

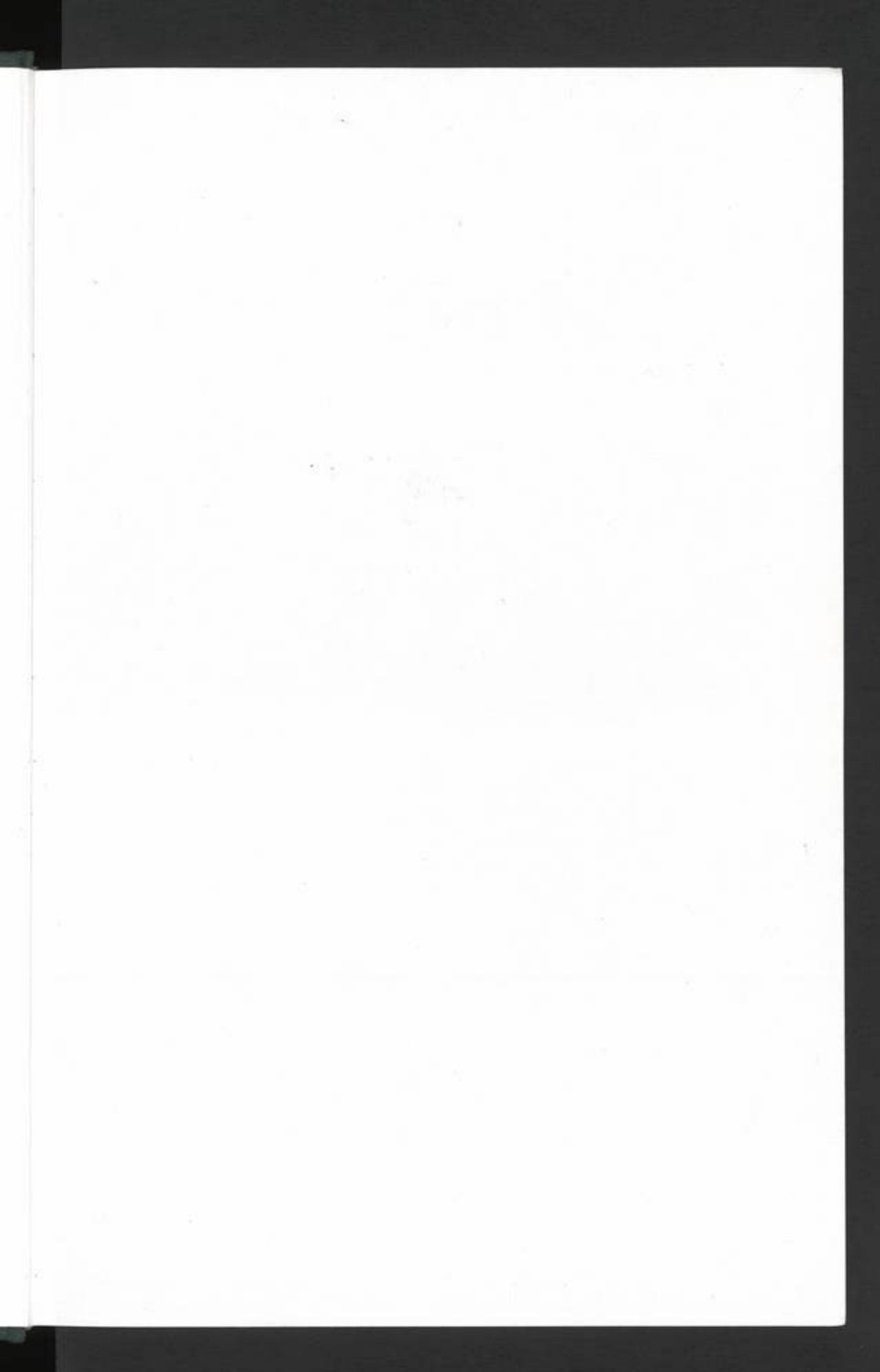
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EPITHETS
IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

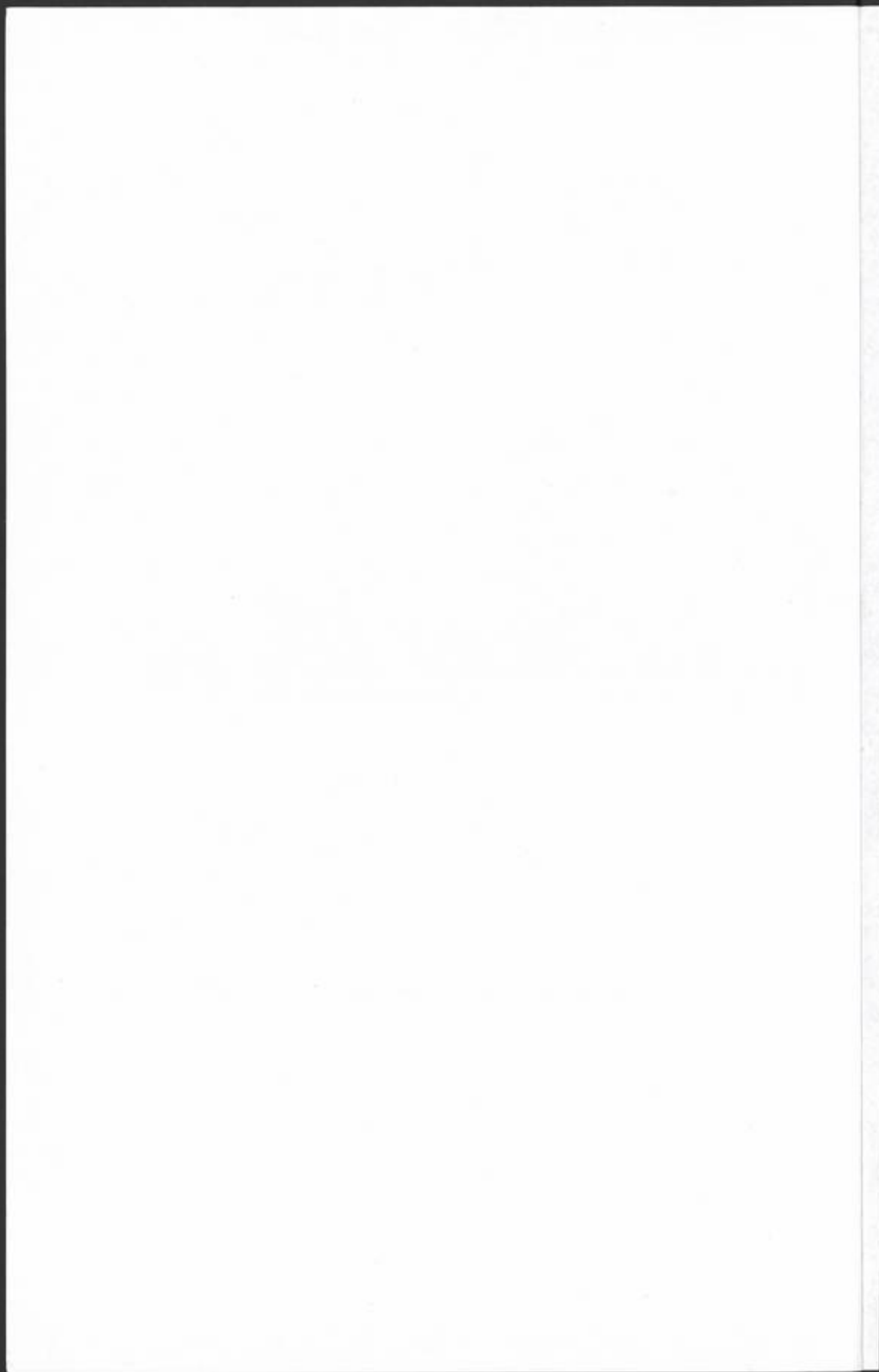
DENISE M. DOKEY





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EGYPTIAN NON-ROYAL EPITHETS IN
THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

PROBLEME DER ÄGYPTOLOGIE

HERAUSGEGEBEN VON

WOLFGANG SCHENKEL
DONALD B. REDFORD

ZWÖLFTER BAND

DENISE M. DOXEY

EGYPTIAN NON-ROYAL EPITHETS IN
THE MIDDLE KINGDOM



EGYPTIAN NON-ROYAL EPITHETS
IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

A Social and Historical Analysis

BY

DENISE M. DOXEY



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In memory of my father,
Lloyd M. Doxey

ḥpi.f ḥr w3wt nfrwt ḥppwt im3ḥw ḥr.sn

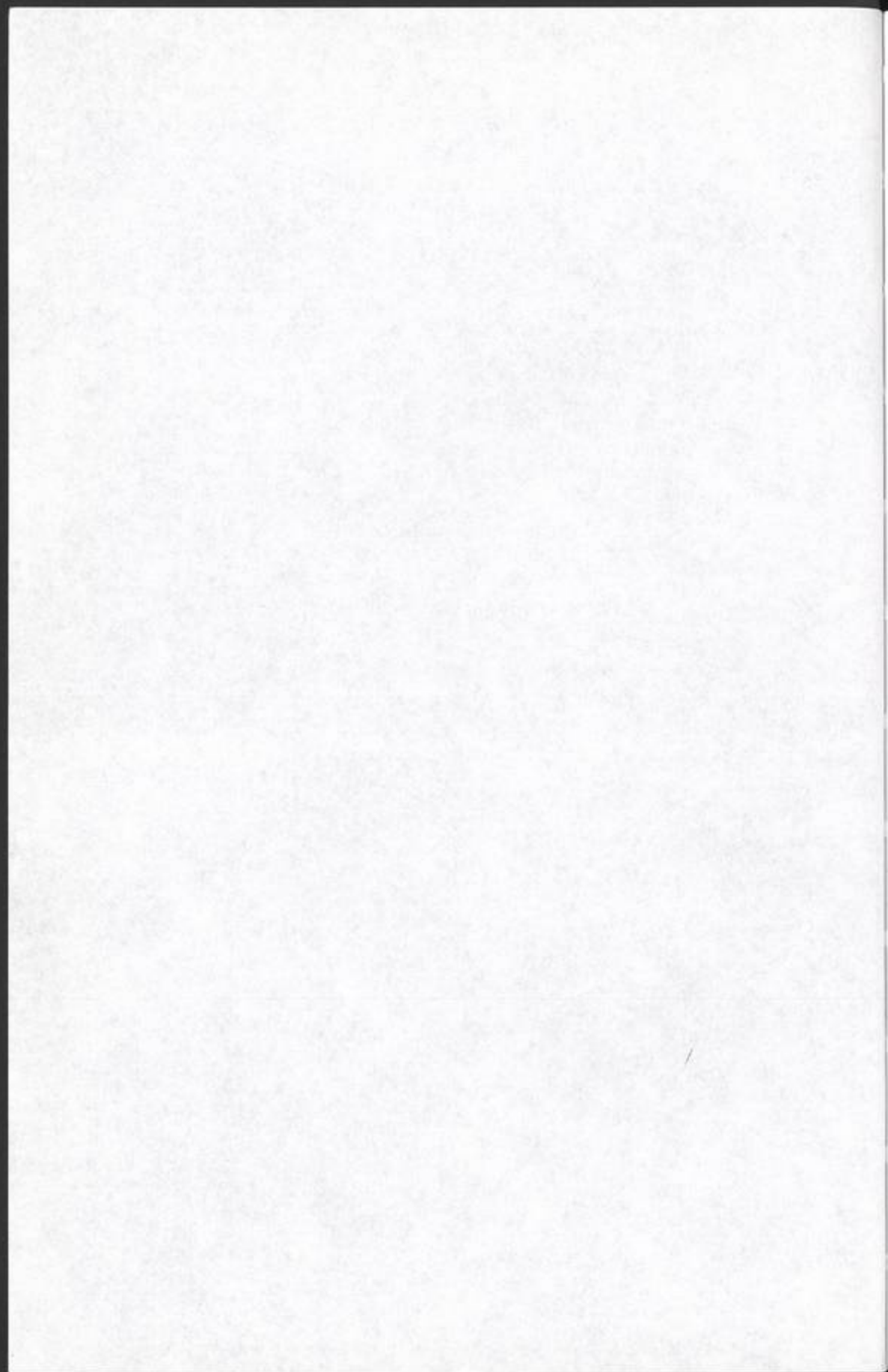


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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADAIK	<i>Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Kairo.</i>
AEO	A. H. Gardiner, <i>Ancient Egyptian Onomastica</i> (Oxford 1947).
ANOC	Abydos North Offering Chapel. From W. K. Simpson, <i>The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13</i> (New Haven 1974).
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institute française d'archéologie orientale.</i>
Beni Hasan	Numbering system from P. E. Newberry, <i>Beni Hasan</i> (London 1893).
Bersheh:	Numbering system from P. E. Newberry, <i>El Bersheh</i> (London 1895).
BES	<i>Bulletin of the Egyptological Seminar.</i>
BH	P. E. Newberry, <i>Beni Hasan</i> (London 1893).
BMMA	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.</i>
CAH	<i>Cambridge Ancient History.</i>
CdÉ	<i>Chronique d'Égypte.</i>
CG	H. O. Lange and H. Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches. Catalogue Générale des Antiquités du Musée du Caire</i> (Berlin 1902-1925).
Edfu	Numbering system from M. Alliot, <i>Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou</i> (Cairo 1935).
FFE	H. W. Müller, <i>Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine aus der Zeit des Mittleren Reiches</i> (Glückstadt 1940).
FIFAO	<i>Fouilles de l'Institute française d'archéologie orientale.</i>
Fs. Simpson	P. der Manuelian (ed.) <i>Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson</i> (Boston 1996).
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen.</i>

- Hamamat Numbering system from J. Couyat and P. Montet, *Les inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hamamat* (Cairo 1912, 1913).
- Hamamat "G" Numbering system from G. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions rupestres du Wadi Hamamat* (Paris 1957).
- Hatnub Numbering system from R. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub* (Leipzig 1928).
- Heqaib Numbering system from L. Habachi, *Elephantine IV. The Sanctuary of Heqaib* (Mainz 1985).
- HT T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum* (London 1961).
- JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
- JARCE *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.*
- JEA *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*
- JNES *Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
- JSSEA *Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities.*
- LÄ W. Helck and E. Otto (eds.), *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (Wiesbaden 1972-1992).
- Louvre Numbering system from A. J. Gayet, *Stèles de la XIIe Dynastie. Musée du Louvre* (Paris 1889).
- MÄS *Münchner ägyptologische Studien.*
- MDAIK *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Abteilung, Kairo.*
- Meir Numbering system from A. W. Blackman, et. al., *The Rock Tombs of Meir* (London 1914-1953).
- MMJ *Metropolitan Museum Journal.*
- PSBA *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.*
- RdÉ *Revue d'Égyptologie.*
- RIK Rock Inscription, Kumna, from D. Dunham and J. M. A. Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts Volume I: Semna, Kumna* (Boston 1960).
- RILN Numbering system from Z. Žába, *Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia* (Prague 1974).

- RIS Rock Inscription, Semna, from D. Dunham and J. M. A. Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts Volume I: Semna, Kumna* (Boston 1960).
- SAOC *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization.*
- Sinai Numbering system from A. H. Gardiner, T. E. Peet and J. Černý, *The Inscriptions of Sinai* (London 1952, 1955).
- Urk. VII K. Sethe, *Urkunden des mittleren Reichs* (Leipzig 1935).
- Wb. A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache* (Leipzig 1926-1950).
- ZÄS *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.*

CONTENTS

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This study originated with the research for my doctoral dissertation, submitted to the Graduate Group in Ancient History at the University of Pennsylvania in 1995. The aim of that work, which has been further developed and considerably expanded here, was to explore the use of non-royal epithets as sources of information regarding the history and society of the Middle Kingdom. While private biographical inscriptions have been heavily utilized in the study of Middle Kingdom history, the self-descriptions, composed primarily of formulaic epithets, have not received a great deal of attention. Due to their large numbers and wide distribution, as well as their frequent reference to general principles of behavior as well as occasional events in the lives of the individuals they describe, these epithets can in fact serve as valuable indicators of social beliefs and practices, as well of changes in the relationship between elite officials, the king, and the gods.

To some extent, this work serves as a supplement to J. M. A. Janssen's *Die traditioneele egyptische Autobiografie vóór het nieuwe Rijk*, which has long been, and continues to be, the principal reference work for Middle Kingdom epithets. In the present volume, I have made frequent reference to Janssen's invaluable study. Janssen noted the need for further analysis of the material, and this study attempts in part to answer that need. In addition, it draws upon sources unavailable in Janssen's day, including the publication of several major collections of private inscriptions and a number of significant studies of Egyptian society and literature. In order to facilitate my analysis of chronological developments, I originally sought to include only those texts that were dated or datable to specific reigns within the Middle Kingdom. In dating the inscriptions, I have made frequent use of D. Franke's *Personendaten aus dem Mittleren Reich* and W. K. Simpson's *Terrace of the Great God at Abydos*. Where necessary, inscriptions of less secure date, as well as texts from the period preceding the reunification of Egypt by Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, have been included for the purpose of comparison. In order to present more accurately than is often done the full range of non-royal inscriptions, I have included the numerous

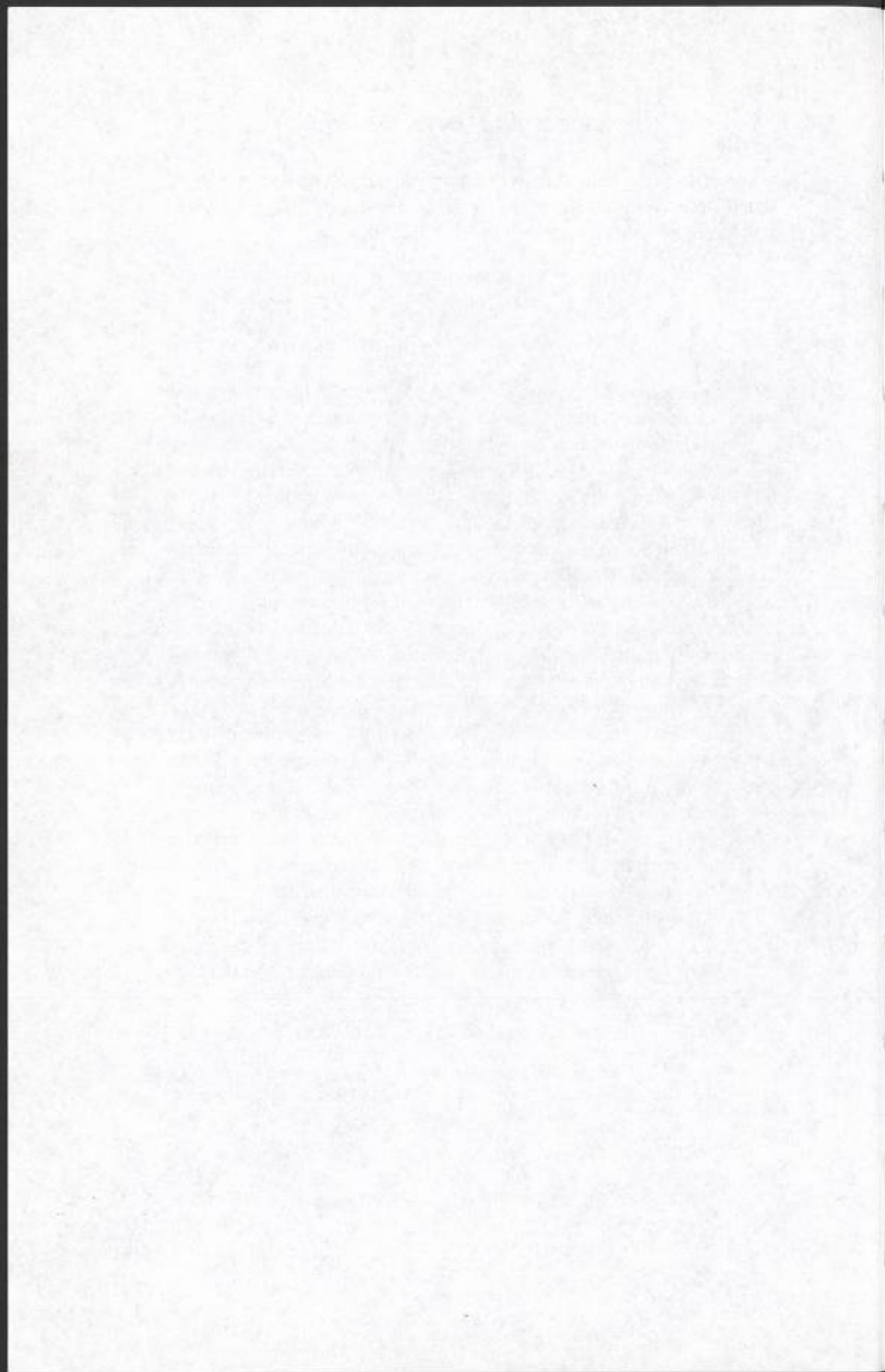
contemporary texts consisting only of a name, titulary and the nearly ubiquitous epithets *m³c-hrw*, *im³h(y)* and *nb im³h*, in addition to full-scale "ideal autobiographies."

