

The Eyes and Ears of the King:
A study on a set of designations and the 18th Dynasty
officials who held them

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Statement of Originality

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

(Signed)

David Chapman

Date:

4/12/18

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I dedicate this study to them, and to my supervisors.

Abstract

In the 18th dynasty, high officials often held the designations "eyes of the King" and "ears of the king". These eyes-and-ears appellations can firmly be identified in 49 text excerpts. These enigmatic phrases are associated with 35 individuals between the co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III and the aftermath of the Amarna episode. Despite the substantial body of evidence relating to these appellations, scholars have not up until now thoroughly considered this dataset. A variety of interpretations of royal sense-organ designations have emerged in the literature regardless, and scholars have been unable to come to agreement as to their meaning. Some authors regard these entities as titles of occupation or rank, while others suggest it is used to indicate an official's closeness or level of trust with the monarch. This study has principally been concerned with discerning whether patterns can be detected in the linguistic features and construction of the phrases, their wider textual context, and the social milieu and careers of the officials who held them. The study found there are some commonalities in the linguistic elements of constructions and their co-text, however, there is not a single factor which unites the officials who acquired these appellations

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Abbreviations and Conventions

Sources in this study are for the most part cited according to the conventions of the SBL notes style, Society of Biblical Literature, *The SBL Handbook of Style*, 2nd ed. (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2014), §§ 6.1–6.4. Primary sources are however referenced in the notes and *not* in the text as one might expect. In Addition, the individual volumes of *Ramesside Inscriptions* are denoted by roman numerals, entries in the *Wörterbuch* are cited by volume and page number, and texts in the *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* are cited by page number and line. Furthermore, parenthetical references are used to indicate key sources in the opening chapter, complete bibliographical information is provided on first citation in the notes.

The prosopography serves as a secondary bibliography, therefore sourced are referenced in-text with more substantial bibliographic data.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

Bibliographic abbreviations tend to follow the conventions of IFAO, Mathieu Bernard, *Abréviations des périodiques et collections en usage à l' IFAO*, 6th ed., Divers 4 (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 2017), however some additional conventions are also utilised (see below).

Abbreviation	Full Reference
ACE <i>Studies</i>	Australian Centre for Egyptology: Studies
Binder, <i>Gold of Honour</i>	Susanne Binder, <i>The Gold of Honour in New Kingdom Egypt</i> , ACE Studies 8 (Oxford: Aris and Phillips, 2008).
Borchardt, <i>Statuen, I–V</i>	Ludwig Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum zu Kairo</i> , 5 vols., CGC (Berlin, 1911–1936).
CdK Online Photo #	Photograph(s) from the online archive of the Cachette de Karnak, “Cachette de Karnak,” IFAO, 2017, < http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ > (access 10/2018)
DSA Photo #	Photographs from the archive of Siegfried Schott, Universität Trier, “Das Digitale Schott-Archiv,” < http://www.schott.uni-trier.de/ > (access 10/2018).

Abbreviation	Full Reference
Gardiner, <i>Grammar</i>	Alan H. Gardiner, <i>Egyptian Grammar: Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs</i> , 3rd rev. ed. (Oxford: Griffith Institute / Ashmolean Museum, 1957).
Helck, <i>Verwaltung</i>	Wolfgang Helck, <i>Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reichs</i> , PdÄ 3 (Leiden: Brill, 1958).
Kampp, <i>Nekropole</i>	Friederike Kampp, <i>Die thebanische Nekropole: zum Wandel des Grabgedankens von der XVIII. bis zur XX. Dynastie</i> , Theben 13 (Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1996)
LD Text / Taf	Karl Richard Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien</i> (Berlin, 1849-1859). Text = Textband, Taf. = Tafelwerk
Ockinga, CGME	Boyo G Ockinga, <i>A Concise Grammar of Middle Egyptian</i> , 3rd ed. (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp Von Zabern, 2012).
OI Photo #	Photograph(s) from the Archives of the Oriental Institute
PM 8 (Online)	Jaromir Malek, Diana Magee, and Elizabeth Miles, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings</i> , vol. 8 (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2008), < http://www.griffith.ox.ac.uk/gri/3pm8sta3.pdf > (access 10/2018).
TLA Lem. / DZA #	Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, "Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae," 2014, < http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html > (access 10/2018) Lem. = Lemma DZA = Slip archive
UEE	UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology, (Los Angeles: UCLA 2008–2018) < https://escholarship.org/uc/nelc_uee/ > (access 10/2018)
Urk. IV	Kurt Sethe and Wolfgang Helck, <i>Urkunden der 18. Dynastie</i> (Berlin / Leipzig, 1906–1958).

CONVENTIONS FOR THE TRANSCRIPTION, TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION OF TEXTS

The transliteration system and critical apparatus used in this study follow Ockinga, *CGME*, §§ 5, 13. Lacunae are marked with three slashes ///. The personal names of individuals in the corpus are rendered in transliteration.

When hieroglyphs are typeset, they are consistently arranged horizontally, left to right. While every effort has been made to ensure the individual hieroglyphs are consistent with the original inscription, it is not always possible to faithfully emulate their grouping.

Reference to individual characters is made by means of their Gardiner Classification, Gardiner, *Grammar*, 544–545. If a sign does not occur in Gardiner’s list, this is noted, and an alternative classification is substituted from the sign list in Rainer Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.): die Sprache der Pharaonen*, KAW 64 (Mainz: Phillip von Zabern, 1995).

In cases where a text is quoted in the body of the study, a translation is often provided in parenthesis. The following additional notation is used in translations and commentary

Notation	Meaning
...	part of the text is not addressed here
lit.	literally
X = Y	X is understood as a reference to Y

CONVENTIONS USED IN THE PROSOPOGRAPHY AND THE APPENDICES

Notation	Meaning
[#]	Number in square brackets refers to an individual and an entry in the main prosopography
n.r.e	no record extant
NN	<i>nomen nescio</i> / <i>non nominatus</i> denotes an unnamed individual
Conc. Line	refers to a "concordance line" in Appendix C.
#	

REIGN CODES

In the tables in Appendix C the reigns of selected kings of the 18th and 19th Dynasty are denoted by numerical codes in the chronological order of their reign

Code	King
18.04	Thutmosis II
18.05	Hatshepsut
18.06	Thutmosis III (sole reign)
18.07	Amenhotep II
18.08	Thutmosis IV
18.09	Amenhotep III
18.10	Amenhotep IV / Akhenaten
18.11	Semenkhare
18.12	Tutankhamun
18.13	Ay
18.14	Horemheb
19.01	Ramesses I
19.02	Seti I
19.03	Ramesses II
19.04	Merenptah

“The King has two Capacities, for he has two Bodies, the one whereof is a Body natural, consisting of natural Members as every other Man has, and in this he is subject to Passions and Death as other Men are; the other is a Body politic, and the Members thereof are his Subjects, and he and his Subjects together compose the Corporation, as Southcote said, and he is incorporated with them, and they with him, and he is the Head, and they are the Members...”

— The Judges’ remarks in the case of *Willion v. Berkley* (1560) as recorded in Plowden *Commentaries*, I.

1. Introduction: From the Body to Bureaucracy

Across disciplines, scholars have examined the human body as a conceptual construct – a means through which individuals express culturally significant ideas and understand the broader systems in which they operate. A pioneering effort in this regard was Kantorowicz *The King's Two Bodies* (1957),¹ a work which explores how the institutions of monarchy in Medieval and Early Modern Europe were explained and justified through elaborate bodily metaphor.² Yet figurative evocation of the body is not the exclusive parlance of European political theory and jurisprudence.³ The body and its constituent parts are also evoked in a variety of cultural traditions for differing purposes,⁴ Notably in the communication of social stratification (Aksan 2011) and emotion (Wierzbicka & Endfield 2002).⁵

¹ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2016), 7–23. Kantorowicz's main thesis involves the amalgamation of the two dimensions of kingship: the person of the king, namely the mortal aspect, and the immortal body, the administrative apparatus of state which ensured the continuity of the monarchy. In other words, the person of the King dies but the kingship is immortal as it is maintained by tradition and those who surround the monarch.

² For some context on the life and milieu of Kantorowicz see, Antenhofer, "The Concept of the Body of the King in Kantorowicz's *The King's Two Bodies*," in *The Staging of the Body of the Institutional Leader from Antiquity to Middle Ages in East and West* (Padova, 2016), 1–23. For some information on the reception of his approach see: Bernhard Jussen, "The King's Two Bodies Today," *Representations* 106 (2009): 102–17.

³ Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 497 n.6. Even Kantorowicz acknowledges that the notion of two aspects of Kingship may be useful in the study of Egyptian Kingship. His work seems similar to or perhaps informed various scholars understanding of the nature of Egyptian kingship see in particular the introduction to the recent volume on kingship, David O'Connor and David P. Silverman, eds., *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, PdÄ 9 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), xxv. Gundlach's comments on the symbolic division of kingship between the political and sacred aspects assumes a slightly different approach but still assumes kingship involves the unification of two entities, Rolf Gundlach, "'Horus in the Palace': The Centre of State and Culture in Pharaonic Egypt," in *Egyptian Royal Residences: 4. Symposium Zur Ägyptischen Königsideologie / 4th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology. London, June, 1st–5th 2004*, ed. Rolf Gundlach and John H. Taylor (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 53.

⁴ Zouheir A. Maalej and Ning Yu, "Introduction: Embodiment via Body Parts," in *Embodiment via Body Parts*, ed. Zouheir A. Maalej and Ning Yu, Cognitive Foundations of Language Structure and Use 31 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2011), 1–20.

⁵ Aksan examines the use of body parts in expressions of social stratification in modern Turkish. Mustafa Aksan, "The Apocalypse Happens When the Feet Take the Position of the Head," in *Embodiment via Body Parts*, ed. Zouheir A. Maalej and Mustafa Yu, Cognitive Foundations of Language Structure and Use 31 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2011), 241–55; Wierzbicka A., "Introduction: The Body in Description of Emotion," ed. N. J Endfield, *Pragmatics & Cognition* 10.1 (2002): 17–19.

In Egyptology, scholars have begun to examine the conceptual significance of the body to the inhabitants of The Two Lands. In her study of the phraseology of so-called ‘Selbstdarstellung’ texts, Guksch (1994) has explored proximity and interaction with the King's body as an important topos in this narrative tradition.⁶ Other scholars such as Kaplony (1995), Nyord (2009), Werning (2014) and Grässler (2017) have analysed different figurative apparatus involving body-parts, corporal symbolism and metaphors.⁷

Despite the emergence of the conceptualisation of the body as a key area of research both inside and outside Egyptology, little systematic attention has been given to a set of designations which directly identify officials as the so-called ‘sense-organs’ of the monarch – the facial features responsible for perception.⁸ These designations are widely attested in the 18th Dynasty, though they are also sporadically found in title sequences both before and after this period.⁹ As this study will demonstrate, analysis of royal sense organ monikers has consisted of conjectural and isolated remarks within larger works. While scholars have acknowledged that the phraseology of such monikers varies, a full consideration of the nuances of these designations is absent from the current literature. The meaning of the appellations themselves are unclear. Egyptologists can neither agree on their classification nor on their significance. Most strikingly, no one has collectively studied the lives of the

⁶ Heike Guksch, *Königsdienst: zur Selbstdarstellung der Beamten in der 18. Dynastie*, SAGA 11 (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1994), 38-39 (on expressions involving the heart), 65-66 (on the expression *ir.y rd.wy*).

⁷ Paul Kaplony, “Die Symbolik des Leibes und der Glieder im Alten Ägypten,” in *Die Symbolik des Leibes*, ed. Micheal Paul, Schriften zur Symbolforschung 10 (Bern: Peter Lang, 1995), 22–48; Rune Nyord, *Breathing Flesh: Conceptions of the Body in the Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts*, CNI Publications 37 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, 2009); Daniel A. Werning, “Der ‘Kopf des Beines’, der ‘Mund der Arme’ und die ‘Zähne’ des Schöpfers: zu metonymischen und metaphorischen Verwendungen von Körperteil-Lexemen im Hieroglyphisch-Ägyptischen,” in *Synthetische Körperauffassung im Hebräischen und den Sprachen der Nachbarkulturen*, ed. Andreas Wagner and Katrin Müller (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014), 107–61; Nadine Grässler, *Konzepte des Auges im alten Ägypten*, SAK Beihefte 20 (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 2017).

⁸ Notes on terminology: the concept of sense-organs is adapted from the German word *Sinnesorgane*. In this study the terms designation and appellation are used interchangeably. They all refer to an entity within a title sequence. These terms are used as an overarching referent for titles epithets, rank markers, and honorific titles. For further on issues involving the classification of entities within title sequences see § 1.3.1

⁹ The earliest eyes designation which the present author found, belonged to the Middle Kingdom official *Hnnw*, see: Denise M. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: A Social and Historical Analysis*, PdÄ 12 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 274; Jean Couyat and Pierre Montet, *Les inscriptions hieroglyphiques et hieratiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, MIFAO 34 (Cairo: IFAO, 1911), 81; James P. Allen, “Some Theban Officials of the Early Middle Kingdom,” in *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson*, ed. Peter Der Manuelian, vol. 1 of (Boston: Dept. of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, 1996), 12. For the latest example of an attestation of the designations I could find see, Günter Vittmann, “Die Autobiographie der Tathotis (Stele Wien 5857),” SAK 22 (1995): 285.

officials who are associated with these phrases. Thus, there is a significant gap in the literature concerning how these designations were understood, how they varied and who held them.

1.1 The aims of the present study

The current work seeks to address this lacuna in the literature outlined above. Data for the analysis is derived from a prosopography of 35 18th Dynasty officials all of whom are attested with eyes or ears designations.¹⁰ The first part of the study focuses on the appellations themselves. It aims to analyse how phraseology, grammatical construction and usage patterns of these designations vary amongst individuals in the corpus and in different periods. The second part of the work endeavours to understand to what extent officials within the corpus share common social or career attributes. Using insights derived from the analysis of the biographical data available on these individuals, the present work endeavours to discern what types of officials were given or adopted the appellations throughout the defined period and where possible, identify if certain clusters of officials were associated with specific variants of a designation or institutions in a given reign.

Lastly, based on the findings this study will consider how the two aspects of the analysis can inform or contribute to the debate surrounding the meaning of eyes-and-ears designations and their variations. In evaluating this, this study will not only engage with works directly concerning the monikers themselves but also employ broader concepts from a range of disciplines including history, sociology and linguistics.

These aims can be distilled into the following key research question:

To what extent are there discernible changes, or patterns in the variations, usage, and types of officials associated with these designations?

¹⁰ See Appendix A [1] – [35].

1.2 Traditions of inquiry: Key corpora of Literature

This study engages with a wide range of issues. Since it is primarily related to the officialdom and the significance of the various designations (titles, epithets, and ceremonial roles) they received or adopted, a large portion of the scholarship discussed in this study concerns the structure and nuances of the officialdom in the New Kingdom. A brief overview of this tradition is provided below. Secondly, the study considers literature concerning eyes-and-ears designations themselves, their classification and significance.

1.2.1 Scholarship concerning the officialdom of New Kingdom society

There is no shortage of works which discuss the officialdom, their titles and monuments. Some studies understand the officialdom as a macrocosm: Helck's *Verwaltung* (1956) provides a broad overview of various "sectors" of the administration from the Middle Kingdom to the New Kingdom.¹¹ Helck's study is to this day a standard reference work on administration, it includes critical insights into the structure of Egyptian bureaucracy and key families who operated within it. Some conclusions raised in the monograph have been revised in more recent works and Helck's notion of a unified treasury has begun to be questioned.¹² Like *Verwaltung*, other more recent works employ an expansive chronological scope. Shirley's chapter 'Crisis and Restructuring' (2013) offers a wide-ranging overview of the key officials in the Second Intermediate Period and the 18th Dynasty, while Grandet (2013) presents an introductory exploration of the institutions of government in the Ramesside Period.¹³ In contrast to these macrocosmic contributions, some scholars have focused on the

¹¹ For example, Helck, *Verwaltung*, 171-179 (cattle administration), 180-91 (treasury), 252-268 (palace administration). The use of the term "sectors" is adapted from Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 222.

¹² Helck himself revised some conclusions in his later work. One notable example relates to the dating of sequence of *im.yw-r3 htm* in the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, see: Wolfgang Helck, "Die Datierung des Schatzmeisters Sennefer," *GM* 43 (1981): 39–40. In recent years, the notion of a single "Schatzhaus" has been deemed problematic, for further on this refer to: William J. Murnane, "The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III.," in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David B. O'Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 182–83.

¹³ JJ Shirley, "Crisis and Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses," in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García, HdO 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 521–606; Pierre Grandet, "The Ramesside State," in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García, HdO 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 831–99.

individual as their unit of analysis, by considering the monuments and life of a single key official. Dorman's study of *Sn-m-mw.t* (1988) or Varille's monograph on *Imn.w-ḥtp sꜣ Ḥpw* [6] (1968) are prominent examples of this genre.¹⁴

Some approaches to the officialdom focus on the key officials and offices in the reign of an individual king, for example, Bryan (2006), Der Manuelian (1987) and Murnane (1998) explore administration under Thutmose III, Amenhotep II and Amenhotep III respectively.¹⁵ Some studies combine both artistic and textual analysis to collectively explore a set of officials associated with a ceremonial role or reward, such as Binder (2008) or Pomorska (1987).¹⁶ Other monographs, chapters and articles focus on a single office and investigate all the individuals who held it within a given period. Prominent examples include Gessler-Löhr's study on the mayors of Memphis which examines officials who held the office from the early 18th Dynasty to the end of the reign of Amenhotep III or Bohleke's (1991) unpublished dissertation on the title of Overseer of the Granary.¹⁷ Some studies analyse a title across multiple periods but pay significant attention to the office-holders of the New Kingdom, such as Weil's pioneering work on Viziers (1908), and Maystre's analysis of evidence concerning High Priests of Ptah (1992).¹⁸

Some significant works focus on individuals linked to key administrative sectors. Notable examples of studies that focus on specific institutions include Eichler's analysis of the

¹⁴ Peter Dorman, *Monuments of Senmut* (London / New York: Routledge, 1988); Alexandre Varille, *Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, BdE 44 (Cairo: IFAO, 1968). Perhaps Newberry's work on the life of Rḥ-mi-R'w [21] could be understood as an antecedent of this type of work, Percy E. Newberry, *The Life of Rekhmara, Vezir of Upper Egypt under Thothmes III and Amenhetep II (circa BC 1471-1448)*. (Westminster: Constable, 1900).

¹⁵ Betsy M. Bryan, "Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III.," in *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David O'Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 69–122; Peter der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, HÄB 26 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1987), 99–170; Murnane, "The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III.," 173–220.

¹⁶ Binder, *Gold of Honour*; Irena Pomorska, *Les flabellifères à la droite du roi en Égypte ancienne*, *Prace orientalistyczne* 34 (Prague: Éditions scientifiques de Pologne, 1987).

¹⁷ Beatrix Gessler-Löhr, "Bemerkungen zur Nekropole des Neuen Reiches von Saqqara vor der Amarna-zeit. II: Gräber der Bürgermeister von Memphis.," *OMRO* 77 (1997): 31–71; Briant Bohleke, "The Overseers of Double Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt in the Egyptian New Kingdom, 1570-1085 B.C." (Ph.D., Yale University, 1991).

¹⁸ Arthur Weil, *Die Veziere des Pharaonenreiches. Chronologisch Angeordnet* (Strassburg: Schlesier & Schweinhardt, 1908); Charles Maystre, *Les Grands Prêtres de Ptah de Memphis.*, OBO 113 (Freiburg / Göttingen: Universitätsverlag; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1992).

personnel of the Temples of Amun (2002) and Gnirs' analysis of military officers and the role of the army in the maintenance of the state (1996, 2013).¹⁹ In some scholarship, authors have focused on localised administration within a specific area. Studies on officials within provinces or communities in the New Kingdom include B. Davies' treatise on officials at Deir el Medina (1999) or Kawai's recent contribution on the administrators of Nubia in the reign of Tutankhamun (2015).²⁰

Over the last 20 years, scholars have expanded upon traditional approaches to prosopography, and considered how the officialdom can be understood as a complex social system. A landmark contribution in the development of this approach is Guksch's *Königsdienst* which explores how officials presented and understood their interaction with the King as a system bound by reciprocity and the awarding of favour.²¹ More recently scholars have employed theoretical approaches outside Egyptology to further these efforts. Raedler (2006, 2009) adapts court-based models pioneered by the sociologist Elias to gain insight into the social, ceremonial and political dynamics of the officialdom of the early Ramesside period.²² She is not however, the only scholar to develop methodological insights from models of *Hofkultur*, Gundlach (2006) and Spence (2007) present broad overviews of

¹⁹ Selke Eichler, *Die Verwaltung des "Hauses des Amun" in der 18. Dynastie*, SAK Beihefte 7 (Hamburg: Buske, 2000); Andrea Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft: ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, SAGA 17 (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1996); Andrea Gnirs, "Coping with the Army: The Military and the State in the New Kingdom.," in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García, HdO 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 639–717.

²⁰ Benedict G. Davies, *Who's Who at Deir El-Medina: A Prosopographic Study of the Royal Workman's Community*, Egyptologische Uitgaven 13 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1999); Nozomu Kawai, "The Administrators and Notables in Nubia under Tutankhamun.," in *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan*, ed. Kathlyn M. Cooney, Richard Jasnow, and Katherine E. Davis (Atlanta, GA: Lockwood Press, 2015), 309–22.

²¹ Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 50–54.

²² Christine Raedler, "Zur Struktur der Hofgesellschaft Ramses' II.," in *Der ägyptische Hof des Neuen Reiches: seine Gesellschaft und Kultur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik.*, ed. Rolf Gundlach and Andrea Klug (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 39–87; Christine Raedler, "Rank and Favour at the Early Ramesside Court.," in *Egyptian Royal Residences: 4. Symposium Zur Ägyptischen Königsideologie*, ed. Rolf Gundlach and John H. Taylor (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2009), 131–51. Intriguingly Elias who focuses on the court of Louis XIV in his own study is quite disparaging of historical scholarship. He views it as lacking theoretical rigour and too focused on particular events and individual and instead of long-term trends, Norbert Elias, *The Court Society*, ed. Mennell, trans. Edmund Jephcott, The Collected Works of Norbert Elias 2 (Dublin: University College Dublin Press, 2006), 3–37, esp. 9, 14–16. Elias's theoretical framework for court societies and his analysis of the specific dynamics at Versailles have not been without challenge, for discussion of the issues, insights and shortcomings of Elias' work see: Jeroen Frans Jozef Duindam, *Myths of Power: Norbert Elias and the Early Modern European Court* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1994), 181–91.

court culture in Egypt. While they consider evidence from a range of periods and source types, both scholars focus on the Amarna period as a case study.²³ Their principle concern is not the officials themselves but understanding the broader systems and culture they participated in.

Court models are, however, not the only theoretical approaches adopted by Egyptologists in their study of New Kingdom officials. In the closing chapter of a recent volume on Egyptian administration, Moreno García (2013) (despite the fact he does not focus exclusively on New Kingdom material), highlights the usefulness of examining the role the so-called 'other administration', patronage, and interaction between officials played in the running of the state.²⁴ He argues the officialdom was not as fixed and as centrally organised as previous studies in the literature have indicated. In his reading of the sources, the state was shaped by a set of social dynamics. The study of networks and the various types of interactions they manifest allows the scholar, in his view, to "cast some light on" ... 'the reality and limits' of the state.²⁵

He is not the first scholar to examine the influence of networks on historical events. This approach was pioneered much earlier in the social sciences.²⁶ Within Egyptology, the study of officials' connections and networks has become a topic of some popularity within recent literature. Notable studies of New Kingdom administration which employ network analysis directly, or are influenced by its methodology include Raedler's contribution on the lives and careers of Viziers of Ramesses II (2004) and Shirley's article on the importance of kinship connections and marriages for officials who served in the Temple of Amun during the early

²³ Rolf Gundlach, "Hof - Hofgesellschaft - Hofkultur im pharaonischen Ägypten.," in *Der ägyptische Hof des Neuen Reiches: seine Gesellschaft und Kultur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik. Akten des Internationalen Kolloquiums vom 27.-29. Mai 2002 an der Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz*, ed. Rolf Gundlach and Andrea Klug (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006), 1–38; Kate Spence, "Court and Palace in Ancient Egypt: The Amarna Period and Later Eighteenth Dynasty.," in *The Court and Court Society in Ancient Monarchies*, ed. A. J. S. Spawforth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 267–328.

²⁴ Juan Carlos Moreno García, "The 'other' Administration: Patronage, Factions, and Informal Networks of Power in Ancient Egypt.," in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1029–65.

²⁵ Juan Carlos Moreno García, "The 'other' Administration: Patronage, Factions, and Informal Networks of Power in Ancient Egypt.," in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 1063, 1065.

²⁶ A pioneering effort in this regard examines the roles networks played in shaping politics in Renaissance Florence John F. Padgett and Christopher K. Ansell, "Robust Action and the Rise of the Medici, 1400-1434," *American Journal of Sociology* 98.6 (1993): 1259–1319.

18th Dynasty.²⁷ Works which employ network analysis are not restricted to the study of officials in the New Kingdom, this approach has also been applied to evidence related to other periods and contexts notably in the study of the Old Kingdom and in an exploration of royal connections between rulers of the Ancient Near East.²⁸

As the review above has shown, scholarship on the officialdom of the New Kingdom has adopted a variety of approaches and foci. The present study builds upon many of these traditions. As §1.2.2 demonstrates, a number of key works on the officialdom refer to or discuss eyes and ears designations. In its methodological foundations, the current thesis draws upon concepts from a range of works. It is most similar to studies which consider a single role in the administration and the officials who occupied it, however it is also indebted to Guksch's notion of a *ḥs.wt* Gefüge in its efforts to understand the phrases which surround royal sense-organ designations.²⁹ While neither explicitly utilising court models nor network analysis, the present work implicitly considers concepts from both approaches in its discussion of the corpus's social milieu. In many ways, the study is also modelled on the work of Binder but particularly in its use of a prosopographical catalogue (Appendix A).³⁰ Now that the study has considered the literature on the officialdom, and the present work's relationship to these contributions, it is critical to engage with scholarship which directly considers the central theme of the study itself- namely eyes-and-ears designations.

1.2.2 Literature on the designations “eyes” and “ears”

²⁷ Christine Raedler, “Die Wesire Ramses' II.: Netzwerke der Macht,” in *Das ägyptische Königtum im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Aussenpolitik im 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr.*, ed. Rolf Gundlach and Andrea Klug (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 277–416; JJ Shirley, “Viceroys, Viziers & the Amun Precinct: The Power of Heredity and Strategic Marriage in the Early 18th Dynasty,” *JEH* 3 (2010): 73–113.

²⁸ Veronika Dulíková and Radek Mařík, “Complex Network Analysis in Old Kingdom Society: A Nepotism Case,” in *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2015*, ed. Miroslav Bárta, Filip Coppens, and Jaromír Krejčí (Prague: Faculty of Arts, Charles University, 2017), 63–83. ; The Clines have applied network analysis to Amarna Letters to reconstruct connections between rulers of the Ancient Near East, Diane H. Cline and Eric H. Cline, “Text Messages, Tablets, and Social Networks: The ‘Small World’ of the Amarna Letters,” in *There and Back Again - the Crossroads II: Proceedings of an International Conference Held in Prague, September 15-18, 2014*, ed. Jana Mynářová, Pavel Onderka, and Peter Pavúk (Prague: Charles University, Faculty of Arts, 2015), 17–44.

²⁹ See §§3.1— 3.5

³⁰ Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 285–356.

There have been previous attempts to catalogue variations of Eyes and Ears designations. Taylor (2001) lists a limited subset of examples as part of her larger study of titles in the 18th Dynasty.³¹ A more substantial effort is present in the work of Al-Ayedi (2006) however as with Taylor, this catalogue only forms a subsection of a larger index.³² The majority of scholarship on eyes-and-ears designations has not focused on establishing the variations of the appellations but instead has considered their significance, classification and meaning. To ensure a more complete picture of previous scholarship is addressed, the present review also includes scholars' consideration of the designations in the Ramesside and Third Intermediate Periods.

Some authors have sought to associate eyes-and-ears designations with specific occupations or functional roles in the administration. In his publication of the tomb of *Ḳn-Ḳmn* [29] Norman de Garis Davies (1930) suggests that these appellations were held by informants of the King.³³ Davies might have developed this interpretation due to a similar title in Persian administration, which Greek sources suggest was given to spies. The link between the Graeco-Persian tradition and Davies' own interpretation of Egyptian evidence cannot be proven, however a connection between the two might seem somewhat plausible.³⁴ Regardless, he only refers to those attestations found within the tomb itself and as such, only comments on a limited subset of the variations of the designations.³⁵

Intriguingly, de Garis Davies is not the only scholar to associate eyes-and-ears designations with a specific set of actions. Kaplony, adopting an apparently semiotics inspired

³¹ J.A. Taylor, *An Index of Male Non-Royal Egyptian Titles, Epithets & Phrases of the 18th Dynasty* (London: Museum Bookshop Publications, 2001), 73–74, 82–83.

³² Abdul Rahman Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom* (Cairo: Obelisk Publications, 2006), 190–94, 222, 323–24.

³³ Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Ḳen-Amūn at Thebes*, 2 vols., *PMMA* 5 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930), 14. He infers that the designations denote *Ḳn-Ḳmn* [29] was “reporting to the secluded king any whisperings against his policy...”

³⁴ A. L. Oppenheim, “The Eyes of the Lord,” *JAOS* 88.1 (1968): 173, 178. Alternate interpretations of the Persian version are considered in Jack Martin Balcer, “The Athenian Episkopos and the Achaemenid ‘King’s Eye,’” *AJP* 98.3 (1977): 256–57. The present author also consulted Dr Rachel Yuen Collingridge she notes the phrase “eyes of the king” is found in numerous Roman-period Greek sources but states that she “would be hesitant to connect the Greek instances with the Egyptian tradition...” Rachel Yuen-Collingridge, “Query,” 15 August 2017. Possible non Egyptian parallels of Royal sense-organ designations are beyond the scope of the present study, the present author will not explore them in any depth in the current research.

³⁵ Davies, *The Tomb of Ḳen-Amūn at Thebes*, 14.

methodology, draws a parallel between the King and an unidentified creator God to understand sense-organ appellations. According to Kaplony, “Der Schöpfergott hat Millionen von Augen und Ohren. Für den König, das Abbild des Schöpfers, sind seine Beamten zusätzliche Augen und Ohren”.³⁶ The officials with the appellations, in his view, undertook the function of the sense-organs they are identified with, namely seeing and hearing things on the monarch’s behalf. Werning comes to an identical conclusion and interprets examples of the Eyes designation as “funktionale Metonymie.”³⁷ He does not however draw a parallel between the King and a God to do so, but instead utilises theories of conceptual metaphor and metonymy.³⁸

Raedler has written two articles which touch upon the Eyes and Ears phrases and their significance at the Court of Ramesses II, though her view appears to change as her research progresses. The earlier article written in 2006 echoes Kaplony’s reading of the phrases, and quotes from his chapter directly.³⁹ In the later article, it is suggested eyes-and-ears appellations indicate that an official who held them “functions as the king’s deputy.”⁴⁰ The exact nature of this deputy status or the area the official might have acted in this role is however, left undiscussed. Along similar lines, Grandet (2013) suggests eyes- and-ears officials were viewed as an “extension” of the monarch.⁴¹

W. V. Davies (2009) classifies one example of an eyes- appellation as an epithet. He states that the designation denotes that an official had authority in a certain territory. He only refers to one attestation of the designation, namely the example found on a statue of *P3-Ḥk3-m-s3-sn* [10].⁴² At present It seems unclear whether his interpretation is applicable to a wider body of evidence.

³⁶ Which creator God or text he refers to is not clear, Kaplony, “Die Symbolik des Leibes und der Glieder im Alten Ägypten,” 32.

³⁷ Werning, “Der Kopf des Beines,” 149.

³⁸ Werning, “Der Kopf des Beines,” 107–40.

³⁹ Raedler, “Zur Struktur der Hofgesellschaft Ramses’ II.,” 48–49.

⁴⁰ Raedler, “Rank and Favour at the Early Ramesside Court.,” 148.

⁴¹ Pierre Grandet, “The Ramesside State,” 887.

⁴² W. Vivian Davies, “The British Museum Epigraphic Survey at Tombos: The Stela of Usersatet and Hekaemsasen,” *BMSAES* 14 (2009): 32–33.

Auenmüller (2013) in his recent dissertation on the concept of territoriality and identity amongst the New Kingdom elite, echoes Raedler and to some extent Grandet in his interpretation of the designations.⁴³ Like both authors he regards them as a marker that an official acted as a royal deputy. He focuses on specific examples with extensions denoting the locations of the king or in some cases the areas in which officials operated. He subdivides these adjuncts into specific categories (see Figure 1.1).

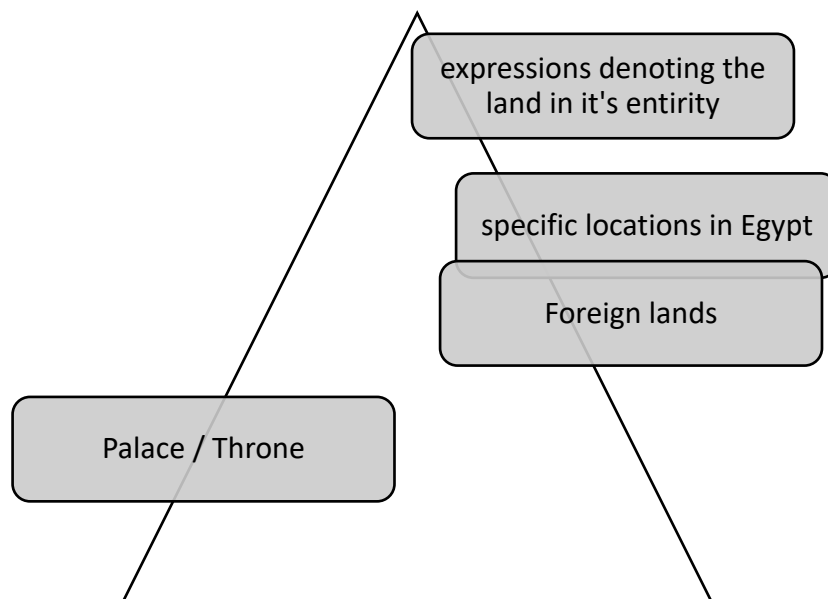


FIGURE 1.1: AUENMÜLLER (2013): CATEGORIZATION OF GEOGRAPHIC-EXTENSIONS IN EYES-AND-EARS DESIGNATIONS (DIAGRAM: CHAPMAN).

Not all scholars directly associate the designations with exact roles or duties. In an article in the *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Helck (1975) interprets the eyes-designation as a “häufiger Ehrentitel” given to prominent officials throughout the 18th Dynasty.⁴⁴ He infers the designation becomes more exclusive as the dynasty progresses. Helck seems to understand the eyes-designation as a predominantly early New Kingdom phenomenon and appears to implicitly understand it as a marker of status. Despite the fact he references a possible Middle Kingdom antecedent, he does not address Ramesside and post-Ramesside usage of eyes-

⁴³ Johannes Stefan G. Auenmüller, “Die Territorialität der Ägyptischen Elite(n) des Neuen Reiches” (Freien Universität Berlin, 2013), 173–76.

⁴⁴ Wolfgang Helck, “Augen des Königs,” in *LÄ I*, 1975, 560.

appellations. Helck considers a range of different variations of the appellation but his exploration of sources is by no means exhaustive.⁴⁵

In contrast to Helck, Gnirs highlights the appellations occur with other expressions that indicate an official experienced emotional or physical closeness to the king. She therefore understands sense-organ appellations in this context as a possible indication that an official was trusted by the King. However, she notes that the appellations are sometimes expanded with geographic or action-based extensions. Unlike Auenmüller, Gnirs does not differentiate all the types of geographic adjuncts. She instead suggests all these geographic or verbal affixes indicate in what context an official was recognised or trusted by the monarch. She notes, contrary to Auenmüller, it is only in examples from the tomb of *Hr.w-m-ḥb* [27] that the appellations develop specific connotations as an indicator that their owner held significant leadership duties on the King's behalf.⁴⁶ Interpretations which understand designations as markers of closeness to the King are widespread in recent literature. This approach is employed by Strudwick in his publication of the 18th Dynasty tomb of *Sn-nfri* [31] (2016), by Weber in an article on the Ramesside Statue of Amunemipet (2014) and by Naunton (2014) in a chapter in the tomb report of TT 223.⁴⁷

1.2.3 Observations on previous scholarship concerning the eyes-and-ears designations

From the review of literature which directly engages with sense organ monikers above, one can develop some interesting observations about scholars' engagement with these designations. The insights relate to both how scholars have placed these phrases within a broader framework of designations, how they understand the appellations, and the depth and thoroughness of this scholarship

⁴⁵ Helck, "Augen des Königs," nn. 1-9.

⁴⁶ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 104–5.

⁴⁷ Nigel Strudwick, "Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments," in *The Tomb of Pharaoh's Chancellor Senneferi at Thebes*, ed. Nigel Strudwick (Oxford: Oxbow, 2016), 15; Anke Weber, "Die beiden Augen des Königs': die Statuette des königlichen Schreibers Imen-m-Ipet.," in *Persönlichkeiten aus dem Alten Ägypten im Neuen Museum: für das Ägyptische Museum und Papyrussammlung, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin*, ed. Verena M. Lepper (Petersberg: Michael Imhof, 2014), 126; Christopher Naunton, "Titles of Karakhamun and the Kushite Administration of Thebes.," in *Tombs of the South Asasif Necropolis: Thebes, Karakhamun (TT 223), and Karabasken (TT 391) in the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty*, ed. Elena Pischikova (Cairo; New York: The American University in Cairo Press, 2014), 103–4.

Firstly, scholars have classified these phrases as a variety of different types of designations. Some class them as epithets.⁴⁸ Others consider them to be honorific titles.⁴⁹ In his anthology of biographical texts Jansen-Winkeln appears to recognise the difficulty of placing these expressions into a specific typological category.⁵⁰ He states determining the ‘correct’ classification of eyes-and-ears appellations is to use Binder’s phrase often “subject to personal judgement”.⁵¹ While scholars have sought to classify other designations into distinct categories before, this is not a simple task.⁵² There is not always a sense of clear demarcation in the semantic categories established by historians to differentiate distinct types of phrases within a title-sequence. There is indeed some uncertainty as to whether the Egyptians themselves utilised such distinctions in their consideration of designations⁵³

Secondly, there is no clear agreement as to the meaning of these appellations. The scholarship divides into two distinct categories – those works which associate the designations with a duty, and those which do not. While some scholars consider variants of the appellations, many do not account for their grammatical or phraseological diversity. Indeed, most analysis of the appellations consists of cursory remarks and not in-depth analysis of their usage or the people who held them. Out of all the scholarship above, Gnirs’ contribution is the only work which tentatively engages with patterns in phrases which surround the designations in title sequences.⁵⁴ In short, there is still much work to be done on these designations

⁴⁸ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 104; Raedler, “Rank and Favour at the Early Ramesside Court.,” 148; Auenmüller, “Die Territorialität der Ägyptischen Elite(n) des Neuen Reiches,” 243.

⁴⁹ Helck, “Augen des Königs,” 560; Strudwick, “Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments,” 15.

⁵⁰ Karl Jansen-Winkeln, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie*, ÄAT 8 (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1985), 314.

⁵¹ Binder, *Gold of Honour*, n. 864

⁵² For example Helck suggests there are six categories of titles used by the Egyptians: Wolfgang Helck, “Titel und Titulaturen,” in *LÄ VI*, 1986, 596–98. For comments on the difficulty of classifying titles refer to: Stephen Quirke, “Horn, Feather and Scale, and Ships: On Titles in the Middle Kingdom.,” in *Studies in Honour of William Kelly Simpson*, ed. Peter Der Manuelian, vol. 2 of (Boston: Dept. of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, 1996), 671. See also: Susanne Binder, “The Title ‘Scribe of the Offering Table’: Some Observations.,” in *Egyptian Culture and Society: Studies in Honour of Naguib Kanawati*, ed. Susanne Binder, Ann McFarlane, and Alexandra Woods, vol. 1 of *SASAE* 38 (Cairo: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités, 2010), 1–2, 10.

⁵³ Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 1; Strudwick, “Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments,” 9.

⁵⁴ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 104.

2. Foundational apparatus: Approach, Scope and Methodology

Research projects on ancient society do not consider the remnants of the past in a vacuum. The engagement with evidence is moulded by principles, methods and assumptions that shape how data is both utilised and selected. This chapter provides an overview of the foundational apparatus upon which this study is established – its scope, theoretical assumptions and methodology. Decisions about these key aspects of the study are not without consequence, therefore this chapter seeks to explain why key choices were made and where possible evaluate their impact on the study.

2.1 Chronological Scope

In the preliminary stages of data collection, and after consulting various title indexes, textual anthologies, and reference works, it became clear that despite the fact eyes-and-ears designations are a feature of titles sequences in many periods, there is a large cluster of 18th Dynasty officials who are associated with various sense-organ appellations in the literature.⁵⁵ While an eyes-designation is attested only once in the Middle Kingdom,⁵⁶ it was decided the present study would focus on a period from the co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III to the end of the 18th Dynasty.⁵⁷ The starting point of the study was chosen, as the period encompassing the co-rule and sole reign of Thutmose III coincides with both the first extant attestation of an ears designation and the first time in which multiple closely dated officials are associated with eyes phrases.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ For various examples in the literature from the Middle Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period see: Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 274; Taylor, *An Index of Male Non-Royal Egyptian Titles*, 2–73, 82–83; Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Titles*, 190–94 222 323–324; Jansen-Winkel, *Ägyptische Biographien der 22. und 23. Dynastie*, 11, 26–27 36 47 89; Vittmann, “Die Autobiographie der Tathotis (Stele Wien 5857),” 285.

