdom),” in J. C. Moreno-Garcia (ed) *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden, 2013), 422; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 101.

¹¹⁹⁴ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 5.

¹¹⁹⁵ Ward, *Index*, 850a; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 97; Wb. II 215. 15-18.

¹¹⁹⁶ Ward, *Index*, 864; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 539; Wb. III 25.7.

¹¹⁹⁷ Ward, *Index*, 1299; Jones, *Index*, II 3268; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 766; FCD 229; Wb. I 278. 11.

¹¹⁹⁸ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 5.

¹¹⁹⁹ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 5; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 224.

¹²⁰⁰ Ward, *Index*, 1472; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 675; FCD 258; Wb. V 638.12-14.

the royal court of the Middle Kingdom.¹²⁰¹ Quirke classifies *htm.ty-bi.ty* as a ‘prefix title’ because it carries no executive function, but elevates the titular of the official to the highest level of officialdom.¹²⁰² While not at the same rank as the vizier, a position with its own specific honorary designations, the *htm.ty-bi.ty* rank was reserved for the highest officials below the vizier.¹²⁰³ According to Quirke, the *nsw.t/bi.ty* in the title phrase does not refer to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt as it would in other contexts, but designates the reigning king.¹²⁰⁴ Thus, the title is translated as ‘seal bearer of the (reigning) king’ a translation that is preferred in this thesis as well. As ‘seal bearer of the king’ this official had the authority to mark dispatches with the king’s seal, a privilege only held by the highest offices.¹²⁰⁵ The four ‘ranking’ titles usually appear in one title string and in the same order; *ir.y-p^c.t*, *h³.ty-^c*, *htm.ty-bi.ty*, *smr w^c.ty*, as is apparent on this stela as well.¹²⁰⁶ These honorary titles identify individuals such as *Nsw-Mntw* as belonging to the highest echelon of society and state.¹²⁰⁷ The title *rh nsw.t* ‘king’s acquaintance’, on the other hand, (see Section 4.2.1) is ‘ranking’ title which expresses a status at court just below the four ‘ranking’ titles mentioned above.¹²⁰⁸ It is usually not held by officials with the highest ranks such as the vizier or treasurer. It can also appear at the end of such title sequences as listed above, although this is not the case for stela Louvre C1 where it is positioned at the beginning.¹²⁰⁹ During the Middle Kingdom, military officials were not usually held in the highest esteem, and were not usually connected to high-ranking or influential families related to the royal family. According to Spalinger, the prosopographical data of the Middle Kingdom do not indicate a predominant influence of army men within the state; a situation not uncommon in the New Kingdom.¹²¹⁰ This, in conjunction with the lack of evidence about *Nsw-Mntw*’s background and family, suggests he was likely of humble origin. Therefore, the inclusion of the different ranks within the court may reflect that *Nsw-Mntw* was not born to a high socio-economic status, and was gradually was promoted because of his military successes and/or favour with the king. Moreover, the placement of the rank *rh-nsw.t* at the beginning of his title sequence probably indicates that this position

¹²⁰¹ Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 224.

¹²⁰² Quirke, “Regular titles,” 123.

¹²⁰³ This is exemplified by the long lists preserved in Papyrus Boulaq 18 B where all the officials listed below the vizier bear the title *htm.ty-bi.ty* before their titular, and the officials below the latter did not have this designation: Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 123.

¹²⁰⁴ Quirke, Regular titles, 123.

¹²⁰⁵ Quirke, Regular titles, 123; Ryholt, *Political situation in Egypt*, 297-298.

¹²⁰⁶ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 7.

¹²⁰⁷ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 7.

¹²⁰⁸ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 7.

¹²⁰⁹ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 7.

¹²¹⁰ Spalinger, “Organisation of the Pharaonic army,” 422.

held a special meaning to him, since titles strings during the Middle Kingdom were often arranged according to importance with the most significant ones at the beginning.¹²¹¹ While *rh-nsw.t* is not his highest-ranking court title, it may have had personal significance; perhaps it was the first honorary designation he received. *Nsw-Mntw*'s accumulation of these ranking titles signifies his high social standing and great influence he attained at the court of Senusret I.

On this stela, the title *sms.w h3y.t* is placed *after* the personal name, which is highly unusual. This is the only attestation for such a post-name placement for this title. Stranger still, the rock-inscription of *K3y* [159], dated earlier, has the title in the usual place in front of the name. This inconsistency implies that the title is perhaps not (yet) fixed within the administration, as it would become during the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, when it is always found preceding the name. The *sms.w h3y.t* was a 'regular' appointment during the Old Kingdom, occurring always before the name, as it did in the First Intermediate Period. The administration and other institutions were likely still recovering from the upheaval and chaos of the First Intermediate Period. Additionally, the beginning of the 12th dynasty marked another a period of change; a new royal family and a new royal residence at *Itjtawy*. During *Nsw-Mntw*'s lifetime the royal Residence at *Itjtawy* had only recently been constructed by Amenemhat I.¹²¹² The administrative and palatial structure and system was likely only newly consolidated.¹²¹³ These changes and tumult may account for this unusual and unprecedented placement in *Nsw-Mntw* inscription. *Nsw-Mntw* is the one of the earliest attestation of the *sms.w h3y.t* in the Middle Kingdom, the majority of attestations are late 12th and 13th dynasty, perhaps indicating that everything was still being figured out and being put into place. Alternatively, it is possible *Nsw-Mntw* did this deliberately.

It is also the first time that the designation *hr.y-tp* precedes the title. The term *hr.y-tp* often precedes title phrases: it means 'chief, head, master,' essentially someone who has authority over another.¹²¹⁴ Thus, *hr.y-tp sms.w(w) h3y.t* should be rendered as 'chief/head of the elders of the porch' or 'chief elder of the porch.' Regardless, this may imply that there was a hierarchy among the *sms.w h3y.t* within the palace; the only similar

¹²¹¹ Grajetzki, "Setting a State Anew," 216.

¹²¹² Grajetzki "Setting a State Anew," 221.

¹²¹³ At the beginning of the 12th dynasty, new titles and institutions appear on all levels in the state, but some remnants of the First Intermediate Period are still extant. By the middle of the 12th dynasty, however, the central administration was completely reorganised: Grajetzki "Setting a State Anew," 217.

¹²¹⁴ FCD 175, Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 594-595, Wb. III 139.12-140.22.

attestation during the Middle Kingdom is *hr.y sms.w(w) h3y.t* attested on scarab [116].¹²¹⁵ Due to the lack of recurring examples, it is difficult to draw any definitive conclusions from it.

Since the title *hr.y-tp sms.w h3y.t* is placed after the name, it may not have been *Nsw-Mntw*'s regular 'functional' office, and was perhaps a more descriptive autobiographical phrase concerning his role and rank. It is revealing that he chose this designation to describe the actions he undertook in the palace; perhaps because those actions were ordinarily carried out by *sms.ww h3y.t* title-holders in the palace. In choosing this 'title' as a biographical phrase, he must really have identified with it or used it to further elevate his prestige. All this attests to the importance of the office and its title-holders during this time. See Section 5.4.1 for discussion of his autobiographical statements.

5. 2. 3. The tomb of *Imn.w-m-h3.t* [68]

Imn.w-m-h3.t [68] is known from several objects found in tomb 1200 at Deir el-Medina excavated by Bruyère.¹²¹⁶ They include fragments of a box coffin, a lintel fragment from a small shrine, and a portion of cartonnage (perhaps from a mummy mask or anthropoid inner coffin).¹²¹⁷ A secure date is difficult to establish for *Imn.w-m-h3.t*'s tomb. During the 12th dynasty high-ranking officials such as viziers were buried in the Memphite cemeteries, and to have a vizier of the 12th dynasty buried at Thebes is very irregular.¹²¹⁸ The first burials of high-ranking officials in Deir el-Medina are dated to towards the end of the 13th or 17th dynasty, when the royal court was relocated from *Itjtawy* (near Lisht) to Thebes.¹²¹⁹ Grajetzki is of the opinion that an early New Kingdom date is also possible.¹²²⁰ Considering that most *sms.ww h3y.t* date to the 13th dynasty, such a date or later would not be unusual.

The titles do not occur together on one object, and are as follows (in no particular order): *sms.w h3y.t*, *wr mdw Šm^c.w*, *im.y-r3 niw.t*, *t3.ty*, and *im.y-r3 hw.t-wr.t* 6. Grajetzki suggests that these funerary objects were made during different stages in *Imn.w-m-h3.t*'s career.

¹²¹⁵ Cf. *Nfr-rnp.t* [172].

¹²¹⁶ B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el-Medineh* (1928), FIFAO 6, (Cairo, 1929), 100ff.

¹²¹⁷ Bruyère, *Rapport* (1928), 103 fig. 46, 104, 105 fig. 49.

¹²¹⁸ Grajetzki, *Höchstes Beamten*, 31.

¹²¹⁹ Grajetzki, *Höchstes Beamten*, 31; W. Grajetzki, "Notes on administration in the Second Intermediate Period," in M. Marée (ed) *The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties): Current Research, Future Prospects* (Leuven, 2010), 308; Ryholt, *Political situation of Egypt*, 79.

¹²²⁰ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 142.

The fragments of the box coffin bear the title *sms.w h3y.t*, which Grajetzki determined to be at the beginning of his career because it was the most important part of the funerary equipment.¹²²¹ The cartonnage fragment bears the title *wr mḏw Šm^c.w* ‘great one of tens of Upper Egypt’, and finally the stone lintel fragment represents the final phase with the titles *t3.ty* ‘vizier,’ *im.y-r3 niw.t* ‘overseer of the city’ (=Thebes) and *im.y-r3 ḥw.t-wr.t 6* ‘overseer of the six great houses.’¹²²² Therefore, according to Grajetzki, *Imn.w-m-h3.t*’s career is as follows: *sms.w h3y.t* → *wr mḏw Šm^c.w* → *im.y-r3 niw.t* → *t3.ty* → *im.y-r3 ḥw.t-wr.t 6*.¹²²³ It is unknown whether all these objects belonged to the same person, since *Imn.w-m-h3.t* is one of the most common names during the Middle Kingdom.¹²²⁴ But since they were found within the same tomb, it may be assumed there was one man named *Imn.w-m-h3.t*. It is quite rare for a *sms.w h3y.t* to become a vizier, and only *Isi* [08] from the late Old Kingdom acquired such a high-ranking position. The tomb and its objects date to late 13th dynasty, at the earliest, or perhaps to a time when the royal court was in Thebes because the king and his government was forced out of the Memphite region by the Hyksos.¹²²⁵ The government lost control of the Delta, and only the Theban region and the rest of Upper Egypt was still under the king’s control. It would explain why a powerful official would be buried in Thebes. The king would have kept his advisors and loyal officials close, promoting them to key positions to retain control and power in the region.¹²²⁶ Thus, a mid-ranking palace official - who was likely part of the king’s court - may have acquired the position of vizier in this context. The titles *im.y-r3 niw.t* and *im.y-r3 ḥw.t-wr.t 6* are auxiliary titles, often attested within the titulary of viziers.¹²²⁷

The only other title held by *Imn.w-m-h3.t* was the title *wr mḏw Šm^c.w*. During the early Middle Kingdom, the *wr mḏw Šm^c.w* appears primarily in expedition inscriptions outside the Nile Valley.¹²²⁸ According to Grajetzki, these titles appeared most often after the personal name indicating they were not regular titles, but biographical phrases.¹²²⁹ By the

¹²²¹ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 141.

¹²²² Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 141.

¹²²³ W. Grajetzki, *Die Höchsten Beamten der Ägyptischen Zentralverwaltung zur Zeit des Mittleren Reichs: Prosopographie, Titel und Titelreihen* (Berlin, 2003), 31.

¹²²⁴ Grajetzki, *Höchsten Beamten*, 31.

¹²²⁵ Grajetzki, “Notes on administration,” 308; Ryholt, *Political situation in Egypt*, 79.

¹²²⁶ Shirley, “Crisis and Restructuring,” 651.

¹²²⁷ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 111. The *ḥw.t-wr.t 6* ‘six great houses’ were under the direction of the vizier until the end of the Old Kingdom, when these ‘houses’ and this administrative system came to an end: Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 35-38. Afterwards, these references were probably an archaic allusion to the vizier’s authority over these ‘houses’ in the Old Kingdom:

¹²²⁸ Quirke, “Four Titles,” 308; Grajetzki, *Höchsten Beamten*, 186.

¹²²⁹ Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 236.

late Middle Kingdom, it appears frequently within the Nile Valley and immediately preceding the name.¹²³⁰ The title is mainly attested during the 13th dynasty in the Theban area (Ilin-Tomich counts 114 attestations), while there are only rare attestations of this title in documentation of the Memphite-Fayum region.¹²³¹ The reading, meaning and function of the title *wr mḏw šm^c.w* is still largely undetermined. The phrase is translated in various ways:

- ‘Great one of ten(s) of Upper Egypt,’¹²³²
- ‘Chief of tens of Upper Egypt,’¹²³³
- ‘Greatest one of ten(s) of Upper Egypt,’¹²³⁴
- ‘Magnate of the Southern Tens,’¹²³⁵
- ‘Magnate of the ten of Upper Egypt,’¹²³⁶
- ‘One of the ten greats of Upper Egypt,’¹²³⁷
- ‘One of the great tens of Upper Egypt.’¹²³⁸

The term *wr* is often translated as ‘great one’ or ‘chief’ most likely with the sense that this individual is distinguished.¹²³⁹ The term of ten *mḏw* can be read as the numeral ‘ten’ or ‘tens’; according to Quirke, the plural strokes accompanying the sign for ‘ten’ indicates the phrase should be read as ‘tens’ rather than ‘ten’ at this time.¹²⁴⁰

The *wr mḏw šm^c.w* is closely connected to the office of vizier.¹²⁴¹ Quirke observed that the title appears most often on monuments that are connected to the vizier or to other officials associated with the vizierate, but very infrequently on monuments relating to the treasurer or his staff.¹²⁴² From the *Duties of the Vizier* it can be suggested that these officials were part of the personal staff of the vizier. The text states, ‘...the vizier, when hearing (cases) in the office of the vizier, has to sit on the *phḏw*-chair ... the great ones of tens of Upper Egypt in two rows in front of him, the overseer of the palace interior on his right-hand side,

¹²³⁰ Quirke, “Four Titles,” 308; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 87; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 236.

¹²³¹ Ilin-Tomich, “Theban Administration,” 128.

¹²³² Jones, *Index*, I 1437; Quirke, “Four Titles,” 305ff.; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 217.

¹²³³ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 87; Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 113, 120; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 18; Ilin-Tomich, “Theban Administration,” 128.

¹²³⁴ Jones, *Index*, I 1437.

¹²³⁵ Ward, *Index*, 721.

¹²³⁶ FCD 64.

¹²³⁷ Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 217.

¹²³⁸ Wb IV 473.15.

¹²³⁹ Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 215. See also Doxey, *Non-Royal Epithets*, 159-160.

¹²⁴⁰ Quirke, “Four Titles,” 308.

¹²⁴¹ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 87; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 18; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 18.

¹²⁴² Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 87.

the keeper of possessions with right of access on his left-hand side, the scribes of the vizier beside him.¹²⁴³ Evidently, the *wr.w mḏw Šm^c.w* sat in at these ‘hearings’ (*hmsw*) with the vizier and other important officials.¹²⁴⁴ Apart from their close association with the vizier, it is difficult to assign functions to the *wr mḏw Šm^c.w* because they rarely appear in title strings, and no sources are explicit about their activities.¹²⁴⁵ The title phrase suggests that they deal with affairs related to the southern part of Egypt, such as the administration of the fortresses, for which the vizier was also directly responsible.¹²⁴⁶ The *wr mḏw Šm^c.w* are often involved in judicial affairs, may also be connected to the palace, and perhaps acted as the representative of the vizier in tasks and projects throughout the country.¹²⁴⁷

Alternatively, the position of *wr mḏw Šm^c.w* may be honorary, marking the status of the official, rather than a specific administrative function.¹²⁴⁸ They may have performed ritual functions at the royal court.¹²⁴⁹ The rank of *wr mḏw Šm^c.w* should not be underestimated, as some of them went on to become vizier, as is demonstrated by *Imn.w-m-ḥ3.t*’s career.¹²⁵⁰ Grajetzki observed that these officials were within the close inner circle of the king.¹²⁵¹ A relatively high number of the *wr mḏw Šm^c.w* are listed in pBoulaq 18 B, and some of them are mentioned in the lists alongside the royal family.¹²⁵² Based on what can be reconstructed for this title, it would not be unusual that *Imn.w-m-ḥ3.t* became vizier from the position of *wr mḏw Šm^c.w*.

5. 2. 4. *Hnsw-ḥtp* [121] on the door jamb of *Ppy-nḥt*

Three secondary figures with the title *sms.w ḥ3.y.t* are attested on the 6th dynasty doorjamb belonging to *Ppy-nḥt* (Cairo JdE 91218) found at Abydos; once by the name of *Hnsw rn=f nfr ḥtp* ‘Khonsu, whose beautiful name is, Hotep,’ another named *Hnsw* and a third named *Hnsw-ḥtp* [121].¹²⁵³ It is likely they are the same individual. While the

¹²⁴³ R1-R2 ... *t3.ty hr sdm m ḥ3 n t3.ty hms=f hr phḏw ... wr.w mḏw Šm^c.w m itrty m-b3ḥ=f im.y-r3 c-ḥnw.ty hr wnm=f ir.y-ḥt-ck hr i3b=f sš.w n(.y) t3.ty r-c=f*: Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 12-13.

¹²⁴⁴ Quirke, “Four Titles,” 310.

¹²⁴⁵ Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 236; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 18.

¹²⁴⁶ Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 92.

¹²⁴⁷ Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 18.

¹²⁴⁸ Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 236; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 22.

¹²⁴⁹ Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 236.

¹²⁵⁰ Grajetzki, *Höchsten Beamten*, 186.

¹²⁵¹ Grajetzki, *Höchsten Beamten*, 186.

¹²⁵² Grajetzki, *Setting a state anew*, 87. See Scharff, “Rechnungsbuch des königliche Hofes,” S1 XIV 12, 13 pl. 1**, S11 XVII 16, 17, 22 pl. 4**, S38 XXVII, 10, 11, 15 pl. 11**.


¹²⁵³ W. K. Simpson, *Inscribed Material from the Pennsylvania-Yale Excavations at Abydos* (New Haven, 1995), 5ff.

monument and *Ppy-nht* date to the late Old Kingdom, Simpson determined that it is highly likely the secondary figures and their captions were added later during the Middle Kingdom, as they are poorly executed, particularly when compared to the main figures.¹²⁵⁴

The titulary of *Hnsw* whose beautiful name is *Htp* consists of two title strings:

- (1) *sms.w h3y.t w^cb n(.y) s3 200* ‘elder of the porch, *wab*-priest of a phyle of 200 men.’¹²⁵⁵
- (2) *nht-hrw hw.t-wr.t w^c m md m is.t (?)* ‘tally-man of the great house, one of ten in the council-chamber.’¹²⁵⁶

The other figures are simply captioned with the title *sms.w h3y.t*.

This monument and titulary has a combination of Old and Middle Kingdom features. The allusion to the *hw.t-wr.t* ‘great house’ is more reflective of the Old Kingdom administrative structure than that of the Middle Kingdom. Ward only records *nht-hrw* without the addition of *hw.t-wr.t* while this title is recorded in Jones’ *Index* with this addition, and a number of others.¹²⁵⁷ Additionally, the combination of *sms.w h3y.t*, *w^cb*-priest, and *nht-hrw* is observed in a number of Old Kingdom titularies.¹²⁵⁸ The orthography of the title *sms.w h3y.t*  is more consistently attested during the Old Kingdom, although it does occasionally occur in the Middle Kingdom (see Section 2.2.2).¹²⁵⁹

Yet, the personal names *Hnsw-htp* and *Hnsw* are not attested in the Old Kingdom but are, according to Ranke’s *Personennamen*, very frequently attested during the Middle and New Kingdoms.¹²⁶⁰ These Old Kingdom features may be an attempt at archaism by *Hnsw-htp* deliberately making a connection to the Old Kingdom, or simply an additional honorific element intending to increase the prestige of his otherwise modest title. A title held by the vizier, *im.y-r3 hw.t-wr.t 6*, continued to be attested occasionally during the Middle Kingdom, even though the “six” ‘great houses’ had ceased to exist.¹²⁶¹ The core position *nht-hrw* continued to exist in the Middle Kingdom and was still linked to agricultural affairs and the calling out of final tallies in administrative matters (in the granaries and treasury primarily) (see Section 4.2.2.3). Moreover, the title-phrase is not preceded by the

¹²⁵⁴ Simpson, *Inscribed Material*, 7.

¹²⁵⁵ Cf. Ward, *Index*, 676.

¹²⁵⁶ This is translated by Simpson, as *w^c m md(?) m w^cb.t (?)* ‘one of ten of the workshop,’ and by Fischer as, *w^c m smt* ‘one alone in the (house of) judgement,’ Simpson, *Inscribed Material*, 5.

¹²⁵⁷ Ward, *Index*, 837; Jones, *Index*, I 1824.

¹²⁵⁸ [21], [23], [27], [30], [34].

¹²⁵⁹ For instance, in the administrative papyri, pBoulaq 18.

¹²⁶⁰ Ranke *PN* 270.16, 271.12; Simpson, *Inscribed Material*, 7.

¹²⁶¹ Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 37.

s3b-prefix observed in 56% of Old Kingdom title-holders (see Section 4.2.1.1). In addition, the doorjamb was recovered in Abydos, and all but one title-holder (or 98%) are attested on monuments in the Memphite region, which makes this a highly irregular occurrence for an Old Kingdom *sms.w h3y.t*.¹²⁶² Simpson's suggestion that the titles, figures and names were a later addition is thus highly likely.

His role as tallyman of the *hw.t-wr.t* "great house" may reflect an administrative role related to the provisioning of the Residence/palace (in the royal granaries/treasury). The term *is.t* is thought to refer to an administrative space, room, workshop, or a particular area within the palace, perhaps even a 'council-chamber'.¹²⁶³ It follows the title *nht-hrw*, which in this case is attached to the 'great house,' an administrative space and governing body in the Residence, hinting at its administrative nature.¹²⁶⁴ The expression 'one in ten of the chamber' was likely an honorary designation or descriptive phrase as it is not regularly attested among titles. It would seem that *Hnsw-htp* was part of a group of ten, perhaps a small governmental council in the palace, which met in the *is.t*-chamber. As a *sms.w h3y.t* in the palace it is perhaps not unusual he held such a designation. It is, however, quite a problematic attestation.

5. 3. Social Networks of the *sms.w h3y.t*

In contrast to the previous time period, the evidence is very informative about the social networks of the *sms.w h3y.t* in the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period.

5. 3. 1. Kinship terminology

One of the greatest, if not *the* greatest, challenge when studying Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period stelae is interpreting the family connections between the individuals mentioned and/or depicted; i.e. determining kinship. Ancient Egyptian kinship terminology is comprised of the following basic words: mother (*mw.t*), father (*it*), son (*s3*), daughter (*s3.t*), brother (*sn*), and sister (*sn.t*), husband (*h3y*) and wife (*hm.t*).¹²⁶⁵ These

¹²⁶² *Isi* [08] was a nomarch of Edfu as well as a vizier, which would have necessitated his presence in Edfu (where he was buried). In contrast, *Hnsw-htp* was neither particularly high-ranking nor would his duties necessarily take him outside Memphis.

¹²⁶³ Wb. I 127.2, 7-9; FCD 29-30; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 113.

¹²⁶⁴ See Sections 1.5 fn. 134 and 4.2.2.1.

¹²⁶⁵ D. Franke, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich* (Hamburg, 1983), 155; H. Willems, "A Description of Egyptian Kinship Terminology of the Middle Kingdom c. 2000-1650 B.C.,"

basic terms are very frequently combined with suffix pronouns, e.g. $s\dot{3}=f$ ‘his son.’ They are also combined with each other to express various relationships (= compound terms), such as sn (n) it ‘brother of the father’ or it $it=f$ ‘father of his father.’¹²⁶⁶ In addition, individuals are usually affiliated with at least one parent through the formula $ir.n$ or $ms.n$ ‘born of...’¹²⁶⁷ The former usually refers to the father and the latter to the mother although there are exceptions.¹²⁶⁸ Kinship is usually expressed in several ways:¹²⁶⁹

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| – α $s\dot{3}$ β | = α son of β . | |
| – α $ir.n/ms.n$ β | | = α born of β . |
| – $s\dot{3}=f$ α | | = his (= α) son, β . |

Anthropologists also specify all genealogical linkages between persons from the point of view of an individual, known as the ‘ego.’¹²⁷⁰ In ancient Egypt, the principal owner of the stela is referred to as the ‘ego.’ The ‘ego’ refers to the individual from whose perspective the kinship relations are described, and is the focus of the relationship terminology.¹²⁷¹ Thus, each relationship is expressed with reference to the ego. Other persons included on the monument describe their relationships to the monument owner.¹²⁷² These individuals are referred to as the ‘alter’; an individual who stands in a relationship to the ego.¹²⁷³ In other words, an individual is described as the ego’s father’s brother, rather than simply an uncle of the ego.¹²⁷⁴ For example, sn (n) $it=f$ ‘brother of his father’ is rendered ‘father’s brother,’ where ‘his’= f refers to the ‘ego’ who provides the point of reference. Similarly, $s\dot{3}.t$ $sn.t$ (n) $it=f$ ‘daughter of the sister of his father’ is denoted as ‘his father’s sister’s daughter’ (= ‘cousin’ in Western society).

There are various difficulties associated with the study of kinship in ancient Egypt.

(1) Determining familial versus ‘metaphorical’ relationships.

Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde 139 (1983), 153; G. Robins, “The Relationships specified by Egyptian Kinship Terms of the Middle and New Kingdoms,” *CdÉ* 54 (1979), 197.

¹²⁶⁶ Franke, *Verwandschaftsbezeichnungen*, 157; J. Lustig, “Kinship, gender, and age in Middle Kingdom tomb scenes and texts,” in J. Lustig (ed) *Anthropology and Egyptology: A Developing Dialogue* (Sheffield, 1997), 46; Willems, “Egyptian Kinship Terminology,” 153.

¹²⁶⁷ Robins, “Egyptian Kinship Terms,” 198.

¹²⁶⁸ Robins, “Egyptian Kinship Terms,” 198 fn 3.

¹²⁶⁹ Robins, “Egyptian Kinship Terms,” 199.

¹²⁷⁰ Franke, *Verwandschaftsbezeichnungen*, 3; Lustig, *Ideologies of social relations*, 49.

¹²⁷¹ Robins, “Egyptian Kinship Terminology, 199 fn.1; J. Lustig, *Ideologies of social relations in Middle Kingdom Egypt: Gender, kinship, ancestors*, PhD dissertation: Temple University (Ann Arbor, 1993), 50-51.

¹²⁷² Lustig, *Ideologies of social relations*, 50.

¹²⁷³ Robins, “Egyptian Kinship Terminology, 199 fn.1; Lustig, *Ideologies of social relations*, 50.

¹²⁷⁴ Lustig, *Ideologies on social relations*, 49.

This is the main issue with the terms *sn/sn.t* ‘brother/sister.’ The terms *sn* and *sn.t* are used to represent a wide range of kinship types making it difficult to determine the exact relationship meant in any given case.¹²⁷⁵ The term *sn/sn.t* includes, among others, the relationship of father’s/mother’s brother/sister or brother’s/sister’s son/daughter.¹²⁷⁶ The term *sn/sn.t* also refers to persons across generations.¹²⁷⁷ Alternatively, *sn/sn.t* can sometimes mean ‘brother’ in the metaphorical sense, as ‘companion’ or ‘friend.’ The term may be used to refer to a person to whom the ego is not genealogically linked.¹²⁷⁸ In that instance, it may allude to an equivalence of status between the ‘ego’ and the ‘alter.’¹²⁷⁹

(2) Absence of a kinship term; where the relationship between individuals on the stelae is not specified.

This is frequently the case with Middle Kingdom funerary stelae, which include numerous individuals (‘alter’) whose kinship to the ‘ego’ and other ‘alter’ is unspecified.¹²⁸⁰ It is, therefore, difficult to establish their relationship within the family group. The relationship between such individuals may be one between friends, colleagues, or superior/subordinate, or even family servants. When these individuals have titles, however, the nature of their relationship may be that of colleagues or superior/subordinate.¹²⁸¹ For example, the stela of *Hr-ꜥ* [115] includes the name and title of the artisan who made the stela. The inclusion of colleagues or servants is likely to have been considered a personal favour, as having one’s name recorded on these stelae ensure their spiritual participation in the sacred rites of Osiris at Abydos.¹²⁸² It may be the case that such relationships were implicit; the ego would know how they were related to this individual. It can be assumed, however, that while no kinship was stated, these individuals can be considered close enough to the family group in life to be included on their monument. In this thesis, therefore, individuals where kinship is unspecified are referred to as ‘associate’ to indicate a lack of kinship but that they were in some way associated with each other.

(3) Ancient Egyptian kinship consists of lineal terminologies; kinship is classified by tracing descent only through males or only through females, i.e. expressed by claiming filiation with one’s father or with one’s mother.¹²⁸³

¹²⁷⁵ Franke, *Verwandschaftsbezeichnungen*, 61, 64-67, 158, 160; Robins, “Egyptian Kinship Terms,” 202.

¹²⁷⁶ Robins, “Egyptian Kinship Terms, 202; Willems, “Egyptian Kinship Terminology, 159.

¹²⁷⁷ Franke, *Verwandschaftsbezeichnungen*, 61, 64-67, 158, 160; Willems, “Egyptian Kinship Terminology,” 161.

¹²⁷⁸ Lustig, “Kinship, gender and age,” 45.

¹²⁷⁹ Lustig, *Ideologies on social relations*, 64.

¹²⁸⁰ R. J. Leprohon, “The Personnel of the Middle Kingdom Funerary Stelae” *JARCE* 15 (1978), 33.

¹²⁸¹ Leprohon, “Personnel of the Middle Kingdom,” 33.

¹²⁸² Leprohon, “Personnel of the Middle Kingdom,” 33, 38.

¹²⁸³ Lustig, “Kinship, gender and age,” 48.

During the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, filiation is predominantly expressed through the maternal line.¹²⁸⁴ This makes it difficult to reconstruct a genealogical tree when only some parts of the familial relationships are specified. For example, on the stela of *S3-Pth* (see [53]+[104]+[105]), his sons are designated with the kinship term *s3=f* ‘his son’ where *=f* refers to the ego, which is *S3-Pth*. The stela also refers to *hm.t=f Tp(y)t-nfr.w* ‘his wife *Tepyt-neferu*,’ the wife of *S3-Pth*. Can it be assumed that this woman is the mother of *S3-Pth*’s sons? If the mother is unknown or not explicitly captioned as such, they may be half-siblings, or sons by different wives. On several monuments, a man can be represented with various wives or his children are specifically filiated to different women.¹²⁸⁵ Knowing both sides of an individual’s parentage is not always possible. Since meanings of the terms are deductive (i.e. one deduces that *Tp(y)t-nfr.w* is the mother of the *S3-Pth*’s sons as there is no evidence to the contrary), there is always some uncertainty when reconstructing genealogical relationships of individuals depicted on monuments.¹²⁸⁶

(4) Suffix pronouns; it is not always clear to whom they refer within larger family groups. On some stelae, the suffix pronouns do not relate to the ego, but to another individual on the stela (to another alter).¹²⁸⁷ This is particularly evident on stelae with multiple registers of persons. For example, the owner of the stela, A, is associated with *sn.t=f* B, and with *s3.t=s* C. C in relation to A is probably *s3.t n.t sn.t=f* ‘daughter of his sister’ but the relationship is specified in regard to B, who is C’s mother.¹²⁸⁸ The stela of *Snb* [145], for instance, switches from a masculine pronoun *=f*, to the feminine *=s* in the third register. In this case it is obvious that it most likely refers to one of the women on that register rather than the male ‘ego.’ This shows that family groups were more complicated than they appear, they can be divided into smaller groups within the broader family.¹²⁸⁹ Some stelae describe many persons and relationships and have multiple reference points.¹²⁹⁰

It is important to understand how these social groups should be ‘read’ from the monuments. Understanding these kinship terms was crucial for reconstructing the social networks of the *sms.ww h3y.t* in the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. It provides insight into three main aspects of the *sms.ww h3y.t*; title succession, their socio-

¹²⁸⁴ Willems, “Egyptian Kinship Terminology,” 160; Robins, “Egyptian Kinship Terms,” 198, fn 3.

¹²⁸⁵ Franke, *Verwandschaftsbezeichnungen*, 4, 161; Robins, “Egyptian Kinship Terms,” 198.

¹²⁸⁶ Willems, “Egyptian Kinship Terminology,” 157.

¹²⁸⁷ Robins, “Egyptian Kinship Terms,” 199.

¹²⁸⁸ Example taken from, Robins, “Egyptian Kinship Terms,” 199.

¹²⁸⁹ Robins, “Egyptian Kinship Terms,” 199.

¹²⁹⁰ Lustig, *Ideologies of social relations*, 51.

economic background (i.e. what titles did their relatives have?), and with whom they were closely interconnected outside their family units ('associates').

5. 3. 2. Social groups

The Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate corpus (examples date primarily to the 13th dynasty) consist of three different types of relationships: (1) family-members, (2) 'associates' (unrelated), and (3) secondary contacts.¹²⁹¹ The first group provides an insight into the background of the families of *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders,¹²⁹² while the second group may reveal who they worked with or associated with regularly (but who were not family). The third group comprises of 'associates' of family members, and may thus only be tenuously connected to the *sms.w h3y.t*.

5. 3. 2. 1. Family

There are twenty-seven family groups consisting of seventy-one individuals who are related to a *sms.w h3y.t* (i.e. where kinship is specified).¹²⁹³ Two types of titles are most frequently attested within these twenty-seven family groups: (a) 'military' (32/71) and (b) 'unspecific' titles (13/71). The remainder of titles (c) are quite varied (26/71).

(a) Regular 'military' titles

The 'military' can be considered a third and separate branch of the central administration alongside that of the vizierate and treasury.¹²⁹⁴ Using the terms 'army' and 'military' may be slightly misleading in the Middle Kingdom, as this institution is not as large or well-defined as it would become in the New Kingdom.¹²⁹⁵ 'Military' officials also performed various 'non-military' functions, such as participating in the organisation of labour for building projects or being sent on quarrying expeditions.¹²⁹⁶ The following 'military'

¹²⁹¹ These groupings include only males that have regular titles.

¹²⁹² While the term *sn* has many different meanings including 'brother' in the metaphoric sense, it has been taken here to refer to a filial relationship. There is no way to distinguish such relationships if the context is not clear. However, even if it was not a genealogical relationship, that they were designated *sn* represents a close bond.

¹²⁹³ [62], [70], [80]+[113], [93], [95], [114], [115]+[94], [125], [126], [136], [145], [147], [53]+[105]+[105], [54], [63], [66], [117], [120], [127], [134], [138], [142]+[143], [144], [153], [156], [157], [167].

¹²⁹⁴ Grajetzki, "Setting a State Anew," 224. In fact, these titles appear to be slightly outside the hierarchies of the vizier and treasurer: Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 101.

¹²⁹⁵ Spalinger, "Organisation of the Pharaonic army," 424.

¹²⁹⁶ Grajetzki, "Setting a State Anew," 255; Spalinger, "Organisation of the Pharaonic army," 424; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 102; D. Stefanović, "The overseer of *mšc* of the section of *nfr*," *SAK* 43 (2014), 419.

titles are very frequently attested during the late Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period. The results are summed up in Table 5.1; a total of thirty-two individuals hold a military title (45.1%).

There are six families that have one or more relatives (seven individuals in total) who hold the title, *ḥnh.w n(.y) niw.t* ‘soldier¹²⁹⁷ of the town regiment’¹²⁹⁸ and five families that include one or more relatives (five individuals in total) who hold the title, *ḥtw ḥ n(.y) niw.t* ‘commander of the town regiment.’¹²⁹⁹ The *ḥnh.w n(.y) niw.t* ‘soldier of the town regiment’¹³⁰⁰ were members of an armed force or regiment attached to a town. Each province would have had a number of these garrisons. They were members of Egypt’s military force acting in the king’s military campaigns and other expeditions (mining, quarrying), but they were also used as a labour force (for building projects) in local settings.¹³⁰¹ These ‘soldiers’ were not among the lowest-ranks within the ‘military’ hierarchy, and may in fact have been in charge of the “ordinary” ‘soldiers.’¹³⁰² The *ḥtw (ḥ) n(.y) niw.t* ‘(chief) commander of the town (regiment)’¹³⁰³ was the head of these ‘troops’ comprised of *ḥnh.w n(.y) niw.t*.¹³⁰⁴ These commanders were at a senior level within the

¹²⁹⁷ Berlev established that the titles beginning with the term *ḥnh.w* such as *ḥnh n(.y) niw.t* belong to the military sphere of ancient Egypt. The title was previously translated as ‘citizen’ though Berlev has shown this to be incorrect. Berlev defines the term *ḥnh.w* as ‘warrior,’ or the like, though admits that the fundamental meaning of the word remains to be determined. According to Spalinger, the first term literally refers to ‘those men who lived,’ i.e. ‘who were provided’ by troops or ‘army’ and can thus be interpreted as ‘warriors’: O. Berlev, “Les prétendus “citadins” au Moyen Empire,” *RdÉ* 23 (1971), 27-29; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 255; Spalinger, “Organisation of the Pharaonic Army, 424-425. Spalinger further states that emphasis of attributes such as virility, strength, and youthfulness is contained in this ‘military’ designation, ‘to be virile, or ‘viably active.’