I owe a great deal of gratitude to the members of my dissertation committee, Ronald J. Leprohon, David O'Connor, David P. Silverman, and James Muhly, who shared insightful commentary and valuable suggestions from the outset of my research. In addition, Ronald Leprohon, David O'Connor, and David Silverman shared unpublished manuscripts with me, and David Silverman gave me access to his collection of unpublished photographs of Middle Kingdom stelae in the Cairo Museum. Without their support both before and since the submission of my original dissertation, this work would certainly not have reached completion. I would also like to offer special thanks to the editors of the *Probleme der Ägyptologie* series, Wolfgang Schenkel and Donald B. Redford, and to Patricia Radder, the Desk Editor for the Ancient Near East and Asian Studies at Brill Academic Publishers, who facilitated all aspects of the publication process with great skill and patience. Professor Schenkel's careful reading of my manuscript prevented many errors. For those that remain, I accept sole responsibility.

My research has benefited from the assistance and expertise of numerous scholars and colleagues who have generously offered comments, corrections, references and lines of inquiry. To all of these individuals I offer my sincere thanks. Henry G. Fischer read and commented on my completed dissertation and kindly provided additional important references. Jennifer Houser Wegner read through much of the revised manuscript, sharing valuable references and ideas regarding the relationship between epithets and didactic literature, especially for the later phases of Egyptian history. Edwin Corbey-Ervin patiently guided me through the translation of portions of Janssen's *Autobiografie*. I am also thankful to the research assistants in the Egyptian Section of the University of Pennsylvania Museum, especially Christa Beranek, who assisted with the compilation of Appendix 1.

My family been a constant source of encouragement, for which I am deeply grateful. I am especially indebted to my sister, Deborah Doxey, for her unfailing moral support. Finally, and most of all, I would like to thank my husband, Paul Giblin, who in addition to editing the final manuscript and preparing the camera-ready copy for

publication, has helped in ways more numerous and varied to be listed here. Without his many years of assistance this publication would not have been possible.



CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: EPITHETS IN CONTEXT

1. *Definition and Function of Epithets*

A regular feature of Egyptian non-royal monumental inscriptions is a series of epithets, consisting of words or phrases describing in laudatory fashion the qualities or attributes of the person responsible for commissioning the text.¹ Typically, the epithets are found alongside the name and titles of the inscription owner, and they are often difficult to distinguish from the latter.² Along with the name and titles, epithets serve the basic function of identifying and characterizing the official. However, the purpose of epithets extends beyond this role—a statue, relief, or other representation, by virtue of being inscribed with the names and characteristics of a person or god, was symbolically transformed from an inanimate object into the embodiment of the individual represented. Furthermore, epithets, along with a narrative account of virtuous and commendable actions, served to legitimize and reinforce the status of both the official and his office,³ as well as to encourage the maintenance of his monument and the perpetuation of his memorial cult. Some phrases, including the most common epithets of the Middle Kingdom, such as *m³c-hrw*, “vindicated”, and *im³h(y)*, “venerated,” specifically assert that the inscription owner has achieved, or is destined to achieve, a place among the honored and transfigured beings in the afterlife.

With the exception of certain royal epithets that identify exclusively the reigning king, Egyptian epithets are not, for the most part, unique to a specific individual or god. The same epithet may be

¹ The majority of epithets in Egyptian literature are favorable. Exceptions include references to foreign enemies and hostile supernatural beings, who are referred to exclusively by derogatory epithets rather than by name. I am interpreting epithets as distinct from the verbal narrative portion of these texts. For a definition of “narrative,” i.e. the types of phrases not considered in this study, see Quirke, “Narrative literature,” 263-264.

² See, for example, Fischer, *Egyptian Titles*, 1-2; Quirke, “Horn, Feather, and Scale,” 679-682.

³ Cf. Baines, “Society, Morality, and Religious Practice,” 140-141.

applied to many different people, and a series of epithets may be required to fully define the nature of a specific official. Therefore, on the most elaborate monuments, dedicated by the highest ranking members of Egyptian society, one may expect to find a considerable assortment of self-descriptive phrases. Among the most impressive arrays of epithets from the Middle Kingdom are those of nomarchs (*hry-tp* 𓅓) and viziers (*ḥꜣty*) of Dynasty 11 and early Dynasty 12.⁴

Both the length of epithet lists and the subject matter of the epithets themselves varied over time and among different types of inscriptions, making epithets a potentially valuable indicator of social attitudes and political developments. Among the issues to be considered in the following chapters are regional and chronological variation in the subject matter of epithets (or, in some cases, a surprising lack of variation), the relationship between the function of the inscription and the epithets used therein, and the relationship between the status and titles of an official and his choice of epithets.

For many years, scholars of Egyptian historical texts tended to emphasize the verbal narrative portions of non-royal inscriptions, which sometimes refer to actual events, and have furnished some of our most complete information regarding the political history of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom; meanwhile, the introductory lists of descriptive epithets were often dismissed as stereotypical self-laudatory phrases without particular value to the historian.⁵ J. M. A. Janssen, in his monumental study of the phraseology of Old and Middle Kingdom "autobiographies," discussed in detail the grammatical form and meaning of individual epithets, but Janssen himself identified the need for a comprehensive synthesis of the material and its wider implications.⁶ More recently, some epithets, along with narrative accounts of virtuous deeds, have received considerably more attention as evidence for social, ethical, and moral

⁴ For example, the tomb of the vizier Djefaihapi I (tomb 1) at Assiut, the tomb of the nomarch Amenemhat (tomb 2) at Beni Hasan, the Abydene stela of the vizier Mentuhotep (CG 20539), and the tomb of the nomarch Ahanakht (tomb 5) at el Bersheh. The date of Ahanakht's tomb has been debated. Willems, *Chests of Life*, 70-72, places it late in Dynasty 11. Brovarski, "Ahanakht," 26-30, dates it to the period preceding the reunification, in Dynasty 10/early Dynasty 11. I am following the dates proposed by Willems.

⁵ See, for example, Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 208, note b.

⁶ Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 7.

values among the Egyptians.⁷ This volume attempts to satisfy in part the need for a full treatment of Middle Kingdom self-description by presenting the complete range of non-royal epithets, and by addressing the ways in which these phrases reflect the relationship between elite, scribal-class officials and their gods, the king, other officials and their dependents. The following chapters assess the ways in which epithets reflect the Egyptian world view, beliefs about the afterlife, and the changing role and relative status of the elite.

1.1. *Royal and Non-Royal Epithets*

Although the subject matter of non-royal epithets may differ substantially from that of royal epithets, their position and function within texts is essentially identical. Both royal and private epithets follow the name and titulary in order to complete the identification and presentation of the monument owner. In both types of texts, epithets express ideal characteristics based on deeply held ethical beliefs, rather than actual events in the life of the official or king. In both cases they are generally followed by a verbal narrative account of the actions of the particular inscription owner, although this feature is lacking in many non-royal texts. The principal difference between royal monumental texts and non-royal biographies is that while royal inscriptions tend to focus on a specific event (such as the defeat of an enemy, the establishment of a boundary, or the dedication of a building), non-royal memorials tend to present the highlights of the official's entire career.⁸ Royal monuments typically do not contain "ideal autobiographies,"⁹ but Middle Kingdom royal inscriptions such as the second Semna stela of Senwosret III are closely analogous in both form and subject matter to non-royal autobiography.¹⁰ C. Eyre has observed that the Semna stelae so closely resemble private memorial inscriptions in their style and spirit, as well as their

⁷ See, for example, the works of Assmann, Baines, Gnirs, and Lichtheim listed in the bibliography.

⁸ There are notable exceptions, particularly in the case of expedition leaders, who describe a particular mining or quarrying project, and officials whose Abydene stelae describe their specific role in the cult of Osiris, their pilgrimage to Abydos, or the consecration of their tomb or votive chapel.

⁹ Eyre, "Semna stelae," 142.

¹⁰ Eyre, "Semna stelae," 134-165; Baines, "Kingship," 19. For a thorough treatment of the phraseology of Middle Kingdom royal inscriptions, see Blumenthal, *Königtum*.

use of alternating narrative and direct address, formulaic expressions, and stock themes, that they seem to have been composed by the same court scribes responsible for literary texts and non-royal "ideal autobiographies."¹¹

Essentially, the king sought to demonstrate the same moral values and ethical behavior claimed by the non-royal elite but, as J. Baines notes, did so with a divine role and justification which was not available to non-royal officials.¹² A large class of royal epithets refers specifically to the pharaoh's divinity. Some epithets actually refer to him as a god, calling him the "great god" (*ntr ʕ*), the "good god" (*ntr nfr*), the "potent god" (*ntr mnḥ*), the "sole god" (*ntr wʕ*), and the like.¹³ Kings can also be identified directly with a specific deity, as in the Hymns to Senwosret III, which refer to the pharaoh as both Ra and Sekhmet.¹⁴ Likewise, the king may be allotted divine attributes, be referred to as the son (*sʕ*) or the likeness (*mity*) of a deity, or be said to perform a specific act "like" (*mī*) a god or goddess.¹⁵ While non-royal officials are never designated as gods themselves, they are sometimes given divine attributes or called the son or likeness of a god. Examples are discussed in Chapter 2. Both kings and non-royal officials may be called "beloved of" (*mry*) a deity, while private people may also be said to be loved by the king. Because love is typically portrayed as being bestowed by a superior on a subordinate, neither kings nor other officials are said to love the gods.¹⁶ Epithets referring to divine and royal love and favor are discussed in chapter 3.

A class of royal epithets paralleled in non-royal epithets includes phrases that describe the king's role in maintaining world order, portraying him metaphorically as creator, priest, judge, military leader, and protector of the Egyptian people.¹⁷ Specific actions of the king may also be mentioned, such as smiting foreign enemies or constructing monuments. Certain highly ranked officials may claim similar attributes and actions with regard to their own townspeople or

¹¹ Eyre, "Semna stelae," 160-165.

¹² Baines, "Kingship," 21.

¹³ Barta, "Königsbezeichnung," 478.

¹⁴ Barta, "Königsbezeichnung," 478; Silverman, "Kingship," 83.

¹⁵ Barta, "Königsbezeichnung," 479; Silverman, "Kingship," 62.

¹⁶ Simpson, "Amor dei," 493-494.

¹⁷ Barta, "Königsbezeichnung," 479.

subordinates. Such epithets are never common in the Middle Kingdom, and are, for the most part, restricted to a narrow range of officials, periods, and types of inscriptions.¹⁸ In using these epithets, which can be virtually indistinguishable from royal epithets, an official effectively cast himself in the role of the king, maintaining order over and on behalf of his subordinates.

1.2. *Epithets and Literature*

The themes and motifs of non-royal "ideal autobiography," in particular the epithets, closely parallel the subject matter of Middle Kingdom didactic literature, in particular the *Instructions of Ptahhotep*.¹⁹ Probably monumental inscriptions, as well as most of the best literature of the Middle Kingdom, served a didactic function on some level, regardless of their overt function.²⁰ In addition, there seems to have been a consistent interplay of themes and motifs between biographies and other types of literature such as teachings and tales, which were clearly familiar to scribal-class officials throughout Egypt. While the range of ethical principles expressed in epithets is more limited than that expressed in the instructions, officials claim to have embodied precisely the characteristics which the didactic literature recommends, seemingly quoting from the same stock of ethical concepts and phrases.²¹ Some longer biographies, such as the elegantly composed self-presentation on the Abydene stela of Inyotef son of Senet (BM 581) read almost like first-person didactic treatises. Shorter texts, such as some of those belonging to relatively low ranking officials at sites like Wadi el Hudi, give the impression of being copied from adjacent texts or inscribed *en masse* by a single scribe. In still other cases, such as the Abydene stela of Sehetepibra

¹⁸ See below, Chapter 2 and Chapter 5.

¹⁹ The exact nature of the relationship between the tomb biographies and literary texts has been the subject of considerable scholarly discussion. Assmann ("Schrift, Tod und Identität," 64-93) has viewed Old Kingdom "ideal autobiography" as the origin of didactic literature, a view which is followed by Loprieno (*Topos und Mimesis*, 1-21). Lichtheim ("Didactic literature," 478) on the other hand, sees the virtues expressed in tomb inscriptions as a response to a pre-existing body of instructional literature. Parkinson, "Teachings, Discourses, and Tales," 17, 23-24, argues that both derive from a common body of ethical teachings. Quirke ("Review of *Topos und Mimesis*," 93) argues that both genres may owe a great deal to oral literature, letters, and possibly hymns.

²⁰ Eyre, "Semna stelae," 150.

²¹ Cf. Eyre, "Semna stelae," 156, with additional references.

(CG 20538), portions of biographies, including long lists of epithets, were copied directly from inscriptions that were already generations old.²² C. Eyre argues persuasively that in the Middle Kingdom, a period of limited and highly restricted literacy, a single relatively small group of scribes closely connected to the royal court was responsible not only for royal inscriptions and works of political propaganda, but didactic literature, laments, literary narratives, private tomb texts and memorial inscriptions as well.²³ Perhaps men like Inyotef and the roughly contemporary vizier Mentuhotep (whose stela, CG 20539, contains an equally elaborate set of epithets) were among the court scribes to whom Eyre refers, or were at least their close associates. The following chapters will not only address in more detail the similarities between instructions and epithets, but will also note themes which during the Middle Kingdom are present in one genre but missing from the other.

In considering the relationship between biographical epithets and the wider field of Egyptian literature, it is important to bear in mind that most of the Egyptian population was illiterate.²⁴ If the vast majority of the population was unable to read the inscriptions on tombs and other monuments, one must ask to whom the epithets were addressed. "Appeals to the living" are often addressed specifically to priests and other literate officials.²⁵ They were clearly intended to be read aloud, as indicated by texts like the Abydene stela of Mentuweser (MMA 12.184), which distinguishes between "all people who shall listen to this stela" and "all scribes who shall read this stela."²⁶ Tomb inscriptions, in particular those texts inscribed on the facades and entranceways of tombs, were presumably read to family members and others by literate mortuary priests. It is also perfectly possible that certain combinations of signs, such as names, titles, and some epithets, came to be recognizable even to

²² Simpson, "Mentuhotep," 337 notes that Sehetepibra copied portions of the stela of Mentuhotep, CG 20539, and may have copied the *Enseignement Loyaliste* as well.

²³ Eyre, "Semna stela," 163.

²⁴ See, for example, Baines, "Literacy," 572-599; Baines and Eyre, "Four Notes on Literacy," 65-96. Baines and Eyre place the literacy rate for the Old Kingdom at 1%, with the Middle Kingdom rate not significantly higher.

²⁵ Baines and Eyre, "Four Notes on Literacy," 71.

²⁶ For the complete text, see Sethe, *Lesestücke*, no. 19; Hayes, *Scepter I*, fig. 195. For a translation, see Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 104-105.

those who could not read the majority of the texts. Certain of the most common phrases, which tend to appear closest to the name and titles and in the widest variety of inscriptions, might therefore have been meaningful to a somewhat greater portion of the population than could actually read the narrative "autobiography."

2. Setting and Function of Middle Kingdom Epithets

The setting and function of a text might be expected to influence its subject matter in identifiable ways. Among the variables that could influence the nature of the epithets, in addition to the texts' location, are the function of the inscription, the purpose of the monument on which it was inscribed, and the audience for whom it was intended. One might expect, for example, that tomb inscriptions would include a greater number of epithets related to the afterlife than would those from expeditions. Furthermore, epithets might be assumed to vary according to their location within the tomb and the nature of the accompanying scene. Likewise, a stela set up by a visitor to a state-sponsored sanctuary such as Abydos might be expected to focus on different deities than a stela erected in a local cemetery or sanctuary, and to emphasize the township and its people less strongly than would a monument set up locally. Each of the following chapters will assess the relationship between the context and content of epithets as they relate to the gods, the king, fellow officials, and the population of the official's own township.

2.1. Tomb Inscriptions

Funerary inscriptions present their own specific set of questions and relevant issues. Among the questions to be addressed are: (1) are certain epithets or types of epithets connected specifically to funerary monuments; (2) what is the connection, if any, between the subject matter of epithets and their location within the tomb; (3) to what extent are tomb biographies of the Middle Kingdom influenced by Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period trends at sites where there was a strong Old Kingdom tradition (such as Saqqara, Meir, and Qubbet el Hawa) or a series of Heracleopolitan or Dynasty 11 tombs (such as Assiut, el Bersheh, and Beni Hasan)?

While tomb inscriptions have furnished a wealth of social and historical information, their usefulness is severely limited by both the lack of secure dates and the uneven state of preservation. The fact that many tombs are incomplete and many more are nearly destroyed has limited the degree to which comparisons may be drawn among sites, especially between Memphite and provincial cemeteries. Because tombs were cut or constructed for only the highest ranking members of the Egyptian aristocracy, it is largely impossible to compare individuals of differing status, or to reach any conclusions regarding members of the middle level bureaucracy, much less the average citizen. For this reason, information from stelae and rock graffiti is essential to drawing a reasonably complete picture of Middle Kingdom epithets.

The principal royal cemetery for the city of Itj-towy, founded by Amenemhat I,²⁷ was el Lisht, where both Amenemhat I and Senwosret I built pyramids surrounded by the mastabas of senior officials who served in their administrations. Unfortunately, the remains of the private tombs are fragmentary, but portions of inscriptions have been preserved, including a segment of the biography of the Dynasty 12 vizier Mentuhotep, who is also known from a number of other monuments, including one of the largest and most impressive stelae from Abydos (CG 20539) and several statues from Karnak.²⁸ At Saqqara, the remains of two Middle Kingdom funerary chapels are located between the Pyramid of Teti and the Old Kingdom mastabas of Kagemni and Mereruka.²⁹ The owners, Ihy and Hetep, were mortuary priests in the service of Teti's pyramid, a factor which undoubtedly influenced the placement of their tombs. Ihy's tomb has been dated late in the reign of Amenemhat I, while that of Hetep is probably slightly earlier.³⁰ While both chapels are

²⁷ For recent work at the Lisht, see Di. Arnold, *Lischt I*. For a useful summary of the Middle Kingdom remains, see Baines and Málek, *Atlas*, 133. Excavations currently being carried out by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, under the direction of Dieter Arnold, continue to produce new information regarding the cemetery at el Lisht and the tombs of officials buried there.

²⁸ Simpson, "Mentuhotep," 331-340.

²⁹ See Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 58-65; 273-289. Additional tombs of the Middle Kingdom are located to the east of the Teti pyramid but remain unpublished.

³⁰ Firth and Gunn dated the tomb to the reign of Amenemhat II. For the re-dating, see Silverman, "Middle Kingdom Chapels," 168-9. For additional discussion of the chronology of these tombs, see Helck, *Verwaltung*, 246-247; Aldred, *Middle King-*

largely destroyed, the false door of Ihy is well-preserved, along with portions of relief scenes from the chapel walls. Inscriptions have also been preserved on the base of a statue from the tomb of Ihy and on a pair of statues from the tomb of Hetep.³¹ The remains of the ruined mastabas of two viziers, Khnumhotep and Sobekemhat, have been excavated within the pyramid enclosure of Senwosret III at Dahshur.³² Unfortunately, the tomb of Sobekemhat is virtually destroyed, and the texts from the tomb of Khnumhotep are fragmentary. D. Franke has argued convincingly that the vizier Khnumhotep was a relative of the nomarchs of Beni Hasan.³³ The extensive Middle Kingdom cemetery at el Lahun included the pyramid of Senwosret II with its surrounding complex of buildings and the mastabas of administrative officials.³⁴ Fragmentary private inscriptions have been found on stelae and offering tables, and portions of texts have been preserved from the mastaba of Inpy, who held office late in the reign Senwosret III and early in the reign of Amenemhat III.³⁵

The principal sources of epithets from a funerary context are the rock-cut tombs of provincial officials in Middle and Upper Egypt. Some of these monuments contain not only the longest narrative biographies preserved from the Middle Kingdom, but also the longest lists of self-laudatory epithets.³⁶ The most common locations of epithet lists in tombs are the facades, the entrances, the false doors, labels to certain scenes, statue bases, and architraves. Due to the relatively large amount of space available, the owners of rock-cut tombs were often able to provide longer and more detailed self-descriptions than are typical on stelae. However, they did not always

dom Art 43-44; Simpson, "Studies in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty," 54. Other Middle Kingdom chapels have also been identified in the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, but have not yet been published.

³¹ Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, pls. 40, 41, 84, 85.

³² For information and references, see Simpson, "Sobekemhat," 26 ff; Franke, "Khnumhotep III," 51-68.

³³ Franke, "Khnumhotep III," 61-62.

³⁴ See Petrie et al., *Illahun, Kahun, and Gurob; Lahun II*.

³⁵ Petrie, *Lahun II*, 26-28, pl. 27-31. See also Fischer, "Didactic Text," 45-50. For the dating, see Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier no. 155.

³⁶ For the former, see the tomb of Khnumhotep II (Beni Hasan 2), and for the latter, see the tomb of Djefaihapi I (Assiut 1).

choose to do so, and the length and content of funerary texts vary dramatically between sites and over time.