⁵⁶ For a copy of the full inscription in which the sole Middle Kingdom example is found refer to Couyat and Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, 81.

⁵⁷ In brief, the present author argues the last extant attestation of the eyes- appellation dates to the reign of Tutankhamun. Since the chronology of kings in post-Amarna episode is poorly understood, further information may come to light in due course.

⁵⁸ § 3.1.2

The decision to conclude the study at the end of the dynasty was informed by the available evidence but also by the constraints of the word limit. The extant data indicates usage of the designations sharply declines after the reign of Amenhotep III, no examples can be securely dated to the rule of Akhenaten.⁵⁹ There are, however, three certain attestations of eyes appellations in the aftermath of the Amarna period.⁶⁰ Furthermore, eyes-appellations may have been associated with further late 18th Dynasty officials.⁶¹ It was originally hoped the study would also consider all examples of the designations in the early 19th Dynasty,⁶² however, the time limit set for the current study meant that a systematic integration of this later data into the analysis was unfortunately not possible.

One could argue the end of the reign of Amenhotep III might serve as an ideal concluding point for the analysis, however, considering evidence in the aftermath of the rule of Akhetaten presents the author with some unique opportunities. This episode has been simultaneously characterised as a return to traditional practices and a potentially politically uncertain era which may have been marked by division at court, the rise of a child as King,

⁵⁹ None of the title indexes listed above list any examples contemporary with the Amarna episode likewise no individuals who were rewarded with Gold appear to have adopted or been given the designations during that reign, Binder, *Gold of Honour* 227.

⁶⁰ For the two examples of eyes designations associated with *Hrw-m-ḥb* [27] see Geoffrey T. Martin, ed., *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamun* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1989), 1:pls. 109-110. For the attestation on the statue of *Nḥt-mn.w* [18] please consult: Borchardt, *Statuen* III, 88.

⁶¹ Martin also notes there is an attestation of an eyes-designation on a fragment in the tomb of *Mȝyʿ* however this example did not meet the criteria for inclusion in the corpus of certain designation holders. It is included in the uncertain corpus: for further information on the criteria for the corpus refer to §2.2.2. For the example from the tomb of *Mȝyʿ* see: Geoffrey Thorndike Martin, ed., *The Tomb of Maya and Meryt: The Reliefs, Inscriptions and Commentary* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2012), pl. 64.. Some sources also suggest the statue of *Hwy* [22] dates to the aftermath of the Amarna episode for example, PM III/I 334. This dating has since been revised by Bernhauer: Edith Bernhauer, *Innovationen in der Privatplastik: die 18. Dynastie und ihre Entwicklung* (Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 278. I follow Bernhauer's dating.

⁶² The rationale for including evidence from the early 19th Dynasty was that there is some level of continuity in the transition between dynasties. For example, the northern vizier *Nb-ḥmn* was possibly active in the administration from the reign of Horemheb to the second decade to the rule of Ramesses II Raedler, "Die Wesire Ramses' II.," 298.

and apparent animosity between key officials after his demise.⁶³ This allows one to not only consider why the designations were readopted as part of this return to tradition, but also whether it was utilised as a possible Machtinstrument of Tutankhamun's key officials who managed the state on his behalf.⁶⁴

The scope of around 187 years allows the work to form a compact but substantial case study.⁶⁵ The focus on multiple reigns ensures the thesis can develop rich diachronically informed analysis and chart the changes in both the designations themselves and the types of officials associated with them. Thus, allowing the study to address one of its central areas of inquiry.⁶⁶ As with any major decision on the constraints of a research study, the chronological scope is inherently a limitation, as the project neither considers the complete usage of the designation or all the officials associated with them throughout Egyptian history. The study is preliminary; therefore, any conclusions are only thoroughly applicable to the period under discussion and may have to be altered as new evidence emerges. Where possible however, and if it is germane to do so, the study shall draw on later examples in its footnotes. This gives the present author the opportunity to tentatively establish some observations about the latter evidence and test whether conclusions derived from 18th Dynasty material might be able to be adapted to examples from after the rise of Ramesses in future research.

⁶³ Dodson uses the term "orthodoxy", Aidan Dodson, *Amarna Sunset: Nefertiti, Tutankhamun, Ay, Horemheb, and the Egyptian Counter-Reformation* (Oxford University Press, 2009), 61. Gnirs suggests Tutankhamun's court was divided between Atenists and traditionalists but it is unclear if there is sufficient evidence to substantiate this; Andrea Maria Gnirs, "Die 18. Dynastie: Licht und Schatten eines internationalen Zeitalters.," in *Tutanchamun - das goldene Jenseits: Grabschätze aus dem Tal der Könige*, ed. Andreas Brodbeck, André Wiese, and Andreas F. Voegelin (Basel: Antikenmuseum und Sammlung Ludwig, 2004), 41. For further on the situation after the death of the boy king see Kawai's comments on the fractious nature of the relationship between Tutankhamun's successors: Nozomu Kawai, "Ay versus Horemheb: The Political Situation in the Late Eighteenth Dynasty Revisited.," *JEH* 3.2 (2010): 298.

⁶⁴ Similar to the Gold of Honour, Susanne Binder, "Das Ehrengold als Machtinstrument des Königs.," in *Die Männer hinter dem König": 6. Symposium zur ägyptischen Königsideologie / 6th symposium on Egyptian royal ideology; Iphofen, 16.-18. Juli 2010*, ed. Horst Beinlich (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 15. Gnirs and Dodson certainly imply this was the case with *Hr.w-m-hb* [27]: Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 104; Dodson, *Amarna Sunset*, 65.

⁶⁵ Erik Hornung, Rolf Krauss, and David Warburton, *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, HdO 83 (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2006), 492–93. More recently some other scholars have sought to revise the absolute dating of the New Kingdom: Rita Gautschi, "A Reassessment of the Absolute Chronology of the Egyptian New Kingdom and Its 'Brotherly' Countries.," *ÄgLev* 24 (2014): table 8. I have chosen to follow Hornung, Krauss and Warburton.

⁶⁶ Refer back to § 1.1

2.2 Methodology

Methodologically this study acts as the ‘meeting point’ of multiple traditions and approaches. At its heart is a prosopographical study of officials attested with eyes-and-ears designations, however, it also employs elements of textual analysis, collocation, and network analysis to both understand the context in which the designations were used, and the social and political milieu in which the individuals who held them operated. This study does not wholeheartedly transfer approaches from other disciplines, as in some cases there is insufficient data to do so, or a full application of such techniques is too ambitious for a study of this nature.⁶⁷ It instead seeks to adapt concepts from other disciplines into a thoroughly Egyptological work. Grajetzki has been critical of Egyptologists' engagement with ideas from the social sciences in the past, as he suggests some scholars use terms without careful consideration of their nuance and underlying theoretical assumptions.⁶⁸ It is hoped by acknowledging where this study diverges from, and engages with frameworks from other disciplines, one can highlight both the possibilities and pitfalls of adapting aspects of some interdisciplinary approaches to the study of Egyptian officials. By demonstrating critical awareness of the nature and limitations of this engagement, the study can thus begin to respond to some of Grajetzki's concerns about Egyptological engagement with traditions outside our own field.

2.2.1 Compiling the dataset of designations and co-text

Various possible attestations of eyes and ears designations which date between the reign of Hatshepsut and Ay referenced in the literature were compiled, including those found in the *Urkunden*, and Taylor's and Al-Ayedi's indexes.⁶⁹ An exploration of these key sources was supplemented by the present author's own examination of Egyptological scholarship, this process was undertaken to ensure the study was based on as comprehensive a foundation as presently possible.⁷⁰

⁶⁷ See §§ 2.2.4; 2.2.7

⁶⁸ Wolfram Grajetzki, "Class and Society: Position and Possessions.," in *Egyptian Archaeology*, ed. Willeke Wendrich (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 180–81.

⁶⁹ *Urk.* IV; Taylor, *An Index of Male Non-Royal Egyptian Titles*; Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Titles*.

⁷⁰ For example, the designation associated with R'.w [19] is not referenced in either of the indexes.

Each mention of a phrase in which an official is identified with the King's ocular or auditory sense organs was then combined into a database. Records of the text including tomb reports, photographs, and excerpts from textual anthologies were also consulted for further information. Thus, a more detailed entry on each attestation's physical and textual context was created. If part or most of the designations were the product of editorial emendation, the various aspects of textual criticism were noted. This was done to ensure that the study worked from as accurate a record of the extant text as possible.

Any royal cartouches, dates, names or images which appear in close proximity to an appellation of interest were also added to capture further data which might inform discussions about a variant's dating, meaning or usage. Similarly, where possible, three titular or epithetical phrases on either side of the designation were also included to provide insight into the usage and co-text of appellations. If multiple editions of a text were available two or more recordings were consulted, however, sometimes two independently produced records of a scene or text were unavailable.⁷¹ Likewise, in specific cases, the present author could not access a relevant source.⁷² Therefore, the bibliographic records for each monument are not exhaustive, but represent the sources that the present author had at his disposal.

In the process of collating the initial dataset, possible attestations of eyes- or ears designations were found. Some of these examples were however uncertain or problematic. It became apparent that the database should be subdivided into two distinct groups: certain examples of designations, and problematic examples. The study primarily focuses on the certain attestations, as these can be definitively verified as extant appellations within title-sequences. This decision, while it reduces the number of individuals who are classified as eyes-and-ears officials, was made to ensure the study is primarily focused on a dataset which is as reliable as possible.

⁷¹ A case in point is TT 97. The only record of the text in the tomb seems to be that of Gardiner: see PM I/I, 203–04; Alan H. Gardiner, "The Tomb of Amenemhet, High-Priest of Amon," *ZÄS* 47 (1911): 87–97. Heck copies the text directly from Gardiner: *Urk.* IV, 1408.5–1413.6

⁷² The present author unfortunately did not have access to the complete archive Theban expedition of the Metropolitan Museum, New York. A selection of facsimiles are however published in Charles Kyrle Wilkinson and Marsha Hill, *Egyptian Wall Paintings: The Metropolitan Museum of Art's Collection of Facsimiles* (New York, 1983).

This process of subdividing the dataset of attestations into the two distinct groups involved careful consideration of an example's phraseological nuance and textual context. The choice to exclude a phrase from the corpus was established on the basis of a set of criteria outlined below.

An attestation was excluded if:

- it does not appear in a list of titles and epithets, therefore is regarded as a metaphor in a biographical text rather than a designation
- There is insufficient data to establish if the previous criterion is true because the phrase appears in an isolated fragment of text.
- The attestation is the product of an almost complete or doubtful editorial reconstruction

Applying these criteria to the dataset allowed the present author to establish that there was a corpus of 49 certain attestations of eyes or ears designations. Some of the criteria used to organise the dataset are at times problematic, therefore, specific designations which are deemed 'uncertain', and the rationale for their exclusion from the main corpus are discussed at length in Appendix B. Of all the criteria, the first and third may incite the most obvious controversy as they touch on problems of genre and editorial practice respectively. The notion of genre is a particularly troublesome one in the Egyptological literature: at times scholars disagree as to how a text should be classified.⁷³ Similarly in some cases, they can place diverse traditions within a single overarching text type category.⁷⁴ In light of these issues, the process of assigning a specific genre to a text is often subject to argument rather

⁷³ A case in point which highlights that scholars sometimes disagree on the genre of a text concerns Wenamun. Some scholars have regarded it as a documentary source, others a fictional text, for further on the reception and classification of this text please consult: Bernd Ulrich Schipper, *Die Erzählung des Wenamun: ein Literaturwerk im Spannungsfeld von Politik, Geschichte und Religion* (Freibourg, 2005), 33–35; Jean Winand, "The Report of Wenamun: A Journey in Ancient Egyptian Literature.," in *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen*, ed. Mark Collier and Steven Snape (Bolton: Rutherford, 2011), 541–59.

⁷⁴ A variety of different textual forms are often deemed to be examples of biography, as Gardiner famously noted "...there are many kinds of autobiography" Alan H. Gardiner, "The Autobiography of Rekhmerē'.,," *ZÄS* 60 (1925): 63. For a brief overview of the characteristics of different types of Egyptian biography see: Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 24–25.

than exact definition. Any re-examinations of the genre of texts within the dataset are, therefore, carefully justified within the study, but may be open to debate.

Likewise, it became apparent that a number of attestations which are regarded as extant in some sources, are in fact almost complete reconstructions.⁷⁵ The validity of a reconstruction like the genre of a text is not always clear-cut. Indeed, some scholars discourage textual emendation all together.⁷⁶ The present author, however, works from the assumption that some reconstructions may be considered more plausible than others in light of patterns that emerge from wider bodies of evidence.

2.2.3 Compiling a Prosopography

With the dataset of certain attestations, it was critical to collect prosopographical information about individuals who can be definitively associated with eyes-and-ears designations. Therefore, monuments, biographical information such as titles epithets, key dates and other details which derive from these primary sources was collected and organised. A summary of this information as it pertains to each of these individuals is presented in entries [1]–[35] of Appendix A. Each entry also contains a selection of secondary literature which was consulted to gain insight into these officials. Furthermore, this primary catalogue also serves as an additional bibliography which complements the main list of sources cited in the body of the study.

2.2.4 The designations: Trends in phraseology and form

⁷⁵ For example, Al-Ayedi suggests the tomb owner of TT 226 is attested with a paired eyes-and-ears designation Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Titles*, 191 [595]. It seems this is not an extant example but merely an emendation by Helck, despite the fact it is not marked as such in the index *Urk. IV*, 1878.1, 1879.1; Norman de Garis Davies and Nina de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmose, and Another*, TTS 5 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1933), pl. XLII-XLV. As Shirley notes these reconstructions cannot be accepted in light of a new examination of the scenes, JJ Shirley, “An Eighteenth Dynasty Tutor of Royal Children: Tomb Fragments from Theban Tomb 226,” in *Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan*, ed. Kathlyn M. Cooney, Richard Jasnow, and Katherine E. Davis (Atlanta, GA: Lockwood Press, 2015), 444.

⁷⁶ For key arguments for and against textual emendation see: John Lavagnino, “The Possibility Of Systematic Emendation,” in *Text Comparison and Digital Creativity*, ed. Ernst Thoutenhoofd, Wido Th. Peursen, and Adriaan Weel (Brill, 2010), 101–4.

Focusing on the dataset of certain evidence, various aspects of textual analysis are used to understand and classify the designations, their adjuncts, and determine how these entities are organised into constructions (linguistic units in which one or more royal sense-organ monikers appears). Principally, the use of these approaches is concerned with whether patterns can be detected in the variations of the eyes-and-ears appellations.

Each certain designation or set of paired expressions (two designations in direct apposition) is analysed in terms of their grammatical construction, phraseological nuances, and writing.⁷⁷ This is useful as it not only allows the study to develop insight into the diversity of linguistic features in the designations but also to establish how the nuances of kingship terminology, and notions of geography and space vary throughout the dataset.⁷⁸ Employing these observations, the designations are then sorted into categories this allows the study to classify designations into specific subcategories and thus discern if they conform to standardised patterns of phraseology and syntax as Gnirs and Auenmüller have previously proposed.⁷⁹

It should be noted that some constructions in the certain dataset cannot be assigned to a specific subcategory, as the passage in which they are found features significant lacunae. Therefore, the typology only reflects a limited subset of the available data. Some scholars have restored lacunae in these fragmentary examples. Benson and Gournay for instance, provide restorations for the damaged section of the eyes-and-ears designation on the temple-statue of *Nḥt-mn.w* [17], however Helck is sceptical that the restoration that seems likely is

⁷⁷ The term ‘paired expression’ is indebted to the work of Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 104. The term ‘writing’ here refers to the hieroglyphic characters used in the rendering of specific words, in this case, nouns for body parts. Some sources use the term orthography to describe the characters used in a specific rendering of a word, for example, Nico Starling, “Revisiting Three Objects in Berlin Pertaining to the Mayor of Memphis, Ptahmose: The ‘Lost’ Faience Stela ÄM 19718 and the Limestone Pyramid Panels ÄM 1631–16321,” *SAK* 45 (2016): 364. The present author does not, and instead follows Grässler, *Konzepte des Auges im alten Ägypten*, 43. This choice was made because the term orthography/ Orthographie in English and German respectively is derived from the Greek ὀρθογραφία which has connotations of denoting a “correct” or standardised method of rendering a word into text, *OED ONLINE*, s.v. “Orthography, N.” Since the writing of Egyptian words is not standardised, lexemes are rendered using a variety of character combinations, see for instance the various versions of the *nḥ.wy* listed Appendix A. The term orthography is not particularly apt in ancient context. Grammatical terms used in this study follow the conventions of Ockinga, CGME. See also §3.2

⁷⁸ For further on these see §§ 3.2.1–3.2.2

⁷⁹ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 104–5; Auenmüller, “Die Territorialität der Ägyptischen Elite(n) des Neuen Reiches,” 243–44.

appropriate for the size of the lacuna.⁸⁰ The present study evaluates the various emendations in light of the larger dataset and the context in which the designations appear. It would be problematic to include reconstructed designations in the typology, because this could affect the reliability of the schema or the statistical information derived therein. When a fragmentary attestation appears to fit into one of the pre-existing subcategories however, this is noted, and the implications of their potential inclusion in the typology are discussed.

Designations and constructions in the certain dataset are then considered chronologically. Some officials were active across multiple reigns therefore it is not always possible to assign a specific construction to the rule of an individual king with complete certainty.⁸¹ Despite this, the study seeks to establish where possible, tentative dating criteria for some of these constructions with reference to observations from the wider dataset. These estimates, while they are carefully justified, are often ‘educated guesses’. Despite its limitations, the diachronic approach allows the study to reflect upon the reuse of designations over time and determine whether certain variants of these phrases can be associated with specific reigns or types of officials.

2.2.5 Collocation

The study examines not only the designations themselves and how they are arranged into constructions, but also the titles and phrases that surround them. This is primarily conducted through the explorations of patterns in the co-text samples, the collection of which is discussed in § 2.2.1. Gnirs has previously suggested paired sense-organ expressions are often situated amongst phrases which denote that an official developed some level of “physical or emotional closeness” with the monarch, however, this assertion has not been tested against a dataset by Gnirs herself. The study provides the present author with an opportunity to do so.⁸²

⁸⁰ Urk.IV 1386.14–15; Margaret Benson and Janet A. Gourlay, *The Temple of Mut in Asher* (London: John Murray, 1899), 323. Borchardt does not restore the lacunae, see Borchardt, *Statuen II*, 84

⁸¹ For example *Imn-m-ḥ3b Mḥ.w* [4], *Pth-m-ḥ3t* [11], *R'w* [19], *Hr.w-m-ḥb* [26]

⁸² Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 104.

Consideration of the broader textual context of designations has relevance beyond its intrigue as a purely statistical exercise. Some linguists indicate semantics do not emerge from isolated lexemes but are moulded through the combination of words, thus, a linguistic entity cannot be completely understood if it is absolutely divorced from the wider text in which it appears.⁸³ With this theoretical assumption, the process of establishing which words surround the designations is useful as it allows one to draw conclusions about their meaning.

Certain words appear to re-occur together with regularity in language, for example, as Guksch states, the phrases, *ir.y-p^c.t-h³.ty-^c htm.w bⁱ.ty smr w^c.ty* often occur in direct apposition and function as an introductory phrase in title-sequences.⁸⁴ Working from this second assumption, the study compares each designation's co-text to establish if there are patterns in the phraseology that are employed in close proximity to them. It will not, however, always view patterns as formulae, because as Wray notes, even if two phrases are attested in collocation this does not inherently denote that they are formulaic⁸⁵

The study of the co-text of a phrase, is typically conducted on large corpora, therefore linguists 'normalise' results to make observations about the frequency of certain word pairings in a language or set of texts.⁸⁶ The small and selective nature of the collocate samples analysed in the current work may restrict the usefulness of such purely statistical observations about the frequency of phrases. Some reoccurring collocate strings are however discernible within the dataset. Normalisation techniques are not applied to these strings in the present study, as such adjustments would be of limited value at such a small scale.

In light of these possible limitations, an additional approach is needed to detect further patterns in the co-text samples. Guksch in her work on the so-called *hs.wt*-Gefüge provides methods of classifying expressions relating to interactions between officials and the

⁸³ Frank Robert Palmer, *Semantics* (Cambridge University Press, 1981), 74–76; Richard Xiao, "Collocation," in *The Cambridge Handbook of English Corpus Linguistics*, ed. Douglas Biber and Randi Reppen, Cambridge Handbooks in Language and Linguistics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 112.

⁸⁴ Heike Guksch, *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Ra-seneb: Theben Nr. 87 und 79*, ArchVer 34 (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1995), 17.

⁸⁵ Alison Wray, *Formulaic Language and the Lexicon* (Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 51–52.

⁸⁶ Xiao, "Collocation," 108–9.

monarch.⁸⁷ Since some of these expressions are found in the co-text samples, this allows the author to consider patterns of a thematic nature which may not be able to be detected through the analysis of the frequency of exact collocate strings alone.⁸⁸ While not all the types of collocates in the current study are analysed in Guksch's work, her observations function as a starting point for the consideration of themes within the co-text. Furthermore, tracking the usage and evolution of collocates and the thematic topoi they evoke diachronically prompts one to explore how the designations are more closely associated with different aspects of royal service or court life in different periods.

2.2.6 Prosopographical Analysis

By utilising the information collected in the prosopographical catalogue, the study then shifts focus away from the specifics of the designations and their collocates to the officials who held them. The occupational titles of each official in the certain corpus were sorted into categories following the groupings in Binder's model of administrative sectors.⁸⁹ This was done to allow the study to make general observations about what areas of the officialdom individuals in the corpus operated in, and how this changed over time.

Cruz-Uribe suggests that the Egyptian administration was dynamic and fluid, therefore, the influence of certain institutions and the boundaries between occupational sectors changed in response to the needs and priorities of the state.⁹⁰ Taking this observation into account is useful as it not only allows one to consider if the appearance of certain clusters of officials in the corpus reflect the changing prominence of an institution within the administration, but also provides one a mechanism for understanding situations in which an official appears to hold similar or closely linked roles in different branches of the officialdom. For example, *Mn-*

⁸⁷ Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 34–90.

⁸⁸ For example, the topos of an official being “in the following” of the King can be detected 8 times see § 4.2.3; Appendix C; Guksch, 58–72.

⁸⁹ Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 222.

⁹⁰ Eugene Cruz-Uribe, “A Model for the Political Structure of Ancient Egypt.,” in *For His Ka: Essays Offered in Memory of Klaus Baer*, ed. David P. Silverman (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1994), 45–53.

n3 [13] appears to have held near identical roles in the King's estate and the Amun Priesthood.⁹¹

Naturally, a macrocosmic model alone cannot always render the nuances of historical reality with absolute precision, therefore there is a need for the study to engage with biographical data beyond general observations which are derived from the classification of titles. Each official's titles, epithets and rewards were compared and contrasted. This allows the study to establish if there are specific commonalities in the careers of officials or a standard career path for individuals who held the designations.

Through a diachronic lens, and where possible, the study tests if specific types of officials are associated with the designations under a certain king. This is not only useful in addressing the first research question, as it prompts one to further engage with trends in the dataset, but also has implications for understanding the meaning and classification of eyes-and-ears designations. Unlike some examples of the Gold of Honour or titles such as that of the vizier, the acquisition of eyes-and-ears designations are not explicitly associated with a king or bestowal event.⁹² It is not particularly clear under what circumstances an official was associated with a designation or paired expression. Any possible indication of personal choice on the king's behalf in the types of officials associated with these phrases could potentially be used to discern or inform new insights into their significance. However, the validity of such observations needs to be evaluated in response to the second research question.

The limited scope of the study and fragmentary state of the extant evidence has an impact on the reliability of the prosopographical analysis utilised in this work, therefore any insights from these approaches are critically considered. Additionally, some conclusions may need to be tested against wider bodies of evidence in future research.

⁹¹ He is *im.y-r3 3h.wt* both of the King and Amun

⁹² Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 195-196; For example, *Rh-mi-R'w* [21] was appointed vizier in an investiture event under Thutmose III, Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Re' at Thebes.*, 2 vols. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943), XIII–XVI.

2.2.7 Network inspired approaches

Some scholars have previously sought to suggest multiple eyes-and-ears officials were part of the same family.⁹³ While nepotism appears to have played a role in the acquisition of offices and the regulation of power in Egypt,⁹⁴ no one has yet thoroughly considered to what extent social, political and familial associations played in the attainment of eyes-and-ears designations. The application of network inspired techniques in this study is an effort to remedy this.

As §1.2.1 demonstrates the study of networks and interpersonal relationships has become a topic of some interest in recent scholarship on the Egyptian officialdom.⁹⁵ There is not one standardised approach to network analysis. Some methods are highly statistical, quantifying data and establishing insights through mathematical reasoning⁹⁶, others are more descriptive.⁹⁷ Regardless of the diversity of approaches, each methodology seeks to map the connections between individuals within a social system. Through this lens, institutions, cultures and communities are understood as the product of interpersonal dynamics.⁹⁸

Applying this underlying assumption to the current dataset is fraught with difficulty, as individuals in the corpus operate throughout multiple sectors of the administration. A complete network map (a la Cline and Cline or Dulíková and Mařík), would be a significant

⁹³ Some scholars have suggested *ḥmn-ḥtp Ḥwy* [5], *ḥmn-ḥtp s3 Ḥpw* [6] and *R'w-ms* [20] all share a familial bond, Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1941), 1–3; Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 121–22. For further on this continuing debate see §5.7

⁹⁴ Naguib Kanawati, “Nepotism in the Egyptian Sixth Dynasty,” *BACE* 14 (2003): 39–59.

⁹⁵ This is also true for prosopographical studies in the Graeco-Roman world Shawn Graham and Giovanni Rufini, “Network Analysis and Greco-Roman Prosopography,” in *Prosopography Approaches and Applications A Handbook*, ed. K.S.B Keats-Rohan, *Prosopographica et Genealogia* 17 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 326–36.

⁹⁶ Dulíková and Mařík, “Complex Network Analysis in Old Kingdom Society: A Nepotism Case,” 66, 69; Klaus Hamberger, Michael Houseman, and Douglas R. White, “Kinship Network Analysis,” in *The SAGE Handbook of Social Network Analysis*, ed. John Scott and Peter Carrington (London: SAGE Publications, 2014), 556.

⁹⁷ Shirley, “Viceroys, Viziers & the Amun Precinct: The Power of Heredity and Strategic Marriage in the Early 18th Dynasty,” 90–98.

⁹⁸ Michael Steketee, Atsushi Miyaoka, and Maura Spiegelman, “Social Network Analysis,” in *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, ed. James D. Wright, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Elsevier, 2015), 461.

undertaking.⁹⁹ In the case of the present work the mapping process would have to potentially consider the quantification of kinship networks, professional cliques and interaction between the king and officials. While a statistical network analysis would be insightful, it is, ultimately, too complex and time consuming to produce effectively for a project of this scale. The fragmentary nature of much of the evidence significantly complicates any endeavours to produce systematic network maps. Furthermore, Egyptian kinship terms are noticeably ambiguous. Whale states the same terms can be used to denote different types of relationships. Attempts to determine the exact nature of connections between individuals are in some cases problematic.¹⁰⁰

Despite the fact the current project does not employ statistical network analysis or network maps directly, its approach to social data is inspired by a number of studies which utilised such networked perspectives and other sociological models. In examining what one might deem the interpersonal dynamics of each official, the study was interested in two key aspects – the social proximity of individuals in the corpus, and their relationship with the King. The limited scope of the current project means they can only be addressed through a subset of case studies. As such any conclusions in the current work about social dynamics have significant limitations.

Cline and Cline in their study of networks in the Amarna Letters notice significant clustering amongst the participants in the network.¹⁰¹ Clusters represent smaller units of interconnected individuals.¹⁰² This notion prompted the present author to consider how eyes-and-ears officials are connected to one another through kinship, occupational or informal units. If two or more eyes-and-ears officials appear together in a text, this may suggest some level of social occupational or familial connection between them. From this, the present author seeks to

⁹⁹ Cline and Cline, "Text Messages, Tablets, and Social Network," figure 4; Dulíková and Mařík, "Complex Network Analysis in Old Kingdom Society: A Nepotism Case," figure 17.

¹⁰⁰ Sheila Whale, *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: A Study of the Representation of the Family in Private Tombs.*, ACE Studies 1 (Sydney; Warminster: Australian Centre for Egyptology; Aris & Phillips, 1989), 239–40.

¹⁰¹ Cline and Cline, "Text Messages, Tablets, and Social Network," 26.

¹⁰² Steketee, Miyaoka, and Spiegelman, "Social Network Analysis," 465.

establish to what extent membership to certain social-substructures were common amongst the corpus, or may have influenced who gained the designations

Binder has called an official's relationship with the monarch "the defining factor" in his or her career.¹⁰³ On account of the significance of this type of relationship, it is critical to consider commonalities in how individuals in the corpus interacted, were associated with, and were recognised by the monarch and his family. This topic has been the subject of much investigation,¹⁰⁴ the present study however, focuses on the following topic:

- Officials who have discernible personal or familial connections with the royal family and their attendants

2.3 Summary

This study takes a multifaceted approach to the consideration of eyes-and-ears designations and the officials who acquired them by using prosopography network inspired analysis and close study of the designations themselves and their textual context.

¹⁰³ Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 1

¹⁰⁴ For example Catharine H Roehrig, "The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse (Mn't Nswt), Royal Tutor (Mn' Nswt), and Foster Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (Sn/Snt Mn' n Nb T3wy)" (Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, 1990); Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 43–60.

3. The Designations in focus

This Chapter is principally concerned with the various forms of the designations, their dating and how they are organised into constructions. It focuses on the 49 so called certain constructions, their grammatical form, phraseological nuances, and writing.¹⁰⁵ As noted in § 1.2.2, scholars have previously acknowledged examples of the designations are far from uniform. While some works have provided cursory remarks on specific features of some of the examples in the dataset, a systematic account of the linguistic diversity and classification of a significant cluster of eyes-and-ears designations is currently not available. This part of the study consists of a preliminary effort to produce one.

Before the study engages with the evidence in depth, it is pertinent to address some terminology utilised in the discussion. Constructions are principally classified by the number of royal sense organ appellations they feature and by the body part(s) that are utilised. For example, a phrase in which an official is identified with both the monarch's mouth and ears is a paired mouth-and-ears expression, and a phrase in which an official is only equated with the eyes is a single designation eyes-construction. Intriguingly, from the extant evidence, there seems to be no examples of an unambiguous single designation ears construction, Shirley infers there is one example in TT 127, however, I was unable to substantiate this.¹⁰⁶

As Table 3.1 reveals, paired expressions are the most highly attested type of construction in the certain dataset. Some constructions are too fragmentary to be placed in either category.

¹⁰⁵ Despite this, uncertain examples are not completely neglected, but are discussed and carefully evaluated in Appendix B

¹⁰⁶ See Appendix B [U3] JJ Shirley, "The Power of the Elite: The Officials of Hatshepsut's Regency and Coregency," in *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut: Papers from the Theban Workshop 2010*, ed. Betsy M. Bryan, Peter F. Dorman, and José M. Galán (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2014), 210. In the Sethe's transcription of the text in question (which in turn was adapted from notes by Borchardt), the designation is partially reconstructed. The two S34 characters in 'nh.wy are completely restored. Furthermore, the preceding co-text is only somewhat extant. The designation seems to be preceded by some sort of overseer title, however, on the basis of the *Urkunden* text. Urk. IV513, one cannot conclude with reasonable certainty that this is a single designation ears construction occurs in the tomb. Documentation for this tomb is spars, I did not have access to the MMA photos in which the text See PM I/I 243 (17). Polz indicates parts of the tomb are also are also documented in the Heidelberg Archive and Osing's private photos, the present author did not have access to these either, Daniel Polz, "Bemerkungen zur Grabbenutzung in der thebanischen Nekropole.," *MDAIK* 46 (1990): note 50.

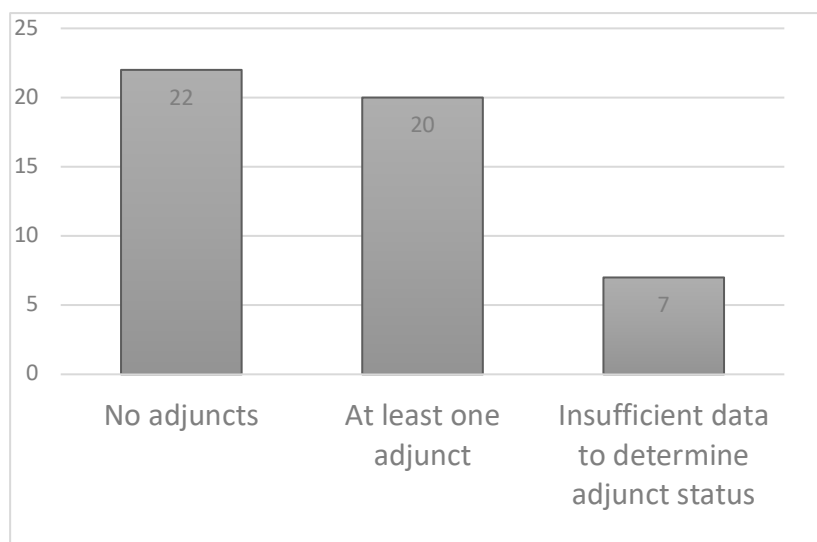


FIGURE 3.1: SIMPLE AND EXTENDED CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE DATASET.

3.1 The Certain Corpus: An Overview

The 49 certain constructions which constitute the main dataset discussed in this chapter are far from homogeneous. Despite this, it is pertinent to provide an overview of the general characteristics of the data. To do this, the study will address the material context of the appellations, and their chronological distribution

3.1.1 Material Context

Source Type	Tombs	Statue	Stela	Rock Inscription	Model Coffin	Coffin	Canopic	Shrine GS	Total
Number of certain Attestations	33	7	2	2	1	1	1	2	49
% of certain Attestations	67%	14%	4%	4%	2%	2%	2%	4%	100%

TABLE 3.2 AN OVERVIEW OF THE PHYSICAL CONTEXT OF DESIGNATIONS

The physical context of eyes-and-ears designations appears to have escaped significant attention in previous work. Yet as Table 3.2 reveals, consideration of the types of artefacts and monuments on which these phrases appear produces some interesting insights. An overwhelming majority of the constructions found here derive from artefacts and monuments from mortuary contexts. Most examples in the dataset are found within tomb decoration, Designations on burial equipment account for 6% of the cases in the dataset. Intriguingly the appellations are only found on rock inscriptions during the reign of Amenhotep III.¹⁰⁸

3.1.2 Chronology: Limits and Clusters

Establishing an understanding of the chronological distribution of the dataset is sometimes challenging. As noted earlier, there is often significant uncertainty surrounding when and how individuals acquired designations. In some cases, an official is only associated with a single king, for example *Imn-ḥtp s3 Ḥpw* [6] and *Bnr-mr.wt* [9] appear to have been exclusively active in the direct service of Amenhotep III and Thutmose III respectively, though *Imn-ḥtp s3 Ḥpw* [6] appears to have been born somewhat earlier.¹⁰⁹ The careers of Some other officials in the corpus spanned multiple reigns.¹¹⁰ On account of this, it can be problematic to establish when designations or constructions were first used, reached widespread adoption, then fell into disuse.

The chronological distribution of eyes designations is extensive, extant attestations of these designations are found in approximately 77% of constructions in the dataset.¹¹¹ Eyes

¹⁰⁸ See *Rʿw-ms* [20] and *Ḥby* [23] Annie Gasse and Vincent Rondot, *Les Inscriptions de Séhel*, MIFAO 126 (Le Caire: IFAO, 2007), 159–60; Gessler-Löhr, “Der Bürgermeister von Memphis,” figure 2.

¹⁰⁹ On one statue the text his statues the narrative voice of *Imn-ḥtp s3 Ḥpw* [6] states: *ph=i rnp.t 80* (I reached 80 years <of age>) Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 5. Helck hypothesises that he must have died around Year 34 Wolfgang Helck, “Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu,” in *LÄ I*, 219–221, 1975, 219. This would indicate his early life predates the reign of Amenhotep III. When *Bnr-mr.wt* [9] began his career is uncertain, Shirley suggests he came to prominence in the sole reign of Thutmose III, Shirley, “The Power of the Elite,” 197. Regardless, he cannot be linked with any other monarch. He is attested as *im.y-r3 pr.wy ḥd* in year 45, Urk. IV 1373.1–5

¹¹⁰ For example, *Ḥr.w-m-ḥb* [26] served Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, and Amenhotep III Annelies Brack and Artur Brack, *Das Grab des Haremhab: Theben Nr. 78.*, ArchVer 35 (Mainz: Zabern, 1980), 83. Other officials who certainly served multiple kings include: *Imn-ms* [2], *Imn-ḥ3b Mḥw* [4], *Imn-ḥtp s3 Si* [7], *Wsr-Imn* [8] *Nḥt-mn.w* [17] *Rḥ.w-mi-Rʿw* [21].

¹¹¹ See Appendix C Conc. Lines: 2–4, 8–15, 17–20, 22–25, 27, 28, 31–40, 43–49

designations appear to have been employed during the 18th Dynasty from the sole reign of Thutmosis III to the aftermath of the Amarna episode, though as noted earlier neither eyes- or ears designations seem to have been used in the reign of Akhenaten.¹¹² The earliest dated official in the corpus who can definitively be attested with a paired eyes designation is *Wsr-Ḳmn* [8] who, according to Dziobek and Shirley may have started his career as early as the reign of Thutmosis I, but lived into the sole reign of Thutmosis III.¹¹³ *Wsr-Ḳmn*'s [8] eyes-and-ears expression is only attested in his incomplete later tomb, TT 131.¹¹⁴ This monument appears to have been decorated after the demise of Hatshepsut, as there is only mention of Thutmosis III in the texts therein.¹¹⁵ From this one can infer that he acquired the appellations during this period. It is possible that *Wsr-Ḳmn* [8] may have acquired the paired eyes-and-ears expression before the sole reign of Thutmosis III, however, evidence for eyes designations in title sequences before the reign of Thutmosis III is largely non-existent. While it is true that *Sn-nfri* [31] and *Ḳḥwty-nfr* [35] were perhaps active during the co-regency, and *Ḳḥwty-nfr* [35] perhaps decorated his first tomb at this time,¹¹⁶ they are only attested with eyes-

¹¹² § 2.2.2

¹¹³ Eberhard Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, SAGA 18 (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1998), 100; Shirley, "The Power of the Elite," 185. The dating for his early career seems somewhat speculative, however, the fact he appears to have been identified as a vizier in a register dating to Year 5 of the co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III would perhaps indicate he must have started his career much earlier than the regency of Hatshepsut, Pascal Vernus, "Omina calendériques et comptabilité d'offrandes sur une tablette hiératique de la XVIIIe dynastie.," *RdE* 33 (1981): 108. For further on his appointment as vizier see §5.5.1

¹¹⁴ Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 159; Eberhard Dziobek, *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun Theben Nr. 61 und 131*, ArchVer 84 (Mainz am Rhein: Phillip von Zabern, 1994), pl. 96.

¹¹⁵ Dziobek, *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun Theben Nr. 61 und 131*, 49–101. See also: Shirley, "The Power of the Elite," 238. Despite being decorated in the sole reign of Thutmosis III Kampp suggests the construction of the tomb might have begun earlier than the sole-reign, Kampp, *Nekropole*, 419–422.

¹¹⁶ The only possible indication that *Sn-nfri* [31] served Hatshepsut consists of fragments of her cartouche on his Shrine at Gebel Silsilah, T.G.H James and Ricardo A. Caminos, *Gebel Es Silsilah*, vol. 1 of *ASEg* 31 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1963), pl.30. For further on the dating of his tenure as *im.y-r3 ḥtm* please refer to see the note below. For the dating of *Ḳḥwty-nfr*'s [35] first tomb consult Peter Dorman, "Two tombs and one owner.," in *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung*, ed. J. Assmann et al., SAGA 12 (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1995), 146.

designations on monuments that were completed after its secession.¹¹⁷ This would hint they received eyes-designations after the demise of Hatshepsut.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, there is a significant cluster of officials who were active in the reign of Thutmose III who are attested with eyes-designations, therefore, it is plausible that his reign may have marked the initial widespread adoption of these phrases in the New Kingdom.¹¹⁹

In turn, ears-designations are found in approximately 61% of constructions in the dataset.¹²⁰ The earliest extant ears appellation in the New Kingdom appears to date to the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. *Hpw-snb* [25] is attested with paired mouth-and-ears constructions on his shrine at Gebel Silsilah and perhaps on a statue JE 39392.¹²¹ Despite the fact that *Hpw-snb* [25] appears to have begun his career under Thutmose II, as Shirley notes he probably only gained his most prominent positions under Hatshepsut.¹²² Both the monuments with examples of ears designations associated with *Hpw-snb* [25] date to her

¹¹⁷ The only example of an eyes-designation associated with *Sn-nfri* [31] is found on a statue, CGC 1112, which dates to the sole reign of Thutmose III, Bernhauer, *Innovationen in der Privatplastik*, 267. He is identified as *im.y-r3 htm* (Overseer of the Seal) both on this statue and the shrine at Gebel Silsilah (see note above). Recent scholarship indicates he did not gain this position until the sole reign. Helck proposes he usurped his shrine from another official after the death of Hatshepsut, thus explaining the remains of her which occur near the title *im.y-r3 htm*. Helck, "Die Datierung des Schatzmeisters Sennefer," 39–40; Strudwick, "Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments," 17–18, 29–31. Strudwick, on the other hand suggests he began decorating the shrine during the co-rule of the two Kings but completed it and added the Overseer of the Seal title in the aftermath of the demise of Hatshepsut i.e. the sole reign. The eyes designations held by *Dhwty-nfr* [35] are found only in his later tomb, Abdel Ghaffar Shedid, *Stil der Grabmalereien in der Zeit Amenophis' II. untersucht an den Thebanischen Gräbern Nr. 104 und Nr. 80.*, ArchVer 66 (Mainz: Zabern, 1988), 145–157, 163.