¹²⁹⁸ See profiles [62], [66]+[107], [80]+[113], [114], [115]+[94], [136].

¹²⁹⁹ See profiles [53]+[104]+[105], [54], [66]+[107], [80]+[113], [95].

¹³⁰⁰ Ward, *Index*, 604 (as ‘citizen’); Wb. I 200.9-10; Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 122.

¹³⁰¹ D. Franke, “Die Stele inv. Nr. 4403 im Landesmuseum in Oldenburg - zur Lebensmittelproduktion in der 13. Dynastie,” *SAK* 10 (1983), 168; Berlev, ““citadins” au Moyen Empire,” 27-29.

¹³⁰² Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 256.

¹³⁰³ Ward, *Index*, 695, 698 (as *wḥr.tw*); P.-M. Chevereau, “Contribution à la prosopographie des cadres militaires de l’Ancien Empire et la Première Période Intermédiaire,” *RdÉ* 38 (1987), 40; Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 122. The *ḥtw ḥ n(.y) niw.t* ‘commander of the town (regiment)’ and *ḥtw ḥ n(.y) niw.t* ‘chief commander of the town (regiment)’ may not be two distinct ranks; in fact the latter is quite rare: Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 99.

¹³⁰⁴ Berlev, ““citadins” au Moyen Empire,” 31, 34ff; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 255. In his autobiography, the local governor, Wepwasetaa (*ḥ-wpy-wḥw.t*), upon his arrival at the Residence, states, ‘the treasurers (*ḥtm.wty*) who are in the king’s house and the *ḥnh.w* who are at the gates looking as they were leading me to the king’s house.’ From this it is possible to determine that they were also an armed guard on duty at the gates of the palace. That they were ‘warriors’ is only one aspect of their function: Berlev, “citadins,” 29; Spalinger, “Organisation of the Pharaonic army,” 425.

military branch of the administration.¹³⁰⁵ There are also five families that include one or more relatives (total of five individuals) who hold the title *ir.y pḏ.t* ‘keeper of bowmen.’¹³⁰⁶ As the phrase suggests, the *ir.y pḏ.t* ‘bowman’ was in charge of a group of bowmen or archers.¹³⁰⁷ The *ir.y pḏ.t* was a relatively high position within the military hierarchy, most likely because it was specialised.¹³⁰⁸ It may have been of similar rank as the *ḥnw n(y) niw.t*.¹³⁰⁹

There are seven families that include one or more relatives (eight individuals in total) who hold the title *šms.w* ‘guard’¹³¹⁰ and its variants including *šms.w ḥrry.t* ‘guard of the palace-approach’¹³¹¹ and *šḏ šms.ww* ‘inspector of guards.’¹³¹² The title *šms.w*¹³¹³ initially referred to a ‘retainer’ or ‘servant’ but it took on the meaning of ‘body-guard/guard’ during the First Intermediate Period.¹³¹⁴ The *šms.ww* occurs in a wide range of contexts during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. They could be employed by the king himself and/or serve as a guard in the Residence¹³¹⁵ or could be in the service of local

¹³⁰⁵ They did not, however, bear ranking titles. The *ḥtw (ḥ) n(y) niw.t* also appear in pBoulaq 18 B indicating they were present at the king’s court, though these officials could also be attached to the court of local governors: Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 255-256.

¹³⁰⁶ See profiles [53]+[104]+[105], [120], [142]+[143], [147], [157].

¹³⁰⁷ Ward, *Index*, 516; FCD 97; Wb. I 569.15; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 96; Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 123; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 101; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 256.

¹³⁰⁸ Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 256.

¹³⁰⁹ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 101.

¹³¹⁰ See profiles [53]+[104]+[105], [66]+[107], [93], [115]+[94], [125], [134], [145].

¹³¹¹ See [66]+[107].

¹³¹² See [115]+[94] and [125].

¹³¹³ Wb. IV 485.6; FCD 267; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 890; Ward, *Index*, 1517; Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 122; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 103-105.

¹³¹⁴ The title *šms.w* literally refers to ‘one who follows’ and has thus been interpreted as a ‘follower, retainer, liegeman, servant’ of the king, a god or even of another official. During the First Intermediate Period, the servants of provincial governors began carrying weapons and formed the gangs of local militia. These consisted of small and select groups of men who were trusted by their masters and were, therefore, an important factor in times of crisis. During the Middle Kingdom, this title takes on a decidedly more ‘military’ character and it is categorised among the regular military titles of the late Middle Kingdom: Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 103; D. Stefanović, “šms.w – Soldiers of the Middle Kingdom,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde de Morgenlandes* 98 (2008), 233; P.-M. Chevereau, “Contribution à la prosopographie des cadres militaires de Moyen Empire,” *RdÉ* 42 (1991), 71.

¹³¹⁵ This is especially suggested by four variants of the title: (1) *šms.w nsw.t* ‘guard of the king’ (Ward, *Index*, 1523), (2) *šms.w n(y) ḥkʿ* ‘guard of the ruler’ (Ward, *Index*, 1526), (3) *šms.w pr-ḥ* ‘guard of the palace’ (Ward, *Index*, 1522), and (4) *šms.w ḥrry.t* ‘guard of the (palace) approach’ (Ward, *Index*, 1520). Those with the titles 1 and 2 must have been the guards physically close to the king (i.e. bodyguards). Titles no. 3 and no.4 would have been guards assigned to the palace complex as security personnel. While the sole title *šms.w* could also be a guard of the palace, this is difficult to determine unless the context is more explicit: Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 256; D. Stefanović, “Stela Bolton 1920.10.12 The Non-Royal Women of the Middle Kingdom II (ḥkrt nswt, bʿkt nt ḥkʿ, and ḥn.t nt tpt nswt), *SAK* 38 (2009), 299; Chevereau, “Contribution à la prosopographie des cadres militaires de Moyen Empire,” 71.

dignitaries as servants or body-guards responsible for their master's security.¹³¹⁶ The *šms.w* (all variants) seem to have been organised into small groups who were placed under a *šḥd* *šms.w* 'inspector of guards'.¹³¹⁷ The latter is a regularly attested mid-ranking military title.¹³¹⁸ The *šms.w* were active in the palace, various administrative sectors of the central administration as well as on a local/provincial level.¹³¹⁹ The *šms.w* were not only involved in matters of security and military service, whether they were soldiers or retainers/servants. They were also sent on non-military expeditions and provided labour (in the *hnr.t*) when needed.¹³²⁰ This is the most frequently attested military title among family members of the *sms.w h3y.t*, appearing in 25% of family groups (see Table 5.1).

There are three families that include one or more relatives (total of four individuals) that hold the title, *im.y-ḥt s3.w-pr* 'assistant supervisor of the son(s) of the estate'.¹³²¹ The title *im.y-ḥt s3(.w)-pr* 'assistant supervisor of the sons of the estate'¹³²² is a title attested since the Old Kingdom (see Section 4.2.2.2).¹³²³ Like the *šms.w*, the *im.y-ḥt s3.w-pr* occur in various contexts. They could be attached to the king's residence or in private households where they would have acted as security personnel.¹³²⁴ They still implemented punishments during tax collection when needed, armed with batons.¹³²⁵ While they were likely some sort of security guard, their exact function is still largely unknown.

Finally, there are three different family groups that have one relative who holds the following titles, *3ṯw n(.y) mniw ṯsmw.w* 'commander of the keeper of hounds',¹³²⁶ *3ṯw n(.y) ṯt ḥk3* 'commander of the ruler's crew',¹³²⁷ and *sš n(.y) mšc* 'scribe of the troop'.¹³²⁸ The

¹³¹⁶ This is suggested by titles such as *šms.w n(.y) im.y-r3 st* 'guard/retainer of the overseer of the storehouses' (Ward, *Index*, 1518), and *šms.w n(.y) ḥ3.ty-c* 'guard/retainer of the governor' (Ward, *Index*, 1525). Depending on the lord that they serve, this can be a relatively high-ranking and influential position: Stefanović, "šms.w," 233; Chevereau, "Contribution à la prosopographie des cadres militaires de Moyen Empire," 71.

¹³¹⁷ Ward, *Index*, 1336; Quirke, "Regular Titles," 122; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 103; Grajetzki, "Setting a State Anew," 257; Chevereau, "Contribution à la prosopographie des cadres militaires de Moyen Empire," 71.

¹³¹⁸ Stefanović, "šms.w," 239.

¹³¹⁹ Stefanović, "šms.w," 234.

¹³²⁰ Stefanović, "šms.w," 239, 247-248; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 103.

¹³²¹ See profiles [54], [70], and [114].

¹³²² Ward, *Index*, 431, Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 705; Franke, "Drei neue Stelen," 28; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 109; Quirke, "Regular Titles," 123.

¹³²³ During the Old Kingdom, these officials administered punishments (beatings with a baton) to those who could not pay their taxes.

¹³²⁴ Franke, "Drei neue Stelen des Mittleren Reiches von Elephantine," *MDAIK* 57 (2000), 28-29.

¹³²⁵ Franke, "Drei neue Stelen," 28-29.

¹³²⁶ See [138].

¹³²⁷ See [54].

latter is a low ranking administrative title and implies activities that were not necessarily purely military but that were probably connected with the administration of the military sector.¹³²⁹ The title *ḥw n(.y) mniw tsmw(.w)* ‘commander of the guardian of the hounds’¹³³⁰ seems to have been a specialised ‘unit’ or group of officials designated *mniw tsmw* ‘guardian/shepherd of hounds’ or ‘dog-handlers(?)’.¹³³¹ The *ḥw n(.y) tt hk3* ‘commander of the ruler’s crew’ were elite¹³³² soldiers attached directly to the king, and not a town,¹³³³ and represents a high level of command.¹³³⁴

Title	Individuals (out of 32)	Percentage (%)
<i>ḥw n(.y) niw.t</i>	7	21.8
<i>ḥw (ḥ) n(.y) niw.t</i>	5	15.6
<i>ir.y-pd.t</i>	5	15.6
<i>šmsw</i> + variants	8	25
<i>im.y-ht s3(.w)-pr</i>	4	12.5
<i>ḥw n(.y) mniw tsm.w</i>	1	3.1
<i>ḥw n(.y) tt hk3</i>	1	3.1
<i>sš n(.y) mšc</i>	1	3.1

Table 5.1. Table showing the number of family-members of *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders who hold a particular military/security title.

¹³²⁸ See [153]; Ward, *Index*, 1384; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 150.

¹³²⁹ Spalinger, “Organisation of the Pharaonic Army,” 462.

¹³³⁰ Ward, *Index*, 8; Wb. V 409.22; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 16; Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 122.

¹³³¹ Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 257. Berlev asserts they belonged to a “police department” composed of dog handlers; Berlev, “citadins,” 35. The translation of ‘dog-handler’ (Berlev, “citadins” au Moyen Empire,” 35; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 257) or even ‘scout’ (Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 97) seems too modern; it is doubtful this dogs were militarily trained. More likely, these dogs were used to hunt, and not used as weapons.

¹³³² King Sobekhotep III was *ḥw n(.y) tt hk3* before he ascended the throne demonstrating the influence and advantage of this title: Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 256.

¹³³³ Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 222 fn 771; Franke, “Stele inv. Nr. 4403,” 173. Berlev demonstrated that the term *tt* in the title phrase referred to the king’s naval force, and not the ‘table’ of the ruler as was previously thought. Franke, however, argues that *tt* is a collective term for people working for a particular institution or the king. At the head of such each *tt hk3* ‘unit’ was the *ḥw n(.y) tt hk3* ‘commander of the ruler’s crew.’ The *ḥw n(.y) tt hk3* ‘soldier of the ruler’s crew’ were the subordinate officials to the *ḥw n(.y) tt hk3*: Berlev, “citadins” au Moyen Empire,” 28-29; Franke, “Stele inv. Nr. 4403,” 173; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 97; Spalinger, “Organisation of the Pharaonic army,” 425 (translates *tt* as ‘detachments’).

¹³³⁴ Their presence within pBoulaq 18 B shows that these men were attached to the palace and members of the king’s court: Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 256.

(b) ‘Unspecific’ titles

Titles belonging to the ‘unspecific’ category include, *s3b r3-Nhn* and *wr mḏw šm^c.w* and held by 18.3% of individuals among the family groups. There are eight families that include one or more relatives (ten individuals in total) that hold the title *wr mḏw šm^c.w* ‘great one of tens of Upper Egypt’¹³³⁵ and three families that include one or more relatives (total of three individuals) that hold the title, *s3b r3-Nhn* ‘*sab* spokesman of Nekhen.’¹³³⁶ These offices are regularly attested during the late Middle Kingdom and early Second Intermediate Period, see Sections 4.2.2.1 and 5.2.3. Even after the Old Kingdom, the *s3b r3-Nhn* continued to have a close connection to the king, and to a lesser extent the vizierate.¹³³⁷ Franke also noted their association with expeditions and the administration of garrisons and fortresses in Nubia at this time.¹³³⁸ The *wr mḏw šm^c.w* was associated with the central administration, particularly with the vizier.¹³³⁹

(c) Miscellaneous

The remaining twenty-six individuals (36.6%) hold titles related to various branches of the central administration (see Table 5.2); none recur as regularly as those discussed above.

Administrative sectors	Individuals (Out of 26)	Percentage (%)	Social Groups (Out of 27)	Percentage (%)
Labour organisation ¹³⁴⁰	5	19.2	5	18.5
Treasury and provisions quarters (<i>šn^c</i>)	5	19.2	3	11.1
Palace	3	11.5	2	7.4
Fields (<i>3h.wt</i>)	1	3.8	1	3.7
Livestock (<i>mḏ.wt</i>)	1	3.8	1	3.7
Scribal titles	2	7.7	2	7.4
Temple priesthood and administration	6	23.1	5	18.5
Provincial titles	2	7.7	2	7.4
Miscellaneous occupations	2	7.7	2	7.4

Table 5.2. Table showing affiliations of family groups to the various branches of the administration.

¹³³⁵ See profiles [53]+[104]+[105], [62], [63], [80]+[113], [117], [126], [127], [143].

¹³³⁶ See profiles [54], [63], and [157].

¹³³⁷ Shoufu, *Richten und Schlichten*, 27; Franke, “Z3b R3-Nhn,” 215.

¹³³⁸ Franke, “Z3b R3-Nhn,” 215.

¹³³⁹ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 87.

¹³⁴⁰ Titles comprised of *hnr.t(-wr.t)*, *gs-pr* and *hr.y-n-tm*.

Five family groups (18.5%) consisting of five individuals (19.2%) have titles related to the organisation of labour. Two families have one relative who holds a title related to the *hnr.t(-wr.t)* labour ‘enclosures.’¹³⁴¹ These ‘enclosures’ were responsible for the mobilising of work gangs and controlling of corvée labour. People who enlisted for temporary labour were processed, and in some cases temporarily housed, at these sites. The *hnr.t(-wr.t)* would have allocated people to different state projects across the country.¹³⁴² One individual is attested who was *htm.ty-bi.ty im.y-rʿ gs-pr* ‘seal bearer of the king, overseer of the work-compound (?).’¹³⁴³ The *gs-pr* may also be related to the organisation of the workforce with, presumably, the *im.y-rʿ gs-pr* in charge of its administration.¹³⁴⁴ According to Fischer, it is difficult to venture a more precise translation than ‘work centre.’ His translation of the title is ‘overseer of the work places.’¹³⁴⁵ Finally, there are two families that have a relative holding the obscure title, *hr.y (n) tm* ‘chief of the cadaster (?).’¹³⁴⁶ This remains a rather enigmatic title of the Middle Kingdom because the word *tm* has only been attested in this title phrase.¹³⁴⁷ Quirke categorises the title as being part of the organisation of labour in the late Middle Kingdom. This title is often found on monuments together with other titles related to security and labour. Quirke suggests that the *hr.y (n.y) tm* might have been the security officials for the *hnr.t*-enclosures.¹³⁴⁸

There are three families (11.1%) that include one or more relatives (total of four individuals) that hold a title related to the palace storehouses (*šn^c*) and treasury (*htm.t* and *pr-ḥd*).¹³⁴⁹ The brother of *Imn.y* [66] and *Rn=f-wsr* [107] held the title, *htm.ty-bi.ty idnw im.y-rʿ htm.t* ‘seal bearer of the king, deputy (of the) overseer of sealed things,’ who was either slightly subordinate to or possibly even at the same rank as the ‘overseer of sealed

¹³⁴¹ See [53]+[104]+[105] and [120].

¹³⁴² Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 94; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 233-234; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 85; Ilin-Tomich, “Theban Administration,” 127-128.

¹³⁴³ See [66] and [107].

¹³⁴⁴ Wb. V 198.4-6; FCD 291; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 977; Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 119. Ward, *Index*, 411 translates the title as ‘overseer of the administrative district.’

¹³⁴⁵ H.G. Fischer, “An Old Kingdom Monogram,” *ZÄS* 93 (1966), 67. On the other hand, the title *im.y-rʿ gs-pr* is categorised by Quirke among officials of the provincial administration, specifically those acting as an intermediary between state and local officials. Quirke translates the title as ‘overseer of the half-domain (?)’: Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 115.

¹³⁴⁶ See [147] and [157].

¹³⁴⁷ Ward, *Index*, 1087; FCD 304; Wb. V 300.12; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 596; Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 121; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 95.

¹³⁴⁸ Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 95.

¹³⁴⁹ See profiles [66]+[107], [144], and [153].

goods.’¹³⁵⁰ Both were responsible for palace resources, products and raw materials after they reached the palace, for their storage and any further refinement.¹³⁵¹ They managed the palace’s economic units, which consisted of the treasury (*pr-hd*), storehouses (*šn^c*) and granaries (*šnw.wt*).¹³⁵² The family of *Šnb=f*[153] includes two relatives, one who held the title, *sš hr.y htm.t n(.y) w^cr.t* ‘chief scribe of the seal of the district/guild,’¹³⁵³ and another who was *sš n(.y) pr-hd* ‘scribe of the treasury.’ The latter was presumably involved in clerical tasks, such as recording and managing the inventory of the treasury, where precious commodities were stored and administrated.¹³⁵⁴ Finally, one individual was the *ihms n(.y) t-hnk.t* ‘apprentice/attendant of the chamber of beer,’¹³⁵⁵ which was a low-ranking occupation administering to the various *t* ‘chambers’ that functioned as storage units for food and drink.¹³⁵⁶ One family includes a relative who held the title *im.y-r³ 3h.wt* ‘overseer of fields,’¹³⁵⁷ an important official subordinate to the vizier, who was involved in the management of the arable land along the flood plain.¹³⁵⁸ In addition, one family also has a relative who held the title *sš md.(w)t* ‘scribe of the cattle-pens,’¹³⁵⁹ which probably managed an enclosure or stable for livestock (e.g. for cattle, antelope, fowl).¹³⁶⁰

¹³⁵⁰ According to Grajetzki and Quirke, they largely had the same duties and tasks as the ‘overseer of sealed goods’ and likely assisted with the management of all the revenue entering the palace. They were also in charge of sending out expeditions to bring back raw materials for the palace. The ‘deputy overseer’ was also likely sent by the ‘overseer’ to handle matters when the former could not attend in person. Institutionalised substitution by ‘deputy’ allowed a senior official to operate in two places at once in a flexible manner, without the formalised division reference to fixed limits such as geographical area, found for other titles. It is not certain whether the position of ‘deputy overseer’ was temporary or bestowed for only for one or more specific missions.¹³⁵⁰ Nonetheless, these officials worked closely with the ‘overseer of sealed goods,’ even acting in his stead for an unknown length of time, and given the same (perhaps slightly lesser) authority: Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 226, 240; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 45-47; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 49.

¹³⁵¹ Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 224, 226, 239; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 45.

¹³⁵² Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 238-239.

¹³⁵³ Ward, *Index*, 1416.

¹³⁵⁴ Ward, *Index*, 1382; Quirke, Regular Titles, 119; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 58; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 245.

¹³⁵⁵ See [144].

¹³⁵⁶ Ward, *Index*, 561; FCD 29; Wb. I 122; 14-18; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 243-244; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 65-66.

¹³⁵⁷ See [54].

¹³⁵⁸ Ward, *Index*, 1347; Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 121; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 234; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 86. The main sources on the function of the *im.y-r³ 3h.wt* and his personnel is Papyrus Harageh 3. According to this papyrus, the ‘overseer of fields’ was responsible for measuring the fields after Nile inundation. The management of these fields may also have included canal cutting or dredging. The ‘overseer of fields’ was essentially involved in recording information concerning agricultural land: Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 234; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 86; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 90-91.

¹³⁵⁹ See [153].

¹³⁶⁰ Wb. II 185.1-4; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 402; FCD 123: ‘stalled cattle.’

Two families (7.4%) include family-members that have miscellaneous scribal titles: (1) *sš^c-n-ns.w.t sm³yt Mw.t-wr.t* ‘scribe of the king’s documents of the archive of Mut-the great,’¹³⁶¹ and (2) *ḥk³-ḥ* ‘ruler of the palace(-estate?).’¹³⁶² In addition, two individuals (of two separate families) held two occupational titles, (1) *sns* ‘hairstresser (?),’¹³⁶³ and (2) *ḥ^c* ‘attendant.’¹³⁶⁴ Two relatives in two different families may have held titles related to the provincial administration. The father of [66] and [107], *Hnnw*, held the title *im.y-r³ niw.t* ‘overseer of the city,’¹³⁶⁵ which, according to Quirke, is a rare expression of a position of responsibility within a province when it is not part of the vizier’s titularly.¹³⁶⁶ The obscure title *im.y-^c* translated by Ward as ‘regional officer,’¹³⁶⁷ is also once attested.¹³⁶⁸ This title may be related to the local administration, though its exact function and meaning remains undetermined.

Five families (18.5%) include one or more relatives (six individuals in total) that hold a position in the temple.¹³⁶⁹ Two brothers in the same family held priestly positions in the temple of Montu at Medamud.¹³⁷⁰ Two families have a relation who held the title *mty-n-s³* ‘controller of a phyle (of priests).’¹³⁷¹ Another family includes a relative with the title *ḥr.y*

¹³⁶¹ See [156]. Ward, *Index*, 1363: ‘scribe of the royal tablet of the archive.’ The core title *sš^c-n-ns.w.t* ‘scribe of the documents of the king’ were officials at the head of the scribal offices at the king’s palace managed by the vizier: Grajetzki, “Setting the State Anew,” 224, 226. Quirke suggests that the *sm³yt* represents the ‘unit’ or ‘archive’ (Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 759) that deals with the collecting of reports from the local administration to forward them back to the palace: Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 129, 114; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 43. The title of *Snn* includes a rather obscure reference to a particular ‘archive’ of *Mw.t-wr.t*. This would suggest that *Snn* was responsible for the collection of documents concerning the land and revenue of the estate(s) of Mut the great: M. Affara, “A Stela from Abydos in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (CG 20282), *GM* 200 (2004), 17. If Quirke is correct, then *Snn* was also an intermediary between the palace and this particular temple (?) estate of Mut.

¹³⁶² Son of the sister of [62]’s father, *Mntw-ḥtp*. This is a rather enigmatic title, perhaps involved in the administration of particular estates attached to the palace (?): Ward, *Index*, 1108 cf. *ḥk³ ḥw.t* Ward, *Index*, 1114.

¹³⁶³ Grandfather of [156], *Kmni*. This is thought to be an occupation related to ‘hair’, perhaps some sort of hair dresser (?): Ward, *Index*, 1316; Wb. IV 171.4; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 781.

¹³⁶⁴ Brother of [80] and [113] *Snb=f. ḥ^c* may designate an attendant or servant in the palace or a private household; Ward, *Index*, 625 ‘attendant, helper’; Franke “Probleme der Arbeit,” 122 (no. 1339).

¹³⁶⁵ See profiles [68] and [108].

¹³⁶⁶ Ward, *Index*, 220; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 111.

¹³⁶⁷ Ward, *Index*, 24.

¹³⁶⁸ Brother of [147], *Nb-swmmw*.

¹³⁶⁹ See profiles [54], [80]+[113], [120], [153], and [167].

¹³⁷⁰ Brother of [120] *Ddw-Sbk Ddi* held the priestly title, *ḥm-ntr n(.y) Mntw m M³dw* ‘hem-netjer-priest of Montu at Medamud,’ as did another brother of [120] *Imn-m-ḥ^cw=f* who was *ḥr.y-ḥ³b.t n(.y) Mntw m M³sw* ‘lector priest of Montu at Medamud.’ These men functioned priests, performing rituals and ceremonies concerning the cult statue, in the temple at Medamud (eight km north-east from Thebes; within walking distance of Karnak): Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 22.

¹³⁷¹ See [80]+[113] and [153]. Ward, *Index*, 803; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 119, 121. The brother of [80] and [113], *Ibi* is designated *mty-n-s³* on stela Parma 177, and on stela Kestner-Hanover he is *mty-n-s³ 3bdw*

ḥ3.wt n(.y) Imn.w ‘chief of the offering table of Amun,’ who was presumably responsible for the food and drink provisions for the offering table of Amun, and its redistribution amongst temple staff.¹³⁷² Lastly, one family includes a relative with the title *sš ḥw.t-ntr* ‘scribe of the temple.’¹³⁷³

Finally, there is one family that includes a relative that holds the title, *im.y-r3 ʿ-hnw.ty n(.y) wʿr.t tp-rs.yt* ‘overseer of the palace interior (on behalf) of the section of the head of south.’¹³⁷⁴ This individual was an ‘overseer of the palace interior,’ one of the principal officials working in the palace, but attached to the administrative unit known as the ‘head of the south.’ He probably performed assignments and tasks on their behalf. In addition, there is one family group directly connected to the royal family: *Sbk-ḥtp* [138] is related to the royal family through his father, *s3-nsw.t Snb*. This title was a rank designating brothers of the king, and not a functional office.¹³⁷⁵ *Snb* was the brother of Sobekhotep III. Their father was the *it-ntr* ‘god’s father’ Montuhotep, a man of non-royal descent. *Sbk-ḥtp* is, thus, part of the royal family, the son of the king’s brother. Sobekhotep III was of non-royal origins and may be identified as *3tw n(.y) tt ḥk3* ‘commander of the ruler’s crew,’ a high-ranking military official, and a son of Montuhotep who is attested on fifteen scarabs.¹³⁷⁶ Sobekhotep III may, in fact, have become king by usurping the throne through a *coup*. He deliberately usurped the monuments of his predecessors and proclaimed his non-royal descent openly.¹³⁷⁷ The 13th dynasty was a time of political tensions, perhaps allowing Sobekhotep III to situate himself on the throne.

(Ward, *Index*, 804). In the temple, four ‘phyles’ supplied the necessary staff for running the temple each month in rotation. The ‘controller of a phyle (of priests)’ designated the person in charge of a particular phyle during its month of service; the ‘controller’ was selected from the individuals reporting to serve for that particular month: Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 119. In the case of the latter *Ibi*, he was particularly affiliated with the temple at Abydos.

¹³⁷² See [54]. Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 123.

¹³⁷³ See [167]. Ward, *Index*, 1398. The ‘scribe of a temple’ may have been the practical manager of the temple’s economic affairs on a daily basis. They were probably subordinate to the local governor and *im.y-r3 ḥm.w-ntr* at the temple. Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 121

¹³⁷⁴ Ward, *Index*, 77. See [127]; held by the son of *sms.w ḥ3.y.t S3-Pth*’s sister, *Rdi*. For discussion on the title *im.y-r3 ʿ-hnw.ty* see Section 3.4.1. It may refer to his attachment, as ‘overseer of the palace interior’ linked to the administration of the ‘head of the south. cf. *im.y-r3 ʿ-hnw.ty n pr-ḥd*, in the same way this title was attached the treasury. The *im.y-r3 ʿ-hnw.ty n wʿr.t tp-rs.yt* perhaps refers also to the extent of *Rdi*’s authority (?).

¹³⁷⁵ Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 226-227.

¹³⁷⁶ Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 222-223, 225.

¹³⁷⁷ Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 297.

Administrative sectors	Individuals (Out of 71)	Percentage (%)	Social Groups (Out of 27)	Percentage (%)
Military titles	32	45.1	20	74.1
‘Unspecific’ titles	13	18.3	9	33.3
Labour organisation	5	7.1	5	18.5
Temple priesthood and administration	6	8.4	5	18.5
Treasury and provisions quarter (<i>šn^c</i>)	3	4.2	3	11.1
Scribal titles	3	4.2	3	11.1
Palace	3	4.2	2	7.4
Provincial titles	2	2.8	2	7.4
Miscellaneous occupations	2	2.8	2	7.2
Fields	1	1.4	1	3.7
Livestock-pens	1	1.4	1	3.7

Table 5.3. Summary table showing affiliations of family groups to the various sectors of the administration.

5. 3. 2. 2. ‘Associates’ (unrelated)

This groups looks at the social networks between the *sms.w h3y.t* and officials where no relationship or kinship is specified. There are eighteen social groups consisting of individuals who are not related to a *sms.w h3y.t* (i.e. kinship is not specified). These can be divided into two groups, Group A examines those associates appearing on the monuments belonging to the *sms.w h3y.t* (= ego), while in Group B the *sms.w h3y.t* (= alter) appears on the monuments of others.

Group A

There are eight social groups where a *sms.w h3y.t* is the ‘ego’ and eighteen individuals appear on his monument even though no kinship is specified between them.¹³⁷⁸ The nature of the relationship between these non-relatives and the *sms.w h3y.t* is unknown but the fact that they were included on his monument indicates that they must be closely associated in some way.

There are five social groups that include an individual (total of eight individuals) with a military title (discussed above).¹³⁷⁹ The title *wr mḏw šm^c.w* occurs in one instance; held by an ‘associate’ of *Nb-swmnw* [90]. Two social groups include non-relatives with a title

¹³⁷⁸ See profiles [90], [93], [98], [103], [114], [115]+[94], [125], and [145].

¹³⁷⁹ These are *šms.w, 3tw n(y) niw.t*, and *ḥnh.w n(y) niw.t*. See profiles [98], [114], [125], and [145].

related to the provisions quarters (*šn^c*) and treasury of the palace.¹³⁸⁰ The associates of *Nsw-Mntw* [103], *Nht.y* and *Ipy-^cnh*, hold the titles *im.y-r³ pr(?) htm.ty(w)(?)* ‘steward of the sealers’¹³⁸¹ and *im.y-r³ pr-šn^c* ‘overseer of the provisions quarter’¹³⁸² respectively. Another individual, *Tty*, associated with *Hr.y* [114], was *im.y-r³ st* ‘overseer of the storehouse.’¹³⁸³ Two individuals, *Imn.w-dd.w* and *Rn=f-snb*, associated with *Nfr-Htp* [98] held the title *im.y-r³ ^c-h_{nw}.ty n(.y) pr-h_d* ‘overseer of the inner section (of the palace) of the treasury.’¹³⁸⁴ This is a title connected to both the palace administration and the treasury. These ‘overseers’ belonged to the palace administrators monitoring activities of the palace interior, and likely carried out assignments and other tasks on behalf of various palace institutions, including the *pr-h_d* ‘treasury’ (see Section 3.4.1). This same social group also included an ‘associate,’ *Rn=f-snb*, with the title *im.y-r³ m_d.wt n(.y) w^cr.t tp-rsy* ‘overseer of livestock pens of the district head of the south,’ who probably managed the livestock within the king’s estates, which supplied the palace with food.¹³⁸⁵ Finally, there is also one individual, *Imn.w-m-h^cw=f* who was *im.y-r³ pr* ‘overseer of the estate.’¹³⁸⁶ In

¹³⁸⁰ See profiles [103] and [114].

¹³⁸¹ The *im.y-r³ pr htm.ty* is not attested in Ward’s *Index* but was perhaps in charge of the accounts of the ‘sealers’ (*hmt.tyw*). The sealers were responsible for sealing commodities at the palace but also operated at a local level. This section of the stela is difficult to reconstruct; another possible reading includes *im.y-r³ htm.tyw* ‘overseer of sealers’ (Ward, *Index*, 367). The ‘overseer of sealers’ was responsible for agrarian produces such as grains but also livestock when they arrived at the palace. He would supervise the work preparing these goods and perhaps sealed and stored them: Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 241, 250.

¹³⁸² The *im.y-r³ pr-šn^c* ‘overseer of the provision quarters’ (Ward, *Index*, 381) was ultimately in charge of the main economic ‘provisions quarters’ of the palace, which was primarily involved in food production: Grajetzki, “Setting State Anew,” 238; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 64-65.

¹³⁸³ The *šn^c* comprises of various storerooms and magazines where the various food, drink and commodities required by the people at the palace were prepared and stored. The *im.y-r³ st* ‘overseer of storerooms’ (Ward, *Index*, 313; Wb IV 2.17; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 700; FCD 206) was the senior official in charge of several of these storerooms. There were likely more than one officials acting in this position and they reported directly to the ‘overseer of sealed goods’: Grajetzki, “Setting State Anew,” 243; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 45, 47; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 65.

¹³⁸⁴ See Section 3.4.1. The *im.y-r³ ^c-h_{nw}.ty n(.y) pr-h_d* ‘overseer of the palace interior of the treasury’ (Ward, *Index*, 84) was a palace official who likely represented the treasury and performed tasks on their behalf. The *im.y-r³ ^c-h_{nw}.ty n(.y) pr-h_d* are also attested on many inscriptions from the Sinai which indicates they were involved in obtaining raw materials for the palace treasury. According to Grajetzki, they are not particularly high in the hierarchy. Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 245-246; Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 125; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 119.

¹³⁸⁵ See [98]. Ward, *Index*, 217; Wb. II 185.7. He would have, as the title phrase suggests, been in charge of various livestock stables and paddocks within the region known as ‘head of the south’: Grajetzki, “Setting the State Anew,” 240, 250.

¹³⁸⁶ See [93]. The *im.y-r³ pr* ‘overseer of the estate’ (Ward, *Index*, 132, Wb. I 514.10) frequently translated simply as ‘steward’ is a rather tricky title, in the sense of determining with which branch of administration it is associated. A ‘steward’ could indeed be attached to the palace and work with the ‘high-steward’ but they are also present elsewhere in the central administration. They could be attached to the local administration where they were likely subordinate to the local governor. Others may have managed temple estates or even estates belonging to high-ranking officials. Some of the ‘stewards’ are shown to have worked closely with the vizier. For example, a letter from the Reisner Papyri demonstrates that the vizier, Intefiqer wrote to an *im.y-r³*

terms of personnel in the temple, two individuals within the same social group [115] are attested with a title related to the temple: (1) the *sš md̓.t-ntr* ‘scribe of the divine documents’,¹³⁸⁷ *Tnn*,¹³⁸⁸ and (2) *It(=i)* who held the unusual title *kḫ.w* ‘libationer’.¹³⁸⁹

Group B

There are also ten social groups where the *sms.w ḥȝy.t* is one of the ‘alter’ on the stela and no kinship term is used to describe his relationship with the ‘ego’.¹³⁹⁰ It is certain that the *sms.w ḥȝy.t* is somehow associated with the owner of the monument, but it is difficult to ascertain whether he was also connected to the others on the stela. The individuals discussed in Group A were included by the owner of the stela, who was the *sms.w ḥȝy.t*; he made the choice to include all of them. In Group B, however, the situation is reversed. The *sms.w ḥȝy.t* is the one who had the honour to be included on someone else’s funerary monument.

(1) [108]: The ‘ego’ (and owner of the stela) is *šms.w ʿ.w(w)* ‘guard of mercenaries’,¹³⁹¹ *Iw=f-r-snb*, whose son, *Ppy*, is identified on the stela as *im.y-ht sȝ(w)-pr*. Others on the stela, without any specified kinship ties, are two *ḥr.y (n) tm*, *Ḥmmi*, and *Snb=f*, the *ir.y-pd.t Sr*, the *im.y-rȝ ḥnty(w)-š* ‘overseer of attendants (?)’,¹³⁹² *Rn-nw*, the *im.y-rȝ wʿr.t n(y) nbw.wy* ‘overseer of the section of gold-workers’,¹³⁹³ *Sȝ-Sbk*, and another man named *Iw=f-*

pr about matters relating to labour organisation (which was in the purview of the vizier’s administration): Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 226, 231.

¹³⁸⁷ Ward, *Index*, 1388. The ‘scribe of the divine documents’ was regularly held by lector priests, and was in charge of the ritual books and religious writings. These men often worked as draughtsmen.

¹³⁸⁸ Marée suggests that *Tnn* was the artist who designed the stela, and his unobtrusive figure with a separate formula was the equivalent of his signature. His inclusion on [116]’s stela (Stela Warsaw 141262) was in acknowledgement of services rendered and would include him in the funerary rituals: Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 38; M. Marée, “Edfu under Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties: The Monuments in the National Museum of Warsaw, *BMSAES* 12 (2009), 46-47.

¹³⁸⁹ This title is not in Ward’s *Index*. This title may, however, refer to a priestly title such as ‘purity controller’ (Reinheitskontroleur) or ‘libations dispenser’ (Wb. V 27.6; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 922). Since *Ḥr-ʿȝ* and his family did not hold any religious titles, and his name and titles are crudely written suggesting he was not related to this family group. Marée suggests that this man was most likely a local priest under contract with *Ḥr-ʿȝ* tasked with performing libation rites before the latter’s monuments. His inclusion on the stela was in part a reward for his services and in part proof of a binding business agreement: Marée, “Edfu under Twelfth to Seventeenth Dynasties,” 45-47.

¹³⁹⁰ See profiles [57], [58]+[101]+[112]+[118]+[163], [79], [92], [108], [123], [137], [148], [150], and [168].