Beni Hasan is the most prolific source of texts from tombs. Twelve inscribed rock-cut tombs have been at least partially preserved, belonging to the leaders of the Oryx Nome (16th Upper Egyptian) and the town of Menat Khufu.³⁷ Of these tombs, half are dated securely to Dynasty 12. The tombs of Amenemhat (no. 2), Khnumhotep II (no. 3) and Khnumhotep I (no. 14) actually contain royal dates, while those of Khnumhotep IV (no. 4), Nakht I (no. 21), and Netjernakht (no. 23) belong to immediate relatives of these men, and must therefore be approximately contemporary.³⁸ The tombs of Khnumhotep I, Khnumhotep II, and Amenemhat contain both biographies and a variety of epithets, while those of Nakht and Netjernakht each have brief fragments of text only, and the tomb of Khnumhotep IV is almost completely destroyed.³⁹ The tombs of Baqt III (tomb 15) and Khety (tomb 17) lack royal dates, and are more problematic in terms of dating. They almost certainly predate Dynasty 12, but suggested dates have ranged from the Heracleopolitan Period to the early Middle Kingdom.⁴⁰ Both tombs contain texts and scenes of considerable interest, including fairly long lists of epithets. They have been included in this study for the purpose of comparison to the Dynasty 12 tombs, although the historical implications of their epithets cannot be adequately gauged in the absence of a more certain dating.

The difficulties of both preservation and secure dating are even more acute at the site of el Bersheh, where tombs on the high terrace were carved for the highest-ranking officials of the Hare Nome (15th Upper Egyptian) during the First Intermediate Period and Middle

³⁷ Newberry, *Beni Hasan* more recently, Hölzl, "Rock-tombs of Beni Hasan," 279-283; Spänel, "Beni Hasan in the Heracleopolitan Period;" Kamrin, "Monument and Microcosm."

³⁸ *Beni Hasan* I, 2-3.

³⁹ For recent commentaries and translations of the biographies of Amenemhat and Khnumhotep III, see Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 135-142, and Lloyd, "Khnumhotpe II," 21-37.

⁴⁰ For a discussion of the chronology, see Hölzl, "Rock-tombs of Beni Hasan," 45; Newberry, *Beni Hasan* I, 3; Schenkel, *Frümittelägyptische Studien* 79-84; Spänel, "Beni Hasan in the Heracleopolitan Period."

Kingdom.⁴¹ Only the tomb of Djehutyhotep (EEF no. 2),⁴² is dated by royal cartouches, indicating that Djehutyhotep served under Amenemhat II, Senwosret II and Senwosret III.⁴³ The tomb of Djehutynakht VI (EEF no. 1) appears to have been decorated during the reign of Amenemhat I or Senwosret I, while that of Nehri II (EEF no. 7) has been dated to the reign of Senwosret I.⁴⁴ If the Amenemhat buried in tomb 3 is the same person who inscribed graffito 49 at the neighboring quarry of Hatnub, he was in office during year 31 of Senwosret I.⁴⁵ The dates of several other tombs at el Bersheh, in particular the tomb of Ahanakht (EEF 5), with its long and historically significant biography, have been a source of considerable debate.⁴⁶ Ahanakht's tomb may tentatively be dated to the late Heracleopolitan period or Dynasty 11, probably prior to the reunification.⁴⁷ Immediately below this tomb are the tombs of three of Ahanakht's contemporaries and subordinates, of which only the tomb of Aha (EEF no. 8) contains adequately preserved epithets.

At Meir, the burial site of the rulers of the 13th and 14th Upper Egyptian nomes, the chronology is clearer than that at most other Middle Kingdom cemeteries.⁴⁸ Here, five tombs include royal dates in Dynasty 12, namely the tomb of Senbi I (B1), Ukhhotep II (B2), Senbi II (B3), Ukhhotep III (B4), and Ukhhotep IV (C1). While these tombs do not appear to have included long autobiographical texts, numerous epithets are distributed throughout the tombs of Ukhhotep II, Ukhhotep III, and Ukhhotep IV. The tombs of Senbi I and Senbi II, however, are badly damaged and less informative.

⁴¹ Newberry et al., *El Bersheh*; Brovarski et al., *Bersheh Reports I*.

⁴² While the numbering system of the el Bersheh tombs differs from one publication to another, I have used Newberry's numbers, in order to facilitate reference to his publication of the cemetery. For a useful summary of the different numbering systems, see Robinson, "The Bersheh Necropolis," in *Bersheh Reports I*, 7-9, and in particular fig. 8.

⁴³ *Bersheh I*, pls. 5-6.

⁴⁴ Willems, "Nomarchs of the Hare Nome," 82-84, and *Chests of Life* 71, 74; Brovarski, "Ahanakht," 22.

⁴⁵ Brovarski, "Ahanakht," 23.

⁴⁶ See Brovarski, "Ahanakht," Kaper, in *Bersheh Reports I*, 43-46; Freed, in *Bersheh Reports I*, 53-58; Willems, *Chests of Life*, 68-81.

⁴⁷ Willems, "Nomarchs of the Hare Nome," 82-84, and *Chests of Life* 71, 74; Brovarski, "Ahanakht," 22.

⁴⁸ See Blackman, *Meir* vols. 1, 2, 3, and 6.

The neighboring sites of Assiut and Deir Rifeh house the massive tombs of the nomarchs of the 13th Upper Egyptian nome.⁴⁹ These tombs span the Heracleopolitan period and early Middle Kingdom, from Dynasty 9 through early Dynasty 12. The tombs of Khety I (tomb 5), Iti-ibi (tomb 3) and Khety II (tomb 4) date to the Heracleopolitan period and are therefore strictly not within the chronological range of this study: they have, however, been included for the purpose of comparison with the Middle Kingdom texts from the site. The unfinished tomb of the Dynasty 12 nomarch Djefaihapi I (tomb 1), cut during the reign of Senwosret I, is the largest preserved Middle Kingdom tomb.⁵⁰ The scenes and inscriptions of the innermost room were plastered and painted, but much of the tomb was never completed. The texts include transcriptions of the well-known contracts for Djefaihapi's funerary endowment, as well as the longest list of epithets found on any Middle Kingdom monument. The tombs of Djefaihapi II (tomb 2) and Djefaihapi III (tomb 7) are badly damaged, but some fragmentary inscriptions have been preserved.⁵¹ The tombs at Deir Rifeh, south of Assiut, are generally in a very poor state of preservation, but two of them retain fragmentary texts of historical significance.⁵² These are the tombs of Neferkhnun (tomb 1) and Nakhtankh (tomb 7), both of which date to Dynasty 12.

The tombs of two high-ranking Twelfth Dynasty officials from Qaw el Kebir, Wahkah I (tomb 7) and Wahkah II (tomb 18) are massive in their proportions and impressive in their architectural design, but unfortunately, very little remains of their texts or decoration.⁵³ Inscribed offering tables and stelae belonging to both men have been found at the site, but the limited amount of inscription cannot provide adequate comparative material relative to certain of the sites discussed above.

Thebes served as the capital of Egypt during Dynasty 11, and most of the important Theban tombs of the Middle Kingdom date to the

⁴⁹ Brunner, *Gräbern der Herakleopolitanzeit*, Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rifeh*; Montet, "Tombeaux 1" 53-68, "Tombeaux 2," 45-111, "Tombeaux 3," 131-163; Spanel, "Herakleopolitan Tombs," 301-314.

⁵⁰ Reisner, "Tomb of Hepzefa," 79-98; Griffiths, *Siût and Dêr Rifeh*.

⁵¹ Montet, "Tombeaux 3" 131-137.

⁵² See Griffith, *Siût and Dêr Rifeh* Montet, "Tombeaux 3," 138-163.

⁵³ Steckeweh and Steindorff, *Fürstengräber von Qau*.

end of this dynasty.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, virtually all of them are so badly preserved that their scenes and texts can be studied only with difficulty. The partially preserved tomb of Daga (TT 103), the vizier under Nebhepetre-Mentuhotep, is located to the south of Mentuhotep's mortuary temple at Deir el Bahri, although little remains of the inscriptions.⁵⁵ The tomb of Meketre (TT 280), located to the north of Deir el Bahri, was cut for another official serving in the administration of Nebhepetre-Mentuhotep, who seems to have continued to hold office into the reign of Amenemhat I.⁵⁶ The style of the carving in the tomb was particularly fine, but the inscriptions and decoration are preserved only in very small fragments. During the reign of Senwosret I, the vizier Inyotefiqer cut a tomb (TT 60) at Sheik Abd el Qurna for his mother, a woman named Senet.⁵⁷ This tomb has been damaged both by fire and by the deliberate erasure of parts of many scenes, as a result of which the number of preserved epithets is small. The epithets are of particular interest, however, in that they are among the few preserved texts from a non-royal monument dedicated specifically for a woman.

The tombs of the Middle Kingdom nomarchs of the first Upper Egyptian nome are located at Qubbet el Hawa, on the west bank of the Nile opposite Aswan. Of these, the tombs of Sarenput I (no. 36) and his nephew, Sarenput II (no. 31), are well preserved and are securely dated to Dynasty 12.⁵⁸ An autobiographical text is preserved on the facade of the former tomb, although much of the interior decoration is now missing. The only decorated portions of the latter were the niche and the painted columns of the inner room. A list of epithets accompanies the scene in the niche. A third tomb of Dynasty 12, belonging to Heqaib son of Sathathor (no. 30), dating late in the dynasty, is now virtually destroyed.

⁵⁴ See Allen, "Theban Officials," 1-26; Do. Arnold, "Amenemhat I," 5-48; F. Arnold, "High Stewards," 7-14; Willems, *Chests of Life*, 107-117; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*.

⁵⁵ See Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, 28-39, pls. 29-38. The tomb has more recently been studied by C. Roehrig.

⁵⁶ Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el-Bahri*, 227; Willems, *Chests of Life*, 111 ff., and especially Do. Arnold, "Amenemhat I," 5, 21-25. Winlock dates the construction of the tomb to the reign of Nebhepetre, but Arnold argues persuasively for a date in the reign of Amenemhat I.

⁵⁷ Davies and Gardiner, *Antefoker*.

⁵⁸ Edel, *Felsengräber der Qubbet el Hawa*; Edel, *Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el Hawa*; Müller, *Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine*.

2.2 *Votive Monuments from Sanctuaries*

The majority of texts included in this study were inscribed on stelae and other objects dedicated in or near sanctuaries. Such inscriptions account for nearly three quarters of the total number of texts discussed in this volume.⁵⁹ A study of the inscriptions from sanctuaries supplements the material from tombs in a number of important ways. First, a greater amount and wider variety of material has been preserved, enabling the use of a much larger sample. Second, a somewhat larger portion of the population was able to afford stelae than could afford tombs, making it possible to study, at least to a limited extent, the differences in epithets among officials of different ranks. During the course of Dynasty 12, the range of people who dedicated stelae at some sanctuaries became relatively widespread, and by Dynasty 13 some fairly low-ranking individuals were able to dedicate small stelae, or to include brief inscriptions on the stelae of their colleagues.⁶⁰ Even so, only a small portion of the population is represented. An analysis of epithets from sanctuaries raises the following questions, among others: (1) are certain types of epithets associated with stelae coming from specifically non-funerary contexts; (2) can a study of epithets provide clues to the place of manufacture of a particular artifact or the home of the individual for whom it was inscribed;⁶¹ (3) how did the late Middle Kingdom tendency for groups of people to share inscriptions influence the choice of epithets; and (4) by what mechanisms were epithets and other self-descriptive phrases transmitted among texts from the same site and between sites? In some cases within a single sanctuary, epithet lists were clearly modeled after earlier texts that were visible in the sanctuary.⁶² In other cases, the scribes seem to have drawn inspiration from texts in nearby tombs or expedition sites, from distant sanctuaries, or from contemporary literature.

The most serious difficulty in using information from sanctuaries is the lack of recorded find spots. Although most stelae, statues and

⁵⁹ See Appendix 1 for a list of the texts.

⁶⁰ See Bourriau, "Patterns of Change," 15; Leprohon, "Personnel," 33-38; O'Connor, "Cenotaphs," 175-176.

⁶¹ Cf. Fischer, "Shi'-sn," 64-71; Franke, "Khnumhotep III," 59-61.

⁶² The best known example being the case of CG 20538, sections of which were copied from CG 20539, an observation noted in Breasted, *Ancient Records*, 257, note b.

offering tables referred to in this study come from sanctuary settings, such objects were used in a number of different contexts, both funerary and non-funerary. The subject matter of the epithets should be expected to differ according to the context and function of the artifact on which they were inscribed. Unfortunately, because early excavators as well as agents for art collectors and dealers removed vast numbers of stelae and other inscribed objects from their original contexts at an early date, museums throughout the world house objects with no known provenience. A particularly large number of stelae are known to have come from the neighborhood of the sanctuary of Osiris at Abydos.⁶³ Unfortunately, due to the circumstances of early excavation, the original locations of many stelae within the site are unknown, as a result of which it is unclear whether they originally derive from the area of the sanctuary or from the adjacent cemetery.⁶⁴

Five cult centers have provided inscriptional material used in this study, namely those of Osiris at Abydos, Amun at Karnak, Horus at Edfu, Heqaib at Elephantine, and Hathor at Serabit el Khâdim in the Sinai. The sanctuary which has produced the largest quantity of inscribed material is Abydos.⁶⁵ While the site was occupied from the Early Dynastic period, and was the location of a major cemetery and cult center from at least as early as the Old Kingdom, the Osiris temple underwent major renovations under Senwosret I, as later

⁶³ See Simpson, *Terrace*, 1-16; O'Connor, "Cenotaphs," 161-177.

⁶⁴ Simpson, in *Terrace*, has made significant progress in assigning Abydene stelae to specific cenotaphs, although the attribution is not certain in all cases. For a summary of the most recent work at the site of the so-called "cenotaphs," see Poulos, "Newly Discovered Temple," 48-55. For a useful summary of this complex site, see Kemp, "Abydos," 28-41.

⁶⁵ For Middle Kingdom activity, see Kemp, "Abydos," 28-41; O'Connor, "Cenotaphs," 161-177; Petrie and Weigall, *Abydos I*, Petrie and Griffith, *Abydos II*, Simpson, *Terrace*, 1-16; Wegner, "Senwosret III," 60-181. Several current archaeological projects are shedding further light on Middle Kingdom activity at Abydos. The Old Kingdom town site and surrounding area is currently being excavated by the University of Pennsylvania Museum-Yale University-Institute of Fine Arts Expedition to Abydos, under the direction of D. O'Connor and W. K. Simpson, and the field direction of M. D. Adams. The adjacent "cenotaph zone" is being studied under the field direction of M. A. Poulos. The North and Middle Cemeteries have been surveyed and are being studied under the field direction of J. Richards. The Senwosret III temple and surrounding town are being excavated under the field direction of J. W. Wegner.

Middle Kingdom sources recall.⁶⁶ It was also during this reign that a number of the largest and most impressive private stelae were installed in private offering chapels and along the processional approach to the sanctuary, and inscribed with texts describing the ideal character traits of high-ranking officials.⁶⁷ Throughout the Middle Kingdom, private people continued to dedicate stelae, statues, and offering tables, both in the cemetery and in free-standing mud-brick "cenotaphs."⁶⁸ As time progressed, the area in which the memorial chapels stood became crowded with smaller structures, and the size of stelae themselves tended to become smaller (although there are notable exceptions, which shall be discussed below).⁶⁹ It appears that at the same time that the ability to procure and dedicate a stela was becoming open to a larger segment of the population, the inscriptions on these stelae were becoming shorter and more formulaic.

Very little remains of the Middle Kingdom temple of Amun at Karnak, but several objects dedicated by private individuals have been discovered at the site.⁷⁰ Mentuhotep, the vizier under Senwosret I, evidently took great interest in the temple, dedicating as many as eight statues and other inscribed objects.⁷¹ In Dynasty 13, Iymeru, the vizier under Sobekhotep IV, dedicated at least four monuments.⁷² Edfu, best known for its Ptolemaic temple of Horus, was also the site of a late Middle Kingdom sanctuary that has produced both free-standing chapels and stelae, the stone elements of which were often inscribed.⁷³ While very few monuments in the sanctuary include royal dates, most date to Dynasty 13. A series of such monuments,

⁶⁶ See, for example, the Dynasty 13 stela of Amenyseneb, Louvre C 12, ANOC 58. 1; Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 80-83.

⁶⁷ See Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 143-145.

⁶⁸ The term "cenotaph" is, in fact, a misnomer, as O'Connor, "Cenotaphs," 164-166, notes, because there are no false burials associated with the structures.

⁶⁹ Leprohon, "Personnel," 36; Bourriau, "Patterns of Change," 15-16; O'Connor, "Cenotaphs," 168-170.

⁷⁰ For a summary and references, see Barguet, "Karnak," 341-342.

⁷¹ CG 42037, CG 42044, CG 42045, Louvre A 122, Louvre A 123, Louvre A 124, Luxor J 36, and Luxor J 37 have all been attributed to this vizier. The attribution has been questioned, however. For a discussion of the monuments dedicated by Mentuhotep, see Fay, "Custodian of the Seal," 19-28; Simpson, "Mentuhotep," 331-340; Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier no. 262.

⁷² Heidelberg 274, Louvre A 125, and two in storage at Karnak. See Habachi, "Iymeru," 29-39; Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier 26.

⁷³ Alliot, *Edfou*.

dedicated to the family and staff of a man named Horaa, are dated by cartouches to the reign of Sobekhotep IV.

The sanctuary of the deified Dynasty 6 nomarch Heqaib, located on the island of Elephantine, has yielded inscribed material from throughout Dynasties 12 and 13, as well as from the Second Intermediate Period.⁷⁴ Like Abydos, the site underwent extensive rebuilding during the reign of Senwosret I, during the tenure of the nomarch Sarenput I, whose tomb (no. 36) has been preserved at Qubbet el Hawa. During the earlier part of Dynasty 12, the Heqaib sanctuary appears to have been closely controlled by the local ruling family of the Sarenputs, with whose chapels most of the inscriptions are associated.⁷⁵ The chapels themselves were in some cases lined with stone, and completely decorated with scenes and inscriptions. The development of the sanctuary on Elephantine bears certain similarities to that at Abydos. Having been controlled by the local ruling family under Senwosret I, it seems to have become accessible later in Dynasty 12 to a wider segment of the population. Lower-ranking officials began to dedicate stelae and other inscribed objects, with the result that the sanctuary became increasingly crowded. As a result, the evidence from Elephantine furnishes data that is valuable for comparison with the Abydene material. Two notable distinctions between the two sites should be noted, however. First, the Heqaib sanctuary honored a local deified ancestor, and did not attract visitors on the national scale that Abydos did. Second, while the "cenotaphs" at Abydos were probably located outside the actual Osiris temple complex itself, the chapels and other dedications at Elephantine formed a self-contained sanctuary. As a result, a comparison of the texts from the two sites illustrates differences in subject matter that may reflect the different character of the two sanctuaries.

The sanctuary at Serabit el Khâdim served as a center for the worship of Hathor in her manifestation as the Mistress of Turquoise.⁷⁶ Inscribed monuments of the Middle Kingdom began to be dedicated at the site during the reign of Amenemhat II, and the majority of the texts date to the reign of Amenemhat III, who appears to have exploited the copper and turquoise mines of the region to an un-

⁷⁴ See Habachi, *Elephantine IV*; Franke, *Heiligtum des Heqaib*.

⁷⁵ Franke, *Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 8-29.

⁷⁶ See Gardiner, Peet and Cerny, *Sinai*.

precedented degree, evidently as part of a policy of economic expansion aimed at developing the internal resources of Egypt through extensive building and irrigation projects.⁷⁷ Most of the inscriptions from Serabit el Khâdim are found on stelae dedicated by people taking part in the frequent mining expeditions. Like the stelae dedicated at temples within the Nile Valley during late Dynasty 12, these stelae often included the names, titles, and epithets of a number of colleagues who apparently combined their resources to commission a single monument. Nevertheless, the texts tend to be somewhat longer than many contemporary examples from Abydos and Elephantine. The content of the Sinai inscriptions also differs from that of the texts from sanctuaries in Egypt itself because of its close association with expedition inscriptions and its relatively remote location.

2.3. Expedition Inscriptions

Inscriptions were carved both on stelae and on the faces of natural cliffs at the sites of mining, quarrying and military expeditions. Their purpose was to preserve for posterity a record of the expedition's success, and to honor those who had taken part therein.⁷⁸ Such texts are found in the Sinai and Nubia, as well as in Egypt itself. Although the form and subject matter of these expedition texts are similar in many ways to the funerary and votive inscriptions already discussed, their more inherently secular nature causes them to have a different focus, and many unusual features have been noted by previous scholars.⁷⁹ Among the differences that will be shown to exist between epithets from these texts and those from the tombs and sanctuaries is a stronger emphasis in most expedition texts on the king than on the gods (with the exception of Hatnub), and a relatively liberal use by expedition leaders of royal and pseudo-royal epithets. Both of these patterns will be discussed in the following chapters. Because expedition inscriptions were left by individuals of varying ranks, they allow for a limited study of the differences in epithets referring to people of differing status who served in the same

⁷⁷ Leprohon, "Amenemhat III."

⁷⁸ See Blumenthal, "Textgattung Expeditionsbericht," 85-118.

⁷⁹ Blumenthal, "Textgattung Expeditionsbericht," 88-11; Eyre, "Semna stelae," 143; Posener, *Littérature et politique*, 131-4.

campaigns. For this reason they are particularly useful in studying the variation in epithets between the traditional elite and officials of lower standing. In addition, because many date to the very early or very late Middle Kingdom, expedition inscriptions furnish evidence from periods not well represented by epithets from contemporary sanctuaries in the Nile Valley.

The following sites have furnished dated and datable inscriptions from Middle Kingdom expeditions to mines, quarries and ports: the alabaster quarry at Hatnub, the Red Sea outlets at Wadi Gasus and Wadi Gawasis, the quarries and Red Sea access route through the Wadi Hammamat, the amethyst quarries at Wadi el Hudi, and the turquoise and copper mines at Wadi Maghara in the Sinai.