¹¹⁸ As Dorman notes the exact circumstances and dating surrounding her exit from the throne are slightly obscure but Hatshepsut disappears from the historical record after Year 22. Peter F. Dorman, "The Early Reign of Thutmose III: An Unorthodox Mantle of Coregency," in *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David O'Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 57–58.

¹¹⁹ [2], [8], [9], [21], [31], [33], [34], [35]

¹²⁰ See Appendix C Conc Lines: 1, 2, 4–10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 18, 19, 21, 23, 26, 28–30, 36, 37, 41–46, 48.

¹²¹ James and Caminos, *Gebel Es Silsilah*, 42, 44 pl. 36. There may be a second example on the shrine however, the words [*r3 n.y*] are not extant in the second scene see (44). Legrain indicates the phrase */// 'nh.wy n(w) bi.ty* can be found on JE 39392, Cairo, Georges Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique et onomastique du Musée du Caire: monuments de la XVIIe et de la XVIIIe dynastie*. (Genève: Société Anonyme des Arts Graphiques, 1908), 53. Perhaps this is another fragmentary mouth-and-ears designation.

¹²² One of his statues contains the remnants of the cartouche of Thutmose II, he may have been involved with the construction of his royal tomb, Luc Delvaux, 'La Statue Louvre A 134 du Premier Prophète d'Amon Hapouseneb', *SAK* 15 (1988): 57. For further information consult § 5.3. For Shirley's comments see: Shirley, "The Power of the Elite," 200.

time in power.¹²³ While it is not possible to assign JE 39392 to a specific sub-period during the co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, the shrine probably dates to after Hatshepsut's official rise to the throne, but before she adopted a completely masculine persona.¹²⁴ This is evident as her name is encased in cartouches, but is affixed in one case with a feminine Old Perfective wish formula.¹²⁵

None of the title indexes list any examples which firmly associate ears-designations with the reign of Thutmose II.¹²⁶ Likewise, evidence for ears designations in the co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III is reasonably sparse, *Hpw-snb* [25] is the only official in the certain corpus whose designations can definitively be linked with the co-regency,¹²⁷ though if *Sn-m-i'ḥ* does in fact hold an ears designation, this might suggest more officials possibly acquired them during this period.¹²⁸ Regardless, on the basis of currently extant evidence, one can suggest that the usage of ears designations in the New Kingdom seems to predate the widespread adoption of eyes-designations. Unlike eyes-designations, ears designations are not attested in the dataset after the reign of Amenhotep III, perhaps indicating they fell into disuse before re-emerging in the Ramesside Period, though it is important to acknowledge that this conclusion may be skewed by the fragmentary nature of the available evidence.¹²⁹

¹²³ On the dating of the shrine refer to James and Caminos, *Gebel Es Silsilah*, 42. The Topographical Bibliography suggests JE 39392 dates to the reign of Hatshepsut, PM II, 283. Legrain in his publication indicated that he thought it could either be assigned to the reign of Thutmose II or the reign of Hatshepsut, Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique et onomastique*, 53.

¹²⁴ Dorman suggests Hatshepsut's various shifts in her ideological persona involved a gradual process adaptation the exact chronology of which is unclear, therefore assigning the shrine a numerical date is ultimately beyond the scope of this study Dorman, "The Early Reign of Thutmose III: An Unorthodox Mantle of Coregency," 51–52.

¹²⁵ For the name of Hatshepsut and the wish formulae see, James and Caminos, *Gebel Es Silsilah*, 1:pl. 35. Observe the name M3^c.t-K3-R'w is preceded by the bity sign. Perhaps the extract from passage in question should be read as ...[nsw]-bi.[ty] M3^c.t-K3-R'w di.t 'nḥ qd w3s... (The King of [UE] and LE, Maatkaraw, may she be given life stability and power...) Interestingly there are no extant references to Thutmose III on the shrine, Shirley indicates the lack of any mention of the younger king on any of his monuments denotes that *Hpw-snb* was very closely associated with the Queen, Shirley, "The Power of the Elite," 198. While this may well be true, it is also important to highlight the fragmentary nature of the inscriptions on the shrine.

¹²⁶ See the indexes listed in 1.2.2

¹²⁷ See Table 3.3;

¹²⁸ Shirley, 'The Power of the Elite', 210.

¹²⁹ Appendix C Conc. Line 22, 34, 35; one example of an attestation of an ears designation in the Ramesside period is KRI III, 179.10;

Time Period	# of Constructions
Thutmosis III/Hatshepsut	2
Sole Reign Thutmosis III	6
Thutmosis III- Thutmosis IV	23
late Thutmosis IV - Amenhotep III	3
Amenhotep III	12
Post Amarna	3
Total	49

TABLE. 3.3 DISTRIBUTION OF CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE CERTAIN DATASET.

As Table 3.3 reveals there seems to be significant clusters of officials in the dataset. The majority of the corpus appear to have acquired designations between the late reign of Thutmosis III and the reign of Thutmosis IV, though a significant subgroup of designations can also be assigned to the reign of Amenhotep III, approximately 30% of constructions in the dataset are associated with officials who were active during this reign. Only three certain constructions appear to date to the aftermath of the reign of Akhenaten.¹³⁰

3.2 Phraseology and writing

One of the key areas in which patterns and changes can be detected throughout the dataset is in its use of phraseology and writing. To explore this, the study carefully considers how body part terminology, terms related to kingship, notions of geography and space, and expressions of action are used throughout the dataset. While distinct patterns or changes cannot always be linked to specific reigns, some features are consistent across the whole or subgroups of the dataset. On the other hand, others are subject to significant diversity.

3.2.1 The Interplay of Body Part Terminology, Kingship and Geography

In response to a review of his monograph *Breathing Flesh*, Nyord acknowledges that scholars sometimes have difficulty in dealing with Egyptian corporal terminology. This difficulty

¹³⁰ Borchardt, *Statuen III*, 88; Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamun*, 1:pl. 107.

according to Nyord, emerges because Egyptian conceptions of the body do not always neatly meld with modern anatomical parlance.¹³¹ Thankfully, while the constructions which are the focus of this study are highly figurative and endowed with specific cultural nuance, the terms for aspects of the body used throughout the dataset are, ‘translatable’ with modern notions of anatomy. Indeed, what is striking about the usage of these terms is not their peculiarity but rather their consistency. There appears to be established patterns around terms used for eyes and ears, and conventions around how these entities are figuratively interfaced with wider notions of kingship and geography.

The one term *ir.ty* is consistently used to denote the ‘eyes’ throughout the dataset; Grässler identifies this term as the dual form of the “Hauptwort” for the ocular system.¹³² The gender and transliteration of the word are not entirely obvious when it is written logographically.¹³³ Furthermore, variants in both genders existed.¹³⁴ Throughout the dataset, the word is almost always rendered with stacked D4 signs (𓄠𓄡).¹³⁵ According to the Davies’ transcriptions of the texts in TT 42, TT 75, and TT 93, the tombs of *Imn-ms* [2], *Imn-ḥtp s3 Si* [7] and *Ḳn-Imn* [29] perhaps provide the only exceptions to this established pattern.¹³⁶ Like the word for ‘eyes’, the word for the ears is consistent throughout the dataset. The term *‘nh.wy* is utilized, however unlike *ir.ty* the writing of this noun is not as fixed. As Appendix A reveals, a variety of graphic conventions are employed throughout the dataset to express the word ‘ears’,

¹³¹ Rune Nyord, “On (Mis)Conceptions of the Body in Ancient Egypt.,” *Lingua Aegyptia* 20 (2012): 166–68.

¹³² Grässler, *Konzepte des Auges im alten Ägypten*, 37–38.

¹³³ On the logographic writing see: FCD, 223

¹³⁴ Early renderings of the singular *ir.t* are occasionally explicitly marked with a feminine *t*, for example Kurt Sethe, ed., *Die Altägyptischen Pyramidentexte*. (Leipzig, 1908), 1:PT §§ 123-124, 44. By the late 18th Dynasty a dual form with the masculine ending *.wy* seems to have been occasionally used, Grässler, *Konzepte des Auges im alten Ägypten*, 37–38. For examples where a masculine ending is explicitly marked consult, TLA DZA 21.030.830, 21.030.840, and 21.030.850. For the sake of convention and consistency, in this study the transliteration renders the word as feminine.

¹³⁵ For the writing of some of the examples in the dataset see Appendix A [1] – [35].

¹³⁶ In one scene in TT 93, D4 signs are placed next to each other, instead of stacked, Davies, *The Tomb of Ḳen-Amūn at Thebes*, pl. IX. In TT 42, the Davies indicate at PM (18), D21 signs (𓄡𓄡) are used instead, PM I/I 83; Davies and Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmose, and Another*, XXXIX. Likewise, in TT 75 the same characters are used in the Davies’ transcription of an inscription therein, see: Norman de Garis Davies and Nina de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Two Officials of Thutmosis The Fourth*, TTS 3 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1923), pl. IV. In both cases Sethe and Helck’s respective records of the relevant texts, substitute D4 signs instead: *Urk.* IV, 1214.3, 1508.16. It is unclear whether the D21 writing constitutes a scribal ‘mistake’ or a transcription inconsistency on the Davies’ behalf. Alternatively, since the signs are so similar, it could be plausible that the texts originally used D4, but the pupils may have faded over time. Further evidence is needed to clarify this.

however, *‘nh.wy* is commonly rendered with the characters S34 (𓆎) and F21 (𓆏),

As Servajean and Morris note, the Egyptian state was understood as a geographic duality established through the merging of Upper and Lower Egypt.¹³⁷ Baines and Morris indicate this duality was manifested in royal ideology. This is evident as the position of acting king was symbolically split into two entities the *nsw*-kingship and the *bi.ty* which were linked with Upper and Lower Egypt respectively.¹³⁸ The eyes and ears each appear to be most commonly associated with one of these two distinct aspects of kingship. As Table 3.4 demonstrates, the eyes are closely linked with the *nsw*-kingship of Upper Egypt in the majority of constructions in the dataset. In turn, the ears are associated with the *bi.ty*-kingship of Lower Egypt in approximately 47% of examples. Thus, there appears to be patterns of conceptual interplay established between the perceptive organs and the symbolic divisions of geography and kingship. Interestingly, in mouth-and-ears expressions, it is the mouth that is related to the *nsw*, while the *bi.ty* retains its close association with the ears.¹³⁹

On face value, four constructions seem to subvert the established pattern of interplay between the ears and the Lower Egyptian Kingship.¹⁴⁰ While this is possibly true in one construction where the ears is understood as an aspect of the kingly Horus,¹⁴¹ the other complete examples mentioned in this paragraph, which are identical in phraseology and

¹³⁷ Frédéric Servajean, “Duality,” *UEE*, 2; Ellen F. Morris, “Propaganda and Performance at the Dawn of the State,” in *Experiencing Power, Generating Authority: Cosmos, Politics, and the Ideology of Kingship in Ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia*, ed. Antonio J. Morales, Jane A. Hill, and Philip Jones (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, 2013), 49.

¹³⁸ John Baines, “Kingship, Definition of Culture, and Legitimation,” in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, ed. David O’Connor and David P. Silverman (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 100; Morris, “Propaganda and Performance at the Dawn of the State,” 49. Gundlach suggests the common translation of *nsw-bi.ty*, namely “King of Upper and Lower Egypt” is a misnomer as the terms related to the crown goddesses of the religions, not their toponyms, Gundlach, “‘Horus in the Palace’: The Centre of State and Culture in Pharaonic Egypt,” 50–51.

¹³⁹ For example, P. Virey, *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIIIe Dynastie*, MMFA 5 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1891), 275; Günther Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1924), 249; James and Caminos, *Gebel Es Silsilah*, pl. 36.

¹⁴⁰ [19] P.E. Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi* (Cairo: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, 1957), 3:XXIX–XXX. [24] Nina de Garis Davies and Norman de Garis Davies, *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs* (Nos. 38, 66, 162, with Excerpts from 81), PTT 4 (Oxford: University Press for Griffith Institute, 1963), pl. VIII. [28] LD III, 76–77. [31] Strudwick, “Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments,” 29.

¹⁴¹ Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi*, 3:XXIX–XXX.

syntax, retain some connection with Lower Egypt.¹⁴² In these constructions, the ears is indirectly associated with the *nsw*-kingship by means of a reflexive possessive suffix, which refers back to the kingship term used in the first half of the construction, namely *nsw*. The suffix is followed by the adjunct *m sp3.wt T3-Mhw* (in the districts of Lower Egypt). This adverbial phrase reinforces the connection between the ears and Lower Egypt, even if the formal term of kingship associated with the region is not used.

Four constructions found in the certain dataset contain references to the king as Horus.¹⁴³ In two examples, it is unclear which body part the Horus aspect is associated with, as the inscriptions in which the constructions are embedded feature significant lacunae.¹⁴⁴ In two constructions, the identification of the King as Horus seems fairly secure as the Divine Name is followed by adverbial expressions directly linking its usage to spaces associated with kingship. In the paired eyes-and-ears construction on the model sarcophagus belonging to R^c.w [19], the artefact's owner is considered the '*nḥ.wy* of Horus in his palace, while in a fragmentary construction from TT 93, a body part or parts are understood as an aspect of Horus *on the throne*.¹⁴⁵ In the latest construction in the dataset which mentions Horus, *Nḥt-mn.w* [18] is identified as "the eyes" *n.y nsw n.y Hr.w-f* (of the *nsw*-king and his Horus)".¹⁴⁶ Identifying an official as both the eyes of his Horus and *nsw* is otherwise unattested. Indeed, in no other single designation constructions is a double indirect genitive expression used.

¹⁴² [24] Davies and Davies, *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs (Nos. 38, 66, 162, with Excerpts from 81)*, pl. VIII. [28] LD III, 76-77; [31] Strudwick, 'Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments', 29.

¹⁴³ This association between the King and Horus has an extensive history, it may date back to Dynasty 0 and was evidently still in use in the 18th Dynasty, Gundlach, "'Horus in the Palace': The Centre of State and Culture in Pharaonic Egypt.," 46–63. In Egyptology there have been significant debates around whether the king was in fact regarded as a bona fide God. Frankfurt suggests the king was considered a god, though a variety of opinions have developed around this, for further on the debate surrounding divinity and kingship see: O'Connor and Silverman, *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, xxiii–xvi. The present author echoes Lorton's view that while the king may have embodied some elements of divinity, "to observe that the king stood at neither 1 nor 100 on such a hypothetical scale is sufficient," David Lorton, "Towards a Constitutional Approach to Ancient Egyptian Kingship," ed. Winfried Barta, *JAOS* 99.3 (1979): 461. I thank Helen Neale for alerting me to Lorton's comments and Gundlach's article.

¹⁴⁴ [4] Virey, *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIIIe Dynastie*, 270. See also OI Photograph 2932. [29] Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amūn at Thebes*, 14 pl. LXV A. Interestingly both of these fragmentary examples are associated with officials who were active in the reign of Amenhotep II.

¹⁴⁵ Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amūn at Thebes*, 14 pl. LXV A. Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi*, 3 :XXIX–XXX.

¹⁴⁶ Borchardt, *Statuen III*, 88; *Urk.* IV, 1908.5–.13

	eyes assoc. with <i>nsw</i>	eyes assoc. with <i>bỉ.ty</i>	eyes assoc. with uncertain kingship term	eyes assoc. with king as Horus
number of examples in the certain dataset	36	0	2	1
% of examples in the certain dataset	c. 74%	0%	c. 4%	2%

a)

	ears assoc. with <i>nsw</i>	ears assoc. with <i>bỉ.ty</i>	eyes assoc. with uncertain kingship term	ears assoc. with king as Horus
number of examples in the certain dataset	3	23	2	1
% of the certain dataset	6%	c.47%	4%	2%

b)

TABLE 3.4 A) B) ASPECTS OF KINGSHIP AND THE EYES-AND-EARS, NOTE: IN SOME CASES MORE THAN ONE ASPECT OF KINGSHIP CAN BE USED IN A CONSTRUCTION.

This unusual melding of phraseology and grammar leads to interpretive ambiguity. The eyes could be understood as being possessed by the king in his two embodiments as Horus and *nsw*. Gundlach suggests these two aspects complement each other -- Horus representing the sovereign king and *nsw* representing the practical aspect of monarchy.¹⁴⁷ An alternative rendering might view the expression as a reference to the King and his (living) successor apparent, a form of ideological allusion to the Osiris myth, though which king this could refer to is unclear.¹⁴⁸ Regardless, while evocations of Horus are an interesting feature of some of the constructions in the dataset, the examples discussed here are ultimately too

¹⁴⁷ Gundlach, "Horus in the Palace": The Centre of State and Culture in Pharaonic Egypt', 49.

¹⁴⁸ John Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (Eisenbrauns, 1997), 136, 141.

chronologically dispersed and phraseologically dissimilar to establish any patterns around manifestations of the God in the dataset.

3.2.3 Toponyms, and Space

Mentions of specific toponyms or notions of space are found in 40% of constructions in the dataset.¹⁴⁹ Adjuncts of a geographic nature are attested throughout the 18th dynasty. They appear to be first employed as part of royal sense-organ constructions in the sole reign of Thutmosis III, but are attested up until the Post-Amarna Period.¹⁵⁰ As Table 3.5 demonstrates, the majority of these geographic-expressions are associated with the entire territorial expanse of Egypt, constructions with adjuncts of this nature account for 26% of examples in the total certain dataset.

Expressions referencing specific locations within Egypt are the least attested type of adjunct affixed to the designations, though it is unclear whether this type of adverbial predicate is only extant in one example or two. In his tomb, *Imn-ḥtp s3 Si* [7] is attested with a construction which identifies him as the eyes of the King *m İwn.w Šmꜥ.w* (in Heliopolis of Upper Egypt), a reference to Thebes.¹⁵¹ There may, however, be a second allusion to this city in the dataset. *P3-Ḥk3-m-s3sn* [10] is identified as the “eyes” *m niw.t Šmꜥ.w* (in the city of Upper Egypt), Davies argues that this could be a reference to Thebes, though he acknowledges that perhaps the word *niw.t* was intended to be written in the plural. The extended eyes-construction could then be understood as a reference to the official’s duties in the Nubian territories.¹⁵² Both possibilities are plausible, however, because *P3-Ḥk3-m-s3sn* [10] was an Overseer of the

¹⁴⁹ Appendix C Conc. Lines 2, 3 11, 14, 17, 20, 21, 23, 24, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 38, 40, 43

¹⁵⁰ For the earliest example of a geographic adjunct Strudwick, “Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments,” 29. for the latest refer to Geoffrey T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut’ankhamūn*, pl. 107.

¹⁵¹ Davies and Davies, *The Tomb of Two Officials*, pl. IX. On the term *İwn.w Šmꜥ.w* Lawrence M. Berman, “Overview of Amenhotep III and His Reign,” in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David B. O’Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 2. See also, TLA Lemma 22740.

¹⁵² W. Vivian Davies, ‘The British Museum Epigraphic Survey at Tombos: The Stela of Usersatet and Hekaemsasen’, *BMSAES* 14 (2009): 32–33. See also Michel Dewachter, “Un fonctionnaire préposé aux marches méridionales à l’époque d’Aménophis II: (Pa-)Hekaemsasen,” *CRIPEL* 4 (1976): 53–60.

southern hill-countries, and the majority of his monuments appear to have come from near the Egyptian / Nubian frontier, the latter option seems more likely.¹⁵³

Geographic / Spatial Expression	# of Constructions	Classification system adapted and expanded from Auenmüller (2013) ¹⁵⁴
<i>m niw.wt Šm^c.w + m sp³.wt T3-Mḥw</i>	4	A: Egypt in totality
<i>m t3 r ḡr-f / m t3 ḡr-f</i>	5	A: Egypt in totality
<i>m s.t nb(.t)</i>	1	A: Egypt in totality
<i>m-ḥt idb.wy/ idb.wy</i>	2	A: Egypt in totality
<i>m Šm^c.w Mḥ.w</i>	1	A: Egypt in totality
<i>m Ḳwn.w Šm^c.w</i>	1	B: Specific Geographic reference in Egypt
<i>m niw. t Šm^c.w</i>	1	Uncertain possibly B: Specific Geographic reference in Egypt or C: Foreign Territory
<i>m/ ḥr ḥ3s.wt Rtn.w</i>	2	C: Foreign Territory
<i>m ḥ^c-f</i>	2	D: Royal Domain
<i>ḥr tnt3.t</i>	1	D: Royal Domain

TABLE 3.5 : GEOGRAPHIC-EXPRESSIONS IN THE CERTAIN DATASET

In the 18th Dynasty, certain types of geographic or spatial-extensions are particularly associated with a specific time period. The inclusion of toponyms and references to foreign territories in sense organ constructions, are only associated with officials who were active at some point during the reigns of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV.¹⁵⁵ Similarly, while adjuncts

¹⁵³ For the provenance of his various monuments see [10].

¹⁵⁴ Auenmüller, “Die Territorialität der Ägyptischen Elite(n) des Neuen Reiches,” 243–44. For Auenmüller category A includes all expressions that denote “das Territorium Ägyptens in seiner Gänze und mit einzelnen kleinräumigeren geografischen Einheiten”. Unlike Auenmüller the current author splits category A into two separate classifications, those expressions which denote Egypt in totality, and those which allude to or utilise specific Egyptian toponyms. Some of the expressions which Auenmüller discusses have been excluded as they don’t meet the criteria for inclusion in the certain dataset. See Appendix B.

¹⁵⁵ [2], Davies and Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperresonb, Amenmose, and Another*, XXXIX, XLVI [A]. [7] Davies and Davies, *The Tomb of Two Officials*, pl. IX. [10] Davies, ‘The Stela of Usersatet and Hekaemsasen’, fig. 13. Furthermore, this is still valid even if one includes evidence from the ‘problematic’ dataset, [29] Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amūn at Thebes.*, pl. LVII.

relating to the totality of the Egyptian territory are attested throughout the period, they seem to have become particularly prevalent in the reign of Amenhotep III. Around a 26% of the officials in the corpus who spent part or the whole of their careers under this King are attested with one of the adjuncts in category A (Table 3.5)¹⁵⁶ One specific affix, namely *m t3 r dr=f* is primarily associated with officials in this reign, and may have been exclusively used during this period if one works from the assumption that *Hr.w-m-ḥb* [26] acquired his designation under that King.¹⁵⁷

3.3 Patterns of Syntax and Certain Constructions

Embodying oneself in the facial features of another involves not only the interplay of conceptual domains by means of metaphor or metonymy but also the manipulation of syntax.¹⁵⁸ As with the use of phraseology and writing, some patterns and trends can be detected in the grammatical syntax of constructions in the dataset, however, since the features of the designations appear to display some level of diversity, these conventions of grammar are not always completely fixed. Furthermore, the exact replication of specific constructions, as the analysis demonstrates, is the exception, rather than the rule.

Half of the constructions in the dataset include extant adjuncts, the majority of these constructions consist of prepositional phrases, though one construction appears to use a

¹⁵⁶ Fourteen officials spent part of their career under Amenhotep III, see Appendix A: [1], [5], [6], [11], [13], [14], [15], [16] [19] [20] [22] [23] [26], [28]. For the officials with constructions referring to Egypt in its entirety see [13] Melinda Hartwig, "Scenes and Texts in the Tomb Chapel of Menna.," in *The Tomb Chapel of Menna (TT 69): The Art, Culture, and Science of Painting in an Egyptian Tomb*, ed. Melinda Hartwig (Cairo, New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2013), 26–27. [16] Wolfgang Helck, "Inhaber und Bauleiter des thebanischen Grabs 107.," *MIO* 4 (1956): 20 fig. b. [20] Gasse and Rondot, *Les Inscriptions de Séhel*, 159–60. [23] Gessler-Löhr, "Der Bürgermeister von Memphis"; Zakéya Topozada, "Les deux campagnes d'Amenhotep III en Nubie.," *BIFAO* 88 (1988): 156. [26] Brack and Brack, *Das Grab des Haremhab*, 51, 58, 60. [28] LD III, 76–77

¹⁵⁷ *Nfr-shr.w*'s designation is found within his tomb which can only be dated to the reign of Amenhotep III, Helck, "Inhaber und Bauleiter des thebanischen Grabs 107.," 20. For the dating of the tomb see: Kampp, *Nekropole*, 386–87; PM I/I 224–225. In the case of *R'w-ms* [20] his inscription is clearly dated with a cartouche of Amenhotep III, Gasse and Rondot, *Les Inscriptions de Séhel*, 159.

¹⁵⁸ Metaphor is not the primary concern of the study, it is principally concerned with the designations and the officials who held them. While the consideration of cognitive-conceptual aspects of these designations and how these relate to broader theories of embodiment would be an interesting contribution to scholarship, such concerns are ultimately beyond the scope of the current work. For further on the underlying processes of metaphor and other related figurative devices see, Camilla Di Biase-Dyson, "Metaphor.," *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*. See also: Werning, "Der Kopf des Beines," 108–11.

circumstantial subordinate adverbial clause instead.¹⁵⁹ As noted earlier all the constructions with adjuncts include some geographic or spatial reference.¹⁶⁰ A minority of constructions use action-based adjuncts. *R'w* is identified as the “eyes of the nsw-king ” *m ḏ'r ḥ.wt* (in finding bodies i.e people)¹⁶¹ Here the prepositional phrase consists of a direct genitive construction which constitutes a nominalised infinitive and a noun. A similar type of adjunct is attested in the tomb of *Ḥr.w-m-ḥb*.**[27]**¹⁶² Unlike the example of *R'w* **[19]** however, in this case two constructions with nominalised infinitives are used.¹⁶³ Since the action based adjuncts are chronologically distant and phraseologically dissimilar it is not possible to discern patterns in these specific affixes.

3.4 Types of Constructions

There are many types of complete constructions in the dataset. Broadly speaking however these examples can be sorted into five categories pictured below (see figure 3.1). Extended eyes constructions are the most highly attested type of fully extant appellation in the dataset, while simple single designation phrases are the least frequently attested category. The exact replication of a designation's phraseology and syntax is only evident in a certain subset of the data. Most of the simple paired eyes-and-ears expressions (72%) consist of two indirect genitive expressions. Furthermore, the syntax of mouth-and ears expressions and the *ir.ty nsw m niw.wt Šm'.w 'nh.wy=f m spʒ.wt Tʒ-Mḥw* construction appear to be highly rigid. Other commonly reoccurring examples display occasional changes in syntax. For example in one attestation of a construction in which an official is identified as the eyes of the king in the land in its entirety, an indirect genitive expression is used instead of the typical direct configuration. Furthermore, in another example the second preposition in the double adverbial predicate *m tʒ r ḏr=f* is omitted.

¹⁵⁹ Davies, The Tomb of Ken-Amūn at Thebes., LXV A.

¹⁶⁰ 3.2.3

¹⁶¹ Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi*, 3 :XXIX–XXX. There is a remote possibility that this is a reference to the settlement of *D' (w)-ḥt* Marc Gabolde, “La Statue de Merymaât Gouverneur de Djâroukha (Bologne K.S. 1813).”, *BIFAO* 94 (1994): 261–75. This seems unlikely as the two words use quite dissimilar writing .

¹⁶² Martin, The Memphite Tomb of Horemḥeb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamūn, pl. 107.

¹⁶³ *m sšm tʒ.wy snm ḥp.w idb.wy* (in leading the lands and establishing the laws of the two banks)

3.5 General Observations

Close study of the phraseology, writing and syntax of constructions in the dataset has revealed while trends can be detected in the data, distinct patterns are only to some extent discernible throughout the 18th Dynasty. The use of specific vocabulary, the writing of the word *ir.ty*, and the relationship between the various body-parts and regions of Egypt seem to be well established conventions. Likewise, the majority of constructions use at least one genitive expression and nearly of constructions include an adjunct with some geographic reference.

Despite this, it is more challenging to track the development of specific features over time. This Chapter has argued that ears designations appear to predate the widespread adoption of eyes designations. Some types of geographic expressions employed throughout the dataset can be assigned to specific chronological periods, however there appears to not be a distinct development paths of these constructions, beyond the fact that the ears disappear briefly from the historical record after the reign of Amenhotep III.

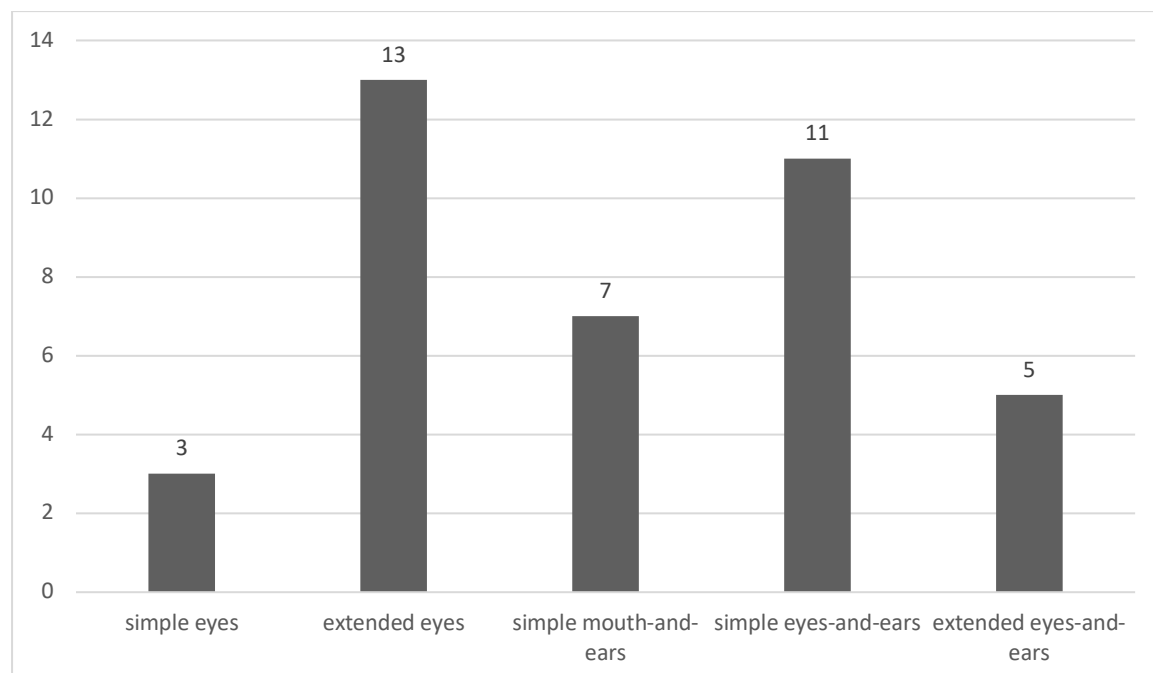


FIGURE 3.1 CATAGORIES OF CONSTRUCTIONS IN THE DATASET

4. The designations in title-sequences

One of the key areas of inquiry in this study involves engagement with the contradictory forces of convention and change, both in the designations themselves and the wider contexts in which they appear. Sense-organ constructions rarely exist in a vacuum, they often form part of larger groups of titles. This chapter analyses the collocate samples surrounding the royal sense-organ constructions in the dataset of 'certain' examples. It examines both the re-occurrence of individual lexemes and the broader repetition of collocate sequences, as well as thematic commonalities in the phrases in the preceding and succeeding co-text. This allows one to not only make some intriguing observations about the structure of title sequences but more broadly test whether designations are embedded within standardised configurations of titles or whether their co-text is subject to significant variation.

As noted earlier, a sample set of six collocates are not available for every example in the 'certain' dataset, a few designations have significantly less co-text.¹⁶⁴ In some cases, this absence of a 'full' sample is the result of gaps in the text. For instance, in TT 80, significant lacunae are found throughout the phrases which precede and succeed a paired expression.¹⁶⁵ In other instances, the title sequence in which a construction appears is too short to identify a full set of six co-textual phrases. For example, on the coffin of *Yw-ib* [1], there appears to be no formal titles before his paired mouth-and-ears expression, and only one epithet after it.¹⁶⁶

4.1 The Preceding Co-text

¹⁶⁴ 2.2.5

¹⁶⁵ Shedid, *Stil der Grabmalereien in der Zeit Amenophis' II. untersucht an den Thebanischen Gräbern Nr. 104 und Nr. 80.*, 156. See also Appendix C Conc. Line 48.

¹⁶⁶ James Edward Quibell, *Tomb of Yuua and Thuiu*, CGC (Cairo: IFAO, 1908), 7. The passage reads *im3h{y}<.w> hr im3.ty Wsir r3 n(.y) nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi.ty im.y-ib n(.y) ntr nfr ib3 (= Yw-ib) m3' hr.w* Honoured One before Imsety Osiris, (i.e. the deceased before Imsety Osiris) the mouth of the nsw-king and the ears of the bi.ty-king, favourite (lit. "one who-is-in-the heart") of the great God, *Yw-ib* true of voice. For the term *im3h.w* see *Wb* 1, 82.1-12; *TLA* Lemma 25090.

As Table 4.1 demonstrates, certain phrases appear to re-occur in the preceding collocates with regularity. Over half of the concordance lines in the dataset feature the phrase *ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c*.¹⁶⁷ Guksch notes this phrase is often found at the start of title-sequences.¹⁶⁸ In light of this, one can conclude a majority of royal sense-organ designations are embedded near the beginning of a title sequence. Other commonly re-occurring phrases in the preceding collocates include *ḥtm.w bi.ty* and *smr*. Spence suggests the *smr.w* were an established group of high officials surrounding the king.¹⁶⁹ Helck, on the other hand notes, all these phrases are extensively attested throughout Egyptian history, but by the New Kingdom function as markers of rank. Somewhat contradictorily however he states all the phrases which occur directly after *ir.y-p^c.t* are in essence by themselves “bedeutungslos.”¹⁷⁰

Reoccurring phrase	<i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c</i>	<i>ḥtm.w bi.ty</i>	<i>smr</i>	<i>mḥ-ib</i>	<i>ḥs.y</i>	<i>it-nṯr mr.y nṯr</i>
No. of text excerpts where the phrase appears before a construction	29	10	12	8	5	4
Percentage of total text excerpts	c.60%	20%	24%	16%	10%	8%

TABLE 4.1 TOP FIVE COMMONLY RE-OCCURRING LEXEMES IN THE PRECEDING COLLOCATES

Table 4.2 reveals repeated collocate strings are found in the preceding co-text of half of the constructions in the dataset. In general terms, four patterns of re-occurring collocates can be discerned. The two highest attested patterns in the samples of preceding co-text each occur in 18% of excerpts in the dataset. The first consists of the grouping *ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c*, *ḥtm.w bi.ty* and *smr*. This tripartite collocate string appears before various types of constructions, but most commonly is found in concordance lines featuring paired mouth-and-ears expressions. In the majority of these sequences, the word *smr* (friend) is affixed by the adjective *w^c.ty* (sole), indeed Guksch states this exact string is rather common in title sequences of the

¹⁶⁷ Appendix C, Con. Lines 2–5, 7 9, 10, 13, 14, 18–20, 23, 24, 27–30, 31–33, 36, 37, 39–41 45 46, and 48. In some cases only part of the phrase is extant.

¹⁶⁸ Guksch, *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Ra-seneb*, 17.

¹⁶⁹ Spence, “Court and Palace in Ancient Egypt: The Amarna Period and Later Eighteenth Dynasty,,” 280.

¹⁷⁰ Helck, “Titel und Titulaturen,” 596.

period.¹⁷¹ In three reconstructed phrases *smr* appears to be qualified by the expression ʕ *n.y mr.wt* (great of love).¹⁷²

String of collocates	<i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥḏ.ty-^c</i> + <i>ḥtm.w bī.ty</i> + <i>smr</i>	<i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥḏ.ty-^c</i> alone	<i>mḥ-ib</i> + <i>ḥs.y</i>	<i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥḏ.ty-^c</i> + <i>it nṯr mri.y nṯr</i>
simple single designation	1	--	1	--
extended single designation	1	4	2	--
mouth-and-ears	4	--	--	--
simple eyes-and-ears	1	3		1
extended eyes-and-ears	--	1	--	2
form unclear	2	1	1	--
Total	9	9	4	3
Percentage	18%	18%	8%	6%

TABLE 4.2 COMMONLY RE-OCCURRING STRINGS OF PRECEDING COLLOCATES

In the second pattern which occurs in just under 20% of text excerpts, *ir.y-p^c.t ḥḏ.ty-^c* functions as the only preceding collocate before a royal sense-organ construction. This pattern is most commonly associated with officials who were active in the reign of Amenhotep III.¹⁷³ Furthermore, three examples are associated with officials who were in the royal service during both the sole reign of Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, indeed a significant cluster of concordance lines in which *ir.y-p^c.t ḥḏ.ty-^c* is the only titular element of introductory co-text spent part of their career under Amenhotep II.¹⁷⁴ This collocate configuration is attested in

¹⁷¹ Guksch, *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Ra-seneb*, 17. Appendix C, Con. Lines 5, 13, 20, 29 41, 42. The rank of sole friend evidently dates back to the Old Kingdom, Jones, Index OK, 3268.

¹⁷² Appendix C Con. Lines 30, 40, 43; On Ḥpw-snb's [25] shrine at Gebel Silila there appears there appears to be an extra genitive adjective between the word *smr* and ʕ and the word *mr.wt* has to be restored, James and Caminos, *Gebel Es Silsilah*, pl. 37. Likewise in examples in the tomb of Sn-nfri [31] and Ḳn-İmn [28] the word *mr.wt* also has to be partially emended Nigel Strudwick, "The Decoration of the Chapel," in *The Tomb of Pharaoh's Chancellor Senneferi at Thebes*, ed. Nigel Strudwick (Oxford: Oxbow, 2016), 147, pl. 40 A; Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amūn at Thebes*, pl. LXV A.

¹⁷³ Appendix C Con. Lines, 9, 18, 24, 27, 33.

¹⁷⁴ For those examples associated with officials who were active in both the reigns Thutmose III to the death of Amenhotep II Appendix C Con. Lines. 3, 4, 7; [3] and [4]; Other accordance lines which feature this collocate pattern appear to be closely linked to officials who spent at least a portion of their careers under Amenhotep II, see Appendix C Con. Lines. 33, 37; [27] [28]

apposition to various constructions, but is most frequently found before extended eyes expressions. In one concordance line, this pattern of co-text seems to occur before a paired mouth-and-ears expression, though the designation in question is highly fragmentary so its exact form is ambiguous.¹⁷⁵

Two other collocate strings also re-occur more than twice in the preceding co-text. The first of these sequences, *mḥ-ib ḥs.y*, introduces four constructions in the dataset.¹⁷⁶ All of the examples of this collocate pattern are found in tombs of officials who served both Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III.¹⁷⁷ This string is however subject to significant variation and augmentation, in all four concordance lines the expression *mḥ-ib* (confidant) is qualified with an adjective. Furthermore, in these excerpts, the nominal expression is affixed to an genitive construction which denotes that the official had some aspect of association with the king.¹⁷⁸ Similarly, in three examples the noun *ḥs.y* (honoured one) is also extended.¹⁷⁹ Within two excerpts, the noun is placed in apposition to the genitive expression *n.y nṯr nfr* (of the good God), an alternative term for the king.¹⁸⁰ In the third example the word *ḥs.y* is followed by a more complex participial phrase which indicates the official was highly favoured from birth.¹⁸¹ The *mḥ-ib ḥs.y* string is attested in front of both paired eyes-and-ears constructions and extended single designation expressions.¹⁸²

¹⁷⁵ Appendix C Con. Line 7; [4]; Virey, *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIIIe Dynastie*, 250.

¹⁷⁶ Appendix C Con. Line 15, 19, 31, 33; in 19 31 33 the sequence is preceded by *ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c*.

¹⁷⁷ [15], [19], [27]. The sequence occurs twice in the TT 78 with variations, Brack and Brack, *Das Grab des Haremhab*, 25, 56.

¹⁷⁸ In three concordance lines which employ this collocate sequence (Appendix C, Conc. Lines 19, 31, and 33), the adjective *mnḥ* is used. As Guksch notes *mnḥ* is a term denoting an official's efficiency in service to the King. Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 78. In one example, the adjective ʿ3 (great) is used instead, Appendix C, Conc. Line 15. In most cases, the term *nb t3.wy* is often used to refer to the king in the genitive expression, Appendix C, Conc. Lines 15, 19, 34.

¹⁷⁹ For further on the concepts of honour and love in the dataset see § 4.3.1

¹⁸⁰ For the examples with *ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr* see Appendix C Con. Lines 15, 34. Gundlach indicates the expression *nṯr nfr* denotes the “magical” aspect of the king Gundlach, “‘Horus in the Palace’: The Centre of State and Culture in Pharaonic Egypt,” 53.