¹³⁹¹ Not in Ward’s *Index*.

¹³⁹² Ward, *Index*, 304. This title is now usually only associated with the temple during the late Middle Kingdom, likely functioning as a priest: Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 127.

¹³⁹³ Ward, *Index*, 112. The artisans and craftsmen at the palace are believed to be organised into *wʿr.t* ‘section’ or ‘guilds’ according to their shared profession. As the title phrase suggests, this official was responsible for a ‘section’ of gold-smiths. The chain of command within a *wʿr.t* is not completely clear. There are *im.y-rȝ wʿr.t n(y) nbw.yw* who may have been the leader of the entire sector, but the title *im.y-rȝ*

r-snb who is designated *ᶜ.w* ‘mercenary.’¹³⁹⁴ The inclusion of *Rnnw.tn-sʒ* [108] was probably due to his association with *Iw=f-r-snb* and his son, both of whom held military titles. This is not unusual for a *sms.w hʒy.t*.

(2) [150]: the ‘ego’ of this stela is the *šms.w, Wr-nb*. His son was the *irr.w whm.t*, ‘carver (lit. maker) of furniture,’¹³⁹⁵ *Hnmw*. Other ‘associates’ of *Wr-nb* on the stela include the *im.y-rʒ wᶜr.t* ‘overseer of a section’¹³⁹⁶ *Bmbw*, thD *mdh-nsw.t* ‘carpenter of the king’¹³⁹⁷ *Sʒ-Pth*, the *wdp.w* ‘cup-bearer’¹³⁹⁸ *Sʒ-Pth*, three *irr.w whm.t Sʒ-Pth*, *ᶜkw-Sbk*, and *Iᶜty*, as well as the *ᶜnh.w-ᶜ (?) Iᶜty-mʒ.t* and the *ᶜnh.w n(y) niw.t Hr.y*. Since *Wr-nb*’s son was a craftsman, it accounts for the five individuals with similar titles related to the palace workshops.

(3) [168]: the ‘ego’ of this stela is the *šms.w, Snb*. Others on this stela include (no kinship specified) the *wᶜb Imn.w* ‘wab-priest’¹³⁹⁹ *M.t-hr=f* and the *sš n(y) hnr.t-wr.t Hnsw*.

(4) [57]: the ‘ego’ of this stela is the *hr.y (n) tm, Hm.w-m-Sbk*. Only one other individual is mentioned on his stela, the *sms.w hʒy.t, Iᶜw*.

(5) [148]: the ‘ego’ of this stela is the *hr.y (n) tm, Irr*. Others on this stela include: the *nht-hrw* ‘tally-man’¹⁴⁰⁰ *Sʒ-Sbk*, the *ᶜhᶜ* ‘attendant’ *Imn.y*, two *šms.w Snb.tyfy*, and *Sʒ-Sbk*, and the *šms.w ᶜrryt Snb*. Since the function and meaning of the title *hr.y (n) tm* remains elusive, it is difficult to establish the connection between these individuals. The association between this title, and the various *šms.w*, and *sms.w hʒy.t* is not unusual, however.

nbw.yw ‘overseer of gold workers’ are also attested. Whether there is another overseer in between the gold worker and the ‘overseer of the sector of gold workers’ or whether this represents one position is unknown: Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 253; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 75.

¹³⁹⁴ FCD 39.

¹³⁹⁵ Ward, *Index*, 558. The *irr.w whm.t* were craftsmen involved in woodworking, and were likely responsible for the beautifully carved furniture legs in the form of animal fore- and hind-legs found in wood and ivory: Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 76.

¹³⁹⁶ Ward, *Index*, 108. The ‘overseer of a section’ was the head of a group of craftsmen who were divided into ‘sections’ (*wᶜr.t*): Grajetzki, “Setting the State Anew,” 252.

¹³⁹⁷ FCD 124; Wb. II 190.11-12. This is a title attached to the palace and likely within the craftsman workshops but how it fits into the *wᶜr.t* ‘section’ system and hierarchy is uncertain. As carpenters, the *mdh-nsw.t* were also involved in woodworking though it is unknown how they related to one another. In the Middle Kingdom, this title could also refer to stonemasons.

Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 76; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 253.

¹³⁹⁸ Ward, *Index*, 755; Wb. I 388.1-10; FCD 73; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 242; Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 120.

¹³⁹⁹ Ward, *Index*, 639.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Ward, *Index*, 837; Wb. II 318.11; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 453; Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 121. The tallyman or ‘crier’ was the individual who called out a tally, final count or who called out commands to a work-gang. These officials are thought to be distinguished by their powerful voice, which would have been advantageous in performing these tasks. Quirke notes that while it may seem like a low level administrative job, some of the *nht-hrw* have seals inscribed with their name and title, suggesting that perhaps they had a higher-rank than is usually assumed Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 96.

(6) [92]: the ‘ego’ of this stela is the *hrd n(.y) k3p* ‘child of the inner palace’ *S3-Sbk*.¹⁴⁰¹ Two other individuals mentioned on this stela are simply the *im.y-ht* ‘assistant supervisor’ *Wnm.t* and *Nb-swmnw*. Since *S3-Sbk* and *Nb-swmnw* are both connected to the palace, it is not surprising that they would be associated with each other. It might hint at the fact that both are connected to life in the inner palace.

(7) [123]: The ‘ego’ is the *im.y-r3 pr*, *D3=f-mw*. A number of individuals are mentioned on this monument, in list format, related to a number of administrative branches (no kinship terms are used on the entire stela):

- *idnw n(.y) im.y-r3 ip3.t-nsw.t* ‘deputy of the overseer of the king’s apartments’¹⁴⁰² *Spwd-m-s3=f*.
- *s3 ip3.t-nsw.t* ‘scribe of the king’s private apartments’¹⁴⁰³ *Spdw-m-s3=f (ms.n St-ip)*.
- *im.y-r3 šnt* ‘overseer of disputes’ *Hnty-m-ħ3.t*.¹⁴⁰⁴
- *s3 n(.y) hr.y-pr* ‘scribe of the majordomo’¹⁴⁰⁵ *Snb.t(y)(f)y (ms.n Šhtp-ib)*.
- *s3* ‘scribe’ *Spdw-htp-p(3)-nty-n (ms.n S3.t-ip)*.
- *t3w n(.y) s3 n(.y) t3.ty* ‘assistant (?) of the scribe of the vizier’ *Snb-bw*.¹⁴⁰⁶

¹⁴⁰¹ See Section 3.4. This title may be indicative of the education this individual received: at the palace with the royal children. This title may also have functioned as a court title. Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 39-40, 44.

¹⁴⁰² Ward, *Index*, 574. The term *ip3.t-nsw.t* was discussed in Section 3.4. It referred to the private living quarters of the king in the palace, which was a highly restricted part of the palace. This stela Stockholm NME 17 is the sole attestation of a *idnw im.y-r3 ip3.t-nsw.t* so it is uncertain how (if it did) differ from the more frequently attested *im.y-r3 ip3.t-nsw.t*. Ward, *Index*, 36; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 26.

¹⁴⁰³ Ward, *Index*, 1349.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Ward, *Index*, 390. This official was likely responsible for listening and resolving disputes and crimes. It seems this office combined the function and authority of the police and a judge; he could detain people and judge them for crimes. This individual can be high ranking at the royal court during the Middle Kingdom. From the stela of *im-r3 šnt* Dedu-sobek (BM 566, *ANOC* 3.1) it appears this official had the authority to torture people to gain information: ‘the master of the secrets in the chamber of those who do not want to speak, who knows the man from his saying, when the stomach reveals what is in it, who causes that the heart spit out what it has swallowed, who enters in the single chamber in the front part of the palace at the day of hearing of a character.’ It also appears this official was attached to the palace. Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 106; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 223, 257-258.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Ward, *Index*, 1404. This is only attestation of this title. Quirke suggests this official may have been responsible for recording and/or assigning duties to the palace domestic staff: Quirke, *Titles and Bureaux*, 46.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Ward, *Index*, 1587. The meaning of the title *t3w* is not completely understood. It is rarely attested independently in the sources (Wb V 349.9). Scholars have translated it as ‘bearer’ (Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 235; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 88; FCD 303) or ‘journeyman’ (Ward, *Index*, 1587) while Hannig also includes ‘assistant’ (Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 1018). It is a low ranking title within the scribal personnel of the central administration. Quirke suggested that the *t3w* attached to a scribe was responsible for the material arrangements when his supervisor was away from his ‘office.’ The *t3w* was less the assistant of the scribe himself, but more attached to the documents or materials of the scribe. Grajetzki, on the other hand, believes it is unlikely they were solely responsible for the scribe’s equipment, and suggests that they were tasked with the more mundane work of the scribes such as keeping the files and documents in order. While it is indeed a low-ranking position, *Snb-bw* was the ‘bearer’ to the ‘scribe of the vizier,’ who was a relatively important official; the ‘scribe of the vizier’ acted as the vizier’s deputy rather than just as a scribal

- *idnw n(y) im.y-r3 htm.t* ‘deputy of the overseer of sealed goods’ *Mry*.
- *im.y-r3 pr hsb rmt*, ‘steward of the accounting of people’¹⁴⁰⁷ *Pth-nfr (S3.t-hnty)*.
- *im.y-r3 pr rmt*, ‘steward of people’¹⁴⁰⁸ *nh.w-b3k.y, Snb (ms.n N(y).t-nbw)*, and *Imn.w-m-h3.t*.
- *htm.ty-ntr* ‘god’s sealer’ *Mrry (ms.n nh=s)*.¹⁴⁰⁹
- *wty* ‘embalmer’ *Spdw-m-s3=f (ms.n S3.t-ip ms.n T3-ntt-n=i ms.n S3.t-ip)*.

This stela is rather unusual because it lists each official without designating any kinship to the principal owner of the monument. The monument includes a mixture of personnel attached to the palace in various roles, from domestic staff to treasury and accounting officials. It might be that this stela was set up to honour these men whom all worked together in the palace.

(8) [79]: The ‘ego’ of this stela is the *mdh nsw.t* ‘carpenter of the king’ *Gbw*, a title he also shares with this son, *Imn.y*. *Gbw* included the following individuals on his monument, the *irr.w whm.t Imn.y* and *Km*, two *im.y-r3 wcr.t n(y) irr.w whm.t* ‘overseer of a section of furniture carvers’¹⁴¹⁰ *S3-hi*, and *Sbk-htp*, the *im.y-r3 pr* ‘steward’ *Imn.y*, and the *nh.w n(y) niw.t Rn=f-snb*. The nature of the relationship between *Pth-htp* and *Gbw* the carpenter is difficult to establish. While both could have been attached to the palace, there is very little overlap on any other level.

(9) [137]: the ‘ego’ of this stela is the *im.y-r3 st* ‘overseer of the storehouse’ *Sn-wsr.t Iw-nfr*. His brother, *Ibi*, followed in his footsteps as *im.y-r3 st* while his son, also *Ibi*, was *im.y-r3 pr* ‘steward.’ His father, *Snb*, was *im.y-r3 hnty(w)-š*. One official, the *im.y-r3 mšc* ‘overseer of the troops’ *Imn.y* was designated *hnms=f* ‘his friend.’ The term *hnms* is another recurring kinship term, which is traditionally rendered as ‘friend’ but may also mean ‘in-law’ or simply ‘relative.’ In some texts individuals labelled *hnms* appear to be related to the owner of the monument, but there are also cases where this is improbable, thus Willems prefers translating it as ‘friend.’¹⁴¹¹ Others on the stela, with no kinship specified, are:

or clerical assistant. Whether he could one day become scribe to the vizier himself, is unknown: Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 130; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 232, 235.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Ward, *Index*, 167. This official was likely concerned with managing the personnel on specific estates (?), under the charge of the ‘high steward’ (*im.y-r3 pr wr*): Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 62.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Ward, *Index*, 154. Abbreviated version of the previous title, see above footnote.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Not in Ward’s *Index*. This title may also have designated the senior embalmer at this time, which considering there is another ‘embalmer’ on this stela is plausible. This title is also often held by expedition leaders: Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 127.

¹⁴¹⁰ Ward, *Index*, 109. The ‘overseer of a section of furniture carvers’ was responsible for a group or section (*wcr.t*) of furniture makers: Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 76.

¹⁴¹¹ Willems, “Egyptian Kinship Terminology,” 153.

- *hr.y (n) tm Šhtp-ib*
- *sš wdḥw* ‘scribe of the offering table’¹⁴¹² *Sn-wsr.t ir.n Htp.t*
- *im.y-rš hnr.t-wr.t Dḥwty-htp*
- *ir.y ṭbw nsw.t* ‘keeper of the king’s sandals’¹⁴¹³ *Snn̄y*.
- *ir.y-ḥ.t* ‘keeper of chamber’¹⁴¹⁴ *Hty*.
- *ir.y-ḥ.t mw* ‘keeper of the chamber of water/drinks’¹⁴¹⁵ *Rri*.
- *ps.y* ‘cook’¹⁴¹⁶ *ḥ*.
- *idnw* ‘deputy’ *Sn-wsr.t ir.n Bbw*.

The majority of these individuals were likely *Sn-wsr.t Iw-nfr*’s subordinates in his role as ‘overseer of the storehouse’ in the palace. These titles are mostly related to food or other commodities.

(10) [58]+[101]+[112]+[118]+[163]: the owner and ‘ego’ of this monument is unknown, as the stela is damaged. In addition to five *sms.ww ḥḳy.t*, there are three other officials: (1) *ḥnh.w n(y) niw.t Ipw*, and (2) *Kḳ.wy=s*, and (3) *hr.y (n) iḥw n(y) ḥtp.w-ntr* ‘chief of the cattle of the divine offerings’¹⁴¹⁷ *P(ḳ)-n-Gb.tyw*.

This social group of ‘associates’ is particularly insightful as it reflects the more collegial relationship and/or associations (friendship) other than family of the *sms.w ḥḳy.t*. The family group consists only of family members, which is indicative of their background but does not reveal with whom they associated on a daily basis.

¹⁴¹² Ward, *Index*, 1378.

¹⁴¹³ Ward, *Index*, 552. This is an occupational title attached to the palace. According to Quirke, this individual would have made leather sandals for the king, although he was likely to have worked with leather generally as well. It is uncertain whether they were, like many other skilled craftsmen and workers, organised into a ‘section’ (*wḥr.t*). Wb V 362.22; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 98; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 75.

¹⁴¹⁴ Ward, *Index*, 452; Wb. I 104.2; FCD 25; Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 120. *Hty* was part of the hierarchy of the *šnḥ* ‘provision quarters’ of the palace. This official supervised an individual storeroom where food/drink or commodities were prepared and stored, though they had no control over them. They reported to one of the multiple ‘overseer of the storerooms,’ meaning that *Hty* was probably one of *Sn-wsr.t Iw-nfr*’s subordinates: Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 243; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 66).

¹⁴¹⁵ The more specific, ‘keeper of the chamber of water’ (i.e. drinks?) is not recorded in Ward’s *Index* so it is perhaps not a permanent ‘chamber’ within the *šnḥ* and was simply very much required at the time. Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 244; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 95.

¹⁴¹⁶ Ward, *Index*, 787. The occupational title *ps.y* likely refers to a ‘cook’ or ‘baker.’ This could be in the palace or private household and was not a high position: Wb. I 552.12; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 311.

¹⁴¹⁷ Not in Ward’s *Index*. This official was likely involved in the management of livestock for the temple estate.

Administrative sectors and specific titles	Individuals (Out of 27)	Percentage (%)	Social Groups (Out of 17)	Percentage (%)
Military titles	11 (13) ¹⁴¹⁸	40.7 (48.1)	8 (10)	47 (58.8)
Provisions quarter <i>šn^c</i> and treasury	4	14.8	3	17.6
Palace	3	11.1	2 (3) ¹⁴¹⁹	11.8 (17.6)
Labour (?) – <i>hr.y (n) tm</i>	2	7.4	2	11.8
Temple administration and priesthood	2	7.4	2	11.8
Administrative titles (<i>im.y-r³ pr</i>)	2	7.4	2	11.8
Vizier (?) – <i>wr mḏw šm^c.w</i>	1	3.7	1	5.9
Craftsmen/royal workshops	1	3.7	1	5.9
Livestock-pens (<i>mḏ.wt</i>)	1	3.7	1	5.9

Table 5.4. Table showing affiliations of ‘associates’ social groups to the various branches of the administration.

5. 3. 2. 3. Secondary contacts

The last type of group are seven family groups where the *sms.w h³y.t* as ‘alter’ is filiated to the ‘ego’ by a kinship term, but these groups also included twenty-one individuals whose kinship to the ‘ego’ is unspecified. The *sms.w h³y.t* is only connected to these individuals through the ‘ego’ (who is a family member) forming an indirect or secondary affiliation.¹⁴²⁰ Their connection to these individuals may be quite distant, but perhaps they did know each other and were at least part of the same social environment.

1. The ‘ego’ on this stela (CG 20280) is the *sš^c n-nsw.t sm³yt Mw.t-wr.t Snn* who is the father of [156]. There are seven men who are associated with *Snn* although no kinship terms are specified, so the nature of their relationship is unknown: the *ḥn^h.w n(y) tt ḥk³ S³-Sbk*, the *šms.w Snb=f*, the *im.y-r³ mrḥ.t* ‘overseer of the *mrḥ.t*-oils’¹⁴²¹ *S³-Sbk*, two *ḥrd n(y)*

¹⁴¹⁸ Number in brackets includes the title *hr.y n tm*, which may possibly have been a security official associated with the *hnr.t* labour enclosures.

¹⁴¹⁹ Number in brackets includes the social group of [123] on stela Stockholm NME 17. The stela includes an entire group of unrelated individuals, increasing the chances that they all knew each other and worked together in the palace.

¹⁴²⁰ E.g. Family of [53]+[104]+[105]: the ‘ego’ is *S³-Ptḥ* who is specified as the father of [53], [104] and [105]. There are four individuals on this stela who are not described using a kinship term, and thus not a member of their family. These four men are more closely associated with the stela owner *S³-Ptḥ* than the *sms.w h³y.t*.

¹⁴²¹ The *im.y-r³ mrḥ.t* (Ward, *Index*, 201; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 61) was part of the personnel within the ‘provisioning quarter’ (*šn^c*) of the palace under the charge of the ‘overseer of storerooms.’ Certain

k3p ‘child of the inner palace’ *S3-Pth*, and *3b*, and two *mdh-nsw.t* ‘carpenter of the king’ *Rci*, and *Hnty-hti-htp*.

2. The ‘ego’ is the *hm.w-ntr n(y) Mntw-m-M3dw, Ddw-Sbk Ddi* the brother of [120]. Three individuals are included on this stela (ÄS 5897) without a kinship term: the *ir.y-pd.t Nfr-htp*, the *sš n(y) hnr.t-wr.t Nfr-htp*, and the *htm.ty-bi.ty hrp-wsh.t* ‘seal bearer of the king, director of the broad-hall’ *Nfr-htp*.¹⁴²² Since the latter was attached to a particular section in the palace, he might be linked to the *sms.w h3y.t Hnsw* on the stela rather than the priest *Ddw-Sbk Ddi*.

3. The ‘ego’ of this stela is the *sš n(y) hnr.t-wr.t S3-Pth*, father of [53], [104], and [105]. The four other non-family members included on *S3-Pth*’s stela (Firenze 2553) are: the *sms.w rry.t* ‘guard of the palace-approach’ *S3-iy-ts*, the *sš wr n(y) im.y-r3 htm.t* ‘chief scribe of the overseer of sealed goods’¹⁴²³ *Nb-swmmw*, and two *hc* ‘attendant’ *Snb.tify*, and *Imn.w-htp=i*.

4. The ‘ego’ of this stela (Berlin 7300) is the *ihms n(y) t-hnk.t S3-Imn.w*, brother of [144]. One man – *Nfr-htp* – is not related to the ‘ego’ and he has the title *hc*.

5. The ‘ego’ of this stela (ÄS 135) is the *s3-nsw.t* ‘king’s son’ *Snb*, father of *Sbk-htp* [138]. The ‘associate’ of *Snb* is *im.y-r3 st ck* ‘overseer of the storeroom of provisions/bread’ *K3(y)-w3h*.¹⁴²⁴

6. The ‘ego’ of this stela (CG 20056) is the *hr.y sš htm.t n(y) wcr.t, Nfr-htp*, brother of [153]. This stela includes three ‘associates’ with the following titles, the *sš n(y) hnr.t-wr.t Mn-i3w*, the *sš n(y) 3h.wt* ‘scribe of the fields’¹⁴²⁵ *S3-Imn.w*, and the *hr.y-pr* ‘manservant’ or ‘majordomo’ *Rcy*.¹⁴²⁶

commodities, such as *mrh.t*-oil, were of great value even in small quantities, which may explain why it warranted its own ‘overseer.’ The ‘overseer of *mrh.t*-oils’ was probably, as the title phrase, suggests in charge of the production and storage of scented oils and cosmetics: Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 67.

¹⁴²² The title ‘director of the broad-hall’ (Ward, *Index*, 1147) may be associated with the outer sector of the palace. Due to the *htm.ty-bi.ty* prefix, however, this official was a high-ranking member of the state. The function of this office remains undetermined: Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 30. See also Section 3.4.1.

¹⁴²³ The ‘chief scribe of the overseer of sealed goods’ (Ward, *Index*, 1371) was part of the personnel working closely with the ‘overseer of sealed goods.’ This position was likely primarily a clerical assistant and carrying out tasks and missions for the ‘overseer’: Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 119; Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 241.

¹⁴²⁴ FCD 50; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 174. This title is not recorded in Ward’s *Index*. The term *ck* is defined as ‘loaves of bread, provisions, food, income, and revenue.’ Thus, it is perhaps a more specific variant of the title *im.y-r3 st*.

¹⁴²⁵ The ‘scribe of the fields’ (Ward, *Index*, 30) was subordinate to the ‘overseer of fields’ (*im.y-r3 3h.wt*), perhaps doing the actual administrative work related to measuring the fields etc., while the ‘overseer of fields’ acted in a more supervisory role: Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 234; Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 121.

¹⁴²⁶ The *hr.y-pr* ‘manservant’ or ‘majordomo,’ (Ward, *Index*, 977) was a low ranking title domestic title. They are mostly attested attached to private households of high officials. Some also worked at the palace

7. The ‘ego’ of this stela (CG 20311) is the *im.y-rʿ ʿ-hnw.ty n(.y) wʿr.t tp-rs.yt* ‘overseer of the palace interior of the section of the head of south’,¹⁴²⁷ *Rdi*. *Rdi* is the son of the sister of *Sʿ-Pth* [127]. Two individuals associated with *Rdi* include the *wr mḏw Šmʿ.w Hnmw-rdi* and the *ir.y-ʿ.t n(.y) šnʿ htp.w-ntr* ‘keeper of the chamber of provisions quarter of the divine offerings’,¹⁴²⁸ *M-ik-wr=i*.¹⁴²⁹ *Rdi* and *Sʿ-Pth* likely worked in the palace, which may account for the inclusion of the latter in this monument. In addition, the brother of *Sʿ-Pth*, *Ity*, was also *wr mḏw Šmʿ.w* suggesting he and *Hnmw-rdi* were colleagues of *Rdi*’s father, *Šsw*, who also held this office.

♦♦♦

A variety of titles and occupations are attested connected to several family members of the *sms.w hʿy.t*. This social group is the most distantly connected with the *sms.w hʿy.t* title-holders and then only indirectly because they are primarily associated with the owner of these funerary monuments.

In addition, there are ten social groups which include more than one *sms.w hʿy.t* title-holder: two brothers (*sn*) [66] and [107], three brothers [53], [104], and [105], father and son [80] and [113], two brothers-in-law [65] and [145] and their associate [146],¹⁴³⁰ two brothers [97] and [135], two brothers [142] and [143], father and son [115] and [94], father and son [164] and [96], five associates [58], [101], [112], [118], and [163],¹⁴³¹ and finally two associates [140] and [144].¹⁴³² The main kinship type between them is *sn* ‘brother’ which, as was pointed out in Section 5.3.1, can mean anything from a fraternal brother to a close friend. Based on this overview, it is highly likely that there was more than one *sms.w hʿy.t* in office at a time.

(e.g. *hr.y-pr pr-ʿʿ* Ward, *Index*, 983) under the ‘overseer of sealed goods.’ They carried out tasks related to the living quarters of the palace/household, rather than duties related to the provisions and food. Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 247; Quirke, *Titles and bureaux*, 46.

¹⁴²⁷ Ward, *Index*, 77.’

¹⁴²⁸ Ward, *Index*, 491.

¹⁴²⁹ *M-ik-wr=i* was likely responsible for the food and other commodities stored in the ‘chambers’ (*ʿ.t*) of the provision quarters in a temple.

¹⁴³⁰ The owner of stela CG 20610 is *Snb* (ii) [145]. *Ipy* [65] is the husband of *Snb* (ii)’s sister, *Hnw.t*, and also holds the title *sms.w hʿy.t*. Finally, another man *Snb* (iii) [146] is identified as *sms.w hʿy.t* but no kinship to [146] or any other individual on the stela is specified.

¹⁴³¹ These officials appear on the stela of a man whose name and titles are lost (stela Rouen AEG. 348). No kinship terms used for anyone on the stela. The relationship between these men is unknown.

¹⁴³² *Sn.wy-m-šʿ* [144] is the brother of the ‘ego’ of the stela *iḥms n(.y) ʿ.t-hnk.t Sʿ-Imn*. *Sn.w* [142] also appears on the stela though no kinship is specified to either men.

5. 3. 3. Title succession

In only three instances is there a direct father to son succession of the *sms.w h3y.t* title, *Mntw-nht* [80] is the father of *Hr.y* [113] and *Nfr-htp* [96] is the father of *Tty-šri* [164]. In the case of *Hr-č3* [115], who was the father of *Nfr-htp* [94], the latter was too young to actually have held the title at the time (depicted nude and with a side-lock); whether he later actually followed in his father's footsteps is unknown (though clearly he was expected to). There are seventeen further instances where the paternal line is known:

(a) In five cases, the father or grandfather of a *sms.w h3y.t* holds the title *wr mdw Šmč.w* 'great one of tens of Upper Egypt'.¹⁴³³

(b) In two cases, the father of a *sms.w h3y.t* holds the title *s3b r3-Nhn* 'sab speaker of Nekhen'.¹⁴³⁴

(c) In four cases, the title held by a parent or grandparent of a *sms.w h3y.t* is 'military' in character:

1. Father of [115]: *shd šms.w.w*
2. Father of [95] *3tw č3 n(.y) niw.t*
3. Father of [142] and [143]: *ir.y pd.t*
4. Paternal grandfather of [53], [104], and [105]: *šms.w*

(d) Finally, in six cases the titles are miscellaneous:

1. Father of [53], [104], and [105]: *sš n(.y) hnr.t wr(.t)*
2. Father of [153]: *sš n(.y) md.wt*
3. Father of [54]: *htm.ty bi.ty im.y-r3 3h.wt*
4. Father of [156]: *sš č-n-nsw.t sm3y.t Mw.t wr.t*
5. Paternal grandfather of [156]: *sns*
6. Paternal grandfather of [157]: *hr.y (n) tm*

In addition, there are nine sons of a *sms.w h3y.t* (with a title) in the Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period corpus within seven family groups; seven out of nine (77.8%) have a title related to the 'military' or 'guard':

1. Son of [80]: *Rdi.n=f-n=i* *3tw č3 n(.y) niw.t*
2. Son of [136]: *Nb-swmmnw* *čnh.w n(.y) niw.t*
3. Son of [65]: *Nb-swmmnw* *šms.w*
4. Son of [125]: *S3-Imn.w* *shd šms.w*,

¹⁴³³ (1) Father of *Mntw-nht* [80] and *Hr.y* [113], *Rdi.n=f-n=i*, (2) father of *Hr-hr-snčc-ib* [117], *Nb-ir=f* (3) father of *Ibič* [62], *Nsw-Mntw*, (4) father of *S3-Imn* [126], *Imn-htp*, and (5) the paternal grandfather of *Ibič* [63], *Sbk-htp*.

¹⁴³⁴ Father of *Ibič* [63], *Wnm.y* and (2) father of *Shtp-ib* [157], *Shtp-ib*.

5. Son of [93]:	<i>I^c.t</i>	<i>šms.w</i>
6. Son of [114]:	<i>Hry</i>	<i>im.y-ht s³.w-pr.w</i>
7. Son of [147]	<i>Ppy</i>	<i>ir.y pd.t</i>
8. Son of [147]	<i>Nb-swmnw</i>	<i>im.y-^c</i>
9. Son of [147]:	<i>Snb</i>	<i>hr.y (n) tm</i>

There is not enough data to come to any definite conclusions about the succession of the *sms.w h³y.t* office. Perhaps it was not passed on from father to son, but personally bestowed by the king and earned through loyalty and service. The nature of the evidence is also skewed. Most stelae document the maternal line, which leaves the paternal side of an individual's genealogy completely blank. Moreover, many of the monuments on which the *sms.w h³y.t* appear connect them as a 'brother' *sn* to the principal owner of the stela, or do not specify kinship at all. Whether the former represents an actual fraternal tie or not is impossible to determine. Similarly, the fathers of *sms.w h³y.t* seem to hold either an 'unspecific' title or a 'military' one; but these titles are extremely common in the late Middle Kingdom. To definitively say that this is actually a pattern or trend is problematic.

5.3.4. Social Networks: conclusions

These groups are indicative of their family as well as some other relationships, such as friends or colleagues, reflecting with whom *sms.w h³y.t* title-holders were surrounded in their lifetime.

Table 5.3 sums up the affiliations of the family-members of holders of the title *sms.w h³y.t* to various branches of the administration. The first two columns show how many individuals have titles relating to specific administrative sectors, e.g. there are thirty-two individuals (out of seventy-one, 45.1%) who hold a military title. Yet one family group may have several family members with the same title or different titles in the same administrative branch. Thus, it is best to look at the social groups holistically, and even if there is more than one family member with the same title or titles belonging to the same administrative branch, it is representative of one association.¹⁴³⁵ Thus, out of the twenty-seven families, five have at least one individual (but perhaps more) connected to the

¹⁴³⁵ Various families have one or more relatives holding the titles *nh.w n(y) niw.t*, *3tw-^{c3} n(y) niw.t*, *ir.y-pd.t*, *imy-ht s³(.w)-pr* and *šms.w*. If this is the case, that is counted as one association with the military sector. For example, *Hr-^{c3}* [115] has four family members with the following military titles: *nh.w n(y) niw.t* (2), *šms.w*, and *shd šms.w*. Thus, this family is generally connected with the military organisation, and does not count as 'four' separate connections.

organisation of labour (18.3%), and nine families have one or more individuals holding an ‘unspecific’ title (33.3%). Table 5.4 summarises the affiliations of the non-family members of the *sms.w h3y.t* to the various branches of the administration. There are twenty-seven individuals who are definitely connected to the *sms.w h3y.t* in some way without using a kinship term; eighteen individuals in Group A and nine in Group B.¹⁴³⁶ This corresponds to eighteen social groups in total where a *sms.w h3y.t* is connected to an individual where no kinship is specified.

From Table 5.3, it is apparent that *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders are predominantly associated with family-members who are active in the military sector (as soldiers and guards); 74.1% of twenty-seven family groups have one or more relatives who hold a military title. This close association is also reflected in the ‘associates’ social groups, where 47% of seventeen groups also held a title in the military branch.¹⁴³⁷ Another group of titles frequently occurring among family-groups is *s3b r3-Nhn* and/or *wr mḏw Šm^c.w*, and 33.3% of the twenty-seven families have one or more persons holding one of these offices. In terms of the social groups, the former is not attested at all while the latter is observed in only 5.9% of these groups.

Where a paternal filiation can be established (in only twenty cases), the fathers and sons of the *sms.w h3y.t* frequently held titles belonging to the security sector as well as the offices of *s3b r3-Nhn* and/or *wr mḏw Šm^c.w*. – 20% of fathers and 77.8% of sons of the *sms.w h3y.t* have a military title, 25% of fathers have the title *wr mḏw Šm^c.w* and 10% hold the title *s3 r3-Nhn*.¹⁴³⁸ The latter titles are connected to the vizier and palace respectively, and may have been a possible career path for the *sms.w h3y.t*. The connection between these military appointments and the *sms.w h3y.t* is not clear. Both military and unspecific titles become extremely common towards the end of the Middle Kingdom, so it is difficult to determine whether this is indicative of an aspect particular to *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders or part of the general historical trend. This is, however, quite revealing about the socio-economic background of the families of *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders. The titles held by these men are

¹⁴³⁶ In case of the tenth group, the ‘ego’ is not known and is thus excluded.

¹⁴³⁷ There are also two cases where the *sms.w h3y.t* is associated with an official who held the title *hr.y (n) tm*. This may have been a type of security official for the *hnr.t* labour enclosures and, since the *sms.w h3y.t* is often associated with military titles and ‘guards’ (*šms.w, im.y-ḥt s3(.w)-pr*), this may also not be unexpected – it is perhaps a similar office. If this is counted as a military title, the *sms.w h3y.t* are connected to a military official(s) in 58.8% of these social groups.

¹⁴³⁸ In only 15% (or three cases) is the title *sms.w h3y.t* directly passed on to a son. The remaining 20% of fathers of the *sms.w h3y.t* hold miscellaneous offices.

usually relatively modest, indicating that the *sms.ww h3y.t* come from a modest family background.

Apart from this, the evidence reflects a varied network of family and social connections for the *sms.ww h3y.t*. 18.5% of the twenty-seven families have one or more relatives with titles related to the organisation of labour, which is not unexpected as this sector is closely associated with the military at the time – comparatively, 11.8% of the seventeen ‘associate’ groups include one or more individuals with a title in this sector (although this is only the title *hr.y (n) tm*). The *sms.w h3y.t* are occasionally connected to officials related to the palace storehouses and treasury, the temple as well as scribal offices.¹⁴³⁹ 11.1% of the twenty-seven families had one or more relatives with titles related to the economic sectors of the palace (treasury and *šn^c*), 18.5% of them included a relative(s) with temple positions, and 11.1% include one or more persons with scribal or administrative titles. In case of the seventeen unrelated social groups, 17.6% (23.5%) included one or more individuals with titles related to the palace’s economic units, 11.8% include one or more individuals with temple positions, and 11.8% include one or more persons holding administrative titles. These were not genealogical relationships, suggesting these men may have worked with the *sms.w h3y.t* or otherwise have interacted with them in the palace. The social networks shows that holders of the title *sms.w h3y.t* were evenly associated with a wide variety of positions in various branches of the state.

The *sms.w h3y.t* is not often connected to palace officials, which may be unusual for an official working in the palace. The social networks indicate that their families, at least, did not have strong ties to the palace as only one family included two individuals with a palace appointment. In the ‘associates’ social groups the *sms.w h3y.t* is linked to three other officials attached to the palace: one *hrd n(.y) k3p* ‘child of the inner palace’ and two *im.y-r3^c-hnmw.ty n(.y) pr-hd* ‘overseer of the palace interior of the treasury.’¹⁴⁴⁰ Despite the latter title’s attachment to the treasury, at its core it was probably still a palace administrative office. To this, however, can be added the stela on which *Hnmw-htp* [123] appears. It includes an entire group with strong ties to the palace; from personnel of the economic aspect of the palace to its domestic staff. This means that the *sms.w h3y.t* is connected with

¹⁴³⁹ This may, however, be a bias in the evidence itself as the Abydos stela primarily document officials associated with the economic institutions of the palace (such as the *šn^c*) rather than other branches of the administration: Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 240.

¹⁴⁴⁰ See [92] and [98].

palace staff in 17.6% of the seventeen social groups. These associates are not identified by a kinship term, perhaps suggesting a collegial relationship.¹⁴⁴¹

The social status of bearers of the title *sms.w h3y.t* seems to be mid-ranking; their family background is quite modest, primarily of the military sector. Yet, there is the occasional high-ranking family connection. This is designated by the *htm.ty-bi.ty* prefix-title: ‘overseer of fields’ *Dd.tw* (father of [54]) ‘overseer of *gs-pr*,’ *S3-ini-hr.y* (brother of [68] and [108]), and ‘deputy overseer of sealed goods,’ *Ibi^cw* (brother of [68] and [108]).

5. 4. The *sms.w h3y.t* in the Residence/palace

There are several pieces of evidence that not only situate the *sms.w h3y.t* in the palace during the Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period but hint at the function and position of these title-holders. It should be noted that while all sources come from Upper Egypt, these palace officials may still have worked in the palace in the north, but erected their stela in Abydos or elsewhere (perhaps their hometowns?). The petition of *Ibi^c* [64], for example, was sent from *Itjtawy* to Thebes indicating that the *sms.w h3y.t* also operated in the principal Residence.

5. 4. 1. Autobiographical statements and epithets

Explicit statements about the life and career of the *sms.w h3y.t* are extremely rare. Only three officials provide more descriptive statements about their role and social position. While one can always question whether such statements are representative of reality, one cannot dismiss them entirely.

As was discussed in Section 5.2.2, *Nsw-Mntw* [103] was *im.y-r3 mš^c* ‘overseer of troops’ under Amenemhat I and Senwosret I and held various high-ranking court titles (*rh nsw.t*, *ir.y-p^c.t*, *h3.ty-^c*, *htm.ty-bi.ty*, *smr w^c.ty*). Introducing the autobiographical part of the text, *Nsw-Mntw* states, *ink hr.y-tp sms.w(w) h3y.t tkn st mty m pr-nsw.t 3 shr m ip3.t-nsw.t iyi n=f wr.w m ksw h3.ty(w)-^c m rdi.y hr ht* ‘I was chief elder of the porch, who approaches¹⁴⁴² the throne,¹⁴⁴³ who is reliable¹⁴⁴⁴ in the palace,¹⁴⁴⁵ whose counsel¹⁴⁴⁶ is important in the

¹⁴⁴¹ It should also be kept in mind that there is a general lack of data on palace officials.