Hatnub, on the east bank of the Nile near el Bersheh, was a source of alabaster during the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom.⁸⁰ Quarrying expeditions were directed by high ranking officials in both the local and central administrations, some of whom left long biographical inscriptions of considerable historical interest. The tombs of a number of these men have also been identified at el Bersheh.⁸¹ Unfortunately, the chronology of Hatnub, like that of el Bersheh, is extremely problematic, due in part to a tendency for local rulers to date inscriptions in terms of their own local rule rather than that of the ruling king, even during periods of relatively strong central authority in Dynasty 12.⁸² In addition to dating inscriptions in terms of their own rule, the local officials of the Hare Nome displayed an unusual tendency to use epithets focusing on their own authority and their relationship to their community, topics that will be addressed at greater length in the following chapters. Only one text, inscribed by the royal seal bearer (*htmty bity*) Amenemhat (graffito 49), is dated by a royal cartouche to the reign of Senwosret I. The earliest of the Hatnub texts predate the reunification of Egypt in Dynasty 11, while a number of long and historically significant inscriptions dated to the rule of Nehri I probably relate events in the last years of that dynasty.⁸³

⁸⁰ See Anthes, *Hatnub*.

⁸¹ See E. Brovarski, "Ahanakht," 26 ff.

⁸² See E. Brovarski, "Ahanakht," 22-30; Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*, 84-95.

⁸³ For various opinions on the dates of these inscriptions, see Willems, "Nomarchs of the Hare Nome," 80-102.

Wadi Gasus and Wadi Gawasis are located on the Red Sea coast north of Wadi Hammamat. The excavator of Wadi Gawasis has suggested that it served as the port from which Dynasty 12 expeditions to Punt and elsewhere departed.⁸⁴ Two stelae were found at Wadi Gasus, inscribed by a pair of officials named Khentektaywer and Khnumhotep, who served under Amenemhat II and Senwosret II respectively. Excavations at Wadi Gawasis uncovered two additional stelae, both dated to the reign of Senwosret I, one belonging to the chamberlain (*imy-r ḥnwty*) Ankhu and the other to the vizier (*ḥꜣty*) Inyotefiqer, parts of whose mastaba has been found at Lisht and who commissioned the rock-cut tomb of Senet at Thebes.⁸⁵

Wadi Hammamat, running from Coptos (modern Quft) in the fifth Upper Egyptian nome to the Red Sea, served both as a corridor for Red Sea trade and as an important quarry throughout much of the history of pharaonic Egypt. Dated inscriptions recording Middle Kingdom expeditions in the wadi begin in the reign of Mentuhotep III in Dynasty 11, and continue with occasional interruptions through the reign of Amenemhat III.⁸⁶ The only texts dated to Dynasty 13 belong to the reigns of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV. The inscriptions from Wadi Hammamat vary considerably in length and content. Some give detailed accounts of the events of the expedition, while others are composed primarily of titles and epithets. The epithets found in these texts are potentially of great importance for this study, both because they span virtually the entire Middle Kingdom, and because they demonstrate the degree of authority enjoyed by those men who acted as royal representatives in remote regions.

The amethyst quarries at Wadi el Hudi, on the eastern side of the Nile just south of the first cataract, were first exploited at the end of Dynasty 11, under Mentuhotep IV, after which they were extensively worked in Dynasty 12, especially during the reign of Senwosret I. They were also quarried for at least a brief period in Dynasty 13, during the reigns of Neferhotep I and Sobekhotep IV.⁸⁷ The men responsible for the Wadi el Hudi inscriptions were, like those who worked in Wadi Hammamat, officials of the central administration,

⁸⁴ Sayed, "12th Dynasty Port," 140-178.

⁸⁵ TT 60.

⁸⁶ Couyat and Montet, *Hammamat*; Goyon, *Nouvelles Inscriptions*; Simpson, "Historical and Lexical Notes," 20-37.

⁸⁷ Fakhry, *Wadi el Hudi*; Sadek, *Wadi el Hudi*.

often holding positions associated with the treasury. In fact, some of the same individuals who worked here took part in expeditions at Wadi Hammamat, as well as in the West Nubian diorite mines.⁸⁸ Their ranks varied from relatively senior administrators to assistants. Their biographies are rarely long or innovative, but a study of the epithets, which emphasize loyal service to the king, offers a valuable supplement to the material from Wadi Hammamat and Hatnub.

Leaders of turquoise and copper mining expeditions in the Wadi Maghara and Serabit el Khâdim in the Sinai left both rock inscriptions and stelae to commemorate their success.⁸⁹ These texts are approximately contemporary with the majority of those from Serabit el Khâdim. Those that include royal dates are all from the reigns of Amenemhat III and Amenemhat IV. As a result, they form a useful body of comparative material to that from the contemporary Hathor sanctuary.

Non-royal inscriptions dated to the Middle Kingdom have been found at several locations in Nubia, including Girgawi, Semna and Kumna. Girgawi, on the east of the Nile in Lower Nubia, served as a military assembly point during the early part of the Dynasty 12.⁹⁰ Officials of both high and relatively low ranks, including two viziers, Mentuhotep and Inyotefiqer, left brief inscriptions on the rock cliffs. Many of the texts are undated, but those with royal dates are from the early part of the dynasty, the reigns of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I. A number of inscriptions from Girgawi include only names and titles. Semna and Kumna, located on opposite sides of the Nile at the second cataract, were fortified under Senwosret III, and served as the southern boundary of Egyptian territory during the second half of Dynasty 12.⁹¹ A large number of inscriptions have been found at the two sites, in the form of both stelae and rock inscriptions.⁹² These texts record the names, titles, and, in some cases, "autobiographies" of military officers. Occasionally lower ranking individuals left brief texts alongside those of their superiors. The rock inscriptions dated by royal cartouches all come from the reigns of Senwosret III and

⁸⁸ For the inscriptions from these mines, see Engelbach, "Quarries of the West Nubian Desert," 65-74.

⁸⁹ See Gardiner, Peet and Cerny, *Sinai*.

⁹⁰ Zába, *Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia*.

⁹¹ For the chronology, see Delia, "Senwosret III," 90 ff.

⁹² Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts I*.

Amenemhat III. Three Dynasty 13 stelae from the reign of Sobekhotep IV have also been preserved, but they lack epithets or other biographical information. Because the texts from Girgawi date primarily to early Dynasty 12, while those from Semna and Kumna date to the second half of the dynasty, the two groups supplement one another for a study of chronological and historical developments. It is difficult to compare the two, however, since the texts from Girgawi are generally much shorter and include fewer self-descriptive phrases.

In addition to the texts left by members of mining, quarrying, and military expeditions, Middle Kingdom rock graffiti are preserved at two other locations. Shatt er Rigal in Upper Egypt is the site of a small and unusual group of inscriptions dating to the reign of Nebhepetre-Mentuhotep.⁹³ This location, about two-thirds of the way between Thebes and Aswan, bears no other signs of use or habitation, and H. E. Winlock has argued that the inscriptions were left during a single visit by senior administrative officials.⁹⁴ The island of Sehel near Elephantine, has not been extensively studied, but has produced several rock graffiti from the Middle Kingdom.⁹⁵ Under Sobekhotep III, the island evidently housed a small sanctuary dedicated to the goddess Anuket. The preserved graffiti from Sehel are generally short, and contain very few epithets.

3. *Historical Context of the Middle Kingdom*

Egyptian epithets fall into a category of expressions that, in spite of being found within texts that may contain historical information, are neither strictly "historical" nor "literary."⁹⁶ They are generally formulaic and refer to ethical ideals rather than historical events, as a result of which they cannot be expected to reflect overtly the political changes in the course of Middle Kingdom history. They do, on the other hand, reveal much about the ways in which historical and

⁹³ Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 39.

⁹⁴ Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 58-77.

⁹⁵ Habachi, "Altar of Sobekhotep from Sehel," 17-19; "Graffito of the Chamberlain and Overseer of Works Antef at Sehel," 50-59.

⁹⁶ For a definition of "literature," see Loprieno, "Defining Egyptian Literature," 41-47, especially 46 for the similarities between "autobiography" and "fictional discourse." For the Egyptians' use of "history" in the Middle Kingdom, see Baines, "Concepts and Uses of the Past," 140-141.

political events affected both the attitudes and to a lesser extent the practices and assertions of the Egyptian scribal class.⁹⁷ Although Egyptian texts are notable for the similarities in phraseology among texts from different areas, changes over time must nevertheless be viewed in a regional context, since such changes occur at different rates and are subject to different influences from one site to another. Innovations may be first to appear in peripheral regions, or conversely might filter outward from the capital. Scribes at provincial sites with strong local traditions, on the other hand, might tend to retain and copy phrases from their predecessors. Throughout the length of the Middle Kingdom, the most common epithets tend to resist change. As a result, any assessment of the observable alteration of traditions, the introduction of new themes and motifs, and the abandonment of existing expressions and subjects must be based on the study of a large number of inscriptions from a variety of different contexts.⁹⁸

A critical issue in the study of Middle Kingdom history is the relationship between the king and the provincial nobility, and the shifting balance of power between the two. Narrative biographies of highly ranked officials have furnished much of the known information regarding this relationship. Epithets referring to the officials' dealings with the king or with their own personal authority might be expected to reflect in some measurable way the major transitions in the Middle Kingdom administration. Deeply rooted social and religious beliefs, on the other hand, can be expected to have resisted change, and to have been influenced by different forces. Although the outline of historical and political developments during the Middle Kingdom is reasonably well-known, the nature of much royal activity during certain reigns remains controversial. What events might one expect to influence the subject matter of epithets, and what sorts of changes might they be expected to cause?

The defining event of the early Middle Kingdom is the reunification of Egypt by Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, to end the Heracleopolitan

⁹⁷ In this sense they are similar to the "cultural texts" described by Assmann, "Kulturelle und literarische Texte," 68-72; Loprieno, "Defining Egyptian Literature," 42.

⁹⁸ For a recent summary of the development of "autobiographies," see Gnirs, "ägyptische Autobiographie," 191-241.

Tenth Dynasty.⁹⁹ During the course of the war between Mentuhotep and the Heracleopolitan rulers, Upper Egyptian nomarchs apparently either transferred their allegiance from Heracleopolis to Thebes or were replaced by new rulers; some local ruling families at least seem to have retained their power with royal sanction.¹⁰⁰ Following the reunification of Egypt, Mentuhotep undertook quarrying and building activities throughout Egypt, although the central administration remained concentrated at Thebes. The later rulers of Dynasty 11 are known primarily from the inscriptions of non-royal officials, such as those who led expeditions to the Wadi Hammamat. There is evidence of instability and perhaps civil war at the end of the Dynasty, after which Amenemhat, the vizier under Mentuhotep IV, emerged as the founder of Dynasty 12.¹⁰¹

Dynasty 12, one of the longest and most stable dynasties of Egyptian history, was a period of gradually increasing royal authority for much of its two hundred year history.¹⁰² Amenemhat I dealt with the local nobility at the outset of the dynasty by redefining boundaries and reaffirming the authority of local leaders, practices continued by his successor, Senwosret I.¹⁰³ The first two kings of Dynasty 12 also extended Egyptian control over Lower Nubia, fortifying the Nile to the second cataract, and undertaking building, mining, and quarrying projects. Well into Dynasty 12, local officials seem to have retained a degree of independence, although they regularly credit their success to the good will of the ruling king, and their "autobiographies" are careful to justify their right to rule in terms of royal sanction. Epithets, while stressing the character and ability of the officials they describe, focus above all else on the favor of the king. In the reign of Senwosret III, a transformation of sorts seems to have occurred in the administration, the result of which was that the power of the local nobility was curtailed. The nature of this change has been debated, some scholars arguing that the process was

⁹⁹ For the career of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep and varying interpretations of the reunification, see Gomàa, *ersten Zwischenzeit*, 157; Grimal, *History*, 155-158; Hayes, "Middle Kingdom in Egypt," 476-481; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 69-70.

¹⁰⁰ For nomarchs displaying allegiance to Mentuhotep, see Hayes, "Middle Kingdom in Egypt," 482 (with references).

¹⁰¹ For evidence of a civil war, see Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 71-76.

¹⁰² See Franke, "Khnumhotep III," 51-55; Grimal, *History*, 166-171.

¹⁰³ Hayes, "Middle Kingdom in Egypt," 496-497.

gradual and involved primarily a royal policy of transferring local officials to the central administration, and others favoring a deliberate policy on the part of Senwosret III to limit the authority of nomarchs and other provincial leaders.¹⁰⁴ In any event, by the beginning of the reign of Amenemhat III, royal authority was at a height unprecedented since the Old Kingdom.¹⁰⁵ Corresponding to the relative decline of the provincial nobility was an apparent increase in the availability of memorial monuments to a wider segment of the population and an increased focus on piety.¹⁰⁶ Two fundamental questions to be considered with regard to Dynasty 12, therefore, are whether or not there was an increase in emphasis on the gods and funerary cult during the second half of Dynasty 12, and whether a roughly contemporary transformation in the nature of non-royal self-presentation relative to the king appears to have taken place around the reign of Senwosret III.

Events at the end of Dynasty 12 are not well documented in private inscriptions. The transition to Dynasty 13 does not appear to have been a violent one, although royal power never seems to have been well-established, and during the course of the Dynasty Egypt lost control of Nubia. A concurrent dynasty, Dynasty 14, seems to have arisen in the western delta, and western Asian immigrants began to encroach upon the northern part of the country, preceding the invasion of the Hyksos. Epithets from the very end of Dynasty 12 and from Dynasty 13 are relatively scarce and of limited subject matter, but innovations did occur, which shall be discussed in the following chapter.

4. *Epithets and Middle Kingdom Society*

Within the lists of epithets in all types of inscriptions are certain phrases that remain relatively unchanged over the course of the Middle Kingdom. These epithets are the same ones that occur in

¹⁰⁴ For varying opinions, see Delia, "Senwosret III;" Franke, "Khnumhotep III," 51-55 (with additional references); Hayes, "The Middle Kingdom in Egypt," 505-509; Leprohon, "Amenemhat III," 186-187.

¹⁰⁵ Leprohon, "Amenemhat III," vii.

¹⁰⁶ For discussions of this development in general, and especially with regard to stelae, see Pflüger, "Private Funerary Stelae," 128; Bourriau, "Patterns of Change," 15; Leprohon, "Personnel," 33-38.

even the briefest texts, as well as in the texts of women and other family members who appear alongside the main figures on inscribed monuments. It is suggested in the following chapters that these epithets form the essential "core" around which Middle Kingdom self-presentations were built, and that they are deeply imbedded in the Egyptian world view, their purpose being to establish the position of the individual relative to three principal points of focus, namely the gods, the king, and the rest of the population. Certain consistent patterns are discernible in the arrangement of many of the more common epithets. The order in which these epithets are arranged, as well as the individuals to whom they refer, might suggest a ranking within the epithets themselves, or may reflect the relative importance of either the official himself or the character trait to which they refer.

4.1. *Social Hierarchy and the Egyptian World View*

It is clear from epithets as well as "autobiographies" and other literary works that the Egyptians perceived their society as a structured and orderly universe that included both supernatural and natural elements, in which benefits filtered down to humanity from the gods via the king, and the role of the scribal class official was to serve as an intermediary between the king and the rest of society.¹⁰⁷ The didactic literature specifies the manner in which an official should interact with people of varying social classes—he should be deferential to his superiors, respectful to his peers, and generous to his subordinates.¹⁰⁸ Nowhere is this awareness of one's proper social position more clear than in epithets. As chapter 3 demonstrates, the most common epithets, and those accessible to the largest segment of the population, express the favor of the king and the gods. A smaller number but wider variety of epithets, found primarily in the inscriptions of very highly ranked individuals, refer to the benevolence of the official toward subordinates. Epithets referring to both provision for and support from the townspeople and district are limited to texts commissioned by local rulers.

How does the ideal hierarchy of the Egyptian world view compare to the human reality? Since, as J. Baines has observed, much of what was included in biographies was limited by decorum, and because we

¹⁰⁷ Assmann, *Ma'at*, 92-119; Baines, "Practical Religion," 90-92.

¹⁰⁸ Lichtheim, "Didactic literature," 245.

have only the self-descriptions of the elite (and idealized self-descriptions at that), we must expect the picture presented by biographies to be somewhat idealistic.¹⁰⁹ S. Quirke divides the population of Egypt, with the exception of the king, into three broad social classes: the literate, titled elite; a middle group without titles and with restricted access to writing and other resources; and the illiterate serving class who depended on the elite for support.¹¹⁰ Chapters 4 and 5 will assess some of the ways in which epithets, albeit in a subtle and implicit fashion, reflect these divisions and provide further evidence of social ranking.¹¹¹ The phrasing of epithets distinguishes in discernible ways between different levels of literate officials, such as the *srw*, *wrw*, *šnwt*, *s'hw*, and *smrw*. Among the population as a whole, the elite (*p't*) are clearly distinguished from both the "people" (*rmt*) and the lower classes (*rhyt*), the former of which includes the inscription owners and their peers, but the latter of which does not.

4.2. Epithets and Egyptian Moral and Ethical Values

Two features of Egyptian Middle Kingdom epithets have already been noted above: their relative uniformity and their close relationship to didactic literature. These two aspects of epithets indicate that they represent idealized traits and, with very few exceptions, do not describe the actual attributes of individual people.¹¹² The overarching theme of epithets, and of "ideal autobiographies" as a whole, is *ma'at*.¹¹³ J. Assmann sees the concept of *ma'at* as rooted in social solidarity, in which the individual plays a significant role, but in

¹⁰⁹ Baines, "Restricted Knowledge," 1-23 and "Society, Morality and Religious Practice," 123-201.

¹¹⁰ Quirke, "Townsmen," 148-149.

¹¹¹ Loprieno (*Topos und Mimesis*, 84-97) and others have argued for the emergence of a "middle class" whose intellect spurred the growth of literature in the Middle Kingdom, although others, including Quirke ("Review of *Topos und Mimesis*," 92) and Parkinson ("Individual and society, 137), have remained unconvinced. Long lists of epithets occur only in texts commissioned by the highest ranking members of society and hence do little to shed light on the middle class. The epithets in texts belonging to relatively low ranking officials generally repeat common formulae referring to the gods and the king, and do not suggest the kind of individual initiative proposed by Loprieno.

¹¹² Lichtheim, "Didactic literature," 254, has argued that Egyptian autobiographies are truly autobiographical, and not "idealbiografie."

¹¹³ For the concept of *ma'at*, see Assmann, *Ma'at*; Lichtheim, *Maat*.

which individuality is subordinated to cooperation.¹¹⁴ Although epithets in the Middle Kingdom do not stress silence to the extent that it is stressed in the literature of later periods, their primary emphasis is on conformity and social cooperation, as the following chapters illustrate. With the exception of a small number of innovative texts of the early Middle Kingdom, the vast majority of epithets are formulaic and repetitive expressions of royal and divine approval and unquestioning adherence to established modes of behavior.

As the following chapter also demonstrates, many epithets describing the official himself seem rooted not only in the Egyptians' social values and religious beliefs, but in common sense advice for effectively carrying out one's official duties and dealing with people of all social classes in a manner that will enhance one's personal status and position.¹¹⁵ These are the epithets most closely connected to the themes of didactic literature. According to the epithets, the attributes to which members of the elite were expected to aspire were knowledge, obedience, eloquence, effectiveness, attentiveness, accuracy, and generosity. By behaving according to the standards emphasized in the epithets discussed in Chapter 2, an official could achieve the benefits described in the following chapters, the love and favor of the king and the gods, the respect and support of his peers, and the love and support of his townspeople. The relationships between people at all levels of society, and even between humans and the gods, was always reciprocal, and officials had to establish that they had earned these benefits by maintaining *ma'at* as a conduit between their divine and royal superiors and the rest of the Egyptian people.

¹¹⁴ Assmann, *Ma'at*, 85-89; see also the discussion in Parkinson, "Individual and Society," 147.

¹¹⁵ Quirke, "Townsmen," 147.

CHAPTER TWO

THE CHARACTER AND CONDUCT OF THE OFFICIAL

The ideal official of the Middle Kingdom sought to satisfy the expectations inherent in his social and administrative role in specific ways, which would enable him to act in accordance with the Egyptian concept of order, *ma'at*.¹ In general, conformity and adherence to well-established social mores appear to have been more highly regarded attributes than innovation or ambition, even among the highest ranking administrators. When discussing their knowledge, the inscription owners claim to know their proper place (*rh st-rd*) and to know the plan (*rh shr*). When discussing their eloquence, they claim to have said what was good and repeated what was desired (*dd nfrt whm mrrt*). When discussing their obedience, they say that they have adhered to their appointed paths (*mdd w3t* or *mdd m3n*).² Officials attribute their success in large part to their ability to satisfy their superiors, get along with their peers, and direct their subordinates fairly and with generosity.