¹⁸¹ In the text excerpted in Conc. line 33 *Hr.w-m-ḥb* [26] is *ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c mḥ-ib mnḥ n.y nb=f ḥs.y pri m ḥ.t ḥs.y* (the *ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c*, the effective companion of his Lord =King, the honoured one who came forth from <his mother's> body <as> an honoured one), see Brack and Brack, *Das Grab des Haremhab*, 23. For other similar examples see Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 147.

¹⁸² Single designation constructions Appendix C Con. Line 31, 33; Paired eyes-and-ears Appendix C Con. Line 15. In one text excerpt, only part of the construction is extant, Davies and Davies, *The Tomb of Two Officials*, pl. xxxvi.

The second most highly attested bipartite pattern in the preceding co-text of royal sense-organ constructions constitutes an amalgamation of *ir.y-p^c.t ḥȝ.ty-^c* and *it nṯr mri.y nṯr*. This pattern is found in 6% of excerpts. In one text, this sequence directly apposes a paired eyes-and-ears expression.¹⁸³ In the two other excerpts in which it appears, *ir.y-p^c.t ḥȝ.ty-^c it nṯr mri.y* forms a subset of the larger introductory co-text.¹⁸⁴

4.2 Succeeding Co-text

Phrases re-occur in the samples of collocates after a royal sense-organ construction as well. Expressions in which an official is identified as an *im.y-ib* (favourite) of the king directly follow a sense-organ construction in 34% of text excerpts in the dataset, this constitutes the most highly repeated element of the samples of succeeding co-text.¹⁸⁵ The concordance lines in which this phenomenon is observed have significant chronological distribution. The earliest example is associated with an official in the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III,¹⁸⁶ the latest is found in the Saqqara tomb of *Hr.w-m-ḥb* constructed sometime before he ascended the throne.¹⁸⁷ As with the expression *ḥs.y*, in the text excerpts the term *im.y-ib* is most commonly augmented with a genitive expression associating the official with the monarch.¹⁸⁸

Despite its prominence in the dataset *im.y-ib* is not the only re-occurring element in collocates samples which appear after the designations, as Table 4.3 demonstrates expressions in which an individual is a *ir.y rd.wy* (one at the feet) or *‘k* (one who is ushered in <the palace>) are each attested in the succeeding collocates of under 10% of royal sense organ constructions in the certain dataset, while officials are identified as a *mḥ-ib* (companion) in 12% of succeeding collocate strings. As with *im.y-ib*, most of these collocate

¹⁸³ Appendix C Con. Line 10.

¹⁸⁴ Appendix C Con. Line 23 and 28.

¹⁸⁵ Appendix C Con. Line 1, 2, 5 12, 15, 17, 23, 26, 29, 33, 34, 41, 42, 44–46, 48

¹⁸⁶ Appendix C Con. Line 29, 49; James and Caminos, *Gebel Es Silsilah*, pl. 35, 37.

¹⁸⁷ Appendix C Con. Line 34; Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamun*, 1:pl. 107.

¹⁸⁸ Appendix C Con. Line 17 is the only example in which no explicit association with the king is made in an extant *im.y-ib* phrase

phrases are often extended with supplementary affixes.¹⁸⁹ For example, in concordance line 46 *ṯ3-nw-ny* [33] is identified as ‘*ḳ ḥr nb-f ḏsr.w m ‘ḥ* (one who is ushered before his Lord =King who is secluded in the palace),¹⁹⁰ while in concordance line 38, *Ḳn-ḥmn* [29] is the *ir.y rd.wy r iy.i.t=f n ṯ3 r ḏr-f [m] sšm n.y wd.ywt* (one who is associated with the feet on his =(the King’s) journey in the entire land in the leading of the expeditions).¹⁹¹ It is not possible to assign the usage of *mḥ-ib*, or ‘*ḳ* phrases in the succeeding co-text to a specific period as all the excerpts in which they appear are significantly chronologically dispersed.¹⁹²

While the phrases after designations do contain some re-occurring features, unlike the preceding co-text, one cannot detect a large number of reoccurring multipartite sequences of collocates after royal sense-organ constructions, though the pattern *im.y-ib* + *mḥ-ib* is attested in two concordance lines.¹⁹³ The most striking feature of the succeeding collocates

¹⁸⁹ Compare the examples in n. 185 with the following Appendix C Con. Line 22, 31, 46 (‘*ḳ* phrases), 6, 31, 38 (*ir.y rd.wy*) 4, 5, 16, 23, 26, 34 (*mḥ-ib*)

¹⁹⁰ Annelies Brack and Artur Brack, *Das Grab Des Tjanuni: Theben Nr. 74*, ArchVer 19 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp Von Zabern, 1977), 52. As TLA and the Wörterbuch show the stem *ḏsr* can have a range of semantic meanings, Wb. Wb 5, 609.11-610.12 TLA Lemma 185460. The word *ḏsr* can be utilised in a sense of being separate from something else. Hoffmeier notes it has associations with concepts of purity and being holy, but notes Egyptologists have tended to translate related lexemes in a variety of ways, therefore ,translating it here is challenging James Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt: ḏsr, with Special Reference to Dynasties I-XX.*, OBO 59 (Freiburg / Göttingen: Universitätsverlag; Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1985), 9–14, 181–83. I merge the two sense by rendering the word participle which I translate approximately as “ who is secluded and thus is holy ” According to Durkheim Religion is predicated upon a separation between sacred superior things and ordinary existence. Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. Karen E Fields (New York: The Free Press, 1995), 34–36. Using this assumption one can say that by being secluded from the wider world the king embodies an element of the sacred. Hoffmeier reviews similar expressions to *ḳ ḥr nb-f ḏsr.w m ‘ḥ* and suggests the word *ḏsr.w* should not be understood as an adjectival participle but instead denotes a place of restricted access within the palace complex. Since there is no preposition before *ḏsr.w*, if it denotes a part of the palace, this would require the phrase to be translated as follows “one who is ushered before his lord of the restricted-access area While it is certainly plausible a preposition is missing, I argue *ḏsr.w* is better translated in adjectival sense, namely describing the King’s manner of being in the palace. I do not deny that *ḏsr.w* could denote an exclusive area in the palace in some contexts, however I don’t think this applies here. Alternatively, instead of an adjectival participle one might render it as a Stative Old Perfective Ockinga CGME §81; “he being in a state of seclusion.”. I prefer the participial interpretation.

¹⁹¹ Davies, *The Tomb of Ḳen-Amūn at Thebes*, XLIV. Wb 1, 398.6-12; FCD 74

¹⁹² The earliest example of the usage of *mḥ-ib* after a designation is found in the tomb of *Imn-m-ḥ3t* [3], Appendix C Con. Line 4, the latest is found on the statue of *Ḥwy* [22], Appendix C Con. Line 26. Likewise the earliest example of the usage of *ir.y rd.wy* in the phrases after a designation probably dates to the reign of Amenhotep II Appendix C Con. Line 6, 38; the latest example is found in the tomb of *Ḥr.w-m-ḥb* [26] Brack and Brack, *Das Grab des Haremhab*, 25. As I argued in Chapter 3, he probably acquired his designation under Amenhotep III. The earliest example of the lexeme ‘*ḳ* in the succeeding collocate samples is found in Appendix C Con. Line 46, the latest is found on the post Amarna statue of *Nḥt-mnw* [18], Borchardt, *Statuen* III, 88.

¹⁹³ Appendix C Con. Line 5, 34

then, is the frequent occurrence of occupational titles, in thirteen text excerpts an occupational title occurs in the succeeding co-text .¹⁹⁴

Reoccurring phrase	<i>im.y-ib</i>	<i>mḥ-ib</i>	‘k	<i>ir.y rd.wy</i>
No. of text excerpts where the phrase appears after a construction	16	6	3	3
Percentage of total text excerpts	32%	12%	6%	6%

TABLE 4.3 COMMONLY RE-OCCURRING LEXEMES IN THE SUCCEEDING COLLOCATES

4.3 Thematic approach

Beyond the repeated use of specific lexemes and collocate sequences, one can observe commonalities in the thematic content of text excerpts in the dataset. Gnirs suggests paired expressions are often surrounded by phrases which indicate a level of closeness between the king and his official.¹⁹⁵ To test this assumption a brief overview of the key themes throughout the dataset is provided below.

4.3.1 Love and Favour

Guksch examines key mechanisms of love and honour in her consideration of the *ḥs.wt* Gefüge.¹⁹⁶ The Egyptian concept of *mr.wt* commonly translated as 'love' has many facets of meaning, while it can have connotations of affection in some literary texts, as Morenz first noted , in the relationship between a king and his official or indeed the monarch and a God, love can be understood as denoting that an individual was recognised or selected by a more significant person or entity.¹⁹⁷ Expressions related to love re-occur through the samples of co-text. In total , phrases which include some reference to the monarch's love are found in 11

¹⁹⁴ Appendix C

¹⁹⁵ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 104.

¹⁹⁶ Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 260

¹⁹⁷ This has also been recognised by Guksch and Binder. Siegfried Morenz, "Die Erwählung zwischen Gott und König in Ägypten," in *Religion und Geschichte des alten Ägypten*, ed. Elke Blumenthal and Siegfried Herrmann (Colonge, 1975), 120–28; Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 39. See also, Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 1.

concordance lines in the dataset.¹⁹⁸ As noted earlier genitive constructions identifying an official as “great of love” are sometimes attached to the word *smr*.¹⁹⁹ In these examples *mr.wt* has the sense of recognition or appreciation.²⁰⁰ In other cases the *mri* stem is employed in a participle, for example in one concordance line, *Ḳn-Ḳmn* is identified as a *mrr.w nb t3.wy ḥr bi3.t-f* (beloved one [ie recognised one] of the Lord of the Two Lands on account of his character). Here the form *mrr.w* is a nominalised imperfective participle.²⁰¹ Other forms of nominalised participle of *mri* are also attested in the dataset. For example a direct genitive construction consisting of perfective passive *mri.y* participle and the word *ntr* is directly affixed to the designation *it-ntr* (father of the God) in 4 of the concordance lines.²⁰² In some examples the genitive expression is implied, as the second rendering of the word *ntr* is omitted in writing.²⁰³ The *mr.y* participle can in one instance be understood as part of an independent entity, not merely a complement of an existing title. On his statue *Ḳmn-ḥtp Ḳwy* [5] is recognised as *ḥtm.w bi.ty, mri.y nb t3.wy* (seal bearer, beloved one of the lord of the two lands)²⁰⁴ Since the seal-bearer title is clearly placed in apposition to another kingship term, namely *bi.ty*, it seems highly unlikely that *mri.y nb t3.wy* should merely be read as an affix to the previous title.

There seem to be a few other expressions which do not use the stem *mri* but nevertheless which indirectly denote that an official received *mr.wt*. As addressed earlier, a number of officials are identified in the co-text of the designation as *im.y-ib* (one who is in the heart [= mind] of the King), since they are understood as being located within what Egyptians perceived as the cognitive centre of the king this suggests they were highly recognised and

¹⁹⁸ Appendix C Con. Line 10, 23, 27, 28, 35, 37 38 , 43 45, 46. 49

¹⁹⁹ § 4.1

²⁰⁰ Perhaps one would translate this into idiomatic English as “highly appreciated companion.”

²⁰¹ Appendix C Con. Line 39, Ockinga CGME §§ 99, 102, and the word *ḥr* as a conjunction and not as pure preposition Wb 3, 132.25. There is some uncertainty as to the meaning of the word *bi3.t / bj.t* (In Guksch). The TLA suggests this denotes moral character or temperament, TLA Lemma 54410, however Guksch suggests the word *bj.t* (note spelling) is a word for deeds Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 40. Whether these lexemes are meant to be identical is unclear, though both meanings would work in the context.

²⁰² Appendix C Con. Line 10, 23, 28 45

²⁰³ For instance, Davies and Davies, *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs* (Nos. 38, 66, 162, with Excerpts from 81)., pl. VIII.

²⁰⁴ Urk. IV 1794.1

valued by the monarch. Similarly, $\text{I}^3\text{-nw-n}^3$ [32] describes himself as $r\dot{h} n\text{-}f$ (one who is known to him [=King]).²⁰⁵

When an official was 'loved' by the monarch, he would often receive rewards in the form of $\dot{h}sw.t$ (favour). Favour could include both physical objects such as the Gold of Honour or intangible rewards such as promotion.²⁰⁶ As demonstrated in Table 4.1 above, in a small minority of excerpts officials are identified as 'favoured ones', in only one text excerpt is an official marked as one who was promoted by the King.²⁰⁷ Furthermore, in the text excerpts one official identifies what he received from the king as $\dot{h}s.wt$: $\dot{K}n\text{-}\dot{im}n$ [29] is referred to in one of the excerpts as $iri.n nb t^3.wy k^3\text{-}f$ (one whom the Lord of the Two Lands gave his sustenance).²⁰⁸

4.3.2 The King and I: Interactions between an Official and the King

In a number of excerpts some collocates are concerned with an official's proximity to and engagement with the King. Some phrases are only attested once, for example $\dot{im}n\text{-}\dot{h}tp s^3 si$ [7] is identified as $tkn bi.ty$ (one who draws near to the $bi.ty$ -king), $R^c.w$ [19] is represented as a person who the King consulted with $m w^c\text{-}y > w$ (in private) and $\dot{im}n\text{-}\dot{h}^3b M\dot{h}w$ [4] is called as $tm t\dot{s}i r nsw m s.t nb.t$ (one who did not abandon the king in any place).²⁰⁹ As Table 4.4 demonstrates, some expressions of physical closeness to the monarch reoccur more than once, the most highly attested expression of this type is $\dot{ir}.y rd.wy$. Another similar expression $\check{s}ms.w nsw$ (follower of the King) only occurs twice in the dataset. Guksch notes $\check{s}ms.w$ -officials were probably individuals who accompanied the king on journeys, namely his

²⁰⁵ Appendix C Con. Line 44

²⁰⁶ Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 39–42.

²⁰⁷ Appendix C Con Line 11, $\dot{im}n\text{-}\dot{h}tp s^3 si$ [7] is identified as $s^3 n.y nsw hr smn\dot{h}\text{-}f n\text{-}f$ (one who was made great =promoted on account of that which he made effective for him =King) Causative Participle + Indirect Genitive expression + conjunction + causative relative form + suffix dative

²⁰⁸ Appendix C Con Line 37; perfective relative form Ockinga CGME §§ 107, 111e; for the word k^3 see Wb 5, 91.3-13

²⁰⁹ Appendix C Con Line 6 11, 23. For the unusual writing of the word $w^c.w$ see P.E. Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1937), 2:369. For the definition see, FCD 57. The tm construction marks a negated participle; for the definition of $t\dot{s}i$ see Wb 5, 328.17-329.13.

entourage,²¹⁰ though a number of *ir.y rd.wy* expressions also seem to have some association with travel.²¹¹ In total, eight concordance lines include some direct reference to the official being in close contact with the monarch, a significant number of these text excerpts were associated with officials who were active during the reign of Amenhotep II.²¹²

Expression of 'closeness'	<i>tkn</i>	<i>‘k</i>	<i>ir.y rd.wy</i>	<i>šms</i>	<i>m wꜥ.yw</i>	<i>tm tšī</i>
No. of examples	1	3	4	2	1	1
Percentage of total	2%	6%	8%	4%	2%	2%

TABLE 4.4 PHRASES EXPRESSING AN OFFICIALS PHYSICAL CLOSENESS TO THE KING

Other phrases provide further information on the interaction between officials and the king. As noted earlier in many text excerpts officials are described as confidants of the king. In total if one combines both the preceding and succeeding collocates the term *mḥ-ib* (one who fills the heart) occurs in 9 excerpts in the dataset.²¹³ A number of collocates mention an official as a person who received instruction or guidance from the King. For example, *Kn-ḫmn* [29] is called *ḡd.tw n=f im.yt-ib* (one to whom is spoken that which is in the heart), similarly, in one excerpt *Iḳ-nw-nḳ* is considered a *sḳb* (student) of the king. The topoi the king conversing with an official can be discerned in 8% of text excerpts.²¹⁴ This suggests in under 10% of constructions officials identify themselves as trusted individuals who received information directly from the monarch and had direct access to the king. In the case of *Rꜥ.w* [19] the conversation appears to have been bi-directional (i.e the official not only received instruction but also informed the monarch) as the phrase *mḥ ‘nhwy Ḥr.w m mḳꜥ.t* (who fills the ears of Horus with *mḳꜥ.t*), a metaphor for giving the king good-news directly apposes a phrase in which he is identified as *mdw n=f* (one to whom he [= King] speaks).²¹⁵

²¹⁰ Guksch, *Königsdienst*, 56.

²¹¹ For example *Iḳ-nw-nḳ* [32] is identified as *ir.y rd.wy n.y nb tḳ.wy m s.t nb.t ḥnd.n=f* (one associated with the feet of the Lord of the Two Lands in every place that he journeyed to) Appendix C Con Line 44.

²¹² Appendix C Con Line 4, 11, 23, 31, 39 46, 48. *Rꜥ.w* [19] is the only official associated with one these for mentioned concordance lines who was not active during the reign of Amenhotep II.

²¹³ Appendix C Con Line 4, 7, 11, 15

²¹⁴ Appendix C: Con Line 19 25, 32, 39.

²¹⁵ Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi*, 2:369.

4.4 General Observations

From the co-text of designations one can observe significant patterns. Both the succeeding and preceding re-occurring lexemes. Evidence from the introductory co-text hints that royal sense organ designations are typically observed near the start of a title sequence though this is not universally true. Collocate sequences or established conventions relating to the grouping of elements of co-text are significant features of the preceding co-text, but less discernable after a designation. Some multipartite collocate sequences are associated with a certain temporal period, others are more chronologically dispersed. Furthermore, the use of occupational titles is a very distinct feature of the succeeding collocates but not the preceding co-text.

After examining a few major themes of the text excerpts, one can suggest expressions related to 'love' are a more extant feature than those related to *ḥs.wt*. Since *mr.wt* is very much a culturally moulded and multifaceted concept, one is resistant to place all these expressions in a category related to personal connections between a king and his official. Therefore, it is not possible with absolute certainty to discern if this denotes some level of what Guksch's terms an "emotional connection" between the two parties. Regardless of this, one can conclude that expressions related to physical closeness or interaction with the king do occur with some frequency in the dataset suggesting the officials who held royal sense-organ designations were to some extent trusted employees.

5. “Eyes-and-ears” Officials in Society

This chapter focuses on the collective analysis of biographical data related to individuals attested with royal sense-organ constructions. Principally, this chapter is concerned with understanding whether these officials share common occupational positions and honorific titles. This allows the analysis to test if there are patterns in the careers of officials who acquired the appellations. As noted in Chapter 2, a great deal of uncertainty surrounds the manner in which an official acquired a designation, therefore, tracing developments in the types of individuals attested with this phenomenon allows the study to tentatively propose that most officials in the corpus were highly trusted and ranked individuals within the administration, unfortunately, one cannot suggest a specific type of official exclusively acquired the designation under a certain king.²¹⁶ Furthermore, as the analysis argues, while it is not possible to suggest there was a common attribute shared by all officials in the corpus, there are significant clusters of closely dated officials, some of whom held similar duties during their period in royal service.

5.1 Servants and Sectors: An Overview

All but one member of the certain corpus, (namely *Hwy* [22]), are unambiguously attested with at least one occupational title.²¹⁷ As Figure 5.1 demonstrates, by applying Binder’s sector model to the titles and monuments of the remaining 34 individuals, one notices that officials in the corpus are not collectively confined to one sector, but instead operate across all facets of the administration.²¹⁸ The majority of individuals in the corpus held titles within temple complexes and roles associated with the central administration and the production of resources, however, their duties are not always restricted to these areas. Prominent subgroups of officials appear to have served in the army and the royal estates as well. Most officials were evidently active in multiple sectors of the administration. As Appendix D Table 1 reveals, the currently extant data suggests only five officials hold occupational titles which

²¹⁶ § 2.2.6

²¹⁷ There are significant lacunae on *Hwy*’s [22] statue, therefore it is not possible to read the entire inscription with confidence. Regardless, from the extant text, no occupational titles are discernible, Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 259.

²¹⁸ Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 222; For the limitations and possibilities of this approach see § 2.2.6

denote exclusive activity in a single sector, though this conclusion may be the product of fragmentary evidence and may not inherently reflect historical reality.²¹⁹

Provincial and territorial administration feature in a less pronounced manner than other sectors in the careers of individuals in the corpus. Only seven officials held titles associated with at least one of these two areas of administration²²⁰. *Sn-nfri* [31] is the single official who was active in both, as he was a mayor and an Overseer of a territory.²²¹

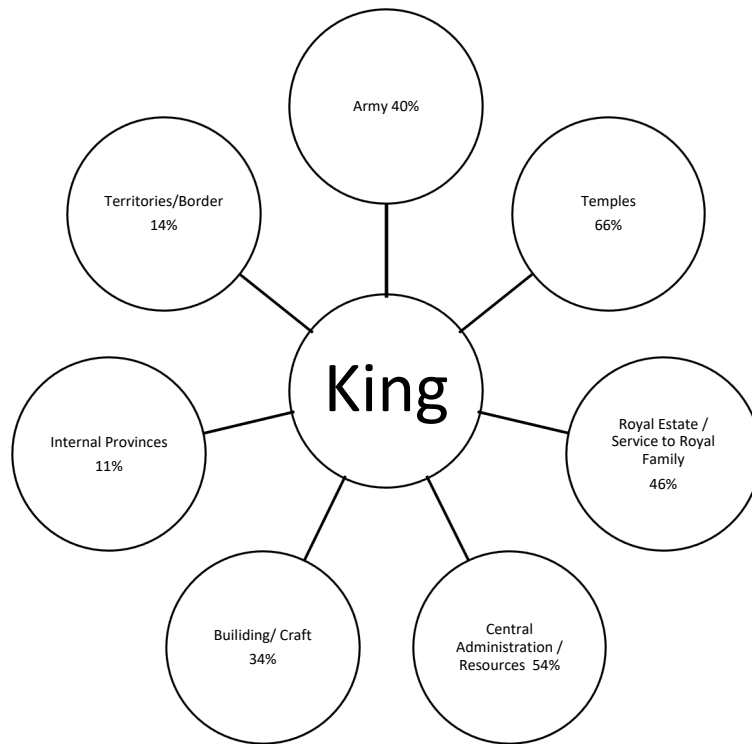


FIGURE 5.1: A DIAGRAM VISUALISING THE SECTORS AND MARKING THE PERCENTAGE OF INDIVIDUALS IN THE CERTAIN CORPUS WHO WERE ACTIVE WITHIN EACH ONE. (DESIGN ADAPTED FROM BINDER GOLD OF HONOUR, 222)

²¹⁹ For example *Nḥt-mn.w* [17] statue only contains one occupational title, however, the text is rather damaged see Borchardt, *Statuen* III, 88; *Urk.* IV, 1908.5–13

²²⁰ See the prosopography entries for *Imn-ms* [2], (*P3*)-*Hk3-m-s3-sn* [10], *Nb-imn* [15], *Hby* [23], *Kn-Imn* [29] *Sbk-ḥtp* [29], *Sn-nfri* [31], and *Dḥwty* [34]. *Rḥ.w* [19] holds the title *ḥr.y-tp/// ḥk3 ḥnd* (Chief of the /// Heliopolitan Township), this may hint he was also involved in provincial administration, however, the Redfords indicate by the New Kingdom it was “largely honorific”, as such, I have excluded *Rḥ.w* from the group of provincial administrators, Susan Redford and Donald B. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project. 4: The Tomb of Re’a* (TT 201), *Aegypti Texta Propositae* 3 (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1994), 25.

²²¹ He was mayor of *Hm* and apparently also an *im.y-r3 ḥ3s.wt n.(w)t Imn* (Overseer of the foreign land of the Gold of Amun) Strudwick, “Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments,” 23–24. Strudwick, “The Decoration of the Chapel,” 158, fig. 123. For further on both these titles see, § 5.4

5.1.1 Issues of title-classification

While the sectors model allows one to discern general trends in the data, some titles can be challenging to classify into a specific facet of the administration. This issue arises notably when considering the title *im.y-rʿ ssm.t* (Overseer of the Horse). Schulman indicates that the *im.y-rʿ ssm.t* was an official who was in charge of charioteers, namely an active military officer.²²² This reading seems somewhat plausible when one considers evidence associated with Yw-ỉʿ [1] who is also identified as a member of the charioteers or cavalry officers.²²³ Another official in the corpus who is attested as an *im.y-rʿ ssm.t*, *Hr.w-m-ḥb* [26] likewise acquired other military titles.²²⁴ Despite this, Shirley proposes that he did not see active combat but was instead an administrator.²²⁵ Indeed he appears to have held other titles which denote he was involved with royal livestock, as he is identified as the Overseer of hooves, feathers and scales. The earliest individual in the corpus who is associated with the role of *im.y-rʿ ssm.t*, *Nḥt-mn.w* [17] is not attested with any military titles.²²⁶ In light of these latter two cases, it seems questionable whether the role was directly linked to active combat, and in more recent scholarship authors have suggested it had closer ties to the royal stables than the battlefield.²²⁷ Ali proposes the title denotes that an individual functioned as the head of the stable organisation within the Royal Estate, a role which he infers was only given to close associates or family members of the king.²²⁸ On account of this re-evaluation, the current study classifies the role of Overseer of the Horse as a position within the personal service of the King, though this choice may prove to be a controversial one.

²²² Alan Richard Schulman, *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* (Berlin: B. Hessling, 1964), 47; Alan Richard Schulman, "The Egyptian Chariotry: A Reexamination," *JARCE* 2 (1963): 95. Similarly Brack and Brack translate the title as "Vorsteher der Pferde (Kavallerie)", Brack and Brack, *Das Grab des Haremhab*, 81.

²²³ Urk. IV 1895.15 ... *idn.w n.y ḥm=f m ti-n.t-ḥtr.w...* (Deputy of His Majesty as one who is in lit. of chariotry/cavalry contingents) For the definition of the word *ḥtr* see Wb 3, 199.11-200.12.

²²⁴ Brack and Brack, *Das Grab des Haremhab*, 81.

²²⁵ JJ Shirley, "What's in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere.," in *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature. Proceedings of a Conference at the University of Haifa, 3-7 May 2009*, ed. D. Kahn, JJ Shirley, and S. Bar (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 312.

²²⁶ Guksch, *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Ra-seneb*, 18–19.

²²⁷ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 20.

²²⁸ Aiman Ali, "The Administration of Horse Stables in Ancient Egypt," *ÄgLev* 24 (2014): 136–38.

A similar situation emerges when one considers the title *ḥr.y-tp pr.w dwꜣ.t* (lit. one at the head of the House of Morning) which is held by the latest individual in the dataset, *Ḥrw-m-ḥb* [27]. Martin and Säve-Söderbergh both associate this title with the personal care or dressing of the King.²²⁹ Blackman however indicates the *pr.w dwꜣ.t* was a place of ritual purification , but he also notes titles associated with it may have related to the personal care of the monarch as well.²³⁰ It is certainly possible that the morning routine of the king incorporated ritualistic overtones in the same way Elias understands the French King's morning activities as embowed with highly ceremonial elements.²³¹ I have chosen to regard the title as connected to the personal service of the king but acknowledge that it may have developed ritual dimensions.

5.2 The eyes and ears and the army

As the overview of eyes-and-ears officials' involvement within the key sectors of the Egyptian administration reveals, a significant portion of officials in the certain dataset are attested with titles or other biographical information which indicates they were active in or otherwise affiliated with the army. This does not, however, imply that 40 percent of the corpus saw active combat. Gnirs highlights that the military was utilised for a range of activities beyond participation in conflict in the New Kingdom.²³² The analysis here argues that the majority of officials with military titles in the present study should be understood as part of the administrative apparatus which surrounded the army, not veterans themselves.

Examining the data one can draw some interesting conclusions about the chronological distribution of 'army officials' in the corpus. The earliest officials with military titles in the

²²⁹ Martin translates it as one "who has authority in the robing room" Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Ḥoremḥeb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamūn*, 1:163. Säve-Söderbergh translates the identical title in TT 48 as (I quote exactly) "in charge of the king's morning toilet", Torgny Säve-Söderbergh, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, PTT 1 (Oxford: The Griffith Institute, 1957), 36.

²³⁰ Aylward M. Blackman, "The House of the Morning," *JEA* 5 (1918): 148–49. In a recent reassessment of the meaning of the word *dwꜣt* in this context Konstantin suggests it primarily indicates adoration but notes the concepts of morning and adoration are "not mutually exclusive" Konstantin Ivanov, "Pr-Dwꜣt: The House of Morning Adoration.," *JES* 5 (2017): 79–91. His argument is highly confusing.

²³¹ Elias, *The Court Society*, 91–94.

²³² For further on the non-combat roles of the army, see Gnirs, "Coping with the Army: The Military and the State in the New Kingdom.," 645–64, 667–75.

current dataset first served Thutmosis III,²³³ the latest were active in the aftermath of the Amarna Period.²³⁴ This suggests the chronological distribution of officials with army titles is not merely confined to a single reign, rather, it indicates military officials are attested with eyes-and-ears designations throughout the mid to late 18th Dynasty. Despite this, one of the largest clusters of these military officials appear to have spent at least some of their career under the rule of Amenhotep II. Although as stated in chapter 2, this does not always inherently denote they acquired their royal sense-organ designations during this reign, a number of these officials accompanied the king on his northern expedition²³⁵ The reign of Amenhotep II is not the only period in which one can observe a cluster of eyes-and-ears officials with martial titles however, an equally large group of eyes-and-ears officials who have some association with the military served Amenhotep III.²³⁶ *Hrw-m-ḥb* [26] is the only official who was active in both reigns.²³⁷ Furthermore, the two officials who are attested with eyes-designations after the death of Akhenaten held very high military titles,²³⁸ perhaps this is reflective of the increased prominence of the military in the management of the state during this period,²³⁹ however there are too few attestations of eyes-designations at this time to definitively establish this correlation.

²³³ *Imn-ms* [2], *imn-m-ḥḥb Mḥ.w* [4] *I3-nw-ny* [33] and *Dḥwty* [34]. For further on the careers of *imn-m-ḥḥb Mḥ.w* and *I3-nw-ny* see, Shirley, "What's in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere.," 295–96, 298; Brack and Brack, *Das Grab Des Tjanuni*, 47. *Sn-nfri* [31] is identified as a *kn n.y nsw* (brave-one of the king) additionally he depicts some foreigners in a fortress in his Tomb Strudwick, "Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments." While one might be tempted to regard this as an indication of military service. I follow Shirley in reading these as evidence of his 'trade' mission rather than conflict Shirley, "What's in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere.," 302–3.

²³⁴ *Nḥt-mnw* [18] and *Hrw-m-ḥb* [27]

²³⁵ *Imn-ms* [2], *imn-m-ḥḥb Mḥ.w* [4], [12], *Hrw-m-ḥb* [26], *Kn-Imn*[29] and *I3-nw-ny* [33]. As I argued in §3.2.3 *Hrw-m-ḥb* [26] probably acquired his designation later.

²³⁶ *Yw-ḥ* [1], *imn-ḥtp Hwty* [5] *imn-ḥtp s3 Hpw* [6], *Nb-Imn* [15] and *Hrw-m-ḥb* [26].

²³⁷ Brack and Brack, *Das Grab des Haremhab*, 83; Shirley, "What's in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere.," 312.

²³⁸ *Nḥt-mnw* [18] and *Hrw-m-ḥb* [27] both are identified as a *im.y-r3 mšc wr* (Generalissimo) Borchardt, *Statuen II*, 88; Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamun*, 1:pl. 107.

²³⁹ Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 100–113; Cruz-Urbe, "A Model for the Political Structure of Ancient Egypt.," 51.

	<i>w' w n.y ḥmn-wsr-ḥ3t</i>	<i>tī n.t ḥtr.w</i>	<i>idn.w mš'</i>	<i>sš nfr.w</i>	<i>sš mš'</i>	<i>ḥm.y-r3 sš.w mš'</i>	<i>ḥm.y-r3 mš' / mš' wr</i>	<i>ḥr.y pḏ.t</i>	<i>mḥβ.t</i>	<i>ḥm.y-r3 nfr.w</i>	<i>mḏy</i>	<i>ḥm.y-r3 ḥw'yt</i>	<i>ḥr.y ḥr-ḥ3.t kn.yw</i>	<i>ḥm.y-r3 ḥtm</i>	<i>total army titles</i>
	1	1	2	7	3	2	5	4	2	2	1	1	1	1	33
% of army titles	3%	3%	6%	21%	9%	6%	15%	12%	6%	6%	3%	3%	3%	3%	100%

TABLE 5.1 ARMY RELATED TITLES IN THE DATASET

NOTE: IN THE RELEVANT SOURCE THE WORD *ḥtm* APPARENTLY DENOTES A FORTRESS AND NOT A SEAL.²⁴⁰

One can also gain insight into the prominence and roles of eyes-and-ears officials in the military. As Table 5.1 demonstrates, eyes-and-ears officials were active in a diverse range of military units, interacted with different types of troupes and held varying levels of seniority within these institutions though a third of these are overseer titles. Six officials in the dataset are affiliated with the *nfr.w*.²⁴¹ Schulman suggests they were elite troupes; however, this assessment has been re-evaluated by Gnirs who indicates they were primarily non-combat officers.²⁴² Some officials in the corpus appear to have commanded specific army units. For example, *Nb-ḥmn* [15] held the positions of *ḥr.y mḏy n.y ḥmn.tyw W3s.t* (Head of the Medjay in Western Thebes) and *ḥr.y pḏ.t* (Captain of the Troupes). Murnane indicates that the *mḏy* were a police-like unit, he suggests *Nb-ḥmn* [15] operated on the western outskirts of the city.²⁴³ The position of *ḥr.y pḏ.t* is also held by three other individuals all of whom served Amenhotep II, and appear to have participated on one of his northern campaigns namely *ḥmn-ms* [2], *ḥmn-ḥ3b Mḥw* [4] and *Kn-ḥmn* [29]. Schulmann suggests in the hierarchy of the military, the *ḥr.yw pḏ.t* were commanders who were ,to use Shirley's parlance, "subordinate"

²⁴⁰ Henri Wild, "Contributions à l'iconographie et à La Titulature de Qen-Amon.," *BIFAO* 56 (1958): 223.

²⁴¹ *ḥmn-ḥtp s3 ḥpw* [6], *ḥmn-ḥtp Ḥwy* [5], *Ḥrw-m-ḥb* [26], *Ḥrw-m-ḥb* [27], and *I3-nw-ny* [33].

²⁴² Schulman, *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, 20–21; Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, n. 71.

²⁴³ Murnane, "The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III.," 199. This could be a possible reference to the Necropolis.

to those with the rank of *im.y-r3 mšʿ*.²⁴⁴ In addition to being *hr.yw pḏ.t* two of these officials served as army officers aboard ships. *Imn-ḥ3b Mḥw* [4] notes in his biography that he served as a *wʿ.w* (soldier) aboard the barque *Imn-wsr-ḥ3t*,²⁴⁵ and *Nb-Imn* [15] was awarded the office of *ṯ3.y sr.yt* (standard bearer) on the ship *Mr.y-Imn*.

Some individuals in the corpus acquired very senior military titles, as discussed earlier, both eyes-officials who were active during the reign of Tutankhamun serve as a case in point. They are not however the only examples of officials in the corpus with top-ranking marshal titles, *Ṭ3-nw-ny* [33] and perhaps even *Dḥwty* [34] were appointed *im.y-r3 mšʿ* too. In the latter case this appointment is uncertain, as the title only appears on an object which Lilyquist has classified as a modern forgery or imitation of an ancient artefact, namely the Gold Bowl in the Louvre, therefore, one cannot definitively establish if *Dḥwty* [34] held the title.²⁴⁶ In addition to *im.y-r3 mšʿ* one other high military rank occurs in the dataset. Two officials, *Imn-ḥ3b Mḥw* [4] and *Hrw-m-ḥb* [27] are both identified as a *idn.w* (deputy) of the army and of the king. Shirley suggests *Imn-ḥ3b Mḥw* [4] did not acquire the position of deputy until the sole reign of Amenhotep II, as she correctly notes mention of his appointment in this dual role directly follows a figurative passage marking Thutmosis' III death.²⁴⁷ When exactly *Hrw-m-ḥb* [27] functioned in the position is perhaps slightly more open to debate. It is reasonable to propose that he probably acquired the deputy status during the rule of Tutankhamun, as he appears have been a central figure in that reign.²⁴⁸ While one might for arguments sake suggest he could have also practically retained the position under Ay, realistically this seems extremely

²⁴⁴ Schulman, *Military Rank, Title, and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, 30, 53–56; Shirley, “What’s in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere.”

²⁴⁵ Urk. 895.9...*iw=(i) m wʿ.w n.y Imn-Wsr-ḥ3t...* (while I was an officer of the <barque> Amun-strong-of-prow..” As Di Biase-Dyson notes this ship appears to be the barque of Amun par-excellence. It is identified in numerous contemporaneous biographies, Camilla Di Biase-Dyson, “Amenemheb’s excellent adventure in Syria: new insights from discourse analysis and toponymics,” in *Text: Wissen - Wirkung - Wahrnehmung: Beiträge des vierten Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (MAJA 4)*, 29.11. bis 1.12.2013, ed. Burkhard Backes et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015).

²⁴⁶ Christine Lilyquist, “The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty: A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology,” *MMJ* 23 (1988): 34–40.

²⁴⁷ Shirley, “What’s in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere.”

²⁴⁸ Kawai, “Ay versus Horemheb: The Political Situation in the Late Eighteenth Dynasty Revisited,” 262–63, 269–70. See also, Dodson, *Amarna Sunset*, 65.

unlikely, as Kawai has convincingly argued his status and prominence at court seems to have diminished under Tutankhamun's successor.²⁴⁹

5.2.1 War and other callings: The duties of eyes-and-ears officials in the army

Putting aside the nuances of individual units and manifestations of hierarchy, perhaps what is most striking about the military titles of individuals in the dataset is the significant amount of scribal titles therein. Scribal roles constitute c. 37% of military titles in the dataset (refer to Table 5.1). This indicates that at least for a portion of their service some officials functioned as military administrators. While it is true that one of the individuals in the corpus appears to have actively participated in the throes of war; captives and victory are frequent topoi in the biography of *Imn-ḥꜣb Mḥw* [4].²⁵⁰ In other cases, even if they did venture on expeditions eyes-and-ears officials seem to have been somewhat divorced from active combat. For example, *Ḳn-Ḳmn* [29] is documented as holding a military title and is in addition, known to have ventured on campaign. In his tomb the stela notes that he did not leave the king when the battle occurred.²⁵¹ This highlights that *Ḳn-Ḳmn* [29] principally went on campaign in order to be in the entourage of the King rather than for battle experience. At some point in his career he was made an overseer of a border fortress, despite the fact fortresses appear to have housed military contingents, I suggest the role was managerial and not directly linked with war, as it occurs in conjunction with his other administrative position in the border regions, Overseer of the northern *ḥꜣs.wt*.²⁵² Shirley has likewise demonstrated that both *Ṛꜣ-nw-ny* [33] and *Imn-ḥtp sꜣ Ḥpw* [6] while they certainly went on campaign functioned as administrative staff not soldiers.²⁵³

²⁴⁹ Kawai, "Ay versus Horemheb: The Political Situation in the Late Eighteenth Dynasty Revisited.," 287.

²⁵⁰ For example, see the excerpt in Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 157–58

²⁵¹ Davies, *The Tomb of Ḳen-Amūn at Thebes*, pl. XLIV. See Urk.IV 1405.10–11 *šms.w nsw r nm.wt=f ḥr ḥꜣs.t Rtn.w ḥꜣs.t, tm tšꜣ r nb tꜣ.wy r prꜣ wnw.t n.t ḥsf ḥh.w* (follower of the king on his journey upon the terrible foreign land of Retenu, one who did not depart from the Lord of the Two Lands for the battlefield <at> the time of opposing millions)

²⁵² Wild, "Contributions à l'iconographie et à La Titulature de Qen-Amon.," 223.

²⁵³ Shirley, "What's in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere.," 298, 312–13.

Even the archetypal soldier official *Imn-h3b Mhw* [4] appears to have served at least some of his military service outside of the battlefield. He notes in his biography that he served as a soldier aboard *Wsr-h3.t-Imn* and captained the ship during “the rowing of Amun-Ra in the beautiful festival of Opet”.²⁵⁴ This suggests his role on this barque related to festivities rather than conflict. Indeed Faulkner notes it was not unheard of for military officials to participate in ceremony.²⁵⁵ In other cases it is unclear what an official’s role was in the military. In his inscription at Aswan, *Hby* [23] though he includes no titles of a military nature within his title sequence, notes the inscription was written “at the time of the doing of the decent of his Majesty, he being on his expedition, namely, the first occasion of Victory in Kush”.²⁵⁶ This seems to indicate that *Hby* [23] had some involvement with a military campaign in Nubia, though Murnane infers that he was merely part of a welcoming contingent on the expeditions’ return.²⁵⁷ While this is certainly possible, one cannot conclude just because only the return journey is mentioned that he did not go on campaign.²⁵⁸

5.3 Building Works

Building and construction titles are attested with approximately 34% of officials in the dataset.²⁵⁹ Like those with military titles, the chronological distribution of these individuals is vast, officials in the corpus are associated with royal works throughout the period.²⁶⁰ The most common works title attested amongst officials in the corpus *im.y-r3 k3.wt* (Overseer of

²⁵⁴ Urk. IV, 895:11–12. *Imw3 tp.y ir.yw=f hr hn.yt [Imn]-Rw m hb nfr n.y ip.t* (I was the head of it’s (=the ship’s) rowers (lit. do-ers) upon the rowing of Amun-Ra in the beautiful festival of Opet)

²⁵⁵ R. O. Faulkner, “Egyptian Military Organization,” *JEA* 39 (1953): 39.