¹⁴⁴² *tkn* Wb. V 333.10; FCD 302; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 1012.

¹⁴⁴³ The word *st* is a generic and rather vague term for ‘seat, place, throne of the king, residence of the king, household, administrative office, and chamber’ though the term that best fits this context is ‘seat’ or ‘throne’: Wb. IV 1.8-2.22; FCD 206; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 700-702.

king's (private) apartments,¹⁴⁴⁷ to whom the great come bowing, (and) the counts placing themselves on their bellies.'



Hnmw(=i) [122] is known from two stelae belonging to his mother, *Sn.t-it=s*, which were set up in Abydos. On stela CG 20017 (l. 5) he is described as *s3b sms.w h3y.t sdm.yt w^c m is.t* 'sab elder of the porch, who listens alone in the *is.t*-chamber.'¹⁴⁴⁸ This is the only attestation of *s3b* preceding the title during the Middle Kingdom, perhaps an archaic remnant from the Old Kingdom.¹⁴⁴⁹ Stela CG 20016 states (l. 5-6), *in s3 mr.y n(.y) ht=i(?) rh nsw.t mr=f s3b sdm sdm.yt w^c m is.t m mh-ib nsw.t m nd r{n}<3>=f hr.y-sšt3 n sdm.t w^c Hnmw=i* 'it is the beloved son of my body, the king's acquaintance, his beloved dignitary, who listens to what is head alone in the council-chamber as one trusted of the king in his counsel, privy to the private matters listening alone, *Hnmw=i*.'¹⁴⁵⁰

Finally, *Hr-3* [115] is known from a number of monuments found in Edfu, two stelae, a naos, and a statue. All these monuments were found in chamber J in the mastaba of *Isi* at Edfu [08].¹⁴⁵¹ Stela Edfu 2 offers two more descriptive phrases about his role and position:¹⁴⁵² (a) *ink wr m niw.t=f hnt.y st [m pr-nswt/pr-3] [...] stp tsw rh st-rd=f hrw nmt.t*

¹⁴⁴⁴ *nty* Wb. II 173.1-17 (*mtr*): 'correct, lawful, regular, the right/correct place (173.15); FCD 120: 'straightforward, precise, exact, regular, customary'; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 395: 'regular, reliable.' Cf. Doxey, *Non-Royal Egyptian Epithets*, 124 'precise to be in the palace.'

¹⁴⁴⁵ The term *pr-nsw.t* 'house of the king' (lit.) (FCD 89) is one of the ancient Egyptian terms translated as 'palace.' Berlev determined that *pr-nsw.t* referred to the palace as an economic institution, incorporating its various departments and institutions (i.e. treasury, granaries, vizierate, scribal offices, storerooms (*sn^c*), etc.). According to van den Boorn, the *pr-nsw.t* 'domain of the king' referred to the palace-precinct, the royal estate at large: Berlev, *King's House*, 2-3; Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 49, 67.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Wb. IV 258.10-260.16; FCD 242; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 811-812.

¹⁴⁴⁷ The term *ip3.t-nsw.t* referred to the king's private apartments; a secluded and highly restricted sector within the Residence/palace, see Section 3.4. On the stela of *Nsw-Mntw* it is written as  without the  determinative, perhaps suggesting the king's living quarters rather than the royal harem.

¹⁴⁴⁸ H.O. Lange and H. Schäfer, *Catalogue général des antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire N^{os} 20001 – 20780: Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I* (Berlin, 1902), 16-17.

¹⁴⁴⁹ See Section 4.2.1.1.

¹⁴⁵⁰ Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs I*, 15-16.

¹⁴⁵¹ *Isi* [08] was a late 6th dynasty nomarch and vizier who began his career as *sms.w h3y.t* in the palace. After his death, *Isi* deified (cf. Heqaib of Elephantine) and many votives, offering tables and stelae dating to the late Middle Kingdom have been found inside and in the vicinity of his mastaba.¹⁴⁵¹ These monuments often commemorate *Isi* as a 'living god' (*ntr-3nh*), as is the case both *Hr-3*'s stelae. It is unknown if *Hr-3* knew *Isi* had once held the same title as he did. Since Edfu was probably his birth-place, *Hr-3* may simply wanted dedicate his monuments to the local saint: Edel, "Inschriften des Alten Reichs," 11-12; Alliot, "Vizir divinise," 93; J. Aksamit, "The Necropolis at Tell Edfu: An Overview," *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean* 20, (2011), 382.

¹⁴⁵² S. Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit: Biographische Inschriften der 13. – 17. Dynastie* (Berlin, 2008), 180ff.

nb ‘I am a great one in his town, my place at the front [of the palace], [...] with chosen utterances, who knows his rank, (and) with a quiet/calm stride [...],’¹⁴⁵³ and (b) [...] *wbn<=f> ꜥꜣy hrw m st sgr hnn.n nb=f hr mdw=f* [...] ‘(When) <he> appears’¹⁴⁵⁴ with a strong (= loud) voice in the place of silence, whom his lord heeded¹⁴⁵⁵ because of his words [...].’¹⁴⁵⁶

The above epithets and biographical phrases describe various attributes of these individuals, and hint at their role in the Residence/palace. *Hr-ꜥ*’s statement ‘my place at the front of [the palace]’ is the most explicit reference to the physical location of the *sms.w hꜣy.t*. Kubisch reconstructs the text as *pr-nsw.t* but *pr-ꜥ* is equally likely.¹⁴⁵⁷ It does suggest his place is at the entrance of a palatial building, but since the text breaks off at this point, anything more specific is lost.¹⁴⁵⁸

These men have access to restricted places in the Residence/palace, a privilege not held by majority of officials (see Section 3.3). *Nsw-Mntw* and *Hr-ꜥ* had access to the audience hall or throne room where the king held receptions and received visitors. *Nsw-Mntw*’s autobiography refers to his proximity to the *st* ‘throne’ and *Hr-ꜥ* describes his appearance in the *st sgr* ‘place of silence’; a figurative way to refer to the respectful quiet that would have existed in the hall where the king held audiences. The former also describes his presence in the *ipꜣ.t-nsw.t*, the king’s private apartments; an inaccessible area for most officials. *Hnmw=i* alludes to his access to the *is.t*-chamber, probably an administrative space where official meetings and councils (among other things) took place. While these

¹⁴⁵³ Stela Kubisch Edfu 2, l. 4-5. Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 181.

¹⁴⁵⁴ Kubisch noted that usually the term *wbn* is used in reference to the king or a deity, but assumes ‘he’ refers to the stela owner in this case. The stela is broken off, however, and so this remains uncertain. Cf. *Duties of the Vizier* (R5-R6) *wbn* is used in reference to the vizier, see O’Connor, “Royal Palace in New Kingdom Egypt,” 273-274.

¹⁴⁵⁵ *hnn* FCD 159.

¹⁴⁵⁶ Stela Kubisch Edfu 2, l. 7. Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 181-182.

¹⁴⁵⁷ Numerous parallels in the Middle Kingdom comprised of *hnty st* [...] including *hnty st m pr-nsw.t* and *hnty st m pr-ꜥ*: Doxey, *Non-Royal Epithets*, 355-356; Janssen *Autobiografie*, III S 1 *hnty st m pr-nfr*. M. M. Alliot, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou* (1933) (Cairo, 1935), pl. XVI.2 cf. Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 181.

¹⁴⁵⁸ The term *pr-ꜥ* had a close association with the king and the royal household and seems to be the term for the main palace building in which the king actually lived (i.e. the residential quarters): Goelet, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace*, 536, 631. Van den Boorn proposed that the *pr-ꜥ* was the royal living quarters within the *pr-nsw.t*, the royal estate at large: Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 49, 67. In light of the *sms.w hꜣy.t*’s role at court and association with the ‘inner palace’ (see pBoulaq 18 B, Section 5.4.2), *pr-ꜥ* may seem more likely though this is pure conjecture.

chambers were perhaps not as restricted as the above, it does reflect he, like his two counterparts, had the right to enter the confined areas of the Residence/palace.

This epithet ‘he who approaches the throne’ suggests *Nsw-Mntw* played a role in the audience hall (throne room) of the Residence/palace.¹⁴⁵⁹ The verb *tkn*¹⁴⁶⁰ is used in several texts to describe the physical action of drawing near or proceeding towards to the king or the throne. The stela of Initef (l. 7), states, *tkn st hrw n(.y) s^{cš}3 wb3 n=f nsw.t mdw=f r ir.t rry.t hr=f* ‘...who approaches the throne (on) the day of audiences, to who the king divulges his words to act (as) the approach for him.’¹⁴⁶¹ This statement/epithet implies that *Nsw-Mntw*’s role in the audience hall was to preside over court formalities, to advance towards the throne to announce visitors and recite reports (or the like) in front of the king. In the case of Initef, the king used him to communicate with the rest of the gathering/assembly – perhaps *Nsw-Mntw* had a similar duty. The above is also supported by *Hr-^{c3}*’s claim that he appeared ‘in a strong voice at the place of silence, whose lord heeds his words.’ *Nsw-Mntw* likely also intended to highlight he was highly privileged by being allowed in close proximity to the king in this context. Both men appear to have played a role in the throne room where the king received visitors, granted audiences, and held court ceremonies. These reflect a highly formalised setting, perhaps highlighting a ceremonial aspect of these palace proceedings (cf. autobiography of Rekhmire and *Sinuhe*, see Section 3.7.1).

Nsw-Mntw [103] and *Hr-^{c3}* [115], and *Hnmw=i* [122], appear to act as an advisor to the king. *Nsw-Mntw* asserts his ‘counsel is important in the king’s (private) apartments’ indicating he advised the king on important matters in the privacy of his royal apartments. This was quite an exclusive privilege. *Nsw-Mntw* also states that ‘he (= the king) caused me to ascent to this office because of the excellence of my counsel in his heart.’¹⁴⁶² This further indicates that the king trusted his advice and that his success and affluence was because of this. It is clear that *Nsw-Mntw* believed he had the king’s ear and good opinion. Exceptionally, *Nsw-Mntw* is associated with the king on his throne in a formal or ceremonial setting, as well as in private interacting with the king in the innermost area of the palace, suggesting a more informal context. It highlights his high status among the

¹⁴⁵⁹ Doxey, *Non-Royal Epithets*, 124, 316 (7.20), 392 (19.10).

¹⁴⁶⁰ *tkn* Wb. V 333.10; FCD 302; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 1012.

¹⁴⁶¹ Fischer, “Inscription of In-it.f,” 261, fig. 1 (l.7) (258-268); Doxey, *Non-Royal Epithets*, 392 (19.10).

¹⁴⁶² l. 7-8 *rdi.n=f h3y=i r i3t tn n ikr n shr(=i) m ib=f*: Sethe *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 81 (l. 21); Obsomer, *Sesostris Ier*, 547 (l. 7-8).

king's innermost circle. Similarly, *Hr-ꜥ* contends that the king 'heeds his words' in the audience hall, i.e. the king paid attention to his advice and opinions. The incomplete statement, that *Hr-ꜥ* spoke(?) 'with chosen utterance, knows his rank, (and) with a calm stride... [texts breaks of]' may not only indicate that he was comfortable with his place and standing at court, but that he was familiar with its procedures and formalities. He chose his words with care, because he was called upon to speak. It may imply that he was perceived as having particular knowledge and wisdom, or that it was his job to speak on behalf of the king. This statement may also allude to his steady and composed manner in the king's presence, approaching him with a 'calm stride.' *Hnmw=i* designates himself as one who *sdm sdm.yt w^c m is.t* 'who listens to what is heard alone in the council-chamber' and is *hr.y-sšt³ n(.y) sdm.t w^c* 'privy to what is heard in privacy.' This is a frequent recurring sentiment of officials, claiming that he was included in official meetings, assemblies and councils in the Residence/palace. His emphasis on 'privacy' suggests its restricted nature. *Hnmw=i* is *mḥ-nsw.t* 'confidant of the king' indicating his direct association with the king, as part of the king's privileged group of officials who had access to the confidential activities of the palace. The epithet *w^c m md m is.t* 'one of ten alone in the council-chamber' [121] appears to express a similar sentiment as *Hnmw=i* even if the dating of this figure is undetermined. It supports the notion that he was part of an exclusive group of functionaries at the Residence/palace.

The social position of these men is relatively high. The statements of *Nsw-Mntw*, *Hnmw=i*, and *Hr-ꜥ* seem to imply a direct interaction with the king in the Residence/palace. These autobiographical statements do highlight that they were singled out and held a privileged position. They may be exaggerated as fits the nature of autobiographies, but nevertheless they should not be dismissed out of hand. All three claim they are greatly respected among their peers and among officials. *Nsw-Mntw* claims that other high-ranking individuals ('great men' *wr* and 'counts' *ḥꜣ.tyw-ꜥ*) bowed down to him (likely hyperbole, but the underlying message that he had social influence is still valid). This gives an indication of rank (at least how it was perceived by *Nsw-Mntw*). Similar statements are found throughout the text, such as *stn.n=f n(=i) wr.w ḥ m-bꜣḥ* 'he (= king) has made the great ones of the palace subordinate to me (*Nsw-Mntw*) in his presence...' ¹⁴⁶³ and *wr.w hr ḥs.t=i ꜥ.w ksw nds.w iy m ḥꜣ.t* 'the great ones praise me (*Nsw-Mntw*), the big ones bowing (and) the small ones come crawling.' ¹⁴⁶⁴ From the entire text it is clear *Nsw-Mntw* wanted to

¹⁴⁶³ Obsomer, *Séstrosis Ier*, fig. 3, l. 7, 547; Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 81, l. 20.

¹⁴⁶⁴ Obsomer, *Séstrosis Ier*, fig. 3, l. 9-10, 548; Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 82, l. 2-3.

highlight how greatly he was respected and revered amongst officials. Likewise, *Hr-ꜥ3* describes himself as ‘great one in this town’ bragging about his high rank (perceived or actual). *Hnmw=i*, too, claims he was trusted (*m mh-ib nsw.t*) by the king. *Nsw-Mntw*’s assertion he was ‘reliable’ in the palace may reflect a similar personal attribute; that he was a dependable and trustworthy official in the palace. These men were highly privileged and likely part of the inner circle of the king.

Nsw-Mntw, in particular, was highly favoured by the king, a standing he may have gained through military prowess, which would make him highly influential at court and within the palace. The association of a military commander with such intimate tasks in the palace is, however, rather unusual in the Middle Kingdom. *Nsw-Mntw* was likely present in the court at the time of the assassination of Senwosret I’s father, Amenemhat I, and experienced the tumultuous time of succession, which is attested in *Story of Sinuhe*.¹⁴⁶⁵ The text indicates that the death of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I’s succession was accompanied by internal conflict and uncertainty among officialdom and the courtiers of the palace. Similarly, the *Teaching of King Amenemhat I for his son, Senwosret* makes it clear that after the death of his father, Senwosret I (in whose reign the text was probably written) may have struggled with trusting his officials and courtiers.¹⁴⁶⁶ Amenemhat I warns his son to always be vigilant against treachery and not to have trust in anyone including his court intimates and brothers.¹⁴⁶⁷ This may explain why someone like *Nsw-Mntw*, whose loyalty and allegiance was proven in military campaigns on behalf of the king, would come to hold such an influential position and become a close intimate and advisor to the king in the palace. Since military commanders were not usually represented in the highest ranks of the court (as was often the case in the New Kingdom), loyalty and trust were perhaps more important to Senwosret I a person’s modest socio-economic background. The skill of *Nsw-Mntw* as a military leader would also have been useful for Senwosret’s protection and safety at the palace.¹⁴⁶⁸ These circumstances would have greatly affected life at court and

¹⁴⁶⁵ The upheaval and fear present in the aftermath of Amenemhat’s death caused Sinuhe to flee from the palace, and Egypt entirely, for fear he would be implicated in the king’s death: Allen, *Middle Kingdom Literature*, 55ff.; Simpson, *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 54ff.

¹⁴⁶⁶ Simpson, *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 166ff.

¹⁴⁶⁷ “Maintain your vigilance against those who should be subordinate to you, but who turn out not to be so, men in whose loyalty one can place no trust; do not let yourself be alone with them...put no trust in a brother, acknowledge no one as friend, do not raise up for yourself intimate companions, for nothing is to be gained from them”: Simpson, *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 168.

¹⁴⁶⁸ The *Teaching of Amenemhat I* indicates that the palace-guards may have failed to protect Amenemhat when parties unknown attacked him in his bedroom. This may support the notion that having trust in one’s military personnel was even more important.

in the palace, and all officials during Senwosret's reign. *Nsw-Mntw* was perhaps rewarded with the role of *sms.w h3y.t* because of this, and thus was granted access to the palace, was able to act in the king's court, and was invited to be part of the king's inner circle.

5. 4. 2. The *sms.w h3y.t* in Papyrus Boulaq 18 A and B

Papyrus Boulaq 18 was discovered by Auguste Mariette during his 1860 excavation season at Dra' Abu el-Naga.¹⁴⁶⁹ The papyrus is actually made up of two manuscripts, a smaller and larger document written in two different hands, henceforth referred to as Papyrus Boulaq 18 A and B respectively.¹⁴⁷⁰ According to Mariette's 1872 report, the papyri were found beside a *rishi* coffin. The other funerary items include a box belonging to a *sš n(.y) hnr.t wr(.t)* called Neferhotep as well as a staff and ivory wand also bearing this name. The coffin was uninscribed. The burial is difficult to date precisely. The ivory and faience figurines date to the 12th and 13th dynasties, while the *rishi* coffin can be dated to the 17th dynasty, or possibly the late 13th dynasty.¹⁴⁷¹ While pBoulaq 18 A is difficult to date, pBoulaq 18 B mentions a king named Sobekhotep and a vizier, Ankhu.¹⁴⁷² Berlev suggests that this king was Sobekhotep III while Quirke identifies him as Sobekhotep II.¹⁴⁷³ Thus, pBoulaq 18 B is thought to have been compiled sometime during the early to mid-13th dynasty. All these factors combined would suggest that the burial, on the other hand, most likely dates to the late 13th dynasty.¹⁴⁷⁴

The *sms.w h3y.t* appear at several points in the larger manuscript, Papyrus Boulaq 18 B, which contains the daily accounts of income and expenditure at the palace in Thebes over twelve days in the second and third months of inundation, in the third year (probably of the reign of Sobekhotep II).¹⁴⁷⁵ Papyrus Boulaq 18 B primarily consists of lists of officials receiving provisions, daily summary accounts, and accounts of special deliveries.¹⁴⁷⁶

¹⁴⁶⁹ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 10.

¹⁴⁷⁰ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 10-11. A 'scribe of the great house' named Neferhotep features prominently in the smaller papyrus, pBoulaq 18 A. Quirke asserts that the absence of Neferhotep in the large manuscript does not mean he did not write it, and that perhaps Neferhotep was the author of the large document, and the subject of the smaller one. Or he may have been the superior of the scribe(s) that did the actual writing: Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 11-12.

¹⁴⁷¹ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 10.

¹⁴⁷² Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 11.

¹⁴⁷³ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 12-13.

¹⁴⁷⁴ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 11.

¹⁴⁷⁵ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 17.

¹⁴⁷⁶ The purpose of the king's visit to Thebes from the Residence at *Itjtawy* may be linked to the cult of Montu-in-Medamud, which is alluded to frequently in the papyrus. As Quirke points out, Medamud is no

It is important to note that the accounts of pBoulaq 18 B reflect the rank and status of the individual in the king's court, and does not comment on their function in the palace or the central administration.¹⁴⁷⁷ The order of the titles in these lists is not in any particular sequence but is in what Quirke refers to as 'ranking blocks'.¹⁴⁷⁸ The individuals within a 'ranking block' do not rank higher or lower than each other but are men of equal standing.¹⁴⁷⁹

more than 8 km north-east of Thebes, within walking distance of Karnak. The larger manuscript refers to craftsmen at the palace or in the yards in several instances suggesting that their work may concern the cult at Medamud. If correct, the accounts from pBoulaq 18 B represent the financial records of a royal visit to Thebes for the occasion of beginning or completing construction on monuments for Montu (in Medamud): Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 21-22.

¹⁴⁷⁷ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 59-60.

¹⁴⁷⁸ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 73.

¹⁴⁷⁹ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 73.

There are thirteen *sms.ww hꜣy.t* attested in pBoulaq 18 B, who are listed in the Table 5.5 below.¹⁴⁸⁰

Lists	Month/Day/(=chronological day)	Officials
S1	Month 2, day (25?) (= 1)	<i>Mntw-nht</i> [81] <i>Tty</i> [165] <i>Imn.y</i> [67] <i>Snb=i</i> [152] <i>Sbk-htp</i> [139]
S11	Month 2, day 26 (= 2)	<i>Mntw-nht</i> [81] <i>Tty</i> [165] <i>Imn.y</i> [67] <i>Snb=i</i> [152]
S21	Month 2, day 27 (= 3)	<i>Nb-swmmnw</i> [89]
S38	Month 3, day 1 (= 7)	<i>Mntw-nht</i> [81] <i>Tty</i> [165] <i>Snb=i</i> [152]
S55	Month 3, day 16 (= 11)	<i>Mntw-nht</i> [81] <i>Imn.y</i> [67]
S60	Month 3, day 17 (= 12)	<i>Mntw-nht</i> [81] <i>Tty</i> [165] <i>Imn.y</i> [67] <i>Snb=i</i> [152] <i>Wr-Pth</i> [76] <i>Rn-snb (sꜣ Kwkꜣw)</i> [109] <i>Nht.y</i> [102] <i>ꜣm(.w)</i> [73] <i>Iw=f[...]</i> [59]
S74	Month 3, day 18 (= 13)	<i>Mntw-nht</i> [81] <i>Tty</i> [165] <i>Imn.y</i> [67] <i>Snb=i</i> [152] <i>Swꜣd.y-hr</i> [133] <i>Wr-Pth</i> [76]
S76	Loose fragment (= ?)	<i>Rn-snb</i> [110]

Table 5.5. Table showing the lists of pBoulaq 18 B that include the *sms.w hꜣy.t*.

¹⁴⁸⁰ [59], [67], [73], [76], [81], [89], [102], [109], [110], [133], [139], [152], [165]. The numbers used refer to the system used by Scharff, hence the preceding ‘S.’ These can be found in Scharff, “Rechnungsbuch des königliche Hofes,” 51-68, pls. 1**-24**. Consult the prosopography for more detailed references.

(a) Lists S1, S11, and S38.

Quirke determined that there are five lists within the papyrus recording individuals in association with the royal family: S1, S11 (column 2 and 3)¹⁴⁸¹, S18, S38 and S72.¹⁴⁸² S18 is a continuation of lists S11 and S72 and only lists names and no titles, so there are actually three lists in total: S1, S11+S18, and S38. Five *sms.w h3y.t*, *Mntw-nht* [81], *Tty* [165], *Imn.y* [67], *Snb=i* [152], and *Sbk-htp* [139] appear in all three of these lists. The first four officials are present in lists S1, S11 column 2, and S38 while *Sbk-htp* is found only in list S1.

Lists S1, S11 and S38 first record members of the royal family followed by a group of people designated as *rmt pr-mn^c.wt* ‘people of the house of nurses.’ The *rmt pr-mn^c.wt* denotes the inhabitants of the ‘inner palace’ (*k3p*) (see Section 3.4).¹⁴⁸³ The term initially referred to royal children and their nurses but is also more expansive to include other inner palace officials and personnel.¹⁴⁸⁴ Thus, the ‘people of the house of the nurses’ include members of the royal household as well as other palace officials with access to the *k3p* ‘inner palace’ who worked in this restricted section of the palace. They are defined by their close connection to the royal family, which is reflected in these accounts. Therefore, the presence of these *sms.w h3y.t* within these lists reflects their inclusion in this group. This indicates that these *sms.w h3y.t* can be categorised as part of the ‘inner palace’ personnel, who had access to this restricted sector. From this it can thus be assumed they had a close association with the royal family, including the king (even though he is absent from the entire papyrus).

Quirke further identified three sub-divisions within this group of individuals attached to the inner palace: (1) an inner group of people who stood in close contact with the royal family, and consistently accompanied them in the lists (= S1, S11 (column 2), S38); (2) a second group of individuals is also closely associated with the royal family, but lacks the same consistency of attachment as the first group; they are absent on lists S1 and S11 (column 2), and subdivision (3) consists of officials attached to the provisioning sector

¹⁴⁸¹ Columns 2 and 3 list those associated with the palace (*rmt pr-mn^c.wt* and *šn^c*), while column 1 lists state officials of the outer palace (vizier, etc.).

¹⁴⁸² Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 87.

¹⁴⁸³ The term *k3p* seems to refer to the actual building and sector while *rmt pr-mn^c.wt* appears to refer to the personnel itself: Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 37, 40, 43-44.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Quirke points out that in list S9, commodities for the queen are sent to the *k3p* strengthening the association between this word and the royal family: Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 40.

found only in S11 column three.¹⁴⁸⁵ The above five *sms.w h3y.t* belong to the first group. It is significant that these *sms.w h3y.t* can be counted among the innermost circle of the royal family. They are part of the domestic life of the royal family, and do not appear to be associated (in pBoulaq 18 B) with the outer palace, which was headed by the vizier and concerned with state affairs.¹⁴⁸⁶

These five *sms.w h3y.t* are the only *sms.w h3y.t* in the papyrus appearing in these lists together with the royal family. *Imn.y* is absent from list S38, perhaps because he was not at the palace on that particular day (perhaps away on some commission?) but he reappears in lists S60 and S74. Similarly, *Sbk-htp* is present only in list S1, and is elsewhere absent from pBoulaq 18 B. He was perhaps sent away for some reason on a specific task? Quirke points out that the presence and absence of an official depended on their function and duties (unspecified in the papyrus), which may have necessitated leaving the palace complex.¹⁴⁸⁷

(b) Lists S60 and S74.

Lists S60 and S74 are accounts recording the individuals present at two banquets held at the palace (days 17 and 18, respectively). The four *sms.w h3y.t* discussed above, *Mntw-nht* [81], *Tty* [165], *Imn.y* [67], and *Snb=i* [152], as well as *Wr-Pth* [76], are present in both these lists, while *Rn-snb (s3 Kwkw)* [109], *Nht.y* [102], *3m(.w)* [73], and *Iw=f...* [59] are only present in list S60. *Sw3d.y-hr* [133] is only present in list S74. It should be noted at this point that the references to the royal family and *rmṯ pr-mn^c.wt* are not present in lists S60 and S74 (in fact, the royal family is absent on the entire *verso* of pBoulaq 18 B), and those associated with them (in lists S1, S11+S18, and S38) appear undistinguished from other palace officials.¹⁴⁸⁸ Quirke suggests that because of the absence of the royal family, the palace division into outer and inner sectors was no longer in place.¹⁴⁸⁹ Only through comparison with S1, S11, and S38 can the inner palace officials be distinguished from the outer palace officials.¹⁴⁹⁰

Thus, in these lists the *sms.w h3y.t* are not designated as *rmṯ pr-mn^c.wt* but as *sr.w* ‘functionaries, officials.’ Evidently, there can be overlap between the terms and some

¹⁴⁸⁵ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 88.

¹⁴⁸⁶ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 44-45.

¹⁴⁸⁷ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 38.

¹⁴⁸⁸ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 88-89.

¹⁴⁸⁹ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 72.

¹⁴⁹⁰ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 72.

officials could belong to the ‘people of the house of nurses’ as well as be *sr.w* in different lists. This is the case with *Mntw-nht* [81], *Tty* [165], *Imn.y* [67], and *Snb=i* [152], who were members of the *rmt pr mn^c.wt* (in lists S1, S11 and S38) but are denoted *sr.w* in S60 and S74 because they, unlike numerous others, held a title.¹⁴⁹¹ Quirke points out that the inconsistency of the terminology may in part be due to the abbreviated nature of these account records.¹⁴⁹² However, the breadth of scope for these terms may also be a factor. The group ‘people of the house of nurses’ may be wide enough to cover both the royal family and the ‘functionaries’ attached to the private quarters of the palace.¹⁴⁹³ Thus, some of the *sr.w* may also be *rmt pr-mn^c.wt* even if this is not always specified on these lists.

Quirke noted that the *sms.ww h3y.t* always denote an attachment to the inner palace, because the title only occurs primarily in lists on the *recto* associated with the officials within the inner circle of the royal family.¹⁴⁹⁴ While this is likely correct, and no evidence in the papyrus accounts contradicts this, one must take care with this assumption. It does not take into account other factors which may be responsible for the apparent success and privilege of some *sms.ww h3y.t* such as favour, patronage etc. Their success may be specific to the particular individual, and not necessarily a general aspect of the title. Their status and position may have been gained through factors completely unrelated to the title they held.

Quirke constructed ranking blocks one through five. Lists S60 and S74 have ‘upper ranking blocks’ and ‘lower ranking blocks,’ of which only the upper ranking block is attested in S11.¹⁴⁹⁵ Quirke determined that the *sms.w h3y.t* belonged to ranking block four in lists S60 and S74.¹⁴⁹⁶ This may indicate that while they rank highly among the palace staff being close to the royal family, in contexts where they are absent and among state officials (such as the vizier etc.), their rank decreased substantially in status.

There may have been a hierarchy amongst the *sms.ww h3y.t*, which is ordinarily not visible in the sources. This would account for some *sms.ww h3y.t* being close to the royal family and part of the inner workings of the palace, while others with the same title were not included on these specific lists (although this could be because they were absent from the

¹⁴⁹¹ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 43.

¹⁴⁹² Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 43.

¹⁴⁹³ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 43.

¹⁴⁹⁴ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 72.

¹⁴⁹⁵ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 77.

¹⁴⁹⁶ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 89.

palace that day). That there was some hierarchical differentiation is also supported by the variants, *ḥr.y-tp sms.w(w) ḥȝy.t* [103] and *ḥr.y sms.w(w) ḥȝy.t* [116]. It is clear that five of the *sms.ww ḥȝy.t* seem to rank higher than the others. The papyrus demonstrates that *Mntw-nḥt* [81], *Tty* [165], *Imn.y* [67], and *Snb=i* [152] were in close proximity to the royal family. These individuals held a highly privileged position, which undoubtedly brought with it a certain amount of influence and power, probably primarily within palace affairs. Their position and influence in state affairs, as well as their function therein, cannot be commented on.

Mntw-nḥt [81], *Tty* [165], *Imn.y* [67], and *Snb=i* [152] appear together sequentially in lists S1, S11 (col. 2), S60 and S74. *Mntw-nḥt* [81], *Tty* [165] and *Snb=i* [152] also appear sequentially (without *Imn.y* [67]) in S38. In lists S1, S11, S60 and S74, *Mntw-nḥt* is always listed first, and *Snb=i* always fourth with *Tty* in second and *Imn.y* in third place. In the case of S60, there are seven officials separating *Mntw-nḥt* from the other three (but the order is more or less the same). In S38, *Imn.y* is absent, but the order is again maintained, with *Mntw-nḥt* listed first, then *Tty*, and finally *Snb=i*. *Mntw-nḥt* and *Imn.y* are also present in S55 but do not appear sequentially, in fact, *Imn.y* is listed before *Mntw-nḥt* in this case. *Sbk-ḥtp* only ever appears in fifth position in list S1. In list S60, *Wr-Pth* is grouped with *Mntw-nḥt*, *Tty*, *Imn.y*, and *Snb=i* in fifth position. *Rn-snb* (*sȝ Kwkḳw*) [109], *Nḥt.y* [102], *ḥ3m(.w)* [73] and *Iw=f[...]* [59] are not listed together, but spread out over the list. From this, it may be said that *Mntw-nḥt*, *Tty*, *Imn.y*, and *Snb=i* were ranked on the same level, perhaps with *Mntw-nḥt* slightly above the others. *Sbk-ḥtp* and *Wr-Pth* join them in one instance, which may suggest they also shared an equal standing with them. However, *Wr-Pth* does not appear in a context associated with the royal family, which may mean he was absent on those particular days, or he is ranked slightly lower. *Sbk-ḥtp* on the other hand seems to be in close proximity to the royal family (appearing once in such a context) but also may not have been present for some reason on any of the other days of the king's visit. The remainder of the *sms.ww ḥȝy.t* may belong to a different rank within the hierarchy of the *sms.ww ḥȝy.t* and do not appear in contexts reflecting close association with the royal family. They were important or influential enough to be part of the festivities, perhaps invited especially for that occasion. Whether they had the same privileges as the others mentioned in pBoulaq 18 B is difficult to determine.

This is also supported by the amount of provisions allocated to each *sms.w ḥȝy.t* (summarised in Table 5.6). Based on the amount of provisions received, *Mntw-nḥt* [81],

Tty [165], *Imn.y* [67], and *Snb=i* [152] were allocated more than the others. This makes sense since these individuals were included in the lists with the royal family and members of the royal household. They were given greater amounts because they were probably of slightly higher rank and perhaps more favoured. *Snb=i* [152], however, he was given less than usual in list S11 although the reason for this is not quite clear. Of the four, he may have ranked the lowest being listed fourth but this may be a coincidence.

S1

Name	Provisions Amount
<i>Mntw-nht</i> [81]	1
<i>Imn.y</i> [67]	1
<i>Tty</i> [165]	1
<i>Snb=i</i> [152]	1
<i>Sbk-htp</i> [139]	1

S11

Name	Provisions Amount	
<i>Mntw-nht</i> [81]	22	5
<i>Imn.y</i> [67]	22	5
<i>Tty</i> [165]	22	5
<i>Snb=i</i> [152]	11	5

S38

Name	Provision Amount		
<i>Mntw-nht</i> [81]	10	2	1
<i>Tty</i> [165]	10	2	1
<i>Snb=i</i> [152]	10	1	[1]

List S60

Name	Provision Amount	
<i>Mntw-nht</i> [81]	10	1
<i>Imn.y</i> [67]	10	1
<i>Tty</i> [165]	10	1
<i>Snb=i</i> [152]	10	[1]
<i>Wr-Pth</i> [76]	5	1
<i>Nht.y</i>	5	1
<i>Rn-snb (s' Kwkw)</i> [109]	5	1
<i>3m</i> [73]	5	1
<i>Iw=f[...]</i> [59]	5	1

Table 5.6. Tables showing the amounts of provisions received by the *sms.ww h3y.t* in lists S1, S11, S38 and S60 in pBoulaq 18 B.¹⁴⁹⁷

¹⁴⁹⁷ Based on Scharff, "Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes," pls 1**, 4**, 11**, 18**-19**.

(c) Lists S21, S55, and S76.

Mntw-nht [81] and *Imn.y* [67] are also present on list S55 where they are listed among men receiving special deliveries and provisions.¹⁴⁹⁸ These include significant figures such as the vizier, ‘overseer of fields’ (*htm.ty-bi.ty im.y-r3 3h.wt*), ‘high-steward’ (*htm.ty bi.ty im.y-r3 pr wr*), scribe of the king’s documents in his presence’ (*htm.ty bi.ty ss^c n nswt hft hr*), and ‘deputy of the overseer of sealed goods’ (*idnw n(.y) im.y-r3 htm.t*), etc. The presence of *Mntw-nht* and *Imn.y* alongside these officials is indicative of their great privilege and position in the palace.

The day summary account S21 allocates a certain amount of *fk3.w* to *Nb-swmnw* [89]. The provision-type *fk3.w* were ordered when a person was deprived of his normal supply of daily food (*ckw*), for example, when they were sent away from the palace but were still meant to receive their usual allocation of food.¹⁴⁹⁹ This seems to be the case here. List S14 mentions the *fk3.w* which were meant for various officials; although this part of the papyrus is very damaged with many lacunae, there is a mention of the *hnw* ‘Residence.’ This may imply a visit to or from *Itjtawy*.¹⁵⁰⁰ Since *Nb-swmnw* is not present anywhere in the papyrus apart from this entry in the day summary account (S21) concerning his *fk3.w* supply, Quirke suggest he travelled from Thebes to *Itjtawy*.¹⁵⁰¹ This indicates that the *sms.w h3y.t* could and did travel to the various palaces, from the Residence in the north to the palace in Thebes, perhaps sometimes also travelling with the king and court. He may also have been commissioned to fulfil a certain task at the Residence; the reasons for his visit are unknown.

List S76 represents a loose fragment and features a list of officials, perhaps one similar to the two above listing the recipients of *fk3.w* or an order for provisions. Listed among them is *Rn-snb* [110]. Other titles listed on this fragment include *shd šms.w*, *šms.w*, *3tw 3 n(.y) niw.t*, and *shm^c*. There is a reference to *k3y*, which may refer to a personal name or the town of Cusae, although the absence of a determinative of a man or woman suggests that the entry concerns not an individual but the latter. This may reflect an allocation given to a regiment from Cusae, but with a lack of comparative data it is difficult to grasp the implications of this.¹⁵⁰²

¹⁴⁹⁸ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 20, 42.

¹⁴⁹⁹ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 106.

¹⁵⁰⁰ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 106-108.

¹⁵⁰¹ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 108.

¹⁵⁰² Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 108.

It is rare to have so many *sms.ww h3y.t* in one document. This confirms that there was more than one such official in office at a time; the papyrus indicates that during the mid-13th dynasty there were as many as thirteen (or perhaps even more?) in this position. It also further supports the notion that there was a hierarchy among them, even if this is not visible in the sources.