"Ideal autobiographies" from all periods list the attributes of highly ranked individuals and recount events in their careers.³ During the Middle Kingdom, such accounts often take the form of verbal narratives, rather than lists of epithets and self-descriptive phrases. Often, however, the narrative account is replaced by a long sequence of self-descriptive epithets presented either as a first person self-presentation (introduced by *ink*, "I am") or as a formal list of epithets following the official's name and titulary, a new format classified by A. Gnirs as the "encomiastic autobiography."⁴ Most epithets relating to the personal attributes and career of the official come from "encomiastic autobiographies" of this type. The traits portrayed in these self-descriptive phrases, as well as in the biographical narratives, relate not only to the character of the official himself, but to his

¹ For full treatments and differing interpretations of the concept of *ma'at*, see Assmann, *Ma'at*; Lichtheim, *Maat*.

² See Chapter 3, 145 ff.

³ See Gnirs, "ägyptische Autobiographie," Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*.

⁴ Gnirs, "ägyptische Autobiographie," 225-7.

ability to interact successfully with the gods, the king, his peers, and his subordinates.⁵ Thus, the focus of these epithets bears directly on that of the epithets discussed in the following chapters, which deal specifically with the official's interaction with others. The personal characteristics described in epithets may be grouped into four general subject areas: individual authority, wisdom and skill, humility, and benevolence.

1. *Context of Epithets Referring to the Official*

Self-descriptive phrases regarding the character of the individual are particularly common during the early Middle Kingdom, continuing the trend of the period preceding the reunification of Egypt in Dynasty 11. As a rule, such epithets become considerably less popular in the second half of Dynasty 12, when they resume an Old Kingdom tradition of focusing on the king and the gods.⁶ Many of the Middle Kingdom examples, in fact, come from a relatively small number of inscriptions from the reign of Senwosret I, a period in which Abydene stelae and provincial tomb inscriptions of high ranking officials were characterized by a developed literary style incorporating elaborate lists of self-descriptive epithets and/or biographical accounts. The close relationship between self-presentation and contemporary didactic literature, such as the *Instructions of Ptahhotep*,⁷ is nowhere more vivid than in these texts.⁸ The men who commissioned them—individuals like the viziers Mentuhotep (CG 20539) and Djefaihapi (Assiut tomb 1) and the chamberlain Inyotef son of Sobekwenu and Senet (BM 572 and 581)—were clearly familiar with the instructional literature, and carried the genre of Egyptian memorial self-presentation to a literary level scarcely

⁵ Quirke, "Townsmen," 147-148; Lichtheim, "Didactic literature," 245.

⁶ Gnirs, "ägyptische Autobiographie," 220 (for the Old Kingdom emphasis on the king).

⁷ For this text (P. Prisse), see Zába, *Ptah-hotep*.

⁸ Assmann, "Schrift, Tod und Identität," 64-93, has sought the origin of the didactic treatises in the self-presentations of the Old Kingdom, and of narrative literature in the verbal career accounts, a theory which has found support from A. Loprieno and others (see, for example, Loprieno, "Loyalistic Instructions," 404, 412). Lichtheim, "Didactic literature," 279, on the other hand, sees the wisdom texts as the inspirations for the biographies. S. Quirke ("Review of *Topos und Mimesis*" 93) suggests that both forms borrow significantly from an earlier oral tradition.

achieved before or afterward.⁹ The composition of Mentuhotep's Abydene stela (CG 20539), for example, was evidently regarded highly enough that large portions of it were copied nearly a century later on the stela of Sehetepibra (CG 20538), on which was also inscribed the *Enseignement Loyaliste*.¹⁰

Self-descriptive phrases referring to personal attributes and official duties are also fairly common in expedition inscriptions, where they continued to be popular through the end of Dynasty 12. Such epithets, along with epithets referring to provision for subordinates, are particularly popular at Hatnub, where the expedition leaders tend to focus on the local administration of the Hare Nome, rather than on their relationship with the king (reasons for which will be discussed below). In expedition inscriptions elsewhere, the king is significantly more prominent. As a general rule, however, at no period during the Middle Kingdom are epithets relating to administrative duties nearly as common or widespread as those referring to the king or the gods.

2. Individual Authority and Responsibility

2.1. Authority

While many epithets emphasize the personal authority of the inscription owner in a general way, a small class of epithets stresses this power more emphatically and more specifically. In spite of the general tendency against flagrant self-promotion in epithets, certain highly ranked officials borrow themes from a large class of royal epithets emphasizing the role of the king and his office in maintaining divine order, and which portray the king metaphorically as a judge, priest, warrior, protector, provider, and even creator.¹¹ While non-royal officials may speak in much more modest terms, certain of the same or similar attributes are listed. This similarity between royal and non-royal epithets is undoubtedly due to their identical function, namely to commemorate the life and actions of the individual, to

⁹ For Inyotef, see Simpson, ANOC 5; Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 106-111. For Mentuhotep, see Simpson, "Mentuhotep," 331-340.

¹⁰ See Posener, *Enseignement loyaliste*, 14-16; Simpson, "Mentuhotep," 340 (who, following Berlev, suggests that the *Enseignement* may also be credited to Mentuhotep); Loprieno, "Loyalistic Instructions," 405; Parkinson, "Individual and society," 141.

¹¹ For royal epithets, see Barta, "Königsbezeichnung," cols. 477-480.

legitimize his authority, and to justify the perpetuation of his cult. The difference is merely one of magnitude. Royal epithets demonstrate the power of the king over the entire civilized (i.e., Egyptianized) world, while non-royal epithets demonstrate the success of the official only within his own limited social and administrative sphere.

While non-royal officials never compare themselves directly to the king, they do mimic royal epithets, even likening their attributes to those of the gods. A nomarch or expedition leader might refer to himself as a "strong man" (*nht* or *hps*), a "protector" (*nd*), or a controller (*hrp*). A large class of phrases is introduced by *wr*, "one who is great," perhaps to be understood in some contexts as "the greatest."¹² *Wr* is followed in some cases by a toponym, in epithets such as "great one of Ta-wer," used to describe the Abydene high priest Wepwawetaa (Leiden V4). More often, the monument owner is favorably compared to his colleagues, being called *wr r wrw*, "greater than the great ones."¹³ Like the king, non-royal officials might also express their greatness in terms of specific attributes, wealth, or skill. Epithets of this type include such phrases as "one great of fear" (*wr snd*), "one great of hunting" (*wr hb*), "one great of hand" (*wr drt*), and "one great of provisions" (*wr dḥw*). The word *ʕ*, also meaning "one who is great," occurs in epithets expressing strength and authority, such as "one great of respect" (*ʕ šfyt*) and "one great of power" (*ʕ hps*). Other epithets express individual authority by stating that the official has acted to oppress enemies or wrongdoing, hence defending *ma'at* against the forces of chaos. Djefaihapi I of Assiut, for example, claims to be "one who represses" (*dr*) pride (*bhbh*), presumption (*kḥ-sḥ*), and greed (*wn-ib*).¹⁴ Beginning in the period prior to the reunification and continuing into early Dynasty 12, a small group of officials from the Hare Nome included the royal epithet *nh wdḥ snb* after their names, a practice paralleled twice at Wadi el Hudi during the reign of Senwosret I.¹⁵

Self-descriptions referring to the personal prowess of the official reached the height of their popularity during the period preceding

¹² For a fuller listing of epithets introduced by *wr*, see Appendix 2. For *wr* as a royal epithet, with a summary of the arguments for and against the rendering "greatest," see Baines, "Greatest god," 13-29.

¹³ See discussion in Chapter 4, 159 ff.

¹⁴ Assiut 1, 229-231.

¹⁵ See Appendix 2.

and immediately following the reunification of Egypt by Nebhepetre Mentuhotep in Dynasty 11. In the Middle Kingdom, epithets of this type were most popular in the monumental rock-cut tombs of the provinces, where the tomb owner is portrayed as the master of his township and its hinterland. Within the tomb, these epithets tend to be located in the most public areas, such as the facades, where literate visitors could most readily be reminded of the power of the deceased. Such epithets are also likely to be found in expedition inscriptions, particularly those from the Wadi Hammamat and Hatnub, where expedition leaders show a notable tendency to assume royal attributes and to state their authority more overtly than was typical in Egypt itself.¹⁶

2.2. Prosperity

The accumulation of wealth, in addition to being desirable in itself, would have served to enhance the prestige of an official among his peers and, in the case of local leaders, to stabilize his authority in his region. Self-descriptive epithets referring to personal wealth became particularly prominent during the period following the collapse of the Old Kingdom, a time in which the emphasis on prosperity may have been a response to actual shortages. The biography of Khety I from Assiut, for example, combines typical epithets characterizing wealth with a narrative account describing Khety's aid to his townspeople in a time of need.¹⁷ Officials of early Dynasty 11, such as Merer of Edfu, Iti of Mo'alla, Qedes of Gebelein and Tjetji of Thebes, stressed their acquisition of property such as livestock, noting their preparedness for times of famine.¹⁸ In the early Middle Kingdom, prosperity continues to be lauded in biographical narratives, as well as in literary texts, but epithets relating to wealth are never especially common and are concentrated in a small number of inscriptions from Dynasty 11 and early Dynasty 12.

Several references to wealth are found in epithets from tombs in Middle Egypt. Since local officials were expected to be able to provide for the people of their district in times of need and to collect

¹⁶ For the unusual characteristics of epithets found in border areas, see Blumenthal, "Textgattung Expeditionsbericht," 88-91; Eyre, "Semna stelae," 143; Posener, *Littérature et politique*, 131-4.

¹⁷ Montet, "Tombeaux II," 107-111; Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 27-29.

¹⁸ Lichtheim, *Literature*, 87-93.

provisions to be presented to the central administration as taxes, the tomb context is appropriate for such epithets.¹⁹ In the tomb of Djefaihapi I of Assiut, as in the tombs of his Heracleopolitan predecessors, the epithets referring to wealth lead directly to those involving provision for the city in times of shortage.²⁰ On a symbolic level, both depictions of produce and epithets referring to prosperity were intended to perpetuate ritually the owner's wealth in the after-life. In some tombs, references to wealth relate directly to the accompanying scenes, as in the tombs of Khnumhotep II (tomb 3) at Beni Hasan and Djehutynakht VI (tomb 1) at Bersheh, where the epithets "great of fish," "great of wildfowl" and "great of fishing and fowling" appear alongside scenes of fishing and fowling in the marshes.²¹ In other tombs, epithets relating to wealth may occur separately, in locations such as architraves or doorways which typically present epithets relating to the personal authority of the deceased.

Although votive stelae do not typically place a strong emphasis on prosperity, the Abydene stela of the 12th Dynasty steward (*imy-r pr*) and overseer of the double granary (*imy-r šnwty*) Mentuweser (MMA 12.184)²² is a notable exception, stressing wealth more strongly than any other Middle Kingdom stela. The focus on wealth in this text might relate to Mentuweser's association with the economic administration, and his self-description presents a litany of personal riches. Mentuweser was an overseer of cattle (*imy-r ihw*), and among his epithets are unique phrases that evidently imitate titles, such as "overseer of donkeys" (*imy-r ʿw*), "overseer of goats" (*imy-r wt*), "overseer of pigs" (*imy-r sʿw*), "overseer of sheep" (*imy-r srw*), and "overseer of people in excess of thousands" (*imy-r rmt m-hʿw hʿw*).²³ He also claims to be "beautiful in (his) riches,"

¹⁹ In biographical narratives, the prompt payment of taxes sometimes appears alongside the provision for the people of the nome. See, for example, Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 138-9.

²⁰ Assiut 1, 227.

²¹ Beni Hasan I, pl. 34; Bersheh II, pl. 7.

²² Ransom-Williams, *Menthu-Weser*; Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 104-105.

²³ Ward, *Index*, nos. 58, 60, 372, and 385, lists the first four of these phrases as titles. Fischer, *Titles*, no. 236a, says of the last, "This item might be regarded as an epithet, but if so, then nos. 58 (overseer of donkeys), 345 (overseer of sheep), and 372 (overseer of pigs), following this one, must likewise be rejected." Following the criteria established by Quirke, "Horn, Feather and Scale," 669-676, I have considered them epithets.

"beautiful in (his) boats," "great in barley," "great in vineyards," "rich in clothing," "possessor of many bulls and goats," and "possessor of many donkeys and sheep." It is clear from the context of these epithets within the self-presentation, however, that they do not serve simply to advertise Mentuweser's extravagant wealth. The remainder of his biography stresses his generosity and his provision for the needy, sometimes mirroring the words of the didactic literature. He also describes his delivery of textiles to the palace and the king's resulting good will; in fact, the stela itself is said to be a royal gift. Thus, Mentuweser's self-presentation provides not only a demonstration of his own authority, but a justification for his accumulation of wealth and a demonstration of its benefit to the king (who receives his delivery to the treasury), to his peers (who enjoy his generous feasts), and to his subordinates (whom he supports in times of need).

Non-royal epithets relating to prosperity are similar in form to a large category of epithets describing royal and divine attributes, consisting of an adjective or noun expressing superiority or beauty, followed by the commodity with which the individual is said to be well endowed. The most common of these is *wr*, "great." The phrase *wr dfw*, "great of provisions,"²⁴ is particularly common in tombs, accounting for the majority of prosperity-related epithets from tombs. Considering the context, it is likely that the reference in this case is not only to general wealth, but rather specifically to funerary offerings. In a small number of cases, as on the Abydene stela of Inyotef son of Senet (BM 581) and Inyotef son of Tjaw (Leiden V6), the noun *nb*, "possessor," replaces *wr* in this epithet. *Nb* also introduces a number of unique and individualized epithets relating to prosperity, as on the stela of Mentuweser (MMA 12.184) just described. Other adjectives used to introduce epithets emphasizing wealth include "good" or "beautiful" (*nfr*) and "abundant" (*šš*), both of which are followed by the term for a commodity, such as "monuments" (*mnw*), "ships" (*h'ww*), or "clothing" (*hbsw*). Specific attributes of the commodity itself might also be described, with

²⁴ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 322; *Wb.* V, 571.

phrases such as *kꜣi nhwt*, "tall of trees,"²⁵ and *wꜣd skꜣw*, "fresh of crops."²⁶

In exceptional cases, wealth was expressed metaphorically by associating the inscription owner with a deity personifying a commodity. In his stela from Thebes (UC 14333), for example, the 11th Dynasty prince and local ruler (*iry-pꜣt ḥꜣty-ꜣ*) Mentuhotep expressed his prosperity while also relating himself to deities associated with the afterlife.²⁷ The inscription calls him *sꜣ Npri, ḥi n Tꜣyt, ḥpr.n n.f Shꜣt-Hr mmmnt*, "the son of Nepri, the husband of Tayet, the one for whom Sekhat-Hor created cattle." As on the stela of Mentuweser, these epithets immediately following the description of Mentuhotep's wealth focus on his generosity and his provision for the poor, indicating yet again that an official's wealth could be intimately related to his ability to provide for his constituents. Nepri, the harvest, was associated with Osiris, while Tayet, a goddess of linen and weaving, was associated with Isis. The direct association of a non-royal official with a deity is rare, although parallels exist in the tomb of Djefaihapi I at Assiut, who is called the son of Wepwawet, and the inscriptions of Nehri I (gr. 20), Kay (gr. 24) and Djehutynakht V (gr. 23) from Hatnub, who are called sons of Thoth.²⁸

2.3. *Building and the Restoration of Monuments*

Although ultimate responsibility for all building projects rested with the king, the construction and maintenance of tombs and other monuments within the township and its adjacent necropolis actually fell to local officials. In particular, the construction of a tomb was evidently considered a sign of prestige as well as piety for the local ruler.²⁹ In describing himself as a prolific builder and provider for his district, a local official was likening himself to the king. Biographical narratives from the Old Kingdom onwards regularly include descriptions of the construction of the monument on which

²⁵ Florence 1774. See Fischer "Shꜣ-sn," pl. 7a.

²⁶ Leiden V6. ANOC 23.2.

²⁷ Stewart, *Petrie Collection*, no. 86, pl. 18; Griffith, "Mentuhotep," 195 ff., Goedicke, "Wisdom Text," 25-35.

²⁸ See Goedicke, "Wisdom Text," 30 for a discussion of non-royal individuals who are called "son of" a deity, including these examples. For the phrase "Son of Thoth" at el Bershseh, see Brovanski, "Ahanakht," 18-21.

²⁹ See Lloyd, "Khnumhotpe II," 28-29.

the text is inscribed, as well as to the building or restoration of other monuments. The biography of Khnumhotep II in tomb 3 at Beni Hasan, for example, begins with an account of the dedication of the tomb itself, and later describes the restoration of the mortuary chapels of Khnumhotep's ancestors and the addition of statues to the local temple.³⁰ Local Abydene priests, such as Wepwawetaa (Leiden V 4), and Amenyseneb (Louvre C 11 and C 12), as well as officials who visited Abydos, such as Senti the Younger (BM 574) and Ikhnofret (Berlin 1204), had accounts of their building activities inscribed on their stelae.

Epithets very rarely refer to building activities, in part because the topic was routinely treated in the career narrative. Examples may be found in the tomb of Djefaihapi I (tomb 1) at Assiut,³¹ the stela of Mentuweser (Florence 1774) from Thebes,³² and the tomb of Khnumhotep II (Tomb 3) at Beni Hasan.³³ It is perhaps noteworthy that all of these references are from funerary contexts in cemeteries adjacent to the site at which the monument owner apparently lived.

With some exceptions, these epithets refer to *mnw*, "monuments," in rather general ways. Djefaihapi I of Assiut is said to be "enduring of monuments" (*rwꜥ mnw*).³⁴ The Abydene stela of Mentuweser calls him "beautiful of monuments" (*nfr mnw*), while Khnumhotep II of Beni Hasan is said to be "noble of monuments" (*s'ḥ mnw*). These formulae, like others involving the authority and prestige of the monument owner, parallel royal epithets, as when Mentuhotep IV is called "enduring of monuments" in the Hammamat inscription of the Vizier Amenemhat.³⁵ Among the more specific self-descriptive phrases involving the restoration of monuments is an epithet from the tomb of Djefaihapi I at Assiut, who is called *smꜣw iswt*, "one who restores ancient things." The concentration of these epithets within the texts of very highly ranked men of the early Middle Kingdom attests to limited accessibility of these phrases and their emphasis on local provincial authority.

³⁰ *Beni Hasan I*, pls. 24-25; Lloyd, "Khnumhotep II," 21-24.

³¹ Griffith, *Siut and Der Rifeh*, pl. 5.

³² Fischer, "Shꜣ-sn," pl. 7a.

³³ *Beni Hasan I*, pls. 24-25.

³⁴ See references in Appendix 2.

³⁵ Hammamat 192; Lichtheim, *Literature*, 114.

TABLE 1: Epithets Referring to Building Activities

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Inscription</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>ir mnw m niwt.tn</i>	One who built monuments in this township	Assiut 2	Dyn. 12 (?)
<i>ir mnw n nhh m hwt-ntr Hnmw</i>	Who built the monuments of eternity in the temple of Khnum	BH 17	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>ʕ m pr.f</i>	Great in his house	Leiden V4	Sen. I
<i>ʕ mnw n hwt-ntr</i>	Great in monuments for the temple	Assiut 5	Dyn. 10
<i>nb šps n is pn</i>	Noble owner of this tomb chamber	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>nfr mnw</i>	Beautiful of monuments	Florence 1774	Sen. I-Am. II
<i>rwd mnw</i>	Enduring of monuments	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>ḳʕi is wsh rwdw hnty pr-nfr</i>	High of tomb, wide of steps, foremost of the embalming place	Assiut 5	Dyn. 10
<i>ḳd pr wsh m niwt.f</i>	One who built a broad house in his township	Florence 1774	Sen. I-Am. II

3. Justice

3.1. Judgement and Justice

In biographical texts from the Old Kingdom onward, officials claim to have judged fairly and to the satisfaction of all disputants.³⁶ Such claims continued in the Middle Kingdom, appearing both as epithets and within verbal career narratives. The fair and accurate dispensation of justice is inextricably connected to the broader concept of *ma'at*, or world order, in which true and correct judgment comes ultimately from the gods and is in turn delivered via the king to the official and thence to the rest of the population.³⁷ The maintenance of *ma'at* is typically portrayed as a divine responsibility, which also falls to the king as an intermediary between the gods and the rest of

³⁶ For examples, see Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 53-54 (*wpl*), 58 (*wḳ'*).

³⁷ For the concept of *ma'at*, see Assmann, *Ma'at*; Lichtheim, *Maat*.

humanity.³⁸ J. Assmann argues that royal judgment was linked to the creation of *ma'at*, citing the Sun Hymns, which juxtapose the act of royal judgment with the creation of *ma'at*.³⁹ Epithets relating to judgment, therefore, liken the official indirectly to the king and through him to the gods, demonstrating both his authority to judge others and his benevolence in doing so fairly. The most common self-descriptive phrases relating to judgment involve the verbs *wpi* and *wdf*. As Assmann notes, these phrases show the official distinguishing between right and wrong in a variety of situations in which his role parallels the cosmic role of the sun god in maintaining *ma'at*.⁴⁰ Thus, the social and cosmological aspects of *ma'at* converge in these situations.

The actual settling of disputes fell upon specific administrators on both the national and local level, depending upon the nature of the dispute. References to officials acting as judges occur not only in biographies, but in Middle Kingdom literary works, most notably the *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*.⁴¹ Certain offices appear to have been most closely involved in judicial matters, a responsibility reflected in the epithets of the office-holders. The official most often associated with passing judgment, at least by the early New Kingdom, was the vizier. The New Kingdom *Duties of the Vizier* contain very specific regulations governing the proper administration of justice under the authority of the vizier.⁴² Thus, it is not surprising to find that epithets referring to fair judgment often appear in texts commissioned by viziers, the best example being the stela of the vizier Mentuhotep (CG 20539) from Abydos.⁴³ Such epithets also occur in inscriptions belonging to stewards (*imy-r pr*) and high stewards (*imy-r pr wr*), the latter being the office occupied by Rensi, the judge in the *Tale of the*

³⁸ Assmann, *König als Sonnenpriester*, 58-65.