²⁵⁶ Urk. IV 1793.9 –10 *hft ir.t shd.yt hm=f iw=f m wd.yt=f tp.t n(.t) nht m Kš*

²⁵⁷ Murnane, “The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III.,” 195.

²⁵⁸ Murnane incorrectly suggests there is an inscription in which *Hby* [23] is a general Murnane, “The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III.,” 195. The inscription in question from Bigreh instead identifies an *Imn-htp* as a general. Varille suggested this was *Imn-htp s3 Hpw* [6], Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 58–59. As I stated earlier I agree with other authors it is more likely the inscription was made for *Imn-htp Hwuy* [5] however I still cannot establish this with absolute certainty.

²⁵⁹ *Imn-htp Hwuy* [5], *Imn-htp Hwuy* [6], *Bnr-mrw.t* [9], *Pth-m-h3t* [11] *Nfr-shrw* [16], *Rw* [19] *Rw-ms* [20] *Rh.w-mi-Rw* [21], *Hp.w-snb* [25] *Hrw-m-hb* [26] *Hrw-m-hb* [27] and *Kn-Imn* [29]

²⁶⁰ The earliest official in the corpus, namely *Hp.w-snb* [25] may have begun his career before the co-regency see § 3.1.2 Luc Delvaux, “La Statue Louvre A 134 du Premier Prophete d’Amon Hapouseneb,” *SAK* 15 (1988): 57. The latest official in the corpus with a works related title is *Hrw-m-hb* [27]

Works) is held by all but one of the subset of officials who were involved in construction projects.²⁶¹

From the early 18th dynasty to the sole reign of Thutmosis III, eyes-and-ears officials undertook construction work in temple complexes and in one case a royal tomb. The earliest official in the dataset, *Hpw-snb* [25] appears to have begun managing construction projects possibly as early as the reign of Thutmosis II. On one of his statues, the inscription states that he was appointed (?) “to control the work on his (= The King’s) tomb” and as a result “<my> lord placed me /// [Thutmosis II].”²⁶² The fragmentary name of Thutmosis II here has prompted Shirley and Delvaux to suggest the tomb in question belonged to that king,²⁶³ however earlier scholarship hypothesizes that it in fact belonged to Hatshepsut.²⁶⁴ Due to the significant lacunae in the text, the owner of the tomb is unclear. While Thutmosis II is certainly a plausible option, as he is mentioned both before and after the excerpt in question, one must also be cognisant of the shortness of his reign, one estimate infers he only ruled for two years.²⁶⁵ It seems questionable that a tomb could be established or decorated in such a short period, therefore, the present study takes the view that while it is certainly more likely *Hpw-snb* [25] lead construction on the tomb of Thutmosis II, the exact ownership of the tomb and when the official was appointed to manage its development may still be open for debate.

Regardless of when his role in the project began, the evidence indicates by the co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III *Hpw-snb* [25] was heavily involved in a number of important development projects within temple complexes. He participated in the building of the chapel

²⁶¹ To my knowledge none of *Hpw-snb*’s [25] monuments include the Overseer of Works title, though his tomb is currently being republished, perhaps this shall bring new titles to light, for the preliminary report on these excavations see Tamás A Bács, “Researches in the Funerary Complex of Hapuseneb, High Priest of Amun at Thebes (TT 67): An Interim Report,” in *Current Research of the Hungarian Archaeological Mission in Thebes 2014-2015*, Publications of the Office of the Hungarian Cultural Counsellor in Cairo, 2015, 9–21.

²⁶² I read the text from Delvaux, “La Statue Louvre A 134 du Premier Prophete d’Amon Hapouseneb,” pl. 1(1). Heck provides some additional restorations see *Urk* IV. 471.11–14, however I am sceptical of some of these. I render the text as ... ///[*r hrp*] *k3.wt hr hr.t.f...* *di.n wi{i}* *nb<i>///* [*3-hrp.w-n-R‘w*]... the *r hrp* phrase is understood as an expression of purpose, Ockinga, CGME § 85.

²⁶³ Delvaux, “La Statue Louvre A 134 du Premier Prophete d’Amon Hapouseneb,” 61; Shirley, “The Power of the Elite,” 199.

²⁶⁴ Wolfgang Helck, “Hapuseneb,” in *LÄ*, vol. II of, 1977, col. 955; Suzanne Ratié, *La reine Hatchepsout: sources et problème*, OrMonsp 1 (Leyden: Brill, 1979), 274–75.

²⁶⁵ Delvaux, “La Statue Louvre A 134 du Premier Prophete d’Amon Hapouseneb,” pl. 1(1); Hornung, Krauss, and Warburton, *Ancient Egyptian Chronology*, 492.

Nṯr.y-mn.w in Karnak. Despite the fragments of the name of Thutmose II which appear in the text of *Hpw-snb*'s [25] statue, namely directly apposing the temple's name, Luc Gabolde and Laboury infer that this structure was completed early in Hatshepsut's period in power.²⁶⁶ In addition *Hpw-snb* [25] appears to have covered the barque or barque shrine of Amun in precious metals at the request of Hatshepsut.²⁶⁷

In the sole reign of Thutmose III, two officials who hold eyes-and-ears designations can firmly be associated with development projects within sacred complexes. *Bnr-mr.wt* [9] held the position of Overseer of all the works of the King while the vizier *Rḥ.w-mi-R'w* [21] is identified as both Overseer of all the works of Amun, and Controller of the works at Karnak.²⁶⁸ Intriguingly both individuals are mentioned in an ostrakon concerning Thutmose III remodelling of complexes at Deir el Bahri.²⁶⁹ Perhaps indicating the two collaborated on the same precinct. When exactly they worked on the project is unclear, though Thutmose III's work at Deir el Bahri appears to have been undertaken late in his reign.²⁷⁰ At present it is uncertain whether *Rḥ.w-mi-R'w* [21] duties in this sector continued into the sole reign of

²⁶⁶ Delvaux, "La Statue Louvre A 134 du Premier Prophete d'Amon Hapouseneb," pl. 2; Luc Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief aux noms de Thoutmosis II et Hatchepsout à Karnak: Texte*, MIFAO 123 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 2005), 10–17; Dimitri Laboury, "How and Why Did Hatshepsut Invent the Image of Her Royal Power?," in *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut: Papers from the Theban Workshop 2010*, ed. Betsy M. Bryan, Peter F. Dorman, and José M. Galán, SAOC 69 (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2014), 63.

²⁶⁷ Delvaux, "La Statue Louvre A 134 du Premier Prophete d'Amon Hapouseneb," pl. 2. Urk.IV 474.5-8 The text is extremely fragmentary omitting Helck's reconstructions I emend the text as follows ...////[*imn-wsr*]-*ḥṣt m ḥq nb.w ḥm.t km* (/// [*Amun-stron*]*g-of-prow in Silver, Gold and black copper*///) the vertical line then reads *in ḥm.t-s nsw-bi.ty nb tṣ.wy [Mṣ'.t-Kṣ]-R'w* /// '*ṇḥ.ti [is] tw-i m hrp kṣ.wt* /// (by her majesty the nsw-bi.ty king, Lord of the two lands, may she live. While I was controlling ///). The phrase starting with the particle *is* is difficult to interpret syntactically, it seems to be a late Egyptian first present form with perfective meaning which doesn't make a great deal of sense, François Neveu, *The Language of Ramesses: Late Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford ; Philadelphia: Oxbow Books, 2015), §§ 16.1.1-1.2.

²⁶⁸ *Rḥ.w-mi-R'w* [21] depicts stone masons and sculptors working in Karnak in his tomb, Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Re' at Thebes.*, pl. LX. For further on his work at Karnak see Bryan, "Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III.," 76.

²⁶⁹ William C. Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Dêr El-Bahri," *JEA* 46 (1960): 46. I am indebted to the work of Shirley for bringing this to my attention, Shirley, "The Power of the Elite," 197.

²⁷⁰ Janina Wiercińska, "The Change of Dimensions of the Bark of Amon in the Light of Recent Studies on the Temple of Tuthmosis III at Deir El-Bahari.," in *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Interconnections between Temples, Warschau, 22.-25. September 2008*, ed. Horst Beinlich and Monika Dolińska (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2010), 224.

Amenhotep II, however, Bryan infers that his building efforts were principally undertaken in the reign of Thutmose III.²⁷¹

The largest cluster of ‘eyes-and-ears officials’ with construction-focused titles were active at some point during the period from the reign of Amenhotep II to that of Amenhotep III.²⁷² As with earlier examples, some eyes-and-ears officials who were in office at this time, principally managed construction work in temples. For example, *Pth-m-ḥꜣt* [11] and *Hr.w-m-ḥb* [26] are overseers of the works of Amun. A third official may have also been associated with works at the Amun temple during this period. *Imn-ḥtp sꜣ Ḥpw* [6] states on his statue that he was appointed by the king as Overseer of Works *m ḡw n.y bꜣ.t*” (in the mountain of sandstone).²⁷³ As the *Wörterbuch* notes this toponym has associations with two locations, namely Gebel Ahmar (the site of a quarry near modern Cairo) and the Temple of Amun in Karnak.²⁷⁴ I propose here the toponym is employed to evoke a double meaning. On first reading it seems to refer to the latter sense as an alternative name for the Temple of Amun, because the passage continues “ in order to control the monuments of his (=the King’s) father Amun in *ḥp.t-sw.t*”. In the passage after this, however, the text reads “ I brought great and grand monuments... they were carried from Heliopolis in Lower Egypt to Heliopolis in Upper Egypt.”

²⁷⁵ This passage with its mention of cross-country travel from Lower Egypt to Upper Egypt seems to, in contrast to the previous passage, hint that the Mountain of Sandstone is a location distant from Karnak i.e Gebel Ahmar. The juxtaposition of the two passages is perhaps used to indicate that the official undertook duties in both locations. According to Varille the mention of “great and grand monuments” seems to allude to the colossi *Imn-ḥtp sꜣ Ḥpw* established outside the Memorial Temple of Amenhotep III, the construction and

²⁷¹ Bryan, “Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III.,” 67. This certainly seems plausible as the only cartouche depicted in the construction scenes in his tomb, while fragmentary, seems to correspond to type 10 or 11 of Thutmose III throne name, and does not resemble that of Amenhotep II, Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē’ at Thebes.*, pl. lx; Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (Mainz: Phillip von Zabern, 1999), 137–39. Likewise the sphinx in the scene bears some resemblance to another example belonging to Thutmose III, MMA 08.202.6, William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1959), 2:121, fig. 63.

²⁷² *Imn-ḥtp Hw* [5], *Imn-ḥtp Hw* [6], *Pth-m-ḥꜣt* [11] *Nfr-shrw* [16], *Rꜥ.w* [19] *Rꜥ.w-ms* [20] *Rḥ.w-mi-Rꜥ.w* [21],] *Hrw-m-ḥb* [26] and *Kn-Imn* [29]

²⁷³ Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 27.

²⁷⁴ Wb 1, 439; Paul T. Nicholson and Ian Shaw, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology* (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 53.

²⁷⁵ Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 27.

erection of which is discussed extensively on another statue, namely CGC 583.²⁷⁶ Despite the fact that a significant portion of eyes-and-ears officials who were involved in construction works undertook these duties in the Theban Area, the works focused duties of individuals in the corpus are not universally restricted to this specific location. *İmn-ḥtp Ḥwy* [5] was commissioned to build a temple of Ptah. As a result, he held the title of Overseer of Works in Nebmaatre-united-with-Ptah.²⁷⁷

Some members of the corpus managed construction projects with no clear association with a temple complex. This scenario applies to a number of officials in the corpus, namely *Ḳn-İmn* [29] who was evidently given the position of Overseer of works, *R'w* [19] who is attested with the title Overseer of the works of Upper and Lower Egypt, *R'w-ms* [20] who is identified as Overseer of all the works on the great monuments and *Nfr-sḥr.w* [16] held the title Overseer of works in the *ḥ'py-ʿ*. While *R'w* [19] and *R'w-ms* [20] development- focused titles seem to be somewhat non-specific, *Nfr-sḥr.w*'s [16] association with *ḥ'py-ʿ* is somewhat more challenging to understand. The phrase *ḥ'py-ʿ* can denote a range of entities. In the Middle Kingdom, it is employed to refer to the deified inundation on a royal stela,²⁷⁸ however, it seems unlikely that the term is used with this sense in this context as it is preceded by the preposition *m*, where one might expect it to be preceded by a genitive adjective if it were referring to the God. In New Kingdom graffiti the term *ḥ'py-ʿ* seems to denote an event of Nile flooding, therefore, this could suggest *Nfr-sḥr.w* [16] was charged with managing construction in the aftermath of a flood.²⁷⁹ Alternatively, it could refer to a specific location in the Nile, as Gnirs has inferred. At present, its ultimate meaning in this context is ambiguous, further research is needed to resolve this.

From this evidence, one can state a significant portion of officials in the corpus were involved in royal works. These individuals cannot collectively be assigned to the reign of a single king. Often this subset of officials appears to be associated with construction projects in temples, and in particular in the Theban area, however this is not universally true. In some cases,

²⁷⁶ For a translation of the relevant passage see Gnirs, "Coping with the Army: The Military and the State in the New Kingdom.," 668–69.

²⁷⁷ Robert G. Morkot, "Nb-Mḳ't-R'-United-with-Ptah.," *JNES* 49.4 (1990): 323–24.

²⁷⁸ Jac. J. Janssen, "The Day the Inundation Began," *JNES* 46.2 (1987): 131.

²⁷⁹ Janssen, "The Day the Inundation Began," 133–36.

officials operated elsewhere, outside the temple domain or indeed outside Thebes. Furthermore, others do not specify where exactly they undertook works projects. Four officials in this subgroup of twelve individuals have no explicit association with construction projects in temple complexes. In addition, only one official in the corpus who was active in the aftermath of the Amarna episode has any connection with royal works.

5.3 The Royal Estate and personal staff

Just under half of the officials in the certain corpus undertook duties associated with the royal estates or served on the personal staff of the royal family. Officials who operated within this sector of administration are not confined to a single reign. The earliest official in the corpus to be active within the estates is *Nḥt-mnw* [17] who may have been operating within the administration as early as the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.²⁸⁰ The latest official with any connection to the royal estate is *Hr.w-m-ḥb* [27]

5.3.1 Stewards

Some of the eyes-and-ears officials in the corpus were royal stewards. In total, seven individuals in the certain dataset held overseer positions in royal estates.²⁸¹ The earliest royal steward in the corpus is *Sn-nfri* [31], the latest is *Hr.w-m-ḥb* [27]. One can conclude that estate stewards are awarded royal-sense organ designations throughout the period, as each king except perhaps Hatshepsut and Ay, employed a royal steward with one of the appellations. The largest cluster of stewards in the dataset served Amenhotep III, as three separate individuals with royal sense-organ designations managed his or his family's estates.²⁸²

²⁸⁰ Gnirs suggests he came to prominence under Hatshepsut. He has a shrine at Gebel Siliah with what appears to be an erasure of her cartouche. Guksch, *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Ra-seneb*, 20; James and Caminos, *Gebel Es Silsilah*, pl. 57.

²⁸¹ *Imn-ḥtp Hw* [5], *Imn-ḥtp s3 Hpw* [6], *Nfr-sḥr.w* [16], *Sn-nfri* [31], *Hr.w-m-ḥb* [27], *Kn-Imn* [29], and *I3-nw-n3* [32].

²⁸² As noted in § 5.5.2 there is some doubt as to whether *Sn-nfri* [31] was already a highly ranked official in the co-regency of Hatshepsut, I highly doubt he was a steward before the sole reign of Thutmose III as the title *im.y-r3 pr.w n nsw* only appears in his tomb which was completed in the sole reign. Strudwick, "Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments," 10, 17–18. *Kn-Imn* [29] (Amenhotep II), *I3-nw-n3* [32] (Thutmose IV, see Betsy M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 256.) *Imn-ḥtp Hw* [5], *Imn-ḥtp s3 Hpw* [6], *Nfr-sḥr.w* [16] (Amenhotep III) and *Hr.w-m-ḥb* [27] (Tutankhamun?)

It appears in some cases stewards ran specific complexes, though one is unable to determine in which royal estate *Sn-nfri* [31] and *Ṛ-nw-nʒ* [32] operated, as their titles and tomb inscriptions do not address where exactly they worked in this capacity.²⁸³ In other cases, which estate an official operated in is easier to discern. *Ḳn-Ḳmn* [29] was the steward at the estate *Pr.w-nfr*.²⁸⁴ Traditionally scholars have indicated this site was located at Memphis and some modern scholarship still favours this proposal.²⁸⁵ Recent archaeological excavations however, indicate *Pr.w-nfr* was in fact a harbourside complex in the Delta²⁸⁶.

Returning to the three officials in the corpus who held steward titles in the reign of Amenhotep III, one can note they each operated at separate estates. Two of these individuals managed the king's estates, *Ḳmn-ḥtp Ḳwy* [5] was based at Memphis, while *Nfr-sḥr.w* [16] ran the estate at Malqata, which was the site of the first *ḥb-sd*. The estate at Malqata may have been used outside of these festivities, O'Connor indicates that it served as an alternate residence for Amenhotep III, particularly during the latter few years of his kingship.²⁸⁷ In contrast, *Ḳmn-ḥtp sʒ Ḳpw* [6] is the only steward in the corpus who has no direct association with one of the king's estates, rather, he managed the estate of the princess, *Sʒ.t-Ḳmn*, who by around year 30 was promoted to the position of Great Royal Wife.²⁸⁸

²⁸³ Both *Sn-nfri* [31] and *Ṛ-nw-nʒ* [32] were evidently stewards of their respective king's own estate as they are *im.y-rʒ pr.w nsw* and *im.y-rʒ pr wr* respectively however neither official provides any useful detail beyond this, see Strudwick, "The Decoration of the Chapel," 156, fig. 119; Cristina Pino Fernández, "Los textos de la tumba de Thenuna (TT 76).," in *Novos trabalhos de Egiptologia Ibérica: IV Congresso Ibérico de Egiptologia - IV Congreso Ibérico de Egiptología*, ed. Luís Manuel de Araújo and José das Candeias Sales, vol. 2 of (Lisbon: Instituto Oriental e Centro de História da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2012), 951. Bryan provides another variant of the steward title that she suggests, *Ṛ-nw-nʒ* [32] held, I could not find strong evidence to support this in his tomb inscriptions, see, Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 312 n. 112.

²⁸⁴ Davies, *The Tomb of Ḳen-Amūn at Thebes*, pl. XXV B.

²⁸⁵ David G. Jeffreys and Lisa L. Giddy, *The Survey of Memphis: The Archaeological Report* (Egypt Exploration Society, 1985), 48; Christiane Zivie-Coche, "Foreign Deities in Egypt.," *UEE*, 3; David Jeffreys, "Perunefer: At Memphis or Avaris," *EA* 28 (2006): 36–37.

²⁸⁶ Manfred Bietak, "Peru-Nefer; The Principal New Kingdom Naval Base," *EA* 34 (2009): 15–17; Manfred Bietak, "A Thutmosid Palace Precinct at Peru-Nefer/Tell El-Dab'A," in *Ancient Egyptian and Ancient Near Eastern Palaces*, ed. Manfred Bietak and Silvia Prell (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2018), 231–57.

²⁸⁷ David O'Connor, "The City and the World: Worldview and Built Forms in the Reign of Amenhotep III.," in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David B. O'Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 161. O'Connor calls it a "throwaway" palace. This terminology seems rather problematic.

²⁸⁸ Berman, "Overview of Amenhotep III and His Reign.," 7.

5.3.2 The Nursery of the Royal Children²⁸⁹

Roehrig, in her study of royal carers and ‘foster siblings’ notes that, officials who reared the issue of the king were highly valued members of the administration.²⁹⁰ Four individuals in the corpus appear to have had some involvement with the raising of princes and princesses, though Table 5.2 suggests eyes-and-ears officials are most commonly depicted looking after royal daughters.²⁹¹ Despite the fact approximately 11% of officials in the corpus are traditionally regarded as being involved in the care of royal children, only one individual in the dataset explicitly holds a version of the *mn*^c (carer) title, namely, *Sn-nfri* [31] who is identified as *it mn^c{.t} s3 nsw S3- ĩmn* (father-<like> carer of the Prince S3- ĩmn).²⁹² As Strudwick and Roehrig note, Prince S3- ĩmn is otherwise unattested; he was perhaps a son of Thutmosis III.²⁹³ All the other ‘royal carers’ in the dataset are only depicted as holding royal children. They are not attested with titles which indicate a connection to the nursery, so one cannot conclude with absolute certainty they were bona fide carers, they may have only interacted with the children on occasion.²⁹⁴ In the case of *Bnr-mr.wt* [9], his apparent status as a tutor is routinely mentioned in a range of scholarship, despite the fact he holds no titles which suggest he held such a position.²⁹⁵ Interestingly, as §5.7 demonstrates, three of the four in the

²⁸⁹ A pertinent note on terminology: the titles *mn*^c/*mn*^c.*t* for male and female attendance of royal children are regarded as the most common titles for those who looked after royal children, however they are not held by all officials who appear to have been involved with the royal children, as I discuss below. The words *mn*^c/*mn*^c.*t* are often translated as “tutor” and “nurse” respectively Roehrig, “Nurse, Tutor and Foster Brother/Sister,” 1; Rainer Hannig, *Grosses Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v. Chr.): die Sprache der Pharaonen*, KAW 64 (Mainz: Phillip von Zabern, 1995), 338. One is cognisant that both titles appear to derive from the verbal root *mn*^c which has the sense of “to nurse” FCD, 108 or “säugen/ aufziehen” Wb 2, 77, (though according to the *Wörterbuch* this second sense isn’t attested until the 19th Dynasty). Since both male and female titles derive from the same root, I have opted to declare these attendants ‘royal carers’ regardless of their gender.

²⁹⁰ Roehrig, “Nurse, Tutor and Foster Brother/Sister,” 1.

²⁹¹ *Bnr-mr.wt* [9], *Hrw-m-ħb* [26] *Sbk-ḥtp* [30] *Sn-nfri* [31]

²⁹² In Strudwick’s normalised text a *.t* appears next to *mn*^c. I checked photographs and the inscription itself is very unclear, so I am unable to tell if it is actually there myself Strudwick, “Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments,” figs 11-12. In Roehrig’s study a *.t* is noted, she translates the title as “foster father” Roehrig, “Nurse, Tutor and Foster Brother/Sister,” 322. The *Wörterbuch* does not include a *.t* in its entry Wb 2, 78. Perhaps the example on CGC 1112 is a variant spelling or scribal error

²⁹³ Strudwick, “Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments,” 15.

²⁹⁴ [9] Bernhauer, *Innovationen in der Privatplastik*, pl. 28. [26] Brack and Brack, *Das Grab des Haremhab*, pl. 32. [30] Jean Capart, “Une statue de Sebekhotep, précepteur royal,” *BMRAH* 10.4 (1938): 83–86.

²⁹⁵ Jürgen von Beckenrath, “Meretamun,” in *LÄ IV*, 1982, 88–90; Anne K. Capel and Glenn Markoe, eds., *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Hudson Hills, 1996), 54; Stephanie Lynn Budin, *Images of Woman and Child from the Bronze Age: Reconsidering Fertility, Maternity, and Gender in the Ancient World* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 109.

current dataset who are regarded as ‘carers’ had familial or marriage ties to key women in the nursery. Furthermore, Table 5.2 shows one can tentatively propose that eyes-and-ears officials who are ‘royal carers’ were active in the nursery in two non-consecutive reigns, as they are only depicted with children of Thutmosis III and Thutmosis IV.

Official	<i>mn</i> ^c	Artistic Representation	Charge	Father of Child (after Roehrig (1990) ²⁹⁶
<i>Bnr-mr.wt</i> [9]	--	CGC 42171	<i>Mr.yt-lmn</i>	Thutmosis III
<i>Ḥr.w-m-ḥb</i> [26]	--	TT 78	<i>lmn-m-ḥp.t</i>	Thutmosis IV
<i>Sbk-ḥtp</i> [30]	--	Brussels E. 6856	<i>lmn-ḥtp</i> (Amenhotep III?) ²⁹⁷	Thutmosis IV
<i>Sn-nfri</i> [31]	X	CGC 1112	<i>Sḏ-lmn</i>	Thutmosis III

TABLE 5.2 ‘ROYAL CARERS’ IN THE DATASET

A further three individuals in the corpus may also have had some connection to the nursery. *Ḳn-lmn* [29] is identified as a *sn n.y mn*^c (foster brother of the King) and also depicts his mother, a *mn*^c *wr.t* of unclear name cradling the infant Amenhotep II.²⁹⁸ *lmn-ḥḏb Mḥw* [4] was married to a royal carer, however is not categorised as one himself in Roehrig’s study.²⁹⁹ In addition, some scholars have sought to identify the figure of *Ṛ-nw-nḏ* who is depicted with prince *Tmy* in a statuette in the British Museum, as identical to *Ṛ-nw-nḏ* [32].³⁰⁰ The former holds the titles *im.y-rḏ pr.w n.y pr.w Mn-ḥrp.ḏw?-Rḥw* (Steward of the House of *Mn-ḥrp.ḏw?-Rḥw*),³⁰¹ the latter, as discussed earlier, was steward of the estate of Thutmosis IV.³⁰² In her recent monograph, Edith Bernhauer suggests the two figures *cannot* be equated with one

²⁹⁶ Roehrig, “Nurse, Tutor and Foster Brother/Sister,” 342–43.

²⁹⁷ Roehrig, “Nurse, Tutor and Foster Brother/Sister,” 218.

²⁹⁸ For *sn n.y mn*^c Wild, “Contributions à l’iconographie et à la Titulature de Qen-Amon,” 224. For the tomb scene see Davies, *The Tomb of Ḳen-Amūn at Thebes*, pl. ix. Whale reconstructs his mother’s name as *lmn-m-ḥp.t*. Whale, *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: A Study of the Representation of the Family in Private Tombs*, 154.

²⁹⁹ Roehrig, “Nurse, Tutor and Foster Brother/Sister,” 349–50.

³⁰⁰ PM I/II 788; Mounir Megally, *Recherches sur l’économie, l’administration et la comptabilité égyptiennes à la XVIIIe Dynastie d’après le Papyrus E. 3226 du Louvre*, BDE 71 (Cairo: Institut français d’Archéologie orientale, 1977), 277; Roehrig, “Nurse, Tutor and Foster Brother/Sister,” 246–48.

³⁰¹ BM Photo AN676156001

³⁰² Refer to §5.3.1. Both men are attested with the title *im.y-rḏ ḥḏ.ww n.y lmn* (Overseer of the cows of Amun) BM Photo AN1613173438; compare to Pino Fernández, “Los textos de la tumba de Thenuna (TT 76).,” 949.

another because stylistically the statuette in the British Museum is characteristic of the reigns of Thutmosis III and Amenhotep II. If this dating is correct, the statuette would predate the tenure of *ṯ3-nw-n3* [32] in the position of royal steward.³⁰³ Bernhauer’s new dating, however, only makes sense if the steward title on the British Museum statuette refers to Thutmosis III (*Mn-ḥrp-R‘w*) rather than Thutmosis IV (*Mn-ḥrp.w-R‘w*). In my reading of the text, I note definite plural strokes after the character L1 (𓄿), which would indicate a reference to Thutmosis III is unlikely.³⁰⁴ This fact leads me to be sceptical of Bernhauer’s dating. Even if one chooses to disregard Bernhauer’s stylistic analysis, it is not possible to equate the two *ṯ3-nw-n3* with absolute certainty. Bryan indicates that the House of *Mn-ḥrp.w-R‘w* probably refers to Thutmosis’ IV memorial temple not his personal estate, therefore, if this is true, it seems highly unlikely that the *im.y-r3 pr.w n.y pr.w Mn-ḥrp.ʔw?-R‘w* is an alternate title for the position of royal steward.³⁰⁵

5.3.4 Other Titles related to the Royal Estates

Stewards and royal carers are not the only titles held by individuals in the corpus associated with the royal estates or the personal staff of the King. Two officials in the dataset held the position of Herald of the King.³⁰⁶ In addition, as Table 5.3 demonstrates a group of officials in the corpus have titles associated with the king’s livestock or stables.

Official	<i>ḥr.y-tp lḥw</i>	<i>im.y-r3 šwt nšm.t</i>	<i>im.y-r3 wḥm.t</i>	<i>im.y-r3 ‘b</i>
<i>imn-ms</i> [3]	X			
<i>Sn-nfri</i> [31]			X	X
<i>Ḥrw-m-ḥb</i> [27]			X	
<i>Ḳn-imn</i> [29]	X		X	X
<i>R‘w</i> [19]		X	X	
<i>Mn-n3</i>		X		

TABLE 5.3 TITLES RELATED TO ANIMAL HUSBANDRY WITHIN THE CORPUS

³⁰³ Bernhauer, *Innovationen in der Privatplastik*, 268–69; Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 256.

³⁰⁴ BM Photo AN676156001; According to von Beckenrath, Thutmosis’ IV name is written with the plural form *ḥrp.w* while his grandfather’s is not, von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 135, 137.

³⁰⁵ Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 278.

³⁰⁶ *R‘w* [19], *Sn-nfri* [31]. For further on this title see Eva Pardey, “Der sog. Sprecher des Königs in der 1. Hälfte der 18. Dynastie,” in *Essays in honour of Prof. Dr. Jadwiga Lipińska*, ed. Joanna Aksamit et al. (Warsaw: National Museum, 1997), 377–97; Redford and Redford, *The Tomb of Re‘a (TT 201)*, 29–35.

5.4 Territories and Provinces

The sectors which feature less prominently in the careers of individuals in the corpus are those related to domestic provinces and lands outside Egypt. I will first address individual's engagement in Egyptian affairs at and beyond the periphery of Egypt, then consider the role eyes-and-ears officials played in internal regional administration. A substantial cluster of individuals (c.14% of officials in the certain corpus) were involved in managing an Egyptian presence in external territories between the sole reign of Thutmosis III and the death of Amenhotep II.³⁰⁷ During this era, three individuals in the corpus were Overseer of the Northern *ḥꜣs.wt*, a position which Hirsch indicates was first created under Thutmosis III. No other officials in the corpus are affiliated with this office.³⁰⁸ The sole reign of Thutmosis III also saw officials venture to Byblos.³⁰⁹ In his tomb, *Sn-nfri* [31] notes that he was sent by the King to give offerings to a local Goddess there and in gratitude he received timber.³¹⁰ The event which is treated as a religious act in the text has been recognised by both Shirley and Morris as an occasion of cross-cultural trade.³¹¹ In the same reign, *Dḥwty* [34] apparently also visited the settlement, as one of his statues was supposedly placed there. Furthermore, if Yoyette's restoration of the text is correct, the artefact may have been dedicated to the local Goddess of Byblos,³¹² possibly the same one *Sn-nfri* [31] visited on his expedition.³¹³ *Sn-nfri* [31] is also

³⁰⁷ *Imn-ms* [2], (*Pꜣ*)-*Ḥꜣꜣ-m-sꜣsn* [10], *Ḳn-Imn* [29], *Sn-nfri* [31], and *Dḥwty* [34] all but one namely (*Pꜣ*)-*Ḥꜣꜣ-m-sꜣsn* [10] were engaged in administrative or trade activities near or beyond Egypt's northern border. This is perhaps a reflective of frequent Egyptian military activity in Syria-Palestine during these reigns, Ellen F. Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism: Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt's New Kingdom*, PdÄ 68 (Boston: Brill, 2005), 115, 136.

³⁰⁸ *Imn-ms* [2], *Ḳn-Imn* [29] *Dḥwty* [34] Hirsch, "Die Beziehungen der ägyptischen Residenz im Neuen Reich zu den vorderasiatischen Vasallen: die Vorsteher der nördlichen Fremdländer und ihre Stellung bei Hofe."

³⁰⁹ Morris states by this time an Egyptian presence at the harbourside city was well established, Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, 120.

³¹⁰ Strudwick, "The Decoration of the Chapel," 101.

³¹¹ Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, 120; Shirley, "What's in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere," 302. In a recent article Morris classified it as a "piety as payment" exchange Ellen Morris, "Exchange, Extraction, and the Politics of Ideological Money Laundering in Egypt's New Kingdom Empire," in *Policies of Exchange: Political Systems and Modes of Interaction in the Aegean and the Near East in the 2nd Millennium B.C.E.; Proceedings of the International Symposium at the University of Freiburg Institute for Archaeological Studies, 30th May - 2nd June 2012*, ed. Regine Pruzsinszky and Birgitta Eder (Vienna: Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2015), 168.

³¹² Lilyquist, "The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty," 15; Jean Yoyotte, "Le général Djehouty et la perception des tributs syriens: causerie au sujet d'un objet égaré," *BSFE* 92 (1981): 44.

³¹³ Strudwick, "The Decoration of the Chapel," 101. We know from the archaeological record that Egyptian-style temples were perhaps established near Byblos, Morris, *The Architecture of Imperialism*, 120, 139.

attested with the title Overseer of the *ḥ3s.wt / ḥ3s.t nb* of Gold of Amun. His titles related to this toponym appear on an inscription at Wadi Hamamat and twice in his tomb, In one case, a variant occurs in apposition to a title concerning the management of precious materials.³¹⁴ Hikade infers the title indicates the official “inspected” Gold mines at the Wadi, though does not exclude the possibility that this title was acquired for an expedition from the Wadi to the Sinai, as the official is also mentioned on two stela there.³¹⁵ Only one official in the corpus appears to have been involved in the administration of Nubia, namely (*P3*)-*Hk3-m-s3=sn* [10] who was appointed Overseer of the Southern *ḥ3s.wt* in the reign of Amenhotep II.³¹⁶ He may have been of Nubian heritage himself, however not all scholars accept this.³¹⁷

After the reign of Amenhotep II, evidence for eyes-and-ears involvement in the administration of foreign provinces is strikingly sparse. While *Imn-ḥtp s3 Ḥpw* notes he went to Nubia, he notes he travelled there “in order to decimate the Nubians at Sehel”, this seems to relate to a military campaign not administrative duties in the provinces.³¹⁸ Similarly *Hrw-m-ḥb* [27] who is attested with the title *wpw.ty nsw* (attaché of the King), a title which can be associated with officials who went to external territories for diplomatic purposes or to procure resources,³¹⁹ however in this instance the title seems to be related to military activity as it is extended with the adjunct *r-ḥ3.t mšꜥꜥf r rs.yt mḥ.yt* (at the head of his (=King) army to the south and north).

³¹⁴ Strudwick, “Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments,” 34; Strudwick, “The Decoration of the Chapel,” figs. 118-119. Ceiling text 5...*im.y-r3 ḥ3s.wt nbw n.wt [Imn] ḥr.y-tp 3.t nb.t...* (Overseer of the *ḥ3s.wt* of Gold of Amun, chief of precious materials)

³¹⁵ Thomas Hikade, “Expeditions to the Wadi Hammamat during the New Kingdom,” *JEA* 92 (2006): 154. For further on his monuments in the Sinai see Alan H. Gardiner, Jaroslav Černý, and Thomas Eric Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 2nd ed., MEES 45/1 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1952), pl. LXV; R. Givon, “Investigations in the Egyptian Mining Centres in Sinai. Preliminary Report,” *Tel Aviv* 1 (1974): 106–7.

³¹⁶ Davies, “The Stela of Usersatet and Hekaemsasen,” 29.

³¹⁷ Morkot proposes that *P3-hk3-m-s3=sn* was a Nubian Prince who grew up and was educated at the Egyptian court, Robert Morkot, “Nubia in the New Kingdom: The Limits of Egyptian Control,” in *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*, ed. W. Vivian Davies (London: British Museum, 1991), 299; Robert Morkot, “From Conquered to Conqueror: The Organization of Nubia in the New Kingdom and the Kushite Administration of Egypt,” in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García, HdO 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 949. His name which approximately translates to “The-Leader-is-before-them” this does perhaps infer some connection to local leadership in the region. Török seems sceptical of this identification. László Török, *Between Two Worlds: The Frontier Region between Ancient Nubia and Egypt, 3700 BC-AD 500*, PdÄ 29 (Leiden / Boston: Brill, 2009), 272.

³¹⁸ Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 37, 39.

³¹⁹ Michel Valloggia, *Recherche sur les “messagers” (wpwtw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes.*, Hautes Études Orientales 6 (Genève: Droz, 1976), 241–45, 278–81.

Shifting focus to the domestic sphere, four members of the corpus are identified as ḥ3.ty-ꜥ of specific provinces in Egypt. Helck infers that by the New Kingdom this title was an honorific one, not a functional role.³²⁰ Others suggest ḥ3.tyw-ꜥ were local administrators,³²¹ Strudwick argues that ḥ3.ty can be used in both sense depending on their context.³²² With the current study it might be possible to shed further light on to the meaning of this phrase. Evidence associated with the officials in the corpus suggests one case the title of ḥ3.ty-ꜥ appears to have denoted an occupational role rather than a mark of favour. The earliest official in the corpus who was a ḥ3.ty-ꜥ of a regional centre is *Sn-nfri* [31] who held the position at Hm, while *Sbk-ḥtp* [30] inherited the office of ḥ3.ty-ꜥ of the Fayum from his brother-in-law around the reign of Amenhotep II, his son is also attested in the role later in the reign of Amenhotep III.³²³ The fact the position was passed between members of a family strongly indicates this was a real office and not merely a nicety of royal favour. Two officials in the corpus are identified as regional ḥ3.tyw-ꜥ during the reign of Amenhotep III, namely *Nb-Imn* [15], who was ḥ3.ty-ꜥ on the Western periphery of Thebes and *Hby* [23] who held the position at Memphis.

Most officials in the corpus involved in territorial administration seem to have been deployed to the north. In some cases, their service in the border regions may have been temporary in other cases it seems more likely officials had a managerial role. Domestically, a number of ḥ3.tyw-ꜥ are attested in the corpus but they were only active between sole reign of Thutmosis III and that of Amenhotep III.

³²⁰ Wolfgang Helck, "Priester, Priesterorganisation, Priestertitel," in *LÄ*, 1982, 1089.

³²¹ Betsy M. Bryan, "The Tomb Owner and his Family," in *Das Grab des Sobekhotep: Theben Nr 63.*, ed. Mahmud Abdel Raziq and E. Dziobek, vol. 71 of *ArchVer* (Mainz, 1990), 82–83; Johannes Stefan G. Auenmüller, "The Location of New Kingdom Elite Tombs: Space, Place and Significance," *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization* 18 (2014): 179.

³²² Strudwick, "Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments," 14.

³²³ Bryan, "The Tomb Owner and his Family," 82–83.

5.5 Central Administration and Resources

5.5.1 Viziers

As Table 5.4 demonstrates five officials in the dataset held the position of Vizier. Each king from the co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III up until the Amarna episode retained at least one vizier who was attested with a royal sense organ appellation. It is pertinent to address the chronology of these viziers in the dataset, as the exact timing of their respective appointments remains somewhat elusive.

Official	Service as Vizier
<i>Hpw-snb</i> [25]	Hatshepsut (exact date unclear)
<i>Wsr-ḥmn</i> [8]	Hatshepsut – Thutmose III
<i>Rḥ.w-mi-Rʿw</i> [21]	Thutmose III – Amenhotep II
<i>Hpw</i> [24]	Thutmose IV
<i>Rʿ.w-ms</i> [20]	Amenhotep III – early Akhenaten (as Amenhotep IV)

TABLE 5.4 VIZIERS IN THE CORPUS AND THEIR TENURE IN OFFICE

Two viziers in the dataset were active in the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, however it is not reasonably plausible that they served at least some of their tenure concurrently as Newberry first suggested.³²⁴ Rather in the case of *Hpw-snb* [25], recent scholars seem to agree it is unlikely he actually undertook the responsibilities of office at all.³²⁵ On the other hand, one can firmly establish that *Wsr-ḥmn*'s [8] rise to the vizirate occurred early in the co-rule of the two kings. He appears to have been a full vizier by year 5

³²⁴ Percy E. Newberry, "A Statue of Hapu-Senb, Vezir of Thothmes II," *PSBA* 22 (1900): 36.

³²⁵ This notion was first proposed Helck, *Verwaltung* 286-289; it has been widely accepted since, Delvaux, "La Statue Louvre A 134 du Premier Prophete d'Amon Hapouseneb," 63; Bryan, "Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III.," 107; Shirley, "The Power of the Elite," 198.

as he is designated as such on an offering register from that time.³²⁶ When exactly Hpw-snb [25] was appointed vizier is trickier to establish. According to Helck, the title of Vizier only occurs on one monument, namely Hpw-snb [25] statue in the Louvre, a conclusion which my own consideration of sources concurs with.³²⁷ As Delvaux notes the vizier title is rather cramped, perhaps suggesting it was added as a late addition to the text.³²⁸ This would seem to validate Raitè's suggestion that he probably acquired the title late in life.³²⁹ Since Hpw-snb [25] is repeatedly identified as *mꜛ-ḥr.w* (deceased, lit. true of voice) on the left side of the statue, and the vizier title appears to be a late addenda to its text, one cannot exclude the possibility that he acquired the position just before death, or indeed posthumously.³³⁰

In the period from the sole reign of Thutmosis III up until that of Amenhotep III, four eyes-and-ears officials likewise occupied the position of Vizier. Dziobek's estimates suggest *Wsr-ḥmn's* [8] career ended approximately around Year 28, however no firm end date is clear in the evidence.³³¹ The other vizier in the corpus who was active during this era is *Rḥ.w-mi-R'w* [21].³³² Like the end of the career of *Wsr-ḥmn* [8], when exactly *Rḥ.w-mi-R'w* [21] became Vizier is reasonably obscure. The earliest extant date in which *Rḥ.w-mi-R'w* [21] is denoted a vizier is Year 34 of the reign of Thutmosis III, he is mentioned in the Louvre grain papyrus as the recipient or courier of 303 measures of grain in that year.³³³ While he does include a scene

³²⁶ Vernus, "Omina calendériques et comptabilité d'offrandes sur une tablette hiératique de la XVIIIe dynastie.," 108 fig. 4. His rise to power may have been a sharp one, Shirley indicates his promotion from a scribal official in the Temple of Amun appears to the staff old age for his father then the office of vizier may be reflective of some sort of loyalty pact between Hatshepsut and his family. This is an attractive idea but one that is challenging to prove Shirley, "The Power of the Elite," 186.