The information gleaned from pBoulaq 18 B indicates that *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders are associated with the ‘inner palace’ (*k3p, pr-mn^c.wt*), and can be considered within the inner spheres of the royal family, king and court.¹⁵⁰³ Some *sms.ww h3y.t* received special provisions indicating that they were highly regarded and influential in the palace.¹⁵⁰⁴ In one case, the *sms.w h3y.t* may have been sent on a mission to the Residence, indicating they may have been mobile and active in carrying out their duties.¹⁵⁰⁵

Nsw-Mntw [103] claims to have advised the king in the *ip3.t-nsw.t*, another term considered (possibly) synonymous with the ‘inner palace.’ Despite the significant time lapse between *Nsw-Mntw* and the *sms.ww h3y.t* of pBoulaq 18 B, early 12th and mid-13th dynasty respectively, these officials are connected to the private inner sectors of the Residence/palace.

5. 5. The *sms.w h3y.t* in the central administration

During the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period, few *sms.ww h3y.t* held other titles, perhaps indicative of their limited role outside the palace at this time. Only three *sms.ww h3y.t* hold titles reflecting an additional role in the central administration. They were explored in detail in Section 5.2. While there are limited titularies for *sms.w h3y.t*, the evidence concerning three *sms.w h3y.t* [64], [74] and [111] hint at their involvement in the central administration. They are discussed below.

¹⁵⁰³ [67], [81], [139], [152], and [165] in lists S1, S11 (col. 2), and S38.

¹⁵⁰⁴ [67] and [81] in list S55.

¹⁵⁰⁵ [89] in list S21.

5. 5. 1. Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446

Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 ‘Insertion B’ is a decree, written in hieratic, from the king to the vizier Ankhu.¹⁵⁰⁶ Quirke dates this document to the reign of Sobekhotep II of the 13th dynasty.¹⁵⁰⁷ The decree alludes to a petition made by the *sms.w h3y.t, Ibi^c* [64], presumably directly to the king. The provenance of pBrooklyn 35.1446 is unknown, although the contents of the whole papyrus concern the administration of Thebes and the *w^cr.t tp-rs* ‘district of the head of the south,’ which was administered from Thebes.¹⁵⁰⁸ The document was probably sent from the Residence at *Itjtawy* to the vizier’s office in Thebes.¹⁵⁰⁹ A translation of the royal decree is provided below.

¹ [*rnpr.t* 5] *3bd.w 3 pr.t [r^c] 20 ...*

² *mi(.t) wd.t nsw.t ini.yt r h3 n(.y)* ³ *wḥm.w n.y niw.t rs.yt* ⁴ *wd.t nsw.t n im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty im.y-r3 ḥw.t-wr.t* ⁵ *ḥnh.w m=k ini.tw n=k wd.t pn n(.y) nsw.t* ⁶ *r rdi.t rh.t=k n.tt spr.n* ⁷ *sms.w h3y[.t] Ibi^c s3 Rmny-ḥnh* ⁸ *r dd...[.] irw m(?) [..] .t* ⁹ *ḥm-nsw.t [..] hnt rmt* ¹⁰ *tkkw m w^cr.w sḥnh wi* ¹¹ *p3y=i <nb> m rdi.t ini.tw=f r ḥnw* ¹² *wšd.tw=f ḥr p3 tkk iri.n=f* ¹³ *ḥrw.fy sw m=k st sdm(.w)* ¹⁴ *imi ini.tw=f m s3w sw(?) r* ¹⁵ *ḥnw* ¹⁶ *iḥ.t iri=k r=f m=k nsw.t ḥnh.w wd3.w snb.w ḥd.w [wd3.w].*

‘[Year 5], 3rd month of *peret*, day 20 ...

Copy of the king’s (written) decree which was brought to the office of the reporter to me at the Southern City. The king’s decree (to) the overseer of the city, the vizier, overseer of the six great house, Ankhu. Behold, this decree of the king was brought to you, to inform you that *sms.w h3y.t Ibi^c*, son of *Rmny-ḥnh*, has petitioned saying ... had been done in (?) ... the servant of the king ... from among the people who attacked as fugitives. May my <lord> redeem me, by letting him be brought to the Residence, that he may be questioned about the assault/attack he did. So he said. Behold, it has been heard. Let him be brought by a guard/under guard to the Residence. May you take action against him. Behold, the king, may he live be prosperous and health, is safe and [sound].¹⁵¹⁰

¹⁵⁰⁶ The text was first published in W.C. Hayes, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum [Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446]* (Brooklyn, 1955), 71. pl. V; hieroglyphic text in W. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden, 1975), 11 no. 16. It has been restudied by S. Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 140-144.

¹⁵⁰⁷ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 141; Hayes, *Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 13.

¹⁵⁰⁸ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 127; Hayes, *Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 16-17.

¹⁵⁰⁹ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 141.

¹⁵¹⁰ Cf. readings and translations of Helck, *Historische-biographische Texte*, 11 and Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 143.

Unfortunately, the specifics of the petition are not apparent due to the fragmentary nature of the document. It appears that *Ibi^c* appealed to the king because of some sort of assault or violent act that had occurred in the Residence/palace, although against whom is not stated and any particulars are absent.¹⁵¹¹ As a result of *Ibi^c*'s appeal this man, who had fled, was brought by guards to the Residence to answer for his crimes. Whether *Ibi^c*'s interest and involvement with this attacker/fugitive is due to personal reasons or from a more official capacity is not evident from this document. It is ambiguous whether we can infer from this that *Ibi^c* had direct access and interaction with the king when he submitted this appeal. In light of the close association of many *sms.w h3y.t* with the king's inner circle, as reflected in pBoulaq 18 B and by some autobiographical statements, *Ibi^c* might have brought this affair before the king. The document does suggest that the *sms.w h3y.t* was under the authority of the vizier, who was expected to give permission for the fugitive to be captured, and to resolve the matter.¹⁵¹² It can be surmised that *Ibi^c* had the advantageous connections, authority and influence, which allowed him to bring a man to stand trial at the Residence, to the point that the matter was resolved by means of a royal decree.

Prior research has made a connection between the *sms.w h3y.t* and the organisation of labour based on this text (see Section 1.5), that *Ibi^c* was requesting permission to bring in a fugitive labourer; the fugitive's identity and occupation is, however, unknown.¹⁵¹³ Based on this document, Quirke suggested that title-holders belonged to the *h3 n(.y) dd rmt* 'department of the giving of people' dealing with the organisation of labour.¹⁵¹⁴ This is also not apparent from this document. These conclusions were probably based on Hayes' translation, which erroneously renders (1.9-11) *hnt rmt tkkw m wcr.w scnh wi p3y=i <nb>* '...against the accountant(?) in charge of(?) prisoners, who has committed a violation against the fugitive, Se-ankhu, namely Pay...'¹⁵¹⁵ Additionally, too little can be said about the contents of his petition to suggest a judicial role for *Ibi^c* or whether he made the appeal on behalf of someone else.

¹⁵¹¹ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 142.

¹⁵¹² Cf. *Duties of the Vizier* R9 'it is the vizier who will punish him according to his offence...anyone who has to be judged and thus falls under the competency of the office (of the vizier)...': Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 77-78.

¹⁵¹³ See Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l'administration*, 118.

¹⁵¹⁴ Quirke, "Four Titles," 313.

¹⁵¹⁵ Hayes, *Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom*, 71.

5. 5. 2. Royal decree of Intef VI

The royal decree of Intef VI (Cairo JE 30770) was set up at the south side of the eastern entrance to the temple of Min at Coptos.¹⁵¹⁶ The stela is dated to Year 3 of the 3rd month of *pr.t*, on the 25th day of the reign of *Nbw-hpr-R^c.w Ini-it=f* (Intef VI) in the 17th dynasty. The edict was issued by the king and addressed to the following local officials: the king's son and governor (*h³.ty-^c*) of Coptos, Min-em-hat (*Mnw-m-h³.t*), *htm.ty* 'sealer (of Min)' *Ki-nn.w(?)*, scribe of the temple (*sš n(.y) hw.t-ntr*), Neferhotep (*Nfr-htp*), the garrison (*mš^c*) at Coptos, and other officials at the temple.

The contents of the decree concern the repercussions of a crime committed in the temple of Min and outline the punishment administered to the guilty party.¹⁵¹⁷ According to the text, Teti (*Tty*), son of Minhotep (*Mnw-htp*), stole from the temple something that is referred to in the decree as *hft.y* 'enemy.' The decree outlines that Teti was expelled from the temple and priesthood, and he and future generations were to be removed from the office he held at the temple. His name was also removed from all texts at the temple and the administration as done, the text states, *r mi.ty=f sbi hr hft.y ntr=f* 'like what is done against his like, one who rebelled against the enemy of his god.'¹⁵¹⁸ Posener argued that the term *hft.y* was used euphemistically to refer to a bad act committed against a deity, specifically when being explicit was to be avoided for reasons of decorum.¹⁵¹⁹ In other words, *hft.y* was inserted before *ntr=f* for reasons of decorum and the text is actually referring to someone who has 'rebelled against his god.' The identity of the thing stolen is not clear. It has been suggested that it may have been the god's statue or another sacred object, something too sacred to be named in writing.¹⁵²⁰ Goebs has suggested that it was that a sacrificial animal belonging to the temple, which would also have been regarded as temple property and sacred to Min.¹⁵²¹

¹⁵¹⁶ W.M.F. Petrie, *Koptos* (London, 1896), 10, pl. VIII; Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 98.

¹⁵¹⁷ K. Goebs, "*hftj ntr* as euphemism — the Case of the Antef Decree," *JEA* 89 (2003), 28.

¹⁵¹⁸ Goebs, "Case of the Antef Decree," 28.

¹⁵¹⁹ G. Posener, "Sur l'emploi euphémique de *hftj(w)* 'ennemis(s)'" *ZÄS* 96 (1969), 30-35; Goebs, "Case of Antef Decree," 27.

¹⁵²⁰ Goebs, "Case of the Antef Decree," 29.

¹⁵²¹ Goebs points out that this would explain the moderate penalty, because if it were a cult statue, the punishment would likely have been worse. Moreover, livestock benefit Teti more so than gold, as it would provide food for his family or add to his current herds: Goebs, "Case of the Antef Decree," 33-34. Moreover, the 17th dynasty was characterised by the constant threat of the Hyksos at the northern border, which made provisions and resources all the more valuable. It would be a dangerous precedent to let such theft go unpunished, especially in times of need: Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 305.

The priesthood of Min reported the theft to the king, who sent the *sš htm.t-ntr n(.y) Imn.w* ‘scribe of sealed goods (i.e. the treasury) of Amun,’ Sa-Amun (*S³-Imn.w*), and the *sms.w h³y.t*, *Wsr-Imn.w* [75] to the temple at Coptos to resolve the issue and check the inventory of property and commodities belonging to the temple.¹⁵²² It is likely Sa-Amun was sent because this matter involved the commodities and property of a local temple, which was in the purview of the treasury of Amun.¹⁵²³ As usual, the involvement of *Wsr-Imn.w* is not so straightforward. Goebis suggests that the *sms.w h³y.t* was sent because they were often involved in judicial tasks.¹⁵²⁴ However, evidence of their involvement in judicial affairs is limited in the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. Moreover, this is in actuality less a judicial inquiry, as the verdict and punishments appear already to have been decided, and more an administrative one, although one significant enough that it warranted the king’s attention and the recording on a stela of these circumstances. There is no indication that *Wsr-Imn.w* and Sa-Amun were involved in the sentencing of Teti. Instead, the role of *Wsr-Imn.w* (and Sa-Amun) was to record the property and commodities of the temple likely to ensure nothing else was stolen. This edict relates to the administration of the temple and *Wsr-Imn.w* is not part of the temple personnel but an envoy of the Residence sent there to investigate on behalf of the king. *Wsr-Imn.w* may have been chosen for this undertaking because of his close association with the king, reflected in his position of *sms.w h³y.t*. Thievery in the temple would have been a significant concern to the king, and would particularly warrant the involvement of men loyal and reliable to the crown. This would also confirm the picture inferred from the prosopographical data and papyrus Boulaq 18 B that (many of) the *sms.w h³y.t* were part of the king’s inner circle. *Wsr-Imn.w* appears to have been chosen to carry out a special assignment on behalf of the king, namely to rectify the situation at the temple of Min. He was not attached permanently within the temple complex nor was he situated within the central administration. Goebis mentions that the *sms.w h³y.t* were representatives of the vizier, which may also be the case in this instance.¹⁵²⁵ The royal edicts would have passed through the vizier and his ‘office’ which was responsible for all the royal documents, so it is also possible he was sent by the vizier, and was part of the vizier’s entourage. In general there is, however, limited evidence showing an affiliation with the vizier during this time (only [64]). It is more likely, in light of the importance of the situation and the close proximity of the *sms.w h³y.t*

¹⁵²² Goebis, “Case of the Antef Decree,” 28.

¹⁵²³ Goebis, “Case of the Antef Decree,” 34.

¹⁵²⁴ Goebis, “Case of the Antef Decree,” 35.

¹⁵²⁵ Goebis, “Case of the Antef Decree,” 35.

with the king, that he was selected based on loyalty and reliability to resolve this issue, with the expertise of the treasury official, Sa-Amun.

5. 5. 3. The Karnak “judicial” stela

The stela JE 52453, commonly referred to as the Karnak “judicial” or “legal” stela, originally stood somewhere in the temple of Amun at Karnak before it was displaced in the reign of Amenhotep III during the construction of the Third Pylon.¹⁵²⁶ Chevrier found the stela during his excavations of the hypostyle hall. The text itself, however, has been dated to the reign of Nebirau I of the 16th dynasty.

The text describes the transfer of the inheritance of a title. A man named Sobeknakht (*Sbk-nht*) loaned items worth sixty deben to another man, Kebisi (*Kb-si*). Kebisi admits that he received and spent it all. He promised Sobeknakht to repay what is owed by bestowing upon him the office of ‘mayor of Elkab’ (*h3.ty-^c Nh3*), which Kebisi stated he had acquired under a deed (*im.yt-pr*). Sobeknakht agrees with this arrangement. The document was checked; the title originally belonged to the vizier, Ay who was the paternal grandfather of Kebisi. The document specified that the vizier, Ay’s office of mayor would be inherited by the brother of Kebisi’s father (“uncle”), another Ay (the younger) but if he were to die without issue (as was the case), the office passed to a full brother of his, this brother being Kebisi’s father, Imeru, and eventually Kebisi himself. The text states that Kebisi transferred ownership of the office to Sobeknakht in front of three witnesses, establishing the latter’s right to succeed him as mayor. The following day, the two men swore their agreement in the office of the vizier, and the document was registered. Essentially, the document is a deed of transfer of the mayorship of Elkab, and all its income, upon Kebisi’s death to Sobeknakht. It is, however, the statement at the end of the document is of interest to us: *in h3 n(y) t3.ty iri=f r smn.t r hp r k.n=s n (hr)=s m rnp.t 1 3bd.w 1 pr.t r^c 1. hnn sms.w h3y.t Rn-snb.* ‘...it is in the office of the vizier, it will act in order to uphold the law. That they took the oath upon it was in Year 1, first month of *peret*, first day. Approved by the *sms.w h3y.t Rn-snb.*¹⁵²⁷

This is the only explicit document attesting to the judicial role of the *sms.w h3y.t* during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. Since there are already three witnesses

¹⁵²⁶ A. H. Ganley, A Fresh Look at the Karnak Legal Stela,” *DE* 58 (2004), 57.

¹⁵²⁷ Laucau, *stèle juridique de Karnak*, 45 l. 27-28.

present, it is unlikely that *Rn-snb* [111] acts as a witness in this situation. The key word in this sentence is *hnn* meaning ‘to approve, agree, assent’¹⁵²⁸ and according to the *Wörterbuch* also ‘in the sense of having trust.’¹⁵²⁹ The role of *Rn-snb* was most likely to validate and legitimise this document.

The role of the vizier appears to have been significantly reduced, possibly even discontinued, during the 16th and 17th dynasties.¹⁵³⁰ In fact, according to Shirley, no vizier is attested for the 17th dynasty.¹⁵³¹ This text, however, connects the *sms.w h3y.t* directly to the office of vizier, in fact, it appears that *Rn-snb* acted in the vizier’s stead to legalise the men’s oath. Ordinarily, such documents pass through the vizier’s office (as the text itself states), and are then presumably ‘signed’ by the vizier to make it official. Whether *Rn-snb* was acting in the vizier’s stead due to unusual circumstances or whether he was simply under the authority of the vizier is uncertain. Due to the fact that the Egyptian kings were ruling a smaller area, and in part because of the fragmentary state of the evidence, Shirley suggests the vizier’s set of responsibilities may have been reduced and some of his duties may have been parcelled off to other officials, which might be what happened here.¹⁵³² *Rn-snb* may simply have performed a task that was usually carried out by the vizier. The vizier was a significant figure in the state (however diminished the state might be at this time) and the position of vizier likely continued to exist during this time despite its limited presence in the sources.

That the duty of validating this deed was carried out by the *sms.w h3y.t* reveals the considerable authority wielded by this position. The king needed trusted, loyal and reliable men in key positions and to uphold the law and royal authority throughout the country.¹⁵³³ Since it can be established that the *sms.w h3y.t* were frequently part of the king’s inner circle, it follows that they would be trusted with certain powers and privileges. The position of mayor in Elkab was significant, as the king would have needed the support of the Elkab nobility, and through them the people living in this province. Ensuring the

¹⁵²⁸ Wb. II 494.14; FCD 159.

¹⁵²⁹ Wb. II 494.5. The term *hnn* is also found in reference to [116] who claims that *hnn.n nb=f hr mdw=f* ‘his lord (= king) heeded (approved?) his words’ further speaking to the confidence and trust the king had in these men.

¹⁵³⁰ Shirley, “Crisis and Restructuring of State,” 550-551.

¹⁵³¹ No securely dated vizier is attested after the reign of Nebiryrau I. It is not until the vizier, Imhotep of the 18th dynasty, who served under Thutmose I: Shirley, “Crisis and Restructuring of the State,” 550.

¹⁵³² Shirley, “Crisis and Restructuring of the State,” 555-557.

¹⁵³³ Shirley, “Crisis and Restructuring of the State,” 555-557, 561.

continuation of this office would, therefore, have been quite significant. This is also attested by the fact that this document was inscribed in stone.



The 16th and 17th dynasties show that the *sms.w w h3y.t* were more active in the state but these circumstances are exceptional and not perhaps representative of the office, as the sources belong to a very specific historical and political context. The available sources show an association between ‘office’ of the vizier and *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders.

The connection between the *sms.w h3y.t* and the vizier is most explicit in sources of the Second Intermediate Period. The Karnak ‘judicial’ stela reflects the involvement of *Rn-snb* [111] in a legal matter of title transference on behalf of the ‘office’ of the vizier. The Intef VI decree, too, shows that *Wsr-Imn.w* [74] was sent to examine the inventory of the Min temple at Coptos by royal decree, which had to have passed through the vizier’s office. The *sms.w w h3y.t* here act as a representative of the vizierate, or in case of the *Wsr-Imn* [74] of the king himself. It is highly likely that *Imn.w-m-h3.t* [68] also dates to the 16th/17th dynasty (rather than the 13th dynasty). He was a ‘great one of the tens of Upper Egypt’ (*wr mḏw Šm^c.w*) and vizier (*t3.ty*). The former title was extremely common during this time, and these officials are considered close to the vizier’s office; perhaps his representatives in the south? The *wr mḏw Šm^c.w* sat in on meetings with the vizier and are likely considered part of their entourage. *Imn.w-m-h3.t* began his career as *sms.w h3y.t* and *wr mḏw Šm^c.w* before obtaining the office of vizier. It suggests both positions may be under the authority of the vizier, especially if it allowed *Imn.w-m-h3.t* to be promoted to such a high-ranking office. It should be kept in mind that this was also due to the political circumstances. However, where the paternal line is known, 25% of fathers (in one case grandfather) of the *sms.w w h3y.t* also held the title *wr mḏw Šm^c.w*¹⁵³⁴ supporting the notion that these offices are closely connected; and might reflect a *possible* career progression, or at least option for the *sms.w h3y.t*. During the Second Intermediate Period, the *sms.w w h3y.t* were influential and privileged enough during this time to reach such elevated status in the state.

Despite the limited evidence available for the vizier and his administration, it is most likely that the office did exist during this time. Since the territory under Egyptian rule during the 16th and 17th dynasties was greatly reduced, many officials would indeed have been

¹⁵³⁴ The paternal line is only known for twenty families. Considering only these twenty families, 25% held the title *wr mḏw Šm^c.w*, 10% held the title *s3b r3-Nḥn*, 25% held titles in the military sectors, 30% held miscellaneous state appointments, and 15% held the title *sms.w h3y.t*; see Sections 5.3.3 and 5.3.4.

dismissed from their posts.¹⁵³⁵ The fact that the vizier himself is hardly visible in the evidence indicates that officialdom was substantially decreased. The survival of the post of *sms.w h3y.t* was probably related to his still useful role at the palace. Even with this in mind, however, it seems unlikely that the office of vizier, the king's deputy, would not have existed during this time of crisis and conflict. It is perhaps just as likely that the vizier was needed elsewhere, garnering support for the king's rebellion, assisting the military leaders in defence of Thebes, anything that was required personally by the king, while delegating the majority of his administrative and judicial duties to trusted personnel under his authority.¹⁵³⁶ Essentially, Egypt lived in a constant state of emergency; the king's deputy may now have been more useful in a different capacity, and not predominantly administering the territory, which could easily have been managed by others.¹⁵³⁷ In times of crisis, the king was perhaps also more likely to appoint loyal servants and people close to him with unprecedented authority, rather than relying on the usual chain of command, which at the time may no longer have been in place.¹⁵³⁸ This may explain the elevated status of the *sms.w h3y.t* and their connection to the central administration during Second Intermediate Period. The situations described in these two sources were important enough to warrant a loyal, trusted and known individual. Therefore, the *sms.w h3y.t* may have been selected for these assignments because they were a regular part of the vizier's entourage, and were also loyal personnel of the king still present in the palace and physically close to him.

This describes the situation during the Second Intermediate Period, which was very different from the late Middle Kingdom. There is only limited involvement of *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders in the central administration during the 12th and 13th dynasties. *Ibi*^c [64] mentioned in Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 may be the only direct connection between the title-holders and the vizierate during this time, apart from certain family connections mentioned above. As the head of the palace and second-highest judicial authority, it may

¹⁵³⁵ Shirley, "Crisis and Restructuring of State," 550, 556.

¹⁵³⁶ Shirley, "Crisis and Restructuring of State," 548, 550, 552, 555.

¹⁵³⁷ Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 309-311; Shirely, "Crisis and Restructuring of State," 561. The title *s3-nsw.t*, for example, was bestowed on individuals who were not related to the royal family but nonetheless were given this rank to create a sense of kingship to instil loyalty. Thus, this title designates loyal officials and conferred upon them a nearly royal status. However, various other titles, such as *sms.w h3y.t*, *s3b r3-Nhn*, and *wr mdw Šm^c.w* – which were also very common during this period – may also have been bestowed on loyal servants to tie them more closely to the royal court: Shirely, "Crisis and Restructuring of State," 554, 561.

¹⁵³⁸ For example, Weni of Abydos was appointed with privileges beyond his rank in reaction to the conspiracy of the queen against Pepy I. Senenmut was promoted, not in a crisis but perhaps an unprecedented situation of female king to inspire loyalty.

not be unusual that the vizier was involved in such matters but it does indicate that perhaps the *sms.w h3y.t* were under the vizier's administration.

The attestations of thirty-two scarab-seals, inscribed with the name and title *sms.w h3y.t*, indicate they did have some sort of authority in the central administration.¹⁵³⁹ The majority are dated to the 13th dynasty with sporadic 12th and 16th/17th dynasty attestations as well. Such seals were largely used by the administration headed by the 'overseer of sealed goods.' These seals helped the administration control and direct products and commodities sent throughout the country.¹⁵⁴⁰ The vizier and his administration also used these seals for sealing documents and letters.¹⁵⁴¹ These seals served to identify the official sealing the commodity or document, and thus streamlined and consolidated the management of the country's resources and entire administrative system.¹⁵⁴² This indicates that the *sms.w h3y.t* had the authority to 'seal' documents and/or goods and were somehow involved in this process, either on behalf of the 'overseer of sealed goods' or vizier (or both). This can perhaps be compared to the role of *Rn-snb* [111] of the 16th dynasty, as his name, and thus authority, authenticated the title deed. This suggests the *sms.w h3y.t* may have been involved in such activities during the 13th dynasty as well. These scarabs show that their name and title had power and consequence in the context of the state administration, not just the Residence/palace.

In terms of a judicial function, the evidence is very limited for the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period: *Rn-snb* [111] is the only individual attested to have participated in a legal matter. The involvement of *Wsr-Imn.w* [74] was more administrative than judicial; as a *consequence* of a legal action.

5. 6. The *smsw h3y.t* in the temple

There is no evidence that the *sms.w h3y.t* were involved in the administration of a temple nor a priesthood, in contrast to the situation in the Old Kingdom. The one tenuous exception is [121] who was *w^cb n(.y) s3 200* 'wab-priest of a phyle of 200' but the date of this individual is problematic (see Section 5.2.4). The decree of Intef VI [74] is a temporary placement at the temple for the duration of a particular assignment, and not a

¹⁵³⁹ [55], [56], [60], [69], [71], [72], [75], [77], [78], [83], [84], [85], [87], [91], [106], [116], [119], [124], [128], [129], [130], [131], [132], [141], [149], [151], [155], [158], [160], [161], [162], [166].

¹⁵⁴⁰ Grajetzki, "Setting a State Anew," 250; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 68.

¹⁵⁴¹ Grajetzki, "Setting a State Anew," 251; Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 68.

¹⁵⁴² Grajetzki, "Setting a State Anew," 252-253.

permanent or regular role (see Section 5.5.2). However, some *sms.w* *h3y.t* have family members in temples (see Section 5.3.2.1). The lack of evidence for the religious aspect is not unusual for the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period.

5. 7. Summary

The sources in the late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period indicate that the holders of the title *sms.w h3y.t* belonged to the royal household, and are frequently shown to be close to the king in court and as an advisor as well as the royal family. The *sms.w h3y.t* had few other offices, and it is only in the 16th and 17th dynasties that they appear to play a role in activities of the central administration. During the 13th dynasty, there are a number of scarab-seals, which do, however, hint at some sort of influence and authority beyond the Residence/palace. They can, at times, be considered under the authority of the vizierate, especially when their activities do overlap with the affairs of the state.

Chapter Six:

The *sms.w h3y.t* in the New Kingdom

Chapter Six will focus on the *sms.w h3y.t* during the New Kingdom (from the beginning of the 18th to the end of the 20th dynasty). In contrast to the numerous attestations of the 13th dynasty, this title is rare during the New Kingdom. The *sms.w h3y.t* appears predominantly linked to the temple of Amun in Karnak. The most significant piece of evidence during this period is the autobiography of Rekhmire (TT 100) in which the title appears. This has been previously discussed in detail in Chapter Three and will be revisited here to consider the passage within the context of the New Kingdom and in comparison to the other attestations. The main question is whether the *sms.w h3y.t* remained functional during this time in light of the few attestations or whether the title developed into a more honorary position or title of rank. In addition, what does it mean for the title to be attached to the temple of Amun?

6. 1. The Prosopographical Data

There are a total of eight *sms.w h3y.t* in the New Kingdom corpus, catalogue numbers [169] to [176]. *Imn.w-m-h3.t* [170] is known from Theban Tomb 82 in which his father, *Dhwti-ms* [176] and grandfather, *K3y/Kmy* [173] also appear. *Imn.w-m-h3.t* and *Dhwti-ms* are also attested from a rock-stela at Gebel el-Silsileh dated to the reign of Amenhotep II. The tomb of *Imn.w-m-h3.t* is dated to the reign of Thutmose III, based on the tomb's stela dated to Year 28 of this king. Therefore, *Imn.w-m-h3.t* lived during the reigns of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. Working backwards, it can be determined that his father, *Dhwti-ms* was probably active during the reigns of Thutmose II and Hatshepsut, perhaps possibly also during the early years of Thutmose III's sole reign. *K3y/Kmy* lived even earlier, in all likelihood during the reigns of Amenhotep I to Thutmose II. *Nfr-rnp.t* [172] is the owner of Theban Tomb 174, in which his son *Kn-Imn.w* [174] is also attested. The tomb has been dated to the reign of Amenhotep III. *Imn.w-m-h3.t* [171] and *Tty-nfr* [175] are known from their funerary cone found on the West bank of Thebes. An exact date is difficult to establish, but they are likely to date to the 18th dynasty. Finally, *Imn.w-m-ip3.t* [169] is known from a graffito on the Eighth Pylon in the temple of Amun at Karnak. The graffito is dated to somewhere in the reigns of Merenptah to Seti II. Other sources concerning the *sms.w h3y.t* in the New Kingdom include the autobiography of Rekhmire inscribed in his tomb (TT 100). Rekhmire was appointed vizier in the later years of Thutmose III, serving

him as well as his son, Amenhotep II. A literary ostrakon found in Deir el-Medina dating to the Ramesside Period includes an obscure reference to the *sms.w h3y.t*. The title appears primarily in the sources of the 18th dynasty (Amenhotep I to Amenhotep III) with only two attestations dating to the Ramesside Period.

6. 2. Title-holders and their titularies

Four out of the eight *sms.w h3y.t* in the New Kingdom corpus hold another title, only [171], [174], and [175] do not. Seven of the eight (87.5%)¹⁵⁴³ hold positions linked to the temple-estate of Amun in Thebes through the expression *n(.y) pr-Imn.w* ‘of the estate of Amun’ or simply *n(.y) Imn.w* ‘of Amun’ (both are likely to mean the same thing).

Imn.w-m-h3.t [170] held numerous titles, all linked to the agricultural administration of Upper Egypt and specifically the ‘estate of Amun’ in Thebes. He was *sš hsb it m šnw.wt htp(.w)-ntr Imn.w* ‘scribe who counts the grain in the granaries of the divine offerings of Amun’ as well as *sš hsb it-šm^c.w n(.y) Imn.w* ‘scribe who counts the Upper Egyptian grain of Amun.’¹⁵⁴⁴ These titles probably referred to the same position.¹⁵⁴⁵ At one point, *Imn.w-m-h3.t* was promoted to the level of ‘overseer’ suggested by his position as *imy-r3 hsb it* ‘overseer who counts the grain.’ It is likely that all these expressions were varying ways to refer to the same position, although it is still possible that they represent slightly different roles related to the granary administration of the temple of Amun.¹⁵⁴⁶ In this position, *Imn.w-m-h3.t* was responsible for recording the amount of grain accumulated for the storehouses of the Amun temple.¹⁵⁴⁷

The father of *Imn.w-m-h3.t* [170], *Dhwti-ms* [176], and his paternal grandfather, *K3y/Kmy* [173], held the title *imy-r3 hbs.w* ‘overseer of (ploughed) fields.’¹⁵⁴⁸ At the beginning of

¹⁵⁴³ With the exception of [171].

¹⁵⁴⁴ A.R. Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom* (Ishmailia, 2006), 1881. The latter is not included in the *Index*.

¹⁵⁴⁵ Abbreviations of these positions also included in *Imn.w-m-h3.t* [170]’s titulary are *sš hsb it n(.y) Imn.w* ‘scribe who counts the grain of Amun’ (Ayedi, *Index*, 1884) or even more simply, *sš hsb it* ‘scribe who counts the grain’ (Ayedi, *Index*, 1880).

¹⁵⁴⁶ Eichler, *Verwaltung des “Hauses des Amun,”* 38.

¹⁵⁴⁷ Eichler, *Verwaltung des “Hauses des Amun,”* 38.

¹⁵⁴⁸ Ayedi, *Index*, 345.

18th dynasty, the term *ḥbs.w* denoted a type of arable land.¹⁵⁴⁹ In the *Duties of the Vizier*, the *ḥbs.w*, as ‘government-lands,’ were the responsibility of the vizier.¹⁵⁵⁰ In this position, *Imn.w-m-ḥ3.t* [170], *Dḥwtj-ms* [176], and *K3y/Kmy* [173], would have been responsible for surveying the crops in the field, likely recording the results and reporting directly to the vizier.¹⁵⁵¹ It is not surprising, in light of his father and grandfather’s roles, that *Imn.w-m-ḥ3.t* took up additional positions relating to the granary administration. In addition, *Imn.w-m-ḥ3.t* was *ḥr.y mr.w n(.y) Imn.w* ‘chief of weavers of Amun’ which also appears in his tomb simply as *ḥr.y mr.w* ‘chief of weavers.’¹⁵⁵² He inherited these titles from the father of his father-in-law (see Section 6.3). This title signifies his responsibility over this particular group of craftsmen at the temple.

The highest-ranking, and most significant, title held by *Imn.w-m-ḥ3.t* [170] was *imy-r3 pr n(.y) t3.ty n(.y) niw.t rs.yt* ‘steward of the vizier of the Southern City (= Thebes).’¹⁵⁵³ This was also abbreviated to *imy-r3 pr n(.y) t3.ty irr ḥr.y ḥ.wt=f nb.t* ‘steward of the vizier, who acts as controller of all his things.’ *Imn.w-m-ḥ3.t* was the ‘steward’ of the (southern) vizier Useramun/User (TT 62), who is also represented in a very damaged banquet scene in TT 82.¹⁵⁵⁴ The name and titles of *Imn.w-m-ḥ3.t* and his second wife, *B3k.t-Imn.w* are also inscribed on the rock-stela of the vizier, Ahmose and his son, User, in Gebel el-Silsileh. *Imn.w-m-ḥ3.t* also held a number of auxiliary titles, these are likely describing aspects of his role as ‘steward of the vizier’ providing insight into his tasks and duties in that office:

- *imy-r3 pr ḥsb 3ḥ.wt* ‘steward who counts the fields.’¹⁵⁵⁵
- *imy-r3 pr ḥsb ḥmt* ‘steward who counts the copper.’
- *imy-r3 pr ḥsb wn.t* ‘steward who counts (all) that exists.’
- *imy-r3 pr ḥsb rmt n(.y) Imn.w* ‘steward who counts the people of Amun.’¹⁵⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴⁹ Distinct from *3ḥ.t*-fields, the *ḥbs.w* is considered part of the general category of ‘farmland’ (*iḥ(w).t*), S.L.D. Katary, “The administration of institutional agriculture in the New Kingdom,” in J.C. Moreno-García (ed) *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden, 2013), 722.

¹⁵⁵⁰ Katary, “Administration of institutional agriculture,” 722-723; Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 379-380.

¹⁵⁵¹ Katary, “Administration of institutional agriculture,” 742.

¹⁵⁵² Ayedi, *Index*, 1305, 1306.

¹⁵⁵³ This particular variant does not appear in Ayedi’s index but for *im.y-r3 pr n(.y) t3.ty*, see Ayedi, *Index*, 190.

¹⁵⁵⁴ The vizier, User is depicted banqueting with *Imn.w-m-ḥ3.t*’s family on the east wall in the entrance hall. Only the upper portion of the scene is preserved where User and his wife are depicted feasting with their children. Ahmose, User’s father, and his extended family, are also depicted on the northern part of the east wall in the tomb’s hall. Nothing but fragmentary inscriptions remain of this scene however: N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Amenemhat* (no. 82) (London, 1915), 31-32, 34, pls. III, XXXI.

¹⁵⁵⁵ Ayedi, *Index*, 191.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Sometimes shortened simply to *im.y-r3 pr ḥsb rmt* ‘steward who counts the people’ in the tomb.

His biographical stela on the east wall of the chapel describes some of the duties he performed as User's steward.¹⁵⁵⁷ He states, 'he (=User) placed his complete estate under my command, and every seal of his was under my control, I being vigilant in accounting his possession.'¹⁵⁵⁸ It appears that he often acted as the vizier's representative and was primarily concerned with matters of accounting and record keeping. *Imn.w-m-ḥ3.t*'s biographical stela is mainly concerned with his office as 'steward of the vizier' and honouring the vizier User himself, nothing is mentioned about his role as *sms.w ḥ3y.t*.

It is difficult to assess the order in which *Imn.w-m-ḥ3.t* obtained his titles, and whether some were held simultaneously.¹⁵⁵⁹ He probably started out with the titles inherited from his father, 'overseer of (ploughed) fields,' and *sms.w ḥ3y.t n(.y) pr-Imn.w*. Then, he likely became scribe and overseer of the granaries of the temple of Amun, before being promoted to 'steward of the vizier' probably due to his advantageous second marriage. It is possible he held some of these titles simultaneously, for example, he most likely acted as the 'overseer of weavers' while still holding his various titles related to the granary administration or even while he was steward.

Nfr-rnp.t [172] holds a similar position as *Imn.w-m-ḥ3.t* [170] related to the administration of the cattle-herds belonging to the Amun temple estate, *sš ḥsb iḥw(.w) n(.w) Imn.w m Šm^c.w Mḥ.w* 'scribe who counts the cattle of Amun in Upper and Lower Egypt.'¹⁵⁶⁰ *Nfr-rnp.t* was in charge of keeping records regarding the cattle attached to temple located throughout Upper and Lower Egypt. Additionally, he was also *ir.y-^c.t n(.y) Imn.w* 'keeper of the storerooms of Amun' which was quite a low ranking position in the temple administration tasked with managing the magazines in the temple complex.¹⁵⁶¹ *Nfr-rnp.t* also held two priestly titles within the temple complex; *w^cb n(.y) Imn.w* 'wab-priest of Amun' and *w^cb n(.y) Ḥnsw* 'wab-priest of Khonsu.'¹⁵⁶² *Nfr-rnp.t* may have supervised the temple storerooms while he was 'scribe who counts the cattle of Amun.' Unlike *Imn.w-m-ḥ3.t* [170], he was also involved in the temple as a priest participating in the daily rites of the temple.