³⁹ Assmann, *König als Sonnenpriester*, 22; Baines, "Practical Religion," 81, notes that judging also has a repressive aspect, and that the king is also portrayed as potentially aggressive.

⁴⁰ Assmann, *Ma'at*, 196-199.

⁴¹ Lines B1, 30-80.

⁴² van den Boorn, *Duties*, 79-86.

⁴³ Lichtheim, *Maat*, 35, says "The large stela of the vizier Mentuhotep shows clearly that it was the judicial function that called forth the most emphatic statements of *Maat* doing."

Eloquent Peasant.⁴⁴ On a local level, it is likely that the leading official of the district, whether a *hry-tp* ³ or a *iry-p^t h³ty-^c*, had judicial duties, as suggested by epithets relating to judgment in tombs of provincial leaders from Assiut (tomb 1) and Beni Hasan (tombs 2 and 3). Middle Kingdom epithets referring to justice continue through the reign of Amenemhat III, a more widespread chronological distribution than is common for most types of epithets referring to personal attributes or official responsibilities.

The term most frequently used in Middle Kingdom epithets to refer to the act of judging is *w^d*.⁴⁵ Officials are said to "judge without being partial" (*w^d nn rdit hr gs*), and to satisfy the disputants identified as *snwy*, "peers" or "fellows," a designation that continues from the biographies of the Old Kingdom. The ability to pass impartial judgment satisfactory to all disputants recalls the role of Thoth as the archetypal fair judge, who is described in the Coffin Texts as satisfying both Horus and Seth.

TABLE 2: Epithets Referring to Judgment

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>...Dhwty m w^d ht</i>	...Thoth in judging a matter	Bersheh 5	Dyn 11 (?)
<i>wpi hnr</i>	Who judges a prisoner	Hamm 114	Men. III
<i>wpi snwy n nm^c.f</i>	Who judges two peers impartially	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>w^d nn rdit hr-gs</i>	Who judges without being partial	Hamm 113 Hamm 114	Men. IV Men. III
<i>w^d snwy</i>	Who judges two peers	Hatnub 14	Dyn 11
<i>w^d sp³wt</i>	Who judges the districts	Bersheh 5	Dyn 11 (?)
<i>nb sh</i>	Lord of the hall (of judgment)	Assiut 1	Sen. I

⁴⁴ Inyotef (Louvre C 677), Mentuwerer (MMA 12.184), and Khuy (Hammamat 47) held the title *imy-r pr*, and Henu (Hammamat 113) held the title *imy-r pr wr*. For high stewards of early Dynasty 12, see F. Arnold, "High Stewards," 7-14.

⁴⁵ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 75; van den Boorn, "*W^d-ryt*," 14-15. For examples, including both epithets and narrative uses, see Janssen, *Autobiografie*, 58.

<i>rdl pr.snwy htp m wpt nt knbt</i>	Who caused that two peers go forth pleased with the judgment of the <i>qenbet</i>	Hatnub 14 Hatnub 20	Dyn 11 Dyn 11
<i>hr-ib hrw n wpt</i>	Content on the day of judgment	BH 2	Sen. I-Am. II
<i>hmww m wpi ht</i>	Expert in judging a matter	Hatnub 2	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>hry-tp n wd^c mdw</i>	Chief in judging words	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>sb³w m wd^c s snwy</i>	Wise in judging between two men	BM 572	Sen. I
<i>sdm (m) m^cb³yt</i>	Judge in the law court ⁴⁶	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>sdm mdw m w^cw</i>	Who hears words in private	Bersheh 8	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>sš n Dhwtj hr ns.f</i>	Upon whose tongue is the writing of Thoth	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>dd pr.snwy htp m prw nw r.f</i>	One who causes two peers to come forth pleased with his utterance	CG 20539 JEA 51, pl. 14	Sen. I Am. III

Less common references to fair judgment also occur. On his stela from Abydos (BM 572), the chamberlain (*imy-r hnwty*) Inyotef son of Senet is called *sb³w m wd^c snwy*, "a teacher in judging between two peers."⁴⁷ Certain epithets referring to skillful or careful speech, such as *ikr st-ns*, "excellent of speech," probably refer in at least some cases to the delivery of just verdicts as well.⁴⁸

Epithets also refer directly to *ma'at*, both in reference to legal proceedings and in the more general sense of truth, justice, and rightness in action or speech.⁴⁹ The nomarch Amenemhat of Beni Hasan (tomb 2), for example, expresses his adherence to *ma'at* in passing judgment when he claims to be *dd m³t wpi.f snwy*, "one who speaks the truth when he judges between two peers."⁵⁰ In stating that he speaks *ma'at*, an official not only expresses that he is a fair judge, but metaphorically likens himself to Thoth, who announces the ver-

⁴⁶ "Hall of the Thirty." See discussion in Simpson, "Mentuhotep," 333.

⁴⁷ ANOC 5.1. For the term *sb³w*, see Shupak, *Wisdom*, 31-32, 47.

⁴⁸ Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 18.

⁴⁹ See Assmann, *Ma'at*, esp. 200-212; Lichtheim, *Maat*, 28, 31, 33-37.

⁵⁰ *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 9.

dict of divine judgment.⁵¹ The chamberlain Inyotef son of Senet refers to himself on two of his stelae from Abydos (BM 562 and BM 581) as *sdmw sdm m³t*, "a judge who hears the truth."⁵²

TABLE 3: *M³c* and *M³t* in Epithets

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>wḥ M³t m S³wt</i>	Who anoints <i>Ma'at</i> in Assiut	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>mḥ-ib n M³t m rḥ p³t m sidt ibw n sbiw(?) nb</i>	Favorite of <i>Ma'at</i> in restraining the people and in enfeebling the hearts of all rebels	<i>BIFA O Supp.</i> 81, 35	Dyn. 13
<i>nb m³t iwty isft</i>	Possessor of <i>ma'at</i> , without wrongdoing	Hatnub 20	Dyn 11 (?)
<i>rdl grg (n) dd sw m³t (n) li hr.s</i>	Who gave the lie to the one telling it and the truth to the one coming with it	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>s³r m³t r ³h</i>	Who raises up <i>ma'at</i> to the palace	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>sdm r wn m³c</i>	Who listens to what is true	MMA 12.184	Sen. I
<i>sdmw sdm m³t</i>	Who listens so that I hear the truth	BM 581	Sen. I
<i>dd m³t</i>	Who speaks the truth	Hatnub 22 Louvre C167	Dyn 11 (?) Sen. I
<i>dd m³t wpi.f snwy</i>	Who speaks the truth when he judges between two peers	BH 2	Sen. I-Am. II
<i>dd mdt m³t</i>	Who speaks true words	BH 2	Sen. I-Am. II
<i>dd mdt r wn m³c</i>	Who speaks words rightly	MMA 57.95	Men. II

3.2. Precision and Accuracy

Precision and accuracy were intimately connected to the concept of justice. The adjective most often used to describe accuracy is *nty* or

⁵¹ Cf. the common epithet *m³c-hrw*, discussed in the following chapter.

⁵² See discussion in Lichtheim, *Maat*, 35.

mtr, synonymous terms meaning "straightforward," "precise," "correct," or "exact."⁵³ The association of precision with justice is particularly clear in the simile *mtr m³c mi Dḥwty*, "one who is truly precise, like Thoth," which likens the official to the god embodying divine justice and accuracy. N. Shupak points out that during the Middle Kingdom and later, the meaning of *mtr/mty* shifted from straightforwardness in a general sense to the limited context of legal testimony.⁵⁴ As an epithet, the term *mtr* occurs throughout Dynasty 12.⁵⁵

TABLE 4: Epithets Expressing Accuracy

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>ḳ³ mi iwsw</i>	Precise like a balance	BM 581	Sen. I
<i>ḳ³ r th</i>	Precise more than the plummet of a balance	CG 20538 CG 20539	Am. III Sen. I
<i>mtr-ib</i>	Precise of heart	Hamm. 47	Sen. III
<i>mtr m šdt</i>	Precise in reading	Beni Hasan 3	Am. II- Sen. II
<i>mtr m³c mi Dḥwty</i>	Truly precise, like Thoth	BM 581 CG 20538 CG 20539 Durham N1935	Sen. I Am. III Sen. I Sen. II
<i>mtr m³c r rmt</i>	Truly precise toward people	Leiden V4	Sen. I
<i>mtr-ḥ³ty</i>	Precise of heart	Hamm. 48	Am. III
<i>mtr-ḥ³tyw</i>	Precise of thoughts	Hamm. 149	Am. III
<i>mtr</i>	Precise	Bersheh 5	Dyn. 11 (?)

Similar in meaning to *mtr* is the adjective *ḳ³*, "straightforward," "precise," or "just."⁵⁶ In many examples, the official is likened to a

⁵³ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 120; Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 38; Meeks, *Ann. lex.* II, 177; *Wb.* II, 173. Lichtheim, "Didactic literature," 245 renders it "moderate," classifying it under the heading "temperance."

⁵⁴ Shupak, *Wisdom*, 34-36.

⁵⁵ The earliest example provided by Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 23, dates to Dynasty 11. The latest MK example dates to the reign of Amenemhat III.

⁵⁶ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 50; Meeks, *Ann. lex.* I, 74, *Ann. lex.* II, 80, *Ann. lex.* III, 56; *Wb.* I, 233.

balance, a metaphor that also appears in the *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*.⁵⁷ For example, the Abydene stela of Inyotef son of Senet (BM 581)⁵⁸ calls him *kꜣ mi iwsu*, "precise like a balance," and the stela of Sehetepibra (CG 20538), also from Abydos, claims that he is *kꜣ r th*, "more precise than the plummet of a balance." References to the balance allude not only to impartiality in a general sense, but also more specifically to the scales used in weighing the heart of the deceased. Therefore, like epithets comparing the individual to the god Thoth, the image of the scales evokes the concept of divine judgment.

4. Skills for Success

4.1. Efficiency

The word *mnḥ*, meaning "effective," or "efficient,"⁵⁹ is used in epithets both describing the inscription owner in a general way and modifying specific attributes. A. B. Lloyd defines it as follows: "*Mnḥ* and its cognates convey the idea of 'efficiency' in the sense that a person or thing to which it is applied is stated to be playing the role appointed for him or it in the divine counsel (*Mꜣꜥt*)."⁶⁰ In addition to describing living people, *mnḥ* could refer to both inanimate objects and the efficient *akhs* of the dead.⁶¹

Most epithets introduced by *mnḥ* can be classified in one of four categories: (1) *mnḥ* or *mnḥ mꜣꜥ* used alone to describe the inscription owner himself, (2) a noun modified by *mnḥ*, referring to the individual or his office, such as "efficient individual" (*wꜥ mnḥ*), "efficient man" (*s mnḥ*) "efficient official" (*sr mnḥ*), and "efficient noble" (*sḥ mnḥ*); (3) epithets describing attributes of the official, such as "efficient of action" (*mnḥ sšrw*), "efficient of heart" (*mnḥ ib*), "one whose knowledge is efficient" (*mnḥ rh.f*), and "one whose counsel is efficient" (*mnḥ shr.f*); and (4) more complex clauses in which the official's success is attributed to his efficiency.⁶² Djefaihapi I of

⁵⁷ Lines B1, 90-96.

⁵⁸ ANOC 5.2.

⁵⁹ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 109; Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 35; Meeks, *Ann. lex.* 3 (1979), 121, *Wb.* II, 84-86.

⁶⁰ Lloyd, "Hammamat Inscription 191," 57, n. 18.

⁶¹ Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 36.

⁶² Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 35-38.

Assiut (tomb 1), for example, says that he is *mnḥ sšm m-ḥt ḥšb.f*, "efficient of action when he is sent,"⁶³ while both Wepwawetia (Leiden V4) and Inyotef son of Senet (BM 572) claim on their Abydene stelae to be *ḥšb n mnḥ.f*, "one who is sent because he is efficient."⁶⁴ Two stelae dedicated at Abydos during the reign of Senwosret III, in honor of Sobekwenu (BM 1213) and Inyotefiqerankhu (BM 563),⁶⁵ include the phrase *in nswt rḥ mnḥ šḥr.f*, "one whom the king brought, knowing that his plan was efficient,"⁶⁶ possibly referring to the king's activities at the site of Abydos, where he dedicated a mortuary temple and built a monumental subterranean tomb.⁶⁷ More will be said about the expression *mnḥ šḥr.f* below. Other epithets indicate the location in which an official shows his efficiency, usually referring to the palace.⁶⁸

TABLE 5: *Mnḥ* in Epithets

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>mnḥ</i>	Efficient	BM 572 Meir C1 Saqqara 11Sq	Sen. I Sen. II-III Am. I
<i>mnḥ-ib</i>	Trustworthy	Assiut 1 BM 100 CG 20539 Assiut 2	Sen. I Sen. III Sen. I Dyn. 12 (?)
<i>mnḥ m pr nb.f</i>	Efficient in his lord's house	Heqaib 1	Sen. I
<i>mnḥ m st ḥ</i>	Efficient in the place of the palace	CG 20538	Am. III
<i>mnḥ mšc</i>	Truly efficient	Louvre C167	Sen. I

⁶³ Griffith, *Siut and Der Rifeh*, pl. 3.

⁶⁴ ANOC 13.2 and 5.1.

⁶⁵ *HT* III, pls. 29 and 31.

⁶⁶ This epithet may also be understood as two separate epithets, "one whom the king brought" and "one who knew that his plan was efficient." An alternate reading, assuming honorific transposition, is "one who reached the rank of royal acquaintance because his plan was efficient."

⁶⁷ For a discussion with references, see Wegner, "Senwosret III."

⁶⁸ See, for example, the chapel of Sarenput I at Elephantine, Habachi, *Elephantine IV*, pl. 9 (*mnḥ m pr nb.f*); the Abydene stela of Sehetepibra, CG 20538 (*mnḥ m st ḥ*).

<i>mnḥ nḡwt-r</i>	Efficient of counsel	CG 20538	Am. III
<i>mnḥ rḥ.f</i>	Whose knowledge is efficient	Hamm. 108	Am. III
<i>mnḥ šḥr.f</i>	Whose plan is efficient	Hamm. 42 Hamm. 43	Am. III Am. III
<i>mnḥ sšm m-ḥt hḥb.f</i>	Efficient of conduct when he is sent	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>mnḥ sšrw</i>	Efficient of action	Louvre C 167	Sen. I
<i>mnḥ tsw</i>	Efficient of speech	Hamm. 48 W. el Hudi 16	Am. III Sen. III
<i>mnḥ ḡd ḥḥp ḥr sšm ḥ</i>	Efficient of the secret speech in guiding the palace	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>s mnḥ</i>	Efficient man	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>s ḥ mnḥ</i>	Efficient noble	Assiut 1 W. el Hudi 149	Sen. I Am. III
<i>sr mnḥ</i>	Effective official	Berlin 1199	Sen. I
<i>šḥnt.n.mnḥ.f st.f</i>	Whose efficiency advanced his position	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>šḥnty ḥr mnḥ.šḥr.f</i>	Who was advanced because his plan was efficient	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>ḡd r.f mnḥ.šḥr.f</i>	Of whom it is said, "His plan is efficient"	Sinai 405	Am. III

4.2. Knowledge

Knowledge, incorporating aspects of intelligence, foresight and planning, is strongly emphasized in Middle Kingdom biographies, as well as in literary texts. Knowledge is most often expressed by a participial form of the verb *rḥ*, "know" or "recognize."⁶⁹ Although N. Shupak asserts that the participle *rḥ* was used adjectivally to mean "wise" by the Middle Kingdom, M. Lichtheim has observed that *rḥ* should more correctly be understood to mean "knowledge" in the general sense of learning, understanding, competence and skill.⁷⁰ In this sense, it relates closely to terms referring to efficiency: it is the

⁶⁹ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 151; *Wb.* II, 442; Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 73-77; II, 108-111; Shupak, *Wisdom*, 217-222. For examples of epithets introduced by *rḥ*, see Appendix 2.

⁷⁰ Shupak, *Wisdom*, 219-220; Lichtheim, *Moral Values*, 3-4.

official's knowledge that enables him to act effectively. "Knowledge" in Egyptian epithets, as in didactic literature, can refer to skill in speaking, reading, and writing, as well as knowledge of correct behavior and knowledge of the future.⁷¹ In Late Period Wisdom Literature, it comes to refer to wisdom and piety as well. Because knowledge is among the attributes stressed in descriptions of the king, epithets referring to knowledge also serve to liken the official indirectly to the king.⁷² Phrases in which the subject is said to be "one who knows" (*rh*) appear for the first time in Dynasty 11, and occur throughout the Middle Kingdom and in all types of inscriptions, although they are more frequent as epithets on stelae than in tombs or expedition inscriptions.⁷³ As is typical of many epithets referring to the personal attributes of the elite, epithets referring to knowledge become prominent prior to the reunification in Dynasty 11, continuing into the early Middle Kingdom, and decreasing in popularity during the second half of Dynasty 12.

In some cases, knowledge as expressed in epithets refers not strictly to intelligence or skill, but to an understanding of one's proper social status and role in maintaining *ma'at*. Knowledge of one's place in the social order is expressed most often by the phrase "one who knows his standing" (*rh st-rd.f*),⁷⁴ which occurs in a wide variety of texts throughout the Middle Kingdom. In most cases, this epithet is modified by the phrase *m pr nswt*, "in the administrative palace," asserting specifically knowledge of one's proper administrative position, and one's role in doing *ma'at* for the king.⁷⁵ A Dynasty 11 precedent refers to fellow officials, rather than the palace, with the phrase *rh st-rd.f m-m srw*, "one who knows his standing among the officials."

In the context of administration, knowledge was considered crucial to interaction with colleagues and the performance of official duties, as the didactic literature demonstrates.⁷⁶ An intelligent man

⁷¹ Shupak, *Wisdom*, 218.

⁷² Shupak, *Wisdom*, 219.

⁷³ Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 73-77; II, 108-9.

⁷⁴ Literally "one who knows the place of his foot."

⁷⁵ Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 108; Lichtheim, *Maat*, 35.

⁷⁶ For example, instruction 24 of the *Instructions of Ptahhotep*. P. Prisse, 362-370.

could be described simply as *rh ht*, "one who knows things."⁷⁷ Knowledge of legal and administrative affairs is expressed by epithets such as "one who knows the laws" (*rh hpw*), which appears in the stela of Khnumhotep from Wadi Gasus and the Hammamat inscription of Wer,⁷⁸ both dating to the reign of Senwosret II. The term *hp*, here translated simply "law," has been defined by van den Boorn as "a specific manifestation of the 'King's law'."⁷⁹

Instructional literature advises officials against speaking or acting before they have gained a complete understanding of the situation or the proper response to it. "Autobiographies" of the early Middle Kingdom parallel these concerns. Officials claim to understand the correct course of action with epithets such as *rh shr m-h³w srw*, "one who knows the plan in excess of the officials,"⁸⁰ and *rh shr m sh n srw*, "one who knows the plan in the council of officials."⁸¹ Effective communication with colleagues also relied upon knowing the effects of one's actions and speech. Self-descriptions express this attribute with phrases like "one who knows the outcome of his words" (*rh prw n mdw.f*), from the tomb of Amenemhat (tomb 2) at Beni Hasan,⁸² and "one who knows the phrase on account of which one becomes angry" (*rh ts n knd.t(w) hr.s*), from the Abydene stela of Inyotef, son of Senet (BM 581).⁸³

Knowledge is also stressed in epithets referring to the official as a *s³³*, "wise man," a term that seems to refer to innate intelligence as well as to knowledge that can be acquired.⁸⁴ This is indicated by statements that the official came from the womb as a *s³³*. *Si³*, which is not common in Middle Kingdom epithets, usually refers to the sort of wisdom possessed by the gods and by the king as a representative

⁷⁷ Lichtheim, *Moral Vales*, 4 notes that while others have rendered this term as "wise man," she follows Assmann in preferring simply "one who knows things."

⁷⁸ Durham-Alnwick N 1935 and Hammamat 104, respectively. See Sayed, "12th Dynasty Port," pl. 8b; *Hammamat*, pl. 26.

⁷⁹ van den Boom, *Duties*, 167.

⁸⁰ From the inscription of Henu, Hammamat 114.

⁸¹ From the tomb biography of Amenemhat in Beni Hasan tomb 2; *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 15.

⁸² *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 7.

⁸³ ANOC 5.2.