³²⁷ Helck, *Verwaltung* 434

³²⁸ Delvaux, "La Statue Louvre A 134 du Premier Prophète d'Amon Hapouseneb," 60.

³²⁹ Suzanne Ratié, *La reine Hatchepsout*, 274.

³³⁰ For the term see Wb 2, 17–18; for the text I referred to see Delvaux, "La Statue Louvre A 134 du Premier Prophète d'Amon Hapouseneb," pl.2. The text in the image is very hard to read, for a clearer copy consult Urk. IV 477.1–6. Posthumous awarding of office is not unheard of in Egypt, there is an explicit example of this phenomena at Deir-el Gebrawi in the Old Kingdom Naguib Kanawati, *Deir El-Gebrawi. 2: The Southern Cliff: The Tombs of Ibi and Others*, ACE-Reports 25 (Oxford: Aris & Phillips, 2007), pl. 13.

³³¹ Eberhard Dziobek, "Theban Tombs as a Source for Historical and Biographical Evaluation: The Case of User-Amun.," in *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven Archäologischer Forschung. Internationales Symposium, Heidelberg, 9. - 13.6.1993*, ed. J. Assmann et al. (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1995), 129. The latest date which an image of him is associated is year 28, this does not inherently denote that he died then, see Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 91–92.

³³² At this point one might be expecting some comments on their familial relationship, this is addressed in § 5.7.

³³³ For the year refer to Part A r XI, for the mention of *Rḥ.w-mi-R'w* [21] refer to A r XII, Mounir Megally, ed., *Le papyrus hiératique comptable E. 3226 du Louvre*. (Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1971), 17–18, pls. Xi, XIII. Thank you to Sydney University for allowing me access to this work.

recounting his installation as vizier in his tomb, it is unfortunately undated.³³⁴ Davies suggests *Rḥ.w-mi-R'w* [21] was appointed in Year 30 of Thutmose III (first *ḥb-sd*) as he is depicted receiving gifts on the monarch's behalf.³³⁵ Regardless of when exactly he was appointed, there is no firm evidence that *Wsr-Imn* [8] and *Rḥ.w-mi-R'w* [21] were viziers concurrently, indeed *Rḥ.w-mi-R'w* [21] is regarded by some scholars as the older man's successor.³³⁶ Like his apparent predecessor, *Rḥ.w-mi-R'w's* [21] career spanned two regimes, he retained the position of vizier in the reign of Amenhotep II.³³⁷ The next viziers to appear in the dataset were appointed in the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III respectively. Ḥpw seems to have only held the position of vizier in the reign of Thutmose IV, Bryan suggests he died before its conclusion.³³⁸ *R'w-ms* [20] seems to have been made vizier in year 30 of the reign of Amenhotep III, as he is first attested as such on a label at Malqata from the first *ḥb-sd*.³³⁹ In his tomb, one can observe a gradual shift in the art-style, likewise Akhenaten as Amenhotep IV is depicted in some scenes. Many of these latter decorative elements and in particular, a scene with the king as Amenhotep IV at the Window of Appearances are left unfinished, perhaps suggesting the official died or at least stopped work on his Theban Tomb shortly after the King implemented new artistic conventions but before he ceased using the name Amenhotep.³⁴⁰

5.5.2 Resources

³³⁴ Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē' at Thebes.*, pl. xiv-xvi.

³³⁵ Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē' at Thebes.*, 15. Aldred seems to agree Cyril Aldred, "The 'New Year' Gifts to the Pharaoh," *JEA* 55 (1969): 74–75.

³³⁶ Megally, *Recherches sur l'économie, l'administration et la comptabilité égyptiennes à la XVIIIe Dynastie d'après le Papyrus E. 3226 du Louvre.*, 279; Bryan, "Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III.," 74; Shirley, "Viceroys, Viziers & the Amun Precinct: The Power of Heredity and Strategic Marriage in the Early 18th Dynasty.," 83.

³³⁷ Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē' at Thebes.*, 63 pls. lxx-lxi.

³³⁸ Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 242–44. Our understanding of viziers in the reign of Thutmose IV is reasonably murky. Further research is needed to shed more light on the situation.

³³⁹ William C. Hayes, "Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III," *JNES* 10 (1951): 8 number 92. He is also depicted at the Temple in Soleb, Andrew Gordon, "Who Was the Southern Vizier during the Last Part of the Reign of Amenhotep III?," *JNES* 48.1 (1989): figure. 2.

³⁴⁰ Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1941), compare pls. xxix, xxxiii. Nims has written more extensively on this 'transition' Charles F. Nims, "The Transition from the Traditional to the New Style of Wall Relief under Amenhotep IV," *JNES* 32 (1973): 181–87. This would indicate work stopped before Year 6 for further information on his various royal names see, von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 143.

As a redistributive economy, managing resources in Egypt consisted of the interplay of different institutions and forces. Though the “treasury” has been regarded as an institution in its own right in traditional scholarship, the notion of an unified economic authority has been questioned.³⁴¹ Indeed even temples managed and produced resources.³⁴² On account of this, when one refers to “central resources” one does not seek to comment on the entire economic apparatus of the Kingdom. Rather my focus lies on three areas of economic activity outside the temple sphere, namely fields, the seal, the granary and the Houses of Silver and Gold. In focusing on these, one does not deny the role temples played in the economy or the relationship between the ‘state’ and religious institutions, temple titles concerned with resource production are briefly addressed in the next section.

Official	<i>sš pr.w-ḥd</i>	<i>im.y-r3 pr.w(y) ḥd</i>	<i>im.y-r3 pr.w(y) nb.w</i>
<i>Wsr-ḥmn</i> [8]		X	X
<i>Bnr-mrw.t</i> [9]		X	X
<i>Rḥ.w-mi-R^c.w</i> [21]		X	X
<i>Ḳn-ḥmn</i> [29]	x	X: n nsw; nb t3.wy	X
<i>Ḍḥwty-nfr</i> [35]		X n.w nb t3.wy	
<i>Mn.w-ḥtp Ḥw-tw-tw</i> [12]	X		
<i>R^c.w</i> [19]		X	X
<i>ḥmn-ḥtp Ḥwy</i> [5]		X	X

TABLE 5.5 OFFICIALS IN THE CORPUS WITH TITLES IN THE HOUSES OF SILVER AND GOLD

As Table 5.5 reveals, approximately 23% of officials in the corpus are attested with titles within the houses of Silver and Gold. The chronological distribution of these individuals is not confined to a single reign, instead this subset of officials was active from at least the early co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III to the reign of Amenhotep III. The largest cluster of these officials were in royal service at some point during the period encompassing the reign of

³⁴¹ Murnane, “The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III.,” 182–83.

³⁴² Ben Haring, “The Rising Power of the House of Amun,” in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García, HdO 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 617–18.

Thutmose III and Amenhotep II.³⁴³ The two remaining officials with titles associated with the houses of Gold and Silver were active in the reign of Amenhotep III. In most cases eyes-and-ears officials held senior positions within the institution, only one corpus member holds a scribal title associated with gold and silver without an additional overseer title affiliated with the management of precious metals³⁴⁴

Official	<i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty</i>	<i>im.y-r3 ḥtm</i>	<i>sš 3ḥ.wt</i>	<i>im.y-r3 3ḥw.t</i>
<i>Sn-nfri</i> [31]	X	X		
<i>Nḥt-mn.w</i> [17]	X			
<i>Ḳn-Ḳmn</i> [29]		X		
<i>Sbk-ḥtp</i> [30]		X		X
<i>R^cw</i> [19]	X			
<i>Ḳmn-ḥtp Ḥwy</i> [5]	X			
<i>Mn-n3</i> [13]			X	X
<i>Ḥ^cy-m-ḥ3t</i> [28]	X			

TABLE 5.6 OFFICIALS IN THE CORPUS WITH TITLES RELATED TO THE MANAGEMENT OF RESOURCES

Titles related to silver and gold are however not the only resource related titles held by persons in the corpus. A cluster of officials also hold titles related to the king's seal, the granary and royal fields. As Table 5.6 demonstrates three officials are designated Overseers of the Seal in the dataset. Collectively these officials' tenure in the position spanned from the rule of Thutmose III to the reign of Thutmose IV.³⁴⁵ In the case of *Ḳn-Ḳmn* [29] the title of Overseer of the Seal only occurs on his Shabti but not his tomb, perhaps from this one can infer the title was only granted late in his career after the decoration of his tomb had ceased.

³⁴³ *Wsr-Ḳmn* [8], *Bnr-mrw.t* [9], *Rḥ.w-mi-R^c.w* [21], *Ḳn-Ḳmn* [29], *Dḥwty-nfr* [35]. According to Bryan, *Mn.w-ḥtp Ḥw-tw-tw* [12] lived into the reign of Thutmose IV. She comes to this conclusion because of the style of his stela is apparently characteristic of the period. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 262.

³⁴⁴ *Mn.w-ḥtp Ḥw-tw-tw* [12]

³⁴⁵ Strudwick, "Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments," 18.

Around 17% of officials were Overseers of the Royal Granaries.³⁴⁶ When exactly the first official in the dataset was appointed to the role is uncertain. Guksch proposes that *Nḥt-mn.w* [17] was promoted to the role during the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.³⁴⁷ Despite this, as Shirley notes the title is only actually attested on monuments and documents from the sole reign of Thutmose III, perhaps indicating he came to the role after the demise of Hatshepsut.³⁴⁸ When *Sn-nfri* [31] and *R'w* [19] were appointed to manage the grain store is also somewhat unclear. As noted earlier while the evidence is ambiguous, it seems unlikely that *Sn-nfri* [31] was Overseer of the Seal before the sole reign of Thutmose III. In addition, he is only referred to as *im.y-r3 ḥtm* (Overseer of the Seal) and is not associated with any other titles in the Louvre Grain Papyrus, therefore one cannot establish firm dates for when he was active as Overseer of the Royal Granary from this document.³⁴⁹ Regardless, both roles appear to have concerned the management of grain, perhaps they were acquired simultaneously. Likewise, the chronology of the career of *R'w* [19] is equally problematic, evidence from his tomb indicates he served both Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III, as the names of the two monarchs are attested therein.³⁵⁰ One cannot definitively state in which reign he was placed in charge of granaries. Furthermore, since there is no extension associating the grain stores with either of the kings or the Two Lands, the exact affiliation of the granaries in question are unclear. The Redfords raise the possibility that in this case, the title may not refer to state granaries but rather temple ones, however provide no justification for this conclusion.³⁵¹ For the last two officials in this subgroup, their period in office can firmly be confined to the reign of Amenhotep III as they were each only active in a single reign.³⁵²

³⁴⁶ Megally in his study of the Louvre Grain Papyrus, notes the document mentions an *im.y-r3 šnw.ty* called *Ṛ3-nw-n3* [32]. He has sought to equate this with *Ṛ3-nw-n3* [32] Megally, *Recherches sur l'économie, l'administration et la comptabilité égyptiennes à la XVIIIe Dynastie d'après le Papyrus E. 3226 du Louvre.*, 276–77.. While this is an interesting suggestion, there are no records of this title in TT 76 it would be problematic to establish a correlation between the two purely on the basis of a similar name, as it would involve back dating *Ṛ3-nw-n3* [32] to a reign earlier than he is actually attested. Furthermore, Bryan notes there are a number of officials with similar monikers in the reign of Thutmose IV

³⁴⁷ Guksch, *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Ra-seneb*, 20. Guksch indicates the title *im.y-r3 šnw.ty* *Šm'w Mḥw* occurs on his co-regency Shrine at Gebel Silsilah, Shrine 23. Caminos and James reconstruct this title from a partial fragment. I examined their transcription and I read the following instead, *im.y-r3 šnwti?* *ḥ///* James and Caminos, *Gebel Es Silsilah*, compare 74 and pl.57. To me, this seems to be an attestation of his title as Overseer of the Granary of Amun

³⁴⁸ Shirley, "The Power of the Elite," 232.

³⁴⁹ Megally, *Le papyrus hiéroglyphique comptable E. 3226 du Louvre.*, 17, 24.

³⁵⁰ Redford and Redford, *The Tomb of Re'a (TT 201)*, 26.

³⁵¹ Redford and Redford, *The Tomb of Re'a (TT 201)*, 25.

³⁵² *Imn-ḥtp Ḥwy* [5], *Ḥ'y-m-ḥ3t* [28]

5.6 Eyes-and-ears in the Temple

A majority of officials in the corpus are attested with titles associated with temples. In total, 40% of individuals in the corpus hold non-construction offices affiliated with the temple of Amun.³⁵³ As Table 5.7 reveals, a variety of different types of titles within the Amun domain reoccur in the dataset. Some individuals hold very senior roles within the temple hierarchy, officials who held prophet positions and overseers of the God's estate collectively account 14% of officials in the certain dataset.³⁵⁴ Titles related to the estate of the God (fields, livestock and workshops) are among the most frequently attested occupational titles in this sector. Overseer of the fields and Overseer of the cattle of Amun are the most highly attested Amun- related titles in the dataset.

Despite being the most highly mentioned Temple in the dataset, the Temple of Amun is by no means the only temple which features in the careers of individuals in the corpus. Titles related to the cult of Ptah are found in the title sequences of three officials in the dataset, namely *imn-ḥtp Ḥwy* [5] *Mn.w-ḥtp Ḥw-tw-tw* [12] and *Mr.y-ptḥ* [14]. *imn-ḥtp Ḥwy* [5] and *Mr.y-ptḥ* [14] both served as high priests of Ptah during the reign of Amenhotep III. The cults of local Gods also feature in the title sequences of individuals in the corpus, for example, two cases in point are *imn-ḥtp s3 Ḥpw* [6] who was Overseer of the priests of Horus of Athribis and *Sbk-ḥtp* [30] who managed the cult of Sobek in the Fayum.

Title	<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>šnwty</i>	<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>šnʿ</i>	<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>iḥ.ww</i>	<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>ḏḥ.wt</i>	<i>ḥm-nṯr</i> <i>tp.y</i>	<i>im.y-r3</i> <i>pr.w</i>
No. of officials	5	2	5	4	2	3
% of the dataset	14	5%	14	11%	5%	5%

TABLE 5.7 AMUN RELATED TITLES THAT OCCUR MORE THAN ONCE IN THE DATASET

³⁵³ *imn-m-ḥ3t* [3], *imn-ḥtp s3 Ḥpw* [6] *imn-ḥtp s3 Si* [7], *Wsr-imn* [8] *Nfr-šḥrw* [16] *Nḥt-mn.w* [17] *Rḥ.w-mi-Rʿw* [21], *Ḥpw-snb* [25] *Ḥrw-m-ḥb* [27], *Kn-imn* [29], *Sbk-ḥtp* [30], *Sn-nfri* [31] and *I3-nw-n3* [32]. *imn-m-ḥb Mḥw* while he isn't attested with an Amun-related title, did transport the God to the Opet §5.2.1

³⁵⁴ The two high priests: *imn-m-ḥ3t* [3], *Ḥpw-snb* [25]. The second priest, *imn-ḥtp s3 Si* [7]. The chiefs of the estate *Ḥrw-m-ḥb* [27] and *Sn-nfri* [31] *imn-m-ḥ3t* [3]

5.7 Networks

The study of an official's network could arguably constitute a monograph in its own right, unfortunately such a work is beyond the scope of the current study. Nevertheless, one can tentatively suggest in some cases eyes-and-ears officials appear to have connections by marriage or blood with the king and his personal staff. Two officials in the corpus were married to royal carers and as noted earlier *Ḳn-Ḳmn's* [29] mother also served in this capacity.³⁵⁵ Direct familiar links to the King are less prominent features of the dataset. It is evident both from his wife's tomb equipment and the Marriage scarabs that *Yw-Ḳḳ*. [1] was a father in law of Amenhotep III.³⁵⁶

It may also be the case that designations re-occur in families or peer groups. Egyptologists have proposed that *Ḳmn-ḥtp Ḳwy* [5] *Ḳmn-ḥtp sḳ Ḳpw* [6] See *R'w-ms* [20] and *Ḳby* [23] were part of the same family.³⁵⁷ This hypothesis centres around a group of scenes in TT 55, in which guests, the tomb owner's family and "brothers in the Necropolis" are depicted.³⁵⁸ It is important to note here that in the tomb, *R'w-ms'* [20] father, as Gessler-Löhr notes, shares no titles with the *Ḳby* [23].³⁵⁹ In addition, the father is identified by the name *Nby*. On account of the similarity between the *ḥb* and *nb* signs it is plausible that *Nby* is in fact the same as *Ḳby*, however to my mind, there is insufficient evidence in the tomb to support this identification, though one could make a convincing argument for equating the younger *Ḳmn-ḥtp* in TT 55 with *Ḳmn-ḥtp Ḳwy* [5] as they are both based at Memphis³⁶⁰ Ultimately, the evidence is too problematic to resolve the matter of *R'w-ms'* [20] father convincingly and even if one chooses to identify *Ḳmn-ḥtp Ḳwy* [5] as the figure in TT 55, this correlation is ultimately speculative. Further research is needed. In other cases officials appear to have come into contact with

³⁵⁵ [4], [31] Roehrig, "Nurse, Tutor and Foster Brother/Sister," 345–46; Bryan, "The Tomb Owner and his Family," 83. Davies, *The Tomb of Ḳen-Amūn at Thebes*, pl. IX.

³⁵⁶ C. Blakenberg van Delden, *The Large Commemorative Scarabs of Amenhotep III*. (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 16–17.

³⁵⁷ Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, 1–3; Murnane, "The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III.," 203; Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 121–22; Shirley, "Crisis and Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses," 594.

³⁵⁸ Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, pl. IX.

³⁵⁹ Gessler-Löhr, "Der Bürgermeister von Memphis," 37–38.

³⁶⁰ Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, pls. IX–XI. See also *Ḳmn-ḥtp Ḳwy* [5]

one another in relation to a specific event. *Sbk-ḥtp* [30] and *Ḥpw* [24] both attended a court case.³⁶¹ Likewise as noted earlier two officials were both associated with works at Deir-el-Bahri.³⁶² One can suggest that while the remanence of personal and professional networks can be occasionally detected in the dataset, these connections are too infrequent or tenuous to propose networks were central to the acquisition of designations

³⁶¹ Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Ein Gerichtsprotokoll aus der Zeit Thutmosis' IV.," ZÄS 63 (1928): 105–15.

³⁶² Hayes, "A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Dēr El-Baḥri," pl. XII.

6. Conclusion

In the 18th dynasty eyes-and-ears designations can firmly be identified in 49 text excerpts. These enigmatic phrases are associated with 35 individuals between the co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III and the aftermath of the Amarna episode. Despite the substantial body of evidence relating to these appellations, scholars have not up until now thoroughly considered this dataset. A variety of interpretations of royal sense-organ designations have emerged in the literature regardless, and authors have been unable to come to agreement as to their meaning. Some regard these entities as titles of occupation or rank, while others suggest it is used to indicate an official's closeness or level of trust with the monarch. This study has principally been concerned with discerning whether patterns can be detected in the linguistic features and construction of the phrases; the wider textual context was also examined as were the careers and social milieu of the officials who acquired them.

The first section of the analysis focused on the designations themselves. To some extent patterns can be detected in the phraseology and structure of royal sense-organ constructions. These features do not conform to a single homogeneous model, rather, eyes-and-ears designations are embedded in five different types of linguistic units (see above). The most frequently attested type of construction in the dataset consists of an eyes-designation combined with an adjunct. In addition, there appears to be established conventions around the writing of body-part terminology and how corporal entities are interfaced with wider notions relating to the symbolic division of territory in Egypt. The best example being the close association between the “eyes” and Upper Egypt. Furthermore, nearly half of the examples in the dataset feature an adjunct (most commonly, an adverbial phrase) with at least one or more references to geography or space.

Examining the dataset chronologically, one can unfortunately not discern any clear sense of patterns around the evolution of variants. It is, however, worthy of note that the use of ears-designations ceases in the period following the reign of Akhenaten. Another firm observation can be made in that only one variant, namely the extended eyes-designation with the *m tʿr*

dr=f adjunct can be tentatively dated to a tight timeframe of a single reign, that of Amenhotep III.

Turning to the study's consideration of textual context, a designation or set of designations do not exist in complete isolation, they are part of larger sequences of titles and epithets. Patterns can to some extent be detected in the co-text of designations. As Chapter 4 demonstrated, royal sense organ constructions are sometimes preceded by lexemes which reoccur throughout the dataset. In particular, expressions of closeness to the king are frequent aspects of co-text. Furthermore, appellations are often embedded near the start of title sequences, as a majority of examples in the dataset are preceded by a collocate sequence featuring the rank phrase *ir.y-p^c.t h³.ty^c*, which Gnirs indicates typically forms part of an introductory statement in a title sequence.

As noted in Chapter 1, scholars have disagreed how one should classify royal sense-organ appellations within the perceived elaborate system of ancient Egyptian titles. Some regard them as epithets, others understand them as indicative of special rank or occupational duties. The fact that they to occur near the beginning of title sequences and are often embedded with expressions of love/favour and physical/emotional closeness to the monarch, supports the interpretation pioneered by Gnirs, namely that the designations are indeed epithets indicating a connection with the King. In the context of the collocation analysis conducted here, this conclusion presents itself to be more plausible than the alternative.

The investigation of the prosopography and network analysis uncovered the most problematic results in the study's efforts to detect patterns in the dataset. It is evident that a number of officials in the dataset operated across multiple sectors of the administration. Large clusters of officials served in the royal estates or on the personal staff of the king, resource production, the central administration, or the temples. There appears to have not been a standard career path for such officials. One cannot conclude that these officials were spies, though a significant number of individuals who were active during the reigns of Thutmosis III and Amenhotep II accompanied the King on campaign or served outside Egypt. All of the Kings appear to have employed officials with the appellations as stewards and

viziers, though none of the stewards during the co-rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III are among the corpus.

Overall, the network analysis explored at the end of Chapter 5, revealed little in the way of patterns, while some officials are attested together or were related by blood or marriage to key women on the royal staff, the data was too problematic to construct a full scale network map in the limited time available. Therefore, at present, one cannot effectively suggest common network connections are a key attribute unifying individuals in the current corpus.

What this study has produced is the first systematic consideration of evidence related to royal sense-organ constructions. Within the framework of restricted time set for the study, the exploration could only engage with the data from a period of roughly 247 years. Early data collection from beyond this period indicates that there are opportunities to expand the approach employed here into the Ramesside and Third Intermediate Periods.

The effort to engage with a variety of methodologies from many disciplines produced some interesting results. Titles of a figurative nature are difficult to 'navigate' and one must work with the available evidence, which is fragmentary. Melding approaches from various disciplines is inherently challenging, however hopefully this study has shown these approaches have merit.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Certain Corpus

[1] **Yw-ỉʒ** (Owner of KV 46)

Date active: Amenhotep III (Binder)

Eyes-and-ears designations

1. *rʒ n.y nsw ʿnh.wy n.w bi.ty* (1x on A.a)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. Burial Equipment

a. Coffin Set

James Edward Quibell, *Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu*, CGC (Cairo: IFAO, 1908), 1–27.

COMMENT: The ears designation is found on the lid of second mummy-shaped coffin, Quibell, *Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu*, 7.

b. Canopic Set

Quibell, *Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu*, 31–32, 34.

B. Mention of Yw-ỉʒ on various Marriage Scarabs

For the text and the assorted examples in collections see, C. Blakenberg van Delden, *The Large Commemorative Scarabs of Amenhotep III*. (Leiden: Brill, 1970), 16–17, 21–56 pls. I–IX.

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y-p^c.t hʒ.ty-^c

it-ntr mr.y ntr

hs.y n.y ntr nfr

mḥ-ib n.y nsw m tʒ r dr=f

smr tp.y

hm-ntr Mn.w

idn.w n.y hm=f m ti-n.t-ḥtr.w

im.y-rʒ ssm.wt

im.y-rʒ iḥ.ww n.y Mn.w

Other References

Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 297–298 [45].

Pierre-Marie Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, Études et mémoires d'égyptologie 3 (Antony: Cybèle, 1994), 4.13, 7.03.

Aidan Dodson, *Amarna Sunrise: Egypt from Golden Age to Age of Heresy* (Cairo / New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2014), 42–44.

Wolfgang Helck, “Juja,” in *LÄ III*, 1980, 274–75.

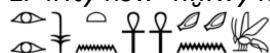
Urk. IV, 1895.1–20 (Summary of Yw-*i*ʿ and *I*w-*i*ʿ’s titles)

[3] *imn-m-ḥ*.t (Owner of TT 97)

Date active: Thutmose III – Amenhotep II (?) (following Bryan and Eichler contra Kees and Kampp)

Eyes-and-ears designations

1. *ir.ty nsw 'nh.wy n.w bi.ty* (1x A)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 97 Tomb Inscriptions

Alan H. Gardiner, "The Tomb of Amenemhet, High-Priest of Amon," *ZÄS* 47 (1911): 87–97. See also, *Urk.* IV. 1408.7–1413.6.

B. Shrine 25 at Gebel Silsiah

T.G.H James and Ricardo A. Caminos, *Gebel Es Silsilah*, vol. 1 of ASEG 31 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1963), pls. 61-66.

C. Funerary Cone DM 42

Other titles and epithets

ir.y-p^c.t h3.ty-^c

ir.y-p^c.t hd n.y Gb

mḥ-ib n.y ntr nfr

htm.w bi.ty

it-ntr / it ntr tp.y m ip.t Sw.t

hr.y sštʔ m ʔp.t Sw.t

$$h r . y - t p \quad m \quad t ^ { 3 } \quad r \quad d r = f$$

hm-ntr tp.y n.y lmn

im.y-r3 hm.w-ntr Šm'w Mh.w

im.y-r3 pr(.w)y hd / nbw

Other references

Betsy M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 267–68.

Betsy M. Bryan, "Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III.," in *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David O'Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 111.

Selke Eichler, *Die Verwaltung des "Hauses des Amun" in der 18. Dynastie*, SAK Beihefte 7 (Hamburg: Buske, 2000), 243 [40].

Peter der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, HÄB 26 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1987), 103–4.

Kampp, *Nekropole*, 364-367.

Hermann Kees, *Das Priestertum im ägyptischen Staat: vom neuen Reich bis zur Spätzeit*, PdÄ 1 (Leiden: Brill, 1953), 17–18.

[4] *ḫmn-m-ḥꜥb Mḥ.w* (Owner of TT 85)

Date active: Thutmosis III – Amenhotep II (following PM / Kampp /Binder)

Eyes and Ears Designations

1. *rꜥ n.y nsw ḥḥ.wy n(.w) bꜥ.ty* (1x A.a)



2. *rꜥ n.y nsw m /// m rḥ.yt /// /// ḥḥ.wy n.w bꜥ.ty* (1x A.a)



COMMENT: Helck proposes that the first lacuna should be restored as *[m sšm]* *Urk. IV 901.1-3*. He suggests *ḥr.ty Ḥr.w* is extant. The present author has consulted other sources and was unable to confirm this, OI Photo 2932; P. Virey, *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIIIe Dynastie*, MMFA 5 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1891), 175.

3. *rꜥ n.y nsw ḥḥ.[wy] /// ///* (1x A.a?)



COMMENT: Helck also reconstructs another paired eyes-and-ears expression, but there is insufficient data to accept this emendation. See Appendix B [U5]

Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 85

a. Inscriptions in the Tomb

P. Virey, *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIIIe Dynastie*, MMFA 5 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1891), 216–47; Walter Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, 2 vols. (Genève; Paris: Slatkine Reprints, 1988), pl. 94, 271, 272. See also: *Urk. IV*, 890.56–925.14.

COMMENT: Variation 1 is found on PM (21), *Urk. IV* 899.2 PM I/I, 174; Virey, *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIIIe Dynastie*, 275. Variation 2 is found at PM (30) *Oriental Institute Photo* 2932; Virey, *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIIIe Dynastie*, 175. The exact location of the third is at present uncertain *Urk. IV* 899.

B. Funerary Cone DM 270

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c

ḥtm.w bi.ty

smr w^c.ty

šms.w nsw (with various extensions)

ḥrd n.y k3p

idn.w n(.y) mš^c

ḥr.y pḏ.t

ḥr.y šms.w

ḥr.y-tp im.yw ḥt

Other References

Betsy M. Bryan, “Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III.,” in *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David O’Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 105–6.

Camilla Di Biase-Dyson, “Amenemheb’s excellent adventure in Syria: new insights from discourse analysis and toponymics.,” in *Text: Wissen - Wirkung - Wahrnehmung: Beiträge des vierten Münchner Arbeitskreises Junge Ägyptologie (MAJA 4), 29.11. bis 1.12.2013*, ed. Burkhard Backes et al. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2015), 121–50.

Binder, *Gold of Honour*, [026].

Helck, *Verwaltung*, 282, 297.

Kampp, *Nekropole*, 336–338.

PM I/I, 170–175.

JJ Shirley, “What’s in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere.,” in *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature. Proceedings of a Conference at the University of Haifa, 3-7 May 2009*, ed. D. Kahn, JJ Shirley, and S. Bar (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 295–96.

Sheila Whale, *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: A Study of the Representation of the Family in Private Tombs.*, ACE Studies 1 (Sydney; Warminster: Australian Centre for Egyptology; Aris & Phillips, 1989), 123–28.

Bagnani, “Il Primo Intendente del Palazzo, Imenhotpe, detto Huy,” figs. 3-4.

I. Cubit Measures in Florence

Bagnani, “Il Primo Intendente del Palazzo, Imenhotpe, detto Huy,” figs. 5.

J. Pyramidion in Leiden, K1

Urk. IV, 1810.20-1811.16

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y-p^c.t

htm.w bi.ty

smr w^c.ty

mḥ-ib

im.y ib Hr.w m ḥ^zf

im.y-r3 pr.w m Mn-nfr

im.y-r3 ḥm.w-ntr m Hw.t Šm.t

im.y-r3 pr.wy n.w ḥd

im.y-r3 šnw.ty

im.y-r3 k3.wt m Ḥm.t-Pth

sšm.w ḥb.w Pth

im.y-r3 ḥm.wt n(.wt) nsw

sš nfr.w

COMMENT: There is another *Imn-ḥtp* who was the overseer of the Houses of Silver and Gold during the reign of Amenhotep III Binder, Gold of Honour 294 [34]; compare: *Urk.* IV, 1804.14-1806.17; 1807.5-1808.12, it is unclear whether this person is one and the same as titles and the near identical names of their sons, further research may be useful to discern the relationship between these individuals.

Other References:

Binder, *Gold of Honour* 293-94 [34]

Helck, *Verwaltung*, 483-485.

Robert G. Morkot, “Nb-M3^ct-R^c-United-with-Ptah.,” *JNES* 49.4 (1990): 323–25.

Zakéya Topozada, “Les deux campagnes d’Amenhotep III en Nubie.,” *BIFAO* 88 (1988): 153–64.

JJ Shirley, “Crisis and Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses,” in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García, HdO 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 594.

[6] *ḫmn.w-ḥtp sꜣ Ḥpw*

Date active: Amenhotep III

Eyes and Ears Designations

ir.ty n(.wt) nsw 'nh.wy n.(w) bi.ty (1x on B.)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

- A. Statue in Cairo CG 42127
Alexandre Varille, *Inscriptions concernant l'architecte Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, BdE 44 (Cairo: IFAO, 1968), 5-8 pl. I.
- B. Fragmentary Statue in the British Museum EA 103
Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 14-16 pl. II.
- C. Scribal Statue in Cairo JE 44862
Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 18-24 pl. III.
- D. Statue in Cairo JE 44861
Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 26-31 pl. IV.
- E. Statue in the Cairo CG 583 and CG 835
Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 33-51 pls. V-VIII.
- F. Statue in Cairo JE 36498
Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 50-53 pl.9-10.
- G. Statue in CG 551
Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 54-56 pl. xi.
- H. Statue from Athribis
Labib Habachi, "Aménophis III et Amenhotep.," *RdE* 26 (1974): 21-33.
- I. Statue Found in Esna
Philippe Collombert, "Une Statue Thébaine d'Amenhotep Fils de Hapou Trouvée à Esna.," *BIFAO* 102 (2002): 137-42.
- K. Decoration from the Memorial Temple
Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 86-99.
- L. Funerary Cones DM, 10, 40, 65
- M. Sarcophagus Fragments
 - a. Exterior Fragment

Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 115-117 pl. XII.

b. Interior Fragment

Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 118-120 pl. XIV.

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y-p^c.t ḥṣ.ty-^c

ḥtm.w bi.ty

ir.y-p^c.t r ḥḏ n.y Gb/ iwṣ.t n.t ḥb-sd

smr w^c.ty

ḏ-mr

tṣ.y ḥw ḥr wnm.y nsw

sš nsw

sš nfr.w

im.y-rṣ nfr.w

im.y-rṣ mš^c nb tṣ.wy

im.y-rṣ ḥm.w-nṯr n.y Hr.w ḥn.ty-ḥty

*im.y-rṣ kṣ.wt nb(w)t nsw/ m mn.w wr/ m ḏw
biṣ.t*

im.y-rṣ pr.w n.y sṣ.t nsw Sṣ.t Imn

im.y-rṣ iḥ.w n.y Imn Šm^c.w Mḥw

sšm ḥb n.y Imn

sm n.y ḥw.t nb.w

COMMENT: Varille suggests this is the *Imn-ḥtp* mentioned on an inscription at Bigreh and on the Temple at Soleb, Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 59–63. While the identity of the *Imn-ḥtp at Soleb* is uncertain, he is only attested as *ir.y-p^c.t sš nsw*, the Bigreh inscription probably depicts *Imn-ḥtp Ḥwy* [5] (see § 5.3.#)

Other references

Dino Bidoli, “Zur Lage des Grabes des Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu.,” *MDAIK* 26 (1970): 11–14.

Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 296 [39]

Agnès Cabrol, *Amenhotep III: le Magnifique* (Monaco: Rocher, 2000), 473–74.

Wolfgang Helck, “Amenophis, Sohn des Hapu,” in *LÄ I*, 219–221, 1975.

William J. Murnane, “The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III.,” in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David B. O’Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 197–198, 205, 218–20.

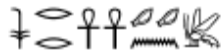
Varille, *Inscriptions concernant Amenhotep fils de Hapou*, 125–42.

[7] *ḥmn-ḥtp sḏ Si* (Owner of TT 75)

Date active Amenhotep II(?) – Thutmosis IV (following Kampp)

Eyes and Ears Designations

1. *ir.ty nsw ḥnḥ.wy n.(w) bi.ty* (1x on A)



COMMENT: See the remarks on the writing of *ir.ty* in § 3.2.1

2. *ir.ty nsw m lwn.w šmḥ.w* (1x on A)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 75: Inscriptions in the Tomb

Norman de Garis Davies and Nina de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Two Officials of Thutmosis The Fourth*, TTS 3 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1923), 1-19 pls. I-XVIII. See also, *Urk.* IV, 1208.5-1216.10

COMMENT: The first construction is found on the North wall of the Hall on the western side (PM 4), Davies and Davies, *The Tomb of Two Officials*, pl. IV. The second is found on the eastern side, (PM 2) Davies and Davies, *The Tomb of Two Officials*, pl. IX.

B. Funerary Cone DM 136

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y-pḥ.t ḥḏ.ty-ḥ

it nṯr mr.y

ḥtm.w bi.ty m nṯr ḥw

tkn bi.ty

sḏ n nsw (with extension)

mḥ-ib (with extension)

ḥm-nṯr sn.w n.y ḥmn

im.y-rḏ šn.wty n.(wt) ḥmn

im.y-rḏ pr.wy /nb.w [n.y ḥmn]

COMMENT: Binder indicates the tomb owner also held the non-specific title *im.y-rḏ pr.wy nb.w/ ḥd*, Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 296 [038]. The text is fragmentary, the present author cannot conclude beyond reasonable doubt that the tomb owner held the title *im.y-rḏ pr.wy nb.w/ ḥd* outside the Amun priesthood, *Urk.* IV, 1216.5-11; Davies and Davies, *The Tomb of Two Officials*, 18. Since the majority of his roles relate to Amun it would seem more likely that the title relates to the treasure house of that God.

Other References

Betsy M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 269.

Selke Eichler, "Amtseinsetzung und Beförderung von Beamten in Der 18. Dynastie," *SAK* 25 (1998): 52, 54, 56, 64.

Kampp, *Nekropole*, 196-198.

PM I/I, 146-149.

Sheila Whale, *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: A Study of the Representation of the Family in Private Tombs.*, ACE Studies 1 (Sydney; Warminster: Australian Centre for Egyptology; Aris & Phillips, 1989), 186–88.

[8] *Wsr / Wsr-Ḳmn* (Owner of TT 61 and TT 131)

Date active: as Vizier, Hatshepsut – Thutmose III. He may have started his career as early as Thutmose I (Dziobek / Shirley)

Eyes and Ears Designations

Ḳr.ty n(.wt) nsw Ḳnh.wy n(.w) bi.ty (1x on B)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 61

Eberhard Dziobek, *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun Theben Nr. 61 und 131*, ArchVer 84 (Mainz am Rhein: Phillip von Zabern, 1994), 13–47.

B. TT 131

Dziobek, *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun Theben Nr. 61 und 131*, 49–101.

COMMENT: For the eyes-and-ears see pl. 96

C. Statue now in Cairo, CGC 42118

Eberhard Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, SAGA 18 (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1998), 93–94 pl. 9.

D. Statue, now in Cairo, CGC 42119

Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 94–95. See also CdK Photo NU 2009_169-2009_173 L. Coublon and E. Jambon, “Statue assise du vizir Wsr-Jmn,” *Cachette de Karnak: IFAO*, 28 August 2017, <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/?id=392#galerie>.

E. Statue, now in Louvre, A 127

Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 93–94 pl. 9.

F. Stela Uriage

Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 88–91, pl. 12.

H. Funerary Cones DM 355, 359, 370

See also: Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 87–88.

G. Shrine at Gebel Silsilah

T.G.H James and Ricardo A. Caminos, *Gebel Es Silsilah*, vol. 1 of *ASEg* 31 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1963), pl. 7, 33-34, 45-47.

I. Tablet mentioning offerings brought by *Wsr-Ḳmn*

Pascal Vernus, “Omina calendériques et comptabilité d’offrandes sur une tablette hiératique de la XVIIIe dynastie,” *RdE* 33 (1981): 108, fig.4.

J. Other Mentions of *Wsr-Imn*

a. TT 82

Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 91–92.

b in TT 83

Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 97–98.

c. in TT 100

Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē' at Thebes.*, 2 vols. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943), pl. IX.

d. in TT 121

Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 97.

e. Funerary Cone of His Son, DM 1

COMMENT: In addition, recent excavations at Karnak have discovered a false door which apparently belongs to *Wsr-Imn*. I have tried to access the full publication of this artefact, but this was not possible. I did find an article in *Ancient Egypt Magazine* with a photo and transcription of the text Mansour Bouraik, “The False Door of Useramun,” *Ancient Egypt Magazine* 11.2 (2010): 28–31. This identification seems likely as both *Wsr-Imn* are viziers.

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty^c
ḥtm.w b1.ty
smr w^c.ty
it-nṯr mr.y nṯr

im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty
im.y-r3 pr.wy ḥd nb.w

im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.(wt) Imn
im.y ḥn.t K3-mw.t=f

sš ḥd nb.w
sš ḥtm-nṯr n.y pr.w Imn

A full list of titles and epithets can be found in Dziobek, *Denkmäler des Vezirs User-Amun*, 162–64.

COMMENT: As Auenmüller notes, Helck (see other references) appears to misattribute some titles to this individual, Johannes Stefan G. Auenmüller, “Die Territorialität der Ägyptischen Elite(n) des Neuen Reiches” (Freien Universität Berlin, 2013), 818.

Other References

Betsy M. Bryan, “Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III.,” in *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David O’Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 72–77.

Eberhard Dziobek, “Theban Tombs as a Source for Historical and Biographical Evaluation: The Case of User-Amun,” in *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: Neue Perspektiven Archäologischer Forschung. Internationales Symposium, Heidelberg, 9. - 13.6.1993*, ed. J. Assmann et al. (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1995), 129–40.

Selke Eichler, *Die Verwaltung des “Hauses des Amun” in der 18. Dynastie*, SAK Beihefte 7 (Hamburg: Buske, 2000), 265.

Helck, *Verwaltung*, 436–437.

Kampp, *Nekropole*, 277–279, 419–422.

JJ Shirley, “Viceroys, Viziers & the Amun Precinct: The Power of Heredity and Strategic Marriage in the Early 18th Dynasty,” *JEH* 3 (2010): 73–113.