¹⁵⁵⁷ Davies, *Tomb of Amenemhet*, pl. XXV.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Davies, *Tomb of Amenemhet*, 71 (l. 3), pl. XXV.

¹⁵⁵⁹ Haring, "Rising Power of the House of Amun," 610.

¹⁵⁶⁰ This particular variant does not appear in Ayedi's *Index* but he does include *sš ḥsb iḥw.w n(.y) Imn.w m Ip.t-swt* (1876) and *sš ḥsb iḥw.w n(.y) pr-Imn.w* (1878).

¹⁵⁶¹ Ayedi, *Index*, 551.

¹⁵⁶² The three last titles were only present on his funerary cones, as his tomb was re-used at a later date resulting in the erasure of many inscriptions and wall-scenes. See Ayedi, *Index*, 746, 765.

The graffito immortalising *Imn.w-m-ip³.t* [169] is located on the north wall of the staircase inside the east wing of the Eighth Pylon of the temple of Amun at Karnak. In addition to *sms.w h³y.t*, *Imn.w-m-ip³.t* was also *ʕ-n-ʕ.t n.y ḥm-ntr tp.y n(y) Imn.w Ry* ‘head of the department/chamber of the high-priest of Amun, Roy.’¹⁵⁶³ The title is also translated as ‘majordomo’ by Kitchen.¹⁵⁶⁴ *Ry* was the high priest of Amun, Roma II-Roy during the reigns of Merenptah and Seti II, and owner of TT 283. This title appears to be concerned with the household of the high-priest, perhaps functioning as some sort of steward or manservant.

6. 2. 1. The title-phrase: *sms.w h³y.t n(y) pr-Imn.w*


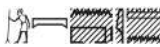


The title phrase of *sms.w h³y.t* is extended in five titularies¹⁵⁶⁵ The title-phrase of *Imn.w-m-ip³.t* [169] and *Imn.w-m-ḥ³.t* [170] is *sms.w h³y.t n(y) pr-Imn.w* while *Tty-nfr* [175] and *Kn-Imn.w* [174] were simply *sms.w h³y.t n(y) Imn.w*.¹⁵⁶⁶ Similarly, *Nfr-rnp.t* [172] held the variant *hr.y sms.w(w) h³y.t n(y) Imn.w m Ip.t-sw.t* ‘chief elder’ or ‘chief of the elders of the porch of (the estate) of Amun at Karnak.’¹⁵⁶⁷ The remaining three, *Imn.w-m-ḥ³.t* [171], *K³y/Kmy* [173], and *Dḥwty-ms* [176], held the title *sms.w h³y.t* without any protractions. In case of the two latter, the *n(y) pr-Imn.w* extension may have been implied since their son/grandson held this extended variant.


The attached phrase *n(y) pr Imn.w / n(y) Imn.w* clearly refers to the ‘house’ or ‘estate of Amun,’ this being the temple itself. Temples were viewed as the physical house or residence in which the deity dwelled and was worshipped. That much is clear. It is less certain whether the word *pr* referred to any administrative or economic aspects of the temple estate. The meaning of *pr* is generally too wide to convey any such administrative or economic concepts, therefore it is often translated as the generic ‘house, domain, estate.’¹⁵⁶⁸ It is not clear from the surviving documents how broadly the phrase *pr-Imn.w* should be interpreted, whether to include the Karnak temple estates at large or include

¹⁵⁶³ This particular variant does not appear in Ayedi’s *Index*, but the core title *ʕ-n-ʕ.t* can be found at no. 693.

¹⁵⁶⁴ *KRI* IV 132 (8A).

¹⁵⁶⁵ 5/8 (62.5%): [169], [170], [172], [174], and [175].

¹⁵⁶⁶ [169] ; [170] South wall in the transverse hall, ; [174] North-west wall (west end) in the broad hall, ; [175] .

¹⁵⁶⁷ [172] North-west wall (west end) in the broad hall, .

¹⁵⁶⁸ Haring, “Rising Power of the House of Amun,” 613; see also Haring *Divine Households*, 32-33; M. Römer, “Hauswirtschaft — Häuserwirtschaft — Gesamtwirtschaft. ‘Ökonomie’ im pharaonischen Ägypten” *Orientalia* 78 (2009), 2-3.

other Theban temples on the West Bank.¹⁵⁶⁹ It is, essentially, unknown if the term has particular administrative, economic, religious, or architectural connotations, or even a combination thereof.¹⁵⁷⁰ Haring questions the notion that the phrase *pr-Imn.w* ‘house of Amun,’ and even ‘house’ in general, should be interpreted as having administrative connotations or even purely religious overtones. It may just as likely be a reference to the temple as a structure alluding to the building complex of the temple in the physical sense.¹⁵⁷¹ It is basically unknown, at this point, whether the expression *pr-Imn.w* in titles refers to the temple of Amun as an institution or simply as a structure.

The above title-phrases can be interpreted in two ways:

- (1) {Elder (of)} + {the porch of (the estate of) Amun} = ‘elder’ who is situated at the porch inside or in front of the temple of Amun (temple as structure).
- (2) {Elder (of) the porch} + {of (the estate of) Amun} = ‘elder of the porch’ acting on behalf of Amun temple (temple as institution).

Is the official attached to the temple porch (*h3y.t*) or is he attached to the temple complex? For further discussion, see Section 6.5.

6. 3. Social Networks

Generalisations about the families and other social alliances of *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders is not really possible due to the limited evidence of this position in the New Kingdom. In only three instances is more information available about the background and social connections of the *sms.w h3y.t*. For discussion on kinship terms, see Section 5.3.1.

The extended family of *Imn.w-m-h3.t* [170] is primarily recorded on the walls of his tomb. Fortunately, much of the inscriptions survive despite the targeted erasure of Amun’s name throughout the tomb. The father and mother of *Imn.w-m-h3.t* [170] were *Dḥw.ty-ms* [176] and *Ini.t=f*, also called *S3.t-wr.t* (on the rock-stela at Gebel el-Silsileh, for example). The father of *Dḥwty-ms* [176], and *Imn.w-m-h3.t*’s paternal grandfather, was named *K3y/Kmy* [173]. All three generations held the titles, ‘overseer of (ploughed) fields’ and ‘elder of the porch.’ The tomb records eight brothers and six sisters, as well as one niece, of *Imn.w-m-h3.t*. *Imn.w-m-h3.t*’s brother, *Imn.w-ms* was *sš n(y) šnw.(w)t n.t ḥtp(.w)-ntr* ‘scribe of the

¹⁵⁶⁹ Haring, “Rising Power of the House of Amun,” 613; Eichler, *Verwaltung des “Hauses des Amun,”* 3.

¹⁵⁷⁰ Haring, “Rising Power of the House of Amun,” 613-614.

¹⁵⁷¹ Haring, “Rising Power of the House of Amun,” 616-617.

granaries of the divine offerings,' presumably of Amun.¹⁵⁷² Both men held positions related to the granaries of the Amun temple complex. Their brothers, *Wsr-ḥnh*, on the other hand, was *ḳnb.ty n(.y) Imn.w* 'council-man(?)' or 'magistrate of Amun',¹⁵⁷³ and *Imn.w-[...]* was *sš n(.y) ḫ.ty* 'scribe of the vizier'.¹⁵⁷⁴ Three of his brothers were simple scribes (*sš*) while the remaining two had no titles. No titles of the sisters of *Imn.w-m-ḫ.t* were recorded in the tomb.

The evidence records two wives for *Imn.w-m-ḫ.t*, *Mr.yt-Imn.w* and *Bḳ.t-Imn.w/Bḳ.t*. His first wife, *šmḳyt n(.y) Imn.w* 'songstress of Amun,' *Mr.yt-Imn.w*, is attested only on a statue and not on any of his other monuments.¹⁵⁷⁵ It is likely she passed away and *Imn.w-m-ḫ.t* remarried *nb.t-pr Bḳ.t-Imn.w* who is attested in TT 82 and on the rock-stela at Gebel el-Silsileh. *Bḳ.t-Imn.w* (or *Bḳ.t*) was the daughter of *Imn.w-m-ḫ.t*'s sister *Iḥ-ms*.¹⁵⁷⁶ *Imn.w-m-ḫ.t* and *Bḳ.t-Imn.w* had eleven children, six sons and five daughters. Titles were recorded for only two of his sons, one also called *Imn.w-m-ḫ.t* and the other *Imn.w-ḥtp* who were scribes (*sš*).¹⁵⁷⁷ It is possible the others had not yet attained a position. None of *Imn.w-m-ḫ.t*'s sons, however, followed in the footsteps of their father, grandfather, and great-grandfather. The tomb records no titles for his daughters. The daughter of one of his brothers (which one is unknown), *Nfr.t-ir.y*, is often depicted with *Imn.w-m-ḫ.t*'s own children.¹⁵⁷⁸ The name *Nfr.t-ir.y* also is attested on the funerary cone of *Imn.w-m-ḫ.t* [171] which identifies her as his wife. It is unlikely *Imn.w-m-ḫ.t* [170] is the same man as [171], but perhaps it was his son, who was also called *Imn.w-m-ḫ.t*. While this latter *Imn.w-m-ḫ.t* was only a scribe it is possible that he was appointed to *sms.w ḫ.ty* like his father after the tomb had been completed. Alternatively, *Imn.w-m-ḫ.t* [171] and his wife, *Nfr.t-ir.y* may be completely different individuals.

The tomb also records a man named *Iḥ-ms.w Ḥw-m^c-š.w* often abbreviated simply to *Ḥw-m^c-š.w*. *Ḥw-m^c-š.w* married the sister of *Imn.w-m-ḫ.t* [170] named *Iḥ-ms* and the couple's daughter was *Bḳ.t-Imn.w* whom *Imn.w-m-ḫ.t* took for his second wife. *Ḥw-m^c-š.w* was a significant official as he was *imy-rḳ pr n(.y) ḫ.ty* 'steward of the vizier' (of the

¹⁵⁷² This exact title is not found in Ayedi's *Index*, but he does include the core title *sš n(.y) šnw.(w)t(y)*: Ayedi, *Index*, 1852.

¹⁵⁷³ FCD 280; Ayedi's *Index* does include *ḳnb.ty* (no. 2047) but not this particular extended variant.

¹⁵⁷⁴ Ayedi, *Index*, 1861.

¹⁵⁷⁵ Statue Berlin 2316; Ayedi, *Index*, 1996.

¹⁵⁷⁶ In TT 82 *Bḳ.t-Imn.w* is alternatively referred to as *sḳ sn.t=f* 'daughter of his (= *Imn.w-m-ḫ.t*) sister' and *ḥm.t=f* 'his wife.'

¹⁵⁷⁷ Ayedi, *Index*, 1716.

¹⁵⁷⁸ Davies, *Tomb of Amenemhet*, pl. XXI.

vizier Ahmose) before *Imn.w-m-h3.t* succeeded to this office, likely due to this marriage.¹⁵⁷⁹ *Hw-m^c-š3.w* likely served Ahmose (User's father and predecessor) before both the vizierate and stewardship were passed to User and *Imn.w-m-h3.t*, respectively. Moreover, it is likely *Imn.w-m-h3.t*'s brother, *Imn.w*[...] obtained his position as 'scribe of the vizier' because *Imn.w-m-h3.t* was the vizier's steward. It is clear that the *Imn.w-m-h3.t* had a close relationship with the vizier, User, which was created through the marriage of his sister and his subsequent marriage to her daughter. In addition, the father of *Hw-m^c-š3.w*, *Dhw.ty-ms* (also called *Dd*) was 'chief of weavers of (the estate of) Amun' which was also passed onto *Imn.w-m-h3.t*. These social alliances were cemented by marriage contracts, which resulted in titles being passed onto other family members. In his biographical stela, *Imn.w-m-h3.t* states 'He (= User) set the children (*hrd.w*) in the place of the fathers' suggesting that User was at least partly responsible for the appointments of *Imn.w-m-h3.t* and possibly his brothers and sons.¹⁵⁸⁰

The tomb of *Nfr-rnp.t* [172] was re-used during the Late New Kingdom/Third Intermediate Period by a man named *Ns-p3.wty-t3.wy*, who erased the names of the original owner and his family.¹⁵⁸¹ In addition, the tomb was targeted by followers of Akhenaten who removed Amun's name and other elements associated with this deity. The inscriptions of the original tomb owner are, therefore, very fragmentary. The name of *Nfr-rnp.t*'s wife is still unknown. From the remaining text in the tomb, it appears *Nfr-rnp.t* had two sons; the *sms.w h3y.t n(.y)* [*Imn.w*] *Kn[-Imn.w]* [174], and the *sš hsb ihw(.w)* 'scribe who counts the cattle,' [*Imn.w*]-*m-h3.t*.¹⁵⁸² It seems that *Nfr-rnp.t* passed his two offices onto his sons. The names and titles (if any) of his two daughters are unknown.

Nothing is known about *Imn.w-m-ip3.t* [169] because his name and titles are only preserved on a graffito that does not include the names and titles of any of his family members. It does reflect his association with the *hm-ntr tp.y n(.y)* *Imn.w* 'high-priest of Amun,' Roma II-Roy (TT 283), of whom he was the 'majordomo' or 'steward'.¹⁵⁸³ Also mentioned in the graffiti is *sš kd.w n(.y) pr-Imn.w* 'draughtsman of the temple of Amun,' *B3k-n-wr-n-r*, son of *H3.w-nfr*. This may have been the man who wrote their names on the wall.

¹⁵⁷⁹ Ayedi, *Index*, 190.

¹⁵⁸⁰ Davies, *Tomb of Amenemhet*, 71 (l.6), pl. XXV.

¹⁵⁸¹ B.G. Ockinga, "Theban Tomb 147: Its Owners and Erasure Revisited," *BACE* 19 (2008), 143-144.

¹⁵⁸² Ayedi, *Index*, 1875.

¹⁵⁸³ Ayedi, *Index*, 1171.

For *Imn.w-m-ḥȝ.t* [171] and *Tty-nfr* [175] only their names and titles are known, for the former see also above.

Drawing conclusions about title succession in relation to the office *sms.w hȝy.t* is difficult with evidence from only two families. From [170]’s family tree it is apparent that the office of *sms.w hȝy.t* (as well as *imy-rȝ ḥbs.w*) was passed from father to son for three generations; from *Kȝy* [173] → *Dḥw.ty-ms* [176] → *Imn.w-m-ḥȝ.t* [170] [→ *Imn.w-m-ḥȝ.t* [171](?)]. Similarly, *Nfr-rnp.t* passed on his appointment of *sš ḥsb iḥw(.w) n(.w) Imn.w* to his son *Imn.w-m-ḥȝ.t*. His other son, *Kn-Imn* similarly inherited his father’s office of *sms.w hȝy.t* but without the hierarchical prefix *hr.y* ‘chief.’

6. 4. Other sources on the *sms.w hȝy.t* during the New Kingdom

In light of the few attestations of the title, it is not surprising that there is equally little mention of the title elsewhere. The two sources that do mention the *sms.w hȝy.t* are the passage in the autobiography of Rekhmire and an enigmatic reference on a Deir el-Medina ostrakon.

6. 4. 1. Once more: the autobiography of Rekhmire (TT 100)

The autobiography of Rekhmire was discussed in Section 3.7.1, as it was the only attestation of the *sms.w hȝy.t* acting within the confines of the Residence/palace and thus of great relevance to that chapter. In the context of the New Kingdom, title-holders of *sms.w hȝy.t* are very rare, with the majority being connected to the ‘temple of Amun.’ The passage in Rekhmire’s autobiography, however, would seem to indicate that it also remained a position in the palace at this time. The question is whether it was still a functional position, despite its infrequency in the sources – ‘functional’ meaning of having a practical set of tasks and duties that contributed to the maintenance and smooth running of the palace household.

The infrequency of New Kingdom title-holders renders the passage in a different light, because if it was a functional position at this time, why are there so few attestations? There is always the theoretical possibility that many did not leave surviving evidence, not being wealthy enough to leave behind a tomb, stelae or other monument. This would imply

that title-holders had suffered a considerable decrease in status compared to those of the late Middle Kingdom. Alternatively, there may simply have been fewer *sms.ww h3y.t* operating in the Theban palace than in the Residence in Memphis. But one would expect to find some evidence of their existence from the Memphite necropolis, even if large sections of the New Kingdom cemetery have still to be excavated. It may be the case that after the Second Intermediate period, when the Residence and government were located in Thebes, the office of *sms.w h3y.t* remained closely associated with this city, and the position was not re-established in Memphis when the Residence was relocated at the beginning of the 18th dynasty. Nonetheless, the low number of title-holders do raise doubts about its functionality; perhaps it was less occupational and had become increasingly ceremonial, limited to special court situations as described by Rekhmire.

The autobiography of Rekhmire describes the *sms.w h3y.t* as performing an actual function; escorting Rekhmire through the palace corridors to receive his appointment as vizier in front of the king.¹⁵⁸⁴ The *sms.ww h3y.t* revealed the way through the restricted halls and corridors further into the palace interior where the king waited to receive him. Rekhmire's promotion to vizier was a ceremonial event with the *sms.w h3y.t* acting in a highly ritualised capacity. The *sms.w h3y.t* may have had a combination of practical and ritual roles, but the details of the text are insufficient to enable conclusions to be drawn with certainty.

Nevertheless, the *sms.ww h3y.t* in this passage do appear to have a function similar to that described by *Nsw-Mntw* [103] and *Hr-ꜥ3* [115] of the 12th and 13th dynasty, respectively. The stela of *Hr-ꜥ3* states that he is 'one who appears with a loud (lit. strong) voice at the place of silence, whose lord heeded his words'¹⁵⁸⁵ while the stela of *Nsw-Mntw* describes the owner as one who 'approaches the throne'¹⁵⁸⁶ (see Section 5.4.1). These statements connect the *sms.w h3y.t* to the audience hall or throne room of the king, which was the place where visitors were received and ceremonies at court likely took place. These statements imply close proximity to the king at court ceremonies and audiences. These men may have introduced visitors, delivered reports or news, and generally acted as the spokesperson or mouthpiece for the king in court – implied by *Nsw-Mntw*'s assertion that he draws near to the throne (presumably to carry out some task) and *Hr-ꜥ3*'s claim of

¹⁵⁸⁴ Urk. IV 1073.5-6; Wb. II 476 [8]: *gmi.n=i (i)r=f sms.w(w) h3y.t hr sdsr w3.t [št3t] m hr=i*. I having found the elder(s) of the porch clearing/revealing the [restricted/private] pathway for me.

¹⁵⁸⁵ l. 4-5, 7 Stela Edfu 2: Kubisch, *Lebensbilder der 2. Zwischenzeit*, 180ff.

¹⁵⁸⁶ l. 6-7 Stela Louvre C1: Sethe *Ägyptische Lesestücke*, 82.

speaking in a carrying voice in the audience hall. It, thus, appears the *sms.w h3y.t* may have played a role in the formal setting of the king's audience hall. This gives more credence to the view that the description in Rekhmire's autobiography accurately describes the role of the *sms.w h3y.t* as providing the escort for visitors to the audience hall, even at a time when the position is seldom attested. Even in the New Kingdom, the *sms.w h3y.t* acted as the king's emissary and middleman, although perhaps limited to this formal court setting.¹⁵⁸⁷

6. 4. 2. Gardiner Ostrakon 321

Gardiner Ostrakon 321 is one of the hieratic literary ostraca found in Deir el-Medina probably dating to the Ramesside Period. This rather obscure text, which may be a hymn to the moon *Iḥ*, was translated by Fischer-Elfert (1997).¹⁵⁸⁸ Fischer-Elfert's translation is given below:

^{1|} *ib=tw r-m33-Iḥ-[Dḥwty nb Ḥm(?)]nw [...]* *ḥms* ^{2|} *ḥr-tp-ḥw.t-nṯr Ḥnm.n=f-ršw.t R^c.w-Itmw-ḥr=f-^{3|}[m33(?)] n(?) -ḥr=f psd.t ḥr-ir.t-n=f i3w.t ib=f m-ḥ3b-^{4|}[...(?)] n-m33=f p3-nṯr-n^c ḥrp m-s.t-wr.t n-nbw.y* ^{5|} *[...(?)-t3]-f[3]y.t-13 ḥbs.w-bḥ3 m-mitt ḥr-ḥ3.t=f ḥr-^{6|}[ph.wy=f(?)] ... (?) m-sms.w(w) h3y.t ḥr-w3y.t-f-nb.t ḥpr m-ḥm.w-nṯr* ^{7|} *[.....] t3y-[ḥw(?)] <ḥr(?)>-[wnmy(?)]-nsw.t(?) mḥ m-itr.ty*

^{1|} One wishes to see *Iḥ*[-Thoth, lord of Hermopolis], to sit on the roof ^{2|} of the temple of he-is-united-with-joy, whereupon Ra-Atum was above him, at the ^{3|} [sight] of his countenance. The Ennead shall praise him. His heart is in a festive mood ^{4|}[...] at his countenance. Your/The merciful god, who has taken up the High Throne of double refined gold. ^{5|} The carrier, thirteen (people), similarly (with) the fan-bearer, ^{6|} at its peak, at its end, together with the 'elder(s) of the porch,' on all its sides, appointed with the priests, ^{7|} [...] 'fan-bearers to the right of the king' complete on both sides.¹⁵⁸⁹

The ostrakon appears to describe some type of religious (?) procession or other ritual. The 'carrier' (*f3y.t*) can refer to the barque of a deity's cult statue as well as the royal litter (in

¹⁵⁸⁷ It should also be noted that there is a general lack of data available about the Egyptian palace which may account for the "absence" of the *sms.w h3y.t* in a palace context, while comparatively more information is preserved about the administration of the Amun temple accounting for the more prevalent occurrence of the *sms.w h3y.t* in a temple context.

¹⁵⁸⁸ H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Lese funde im literarischen Steinbruch von Deir el-Medineh* (Wiesbaden, 1997), 103ff. no.20.

¹⁵⁸⁹ Fischer-Elfert, *Lese funde*, 104.

which the king travelled).¹⁵⁹⁰ Fischer-Elfert describes a scene from Medinet Habu where Ramesses III was carried in such a chair from the palace to take part in a festival of Min.¹⁵⁹¹ The king was similarly carried by thirteen bearers, next to whom are an individual fanning the king and one fan-bearer. It is uncertain from the text of the ostrakon whether it refers to a god's shrine or king's palanquin. In the above text, it appears that the 'elder(s) of the porch' assisted the priests and fan-bearers in carrying this portable shrine/litter in the procession. The ostrakon situates the 'elder(s) of the porch' with the *t3.y-hw hr wnm.y-nsw.t* 'fan-bearers at the right side of the king,' a high-ranking military and court title during the New Kingdom, whose holders were men who had a close personal or professional relationship with the king.¹⁵⁹²

6. 5. Interpreting the title-phrase, *sms.w h3y.t n(y) (pr-)Imn.w*

During the New Kingdom, the title is consistently connected to the temple of Amun in Karnak, which seems to be a new feature of the office not evident in earlier periods (at least to this same degree).¹⁵⁹³ There is an apparent shift from a palace to a temple context, which may reflect a change or extension in the role of the *sms.w h3y.t*.

It was shown in Section 2.3 that there was a porch attached to the entrance of the Amun temple in front of the Fourth Pylon during the 18th dynasty.¹⁵⁹⁴ This 'porch' is designated as *h3y.t* by Shabaka of the 25th dynasty when he renovated this gateway. There are several arguments against the notion that the *sms.w h3y.t* was situated at the temple porch in the same way he was at the palace porch, i.e. that the title-phrase reads 'elder' of 'the porch of the temple of Amun.' First, the sources documenting the construction of the structure denoted as *h3y.t* in the temple are all dated from the Late Period onwards (see Section 2.2.1). During the New Kingdom, the entrances and porches of the temple (including of the Fourth Pylon) were alternatively called simply *sb3* or *sbh.t*. There is no evidence that a porch at the Amun temple was referred to as *h3y.t* during the New Kingdom. This indicates that the *sms.w h3y.t* is unlikely to be connected to this porch/entrance of the temple. Second, there are many officials attested during this time with the title *ir.y-3 n(y)*

¹⁵⁹⁰ Wb. I 574.5-6; FCD 97; Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch*, 322.

¹⁵⁹¹ Fischer-Elfert, *Lese funde*, 106.

¹⁵⁹² *LÄ* VI, 1161-1163 s.v. Wedelträger; for examples of bearers of the title see Ayedi, *Index*, 2123.

¹⁵⁹³ While the *sms.w h3y.t* was associated with the various royal funerary cults in Old Kingdom, never one particular temple, nor so regularly.

¹⁵⁹⁴ Even when the main entrance was no longer at the Fourth Pylon, there was a porch at this gateway, see tomb of Neferhotep (TT49), fig. 2.7.

pr-Imn.w ‘doorkeeper of the temple of Amun.’¹⁵⁹⁵ These may have been the doorkeepers situated at the main entrance to the temple and/or porch of the Fourth Pylon. It seems redundant to have two occupations situated at these thresholds. This suggests that they did not operate in the same sphere of society. Therefore, the title should be interpreted as ‘elder of the porch’ of the Amun temple, at large, not of a specific structure in said temple.

The title’s attachment to the Amun temple may represent an extension of the role of the bearer as a commissioner or agent of the king (cf. Sections 4.6.2, 5.5, 7.3). This new addition to the title-phrase may indicate that he may also have acted as a representative of the temple estate of Amun, just as he acted on behalf of the king and the palace. Title-holders may now have been under the authority of the temple administration, and perhaps even the high-priest of Amun. This is suggested by the graffito of *Imn.w-m-ipꜣ.t* [168] who was closely associated with the high-priest of Amun, Roma-Roy II. This may also be supported by Wenamun in the *Report of Wenamun* (see Section 6.6), who was an envoy on behalf of the Amun temple sent by the high-priest of Amun, Herhihor. It is also not dissimilar to the way *Wsr-Imn.w* [74] acted on behalf of the king (and state) in the temple of Min during the 17th dynasty. In addition, Ostrakon Gardiner 321 describes the presence of several *sms.w w hꜣy.t* in a ritual procession, most likely of the temple considering the presence of several priests. Therefore, the *sms.w hꜣy.t* may have been involved in some administrative duties and assignments for the temple as well as involved in particular rituals and ceremonies. The evidence is insufficient to determine whether they were under the authority of the high-priest of Amun, and how they fit into the temple hierarchy. The general lack of the *sms.w hꜣy.t* in New Kingdom sources may suggest that they were not a permanent part of temple personnel.

The increasingly powerful status of Amun in New Kingdom society and religion may account for this shift from a palace setting to a temple context. The deity Amun, and his temple at Karnak, was a powerful entity during the New Kingdom with vast wealth, estates, priesthoods, and a great amount of influence with the king and the government. In fact, Amun was regularly designated as the *nsw.t nꜥr.w* ‘king of the gods’¹⁵⁹⁶ as well as *nsw.t-Tꜣ.wy* ‘king of Two Lands’ signifying his exceptionally high position at the top of the divine hierarchy.¹⁵⁹⁷ Throughout the New Kingdom, kings had become more dependent

¹⁵⁹⁵ Ayedi, *Index*, 540.

¹⁵⁹⁶ Wb. II 328.12.

¹⁵⁹⁷ E. Hornung, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many*, trans. J. Baines (New York, 1982), 231.

on the power and the decisions of the gods.¹⁵⁹⁸ From the reign of Hatshepsut onwards, divine oracles became an ever more decisive factor in religious life, which greatly affected the political decisions of the king and the government.¹⁵⁹⁹ According to Assmann, the most striking feature of Amun was the “virulence” with which he translated his will into deed and intervened in history.¹⁶⁰⁰ Therefore, while earlier holders of the title ‘elder of the porch’ were closely associated with the king and the royal court, it may be the case that title-holders derived their authority and status from an association with Amun, rather than the monarch. The position of *sms.w h3y.t* can be thought of as being attached to the ‘palace’ of Amun i.e. the temple, just as it was traditionally attached to the actual residence of the king. Thus, holders of the title ‘elder of the porch of the temple of Amun’ in the New Kingdom may have acted as a representative of the increasingly influential temple and priesthood rather than the king in Memphis.

From the autobiography in Rekhmire it is apparent that title-holders did remain attached to the palace, at least during the mid-18th dynasty, if only in a ceremonial role at court. This may also be supported by the fact that, in three instances [171], [173], [176], the title-phrase is not modified by the extension of *n(.y) [pr-]Imn.w*. Holders of the title *sms.w h3y.t* appear to have operated in two different spheres of society, in the palace and/or the temple of Amun until the former attachment was gradually phased out by the end of the New Kingdom.

It was probably in the New Kingdom that the physical structure and architectural term ‘*h3y.t*’ was used in reference to temple architecture, which is made more credible by the fact that the temple precinct was in the immediate vicinity of the palace.¹⁶⁰¹ Even in this new context, from a structuralist perspective, there may be a semantic parallel between the function of the temple *h3y.t* and palace *h3y.t*. In case of the latter, it formed the liminal zone between the inner palace of the king and the outer world and in case of the temple *h3y.t* it was a place connected with the deity’s appearance in processional contexts and therefore had a similar significance. Nonetheless, the use of the term independent from the title increased, while the position itself declined, suggesting that the close connection between the structure and official may also have diminished. This further suggests that there was probably no connection between the temple porch of the Fourth Pylon, the temple structure

¹⁵⁹⁸ Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, 193.

¹⁵⁹⁹ J. Assmann, *The search for god in ancient Egypt*, trans. D. Lorton, (New York, 2001), 193-195.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Assman, *Search for god*, 194.

¹⁶⁰¹ O’Conner, “Royal Palace in the New Kingdom,” 270ff.

denoted *h3y.t*, and *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders of the New Kingdom. Because the office of *sms.w h3y.t* became more associated with the temple than the palace, it explains how the *h3y.t* became characteristic of temple architecture in the later documentation.

6. 6. The *sms.w h3y.t* post-New Kingdom

While outside the scope of this thesis, *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders continue to be attested after the end of the New Kingdom. A brief survey shows that the *sms.w h3y.t* continued to be linked to temples, in particular those of Amun, but also in one instance of Ptah (in Memphis).¹⁶⁰² Of the four post-New Kingdom title-holders found, three were *hr.y sms.w(w) h3y.t* ‘chief (of) elder(s) of the porch,’ indicating that even during this late period, title-holders were part of a hierarchy. This may signify that there remained a group of title-holders in the temple acting as envoys of various temples in matters important to the high-priest (in a similar fashion as Wenamun, see below).

The most well-known *sms.w h3y.t* of any period is the (probably) fictional character, *Wn-Imn.w* (Wenamun).¹⁶⁰³ The *Report of Wenamun* is a literary composition describing the expedition of its main protagonist, Wenamun, on behalf of the temple of Amun to the Levant.¹⁶⁰⁴ The text is styled like an official administrative report, but it is a work of literature albeit with some factual elements.¹⁶⁰⁵ According to Winand, the palaeography dates the papyrus to the mid-21st dynasty, possibly to the 22nd dynasty.¹⁶⁰⁶ Much of the

¹⁶⁰² (1) A stela of Psammetichus II (26th dynasty, Saqqara) depicts the king in the upper register adoring Ptah and Isis. The stela is dedicated by the *hr.y sms.w h3y.t Pth hnty Tnn.t Ns-hr(-m)-wi3 s3 P3-di-Wsir(?)* ‘chief elder of the porch of Ptah-foremost-of-the-Tjenenet, *Ns-hr(-m)-wi3*, son of *P3-di-Wsir*’. G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka and other reliefs and inscriptions from the sacred animal necropolis. North Saqqara 1964-1973* (London, 1979), no. 158, pl. 44. (2) Late Period statue of *Hr-nfr* who was, among other things, *hr.y sms.w(w) h3y.t*: Wild, “Statue de Hor-Néfer,” 187-188. (3) Late Period sarcophagus Lyon 14 (Wb. II 476 [9]) of the *sms.w h3y.t (n.y) pr-Imn.w, Pp-n-niw.ty*. (4) Ptolemaic statue 46059 of an unknown *hr.y sms.w h3y.t* (name lost): G. Daressy, “Inscriptions Tentyris,” *ASAE* 17 (1917), 91.

¹⁶⁰³ For a translation of the text see Simpson, *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 116-124; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature II*, 224-230.

¹⁶⁰⁴ In the story, Wenamun is sent by Herihor to the Phoenician coastal town of Byblos to acquire timber for a new barque of Amun. He makes his way to the coastal town of Dor (in present-day Israel) where he was robbed of his possessions. His confrontations with Tjekerbaal, prince of Byblos, are the main focus of the text. When Wenamun approaches Tjekerbaal, the latter refuses to deliver the lumber to him without payment. Wenamun claims that Amun’s domain extends throughout the entire Levant and demands political obedience of Tjekerbaal.

¹⁶⁰⁵ Simpson, *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 116; for discussion on the whether papyrus is a documentary text or literary piece, see Winand J., “The *Report of Wenamun*: A Journey in Ancient Egyptian Literature,” in M. Collier and S. Snape (eds) *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K.A. Kitchen* (Bolton, 2011), 543ff.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Winand, “*Report of Wenamun*,” 549. The text itself is set, however, in year 5 of the 21st dynasty during the rule of Herihor in southern Egypt and Smendes in northern Egypt (suggested by 1, 15).

scholarship concerning the *Report of Wenamun* is concerned with the politics and international diplomacy described therein skimming over Wenamun's title with little discussion.

Wenamun is described as *sms.w h3y(.t) n(.y) pr-Imn.w* 'elder of the porch of the temple of Amun.'¹⁶⁰⁷ His main role was to act as the messenger or envoy of Amun; to represent the god's interests, in this case to obtain more wood for the god's sacred barque.¹⁶⁰⁸ Wenamun was under the authority of the high-priest of Amun, Herihor, who governed southern Egypt from Thebes on behalf of Amun. During the Third Intermediate Period, the ancient Egyptian government had become a 'theocracy' in which the oracular decisions of Amun determined everything, from political to administrative matters.¹⁶⁰⁹ Amun and his priesthood, essentially, replaced the figure of the king. This is clearly a continuation, and culmination, of the trend visible in the New Kingdom, where the title is frequently connected to the temple-estate of Amun in Thebes. Since by this time Amun was effectively the king of Egypt, Wenamun may have carried out the same function as earlier holders of the title did for the king, a shift that happened sometime during the New Kingdom.

Another allusion to the *sms.w h3y.t* is in a fragmentary passage in the *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*. Osorkon B or Prince Osorkon was the eldest son of Takelot II, who ruled Egypt from Tanis during the 22nd dynasty.¹⁶¹⁰ The *Chronicle* was inscribed on the inner surface of the Bubastite Portal in the Amun temple at Karnak during Year 11 of Takelot II.¹⁶¹¹ The pertinent passage is the second decree in the main text and concerns various benefactions made by Osorkon to the temple's personnel.¹⁶¹² This decree states as follows, 'making a second decree in order to provision them ... what is given to the [... who are] under the

¹⁶⁰⁷ Wb. II 476 [9]; Goedicke, *Report of Wenamun*, 17 (l.1).

¹⁶⁰⁸ *Wn-Imn.w p3y=f iwpwty rmt* "Wenamun, his (= Amun) human envoy, in quest of lumber for the great and noble barge of Amun-Re." (2, 56): Simpson, *Literature of Ancient Egypt*, 122; D. Fabre, *Seafaring in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2005), 184.

¹⁶⁰⁹ Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, 193.

¹⁶¹⁰ As high-priest of Amun, Osorkon made new appointments and issued six decrees to confirm the administration and revenues of the main temples of the Theban gods. During year 15 of Takelot II, civil war broke out and Osorkon was expelled from Thebes until year 24 when he was able to resume his role as high-priest. Despite being Takelot II's eldest son he did not become king and the throne was claimed by his younger brother, Shoshenq (III) whom likely took advantage of Osorkon's absence in Tanis to proclaim himself the legitimate ruler of Egypt: K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)* (Warminster, 1973), §291-§294, §299.

¹⁶¹¹ Jansen-Winkel, *Inscripfen der Spätzeit II*, 161-168, 166 (l. 44); R.A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon* (Rome, 1958), 57-58 §79-80; Wenté, *Libyan Anarchy*, no. 82, 348ff.

¹⁶¹² Wenté, *Libyan Anarchy*, 348.

authority of the elder(s) of the porch who are in front of the merchants, and [the] prophet of Mut, which is under the authority of the letter [scribe] of the [prophet of] Mut: 30 *deben* of silver.’¹⁶¹³ The text seems to draw a connection between the *sms.w h3y.t* and the ‘merchants’ (*šwt.y*). This connection with traders is also reflected by the function of Wenamun and indicates the role of the *sms.w h3y.t* as emissaries of the temple, in particular the temple of Amun, the time.