⁸⁴ For *s³³* in epithets, see Appendix 2; For the meaning of *s³³*, see Shupak, *Wisdom*, 222-224, with references.

of the creator god.⁸⁵ In epithets, it can also refer to perception, as when Djefaihapi I of Assiut is called *si³ imyt-ib*, "one who perceives what is in the heart," and Amenweser, on his stela from Abydos, is said to be *si³ s r tpt-r.f.*, "one who perceives a man according to his speech."⁸⁶ *Šs³* refers to skill or expertise in a general sense or in the more specific confines of a particular profession. N. Shupak finds its origins within the scribal schools.⁸⁷ It occurs very rarely in epithets of the Middle Kingdom, and with a general meaning. Much more frequent are epithets introduced by the adjective *hmww*, "skilled," or forms of the adjective verb *hmw*, "to be skilled."⁸⁸ The most common of these epithets is *hmww n wnw.t.f.*, "expert in his trade/profession," but *hmww* also occurs in phrases more directly linked to the role of the official.⁸⁹

Foresight, although never a common focus of the Middle Kingdom self-description, was regarded as an indication of intelligence and ability particularly related to strategic planning, and is noted in a small number of early Middle Kingdom epithets. *Gmḥ hnty* and *m³³ hnty*, both meaning "one who sees ahead,"⁹⁰ occur primarily in expedition inscriptions, the former from Wadi Hammamat and the latter from Wadi el Hudi. The choice of such epithets by expedition leaders may reflect the actual benefit of foresight in carrying out business in remote regions, or the knowledge of the routes of travel which would have been unfamiliar to most people. Similar attributes are allotted to the ill-fated crew of seamen in the "Shipwrecked Sailor," who are said to be able to foresee a storm before it occurs, although the sailors do not seem to have benefited from the knowledge in this particular instance.⁹¹

Abydene stelae claim similar attributes not in the context of anticipating danger from natural forces, but rather in regard to diplomatic negotiation with fellow officials, as when Inyotef son of Senet claims to be "one who anticipates what is coming" (*hmt lit*).⁹²

⁸⁵ For *si³* in epithets, see Appendix 2; For the meaning of *si³*, see Shupak, *Wisdom*, 225-226, with references.

⁸⁶ Assiut 1, 182; Simpson, "Amun-wosre," pl. 14.

⁸⁷ Shupak, *Wisdom*, 226.

⁸⁸ I. III, 82-86; Shupak, *Wisdom*, 227-229.

⁸⁹ For epithets introduced by these terms, see Appendix 2.

⁹⁰ *Wb.* V, 170; Meeks, *Ann. lex.* 1, 405.

⁹¹ P. Leningrad 1115, 30-33.

⁹² ANOC 5.2.

The complete text reads, "I am calm, free from impatience, one who knows the outcome, who anticipates what is coming. I am one who speaks in situations of strife, who knows the phrase on account of which one becomes angry," suggesting that in Inyotef's case, the ability to anticipate what is coming refers specifically to the outcome of his actions and speech, stressing his skill in governmental negotiation.

Throughout most of Dynasty 12, expressions of administrative skill, like *rh shr*, often incorporated understanding of the *shr*, "plan," "counsel," "opinion," or "advice."⁹³ N. Shupak distinguishes three contexts in which the *shr* is mentioned in Egyptian literature: education, the king's court, and the religious sphere.⁹⁴ In the case of epithets, the context seems almost without exception to be the that of the court. *lkr shr*, "one who is excellent/worthy of plan"⁹⁵ and its variant *lkr shr.f*, "one whose plan is excellent/worthy," were common in the early Middle Kingdom, after which they were largely supplanted by *mnh shr.f*, "one whose plan is effective."⁹⁶ Some of these epithets stress skillful planning specifically in the context of interaction with the king and fellow officials, the latter being indicated by the general term *srw*.⁹⁷ The early Dynasty 12 general (*imy-r ms*) Nesumontu, for example, claims to have been "one great of plan in the king's private offices,"⁹⁸ and attributes his advancement in office to the fact that his plan was considered worthy in the heart of his lord.⁹⁹ In other inscriptions, *rh shr* may refer to military strategy, as suggested by the prevalence of references to *shr w* in expedition inscriptions. In the New Kingdom, Ramesses II describes himself, in his Qadesh inscriptions, as "one whose counsels are effective and whose plans are good," in this case clearly alluding to his military strategies.¹⁰⁰

⁹³ Faulkner, *Dictionary* 242-243; Meeks, *Ann. lex.* 1 161; *Ann. lex.* 2, 163; *Ann. lex.* 3, 121; *Wb.* IV, 258-9; Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 171; Shupak, *Wisdom*, 42-45.

⁹⁴ Shupak, *Wisdom*, 43.

⁹⁵ Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 18.

⁹⁶ Janssen addresses this difficulty in *Autobiografie* II, 35.

⁹⁷ See below, 157 ff.

⁹⁸ *jpt nswt*.

⁹⁹ Louvre C1, ANOC 6.2. The suffix pronoun *f* here refers back to *nb.f* earlier in the line.

¹⁰⁰ Murnane, "Kingship," 211.

TABLE 6: *Shr* in Epithets

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>ikr shr</i>	Excellent of plan	Assiut 3 Assiut 4 Louvre C1 BM 581 Assiut 1 Berlin 1204 Hamm. 42 Sinai 117	Dyn. 10 (?) Merykara Am. I-Sen. I Sen. I Sen. I Sen. III Am. III Am. III
<i>ikr shr m-b3h...</i>	Excellent of plan before...	Berlin 1199	Sen. I
<i>ikr shrw.f</i>	Whose plans are excellent/worthy	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>h'w hmsw hr shr.f</i>	By whose plan one stands and sits	Bersheh 8	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>mnh shr.f</i>	Whose plans are efficient	Hamm. 42 Hamm. 43	Am. III Am. III
<i>rh shr m-h3w srw</i>	Who knows the plan in excess of the officials	Hamm. 114	Men. III
<i>rh shr m sh n srw</i>	Who knows the plan in the council of officials	Beni Hasan 2	Sen. I-Am. II
<i>hr n hnw hr shr dd.n.f</i>	Pleasing to the Residence because of the plan which he announced	Hatnub 24	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>shnty hr mnh shr.f</i>	Who advanced because his plan was efficient	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>dd(w) n.f mnh shr.f</i>	Of whom it is said, "His plan is effective"	Sinai 405	Am. III
<i>ddw shr.f mnh</i>	Of whom it is said, "His plan is effective"	Sinai 101A	Am. III

4.3 Eloquence

It is clear from preserved literary sources, as well as from biographical texts, that well chosen and skillfully worded speech was among the attributes most highly regarded by elite Middle Kingdom Egyptians. Their regard for speaking ability is most vividly demonstrated by the *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant*,¹⁰¹ as well as by works in which the king calls upon the services of a storyteller or prophet, such as the *Prophecies of Neferty*, and the *Story of King Khufu and the Magicians*.¹⁰² The literature suggests that eloquent storytellers were a favorite form of royal entertainment, and is likely that non-royal officials, and even the wider public, also enjoyed and supported it. R. Parkinson suggests that some particularly skilled literary composers and poets may have earned a living in this way, noting that texts occasionally refer to the rewards of excellence in oration, through which individuals like Neferty are said to have risen from common origins to considerable wealth and renown.¹⁰³ Likewise, the didactic literature frequently refers to the benefits of careful speech.¹⁰⁴ Epithets alluding to speech are frequently similar enough in subject matter to phrases in the didactic literature to suggest that both may have been derived from a common body of ethical teachings. The practical benefits of eloquence included the ability to deliver administrative reports effectively, to relate stories in a manner that was both entertaining and accurate, and to speak at the appropriate moment in the course of social and administrative interaction.

As the *Instructions of Ptahhotep* indicate, accurate recall of stories, instructions, and administrative reports was a fundamental aspect of eloquence.¹⁰⁵ The couplet, *qd nfrt, wḥm mrrt* (or *smi mrrt*),

¹⁰¹ P. Berlin 3023 (B1), P. Berlin 3025 (B2), P. Berlin 10499 (R). For the most recent transcription, see Parkinson, *Eloquent Peasant*. For translation and additional references, see Lichtheim, *Literature*, 169 ff.; Simpson, *Literature*, 31 ff.

¹⁰² P. Leningrad 1116B and P. Berlin 3033. See Helck, *Nfr-tj*; Erman, *Westcar*. For translations and additional references, Lichtheim, *Literature*, 139 ff., 216 ff.; Simpson, *Literature*, 234 ff., 15 ff.

¹⁰³ Parkinson, "Individual and society," 144-5, 151.

¹⁰⁴ In particular, instructions eight, fifteen, and twenty-four (p. Prisse, 145-160, 249-256, 362-369).

¹⁰⁵ For example, instruction 8 (p. Prisse, 145-160 (7.3-5); Zába, 1956, 27-28). Parkinson, "Khakheperreseneb," 649, points out an unusual negative reference to

meaning "one who says what is good and repeats what is desired," originated in the Old Kingdom and remained common through the New Kingdom.¹⁰⁶ In the Middle Kingdom, this couplet was especially popular in expedition inscriptions and on Abydene stelae. Accuracy in reporting was expressed in other epithets as well, such as *wḥm mrrt m ḥrt-hrw nt r' nb*, "one who repeats what is desired in the course of every day," and *wḥm nfrt*, "one who repeats what is good," the latter of which continues a form more popular during the Old Kingdom. As a rule, these phrases do not specify the recipient of the report. It is perhaps noteworthy that these epithets emphasize primarily the fact that the official's words are satisfying to the listener. As J. Baines notes with regard to the story of Sinuhe, Sinuhe's successful interaction with foreign rulers as well as fellow Egyptians results in part from his ability to say precisely what his companions want to hear.¹⁰⁷

In some cases, accurate reporting might relate specifically to the career of the official being described. The only person to be called *wḥm nfrt n nb ʿwy*, "one who repeats what is good to the Lord of the Two Lands," is a man who actually served as a herald (*wḥmw*) in the Wadi Hammamat, suggesting that this unusual variation of a common epithet might actually refer to his administrative duties or to an experience from his career.¹⁰⁸

The adjective *ikr*, "excellent," "worthy," "skillful," or "trustworthy,"¹⁰⁹ was used quite often with reference to speaking ability, the most common formula being *ikr st-ns*, "excellent/worthy of speech."¹¹⁰ As J. M. A. Janssen has observed, this epithet is often associated with justice, appearing in a couplet with *mty*, "precise," and presumably referring to the delivery of satisfactory verdicts.¹¹¹

speaking and reporting in the laments of Khakheperreseneb, which implies that a saying that is too often repeated loses its force.

¹⁰⁶ Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 122-124; *Autobiografie* II, 84-85. The more common Old Kingdom form was *ḏd nfrt wḥm nfrt*. For a listing of epithets introduced by *wḥm*, see Appendix 2.

¹⁰⁷ Baines, "Sinuhe," 41-42.

¹⁰⁸ Hammamat 108.

¹⁰⁹ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 31, Meeks, *Ann. lex.* 1 47; *Ann. lex.* 2, 52; *Ann. lex.* 3 36; *Wb.* I, 137.

¹¹⁰ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 206; Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 18, n. 35.

¹¹¹ Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 38.

Ḳr ḏd and *Ḳr ṯsw* were also used with a similar meaning.¹¹² *Spd*, literally "sharp," but applied idiomatically to mean "efficient," or "skilled,"¹¹³ was used in epithets referring to the mouth (*r*) or tongue (*ns*), metaphors for speaking ability.¹¹⁴ *Spd-r* was sometimes modified by a prepositional phrase explaining the situation in which the individual speaks, such as in the epithets *spd-r m šḥ n srw*, "sharp of speech in the council of officials," and *spd-r m swt ḥns-ib*, "sharp of speech in situations of greed."¹¹⁵ These epithets may imply that sharp or clever speech was an attribute appropriate for interacting with one's peers and colleagues within the court, as opposed to one's superiors. In particular, references to sharp speech may appear in the context of an official diffusing a potentially sensitive situation, as is particularly demonstrated in the Abydene stela of Inyotef son of Senet (BM 581).¹¹⁶

TABLE 7: Epithets Referring to Eloquence

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>šḥ ḏd ḥry-ib n nb.f</i>	Effective of speech in his lord's heart	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>Ḳr mdw.f</i>	Whose speech was excellent/worthy	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>Ḳr st-ns</i>	Excellent of speech	Hamm. 47 Hamm. 48 <i>JEA</i> 51, pl. 14 W. el Hudi 149	Sen. III Am. III Am. III Am. III
<i>Ḳr ṯsw</i>	Excellent of speech	Louvre C167 Assiut 2	Sen. I Dyn. 12
<i>Ḳr ḏd</i>	Excellent of speech	CG 20539 CG 20538	Sen. I Am. III

¹¹² In the case of *Ḳr ḏd*, Janssen identifies the form of the verb *ḏd* as an infinitive. *Autobiografie* II, 19.

¹¹³ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 223; Meeks, *Ann. lex.* 2, 321; *Ann. lex.* 3, 250.

¹¹⁴ See Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 50; Shupak, *Wisdom*, 286.

¹¹⁵ From the tomb of Djefaihapi I (Assiut tomb 1) and the Abydene stela of Inyotef son of Senet and Sobekwenu (BM 581). For an alternate interpretation, see Shupak, *Wisdom*, 286.

¹¹⁶ ANOC 5.2, lines 8-14.

<i>ḳʾw mdw hrw msbb</i>	Straight of speech on the day of turning away (?)	Hamm. 114	Men. III
<i>whm nfrt...</i>	Who repeats what is desired...	Sinai 405	Am. III
<i>whmw ikr</i>	Excellent herald	Hatnub 14	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>wdb r n mdt hn^c.f</i>	Who directs the speech of the one speaking with him	Hatnub 16 Hatnub 20	Dyn. 11 (?) Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>mnḥ ṭsw</i>	Efficient of speech	Wadi el Hudi 16 Hamm. 48	Sen. III Am. III
<i>mdw m swt dnd</i>	Who speaks in situations of anger	BM 581	Sen. I
<i>mdw r r^c srw</i>	Who speaks a word before the officials	MMA 12.184	Sen. I
<i>mdw r hrw.f m pr bity</i>	At whose voice words are spoken in the palace	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>nn thw n ns.f hrw nfr n hḥb</i>	Without error of his speech on the festival of sending-off ¹¹⁷	Hamm. 114	Men. III
<i>nḥt m r</i>	Strong in speech	Bersheh 5	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>rḥ prw n mdw.f</i>	Who knows the outcome of his words	Beni Hasan 2	Sen. I -Am. II
<i>rḥ mdt</i>	Who knows speech	MMA 57.95	Men. II
<i>rḥ ṭs n ḳnd.t(w) hr.s</i>	Who knows the phrase on account of which anger occurs	BM 581	Sen. I
<i>rḏi ṭs r st.f</i>	Who put speech in its (proper) place	Hamm. 114	Men. III
<i>hrr hr prw n r.f</i>	At whose utterance one is pleased	Hamm. 47	Sen. III
<i>hrw ṭsw</i>	Pleasing of speech	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>spd-ns</i>	Sharp of tongue	Meir B4 Berlin 1204	Am. II Sen. III
<i>spd-r</i>	Sharp of speech	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>spd-r wšb</i>	Sharp of speech in answering	Assiut 1	Sen. I

¹¹⁷ See comments in Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 52, 54, n.9.

<i>spd-r m-hry-ib šntiwt</i>	Sharp of speech among the quarrelsome	Bersheh 5	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>spd-r m swt hns-ib</i>	Sharp of speech in situation of greed	BM 581	Sen. I
<i>spd-r m šh n srw</i>	Sharp of speech in the council of officials	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>sml sšm.f nn 'm-ib</i>	Who reports his business without forgetting	BM 569	Am. II
<i>sgr rmlw m hnw nfr</i>	Who silences weeping with good words	BM 581	Sen. I
<i>stp tsw</i>	Who chooses words	MMA 57.95	Men. II
<i>šw m isw n ns</i>	Free of lightness of tongue	Hamm. 199	Am. I
<i>šw m dd pšw</i>	Free of saying "pa" ¹¹⁸	MMA 12.184	Sen. I
<i>šw m dd grg</i>	Free of speaking falsely	Beni Hasan 2	Sen. I -Am. II
<i>gm mdt nt 'h</i>	Who finds the speech of the palace	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>gm ts</i>	Who finds the phrase	CG 20539 Beni Hasan 2 CG 20538	Sen. I Sen. I- Am. II Am. III
<i>dns mhwt</i>	Guarded of speech	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>dd m r.f ir m 'wy.f</i>	Who speaks with his mouth and acts with his hands	Bersheh 5	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>dd mdt m i'w n ib</i>	Who says words against angry speech	Bersheh 1	Am. I-Sen. I (?)

¹¹⁸ See comments in Parkinson, *Voices*, 19. Mentuweres stresses that he does not use the colloquial article "pa," which was considered inappropriate for courtly speech.

<i>dd nfrt whm mrrt</i>	Who says what is good and repeats what is desired	Assiut 6 Louvre C170 ¹¹⁹ BM 569 CG 20538 Sinai 500 Hamm. 108	Am. II-Sen. II Sen. II Am. II Am. III Am. III Am. III
<i>dd nfrt whm mrrt m hrt-hrw nt r' nb</i>	Who says what is good and repeats what is desired in the course of every day	Ber. ÄGM 26/66 Manchester	Am. I Sen. III
<i>dd nfrt smi mrrt</i>	Who says what is good and reports what is desired	Hamm. 47	Sen. III
<i>dd ts r h'w.f</i>	Who speaks a phrase at its time	Hamm. 114	Men. III

Inyotef's stela contains one of the most innovative biographies from the Middle Kingdom, drawing heavily from the themes of contemporary literature. Didactic texts on stelae were popular at this time, and literary instructions seem to have exerted a strong influence on the epithets of a small group of officials who, to judge from their biographies, might well have associated with the prominent literary composers of their day.¹²⁰ Several otherwise unattested epithets found on Inyotef's stela refer to careful speech. Among them are *mdw m swt dnd, rh ts n knd.t(w) hr.s* "one who speaks in situations of strife and who knows the words on account of which one becomes angry;" *sgr rmiw m hnw nfr*, "one who silences weeping with good words;" *rh ddt m h'nb nb*, "one who knows what is said in every office;" and *mdw m h' n m't, spd-r m swt hns-ib*, "one who speaks in the office of justice, sharp of speech in situations of greed."¹²¹ The emphasis on Inyotef's ability to speak well under adverse circumstances is unique among contemporary biographies, and it is tempting to interpret it as a specific reference to his actual diplomatic skill. The fact that Inyotef both stressed his verbal skill strongly and commissioned a biography of very highly developed literary style

¹¹⁹ Epithet reads *dd.f nfrt*.

¹²⁰ Eyre, "Semna stelae," 155 ff.

¹²¹ For *h'*, see Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 183. For *hns-ib*, see also Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 111. Lichtheim interprets the term as "anxiety."

suggests that he was something of a man of letters. He may have been acquainted with the contemporary scribes responsible for the well-known literature of Senwosret I's reign, since the work of such men clearly influenced his selection of epithets. His emphasis on his eloquence might therefore reflect a skill for which he was actually known, affording the reader a rare glimpse at a true human identity behind the self-laudatory rhetoric.

4.4. *Vigilance*

The phrase *rs-tp*, meaning "watchful" or "vigilant,"¹²² appears in texts from the Old Kingdom onward.¹²³ As J. M. A. Janssen notes, this use is the most common one in which the adjective *rs*, meaning "wakeful," appears.¹²⁴ In the Middle Kingdom, *rs-tp* was particularly common in expedition inscriptions, the leaders of which must have considered watchfulness a necessary attribute for working in remote areas. The same trait was also mentioned in literary texts such as the *Tale of the Two Brothers*, where it describes shepherds and herdsmen.¹²⁵ None of the men described by this epithet have especially prominent titles, "seal-bearer" (*htmty-bity*) being the most common. Since expedition members were actively engaged in handling valuable materials, it is likely that they wished to be vigilant in ensuring that no one interfered with the sealed storage facilities.

5. *Humility*

5.1. *Silence and Self Control*

According to Old and Middle Kingdom didactic literature, silence, humility and self control were considered admirable attributes, while hasty and overbearing individuals were held in low regard.¹²⁶ Aspects of self control which are specifically expressed in epithets include silence, calmness, patience, and discretion. Silence was

¹²² Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 152; Meeks, *Ann. lex.* 1, 220; *Ann. lex.* 2, 225, *Ann. lex.* 3, 173; Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 170.

¹²³ See Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 27; *Autobiografie* II, 44-45. For a list of examples, see Appendix 2.

¹²⁴ Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 44.

¹²⁵ Hollis, *Two Brothers*, 87.

¹²⁶ See, for example, the *Instructions of Ptahhotep*, instruction 24 (P. Prisse, 362-369).

linked directly to both knowledge and eloquence, since patient listening facilitated the former and carefully chosen rather than hasty speech resulted in the latter. H. Frankfort and others have noted the connection between the "silent man" and the "wise man," although M. Lichtheim notes that silence was only one attribute of the wise man.¹²⁷

The most common Middle Kingdom epithet emphasizing humility is "the silent man" (*grw*),¹²⁸ which implied self-control and discipline as well as an avoidance of inappropriate speech.¹²⁹ The "silent man" makes his first appearance in the Old Kingdom, and also figures prominently in the didactic literature, in both the *Instructions to Kagemni* and the *Instructions of Ptahhotep*.¹³⁰ Likewise, the *Instructions for Merykara* assert that the talkative man is a troublemaker.¹³¹ In the didactic literature of the New Kingdom, silence is given even greater emphasis.¹³² Silence was encouraged not only because the Egyptians believed that a person should behave in accordance with his station, but also in all likelihood because such behavior facilitated the smooth functioning of the royal administration by discouraging dissent.