JJ Shirley, “The Power of the Elite: The Officials of Hatshepsut’s Regency and Coregency,” in *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut: Papers from the Theban Workshop 2010*, ed. Betsy M. Bryan, Peter F. Dorman, and José M. Galán (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2014), 184–86.

Sheila Whale, *The Family in the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: A Study of the Representation of the Family in Private Tombs.*, ACE Studies 1 (Sydney; Warminster: Australian Centre for Egyptology; Aris & Phillips, 1989), 55–58.

[9] *Bnr-mrw. t*

Date active: Thutmose III (see cartouche on B.)

Eyes and Ears Designations

ir.ty nsw ‘nh.wy n(.w) bī.ty (1x on A)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. Stela Louvre, C 273

Urk. IV, 1372.5–14; A. Moret, “Monuments égyptiens de la collection du comte de Saint-Ferriol,” *RecEg* 1 (1919): 15–16 pl IV.

B. Stela JE 65830

Ali Radwan, “Zwei Stelen aus dem 47. Jahre Thutmose III.,” *MDAIK* 37 (1981): 403–7. Radwan dates the stela to Year 47. The text also appears in the *Urkunden*; Helck assigns the stela a date of Year 45, *Urk.* IV, 1373.15–1374.6.

C. Statue of *Bnr-mrw.t* and Princess *Mry.t-Imn.w* in Cairo, CG 42171.

Urk. IV, 1373.10—1374.4; published earlier in Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* II, 37–38. Legrain erroneously dates the statue to the reign of Ramesses II.

D. Double Ushabti of *Bnr-mrw.t* and his mother Metropolitan Museum of Art, 44.4.73 William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1959), 2:130; Anne K. Capel and Glenn Markoe, eds., *Mistress of the House, Mistress of Heaven: Women in Ancient Egypt* (New York: Hudson Hills, 1996), 54.

E. Stone Implements now in the British Museum

A. F. Shore, “Two Objects of the Architect Benermeryt,” *BMQ* 34.3/4 (1970): pl. XLIII a.

F. Scarab, now in the British Museum

Shore, “Two Objects of the Architect Benermeryt,” pl. XLIII b.

G. Hayes Ostrakon 19 from Deir el Bahri

William C. Hayes, “A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Dēr El-Baḥri,” *JEA* 46 (1960): 46 pl. XII, XII A.

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y p^c.t ḥṣ.ty-^c

ḥtm.w bi.ty

smr r w^c.t

im.y-ib

mḥ-ib m smnh mn.ww=f

im.y-rṣ kṣ.t nb.t n.t nsw/ kṣ.wt nb.(w)t

nsw

im.y-rṣ pr.wy nbw

im.y-rṣ pr.w ḥd

Other References

Betsy M. Bryan, “Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III.,” in *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David O’Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 87, 98.

Helck, *Verwaltung*, 509

Catharine H Roehrig, “The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse (Mn^t Nswt), Royal Tutor (Mn^c Nswt), and Foster Brother/Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (Sn/Snt Mn^c n Nb Tṣwy)” (Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, 1990), 105.

JJ Shirley, “The Power of the Elite: The Officials of Hatshepsut’s Regency and Coregency.,” in *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut: Papers from the Theban Workshop 2010*, ed. Betsy M. Bryan, Peter F. Dorman, and José M. Galán (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2014), 197, 242–43.

[10] P3-Hk3-m-s3=sn

Date active: Amenhotep II (see cartouche on C.)

Eyes and Ears Designations

ir.ty n(.wt) nsw m niw.(w?)t Šm^c.w (1x on C)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

- A. Funerary Cones from an unknown tomb: DM 267, 324.
- B. Stela at Tombos which also features Wsr-stt
W. Vivian Davies, "The British Museum Epigraphic Survey at Tombos: The Stela of Usersatet and Hekaemsasen," *BMSAES* 14 (2009): fig. 4. This stela was originally published by Lepsius see, LD Text V, 244.
- C. Fragment of a Statue Cairo, CGC 989
Davies, "The Stela of Usersatet and Hekaemsasen," figs. 15-24.
- D. Fragment of a statue Khartoum, SNM 1848
Davies, "The Stela of Usersatet and Hekaemsasen," figs. 7-14.
- E. Graffito at Sehel, SHE 261
Annie Gasse and Vincent Rondot, *Les Inscriptions de Séhel*, MIFAO 126 (Le Caire: IFAO, 2007), 155.

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c

mḥ-ib 3 n(.y) nb t3.wy

t3y ḥw

w^c n mnḥ-ib n(.y) nb=f

im.y-r3 rw.yt

im.y-r3 ḥ3s.wt/ ḥ3s.wt rsy.wt

Other References

Peter der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, HÄB 26 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1987), 111–12.

Michel Dewachter, "Un fonctionnaire préposé aux marches méridionales à l'époque d'Aménophis II: (Pa-)Hekaemsasen," *CRIPPEL* 4 (1976): 53–60.

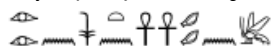
Robert Morkot, "Nubia in the New Kingdom: The Limits of Egyptian Control," in *Egypt and Africa: Nubia from Prehistory to Islam*, ed. W. Vivian Davies (London: British Museum, 1991), 299.

Robert Morkot, "From Conquered to Conqueror: The Organization of Nubia in the New Kingdom and the Kushite Administration of Egypt," in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García, HdO 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 949.

[11] *Pth-m-ḥꜣt* (first owner of TT 77)

Date active: Thutmosis IV – Amenhotep III (following Maniche / Kampp)

ir.ty n(.wt) nsw ḥḥ.wy n(.w) bi.ty (1x on A.)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 77 Wall scenes and inscriptions

Urk. IV, 1599–1601; Lise Manniche, *The Wall Decoration of Three Theban Tombs: TT 77, 175, and 249*, CNIP 4 (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press, University of Copenhagen, 1988), 13–29.

COMMENT: The paired expression is found on the south rear wall of the Hall Manniche, *The Wall Decoration of Three Theban Tombs*, 23.

B. Funerary Cone

Heike Guksch, “Die Grabkegelaufschrift Davies-Macadam Nr. 475 - Und Ein Ende!,” *GM* 158 (1997): 9–13.

Other titles and epithets

ir.y pꜣ.t ḥꜣ.ty-ꜣ

mḥ-ib (with variations)

ḥs.y n(.y) nṯr nfr

im.y-ib [n. y Ḥr.w] m [ḥḥ=f]

ḥrd n(.y) kꜣp

tꜣy ḥw n.y nb tꜣ.wy

im.y-rꜣ kꜣ.wt n(.wt) imn.w/ ḥw.t imn.

ḥrp ḥrp.w m [kꜣ.wt]

im.y-rꜣ ꜣḥ.wt n(.wt) imn.

im.y-rꜣ šnw.ty m ḥw.t imn

im.y-rꜣ ḥn.tyw-š n(.w) imn

Other References

Betsy M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 262, 287–88.

Kampp, *Nekropole*, 313-315

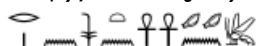
PM I/I, 150 – 52.

[12] *Mn.w-ḥtp Ḥw-twtw*

Date active: Amenhotep II – Thutmosis IV (Bryan)

Eyes and Ears Designations

r3 n(.y) nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi.ty (1x on A.)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. Stela from Abusir (now in Cairo?); listed as TN 17/5/25/4 in PM III/II 739.

See, G. Daressy, “Une stèle fragmentée d’Abousir,” *ASAE* 19 (1920): 127–30. The stela is also published in *Urk.* IV 1512.15-1514.20

B. Verso of P.Petersburg 1116B *Urk.* IV, 1512.10-13.

Selected titles and epithets

mḥ ib (with variations)

ir.y p^c.t r ? wsh.t

sš nsw

sš nfr.w

sš pr.w-ḥd

ḥrp Šm^c.w Mḥ.w m wsh.t n 3ḥ n.(y) nsw

sšm(.w) ḥb n.y Ptḥ nfr-ḥr

Other References

Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 311 [99]

Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, 262, 315.

Pierre-Marie Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, Études et mémoires d'égyptologie 3 (Antony: Cybèle, 1994), 31.13.

[13] Mn-nʿ (owner of TT 69)

Date active: Thutmosis IV? – Amenhotep III (Kampp)

Eyes and Ears Designations

ir.ty nsw m s.t nb(.t) (1x on A.)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 69

Melinda Hartwig, “Scenes and Texts in the Tomb Chapel of Menna.,” in *The Tomb Chapel of Menna (TT 69): The Art, Culture, and Science of Painting in an Egyptian Tomb*, ed. Melinda Hartwig (Cairo, New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2013), 21–90. A selection of inscriptions are published in *Urk. IV*, 1607.15–1609.11.

COMMENT For the eyes designation see the agricultural scene on the western wall of the hall Melinda Hartwig, “Scenes and Texts in the Tomb Chapel of Menna.,” in *The Tomb Chapel of Menna (TT 69): The Art, Culture, and Science of Painting in an Egyptian Tomb*, ed. Melinda Hartwig (Cairo, New York: American University in Cairo Press, 2013), 26–27.

Other titles and epithets

im.y ib n.y Hr.w m ḥ=f
mḥ-ib ʿ n.(y) nb tʃ.wy
ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr

sš
sš nb tʃ.wy
sš ʔḥ.wt n(.y) nb tʃ.wy nw Šmʿ.w Mḥ.w
im.y-rʔ ʔḥ.wt n.y nb tʃ.wy/ n.y nb tʃ.wy nw
Šmʿ.w Mḥ.w
im.y-rʔ ʔḥ.wt n(.wt) Imn
im.y-rʔ ḥbsw n.(w) Imn

Other References

Binder, Gold of Honour, 311–312 [100]

Kampp, *Nekropole*, 294–297

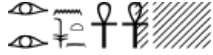
PM I/I 134 –139

[15] *Nb-Ḳmn* (Owner of TT 90)

Date active: Thutmosis IV – Amenhotep III (following PM / Kampp)

Eyes and Ears Designations

ir.ty n(.wt) nsw 'nh.[wy] /// (1x on A)



COMMENT: This is restored as *'nh.[wy] [n.w] [bi.ty]* by Helck, *Urk. IV*, 1628.12

Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 90: Wall inscriptions in tomb

Norman de Garis Davies and Nina de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Two Officials of Thutmosis The Fourth*, TTS 3 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1923), 19-38 pls. XIX-XXXVIII. *Urk. IV*, 1618.5-1628.17

COMMENT: The eyes-and-ears designation appears on the stela on the north wall: PM (7) Davies and Davies, *The Tomb of Two Officials*, pl. XXXVI.

B. Funerary Cone DM, 398

C. Stela Louvre C 60 *Urk. IV*, 1629.1–14

D. Stela fragment found near Malqata

Yehia M. Eid, "A Newly Discovered Stela of Neb-Amon, Chief of the Western Desert Police at Thebes.," *ASAE* 70 (1984–1985): 19–20.

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y p^c.t ḥ₃.ty-^c

mḥ-ib ʿ n.(y) nb t₃.wy

ir.y rd.wy [hr] ḥ₃s.wt rs.ywt mḥ.tywt

t₃.y sr.yt n.y wi₃ nsw Mr.y-Ḳmn.w

hr.y Mḏ₃y hr Ḳmn.tyt W₃s.t

hr.y-pḏ.t y hr Ḳmn.tyt W₃s.t

im.y-r₃ ḥ₃s.wt Ḳmn.tyt W₃s.t

ḥ₃.ty-^c Ḳmn.tyt W₃s.t

Other References

Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 318 [122].

Betsy M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 5, 286–91.

Pierre-Marie Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, Études et mémoires d'égyptologie 3 (Antony: Cybèle, 1994), 11.155, 15.106.

Selke Eichler, *Die Verwaltung des "Hauses des Amun" in der 18. Dynastie*, SAK Beihefte 7 (Hamburg: Buske, 2000), 52, 534–55.

Kampp, *Nekropole*, 348–349.

William J. Murnane, “The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III.,” in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David B. O’Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 199–200.

PM I/I 183–185

JJ Shirley, “What’s in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere.,” in *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature. Proceedings of a Conference at the University of Haifa, 3-7 May 2009*, ed. D. Kahn, JJ Shirley, and S. Bar (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 298–99.

[16] *Nfr-shr.w* (Owner of TT 107)

Date active: Amenhotep III (PM /Kampp / Binder)

Eyes and Ears Designations

ir.ty n.y nsw m t3 r dr=f (1x on A)



COMMENT: Helck suggests an ears designation also occurs in the tomb. See Appendix C [U6]

Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 107: Inscriptions

Wolfgang Helck, "Inhaber und Bauleiter des thebanischen Grabs 107.," *MIO* 4 (1956): 11–26.
Some texts are also published by Helck in the *Urkunden*, see *Urk.* IV, 1881.4–1883.18.

COMMENT: The eyes-and-ears designations appear on a column in the portico: PM (1),
Helck, "Inhaber und Bauleiter des thebanischen Grabs 107.," 20 fig. b.

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y-p^c.t h3.ty-^c

h3.ty-^c m pr.w wr

ir.y-p^c.t r ??? wsh.t

htm.w bi.ty

smr (with variations)

mh-ib

im.y ib

ir.y rd.wy itti m pr.w=f

hs.y n.y ntr nfr

šms.w nsw

hrp ns.ty /// m hb-sd tp.y

im.y-r3 pr.w n(.y) Nb-M3^c.t-R^c.w Tḥn-Itn

(with variations)

sš nsw

sš wdḥ.w

im.y-r3 k3.t m h^cpy 3

im.y-r3 iḥw.w n(w) imn

im.y-r3 šnw.ty n.(y) imn

Other References:

Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 322 [138].

Kampp, *Nekropole*, 386–87.

PM I/I 224–225.

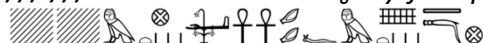
William J. Murnane, "The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III.," in
Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign, ed. Eric H. Cline and David B. O'Connor (Ann
Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 118.

[17] *Nht-mn.w* (Owner of TT 87)

Date active: Hatshepsut – Thutmosis III (Shirley / Guksch/ Kampp)

Eyes and Ears Designations

//// /// m niw.wt Šm^c.w 'nh.wy=f m sp³.wt T³-Mhw (1x on D)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 87

a. Texts on the wall scenes

Heike Guksch, *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Ra-seneb: Theben Nr. 87 und 79*, ArchVer 34 (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1995), 17–54.

b. Niche statue

Guksch, *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Ra-seneb*, 69–70.

B. Shrines of Gebel Silsila

a. Shrine 12

James and Caminos, *Gebel Es Silsilah*, 35–36 pls. 26–29.

b. Shrine 23

James and Caminos, *Gebel Es Silsilah*, 74–77 pls. 56–59.

C. Funerary Cone DM,89 113, 177

D. Statue of *Nḥt-mn.w* Cairo, CGC 533

Borchardt, *Statuen* II, 84; also published in *Urk.* IV, 1186.1–16

E. Statue of *Nht-mn.w* and *Mr.yt* in Cairo, CGC 613

Borchardt, *Statuen* II, 160

F. Statue of *Nht-mn.w* in Cairo, CGC 42124

Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* I, 74; *Urk.* IV, 1190.1–8.

G. Statue Turin, 3027 *Urk.* IV, 1187.9–1188.4

H. Statue of *Nht-mn.w*, in Vienna, ÄS 5802 *Urk.* IV, 1188.5–1189.12

I. Naos from Giza

Christiane M. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire.*, BDE 70 (Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1976), 58–61.

J. Scribal Palette of *ḫmn.w-[ḥtp]* mentioning *Nḥt-mn.w*, in the British Museum, EA 12786

S. R. K. Glanville, "Scribes' Palettes in the British Museum. Part I," *JEA* 18.1/2 (1932): 8.

K. P.Louvre E3226

Mounir Megally, *Recherches sur l'économie, l'administration et la comptabilité égyptiennes à la XVIIIe Dynastie d'après le Papyrus E. 3226 du Louvre.*, BDE 71 (Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1977), 174–75.

COMMENT: Other sources have been associated with this *Nḥt-mn.w* by Megally; Guksch seems uncertain of these attributions. Megally, *Recherches sur l'économie, l'administration et la comptabilité égyptiennes à la XVIIIe Dynastie d'après le Papyrus E. 3226 du Louvre.*, 175; Guksch, *Die Gräber des Nacht-Min und des Men-cheper-Ra-seneb*, 88. For the sake of caution, monuments with uncertain references to *Nḥt-mn.w* have been excluded from the analysis. The study also excludes the stela of *Ḥḥ.ty* as the reference to *Nḥt-mn.w* appears to be entirely the product of Helck's reconstruction F. L. Griffith, "Notes on a Tour of Upper Egypt," *PSBA* 12 (1889): 107. Compare this to *Urk.* IV, 1206.1–7.

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y-p^c.t ḥḥ.ty^c

smr w^c.ty

ḥtm.w bi.ty

im.y-ib

sš nsw (with variations)

ir.y 't n.t ḫmn.w

ḥr.y mr.w n ḫmn.w

im.y-rḥ šn^c n ḫmn.w

im.y-rḥ s.t n 't irp

im.y-rḥ šnw.ty (with variations)

im.y-rḥ ssm.wt n(.wt) nb tḥ.wy

Other References

Betsy M. Bryan, "Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III.," in *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David O'Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 82.

Helck, *Verwaltung*, 14, 107, 155, 158, 186, 257, 387–388, 391 497.

Kampp, *Nekropole*, 340.

JJ Shirley, "The Power of the Elite: The Officials of Hatshepsut's Regency and Coregency.," in *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut: Papers from the Theban Workshop 2010*, ed. Betsy M. Bryan, Peter F. Dorman, and José M. Galán (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2014), 232–34.

[18] *Nḥt-mn.w*

Date active: Post-Amarna (Ockinga / Binder / Kawai)

Eyes and Ears Designations

ir.ty n.(wt) nsw n.(wt) Ḥr.w=f (1x on A)



A. Statue Fragment, now in Cairo, CGC 779
Borchardt, *Statuen* III, 88; *Urk.* IV, 1908.5–.13.

B. Shabti given by *Nḥt-mn.w* from the Tomb of Tutankhamun
Horst Beinlich and Mohamed Saleh, eds., *Corpus der hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutanchamun*: (Oxford: Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, 1989), 140, 165–66.

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y p^c.t

‘k r

ḥrp sr.w

sṯ nsw n.y ///

īm.y-rṯ mš^c wr

sš nsw

tṯ.y ḥw ḥr wnm.y nsw

Other References

Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 324 [143]

Aidan Dodson, “Crown Prince Djhutmose and the Royal Sons of the Eighteenth Dynasty,” *JEA* 76 (1990): 95;

Aidan Dodson, “Two Who Might Have Been King: Crown-Prince Thutmose (V) & Generalissimo Nakhtmin.,” *AmarnLett* 1 (1991): 30.

Boyo Ockinga, *A Tomb from the Reign of Tutankhamun at Akhmim*, ACE-Rep. 10 (Warminster, Wilts., England: Aris & Phillips, 1997), 60–61

Nozomu Kawai, “Ay versus Horemheb: The Political Situation in the Late Eighteenth Dynasty Revisited.,” *JEH* 3.2 (2010): 273, 288.

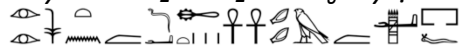
Jacobus van Dijk, “Horemheb and the Struggle for the Throne of Tutankhamun,” *BACE* 7 (1996): 29–42.

[19] *R^c.w* (Owner of TT 201)

Date active: Thutmosis IV – Amenhotep III (PM / Redford / Kampp)

Eyes and Ears Designations

ir.ty nsw m d^c<r> h.wt 'nh.wy Hr.w m 'h. f (1x on B)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 201

Susan Redford and Donald B. Redford, *The Akhenaten Temple Project. 4: The Tomb of Re'a (TT 201)*, Aegypti Texta Propositae 3 (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1994), 1–23.

B. Model Sarcophagus Cairo, CGC 48483

P.E. Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1937), 2:369–72; P.E. Newberry, *Funerary Statuettes and Model Sarcophagi* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, 1957), 3:pls. XXIX-XXX.

C. Stela in Munich (uncertain inventory number) *Urk.* IV, 1640.13-16.

D. Funerary Cone DM 193

E. Inscription at Knosso LD Text IV, 127–128.

F. Inscription in Sehel

Annie Gasse and Vincent Rondot, *Les Inscriptions de Séhel*, MIFAO 126 (Le Caire: IFAO, 2007), 157.

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y p^c.t h₃.ty-^c

t₃y h.w (with variations)

m_h-ib

im.y-ib

hs.y n(.y) n_{tr} nfr

šms.w nsw hr h₃s.t nb(.t)

it n_{tr} mri.y n_{tr}

hr.y-tp /// h₃k₃-^cnd

hr.y sšt₃ p.t t₃

im.y-r₃ k₃.(w)t šm^c.w M_h.w

w_hm nsw tp.y

im.y-r₃ 'b w_hm.w šw.wt nsm.wt

im.y-r₃ pr.wwy nb.w h_d

im.y-r₃ šnw.ty

im.y-r₃ h_m.ww m šm^c.w T₃-M_h.w

Other References

Betsy M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 248–49;

Kampp, *Nekropole* 447 – 448.

PM I/I 304-305.

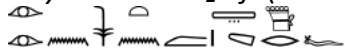
William J. Murnane, “The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III.,” in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David B. O’Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 189.

[20] R^c.w-ms (Owner of TT 55)

Date active: Amenhotep III – Akhenaten (following Kampp)

Eyes and Ears Designations

Ir.ty nsw m t3 r dr=f (1x on D.a)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

- A. TT 55
Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1941), 1-40 pls. IV-LVI. See also, *Urk. IV*, 1776.5-1790.15
- B. Funerary Cones DM, 132, 133.
- C. Statue Fragment, Bremen B465 *Urk. IV*, 1790.19-.20
- D. Inscriptions at Séhel
 - a. SHE 265
Annie Gasse and Vincent Rondot, *Les Inscriptions de Séhel*, MIFAO 126 (Le Caire: IFAO, 2007), 159–60.
 - b. SHE 266
Gasse and Rondot, *Les Inscriptions de Séhel*, 160.
- E. Inscription at Bigreh
Lepsius LD Text IV, 175. *Urk. IV*, 1791.8-.12
- F. Malqata Label
William C. Hayes, “Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep III,” *JNES* 10 (1951): figure 8 (92).
- G. Inscription at the Temple at Soleb
Andrew Gordon, “Who Was the Southern Vizier during the Last Part of the Reign of Amenhotep III?,” *JNES* 48.1 (1989): fig.2

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c

ḥtm.w bī.ty

smr w^c.ty

it nṯr mr.y nṯr

ḥr.y tp r ḡr=f

r3 Nḥn

ḥr.y sšt3 pr.w nsw/ md.wt-nṯr

ḥs.y n(.y) nṯr nfr

im.y-r3 t3.ty

im.y-r3 sš.w

im.y-r3 k3.w m mn.ww wr

sšm ḥtp.w nṯr

im.y-r3 ḥm.w-nṯr n.w Šm^c.w Mḥw

im.y-r3 ḥw.wt-nṯr.w nb.w

Other References

Binder, *Gold of Honour* 325-326 [149];

Helck, *Verwaltung*, 442-443;

Gordon, "Who Was the Southern Vizier during the Last Part of the Reign of Amenhotep III?," 15–23

Murnane, "The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III.," 203–6.

Lawrence M. Berman, "Amenhotep III and His Times," in *Egypt's Dazzling Sun: Amenhotep III and His World.*, ed. Arielle P. Kozloff and Betsy M. Bryan (Cleveland, OH: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992), 49–51;

JJ Shirley, "Crisis and Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses," in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García, HdO 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 594.

[21] *Rḥ-mi-R'w* (Owner of TT 100)

Date active: Thutmosis III – Amenhotep II (Cartouches on A.)

Eyes and Ears Designations

1. *ir.ty nsw* //// (A x 1)



COMMENT: See also Appendix B [U2].

Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 100: Inscriptions in the Tomb + False Door now in the Louvre, C 76

Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē' at Thebes.*, 2 vols. (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1943), 8–94, pls. I–CXXII. See also, *Urk. IV*, 1071.6-1173. 10 for the in-situ inscriptions, 1173.16-1174.2 for the false door.

B. Documents concerning Building Works at Deir el-Bahri
O.Hayes 17, 18, 19, 20. William C. Hayes, “A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca from Dēr El-Bahri,” *JEA* 46 (1960): 44-47 pls. XII.A-XIII.A.

C. P.Louvre E3226
Mounir Megally, *Recherches sur l'économie, l'administration et la comptabilité égyptiennes à la XVIIIe Dynastie d'après le Papyrus E. 3226 du Louvre.*, BDE 71 (Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1977), 278–79.

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y-p' t ḥ3.ty-'
ḥtm.w bi.ty
smr w' ty
it-nṯr mr.y-nṯr
ḥr.y sšt3

im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty/ niw.t rs.yt
im.y-r3 k3.wt nb.(w)t n.wt ḥmn
ḥrp k3.wt m ḥp.t-Sw.t
im.y-r3 pr.wy ḥd
im.y-r3 ḥm.wt nb.(wt) n.(wt)
im.y-r3 pr.w n.y ḥmn
sš-ḥtp.w-nṯr tp.y n.y ḥmn

Other references

Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 328 [158].

Kampp, *Nekropole*, 370—373

Helck, *Verwaltung*, 437–438.

Betsy M. Bryan, "Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III.," in *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David O'Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 74–76;

Peter der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, HÄB 26 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1987), 101–3; S

Schoske, "Rechmire," in *LÄ V*, 1984, 180–82;

JJ Shirley, "Crisis and Restructuring of the State: From the Second Intermediate Period to the Advent of the Ramesses," in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García, HdO 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 584–85, 587–88;

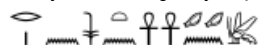
JJ Shirley, "The Power of the Elite: The Officials of Hatshepsut's Regency and Coregency.," in *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut: Papers from the Theban Workshop 2010*, ed. Betsy M. Bryan, Peter F. Dorman, and José M. Galán (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2014), 242.

[22] *Hwy*

Date active: Amenhotep III (following Bernhauer)

Eyes and ears designations

rʒ n.y nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi.ty



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. Basin Statue found in Saqqara, now in Berlin, ÄM 19900

Urk. IV, 1979.10–1980.5; Günther Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1924), 259; Ludwig Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal Des Königs S'azhu-Re'*, vol. 1 of *WVDOG* 14 (Leipzig, 1910), 121; Karl-Heinz Priese, *Ägyptisches Museum: Staatliche Museen Zu Berlin. Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz*. (Mainz: von Zabern, 1991), 96.

Other titles and epithets

ir.y-p^c.t h³.ty-^c

it-ntr mr.y-ntr

$$wr m iw3.t=f$$
$$\{ m s' h.w = f$$

sr m ḥ3t rḥ.yt

mḥ-ib ʕ n.y nb tʕ.wy

Other References

Edith Bernhauer, *Innovationen in der Privatplastik: die 18. Dynastie und ihre Entwicklung* (Otto Harrassowitz Verlag, 2010), 278

PM III/I, 334.

[23] *Hby*

Date active: Amenhotep III (see cartouche)

Eyes and Ears Designations

ir.ty nsw m Šm^c.w Mḥ.w



Monument:

A. Inscription at Aswan

Urk. IV, 1793.5–.12; LD Text IV, 119; Beatrix Gessler-Löhr, “Bemerkungen zur Nekropole des Neuen Reiches von Saqqara vor der Amarna-zeit. II: Gräber der Bürgermeister von Memphis,” *OMRO* 77 (1997): Abb. 2.

Other titles and epithets

ir.y p^c.t ḥṣ.ty-^c

*sš nsw m mr.y^cf
ḥṣ.ty-^c n.y Mn-nfr*

Other References

Zakéya Topozada, “Les deux campagnes d’Amenhotep III en Nubie.,” *BIFAO* 88 (1988): 156.

William J. Murnane, “The Organization of Government under Amenhotep III.,” in *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on His Reign*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David B. O’Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 195–96.

[24] *Hp.w* (Owner of TT 66)

Date active: Thutmosis IV (PM / Bryan / Kampp)

Eyes and Ears Designations

lɾ.ty n.(wt) nsw m niw.[w]t Šm^c.w ʿnh.wy=f spʒ.wt Tʒ-Mh.w (A.a x 1)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 66

Urk. IV, 1576.9–1577.2; Nina de Garis Davies and Norman de Garis Davies, *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs (Nos. 38, 66, 162, with Excerpts from 81).*, PTT 4 (Oxford: University Press for Griffith Institute, 1963), 9–13, pls. VIII–XIV.

COMMENT: The eyes-and-ears designation is found in the hall, Urk. IV, 1576.11; Davies and Davies, *Scenes from Some Theban Tombs* (Nos. 38, 66, 162, with Excerpts from 81)., pl. VIII.

B. Funerary Cone DM 583

C. P. Munich 37

Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Ein Gerichtsprotokoll aus der Zeit Thutmosis' IV.," ZÄS 63 (1928): 105–15.

Selected other titles and epithets

[ir.y-p^c.t] ḥȝ.ty-^c

im.y-rʒ niw.t tʒ.ty

it-ntr mr.y-ntr

im.y-r3 hw.wt wr.yt

smr w^c. [ty] tkn m nb=f

$$r^3 \sin \theta \, r \, d\theta \, dr = f$$

wpi r3 r=f r bw m3^c.t

$$s^c r m^3 c . t n n b \neq f$$

Other references

Betsy M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 242–43.

Helck, *Verwaltung* 440-441.

Kampp, *Nekropole*, 287–289

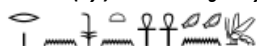
PM I/I, 132-133

[25] *Hpw-snb* (Owner of TT 67)

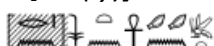
Date active: Thutmosis II – Hatshepsut

Eyes and Ears Designations

1. *r3 n(.y) nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi.ty* (1x on A.)



2. [*r3 n(.y)*] *nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi.ty* (1x on A.)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. Shrine 13 at Gebel Silsilah

T.G.H James and Ricardo A. Caminos, *Gebel Es Silsilah*, vol. 1 of *ASEg* 31 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1963), 42–50, pls. 33–39. See also, *Urk. IV*, 485.15–486.17

B. TT 67

Urk. IV, 487.10–489.5; Tamás A Bács, “Researches in the Funerary Complex of Hapuseneb, High Priest of Amun at Thebes (TT 67): An Interim Report,” in *Current Research of the Hungarian Archaeological Mission in Thebes 2014-2015*, Publications of the Office of the Hungarian Cultural Counsellor in Cairo, 2015, 9–18; Nina M. Davies, “A Fragment of a Punt Scene,” *JEA* 47 (1961): pls. IV-V.

C. DM 21, 517, 518.

D. Statue from the Temple of Mut at Karnak, now Cairo, CGC648

Borchardt, *Statuen* II, 194–195; *Urk. IV*, 478.9–480.10; Some of the texts are translated in a recent article, Betsy M. Bryan, “Hatshepsut and Cultic Revelries in the New Kingdom,” in *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut: Papers from the Theban Workshop 2010*, ed. Betsy M. Bryan, Peter F. Dorman, and José M. Galán (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2014), 121–22.

E. Statue, now in the Louvre, A 134

Luc Delvaux, “La Statue Louvre A 134 du Premier Prophete d’Amon Hapouseneb,” *SAK* 15 (1988): 56–57, pl. 1–3. The text is also recorded in earlier editions, see *Urk. IV* 471.5-476.16.

F. Statue, now in Bologna 1822 *Urk. IV*, 480.15–483.6

G. Statue, now in Cairo JE 39392

Georges Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique et onomastique du Musée du Caire: monuments de la XVIIe et de la XVIIIe dynastie*. (Genève: Société Anonyme des Arts Graphiques, 1908), 53 cat. 86.

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y=p^c.t ḥḫ.ty-^c
ḥtm.w bi.ty
mḥ-ib

ḥm-nṯr tp.y n.y ḥmn
im.y-rḫ niw.t ḫḫ.ty
im.y-rḫ rḫ.w pr.ww
im.y-rḫ ḥm.w-nṯr n.w Šm^c.w Mḥ.w
im.y-rḫ iwḫ.wt nb.wt n(.wt) pr.w ḥmn

Other References

Betsy M. Bryan, “Administration in the Reign of Thutmose III.,” in *Thutmose III: A New Biography*, ed. Eric H. Cline and David O’Connor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 107–9.

Helck, Verwaltung 286, 287.

JJ Shirley, “The Power of the Elite: The Officials of Hatshepsut’s Regency and Coregency.,” in *Creativity and Innovation in the Reign of Hatshepsut: Papers from the Theban Workshop 2010*, ed. Betsy M. Bryan, Peter F. Dorman, and José M. Galán (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 2014), 198–200.

[26] *Hrw-m-ḥb*

Date active: Amenhotep II – Amenhotep III (following Brack and Brack / Kampp)

Eyes and Ears Designations

ir.ty n.(wt) m tʃ /r/ drʃ (3x on A)

1.a

1.b

Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 78

Annelies Brack and Artur Brack, *Das Grab des Haremhab: Theben Nr. 78.*, ArchVer 35 (Mainz: Zabern, 1980), 15–65. Some texts were also previously collated by Helck, see *Urk.* IV, 1589.5–1596.20

COMMENT: For the attestations of eyes designation see Text 31 (variation a.), and Text 47 (variation b.), Text 49 Brack and Brack, *Das Grab des Haremhab*, 51, 58, 61.

B. Funerary Cone DM 476

C. Inscription at Knosso *Urk.* IV, 1597.3 –8

D. Inscription at Sehel

Annie Gasse and Vincent Rondot, *Les Inscriptions de Séhel*, MIFAO 126 (Le Caire: IFAO, 2007), 142.

Other titles and epithets

ir.y p^c.t ḥʃ.ty-^c

mḥ-ib (with variations)

im.y-ib

ḥs.y (with variations)

ir.y rd.wy (with variations)

‘k ḥr nfr.t...

tʃy ḥw ḥr wnm.y n.y nsw

sš nsw mriw-f

sš nfr.w

im.y-rʃ sš.w nswnb n.y mš^c

im.y-rʃ ssm.t

im.y-rʃ ‘b

im.y-rʃ šw.t nsm.t

im.y-rʃ ḥm.w-nṯr m Šm^c.w Mḥ.w

im.y-rʃ ʃḥ.wt n(wt) imn

im.y-rʃ kʃ.wt n(wt) imn

im.y-rʃ iḥw n.(y) imn

Other references

Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 331 [173]

Pierre-Marie Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, Études et mémoires d'égyptologie 3 (Antony: Cybèle, 1994), 7.25, 29.03, 31.18.

Betsy M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 280–83, 292.

Peter der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, HÄB 26 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1987), 123–24.

Kampp, 316-318

JJ Shirley, "What's in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere.," in *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature. Proceedings of a Conference at the University of Haifa, 3-7 May 2009*, ed. D. Kahn, JJ Shirley, and S. Bar (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 312.

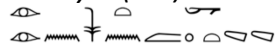
[27] *Ḥrw-m-ḥb*

Date active: Tutankhamun – his own reign

COMMENT: When he entered the royal service is uncertain. Hari and Martin infer that he is identical with the official *P3-ḥtn-m-ḥb* (Amarna T 24). Geoffrey T. Martin, *The Hidden Tombs of Memphis: New Discoveries from the Time of Tutankhamun and Ramesses the Great., New Aspects of Antiquity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1991), 37; Geoffrey T. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Ḥoremḥeb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamūn* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1989), 161; Robert Hari, *Horemheb et La Reine Moutnedjemet Ou La Fin d'une Dynastie.* (Genève: La Sirène, 1965), 29–36. If this is correct, this would indicate that his career started in the Amarna Period, however, this is uncertain.

Eyes and Ears Designations

1. *ḥr.ty n.(.wt) nsw ḥm.y-ḥ.t ḥdb.wy (A x 1)*



2. *ḥr.ty n.(.wt) nsw m sšm t3.wy smn ḥp.w ḥdb.wy (A x 1)*



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. Inscriptions from his tomb at Saqqara for the various fragments in Museum see *Gold of Honour*.

Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Ḥoremḥeb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamūn*, 7–156 pls. 1–171. See also, *Urk.* IV, 2084.9–2089.4, 2099.9–2102.8; Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 331–332.

COMMENT: The first eyes designation is found on a pilaster in the British Museum, EA 551, the second is found on an in situ pilaster from the second courtyard. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Ḥoremḥeb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamūn*, 86, 102, pl.107.

B. Statue, now in New York, MMA 23.10.1

Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Ḥoremḥeb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamūn*, pl. 155. See also, *Urk.* IV, 2089.9–2094.5

C. Statue, now in Cairo, CGC 42129 *Urk.* IV, 2103.15–2105.20

D. Scribal Statue found at Karnak

Nozomu Kawai, “Ay versus Horemheb: The Political Situation in the Late Eighteenth Dynasty Revisited.,” *JEH* 3.2 (2010): figs. 8-10.

COMMENT: Martin links other monuments with the pre-accession career of *Ḥr.w-m-ḥb*. Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Ḥoremḥeb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut'ankhamūn*, 161–62. Despite not being named in the so-called Trauerrelief of *Pth-m-ḥ3.t*, it appears scholars agree that *Ḥr.w-m-ḥb* is depicted in the scene. Kawai, “Ay versus Horemheb: The Political Situation in the Late Eighteenth Dynasty Revisited.,” fig.4; Alan R. Schulman, “The Berlin

‘Trauerrelief’ (No. 12411) and Some Officials of Tut‘ankhamūn and Ay,” *JARCE* 4 (1965): 57–61; Martin, *The Memphite Tomb of Horemheb, Commander-in-Chief of Tut‘ankhamūn*, 161.

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c

ir.y-p^c.t

ḥr.y sšt3 (with variations)

smr w^c.ty

t3y ḥw ḥr wnm.y nsw

mḥ-ib (with variations)

ir.y rd.wy

šms.w nsw r nm.tyt-f ḥr ḥ3s.wt rsy.wt

mḥ.tywt

idn.w n ḥm-f

im.y-r3 pr.w wr

ḥr.y-tp pr.w ḏw3.yt

im.y-r3 mš^c wr (with variations)

im.y-r3 im.yw-r3 mš^c nb t3.wy

im.y-r3 nfr.w nb t3.wy

sš nfr.w

im.y-r3 k3.wt nb.w m šm^c.w Mḥw/ ḏw m

b3.t

im.y-r3 iw3.t ntr.t nb.t

im.y-r3 ḥm.w-ntr n.(w) Ḥr.w nb Sby

im.y-r3 pr.w n.y Imn-R^c.w

Other References

Kawai, “Ay versus Horemheb: The Political Situation in the Late Eighteenth Dynasty Revisited,” 268–89.

Pierre-Marie Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, Études et mémoires d'égyptologie 3 (Antony: Cybèle, 1994), 1.16, 133, 2.30 2.63 2.70 31.17.

Helck, *Verwaltung*, 486-487

Pomorska, *Les flabellifères à la droite du roi en Égypte ancienne*, 124-125 [33].

Jacobus van Dijk, “Horemheb and the Struggle for the Throne of Tutankhamun,” *BACE* 7 (1996): 34–41.

[28] *H^ci-m-ḥ̓.t* (Owner TT 57)

Date active: Amenhotep III (following Kampp)

Eyes and Ears Designations

A. *ir.ty n.(wt) nsw m niw.[w]t Šm^c.w ḥ̓.wy=f sp̓.wt T̓-Mḥ.w* (1x on A)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 57: Inscriptions from the Tomb
LD Taf. III. 76–77; Urk. IV 1841.5–1853.5;

B. Statue, now in Brooklyn, 37.48 E
T.G.H James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum From Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVIII* (Brooklyn Museum, 1974), 1:pls. LXV LXVI.

COMMENT: An individual, *H^ci* is also mentioned in some jar labels for subsequent sed-fests. Kawai suggests this is *H^ci-m-ḥ̓.t*. This identification remains speculative Hayes, “Inscriptions from the Palace of Amenhotep II,” fig 11 [140], 12 [160-161]; Nozomu Kawai, “Theban Tomb 46 and Its Owner, Ramose.,” in *Offerings to the Discerning Eye: An Egyptological Medley in Honor of Jack A. Josephson*, ed. Sue H. D’Auria (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2010).

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y-p^c.t ḥ̓.ty-^c

mḥ-ib (with variations)

ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr

ḥr.y-tp pr.w nfr

im.y-r̓ šnw.ty nb t̓.wy m Šm^c.w Mḥw/

Šm^c.w Mḥ.w

ḥm-nṯr inpw hr.w ḥb-sd m ḥb-sd-tp.y n.y

ḥm=f nb t̓.wy (Nb-M̓^c.t-R^c.w)|

sšm ḥb n.y Wsir ///

Other References

Binder, Gold of Honour, 334–335 [182]

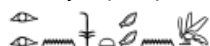
Kampp, *Nekropole* 267-269.

[29] *Kn-İmn* (owner of TT 93)

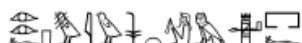
Date active: Amenhotep II (PM / Kampp)

Eyes and Ears Designations

1. *ir.ty n(.wt).wt nsw 'nh.wy n.w bi.ty* (1x on A)



2. *ir.ty=f pw iw nsw m 'h=f* (1x on A)



3. *ir.ty /// x 3 Hr.w hr tntʔ.t* (1x on A)



COMMENT: See also Appendix B [U7].

Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 93

Inscriptions from the Wall Scenes Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Ken-Amūn at Thebes.*, 2 vols., *PMMA* 5 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930), 17–61, pls. I–LXX.