6. 7. Summary

In contrast to the many attestations in the Old Kingdom and late Middle Kingdom, the title is only sporadically attested during the New Kingdom. Since there were so few title-holders during the New Kingdom, it can be questioned whether the office was functional, or whether it had become a court title or honorary designation. The passage of Rekhmire may reflect that the *sms.w h3y.t* were still active in the palace during the 18th dynasty, but perhaps in a ceremonial capacity at court or special events. The office appears to have shifted from a palace context, closely connected to the king, to a religious context, closely affiliated with the temple of Amun at Karnak. This is demonstrated by the extended title-phrase *n(.y) pr-Imn.w* and the text of Ostrakon Gardiner 321. Their exact role in the temple is not clear due to the lack of data but it is possible title-holders were called upon for certain commissions for the temple or high-priest instead of the king and the government. In addition, *Nfr-rnp.t* [172] was ‘chief elder of the porch of the temple of Amun in Karnak,’ suggesting that the *sms.w h3y.t* remained part of a hierarchy and that there may have been more title-holders in reality than the current state of the evidence suggests.

The title-holders of *sms.w h3y.t* decreased in numbers during the New Kingdom, although the reasons for this decline are not apparent. Title-holders are attested from approximately the reign of Amenhotep I [173] up to the reign of Amenhotep III [172]/[174]. After the Amarna Period, the title becomes even scarcer with only one reference in graffito [169] and in an obscure literary ostrakon. It is not unexpected that many aspects about life at court and the government changed after the Amarna period, this may have adversely affected the office and its title-holders. It is possible that the *sms.w h3y.t* in the palace and in the temple were gradually superseded by other officials. The position of *sms.w h3y.t* was perhaps not as useful or significant as it was during the earlier periods. It is possible that,

¹⁶¹³ 1. 43-44. *di(.w) r n3 [... nty r]-h3t n3 sms.w(.w) h3y.t h3.t n3 šwt.yw [p3] hm-n3r n Mw.t nty r-h3t [sš] šc.t n t3 [hm-n3r n] Mw.t h3d dbn 30*: Wente, *Libyan Anarchy*, 352, 356-357; Caminos, *Chronicle of Prince Osorkon*, §79.

due to changes in the way the palace was organised, other officials may have replaced them. The title may have been incorporated in the duties of the *imy-r3 c-hnw.ty*, which continued to exist at this time, or the title *wdp.w nsw.t* ‘royal butler,’ which is regularly attested during the New Kingdom, and whose title-holders were part of the king’s inner circle.¹⁶¹⁴

¹⁶¹⁴ Bryan, “Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III,” 95-96.

Chapter Seven


The ‘elder of the porch’ – a synthesis

This concluding chapter aims to provide a summary of the different aspects of the title *sms.w h3y.t* ‘elder of the porch’ and its holders. There is a total of one-hundred-and-seventy-six (176) holders of the title *sms.w h3y.t* attested in the sources from the mid-Old Kingdom (5th dynasty) to the end of the Second Intermediate Period (17th dynasty). From the beginning of the New Kingdom the office is only sporadically encountered, mainly during the 18th dynasty, after which it became quite rare.

As was outlined in Chapter One a regular title is defined by the performance of fixed tasks in a particular occupational sector of the society, and a title of rank is defined by a role in court or an absence of such tasks. The *sms.w h3y.t* ‘elder of the porch’ is difficult to categorise in these groupings because they have a dual functional and courtly role in the palace and court as well as the central administration, which is exhibited in the evidence to varying degrees throughout Egyptian history.



7. 1. The liminal space: the *h3y.t* ‘porch’ to the palace interior

The prosopography compiled demonstrates that the office of *sms.w h3y.t* was primarily “active” from the Old Kingdom to the late Middle Kingdom/late Second Intermediate Period. Yet, most of the archaeological and textual evidence about the Residence/palaces and the royal court is dated from the Middle Kingdom onwards.¹⁶¹⁵ The ways in which the administration and social organisation in the Residence/palaces changed, and remained the same, from the Old to the New Kingdom is impossible to determine at this point.¹⁶¹⁶ There is a certain amount of inference and extrapolation involved in reconstructing the situation of the ‘elder of the porch’ in the palace.

The architectural term *h3y.t* denoted a columned and roofed porch or portico situated in front of an entrance. The determinative accompanying the Old Kingdom writing of the title-phrase  may suggest that this boundary may not have been marked by a

¹⁶¹⁵ Due to the limited evidence in this area, information from later periods has been used to help interpret the evidence from earlier periods, with understanding and awareness of the importance of context.

¹⁶¹⁶ Certain aspects, such as the private and confidential character of the palace, for example, probably did not alter much in a specific period.

columned and roofed porch but was simply a threshold of some kind at this time. The later  and  ideograms/determinatives suggest that only during the late Old Kingdom or even the early Middle Kingdom did this boundary take the form of a ‘porch.’ Alternatively, and perhaps more likely, it simply represented a change in the way this word was designated and the meaning ‘porch’ was already present in the Old Kingdom (for full discussion see Chapter Two).

In Section 3.7 it was argued that the *h3y.t* ‘porch’ or ‘portico’ was located at the entrance of the ‘inner palace’; the domestic quarters of the king and royal family. This was the place where royal children and those of top officials were educated and the royal family resided and interacted. The palace interior was probably also the area where the king received members of his inner circle, held audiences and council-meetings, and even promoted important officials. This was the innermost section of the palace complex, and thus protected and probably kept separate. This interpretation of the location of the *h3y.t*-porch was also suggested by Franke (see Section 1.5.).¹⁶¹⁷ The classification of this official among ‘inner palace’ officials in pBoulaq 18 and their close association with the royal family as reflected by this document may also support the above notion (in addition to the arguments outlined in Section 3.7). The autobiographical stela of *Nsw-Mntw* [103] suggests that he had access to the *ip3.t-nsw.t* ‘private apartments of the king’ and was in close proximity to the throne ‘*st.*’ Similarly, *Hr-3* [115] states he was present in the ‘place of silence,’ i.e. the audience hall of the king (see Section 5.4.1). These places were within the palace interior well beyond the main entrance and approach to the Residence/palace. Therefore, the *sms.w h3y.t* ‘elder of the porch’ of the ‘inner palace’ designated a person who was closely associated with this liminal area and situated under this ‘porch’ at the point where the outer palace transitioned into the protected, inner area. The above interpretation is based on a theoretical and ideal ground plan of the Egyptian Residence/palace, how this translated into a physical reality is difficult to substantiate.

¹⁶¹⁷ Franke, *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, 57 (12).

7. 1. 1. The spatial dimension: the ‘elder of the porch’ in a liminal setting

The position of *sms.w h3y.t* can be considered part of the king’s household, although perhaps not in the sense of direct personal service to the king, but as part of the personnel that managed and administered the palace. Since the title-phrase is constructed with an architectural term, it makes sense that originally the official was closely affiliated with this structure (see Section 3.6.), the implication being that these individuals presided over and dealt with affairs concerning this space. The infrequent attestations of this term prior to the New Kingdom, in contrast to the many attestations of the designation *h3y.t* in the title-phrase *sms.w h3y.t*, further suggests that the physical structure and title-holders were closely interconnected. Therefore, the office of *sms.w h3y.t* had a practical component and should not be considered solely as a title of rank. Franke, in a brief comment, posited that the *sms.w h3y.t* dealt with matters of ‘business’ at the entrance(s) of the inner palace, and it is highly probable that this was the case.¹⁶¹⁸

There was more than one *sms.w h3y.t* in office at a time, yet whether there was a formal hierarchy among them is difficult to determine from the evidence. The variants *hr.y-tp sms.w(w) h3y.t* and *hr.y sms.w(w) h3y.t* ‘chief elder of the porch’ or ‘chief of elders of the porch’ indicate that some personnel were considered ‘senior’ and ranked above the others in some way. These variants are only attested three times, twice in the Middle Kingdom and once in the New Kingdom.¹⁶¹⁹ During the Old Kingdom, 56% of title-holders had the *s3b* prefix in front of their title, which may similarly have designated a level of seniority. This suggests that it may not be an official ranking system and perhaps deliberately added by the title-holders for emphasis or to increase their own importance. However, the varying amounts of provisions given to the *sms.w h3y.t* in pBoulaq 18 as well as their arrangement in ‘ranking blocks’ suggests that some title-holders had a higher rank than others (see Section 5.4.2). These differences in rank may be attributed to individual successes and favour rather than formal promotions connected to the office they held. It is clear, however, that there was a small group of persons designated *sms.w h3y.t* operating from this porch, although their numbers probably fluctuated from king to king.

¹⁶¹⁸ Franke, *Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum*, 57 (12).

¹⁶¹⁹ [103], [116], [172].

a) The ‘elder of the porch’ as intermediary at the entrance of the inner palace

The function of the *sms.w h3y.t* as an intermediary is manifested in two ways, in a practical sense contributing to the administration of the palace and in a ceremonial sense in the royal court (for the latter component see Section 7.2.). The practical role of the *sms.w h3y.t* is directly related to his physical presence at the front of the protected interior of the palace. Since so little is known about the *h3y.t* and its activities, comparing it with similar structures and similar officials is very useful to ascertain the general duties and roles carried out at this space (refer to Section 3.5).

The entrance to the inner parts of the palace building was likely not without a certain number of people wanting an audience with the king or officials/courtiers needing to enter for administrative purposes. Based on this and various hints in the evidence, the *sms.w h3y.t* was responsible for regulating, and perhaps to a certain extent controlling who and what entered beyond this porch. It was shown previously (see Sections 3.3. and 3.4.) that admittance into and within the palace was strictly controlled, and even palace administrators could not move about freely. For example, officials from the outer palace could not enter into the private areas of the palace interior. Therefore, personnel at liminal spaces, such as the elder of the porch, were instrumental in enforcing these rules.¹⁶²⁰ A comparison of officials in the liminal environment has demonstrated that this would have been a large component of their job, and doorkeepers, for example, are frequently represented holding batons for keeping people away. In this sense, the duties of doorkeepers and the *sms.w h3y.t* may overlap, due to their position in the liminal space. In addition, even low-ranking doorkeepers were reputed to be trustworthy individuals as the potential for theft and other misconduct was high (see Section 3.5.3.). As the figure positioned at this important entrance-portico, the *sms.w h3y.t* can be regarded as dependable custodians protecting what lay beyond.

It was demonstrated previously that liminal structures (such as the *6rry.t* and *rw.ty*) acted as a channel through which the king and his representative communicated with the rest of the world; the *h3y.t* may have operated in a similar fashion. The *sms.w h3y.t* was thus located at the point where information and reports and orders were exchanged, essentially, at the

¹⁶²⁰ Cf. Instruction of Ptahhotep: “If you are in the *rw.t* stand up and sit down according to your rank which was assigned to you on the first day. Do not trespass, for you will be turned back. Keen is the face to him who enters announced, and spacious the seat of him who has been called. The *rw.t* has rules, all behaviour is by measure.” The *h3y.t* may have comprised of a similar set of rules: Bryan, “Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III,” 87 cf. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature I*, 67 (13).

focal point of interaction between courtiers, representatives of the inner palace, and officials of the out palace and of the state. This is supported by the accounts of pBoulaq 18, in which the inner palace official transmitted orders issued to the outer palace scribe. Therefore, the *sms.w h3y.t* may have dealt with reports, messages, and the exchange of information from state and palace officials, and may have passed them onto the king and vice versa. This aspect may be difficult to substantiate but in light of their presence at this entrance and their role as regulator of access is a strong possibility.

The *sms.w h3y.t* may also have been responsible for monitoring and directing goods coming into the inner quarters of the palace. Evidence supporting such a notion may be found at the town of Balat (‘Ayn Asil) in the Dakhla Oasis where clay tablets were found in and near the governor’s (*hk3-w h3.t*) house (the town’s main administrative building).¹⁶²¹ These tablets appear to record short-term information, which was probably discarded after the data was checked and collated (Pantalacci suggests perhaps on a monthly basis).¹⁶²² These tablets were likely kept near the large courtyard and close to the entrance and reception area of the governor’s house; a feature common in palace architecture.¹⁶²³ Wooden planks or shelves were found inserted between the columns of the portico, where these clay archives, along with other objects, were stored.¹⁶²⁴ The existence of collections of clay seals was observed near particular doorways throughout the governor’s house.¹⁶²⁵ These tablets are invaluable in reconstructing how the governor’s house was administrated as well as the flow of the distribution of goods through the governor’s house, which would have been a miniature version of the larger king’s palace.¹⁶²⁶ Pantalacci determined that several officials and/or departments were involved in the transfer of goods and people.¹⁶²⁷ Each transaction, therefore, required the creation of multiple copies of the records, namely a letter ordering the expenditure/transfer, two clay sealings produced when the storeroom had been opened and closed by the same official on duty, and a separate inventory kept inside the storehouse stating the balance of products present.¹⁶²⁸ The seals of which numerous seal impressions have been recovered were the simplest way to keep track of the

¹⁶²¹ L. Pantalacci, “Balat, a Frontier Town and its Archive,” in J.C. Moreno-Garcia (ed) *Ancient Egyptian Administration* (Leiden, 2013), 206 (197-214).

¹⁶²² Pantalacci, “Balat,” 206.

¹⁶²³ Pantalacci, “Balat,” 207. See also the role of the *ʿrry.t* ‘approach’ of the palace, in Section 3.5.1.

¹⁶²⁴ Pantalacci, “Balat,” 207; L. Pantalacci, “Fonctionnaires et analphabètes: sur quelques pratiques administratives observées à Balat,” *BIFAO* 96 (1996), 362.

¹⁶²⁵ L. Pantalacci, “Fonctionnaires et analphabètes,” 362.

¹⁶²⁶ Pantalacci, “Balat,” 198.

¹⁶²⁷ Pantalacci, “Balat,” 207.

¹⁶²⁸ Pantalacci, “Balat,” 208.

officials responsible for any administrative deed – being as simple and recognisable as a signature, and which did not require literacy.¹⁶²⁹ Should a dispute arise, these tablets and sealings were easily crosschecked.¹⁶³⁰ It is easy to envisage the ‘elder of the porch’ sitting under his portico recording and marking the people and goods entering past him, and perhaps even storing copies temporarily at this location. Their role at the palace ‘porch’ may have consisted of observing and supervising all the traffic coming in and out of this sector of the palace including provisions and products. These commodities and provisions would have supported not only the royal family but perhaps some members of the royal household as well.¹⁶³¹ Furthermore, it is possible that the *h3y.t*, like the *‘rry.t*, may have had an administrative component where certain documents were stored. There are thirty-two scarab sealings attested dating primarily to the late Middle Kingdom, further suggesting that the *sms.w h3y.t* assisted in the control and perhaps distribution of products, as well as authorising reports, letters, and other administrative documents. It is, however, impossible to determine whether they were used at the *h3y.t* and under whose authority (vizier versus treasurer).¹⁶³² The *sms.w h3y.t* with the king’s authority and their own seal acted as the middleman in-between the working administrative quarters in the palace and the royal residential quarters.

b) The ‘elder of the porch’ as arbitrator and mediator

A judicial function is often attributed to the *sms.w h3y.t* in the current scholarship (see Section 1.5), yet explicit evidence for this is minimal. It is not so easy determining who the judges were in ancient Egypt, even though statements about judicial activities are abundant.¹⁶³³ These were not empty protestations or boasts, as judicial activities formed an important part of the duties entrusted to officials.¹⁶³⁴ The administrative and judicial branches of government were unified, which meant that no official had a solely judicial function. The ancient Egyptian justice system did not consist of a written law and it is unknown to what extent judicial proceedings and verdicts were written down and archived.¹⁶³⁵ The legal customs and traditions, if there was such a thing as a standard set of

¹⁶²⁹ Pantalacci, “Balat,” 208; Pantalacci, “Fonctionnaires et analphabètes,” 362.

¹⁶³⁰ Pantalacci, “Fonctionnaires et analphabètes,” 362.

¹⁶³¹ The title *ir.y-‘.t n(.y) k3p* ‘chamber-keeper of the inner palace’ suggests that the inner palace did have separate storage facilities perhaps further supporting this notion.

¹⁶³² In light of their association with the vizier, rather than the treasurer, especially in the Old Kingdom may suggests they were under the authority of the latter in this context as well.

¹⁶³³ Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 20.

¹⁶³⁴ Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 22.

¹⁶³⁵ R. Jasnow, “Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period,” in R. Westbrook (ed) *A History of Ancient Near Eastern Law I* (Leiden, 2003), 94 see also fn 3.

legal rules and regulations at the time, were likely taught to officials as part of their education and training and passed down in the oral tradition. Literary texts reflect that it was every official's duty to maintain *maat* 'divine order and justice.' Jin points out that imagining a refined judicial authority with permanently employed officials during the Pharaonic period is difficult to imagine.¹⁶³⁶

It was argued in Section 3.5, that liminal structures such as the *rw.t* and *ʿrry.t* played a role in the Egyptian justice system, as places where justice was carried out, and the *h3y.t* was likely no exception. It is likely that the *h3y.t* 'porch' acted similarly as a 'conduit' for the authority and demands of the king and his family who resided beyond this threshold. It is possible that the *sms.w h3y.t* dealt with petitions and appeals in a similar manner as personnel of the *ʿrry.t* or the *rw.ty* – perhaps managing and verifying people seeking an audience with the king or officials wanting admittance for a more governmental/administrative purpose. The connection between Werkhoo's role as *hrp sš(.w) ir.yw sprw* 'director of the scribes of petitions,' and as one 'who judges in the porch' (*wḏꜥ-mdw m h3y.t*), may suggest that this porch was a place where the appeals of courtiers and officials were recorded (see Sections 3.7 and 4.6.2.2). The inclusion of particular auxiliary titles in the titularies of the Old Kingdom are suggestive that the *sms.w h3y.t* were active in judicial affairs and the resolving of disputes. These auxiliary titles include *sm3ꜥ wḏꜥ-mdw* 'regulator of the judgements' and *hr.y-sšt3 wḏꜥ-mdw* 'privy to the confidential judicial matters.'¹⁶³⁷ The above argument may be further supported by the 13th dynasty pBrooklyn 35.1446 wherein *Ibiꜥ* [64] petitioned the king and vizier to resolve a crime committed by an unnamed individual. It is possible that *Ibiꜥ* was acting on behalf of someone else who had appealed to him, and he was responsible for bringing the guilty person to justice (see Section 5.5.1.). During the 16th dynasty, *Rn-snb* [111] authorised and validated a deed to the mayorship of Edfu on behalf of the *h3 n(.y) t3.ty* 'office of the vizier.' This indicates he had the authority to act in legal matters on behalf of the vizier.

Finally, the 'Bedouin' scene depicted on Sahure's causeway may be interpreted as the six *sms.w h3y.t* 'judging' the fate of the tribes people on an issue concerning the *bnnb* of the king, perhaps in the 'great house' (*hw.t-wr.t*) (pl. II). The figure of the king, depicted

¹⁶³⁶ Jin, *Richten und Schlichten*, 22; Philip-Stéphan, *Dire le droit*, 16.

¹⁶³⁷ These designations are primarily held by title-holders who also hold the appointment *s3b r3-Nhn* indicating that it may describe involvement in these judicial activities once they had obtained this office. However, since it is impossible to determine *when* these individuals obtained the offices of *sms.w h3y.t*, *s3b r3-Nhn*, and these auxiliary titles, it remains possible that they could also describe the *sms.w h3y.t*'s activities.

somewhere to the right of this scene, although now missing (but suggested by the supplicating poses of the *sms.ww h3y.t*), presided over the event. The scene is rather ambiguous and it is uncertain whether they actually acted as arbitrators in this context (see Section 7.3).

The dispensation of justice at a liminal threshold or zone was an ancient tradition observed in ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia at large.¹⁶³⁸ What kind of decisions and disputes were resolved at these thresholds is, however, unknown. Sauneron and Wild posit that the *h3y.t* was part of an old law-court where justice was rendered under said porch, first at the door of the palace but then within the temples (see Sections 1.5 and 3.5.2).¹⁶³⁹ In light of the evidence revealing the role of liminal structures in the dispensation of justice, it is plausible that the *h3y.t* was similarly used. The *sms.w h3y.t* acted as judges in a small council or tribunal perhaps largely dealing with crimes and grievances in the palace (suggested by Werkhoo's title combinations and *Ibi*^c [64]?). It is likely these proceedings and interactions were never written down and were part of an ancient oral tradition (and thus undocumented). While Sauneron does suggest that the *sms.w h3y.t* acted as judges under the temple porch, this is unlikely and their role in this ancient justice system was probably limited to the palace. The term *h3y.t* is not regularly connected with the temple until the Late Period (no earlier than the Third Intermediate Period), a time when this office had substantially declined. This suggests that while an *ad hoc* judicial tribunal could convene at this porch, it is unlikely that the *sms.w h3y.t* were involved in this process. During the Old and Middle Kingdoms, however, the evidence does indicate that they could be involved in legal affairs as it pertains to the palace and the king.



There are very few connections between the 'elder of the porch' and other palace officials, however. In light of the lack of data generally on palace officials, this may not be unusual.

¹⁶³⁸ The tradition of gateways as places of audience and positions from which rulers could hear and receive petitions from their more humble subjects is extremely ancient in the orient. For example, the domed gate of Felicity in the palace at Constantinople was the place where sultans received visitors at their coronations while enthroned beneath it. This feature is also found in Fatimid Egypt where the palace in Cairo had a 'sakifa or porch where the Caliph listened every evening, while the oppressed and wronged came and cried aloud. The Abbaside Caliphs also had domed audience halls over their palace gates. Similarly in ancient Israel, the dispensation of justice took place in front of the gateway of the town where the criminals were tried before the town elders, who acted as the spokesmen of the community. See E. Uphill, "The concept of the Egyptian palace as a "ruling machine,"" in P. J. Ucko, R. Tringham and G.H. Dimbleby (eds), *Man, Settlement and Urbanism* (London, 1972), 724; S. Lane-Poole, *Saladin and the fall of the kingdom of Jerusalem*, (New York, 1898), 114; J. D. Hoag, *Western Islamic Architecture* (New York 1963), 45-46; K.A. Creswell, *A short account of early Muslim architecture*, (London 1958), 156 fig. 132; A. Phillips, *Ancient Israel's Criminal Law: A New Approach to the Decalogue* (Oxford, 1970), 15.

¹⁶³⁹ Sauneron, "justice à la porte," 122; Wild, "Statue de Hor-Néfer," 188 .

There is only limited information available about the social connections of the ‘elder of the porch’ during the Old Kingdom, but even during the Middle Kingdom, social networks indicate that only 17.6% of non-relatives held a position related to the palace administration. These titles include *imy-r³ ḥnw.ty n(.y) pr-ḥd*, *ḥrd n(.y) k³p* and *idnw imy-r³ ip³.t-nsw.t* indicating that there was some form, albeit minimally, of collegial interaction between palace administrators and the ‘elder of the porch.’¹⁶⁴⁰ As the principal official connected with the palace interior, there must have been some form of interaction between the *im.y-r³ ḥnw.ty* and *sms.w ḥ³y.t*. This is not, however, visible in the evidence, and it is possible that their tasks did not overlap. In light of their role outlined above, it is possible that the *sms.w ḥ³y.t* may have reported directly to the king or perhaps the vizier as head of the palace rather than the *im.y-r³ ḥnw.ty*. This would explain their close association to the king as well as the vizier (see Sections 7.2 and 7.3).

The *sms.w ḥ³y.t* does occasionally show a link to specific security personnel, which may have been connected to their place at this important threshold. The entrance to the king’s private sphere would, presumably, have been guarded by more than the *sms.w ḥ³y.t*. During the Old Kingdom, two title-holders also held the position of ‘inspector of palace-guards’ (*shd hnt.yw-š*) and another two were ‘assistant supervisor of the sons of the house’ (*s³b im.y-ht s³.w-pr*).¹⁶⁴¹ The latter acted as law-enforcers, particularly in crimes related to the collection of revenue. The association with security personnel may be connected to their role at the entrance of the inner palace. Furthermore, the *sms.w ḥ³y.t* are also associated with palace-guards, law-enforcers, and ‘retainers of the palace’ (*šms.w pr-ḥ³*) in reliefs of the causeway of Sahure. In one instance [33] (pl. I.), they may even have been in charge of several *s³.w-pr*. During the Middle Kingdom, 74.1% of their family-members and 47% of non-relatives held a title in the military organisation of the state.¹⁶⁴² While this is not indicative of any duties related to palace security, this indirect connection further highlights the association between the people at the liminal zones and those possibly in charge of its security. It shows that these individuals may have been part of the same social circles. In addition, doorkeepers are known to occasionally act as enforcers and are often depicted holding batons (see Section 3.5.3, figs. 3.7a, 3.10b-c), suggesting that this was an attribute shared by personnel in the liminal environment. Gardiner and Hayes considered

¹⁶⁴⁰ This data is primarily based on funerary stelae from Abydos, which included palace officials who could afford to travel from the king’s principal Residence in Memphis to set up a commemorative stela in honour of Osiris. This as well as the general lack of data regarding palace officials, suggests that the lack of connection of the *sms.w ḥ³y.t* with other palace personnel may not be so unusual.

¹⁶⁴¹ See [12], [32], [39], and [45].

¹⁶⁴² E.g. *štw (ḥ³) n(.y) niw.t*, *ḥnh.w n(.y) niw.t*, *ir.y-pd.t*, *šms.w*, and *im.y-ht s³.w-pr*.

the ‘elder of the porch’ a distinguished way to refer to a doorkeeper in the palace (see Section 1.5.). Based on the research completed, while these titles are positioned at an entrance and were responsible for restricting entry, they clearly have crucial differences. Moreover, at no point is the *sms.w h3y.t* even tenuously connected with doorkeepers indicating they operated on different social spheres. Thus, they should not be equated with one another.

The ‘elder of the porch’ would have been a key figure in the operations and organisation of the palace, monitoring the flow of goods, messages, documents, etc., entering the premises and determining admittance for persons seeking entry. In essence, the activities of the *sms.w h3y.t* in the palace were largely connected to the movements in and out of the ‘porticoed’ entrance of the royal apartments. The evidence indicates that the ‘elder of the porch’ also played a role as mediator and arbitrator at this entrance. It is likely that this structure, like many liminal spaces, had a judicial role, but the involvement of the elder of the porch in legal affairs can also be attributed to their role as trusted advisor and courtier of the king (see Section 7.3).

7. 2. The ‘elder of the porch’ in the king’s court

While the *sms.w h3y.t* played a practical role in the daily workings of the palace, many of these individuals were also part of the king’s court and inner circle.

Holders of the title ‘elder of the porch’ were courtiers in the royal court and often favoured by the king. During the Old Kingdom, their closeness to the ruler may be denoted through their court or ‘ranking’ titles (see Sections 1.1.3. and 4.2.1). The rank *rh-nsw.t* ‘king’s acquaintance,’ literally ‘one whom the king knows,’ was held by 30% of title-holders. This rank reveals that they belonged to a relatively exclusive circle of courtiers although not perhaps of his inner court. Some title-holders held the higher-ranking court title *smr w^c.ty* ‘sole companion,’ showing that they could also be part of the king’s innermost circle.¹⁶⁴³ In one instance [24], the designation *sb3 nsw.t* ‘pupil of the king’ was held, perhaps indicative of their education at court. This may also be indicative of their access to the inner palace, where the royal children were raised. Several autobiographical statements signify that the king favoured them; in one instance the title-holder [03] was given the

¹⁶⁴³ See [08], [17] and [35]. However, [08] and [35], a vizier and son of a vizier, respectively, show they were part of the upper echelon of society so their designation of *smr w^c.ty* is thus not unusual.

means to construct a tomb and received a sarcophagus from the king.¹⁶⁴⁴ Similarly the fact that the seven *sms.w h3y.t* on Sahure's causeway were captioned with a name is revealing of their high social position in the palace. Finally, one *sms.w h3y.t* whose name is lost [16] is included in an account in the temple archive of Raneferef at Abusir. He is listed among other individuals who held a title reflecting a close proximity to the king in life, such as *h3.ty-c* 'count,' *smr* 'companion,' *ir.y-šn.y* 'hair-dresser,' and *hr.y-tp nsw.t* 'royal chamberlain' (lit. 'he who is under the head of the king'). These men were courtiers and members of the king's household suggesting [16] occupied a place alongside them.¹⁶⁴⁵ While this is in the context of a royal funerary cult in relation to a deceased ruler, it is possible this situation was mirrored in life.

During the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate period, the holders of the title *sms.w h3y.t* are closely associated with the king and royal family. In pBoulaq 18 they were included in the accounts that listed members of the royal family and *rmt pr-mn^ct* 'people of the house nurses' or the royal household (see Section 5.4.2.). This supports the notion that they were closely associated with the royal family in the *k3p* 'inner palace.' A close association with the king is further supported by the statement of *Ns.w-Mntw* [103] that he attended to the king in the *ip3.t-nsw.t* 'private apartments of the king.' In one case, the *sms.w h3y.t* was part of the royal family itself: *Sbk-htp* [139] was the nephew of king Sobekhotep III (late 13th dynasty), whose father *Snb* was *Sbk-htp* III's brother. The function of the *sms.w h3y.t* as a middleman of the king at the entrance of the royal domestic apartments (see above) may be extended to a ritual or ceremonial role at court. There is very little information available in the sources about palace/court rituals and the interactions between the king and his courtiers in this setting. Therefore, there are only hints of this function observed in the evidence.

The above autobiographical texts include several allusions to duties performed by title-holders in the audience hall of the king. The epithet of *Hr-c3* [115], 'one who appears with a loud (lit. strong) voice in the place of silence,' implies he may have acted as the king's spokesperson announcing visitors, reading reports, or generally communicated the king's wishes to the people present in this hall at court. This sentiment is echoed by *Nsw-Mntw* [103] who holds the epithet, 'one who approaches the throne' suggesting he may have

¹⁶⁴⁴ *3h.t-htp-hr* [03] declares that he 'made this tomb because I was honoured by the king, who bought me a sarcophagus' and *3h.t-mh.w* [02] claims 'everything effective and noble has been done for me.'

¹⁶⁴⁵ Notably, he earned the same amount as the *hr.y-tp nsw.t* 'royal chamberlain.'

performed similar duties, as he clearly emphasises his close proximity to the throne, and thus, the king in this formal setting. The passage relating to Rekhmire's appointment as vizier in his autobiography in TT 100 describes the 'elder(s) of the porch' as 'clearing' or 'revealing' (*sdsr*) the restricted pathway (*w3.t* [*šbt*]), the implication being that they accompanied the vizier through the palace interior to meet with the king. The 'elder(s) of the porch' act as a middleman between the visitors (i.e. Rekhmire) and the king and court. The ritual nature of this passage has been previously discussed (see Sections 3.7. and 6.4.1.). In light of the scarceness of the title during the New Kingdom (only eight attestations), it is likely the role of the *sms.w h3y.t* was limited to a ceremonial role in the royal court.

7. 3. The 'elder of the porch' in the affairs of the palace and the government

During the Old Kingdom, the role of the 'elder of the porch' in the government is revealed through the other titles present in their titularies. The titularies of title-holders indicate that many held other titles related to the provisioning of the Residence/palace (see 5.3.2.3 and 5.7.2). Fifteen out of fifty (30%) individuals held a regular title in the central administration and 80% (12/15) held various titles connected to the granaries and *pr-hr.yw-wdb* 'department of the chiefs of (re)distribution' (a subsidiary branch of the treasury).¹⁶⁴⁶ During the Old Kingdom, the Residence-city acted as the principal (re)distribution centre of the entire country. It is likely that the officials working in the various state institutions occupied with the country's economic welfare (the state granaries, treasury, etc.) were the same group of officials that managed the economic branch of the Residence and ensured the palace was well-supplied.¹⁶⁴⁷ This would explain the title combinations held by the *sms.w h3y.t* during the Old Kingdom. The unique variant, *sms.w h3y.t n(.y) pr-shrw* 'elder of the entrance-portico of the *sekheru*-storehouse' held by *S3-ntf* [34] highlights the close association between the 'elders of the porch' and the granaries and storehouses or most likely the provisioning sector generally. The isolated example of this particular addition to the title suggests that it was not a regular job designation. *S3-ntf* also acted as *shd nht(.w)-hrw (n.y) s3b* a role concerned with measuring the granary intake, suggesting that the addition of *pr-shrw* was not a coincidence. Clearly, he was greatly involved in the administration of the palace rations and stores. Similarly, [*S*]*ndm-ib* [38] was 'inspector of the *sekh(eru)t*-granary' (*shd sh(rw)t*) indicating that the *sms.w h3y.t* did

¹⁶⁴⁶ Mainly as *s3b nht-hrw*, *shd nht.w-hrw*, *hr.y-wdb*, *shd hr.yw-wdb*, *htm.ty-bi.ty*, *htm.ty šnw.wt pr-nsw.t* – see [17], [20], [21], [23], [24], [27], [30], [34], [35], [38], [44], [45].

¹⁶⁴⁷ Papazian, "Central Administration," 58.

have a contributing role in these types of storehouses – especially considering that the term *shrwt* is extremely rare (see Section 4.2.2.3). These titles likely signify an extended role related to the economic administration of the palace, perhaps originating from their role as a monitor and intermediary at the entrance-portico to the palace interior.

This aspect of the office appears to have, if not disappeared, then substantially decreased during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period. Or at least, it is not as visible in the surviving sources. It is possible some of their responsibilities were gradually given to other officials, or attached to new offices.¹⁶⁴⁸ During the late Middle Kingdom, the holders of the title *sms.w h3y.t* are not regularly attested involved in activities of the central administration (see also below), with the exception of thirty-two scarab-shaped seals. This implies they had authority in the central administration and/or palace in the distribution of documents or commodities suggesting their practical role at the entrance of the palace interior was maintained (cf. Section 7.1.1). It seems their role at this time was limited to within the Residence/palace walls and the royal court.

a) The ‘elder of the portal’ as advisor of the king

The word ‘elder, eldest’ in the title-phrase is likely metaphorical, emphasising their expertise and familiarity with societal customs rather than physical age. According to Moreno-Garcia’s hypothesis, titles constructed with ‘*sms.w*’ and an architectural structure or sector of the palace is indicative of their membership on a particular council or collegium of men who advised and guided the king and to whom the king came for opinions and advice on governmental affairs and decision and policy making. In light of the evidence, this is a strong possibility.

The role of the ‘elder of the porch’ as an advisor and confidant of the king is conveyed in the Old Kingdom by two pieces of evidence, the ‘Bedouin’ relief from Sahure’s causeway,

¹⁶⁴⁸ In some ways, the *sms.w h3y.t* of the Old Kingdom may have acted in a manner similar to the *im.y-r3 3-hnw.ty n(y) k3p* of the Middle Kingdom. During the Old Kingdom, the *sms.w h3y.t* were responsible for the area near the inner palace porch but clearly a number of these individuals were actively involved in the administration of the granaries and treasuries, to the point that they received titles signifying this. The office of *im.y-r3 3-hnw.ty* first appeared in the 12th dynasty and was responsible for making sure everyone in the inner palace was provisioned and generally supervising the palace interior. The *im.y-r3 3-hnw.ty* was in the late Middle Kingdom the link between the *3n* ‘provisioning quarters’ and palace personnel. With the rise of the *im.y-r3 3-hnw.ty*, the extensive role of *sms.w h3y.t* in this process may have gradually been replaced. It is possible that from the early Middle Kingdom onwards, the role of the *sms.w h3y.t* in the provisioning of the palace did not extend further than monitoring its movements as middleman at the palace porch. This cannot be said with certainty however.

and the title *s3b r3-Nhn*. The inclusion of six *sms.ww h3y.t* in the “Bedouin” scene from Sahure’s causeway may imply a certain closeness to the ruler. The relief may depict the king’s judgement over these unfortunate captives in the presence these *sms.ww h3y.t*, who may have acted as the king’s confidant and counsellor in this instance, rather than judges.¹⁶⁴⁹

During the Old Kingdom, 32% of *sms.w h3y.t* title-holders also held the office of *s3b r3-Nhn* ‘*sab* spokesman of Nekhen.’ This is the single title most regularly appearing in their titularies. The *s3b r3-Nhn* was the ‘speaker’ or ‘spokesman’ on behalf of the king and royal family in the government (see Sections 4.2.2.1. and 4.6.1.1). The two primary attributes of these title-holders is their involvement in judicial decisions and their close association with the king.¹⁶⁵⁰ Holders of the titles ‘elder of the porch’ and ‘spokesman of Nekhen’ were involved in various ‘confidential’ (*s3t3*) governmental and palace affairs (see Section 4.2.3.). This is reflected by their titles *hr.y-s3t3* ‘privy to restricted matters’ and *hr.y-s3t3 n(.y) hw.t-wr.t* ‘privy to confidential matters of the great house’ as well as *sm3c wdC-mdw* ‘regulator of the judgements.’ In one instance, *Ihy* [07] emphasised more specifically that he was *hr.y-s3t3 sdm m wC.ty* ‘privy to the restricted matters, I listening alone.’ Other variants such as, *hr.y-tp wd.(wt)-mdw n(.y) wdC-mdw n(.y) s3t3 n(.y) hw.t-wr.t* ‘chief of the decrees of the private judgements of the great house’¹⁶⁵¹ and *wr mdw hw.t-wr.t* ‘greatest one of ten of the great house,’¹⁶⁵² reveal their involvement in governmental and palace affairs as part of an exclusive council. It is impossible to distinguish whether these auxiliary titles are characteristic of one position over the other since they are only observed in titularies of individuals with both appointments (with one exception [32]) and there is nothing to suggest *when* each title was acquired. The connection between the ‘elder of the porch’ and ‘spokesman of Nekhen’ during the Old Kingdom may be linked to the former’s practical role as intermediary at the *h3y.t*-porch as well as royal advisor and courtier. The close association between these two offices may reflect the career trajectory, *sms.w h3y.t* → *s3b r3-Nhn*. Since numerous holders of the title ‘elder of the porch’ acquired the office of ‘spokesman of Nekhen,’ it suggests that these men were already privy to confidential affairs related to the king, palace, and the state.

¹⁶⁴⁹ It may be argued that since the king was present he would have dispensed the final sentencing, and not his officials.

¹⁶⁵⁰ E.g. Weni acting as a representative of the king (*rn=f nsw.t*), the king’s private apartments (i.e. royal household) (*ip3.t-nsw.t*), and government (*hw.t-wr.t* 6).

¹⁶⁵¹ See [02].

¹⁶⁵² See [30] and [38].

During the Middle Kingdom, the appointment *s3b r3-Nhn* is only held by the late 11th dynasty official *K3y* [159], which may be more reflective of the Old Kingdom/First Intermediate Period administrative system than that of the Middle Kingdom. Only 4.2% of relatives of the *sms.w h3y.t* held this title, and in only two instances was it held by the father of title-holders.¹⁶⁵³ This indicates that the connection between these two appointments had completely diminished by the late Middle Kingdom. It is likely that after the Old Kingdom these two titles had completely diverged, although both remained closely associated with the inner palace and royal household (in pBoulaq 18).¹⁶⁵⁴ If the career trajectory was maintained it is not visible in the sources. This may be due, at least in part, to the different ways in which titles were perceived and displayed. In the Middle Kingdom, individuals tended only to include their highest and thus most significant office, while in the Old Kingdom it was customary to include all positions and designations.¹⁶⁵⁵

During the Middle Kingdom, several autobiographical statements suggest a close proximity to the king as his advisor (see Section 5.4.1.). For instance, *Ns.w-Mntw* [103] states that he was one who ‘who is reliable/precise in the palace, whose counsel (*shr*) is important in the king’s private apartments (*ip3.t-nsw.t*)...’ while *Hr-3* [115] asserts that the king ‘heeded his words’ and alludes to his ‘chosen utterance’ indicating he may have had to choose his words carefully. Furthermore, *Hnmw=i* [122] claims he is one ‘who listens to what is heard alone in the council-chamber as one trusted (*mḥ-ib*) of the king in his counsel, privy to what is heard in privacy.’ These self-descriptive statements and epithets demonstrate that these men were closely associated with the king. Their opinions and advice were valued and requested, in the case of *Ns.w-Mntw* in the privacy of the king’s private quarters (*ip3.t-nsw.t*) while *Hnmw=i* was present in the ‘council chamber’ (*is.t*). The *sms.w h3y.t* appear to have been part of the councils and assemblies that guided and advised the king. In light of the close association of the *sms.w h3y.t* with the king and royal family, it is not surprising they also acted as the king’s advisor. These statements give the impression they were highly esteemed and trusted members of the king’s inner circle.

¹⁶⁵³ [63], [158].

¹⁶⁵⁴ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 62, 89; W. Grajetzki, *Court Officials*, 96. For occurrences of *sms.w h3y.t* in the papyrus see profiles [59], [67], [73], [76], [81], [89], [102], [109], [110], [133], [139], [152], [165]. For occurrences of *s3b r3-Nhn*, see Scharff, “Rechnungsbuch des königlichen Hofes,” lists S1 XIV, 11 pl. 1**, S11 XVII, 15 pl. 4**, S38 XXVII, 9 pl. 11**.

¹⁶⁵⁵ Grajetzki, “Setting a State Anew,” 215-217.

b) The ‘elder of the porch’ as the king’s agent and representative

Moreno-Garcia and Quirke proposed that the *sms.w h3y.t* was a general commissioner or agent of the king involved in the central administration at the king’s request (see Section 1.5). They argued that this would explain the variability of the evidence and involvement of the title-holders in various branches of the state.¹⁶⁵⁶

This is suggested by their presence in a number of expedition inscriptions to Wadi Hammamat.¹⁶⁵⁷ It is probable that the king wanted a loyal servant along to monitor the operation. In fact, *Hkk/Mr.y* [52] also held the high-rank of *htm.ty-bi.ty* often held by expedition leaders and describes himself as *im.y-r3 wd(.t) nb.t n.t hnw* ‘overseer of every command of the Residence.’ The ‘elder of the porch’ appears have acted outside the palace on behalf of the state and the king in two instances during the Second Intermediate Period. *Rn-snb* [111] appears to have acted on behalf of the vizier validating an important legal document, while *Wsr-Imn* [74] was sent by the Residence/palace to the temple of Min in Coptos after an incident of theft, on a special administrative inquiry (see Sections 5.5.2. and 5.5.3.). These were critical issues where the reliability and loyalty of the men sent to resolve these matters was perhaps more important to the king than their place in the state structure.

Most of regular appointments held by a number of ‘elders of the porch’ in the Old Kingdom may also be understood as additional roles or special missions undertaken rather than titles held sequentially (see Section 4.6.2.).¹⁶⁵⁸ The Residence/palace was a highly restricted complex where gaining admittance was not easy and these positions were highly coveted, even if they did not rank particularly high in the hierarchy of the state. Status in ancient Egypt was primarily derived from one’s proximity to the monarch; a characteristic palace staff did have. It would be strange for a low-mid ranking state appointment, such as ‘tally-man’ (*nht-hrw*) or ‘chief of (re)distribution’ (*hr.y-wdb*) to acquire the position ‘elder of the porch’ in the palace.¹⁶⁵⁹ This would seem unusual in light of the secluded nature of the palace. It seems equally improbable that the ‘elder of the porch’ obtained these low-mid level state positions after they were appointed *sms.w h3y.t*. Neither one of these options seems realistic. This is further supported by the fact that 98% of bearers of the title

¹⁶⁵⁶ Quirke, “Four Titles,” 313-314; Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 80; Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 118, 120-122.

¹⁶⁵⁷ See [05], [52], and [160].

¹⁶⁵⁸ Only certain titles may be indicative of a promotion or that they were held sequentially, for example, *s3b r3-Nhn* and *htm.ty-bi.ty* (both held by [35] and [52] only).

¹⁶⁵⁹ See [21], [23], [27], [30], [34], [02], [17], [20], [44], [45].

sms.w h3y.t were buried in Memphis and survive on monuments found in Memphite cemeteries. This implies strong ties to the Residence, and not the provinces where some of these duties may have been carried out (such as *imy-ht s3(.w)-pr* or *hr.y-wdb*). These titularies describe, as whole, the authority and activities of the official; those held for a temporary span of time and permanent offices. Thus, it seems that these other low-mid regular titles represent assignments and positions held in addition to their appointment as *sms.w h3y.t* for an undetermined length of time.¹⁶⁶⁰ They probably acquired these duties because they were dependable and trusted servants of the king. Having dependable persons in these mid-ranking positions was crucial in ensuring the Residence was properly provisioned and not cheated, and was therefore of importance to the king.

The evidence does support the arguments of Moreno-Garcia and Quirke that title-holders of the appointment ‘elder of the porch’ occasionally acted as a representative of the king in activities of the state. However, not all title-holders show involvement in governmental affairs or commissions suggesting that this was not a fixed attribute of their office, but perhaps bestowed on those particular title-holders the king trusted and favoured. It was likely as a direct consequence of their role in the palace and court (see also Section 7.3.1). The above hypothesis also supports the notion suggested by Moreno-Garcia that the *sms.w h3y.t* was a representative of the Residence/palace when rank was more important than an official’s place in the state hierarchy.¹⁶⁶¹

During the New Kingdom this role may have been extended or transferred from the palace to the temple. Instead of being attached to the king in the palace, title-holders were closely associated with Amun and his temple at Karnak. During this time, the expression *n(.y) (pr) Imn.w* is frequently added to the title-phrase. This may signify that holders of this title now acted as a representative for the temple and/or high-priest of Amun, instead of the king. This is also supported by the literary text, the *Report of Wenamun*, where the titular character acted on behalf of the Amun temple to bring back timber for the deity’s barque.

¹⁶⁶⁰ A position in the palace, especially where the *sms.w h3y.t* were situated, close to the inner palace and the royal family, was hardly a position one gave up for a low-mid ranking appointment in the granaries or treasury.

¹⁶⁶¹ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 122.

c) The ‘elder of the porch’ and the vizierate

In the entire history of the office *sms.w h3y.t*, two holders of this title were promoted to the highest office in the country, that of vizier. These were *Isi* [08] of the late 6th dynasty and *Imn.w-m-h3.t* [68] of the 16th/17th dynasty. These were probably exceptional circumstances, but it is no insignificant thing for an ordinarily mid-level palace official.

The *sms.w h3y.t* is often closely associated with the vizier, in the Old Kingdom particularly. The *sms.w h3y.t* appears in the tomb of a vizier in two instances as part of the vizier’s personal entourage while others were connected to the vizierate through allusions to the *hw.t-wr.t* (probably run by the vizier), and yet others had social connections reflecting a close connection (see Section 4.6.2.1). During the Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period, the sources also hint at some form of interaction between the *sms.w h3y.t* and the vizier but not as regularly as the Old Kingdom. The late 13th dynasty pBrooklyn 35.1446 represents a petition lodged by *Ibi*^c [64], which was formalised in writing and passed through the vizier’s office. The 16th dynasty Karnak ‘judicial’ stela indicates *Rn-snb* [111] acted on behalf of the *h3 n(.y) 3.ty*, which is the only definitive example of the *sms.w h3y.t* acting in a legal matter in a state capacity. The social networks of the late Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period indicate 29.6% of family groups have a relative holding the titles *wr mdw Šm^c.w*. In the five out of eight cases (62.5%) the title was held by a father of an ‘elder of the porch.’ In one instance, this title was also held by an ‘elder of the porch’ [68]. The ‘greatest one of tens of Upper Egypt’ sat in on meetings and ‘hearings’ with the vizier and other administrators.¹⁶⁶² These officials may have been particular representatives of the vizier active in Upper Egypt. The title-phrase is also suggestive of a particular group (“tens”) or ‘collegium’ of functionaries. Since titles were often held by fathers or uncles of the *sms.w h3y.t*, it suggests that, at the very least, their families had connections with the vizier’s office.

The connection between the vizier and the ‘elder of the porch’ may be related to the former’s function as the head of the palace administration and the latter’s role in the palace and the court. It is possible that the *sms.w h3y.t* reported directly to the king in the palace and it seems unlikely that the vizier would not have interacted with these officials. Moreno-Garcia’s proposal that the ‘elder of the porch’ acted relatively independent from the vizier is probably likely, in that the former reported directly to the king but where their activities in the central administration overlap it seems to be a collaborative

¹⁶⁶² *Duties of the Vizier* R1-R2; Van den Boorn, *Duties of the Vizier*, 12-13.

relationship.¹⁶⁶³ The ‘elder of the porch’ is unlikely to represent an autonomous level of control over the vizier’s activities. The *sms.w h3y.t* is not connected with the vizier’s office consistently enough for this to be the case.

7. 3. 1. The tangled network of courtiers, officials, and palace personnel

The royal court, a conglomerate of persons, institutions, and interests, was the major ‘theatre’ where the state took form.¹⁶⁶⁴ In fact, all contemporary definitions of a royal ‘court’ include both the household and the government.¹⁶⁶⁵ The ‘elder of the porch’ can be considered among palace staff whose role in the palace placed him in close proximity to the king, royal court, and other courtiers/officials.

The practical component to the office of *sms.w h3y.t* was closely tied to the liminal zone, which separated the outer ‘semi-public’ quarters from the secluded inner section of the palace complex. Title-holders monitored the people and items moving through this threshold, acted as mediators and perhaps *ad hoc* judges under this porch to resolve grievances and petitions. The ‘elder of the porch’ enforced the rules of access, denying and granting access to those with authorisation. Similarly, he may have had the authority to seal documents/goods entering the domestic quarters of the palace.

It can be assumed that they came into contact with and interacted with the king and the royal family. The palace and court was a place of ongoing tension and rivalry between courtiers, important families, and likely within the extended royal family as well. At the entrance to this important sector of the palace, the ‘elder of the porch’ would have been an influential figure in the social and political sphere of the palace. The *sms.w h3y.t* at the doorway of the inner palace would have been aware of all the comings and goings through this porch, and would have been apprised and knowledgeable of all appeals, reports, commodities, and people, essentially all information, relating to this entrance.¹⁶⁶⁶ He would have been a crucial figure in the daily workings and routines of the palace. The *sms.w h3y.t* may even have acted as the king’s informer and ‘eyes and ears’ at this important liminal boundary. This would be very advantageous for the king when dealing with affairs of the palace and government, and therefore, the ‘elder of the porch’ may have

¹⁶⁶³ Moreno-Garcia, *Études sur l’administration*, 120.

¹⁶⁶⁴ Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 260.

¹⁶⁶⁵ Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 3.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Cf. Section 3.5.3.2. “Doorkeepers” in reliefs are always at the centre of activities in the palace.

stood outside any state or palace hierarchy reporting directly to the king. In light of this, it would make sense that such an individual would be designated ‘*sms.w*’ reflecting their membership of the king inner circle of advisors and courtiers. Moreover, while the interior of the palace was largely dedicated to the domestic life of the king and his family, it is not unusual for councillors and officials to convene in or near the ruler’s apartment.¹⁶⁶⁷ Therefore, the ‘elder of the porch’ was likely perceived as a vital channel of information and influence by other courtiers and officials.¹⁶⁶⁸ The success, influence, and favour of a number of *sms.w h3y.t* may in fact be derived from their physical position in the palace landscape.

According to Quirke, the *sms.w h3y.t* can be considered ‘generalised’ commissioners (see above), a designation defined by commissions and by appointment to such missions, rather than repeated performance of fixed regular functions.¹⁶⁶⁹ In the case of the *sms.w h3y.t* it may be a ‘general’ title in the central administration because their primary function was in the palace, and their role in the state hierarchy as a ‘commissioner’ or king’s agent was as a result of particular favour with the king in the palace. Quirke also posited that the *sms.w h3y.t* may be defined by reference to palace architecture, and this would actually explain their role as ‘general’ representative of the king.¹⁶⁷⁰ Their place at the porch marking the entrance to the palace interior placed them in close proximity to the king, thus increasing their chances to gain his favour. Their access to commissions and assignments was a direct consequence of the title-holder’s attachment to a particular sector in the palace. Without this latter attribute, it is unlikely they would have been entrusted with said assignments. Their role at court as a spokesperson on behalf of the king and escort of visitors, as well as their role as the king’s advisor and agent, in between various branches of state, may be a figurative way that this liminal attribute was manifested. Viewed in this way these mid-level palace officials can, perhaps, be better understood.

This dual role of courtier and advisor and having a practical, borderline menial role in the palace is not an uncommon characteristic of court societies.¹⁶⁷¹ In his study of the courts at Vienna (Austria) and Versailles (France), Duindam emphasises the significance of

¹⁶⁶⁷ Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 223.

¹⁶⁶⁸ This was often the case for personal intimates of the king in the courts of Vienna and Versailles: Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 248. See also Raedler, “Rank and Favour,” 136 fig. 3.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 80; Quirke, “Four Titles,” 314.

¹⁶⁷⁰ Quirke, “Four Titles,” 313-314.

¹⁶⁷¹ Cf. the early modern courts of France at Versailles and Austria in Vienna. See in particular the study of Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles* (2003).

members of the king's household and palace staff as a major influence in the royal court.¹⁶⁷² Duindam observed that the spheres of household and government were never wholly separated in personnel, social status, or mentality.¹⁶⁷³ This is also applicable to ancient Egypt where the ties between the king's household and government and their role in decisions making were closely intertwined. While the personal life of the king rarely appears in the sources, it would have greatly impacted royal decisions and policies.¹⁶⁷⁴ It is frequently the case that officials and attendants of the monarch, who attended to the king's person, table, bed, apartments, etc., played an important role in the administration of the country.¹⁶⁷⁵ These attendants did not have significant administrative titles but they had exceptional access to the king, and therefore had the potential to wield considerable influence.¹⁶⁷⁶ For example, the New Kingdom positions, 'cup bearer' or 'fan-bearer on the right-hand of the king,' were responsible for the king's comfort, and royal nurses or tutors would have been closely associated with the royal family (and often even educated in the palace).¹⁶⁷⁷ These positions of personal service to the king were considered highly esteemed, even though they were not positions at the top of the hierarchy.¹⁶⁷⁸

Therefore, the role of the private domestic setting of the king in the decisions of the government should not be underestimated, even though it can be institutionally and socially isolated from the formal trajectory of decision-making.¹⁶⁷⁹ As observed by Spence, the domestic setting as the site of royal decision-making may account for the prominent role and influence accorded to the king's favourites and members of his household.¹⁶⁸⁰ In ancient Egypt, since the king determined appointments and offices, so that particularly favoured attendants and personnel could be promoted to palace or state officials, the distinction between 'courtier' and influential members of the household was even less demarcated that it may have been in the courts of the medieval and early modern

¹⁶⁷² Spence, "Court and palace," 281; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 308, 312-313, 234-248.

¹⁶⁷³ Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 224, 311.

¹⁶⁷⁴ It is difficult to imagine a king ruling in isolation from their childhood friends, wives, mistresses, household dignitaries, and lesser servants. In fact, childhood friends, mentors, companions during military campaigns, chamberlains, councillors, mistresses, and tutors were among those most likely to achieve a lasting influence. Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 225, 313.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 3; Spence, "Court and palace," 290.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Spence, "Court and palace," 281-282.

¹⁶⁷⁷ Spence, "Court and palace," 282.

¹⁶⁷⁸ Spence, "Court and palace," 268.

¹⁶⁷⁹ Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 313.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Spence, "Court and palace," 311; Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles*, 223, 234-248.

Europe.¹⁶⁸¹ Thus, the idea of the ‘elder of the porch’ as an advisor and courtier as well as a palace administrator is not mutually exclusive.

7. 4. The ‘elder of the porch’ in the temple

Titularies of the Old Kingdom show that seventeen out of fifty (34%) titularies include a priestly and/or administrative role in a royal funerary temple (see 5.3.4). The priestly titles primarily held include *hm-ntr* and *w^cb*. In several instances a supervisory role over these *shd/im.y-ht hm.w-ntr/w^cb.w* ‘inspector/assistant supervisor of *hem-netjer*-priests/*wab*-priests.’ They represent recurring temporary shifts once every three months, not their regular offices, and only supplemented their income. These were held along with other palace and/or state appointments.

The *sms.w h3y.t* was occasionally attached to the various pyramid complexes during the Old Kingdom (see 5.7.5).¹⁶⁸² The chief query, here, is whether these extensions reflect an honorary or ritual role in the temples. There are only five instances of this happening, suggesting that the *sms.w h3y.t* did not regularly act in this capacity in the royal funerary cults. These title extensions may reflect a special honour increasing the prestige and importance of their position. For instance, *K3-dw3* [46] held various positions in the priesthood of the funerary temple of Khafre, so it is probably no coincidence that his title *sms.w h3y.t* was also attached to this particular temple. On the other hand, it is also possible these specific individuals were involved in ritual or priestly duties at these temples.¹⁶⁸³ There is one *sms.w h3y.t* [16] listed in an account of the temple archive of Raneferef at Abusir, and while the title phrase does not explicitly link the title to the temple it is perhaps implied by its presence in these accounts. This individual [16] is listed among persons who appear to be members of the king’s household (*ir.w-šn.y* ‘manicurist,’ *hr.y-tp nsw.t* ‘royal chamberlain’), or otherwise in close association with him (*smr* ‘companion,’ *h3.ty-c*

¹⁶⁸¹ Spence, “Court and palace,” 282.

¹⁶⁸² [25] *sms.w h3y.t n mr iri ntr Mn-k3.w-R^c.w*, [41] *sms.w h3y.t (m) Nfr-swt-Dd-k3.w-R^c.w*, [42] *sms.w h3y.t 3h.ty-Hwfw*, and [46] *sms.w h3y.t n wr H^cy=f-R^c.w*.

¹⁶⁸³ The Old Kingdom position of *hnt.y-š*, for example, is often accompanied by two protraction ‘of the palace’ (*pr-c3*) and of a particular funerary temple (see 5.3.2.2). Those bearing the former had practical tasks in the palace, guarding the king and the Residence/palace, while those bearing the latter acted as priests performing some of the same duties as the *hm.w-ntr*. It is possible a similar situation could be the case with the *sms.w h3y.t*. While none are attested with a similar *pr-c3* ‘palace’ extension, it may have been implied while should they acted out a ritual or priestly role in the religious sphere this needed to be specified in the title-phrase. Moreover, the *hnty-š* are more regularly attested than the *sms.w h3y.t* so their dual role is more apparent. See Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 41.

‘count’). This may support the notion that the involvement of this group of officials was symbolic and ritualistic; to care for the deceased king as they did in life. Duty at the temples at the time were comprised of rotational shifts, so it unlikely it formed a regular and core part of their responsibilities.

The title is connected to the temple of Amun during the New Kingdom, which is apparent by the extension of *n(.y) (pr-)Imn.w* ‘of the temple of Amun’ to the title-phrase. Due to the lack of evidence in this period, it remains open whether title-holders played a religious role in the temple proper. They, however, played a role in the administrative and political spheres of the temple (see Section 7.3).

7. 5. The development of the office ‘elder of the porch’ from the Old to New Kingdom

The office of *sms.w h3y.t* was, at least initially, a regular title with a particular function in the palace. This practical component to the title probably continued until sometime in the Second Intermediate Period when it may have become a largely ceremonial position at court, bestowed on courtiers close to the king. By the New Kingdom, however, the title may have designated a particular rank at the royal court. Holders of the title *sms.w h3y.t* primarily operated in a temple during this time, representing a major shift in context.

a) The Old Kingdom to the First Intermediate Period

The title *sms.w h3y.t* is regularly attested in the sources from the reign of Sahure onwards. This is likely connected to the growing complexity of the central administration at this time. This is reflected, among other things, by the emergence of many new offices and the accession of men of non-royal descent to the position of vizier.¹⁶⁸⁴ The evidence of title-holders during the Old Kingdom comes predominantly from a funerary context, from the Memphite cemeteries of Giza, Saqqara, and Abusir.¹⁶⁸⁵ The geographical distribution of the monuments suggests strong ties to the Residence at this time. Holders of the title *sms.w h3y.t* are defined by four attributes: (1) the appointment of *s3b r3-Nhn* ‘*sab* spokesman of Nekhen,’ (2) additional titles related to the economic units comprising the Residence, (3) an association with the vizier, and (4) membership of the royal court.

¹⁶⁸⁴ Bárta, “Kings, Viziers, and Courtiers,” 166.

¹⁶⁸⁵ With the exception of [08] in Edfu and [52] in Wadi Hammamat.

Since the title first appears during this period, it is highly likely that the title-phrase and the function of the official is closely linked.¹⁶⁸⁶ Moreno-Garcia's proposal that the first element in the title-phrase, '*sms.w*' 'elder,' can be interpreted as a close courtier and advisor of the king is a reasonable argument, corroborated by similar titles showing close ties to the king and particular sectors/spaces of the palace. The second element, *h3y.t*, can be considered a reference to the porch that stood attached to the entrance into the palace interior, which was closely connected to the private life of the king and royal family. The practical role of the 'elder of the porch,' as intermediary between two palace sectors, monitoring people and commodities moving through this threshold, as well as their judicial role as arbitrator in an old system of legal proceedings under this porch are likely to have originated in this period and are manifested in the title-phrase and supported by the title combinations.

The Old Kingdom was, for the most part, a period of strong kingship and a stable government, despite the occasional periods of tension, culminating in eventual economic decline and weakened kingship. The title is, with one exception [52], absent from the historical record during the First Intermediate Period. The evidence from the Old Kingdom, however, suggests that the title was functional at the time, playing a role in the palace organisation as well as the central administration, and to a lesser extent priestly rituals in the funerary cults.

b) The Middle Kingdom to the Second Intermediate Period

The title *sms.w h3y.t* reappears at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom in the reign of Montuhotep III in the late 11th dynasty.¹⁶⁸⁷ The title occurs primarily during the 13th dynasty with only a number of title-holders dating to the 12th dynasty. In contrast to the Old Kingdom, the bulk of the data from the Middle Kingdom/Second Intermediate Period comes from the funerary stelae set up at Abydos. These families wanted to partake in the funerary rites of Osiris, whose main cult was located in Abydos – but they probably did not live or work there. This, in combination with the limited data generally available concerning the palace in the northern parts of Egypt, suggests that there is no reason the *sms.w h3y.t* were not also 'active' at the Residence in the north during the Middle Kingdom. The petition of *Ibi*^c [64] was sent from the Residence to Thebes indicating that

¹⁶⁸⁶ Franke, "Probleme der Arbeit," 108; Moreno-Garcia, "Study of the ancient Egyptian administration," 7.

¹⁶⁸⁷ [159].

the *sms.w h3y.t* also operated in the king's northern Residence.¹⁶⁸⁸ The title during the late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period is characterised by (1) the title-holders' close association to the king and royal family, (2) their role as advisor and, for the 16th and 17th dynasties in particular, (3) their role as king's representative in situations that warrant special oversight.

The 13th dynasty was a time of diminished resources, shortened reigns, a decrease in royal power, and increase in foreigners in Egypt.¹⁶⁸⁹ The 'legitimation crisis' as termed by Ryholt caused kings to use filiative nomina to proclaim royal paternity. There appears to have been this need to emphasise that they were of royal decent, which indicates that there were rival contenders to the throne.¹⁶⁹⁰ Throughout the 13th dynasty there is evidence of a mixture of royal and non-royal kings, with Sobekhotep III being the first one to emphasise this publicly.¹⁶⁹¹ It follows that there must have been a major change in the organisation of power in the royal court at this time.¹⁶⁹² According to Quirke and Moreno-Garcia, it is possible that kingship was circulated among the important ruling families in an irregular rotation, as a result of the nobility failing to appoint a successor family.¹⁶⁹³ While peace and stability was maintained by this method of circulating succession, the absence of a single ruling family must have created an increased amount of tension and friction among these ambitious powerful families seeking to seize the throne. The king, in particular, would have valued dependable and loyal men to help maintain his hold over his court and government.¹⁶⁹⁴ The inevitable friction and rivalries at court would have affected the many officials and courtiers who sought to make advantageous alliances to survive and thrive through these constant fluctuations in power.

¹⁶⁸⁸ While the king's principal seat remained in *Itjtawy*, he did have other palaces in the Thebes and the surrounding area, perhaps indicating that the *sms.w h3y.t* could also work in these palaces (when they travelled with the king on visits?).

¹⁶⁸⁹ Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 295.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 75.

¹⁶⁹¹ The royal family must have had a poor reputation amongst to population for non-royal descent to be an advantage. Sobekhotep III, whose father was a senior military officer (*3tw n(.y) tt hk3*), was of non-royal descent. He probably engineered some sort of takeover or *coup* to accomplish this. Sobekhotep publicly chose to dissociate himself from his predecessors by declaring his non-royal origin openly and deliberately usurping their monuments. Ryholt points out that the royal family must have had quite a negative reputation for his non-royal origin to be considered an advantage. Sobekhotep III was followed by four kings who followed his example of proclaiming their non-royal descent: Neferhotep I, Sithathor, Sobekhotep IV, and Sobekhotep V: Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 297-298.

¹⁶⁹² Moreno-Garcia, "'Other' administration," 1036.

¹⁶⁹³ S. Quirke, "Royal Power in the 13th Dynasty," in S. Quirke (ed) *Middle Kingdom Studies* (New Malden, 1991), 123-139; Moreno-Garcia, "'Other' administration," 1036-1037.

¹⁶⁹⁴ Moreno-Garcia, "'Other' administration," 1041.

As a servant of the king with access to the inner palace, a close advisor, and member of his innermost circle, the title-holders of the *sms.w h3y.t* were considered trusted and loyal followers the king, perhaps someone upon whom the king could depend when internal tensions and intrigues in the palace/court may potentially affect his position on the throne.¹⁶⁹⁵ This may explain the increased number of *sms.w h3y.t* visible in the sources. The position and status of the *sms.w h3y.t* in the palace would have placed him in the ideal position to obtain trust of those in power or rivals seeking power. Therefore, it can be argued that due to the political situation, the *sms.w h3y.t* sought to highlight their closeness to the king and their inclusion within his circle of advisors because that aspect of their position became highly valued. Their function at the entrance palace interior, regulating access and directing the flow of provisions was likely to have continued on from the Old Kingdom. Their physical position at this liminal boundary would have made them a very useful informant indeed, for the king and for rivalling courtiers.

Quirke, speaking of the title-holders in the late Middle Kingdom, suggests that their role as the king's representative or 'general commissioner' was as a response or counterbalance to the incredibly precise titles and predominantly narrowly defined posts dominating the administration of the time.¹⁶⁹⁶ These positions would have introduced a flexible element into the governmental structure.¹⁶⁹⁷ Alternatively, since their role as the king's agent does not appear to be a regular aspect of the office, it may be explained as a result of the political situation, which forced kings to rely even more on some of their trusted advisors and courtiers. This may explain the involvement of the *sms.w h3y.t* in the central administration and why they appear to have a 'generalised' function.

The 16th and 17th dynasties are characterised by the constant threat of the Hyksos in the north and the Nubians in the south. The late Second Intermediate Period was a period of militarisation of society, when the Egyptian rulers became more proactive and aggressive ultimately allowing Kamose and Ahmose to defeat the Hyksos and reclaim the entire

¹⁶⁹⁵ A similar situation may have taken place during the 12 dynasty with *Nsw-Mntw* [104] who was 'overseer of troops' and 'elder of the porch' under Amenemhat I and his son, Senwosret I. It is highly likely he experienced the aftermath of the former's assassinations and may have been present during this tumultuous time at court. As a response to his father's assassination, Senwosret I may have promoted officials and attendants he trusted, such as palace administrations like the *sms.w h3y.t*, see also Section 5.4.1.

¹⁶⁹⁶ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 80-81. See also Grajetzki, "Setting a State Anew," 223-224.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Quirke, *Administration of Egypt*, 80-81.

country.¹⁶⁹⁸ The historical and political context accounts for the fact that some *sms.w w h3y.t* were selected for important missions as representatives of the vizier and the state.¹⁶⁹⁹ The king and vizier may have been too preoccupied with the external threat that certain important internal issues were entrusted to loyal officials. This is an ideal environment for loyal service to be rewarded, and ‘ordinary’ officials and courtiers might be placed in higher-ranking positions as a result. It is during the 16th/17th dynasty that *Imn.w-m-h3.t* [68] who was ‘elder of the porch’ then ‘greatest one of ten of Upper Egypt’ before being promoted to vizier could rise to such an elevated status.

One of the issues that needs to be addressed at this point is whether the title functioned in a similar way as in the Old Kingdom, or whether its reappearance signifies an altered function in a new palace and administrative context. The title may have been used as an archaic phrase to denote a position that did not resemble its original meaning and function. Moreno-Garcia points out that, after a long period of absence (due to political turmoil in particular), titles could be used as a source of prestige and programmatic expression in a completely new setting as a link to a glorious and ideal past.¹⁷⁰⁰ Since the title was largely absent from the historical record during the First Intermediate Period, this is an issue that needs to be considered in reference to the office of *sms.w h3y.t*.

Since this period is characterised by the close association of these individuals to the king and royal family, as well as their role as advisor and representative of the king, the title may have been bestowed on those courtiers whom the king trusted and to whom he went for counsel. It is possible that this aspect of the title survived from the original office in the Old Kingdom where these men also had a practical role in the palace.

However, an argument can also be made that the ‘elder of the porch’ retained his practical functions in the palace. First, the title did occur in one instance during the First Intermediate Period and reappears very early after the country was reunified when the Residence was still located in Thebes and the administrative structure still resembled that of the Old Kingdom/First Intermediate Period. This suggests that the office was still extant, simply not visible in the sources. This may also imply that its basic functions similarly

¹⁶⁹⁸ Ryholt, *Political Situation in Egypt*, 305, 309-311; Shirley, “Crisis and Restructuring of the State,” 547, 561.

¹⁶⁹⁹ Royal decree of Intef VI [75] and Karnak ‘judicial’ stela [112].

¹⁷⁰⁰ Moreno-Garcia, “Study of the ancient Egyptian administration,” 7.

continued.¹⁷⁰¹ Second, since the entrance to the king's domestic quarters was a highly significant entry, the organisation of the palace into a separate outer and inner sector likely remained unchanged. The king and royal family remained segregated from the daily activities of the central administration. Thus, the 'elder of the porch' may have maintained their practical responsibilities as intermediary, informant, and arbitrator at this porticoed-entrance. The close association with the king and royal family during this time period may have been as a result of their physical position at this liminal space. Since these individuals were highly regarded by the king, it makes sense that this aspect of their role would be specified in the sources over their routine administrative tasks in the porch of the inner palace. Third, the social networks of the Middle Kingdom title-holders indicate that they originate from a relatively modest background: 74.1% of families include individuals with a title in the military sector as do 47% of associates (where kinship is unspecified) connected with the *sms.w h3y.t*. The fact that they are not from a particularly high ranking or elite socio-economic background may suggest that the *sms.w h3y.t* like many of their relatives and colleagues (?), worked for a living. In addition, 17.6% of non-relatives associated with the 'elder of the porch' have titles related to the administration of the palace, and another 17.6% held titles connected to the economic sectors of the palace (the treasury and *šn*^c). This suggests that title-holders were still closely tied to the daily workings of the palace. Moreover, if the 'elder of the porch' had become a purely courtly title, it is difficult to envision a mid-ranking individual, not part of the nobility, with only occasional ties to top officials, regularly attaining the position of courtier and advisor to the king unless they were also connected to the palace in a more practical sense (at the *h3y.t*-porch).

c) New Kingdom

Wsr-Imn [74] of the 17th dynasty is the latest attestation of the title 'elder of the porch' before the beginning of the New Kingdom. It is possible that during these times of instability the role of the *sms.w h3y.t* as a trusted advisor and courtier to the king as well as any functional role in the palace became less important. Whatever the reason, the *sms.w h3y.t* became a rare office in the New Kingdom. Several occurrences of the title are attested during the 18th dynasty but after the Amarna Period there is only one title-holder attested

¹⁷⁰¹ It is also uncertain how the title-phrase *sms.w h3y.t* would be effective as a political or ideological message by the Middle Kingdom rulers. The title *s3b r3-Nhn* 'spokesman of Nekhen' refers to a locality which had historic and political significance, it is uncertain to what extent the *sms.w h3y.t* 'elder of the porch' would resonate with state and palace officials.

as well as one obscure reference in a literary ostraca until the *Report of Wenamun* in the 21st/22nd dynasty.

The office of ‘elder of the porch’ shifts from a palace context to the religious sphere during the course of the New Kingdom. The passage from the autobiography of Rekhmire in the 18th dynasty is the only definitive source situating the ‘elder of the porch’ in the palace at this time. The holders of the title *sms.w h3y.t* are now primarily connected to the temple estate of Amun in Thebes. The most convincing argument for interpreting the extended title-phrase, *sms.w h3y.t n(.y) (pr-)Imn.w* is that it signifies a shift of their role from an agent of the king in the palace to representing the temple and high-priest of Amun.¹⁷⁰² This shift was probably due to the increased status of Amun as ‘king of the gods’ and his prominent role in the religious and political sphere at the time. It appears that the close connection between the *sms.w h3y.t* and the palace had declined, and the term *h3y.t* gradually increased in usage independent from the title to refer to a stone temple portico in the Late Period. This would explain the decrease of title-holders and the increase of reference to the *h3y.t* in temple architecture.¹⁷⁰³ There is very little data with which to situate these title-holders in the historical framework of the New Kingdom, as they are largely absent from the sources.

¹⁷⁰² See [170].

¹⁷⁰³ During the Late Period, the term became associated with stone temple porticoes and kiosks as a general term, and not a specific allusion to a palace portico. Justice dispensed at those kiosks during those times likely had nothing to do with the office.

7. 6. CONCLUSION

The title *sms.w h3y.t* can be categorised as a regular title within the palace administration. A study of the elements comprising the title-phrase, ‘elder’ and ‘porch,’ highlights two main attributes of the individuals bearing this office (Chapter Two). The term ‘elder’ signified their role as part of an advisory council of the king, and the term ‘porch’ is indicative of their place within the landscape of the king’s palace. Holders of this office are defined by their attachment to the structure designated *h3y.t* ‘porch’ or ‘entrance-portico,’ which greatly impacts how the title should be interpreted. This interpretation of the title, first proposed by Quirke, has been explored in this thesis by considering title-holders in both a palace and liminal setting (Chapter Three).¹⁷⁰⁴ As a result, title-holders should be understood as being physically part of a specific liminal context in the palace, the entrance to the palace interior, which also extended into their role within governmental affairs as well as their social and ceremonial roles at court. Chapters Four, Five, and Six, have examined the evidence available for the title *sms.w h3y.t* ‘elder of the porch’ and its holders in each historical period. While the title has specific characteristics in each epoch, their close association with the king and the upper echelon of the court, as well as a continued role in governmental affairs, prevails from the Old Kingdom to the end of the Second Intermediate Period. Bearers of the title *sms.w h3y.t* were mid-level palace officials from a (mainly) modest socio-economic background, with occasional high-ranking social connections (to the vizier especially). The practical role of the title-holders has been underestimated and not addressed by current scholarship, and this study has shown how such an individual would have been situated within the spatial and social dimensions of the palace, court, and government (summarised in Chapter Seven). It is highly plausible that the link between title-phrase and the function of its holders was retained in some form from the Old Kingdom onwards. Finally, an interpretation of its development over the course of history has also been offered in Chapter Seven. This close investigation of the title *sms.w h3y.t* ‘elder of the porch’ or ‘entrance-portico’ and its holders has demonstrated that these men were influential and significant figures in the royal court and palace as well as the government.

¹⁷⁰⁴ Quirke, “Four Titles,” 313-314.

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