B. Funerary Cone DM 187

C. Shabtis found in various locations

Henri Wild, “Contributions à l’iconographie et à La Titulature de Qen-Amon.,” *BIFAO* 56 (1958): 119–26.

D. Statue from the Temple of Mut

Urk. IV, 1407.5–.15; Henri Wild, “Contributions à l’iconographie et à La Titulature de Qen-Amon.,” *BIFAO* 56 (1958): pl. 1.

E. Block Statue

Wild, “Contributions à l’iconographie et à La Titulature de Qen-Amon.,” 216, pl. 2.

Selected titles and epithets

ir.y-pʿt

htm.w bi.ty

smr wʿty

ir.y rd.wy

mḥ-ib m mn.w=f

hrd n.y kʔp

sn mnʿ nsw

im.y-rʔ htm

hr.y pḏ.t

im.y-rʔ ʔh.wt

hr.y ḥw

im.y-rʔ pr.w wr n.y Pr.w-nfr

im.y-rʔ kʔ.wt nb.wt

im.y-rʔ šnʿ n.y Ḥmn

im.y-r3 ih.ww n.w imn

im.y-r3 pr.wy hd

Other References

Kampp, Nekropole, 352–356

PM 1/1, 190-19.

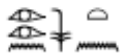
Peter der Manuelian, *Studies in the Reign of Amenophis II*, HÄB 26 (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1987), 114–15.

[30] *Sbk-ḥtp*

Date active: Amenhotep II – Thutmosis IV (following Bryan)

Eyes and Ears Designations

ir.ty n.(wt) nsw (1x on A)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 63

Eberhard Dziosek and Mahmud Abdel Raziq, eds., *Das Grab des Sobekhotep: Theben Nr 63.*, vol. 71 of *ArchVer* (Mainz, 1990), 31–73 pls. 1–50.

COMMENT: The eyes designation is found on the ceiling of the Long Hall
Dziosek and Abdel Raziq, *Das Grab des Sobekhotep: Theben Nr 63.*, 72, pl. 15b.

B. Statue now in Cairo, CGC 1090 Borchardt, Statuen IV, 51

C. Statue with Prince Imn-ḥtp, now in Brussels, E. 6856
Jean Capart, “Une statue de Sebekhotep, précepteur royal.,” *BMRAH* 10.4 (1938): 83–86.

D. P.Munich 37

Wilhelm Spiegelberg, “Ein Gerichtsprotokoll aus der Zeit Thutmosis’ IV.,” *ZÄS* 63 (1928): 105–15.

Selected other titles and epithets

ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c

ḥtm.w bi.ty

smr w^c.ty

it-nṯr mr.y nṯr

t3.y ḥw ḥr wnm.y nsw

ḥ3.ty-^c wr m T3-Š

ḥ3.ty-^c n.y Š rs.y / Š n.y Sbk

im.y-r3 ḥtm

im.y-r3 ḥm.w-nṯr n.w Sbk šd.ty

Other References

Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 339 [198].

Betsy M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 244–46.

Betsy M. Bryan, “The Tomb Owner and his Family,” in *Das Grab des Sobekhotep: Theben Nr 63.*, ed. Mahmud Abdel Raziq and E. Dziobek, vol. 71 of *ArchVer* (Mainz, 1990), 81–88.

Helck, *Verwaltung*, 469.

Kampp, *Nekropole*, 280–283

PM I/I 125 –128

[31] *Sn-nfri* (owner of TT 99)

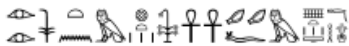
Date active: Hatshepsut? - Thutmosis III (Strudwick)

Eyes and Ears Designations

1. *r3 n(.y) nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi.ty (A x 2)*



2. *ir.ty nsw m niw.wt Šm'.w 'nh.wy=f m sp3.wt T3-Mh.w (D. x 1)*



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 99

Nigel Strudwick, "The Decoration of the Chapel," in *The Tomb of Pharaoh's Chancellor Senneferi at Thebes*, ed. Nigel Strudwick (Oxford: Oxbow, 2016), 84–156, pls. 24-40D. See also: *Urk.IV*, 530:16-540:1.

COMMENT: the mouth-and-ears designation occurs on the north pillar (PM B), and in the shrine. Strudwick, "The Decoration of the Chapel," 147, 158, fig. 124, pl. 140A.

B. Block Statue British Museum EA 48

Nigel Strudwick, "Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments," in *The Tomb of Pharaoh's Chancellor Senneferi at Thebes*, ed. Nigel Strudwick (Oxford: Oxbow, 2016), 23–25 fig 3.

C. Funerary Cones DM 93, 154

D. Statue, now in Cairo CGC 1013

Strudwick, "Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments," figs. 4-10. See also, Borchardt, *Statuen IV*, 25-26

E. Statue, now in Cairo CGC 1112

Strudwick, "Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments," figs. 11-15.

F. Statue Fragment Vienne Kunsthistorisches Museum ÄS 5978

Strudwick, "Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments," 32 fig. 16.

G Shrine 13 at Gebel Silsilah

T.G.H James and Ricardo A. Caminos, *Gebel Es Silsilah*, vol. 1 of *ASEg* 31 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1963), pls. 26-27, 30-31.

H. Monuments from Serabit el-Khadim

a. Stelae # 71.96 Face B shows *Sn-nfri* with raised arms. R. Giveon, "Investigations in the Egyptian Mining Centres in Sinai. Preliminary Report," *Tel Aviv* 1 (1974): 106–7 pl. 20.

b. Stela # 199 Face B shows *Sn-nfri* with raised arms. Alan H. Gardiner, Jaroslav Černý, and Thomas Eric Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, 2nd ed., MEES 45/1 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1952), pl. LXV.

c. Inscription in the Temple. Gardiner, Černý, and Peet, *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, pl. LXIII.

I. Inscription from Wadi Hammamat

Jean Couyat and Pierre Montet, *Les inscriptions hieroglyphiques et hieratiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, MIFAO 34 (Cairo: IFAO, 1911), 103.

J. P.Louvre E3226

Mounir Megally, *Recherches sur l'économie, l'administration et la comptabilité égyptiennes à la XVIIIe Dynastie d'après le Papyrus E. 3226 du Louvre.*, BDE 71 (Cairo: Institut français d'Archéologie orientale, 1977), 279–81; Strudwick, "Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments," 34.

Selected other titles and epithets

ir.y p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c

ḥ3.ty-^c t n.y ḥm

ir.y-p^c.t (alone)

mḥ-ib

im.y-ib

smr w^c.ty

ḥtm.w bi.ty

im.y-r3 pr.w m pr.w imn.w

ir.y wdn r^c.w nb m pr.w imn.w-R^cw

it ntr

im.y-r3 ḥm.w ntr.w nb.w

[im.y-r3 ḥm.w] ntr ḥr nb msn

[im.y-r3 ḥm.w] ntr n.w Tm

sšm ḥb.w n.y Tm

sšm ḥb.w n.y Tm

im.y-r3 ḥb n.y ntr.w nb.w iwn.w

im.y-r3 ḥm.w ntr.w n.w inpw n.w Sbk

im.y-r3 ḥm.w ntr.w Mn.w gby.w

im.y-r3 pr.w n.y nsw

ḥr.y tp 3 t3 r dr=f

wḥm nsw

im.y-r3 ḥ3s.wt nb.w n.t imn.w

it mn^c s3 nsw S3-imn.w

im.y-r3 ḥtm

im.y-r3 šnw.ty

im.y-r3 šw.t nšm.t

im.y-r3 ḥ3 m ḥ.t nb.t

im.y-r3 'b wḥm

im.y-r3 3ḥ.wt n.(t) imn.

COMMENT: This list is not complete. For a full list of titles that are associated with this official, see the recent tomb report. Strudwick, "Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments," 10–11.

Other References

Strudwick, "Senneferi, His Family and Related Monuments," 17–18.

Eckhard Eichler, "Die Reisen des Senneferi (TT 99)," *SAK* 26 (1998): 215–28.

Helck, *Verwaltung*, 69, 80-2, 87, 138, 222, 287-8, 347-50, 365

Wolfgang Helck, "Die Datierung des Schatzmeisters Sennefer," *GM* 43 (1981): 39–40.

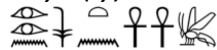
JJ Shirley, "What's in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere.," in *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature. Proceedings of a Conference at the University of Haifa, 3-7 May 2009*, ed. D. Kahn, JJ Shirley, and S. Bar (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 301–2.

[32] *ḥꜥ-nw-nꜥ* (Owner of TT 76)

Date active: Thutmosis IV (Kampp)

Eyes and Ears Designations

ir.ty n(.y) nsw ḥḥ.wy bꜥ.ty



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 76

Cristina Pino Fernández, “Los textos de la tumba de Thenuna (TT 76).”, in *Novos trabalhos de Egiptologia Ibérica: IV Congresso Ibérico de Egiptologia - IV Congreso Ibérico de Egiptología*, ed. Luís Manuel de Araújo and José das Candeias Sales, vol. 2 of (Lisbon: Instituto Oriental e Centro de História da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, 2012), 947–58.

COMMENT: The eyes-and-ears is found at PM (1) Pino Fernández, “Los textos de la tumba de Thenuna (TT 76).”, 953.

Selected other titles and epithets

ir.y-pꜥ.t ḥꜥ.ty-ꜥ
mḥ-ib
ir.y rd.wy
tꜥ.y ḥw

im.y-rꜥ pr wr
im.y-rꜥ iḥw n.y iḥmn

Other References

Betsy M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 255–57.

Kampp, *Nekropole*, 312-313.

PM I/I 149-50.

[33] *Iḥ-nw-ny* (Owner of TT 74)

Date active: Thutmosis III – Thutmosis IV (Brack and Brack / Kampp)

Eyes and Ears Designations

ir.ty n(.wt) nsw 'nh.wy n.(w) bi.ty (A.a. x2)

Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 74

a. Wall Scenes

Urk. IV, 1003.5–1015.8 Annelies Brack and Artur Brack, *Das Grab Des Tjanuni: Theben Nr. 74*, ArchVer 19 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp Von Zabern, 1977), 23–54; P. Virey, *Sept tombeaux thébains de la XVIIIe Dynastie*, MMFA 5 (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1891), 591–612.

B. Funerary Cone DM 240; Brack and Brack, *Das Grab Des Tjanuni*, 73.

Selected other titles and epithets

ir.y p^c.t ḥḏ.ty-^c

ḥtm.w bi.ty

smr w^c.ty

smr ʿ n(.y) mr.wt

smr tkn m ḥ^c nṯr

im.y- ib (with variations)

mḥ-ib (with variations)

ḥs.y n.y nṯr nfr

sš nsw / sš nsw mḏ^c mr.y=f

sš mš^c / sš mš^c ʿ / sš mš^c wr n(.y) nsw

im.y-rḏ sš.w n(.y) nsw

im.y-rḏ sš.w mš^c n(.y) nsw

im.y-rḏ mš^c n(.y) nsw

sš nfr.w

sš nfr.w n tḏ pḏ.t pr.w-ʿ

Other References

Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 345–346 [221]

JJ Shirley, “What’s in a Title? Military and Civil Officials in the Egyptian 18th Dynasty Military Sphere.,” in *Egypt, Canaan and Israel: History, Imperialism, Ideology and Literature. Proceedings of a Conference at the University of Haifa, 3-7 May 2009*, ed. D. Kahn, JJ Shirley, and S. Bar (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2011), 298, 311.

Kampp, *Nekopole*, 194-195

[34] *Dḥwty*

Date active: Thutmosis III

Eyes and Ears Designations

ir.ty nsw (B.a x 1)



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

- A. Canopic Jars, now in Florence, 2222—2225 Paola Giovetti and Daniela Picchi, eds., *Egitto: splendore millenario: la collezione di Leiden a Bologna* (Milan: Skira, 2015), cat. V.1; Christine Lilyquist, “The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty: A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology,” *MMJ* 23 (1988): 1–6.
- B. Stone vessels, so called “ointment jars”¹
- a. Jug -shaped ointment jar, Leiden AAL 37 Lilyquist, “The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty”; Giovetti and Picchi, *Egitto*, cat. V.4 b).
 - b. Bag-shaped Jar, Leiden L.VIII.20 Giovetti and Picchi, *Egitto*, cat. V.4 a).
 - c. Jars in Turin 3226–3228 Lilyquist, “The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty,” 50 figs. 8, 9, 12; Giovetti and Picchi, *Egitto*, cat. V.4 c).
- C. Scribal Palettes
- a. Leiden AD 39 Lilyquist, “The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty,” figure 13.
 - b. Turin 6227 Lilyquist, “The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty,” figure 14.
- D. Heart Scarab, Leiden AO 1a
Giovetti and Picchi, *Egitto*, cat. V.2.
- E. Gold Bowl in the Louvre
Lilyquist, “The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty,” 22–40.
COMMENT: The authenticity of this artefact is disputed see Chapter 5
- F. Statuette Fragment now in the British Museum, EA 69863 Lilyquist, “The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty,” figs. 15–16; Jean Yoyotte, “Le général Djehouty et la perception des tributs syriens: causerie au sujet d’un objet égaré,” *BSFE* 92 (1981): 41–51 figs 1–4.
- G. Silver Bowl in the Louvre, no. 17
Lilyquist, “The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty,” 16–22.

¹ This use of terminology follows Christine Lilyquist, “The Gold Bowl Naming General Djehuty: A Study of Objects and Early Egyptology,” *MMJ* 23 (1988): 10.

Other References

Binder, *Gold of Honour*, 347–348 [226]

Andrea M. Gnirs, “Coping with the Army: The Military and the State in the New Kingdom,” in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García, HdO 104 (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 697.

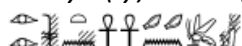
Nicholas Reeves, “The Ashburnham Ring and the Burial of General Djehuty,” *JEA* 79 (1993): 259–61.

[35] *Dḥwty-nfr* also *Dḥwty-ms.w*?

Helck established that the two names were held by the same individual,. The name *Dḥwty-ms.w* only appears on (E.) The present author thinks this is likely on account of the similarity of titles on monuments associated with *Dḥwty-nfr* and the statue of *Dḥwty-ms.w*, A full study of the identities of treasury officials during the reign of Amenhotep II is beyond the scope of the current study.

Date active: Hatshepsut coregency – Amenhotep II (Dorman)

1. *ir.ty n(.y) nsw ḥḥ.wy n.(w) bī.ty (B x1)*



2. *ir.ty n.wt ////*



Key monuments and documents consulted for this study

A. TT 104

Urk. IV 1609.15—1610.18. More texts from the tomb relating to *Dḥwty-nfr* and his family can be found in LD Text III, 271.

B. TT 80

For a collection of titles and text fragments from the tomb collated by Helck see *Urk.* IV 1475.10 – 1476.12

Texts from Both Tombs can be found in Abdel Ghaffar Shedid, *Stil der Grabmalereien in der Zeit Amenophis' II. untersucht an den Thebanischen Gräbern Nr. 104 und Nr. 80.*, ArchVer 66 (Mainz: Zabern, 1988).

C. Funerary Cones from both tombs

DM, 492; Robert Hari, 'Un Troisième Djehoutynefer, Directeur Du Trésor ?', *Or* 52, no. 2 (1983): table 2

D. Statue Cairo CGC 921

Borchardt, *Statuen* III, 155.

E. Statue Cairo CGC 1138

Borchardt, *Statuen* IV, 75

Selection of other titles and epithets

ir.y-p^c.t ḥḥ.ty-^c

smr w^c.ty

mḥ ib (various extensions)

ḥs.y n(.y) nṯr nfr

šms.w nsw ḥr ḥḥs.t nb.t / r nmt.wt ḥr ḥḥs.wt

rsy.wt mḥty.wt

sš nsw mḥ^c mr.y^cf

ir.y ḥḥ.wt nb tḥ.wy

im.y-rḥ pr.w/pr.wy ḥḏ

ḥr.y-tp n.y ʿ m pr.w nsw

Other References

Peter Dorman, 'Two tombs and one owner.', in *Thebanische Beamtennekropolen: neue Perspektiven archäologischer Forschung*, ed. J. Assmann et al., SAGA 12 (Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag, 1995), 141–54.

Helck, *Verwaltung*, 510

Kampp, *Nekropole*, 320-23 (TT 80), 378-80 (TT 104)

PM I/I, 157–59 (TT 80) 217—18 (TT 104).

Appendix B: Problematic Examples

Uncertain Example	Official	Example	Source	Reason for exclusion
1	<i>ḥn-tf</i>	<i>ir.ty nsw ḥ3.ty nb</i>	TT 155 PM I/I, 265; <i>Urk.</i> IV, 968	This is a metaphor in a biographical text, this is not a part of title sequence.
2	<i>Rḥ-mi-R'w</i> [21]	<i>ḥ3.ty nb 'w.s 'nh.wy /// ir.ty itti</i>	TT 100 Norman de Garis Davies, <i>The Tomb of Rekh-Mi-Rē' at Thebes.</i> , 2 vols. (New York: Metroplitan Museum of Art, 1943), pl.xi.	This is a metaphor in a biographical text, this is not a part of title sequence.
3	<i>Sn-m-i'ḥ</i>	<i>['nh].wy n.w bi.ty</i>	TT 127 <i>Urk.</i> IV 513	Text partially reconstructed; wider textual context unclear
4	<i>Nfr-shrw</i> [16]	<i>['nh.wy] nsw</i>	TT 107 Wolfgang Helck, "Inhaber und Bauleiter des thebanischen Grabs 107.," <i>MIO</i> 4 (1956): p.20.	Unlikely reconstruction; <i>'nh.wy</i> is otherwise unattested in direct apposition with <i>nsw</i> . See §3.2

5	<i>imn-m-ḥ3b Mḥw</i> [4]	<i>[ir.ty nsw ‘nh.wy n.w] bi.ty</i>	TT 85 Urk. IV 962 aa	Almost a complete reconstruction, only one sign extant.
6	NN	a. <i>ir.[ty n.wt nsw]</i> b. <i>ir.[ty n.wt nsw ‘nh.wy n.w bi.ty]</i> c. <i>.ir.[ty n.wt nsw ‘nh.wy n.w bi.ty]</i>	TT 226 a. Urk. IV, 1877 b. Urk. IV, 1878 c. Urk. IV, 1879 See also: Norman de Garis Davies and Nina de Garis Davies, <i>The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmose, and Another</i> , TTS 5 (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1933), pls. 44-45.	Almost a complete reconstruction, only one sign extant. See also: JJ Shirley, “An Eighteenth Dynasty Tutor of Royal Children: Tomb Fragments from Theban Tomb 226.,” in <i>Joyful in Thebes: Egyptological Studies in Honor of Betsy M. Bryan</i> , ed. Kathlyn M. Cooney, Richard Jasnow, and Katherine E. Davis (Atlanta, GA: Lockwood Press, 2015), 444.

7	Ḳn-ḫmn [29]	ḫr.ty nsw r w3.wt pḏ.t [psḏ.t] ‘nh.[wy] ///	TT 93 Norman de Garis Davies, <i>The Tomb of Ḳen-Amūn at Thebes</i> , 2 vols., PMMA 5 (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1930), pl. LVII B.	Text partially reconstructed. Wider textual context unclear.
8	NN (possibly M3yḥ)	/// ḫr.ty n.(wt) nsw ///	Loose fragment Tomb of M3yḥ. Geoffrey Thorndike Martin, ed., <i>The Tomb of Maya and Meryt: The Reliefs, Inscriptions and Commentary</i> (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 2012), pl. 64.	Fragmentary text; wider textual context unclear.
9	NN	ḫr.ty nsw ///	CGC 832 Borchardt, <i>Statuen</i> III, 116.	Fragmentary text; wider textual context unclear.

Appendix C: Concordance Lines

This table lists the co-text (the words surrounding an eyes-and-ears expression) in the form of concordance lines. Each certain attestation of a royal sense-organ appellation and its co-text is presented in a separate entry. Therefore, officials with multiple attestations of the monikers have multiple concordance lines. The contents of this table are discussed in Chapter 4

Corpus # contains to a reference an entry in the prosopographical catalogue. Dates follow the numerical reign codes outlined in the preamble of this study. Con. Line = a concordance line number, the concordance lines are numbered for ease of reference, they are not listed chronologically. A sample of six collocates was collected. The term PCol# denotes the number of preceding collocate, SCol# denotes the number of collocate in the collocate-sequence after a designation. – signifies the absence of a title or epithet in a given position within the concordance line. The notation **(ht)** denotes a phrase contains honorific transposition. PN and PN reconstruct. refer to a personal name and a reconstructed personal name respectively.

Name	Start Date	End Date	Con. Line	PCol1	PCol2	PCol3	Designation	SCol1	SCol2	SCol3
Yw- ³ [1]	18.09	18.09	1	---	---	---	<i>r3 n.y nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi.ty</i>	<i>im.y-ib n(.y) ntr nfr</i>	PN	---
ⁱ imn-ms [2]	18.06	18.07	2	---	---	<i>ir.y-p't h3.ty-'</i>	<i>ir.ty nsw 'nh.wy bi.ty hr h3s.(w)t Rtnw h3s(.w)t</i>	///	///	PN
ⁱ imn-ms [2]	18.06	18.07	3	---	---	<i>ir.y-p't h3.ty-'</i>	<i>ir.ty nsw hr h3s.wt Rtnw</i>	<i>hr.y pd.t</i>	PN	---
ⁱ imn-m-h3t [3]	18.06	18.07	4	--	<i>ir.y-p't h3.ty-'</i>	<i>r3 shrr m t3 r dr-f</i>	<i>ir.ty nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi.ty</i>	<i>mh-ib n.y ntr nfr</i>	<i>htm.w bi.ty '3 m pr.w nsw '.w.s</i>	///
ⁱ imn-m-h3b Mh.w [4]	18.06	18.07	5	<i>ir.y-p't h3.ty-'</i>	<i>htm.w bi.ty</i>	<i>smr w'.ty</i>	<i>r3 n.y nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi.ty</i>	<i>im.y-ib n.y Hr.w m pr.w-f mnh n.y nb t3.wy</i>	<i>mh-ib mnh n.y nb t3.wy</i>	<i>hs.[y] n.(y) ntr nfr</i>
ⁱ imn-m-h3b Mh.w [4]	18.06	18.07	6	<i>htm.w bi.ty</i>	<i>smr w'.ty</i>	<i>mh-ib /// n.y nb t3.wy</i>	<i>r3 n.y nsw m ///m rh.yt /// /// 'nh.wy n.w bi.ty</i>	<i>šms nsw</i>	<i>ir.y rd.wy-f</i>	<i>tm tšī r nsw m s.t nb.t n.y '3.t n mnh-f hr ib</i>
ⁱ imn-m-h3b Mh.w [4]	18.06	18.07	7	---	---	<i>ir.y-p't h3.ty-'</i>	<i>r3 n(.y) nsw 'nh.[wy] /// ///</i>	PN	---	---

Name	Start Date	End Date	Con. Line	PCol1	PCol2	PCol3	Designation	SCol1	SCol2	SCol3
<i>imn(.w)-ḥtp Ḥwy [5]</i>	18.09	18.09	8	<i>mr.y nb t3.wy (ht)</i>	<i>wr /// ///</i>	<i>sr m- ḥ3.t sr.w nsw</i>	<i>ir.ty n(.y) nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi.ty</i>	<i>/// m w3.t 'h</i>	<i>r3 shrr m stp-s3</i>	<i>ikr s.t ///</i>
<i>imn-ḥtp s3 Ḥpw [6]</i>	18.09	18.09	9	---	---	<i>ir.y-p' t ḥ3.ty-'</i>	<i>ir.ty n(.y) nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi.ty</i>	<i>sš nsw</i>	<i>PN</i>	<i>[m3' ḥr.w]</i>
<i>imn-ḥtp s3 Si [7]</i>	18.07	18.08	10	---	<i>ir.y-p' t ḥ3.ty-'</i>	<i>it ntr mr.y ntr</i>	<i>ir.ty nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi.ty</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr sn.w n.(y) [imn]</i>	<i>PN reconstr</i>	---
<i>imn-ḥtp s3 Si [7]</i>	18.07	18.08	11	<i>tkn bi.ty</i>	<i>s3 (i?)n nsw ḥr smnh n=f</i>	<i>mḥ-[ib] mnḥ.n m s.t nb.t</i>	<i>ir.ty n(.y) nsw (ht) m iwn.w Šm' w</i>	<i>ḥtm.w bi.ty</i>	<i>PN reconstr</i>	<i>m3' ḥr.w</i>
<i>Wsr-imn [8]</i>	18.05	18.06	12	<i>ḥm-ntr M3'.t</i>	<i>///</i>	<i>ḥn.ty ns.t</i>	<i>ir.ty n(.wt) nsw 'nh.wy bi.ty</i>	<i>im.y /// n.y ntr nfr</i>	<i>im.y-r3 ḥw.wt 3(.wt) 6</i>	<i>PN</i>
<i>Bnr-mrw.t [9]</i>	18.06	18.06	13	<i>ir.y-p' t ḥ3.ty-'</i>	<i>ḥtm.w bi.ty</i>	<i>smr r w'.t</i>	<i>ir.ty nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi..ty</i>	<i>im.y-r3 pr.wy nbw / ḥd</i>	<i>im.y-r3 k3.t nb.t n.t nsw</i>	<i>PN wḥm 'nh</i>
<i>(P3)-Ḥk3-m-s3=sn [10]</i>	18.07	18.08	14	---	<i>ir.y-p' t ḥ3.ty-'</i>	<i>w'.w smnh ib n.y nb=f</i>	<i>ir.ty n(.wt) nsw m niw.(w)t Šm' w</i>	<i>t3y ḥw</i>	<i>im.y-r3 ḥ3s.wt rsy.wt</i>	<i>PN</i>
<i>Pth-m-ḥ3t [11]</i>	18.08	18.09	15	---	<i>mḥ-ib 3 n(.y) nb t3.wy</i>	<i>ḥs.y n.(y) ntr nfr</i>	<i>ir.ty n.(wt) nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi.ty</i>	<i>im.y-ib [n.y Ḥr.w] m [pr.w=f]</i>	---	---
<i>Mn.w-ḥtp Ḥw-tw-tw [12]</i>	18.07	18.08	16	---	---	---	<i>r3 n(.y) nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi.ty</i>	<i>mḥ-ib 3 nb t3.wy m smnh 'r.ywt m ḥr=f</i>	<i>sš nsw nfr.w</i>	<i>[sš] pr.w ḥd ///</i>
<i>Mn-n3 [13]</i>	18.09	18.09	17	---	---	<i>mḥ-ib 3 n(.y) nb t3.wy</i>	<i>ir.ty nsw m s.t nb</i>	<i>im.y-ib</i>	<i>im.y-r3 3ḥ.wt n.(y) i[imn]</i>	<i>PN m3' ḥrw</i>
<i>Mr.y-ptḥ [14]</i>	18.09	18.09	18	---	---	<i>ir.y-p' t ḥ3.ty-'</i>	<i>ir.ty n(.w)t nsw 'nh.wy n(w) bi.ty</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr</i>	<i>im.y-r3 pr.w n.y t3 ḥw.t Nb-m3'.t-R'.w</i>	<i>PN m3' ḥrw</i>
<i>Nb-imn [15]</i>	18.08	18.09	19	<i>ir.y-p' t ḥ3.ty-'</i>	<i>mḥ-ib mnḥ nb t3.wy</i>	<i>ḥs.y</i>	<i>ir.ty n(.wt) nsw 'nh.[wy] ///</i>	<i>///</i>	<i>///</i>	<i>///</i>
<i>Nfr-shrw [16]</i>	18.09	18.09	20	<i>ir.y-p' t ḥ3.ty-'</i>	<i>ḥtm.w bi.ty</i>	<i>smr w'.ty</i>	<i>ir.ty n(.wt) nsw m t3 r ḡr=f</i>	<i>hr.w ḥr ir///</i>	<i>/// mḡ.(w)t</i>	<i>ḡd.w bw- m3'</i>
<i>Nḥt-mnw [17]</i>	18.05	18.06	21	---	---	---	<i>/// m niw.wt Šm' w 'nh.wy=f m sp3.wt T3-Mḥw</i>	<i>im.y-r3 šnw.ty</i>	<i>PN</i>	---

Name	Start Date	End Date	Con. Line	PCol1	PCol2	PCol3	Designation	SCol1	SCol2	SCol3
Nht-mnw [18]	18.12	18.13	22	hnm.n-f ?s.t-f? n	/// nb 'h	stp.w hr nb šf.yt	ir.ty n(.wt) nsw n(.wt) Hr.w-f	'k /// /// ///	hrp sr.w	mdw-f mn.w hr nb
R'w [19]	18.08	18.09	23	ir.y-p' t h3.ty-'	it ntr mri.y ntr	hr.y sšt3 n.(y) p.t t3	ir.ty nsw m d'<r> h.wt 'nh.wy Hr.w m 'h-f	im.y-ib n.(y) ntr nfr	mdw n-f nsw m w'cy	mh 'nh.wy Hr.w m m3't
R'w-ms [20]	18.09	18.10	24	---	---	ir.y-p' t h3.ty-'	ir.ty nsw m t3 dr-f	im.y-r3 niw.t t3.ty	PN	---
Rh.w-mi-R'w [21]	18.06	18.07	25	///	/// hr m3' n hm.t	iri m dd-f	ir.ty nsw///	s///t? hm.wt	hrr.w nb t3.wy hr srhr.w-f	///
Hwy [22]	18.09	18.09	26	wr m iw3.t-f	'm s'h.w-f	sr m h3.t rh.yt	r3 n.(y) nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi.ty	mh-ib 'n.(y) nb t3.wy	///	///
Hby [23]	18.09	18.09	27	---	---	ir.y-p' t h3.ty-'	ir.ty nsw m Šm'w Mhw	sš nsw {m} mr.y-f	h3.ty- n.(y) Mn- nfr	PN
Hp.w [24]	18.08	18.08	28	/// h3.ty-'	it ntr mri.y <ntr>	r3 shrr m t3 r dr-f	ir.ty nsw m niw.wt Šm'w 'nh.wy-f m sp3.wt T3-Mhw	wpi r3-f r-f r bw- M3'	di.t m3't n nb t3.wy hrt-hrw r'w nb	im.y-r3 t3.ty
Hp.w-snb [25]	18.04	18.05	29	ir.y-p' t h3.ty-'	htm.w bi.ty	smr w' ty	r3 n.(y) nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi.ty	im.y ib n.(y) ntr nfr		
Hp.w-snb [25]	18.04	18.05	30	ir.y-p' t h3.ty-'	htm.w bi.ty	smr {n.y} 'n.y	nsw 'nh.wy n(.w) bi.ty	r3 sh/// m t3 r dr-f	bi.ty ///	/// n
Hrw-m-hb [26]	18.07	18.09	31	ir.y-p' t h3.ty-'	mh-ib mnh n.y nb-f	hs.y prr m-ht hs.y	ir.ty nsw m t3 dr-f	ir.y rd.wy n.y nb t3.wy hr h3s.(w)t rsy(w)t mh.tywt	'k hr nfr.t [r] ///w/// m stp-s3	šš nsw ///
Hrw-m-hb [26]	18.07	18.09	32	---	---	ir.y-p' t h3.ty-'	ir.ty nsw m t3 dr-f	sš nsw	PN m3' hrw	Wife's PN
Hrw-m-hb [26]	18.07	18.09	33	ir.y-p' t h3.ty-'	mh-ib mnh n.y nb t3.wy	hs.y n.(y) ntr nfr	ir.ty nsw m t3 r dr-f	im.y-ib n.(y) Hr.w nb ///	///	///
Hrw-m-hb [27]	18.12	18.14	34	ns shrr t3 r dr-f	wr m iw.wt-f	'm s'h	ir.ty n(.y)nsw imy-ht idb.wy	im.y-ib n.(y) Hrw m 'h-f	mh-ib n.(y) nsw m mnw nb	im.y-r3 k3.(w)t m dw n.(y) bišt
Hrw-m-hb [27]	18.12	18.14	35	im.y-r3 m3' wr	t3y hw hr wnm.y nsw	sš nsw m3' mr.y-f	ir.ty n.(.wt) nsw m sšm t3.wy snm hp.w idb.wy	idn.w n.(y) nsw m s.t nb	ir.y-p' t	PN m3' hrw

Name	Start Date	End Date	Con. Line	PCol1	PCol2	PCol3	Designation	SCol1	SCol2	SCol3
Ḥy-m-ḥṣt [28]	18.09	18.09	36	---	ir.y-p ^c .t ḥṣ.ty- ^c	mḥ-ib n(.y) nsw m tṣ r ḡrḥf	ir.ty nsw m niw.wt Šm ^c .w ḥḥ.wyḥf m spṣ.wt Tṣ-Mḥw	sš nsw	///	PN
Ḳn-imn [29]	18.07	18.07	37	---	---	ir.y-p ^c .t ḥṣ.ty- ^c	ir.ty n(.wt) nsw ḥḥ.wy n(.w) bi.ty	iri.n nb tṣ.wy kṣḥf	tṣy ḥw ḥr wnm.y nsw	šd.ty Ḥr.w mr.yḥf
Ḳn-imn [29]	18.07	18.07	38	ḥs.y n.y nṯrḥf	mrr.w nb tṣ.wy ḥr biṣ.tḥf	im.y-ib n(.y) Ḥr.w m pr.wḥf	ir.tyḥf pw iw nsw m ḥḥf	dḡ.tw nḥf ntt (i)m.(y) ib	s ^c r mṣ ^c .t r ḥ	ir.y rd.wy r iḃi.tḥf n tṣ r ḡrḥf m sšm m wḡ.ywt
Ḳn-imn [29]	18.07	18.07	39	ir.y-p ^c .t ḥṣ.ty- ^c	smr ṣ n.y ///	--	rṣ pw n.y nb ibḥf ir.ty /// Ḥr.w ḥr ṯnṣ.t	sṣ.w r iḃi.tḥf tp.t ṣ.t w.t n.t? bṣk.w	///	im.y-rṣ pr.w wr Pr.w- nfr
Sbk-ḥtp [30]	18.07	18.08	40	ir.y-p ^c .t ḥṣ.ty- ^c	ḥtm.w bi.ty	smr w ^c .ty	ir.ty n(.y) nsw	mdwḥf ḥr tp.w rḡ.yt	im.y-rṣ ḥtm	PN
Sn-nfri [31]	18.05	18.06	41	ir.y-p ^c .t ḥṣ.ty- ^c	ḥtm.w bi.ty	smr w ^c .ty	rṣ n(.y) nsw ḥḥ.wy n(.w) bi.ty	im.y ib pw n.y nb tṣ.wy	im.y-rṣ ḥtm	PN
Sn-nfri [31]	18.05	18.06	42	ir.y-[p ^c .t] ḥṣ.ty- ^c	ḥtm.w bi.ty	smr ṣ n.y mr ///	rṣ n(.y) nsw ḥḥ.wy n(.w) bi.ty	im.y ib n(.y) nṯr nfr	im.y-rṣ ḥṣ.wt nbw n.(w) [imn]	wḥm nsw
Sn-nfri [31]	18.05	18.06	43	it nṯr mr.y <nṯr>	ḥr.y tp n(.y) tṣ r drḥf	w ^c rs-tp n šḥm nḥf m kdd Ḥr.w šḥrw nb tṣ.wy	ir.ty nsw m niw.wt Šm ^c .w ḥḥ.wyḥf m spṣ.wt Tṣ-Mḥ.w	wḡṣ ḡr.ty	mty ḥṣ.ty	nn iri nḥf sp sn m rmṯṣps? ///
Tṣ-nw-nṣ [32]	18.08	18.08	44	ir.y rd.wy n.y nb tṣ.wy m s.t nb.t ḥnd.nḥf	sṣb n(.y) nb tṣ.wy ḡsḥf	rḡ n.f iriḥf ṣḥ.t	ir.ty n(.y) nsw ḥḥ.wy n(.w) bi.ty	im.y-ib n(.y) Ḥrw m pr.wḥf	im.y-rṣ nfr.wt ///	///
Tṣ-nw-ny [33]	18.06	18.08	45	---	ir.y-p ^c .t ḥṣ.ty- ^c	smr ṣ n.y mr(wt)	ir.ty nsw ḥḥ.wy n(.w) bi.ty	im.y-ib n(.y) Ḥrw m pr.wḥf	hn n(.y) nsw ḥr šḥrw n(.y) tṣ.wy	iri ḡ.dt nbḥf
Tṣ-nw-ny [33]	18.06	18.08	46	---	/// ḥṣ.ty- ^c	smr ṣ n.y mryt	ir.ty nsw ḥḥ.wy n(.w) bi.ty	im.y-ib n(.y) nṯr nfr	ḥḥ ḥr nbḥf ḡsr.w m ḥ	dḡḡ itn im.y pt m ṣt r ṣt n(.y) ṣ.t mnḥḥf ḥr ib
Dḥwty [34]	18.06	18.06	47	---	---	---	ir.ty nsw	---	---	---

Name	Start Date	End Date	Con. Line	PCol1	PCol2	PCol3	Designation	SCol1	SCol2	SCol3
<i>Dḥwty-nfr</i> [35]	18.05	18.07	48	---	<i>ir.y-p^c.t ḥ3.ty-^c</i>	///	<i>ir.ty n(.w) nsw ‘nḥ.wy n(.w) bi.ty</i>	<i>///-ib n(.y) Ḥr.w m pr^zf</i>	<i>šms.w nsw r nmt.wt ḥr ḥ3s.wt</i>	///
<i>Dḥwty-nfr</i> [35]	18.05	18.07	49	<i>ḥr.y tp n{^c} m pr.w nsw</i>	<i>ir.y 3ḥ.wt n(.y) nb t3.wy</i>	<i>sš nsw mr.y^zf</i>	<i>ir.ty n(.y) ///</i>	///	<i>r ///</i>	<i>/// pr.wy ḥd n(.y) nb t3.wy</i>

Appendix D: Administrative Sectors

#	Name	Start Date	End Date	Army	Building	Temple	Royal Estate	Central Resources and Admin	Provinces	Territories
1	<i>Yw-i3</i>	18.09	18.09	---	---	X	X	---	---	---
2	<i>imn-ms</i>	18.06	18.07	X	---	---	X	---	---	X
3	<i>imn-m-h3t</i>	18.06	18.07	---	---	X	---	X	---	---
4	<i>imn-m-h3b Mh.w</i>	18.06	18.07	X	---	---	---	---	---	---
5	<i>imn-htp Hwv</i>	18.09	18.09	X	X	X	X	X	---	---
6	<i>imn-htp s3 Hpw</i>	18.09	18.09	X	---	X	X	---	---	---
6	<i>imn-htp s3 Si</i>	18.07	18.08	---	X	X	---	---	---	---
7	<i>Wsr-imn</i>	18.05	18..06	---	---	X	---	X	---	---
8	<i>Bnr-mrw.t</i>	18.06	18.06	---	X	---	---	X	---	---
9	<i>(P3)-Hk3-m-s3=sn</i>	18.07	18.07	---	---	---	X	---	---	X
10	<i>Pth-m-h3t</i>	18.08	18.09	---	---	X	---	---	---	---
11	<i>Mn.w-htp Hw-tw-tw</i>	18.07	18.08	X	X	X	---	X	---	---
12	<i>Mn-n3</i>	18.08	18.09	---	---	X	---	X	---	---
13	<i>Mr.y-ptb</i>	18.09	18.09	---	---	X	X	---	---	---
14	<i>Nb-imn</i>	18.08	18.09	X	---	---	---	---	X	---
15	<i>Nfr-shrw</i>	18.09	18.09	---	X	X	X	---	---	---
16	<i>Nht-mnw</i>	18.05	18.06	---	---	X	X	X	---	---
17	<i>Nht-mnw</i>	18.12	18.13	X	---	---	---	---	---	---
18	<i>R6.w</i>	18.08	18.09	X	X	---	X	X	---	---

#	Name	Start Date	End Date	Army	Building	Temple	Royal Estate	Central Resources and Admin	Provinces	Territories
19	<i>R'w-ms</i>	18.09	18.10	---	X	---	X	X	---	---
20	<i>Rḥ.w-mi-R'.w</i>	18.06	18.07	---	X	X	---	X	---	---
21	<i>Ḥwy</i>	18.09	18.09	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
22	<i>Ḥby</i>	18.09	18.09	X	---	X	---	---	X	---
23	<i>Ḥp.w</i>	18.08	18.08	---	---	---	---	X	---	---
24	<i>Ḥp.w-snb</i>	18.05	18.06	---	X	X	---	X	---	---
25	<i>Ḥrw-m-ḥb</i>	18.07	18.09	---	---	X	X	X	---	---
26	<i>Ḥrw-m-ḥb</i>	18.12	18.14	X	X	X	X	X	---	---
27	<i>Ḥ'y-m-ḥʒt</i>	18.09	18.09	X	---	X	---	X	---	---
28	<i>Ḳn-Ḳmn</i>	18.06	18.06	X	X	X	X	X	---	X
29	<i>Sbk-ḥtp</i>	18.07	18.09	---	---	X	X	X	X	---
30	<i>Sn-nfri</i>	18.05	18.06	---	---	X	X	X	X	X
31	<i>Ṛ-nw-nʒ</i>	18.08	18.08	---	---	X	---	---	---	---
32	<i>Ṛ-nw-ny</i>	18.06	18.08	X	X	---	X	---	---	---
34	<i>Ḍḥwty</i>	18.06	18.06	X	---	---	---	---	---	X
35	<i>Ḍḥwty-nfr</i>	18.06	18.08	---	---	X	---	X	---	---