Silence and eloquence appear to have been considered dual complementary aspects of the person; a man who could remain silent and attentive could then speak more knowledgeably and accurately. Literary texts advise administrators to speak only when they have something worthwhile to contribute and when they know the solution to a problem; otherwise it was best to remain silent. In the context of biographical self-presentation, *grw* has a number of slightly different applications, connected primarily to humble interaction with colleagues. The Abydene stela of Wepwawetaa (Leiden V4), for example, reads, "I am a silent man among the officials (*srw*), one of

¹²⁷ See summary of these arguments with references in Lichtheim, *Moral Values*, 6-7. Frankfort, *Religion*, 79-80 also notes the contrast between the silent and passionate man in the Hymn to Thoth.

¹²⁸ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 290; Meeks, *Ann. lex.* 1, 406; *Ann. lex.* 2, 403; *Ann. lex.* 3, 315; Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 158; *Wb.* V, 180; Shupak, *Wisdom*, 150-151, 160-167.

¹²⁹ For a discussion of this epithet, the use of which became more widespread during the New Kingdom, see Williams, "Piety and Ethics," 133.

¹³⁰ P. Prisse I, 1-3, 68-73 (instruction 3).

¹³¹ Lichtheim, *Literature*, 99.

¹³² Lichtheim, "Didactic literature," 258-261.

whom it is said, 'await his coming.'¹³³ The stela of Inyotef son of Senet begins the self-presentation with, "I am one who is silent to the angry and who intervenes with the ignorant in order to avoid anger."¹³⁴ Thus, silence, along with careful speech, could have the practical benefit of avoiding conflict while gaining acceptance and respect.

The adjective *hrw*, meaning "quiet," "calm," or "content,"¹³⁵ appears most often in two epithets, *hrw-ib*, literally "calm of heart," and *hrw-nmtt*, meaning "calm of step."¹³⁶ In didactic literature, *hrw*, "the calm man," can be used synonymously with *grw*, "the silent man," and *kbw*, "the cool-tempered man."¹³⁷ As J. M. A. Janssen indicates, the phrase *hrw-ib* appears in epithets from the late Old Kingdom onward, but is relatively rare in the Middle Kingdom, at which time it is used almost exclusively in texts from expeditions.¹³⁸ Although it can mean "contented,"¹³⁹ the context in epithets suggests a meaning of "calm" or "self-controlled," rather than "satisfied."¹⁴⁰ In two inscriptions from the Wadi Hammamat, both dating to the reign of Amenemhat III (Hammamat 47 and 48), *hrw-ib* is followed by the epithets "free from passion" (*šw m prt-ib*)¹⁴¹ and "efficient of speech" (*mnḥ ḥsw*) respectively, suggesting that *prt-ib* was understood as the opposite of *hrw-ib*. Since *wḥ-ib*, "patient" or "attentive," is also used in contrast to *prt-ib*, it may be surmised that *hrw-ib* and *wḥ-ib* are approximately synonymous. Calmness and self control are also emphasized in epithets introduced by the adjective *kb* or *kbw*. Originally meaning "cool," this term came to be used metaphorically for human behavior during the Old Kingdom. It occurs with the meaning "cool-tempered" or "calm" in didactic

¹³³ ANOC 20.1.

¹³⁴ *ink gr n dnd šbn n ḥm n-mrwt ḥsf ʔd*. ANOC 5.2.

¹³⁵ Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 46; Lichtheim, *Maat*, 148; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 159; *Wb.* II, 496-497; Meeks, *Ann. lex.* 2, 232, *Ann. lex.* 3, 179; Shupak, *Wisdom*, 154.

¹³⁶ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 159, "easy of gait;" Simpson, "Amun-wosre," 67, "quiet of step."

¹³⁷ Shupak, *Wisdom*, 154.

¹³⁸ Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 28; Shupak, *Wisdom*, 154.

¹³⁹ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 159.

¹⁴⁰ For example, note the use of *hrw-ib* in the *Shipwrecked Sailor*, line 132, where the meaning is clearly not "joyful," but rather, "controlled." See Baines, "Shipwrecked Sailor," 66.

¹⁴¹ For *prt-ib*, see *Sinai I*, 71; Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 205-6.

literature and other literary contexts as well as in biographies, and seems to be approximately synonymous with *hrw-ib*.¹⁴²

TABLE 8: Epithets Referring to Self-Control

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>nn sin hr</i>	Without hasty temper	BM 581	Sen. I
<i>hrw-ib</i>	Calm-hearted	Hatnub 26 Heqaib 49 Sinai 71 Hamm. 47 Hamm. 42 Hamm. 48 Manchester <i>JEA</i> 51, pl. 14 Sinai 33 Sinai 118 W. el Hudi 21 Edfu	Men. IV Sen. I Am. II Sen. III Sen. III Am. III Sen. III Am. III Am. IV Am. IV Am. IV Dyn. 13
<i>hrw-nmtt</i>	Calm of step	BM 1236 Louvre C170	Am. II Sen. II
<i>hrw-s³</i>	Calm	Hamm. 43	Sen. I
<i>hrw-tsw</i>	Calm of speech	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>ḥbs r hr rḥt.n.f</i>	Who covers the mouth regarding what he knows	Assiut 6	Am. II- Sen. II
<i>ḥrp šhr ḥt</i>	Who controls (his) thoughts	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>s ḳbb m-m d³mw</i>	Cool man amidst the troops	RILN 27	Am. I-Sen. I
<i>s³ḳw-ib</i>	Self-disciplined	Bersheh 5 Hatnub 26	Dyn. 11 (?) Men. IV (?)
<i>ḳb ḥt</i>	Cool of body	Hatnub 10	Dyn. 9/10 (?)
<i>ḳb srf</i>	Cool tempered	Sinai 47	Am. II
<i>ḳbb</i>	Calm	BM 581	Sen. I
<i>grw</i>	Silent man	Hatnub 49	Sen. I
<i>gr m-m srw</i>	Silent among the officials	Leiden V4	Sen. I

¹⁴² Shupak, *Wisdom*, 153-154.

<i>gr n dnd</i>	Silent to the angry	BM 581	Sen. I
<i>šw m hnw</i>	Free of impatience	Louvre C167	Sen. I
<i>dʿr srf</i>	Self-controlled	Hatnub 10 Hatnub 26 Heqaib 49 Louvre C167	Dyn. 9/10 Men. IV Sen. I Sen. I
<i>dhi rmn</i>	Humble	RILN 73	Sen. I

5.2. *Patience and Attention*

A number of officials from the Dynasties 11 and 12 are described as *wʿh-ib*, which has been understood to mean "kindly" or "patient,"¹⁴³ but in the context of Middle Kingdom biography would be better rendered as "attentive."¹⁴⁴ In at least two cases—the Abydene stela of Mentuhotep (CG 20539) and Amenweser (in a private collection)¹⁴⁵—it is used in the phrase *wʿh-ib r sḏmt.mdt*, "attentive until speech is heard,"¹⁴⁶ where the meaning "attentive" is clearly preferable. In some inscriptions, *wʿh-ib* forms the first half of a couplet, the second half of which refers to speech (*tsw*). Examples include *wʿh-ib ikr-tsw*, "one who is attentive and excellent/worthy at speech,"¹⁴⁷ and *wʿh-ib mnḥ-tsw*, "one who is attentive and efficient at speech."¹⁴⁸ This juxtaposition of two phrases involving attentiveness and eloquence serves to demonstrate the well-rounded character of the subject, who can both listen attentively and speak at the appropriate time. In other cases, *wʿh-ib* is followed by a phrase asserting that the individual is free from a shortcoming, evidently opposite to it in meaning. Unfortunately, the precise meaning of these vices is often unclear, and can therefore shed little, if any, light on the meaning of *wʿh-ib*. Examples include *wʿh-ib šw m nhrhr*, "attentive and free from stammering,"¹⁴⁹ *wʿh-ib šw m prt-ib*,

¹⁴³ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 54; Meeks, *Ann. lex.* 1, 79, *Ann. lex.* 3, 60, Assmann, *Ma'at*, 73.

¹⁴⁴ Simpson, "Amun-wosre," 67; Goedicke, "Wisdom Text," 28; Lichtheim, *Moral Values*, 78-9.

¹⁴⁵ Simpson, "Amun-wosre," pl. 14.

¹⁴⁶ Fischer, "Marginalia II," 70; Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 27.

¹⁴⁷ Louvre C 167. ANOC 4.1.

¹⁴⁸ Wadi el Hudi 16. Sadek, *Wadi el Hudi*, 37.

¹⁴⁹ For the meaning of *nhrhr*, see Simpson, "Amun-wosre," 67; Goedicke, "Wisdom Text," 28. It has also been rendered "weariness" or "carelessness."

"attentive and free from passion,"¹⁵⁰ and *w³h-ib šw m rrit*, the meaning of which is problematic.¹⁵¹

TABLE 9: Epithets Referring to Patience and Attention

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>w³h-ib</i>	Attentive	Bersheh 5 UC 14333 BM 581 CG 20539 Louvre C167 Beni Hasan 2 W. el Hudi 16 CG 20538 <i>JEA</i> 51, pl. 14 Sinai 33 Sinai 35	Dyn. 11 (?) Men. II Sen. I Sen. I Sen. I Sen. I- Am. II Sen. III Am. III Am. III Am. IV Am. IV
<i>w³h-ib lwty snwy.f</i>	Attentive without his equal	CG 20538	Am. III
<i>w³h-ib r.sdm.t.mdt</i>	Attentive until the words are heard	CG 20539 <i>JEA</i> 51, pl. 14	Sen. I Am. III
<i>nfr sdm</i>	Good at listening	CG 20539 CG 20538	Sen. I Am. III
<i>h³rp-ib</i>	Controlled of heart	Beni Hasan 2	Sen. I-Am. II
<i>h³rp-ib wnw³t 3st</i>	Controlled of heart when time is hurried	Louvre C167	Sen. I
<i>sdm ir.f mi ddt</i>	Who listens that he might act according to what was said.	Louvre C167	Sen. I
<i>sdmw hnw</i>	Who listens attentively	Louvre C167	Sen. I
<i>sdm sdm(.i) m³t</i>	Who listens so that I hear the truth	MMA 12.184	Sen. I

¹⁵⁰ For *prt-ib*, see *Sinai* I, 71; Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 205-6.

¹⁵¹ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 151, suggests "piggishness." Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 111, does not attempt a suggestion. Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 205 lists both *nhrhr* and *rrit* as untranslatable.

Epithets based on forms of the verb *sdm*, "hear," can also emphasize the attention and obedience of the official. The Abydene stela of Inyotef son of Nebhu calls him *sdmw hnw*, "one who listens attentively," and *sdm ir.f mi ddt*, "One who listens that he might act according to what was said."¹⁵² The act of listening was closely associated with the acquisition of knowledge, since it was necessary for an individual to listen in order to become knowledgeable.¹⁵³ *Sdm* is used with the same meaning in instructional literature, denoting not only the simple act of listening but also the sense of "obedience" and "understanding."¹⁵⁴

Hr-nmtt, "calm of step,"¹⁵⁵ is preserved in Middle Kingdom inscriptions only from the reign of Amenemhat II onward, and continued to be used into Dynasty 13.¹⁵⁶ As Janssen demonstrates, it was used primarily alongside two other epithets, *mn-tbyt*, "sure-footed" (literally "firm of sole");¹⁵⁷ and *mdd w3t nt smnh sw*, "obedient to the one who established him," (literally "one who follows the road of the one who established him"). All three epithets use the motifs of feet, footwear and walking as metaphors for reliability, an association with confident sureness of foot, but also an implication of obedience.

5.3. Obedience

Obedience to superiors is a common theme of biographical epithets, and is closely related to attentiveness. The following chapter will discuss such epithets in detail, as they relate directly to the official's interaction with his superiors. The most common epithets emphasizing obedience are variations on "one who does what he favors" (*irr hsst.f*), along with "one who is loyal" (*mdd mtn* or *mdd w3t*, literally "one who presses hard upon the roadway"), "one who propitiates (the god)" (*shtp*), and "one who pleases (the king)" (*htp-ib*).¹⁵⁸

¹⁵² Louvre C167.

¹⁵³ Shupak, *Wisdom*, 51-54.

¹⁵⁴ Shupak, *Wisdom*, 51-52.

¹⁵⁵ See Meeks, *Ann. lex.* 3, 179.

¹⁵⁶ Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 29, includes only examples up to and including the reign of Amenemhat IV.

¹⁵⁷ Cf. Polotsky, *Inschriften*, 3-8.

¹⁵⁸ See below, Chapter 3, 142 ff.

6. Epithets Referring to Ritual and Cult Practice

6.1. Funerary and Cult Practice

Piety, defined as interaction between an individual and a deity or deities, is not well documented for non-royal Egyptians prior to the New Kingdom.¹⁵⁹ Epithets referring to interaction with deities are discussed in the following chapter, since they often correspond closely with those referring to human superiors. Among such epithets are phrases in which the official is said to be loved or favored by deities, and epithets referring to the role of the official in the temple context. The latter category of epithets casts the official in a position modeled after the role of the king, in which he acts as an intermediary between the majority of the population and the gods.¹⁶⁰ Thus, such epithets have as much to do with the personal authority of the official himself as with his relationship with the gods.

TABLE 10: Epithets Referring to Funerary Practice

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>nb šps n is pn</i>	Noble owner of this tomb chamber	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>šd is m smt.f</i>	Who dug a tomb in his necropolis	Florence 1774	Sen. I-Am. II
<i>kʃi is wšḥ rwd hnty pr-nfr</i>	High of tomb, wide of steps, foremost of the embalming place	Assiut 5	Dyn. 9/10
<i>krs iʃw</i>	Who buries the aged	Hatnub 29	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>krs w mty</i>	Who buries the dead	MMA 12.184	Sen. I
<i>krs tniw</i>	Who buries the elderly	BM 1164	Men. III

As J. Baines rightly notes, much of personal religion during the Middle Kingdom must have dealt with protection against evil and the avoidance of misfortune, topics which are not well represented in

¹⁵⁹ For a more complete discussion of this issue, see Baines "Practical Religion," 79-98.

¹⁶⁰ Baines, "Practical Religion," 91.

epithets.¹⁶¹ Another prominent aspect of personal religion involved funerary practices and the relationship between the living and the dead. Evidence such as letters to the dead and appeals to the living on funerary monuments attest to the fact that the Egyptians of this era believed that the dead could intercede for or against them, both in the afterlife and on earth. From the Old Kingdom onward, "autobiographies" refer to the burial of deceased relatives and provision for the tombs of ancestors, although such topics are never particularly common, and appear more often in narratives than as epithets.¹⁶² Epithets referring to funerary practices include phrases introduced by forms of the verb *krs*, "bury," and descriptions of the building of the officials' own tombs.

6.2. *Ritual Purity*

Epithets introduced by the adjective *w'ḥ*, "pure,"¹⁶³ are not common in the Middle Kingdom, and virtually always refer to the hands or fingers.¹⁶⁴ The epithet *w'ḥ wy*, which was used in the Heracleopolitan Period and Dynasty 11,¹⁶⁵ became less common in early Dynasty 12, regaining popularity in the second half of the dynasty, through the reign of Amenemhat III. From the context it is clear that many such epithets are to be understood as references to purity in a ritual setting.¹⁶⁶ In several cases, the setting is specified, and all such examples involve the performance of cultic activities. Nearly every individual described by such epithets held priestly titles. Epithets referring to ritual practices are particularly common in Dynasty 11 texts from el Bersheh and Hatnub, texts which also tend to refer frequently to the local gods and to attribute the success of the official to divine intervention. In the early part of Dynasty 12, epithets referring to purity became uncommon at most sites, returning to the repertoire of epithets under Senwosret III and Amenemhat III. This

¹⁶¹ Baines, "Practical Religion," 82; "Society, Morality, and Religious Practice," 123-137.

¹⁶² Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 113-114.

¹⁶³ *Wb.* I, 282-283; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 54.

¹⁶⁴ See Janssen, *Autobiografie*, I, 15-16, *Autobiografie* II, 30.

¹⁶⁵ See, for example, the tomb of Ahanakht, Bersheh tomb 5. *Bersheh* II, pl. 13.

¹⁶⁶ Scribes may also be called "pure of hands," a reference to their accuracy, an epithet also used to describe Thoth in the Pyramid Texts.

development corresponds to a general increase in the religious content of inscriptions during the second half of Dynasty 12.¹⁶⁷

TABLE 11: Epithets Referring to Ritual Purity

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>w'b 'm shrt ntr</i>	Pure of hand in adorning the god	Berlin 1204	Sen. III
<i>w'b 'wy</i>	Pure of hands	Meir C1	Sen. II-III
<i>w'b 'wy mh.f h'w</i>	Pure of hand when he fills the bowl	Bersheh 5	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>w'b 'wy drp.f ntr</i>	Pure of hands when he offers to the god	Hatnub 26	Men. IV (?)
<i>w'b 'hw m st dsrt</i>	Who purifies the braziers in the sacred place	Hatnub 26	Men. IV (?)
<i>w'b stpwt</i>	Who purifies the choice offerings	Hatnub 24	Men. IV (?)
<i>w'b db'w</i>	Pure of fingers	Bersheh 1 Sinai 109	Am. I-Sen. I Am. III
<i>sm w'b db'w(.f)</i>	<i>Sm</i> -priest whose fingers are pure	Berlin 1204 CG 20538	Sen. III Am. III
<i>twr 'wy</i>	Clean of hands	Bersheh 5 Hatnub 17 Hatnub 17	Dyn. 11 (?) Dyn. 11/12 Dyn. 11/12

6.3. Firmness of Step in the Cultic Context

The epithets *mn-rd*, literally "firm of foot,"¹⁶⁸ and *mn-tbyt*, "firm of sole" (or "firm of sandal")¹⁶⁹ appear to have been identical in meaning, and the latter seems to have replaced the former in middle to late Dynasty 12.¹⁷⁰ *Mn-rd* not only occurs earlier, but in a wider range of contexts. Among the relatively early examples listed by Janssen are couplets in which *mn-rd* is paired with *twr 'wy*, "clean of hands," suggesting a possible connection to cult, as in the tomb of

¹⁶⁷ See Pflüger, "Private Funerary Stelae," 128.

¹⁶⁸ Although the literal translation of these epithets is readily apparent, the real meaning is difficult to interpret. For a list of examples, see Appendix 2.

¹⁶⁹ Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 35. For examples, see Appendix 2.

¹⁷⁰ See Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 19-20, *Autobiografie* II, 35.

Ahanakht (tomb 5) at El Bersheh.¹⁷¹ As Janssen notes, some of the earliest Middle Kingdom uses of *mn-ṭbyṭ* also refer to religious and funerary settings, as in the phrase *mn-ṭbyṭ m st ḏsrt*, "firm of sole in the sacred place," probably a reference to the necropolis.

In many cases, both *mn-rd* and *mn-ṭbyṭ* are associated with obedience, being followed immediately by epithets introduced by *mḏd wṣt* or *mḏd mṭn*. This association, which began by Dynasty 11, continued throughout Dynasty 12. *Mn-rd* was more frequently followed immediately by *mḏd mṭn*, while *mn-ṭbyṭ* was generally followed by *hr nmtt*, "calm of steps," which in turn was often followed by *mḏd wṣt nt smnh sw*, "obedient to the one who established him." This last series of epithets, or abbreviations thereof, became virtually standard from the middle of Dynasty 12 onward. Many of these late examples come from expedition inscriptions in the Sinai, Wadi Hammamat, and Wadi el Hudi. At least two examples of *mn-rd* are followed by a reference to a *šhr*, "plan." On one stela (BM 1164), the official is said to be *mn-rd mḏd šhr*, "one firm of foot, who follows the plan," while on another (Louvre C1), he is called, *mn-rd ikr šhr*, "one firm of foot and excellent/worthy of plan."

7. Freedom from Vice

Freedom from vice was expressed in epithets forming the second half of couplets, intended primarily to provide a contrast with a stated virtue. Such epithets are not especially common, and many are unique. Nevertheless, they are distributed throughout the Middle Kingdom, and appear in all types of inscriptions. The vast majority of examples are introduced by the words *šw m*, "free from," followed by a negative attribute expressed as a noun or infinitive,¹⁷² although a number of less common negative forms also appear in epithets. While epithets introduced by *šw m*, "free from," vary greatly as a rule, a relatively large number involve the concept of *isft*, meaning "wrong," "crime," "falseness," or "evil," essentially whatever is the opposite of *ma'at*.¹⁷³ These epithets take two forms: the earlier Dynasty 11 form being *šw m isft*, "free from evil," and the later *šw*

¹⁷¹ Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 53.

¹⁷² Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 165-167, *Autobiografie* II, 205-207.

¹⁷³ Assmann, *Ma'at*, 213-222; Lichtheim, *Maat*, 146; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 30.

m irt isft, "free from doing evil." Epithets referring to the avoidance of doing *isft* do not, like most other epithets regarding freedom from vice, occur as part of couplets, but rather tend to follow descriptions of the successful execution of official responsibilities, or actions considered praiseworthy by superiors. In this way, they serve as a sort of concluding synthesis to the self-characterization: by displaying all the positive attributes listed, and acting in an exemplary manner, the official has avoided doing *isft*.

The remaining epithets introduced by *šw m* usually appear in the second half of a couplet, in which the first half expresses a positive character trait, and the function of the second half is to provide a contrast.¹⁷⁴ Couplets such as these were used in a wide range of inscription types dated throughout Dynasty 12. For example, the Abydene stela of Inyotef son of Senet (BM 581) juxtaposes a negative statement regarding hasty and aggressive behavior with a statement asserting that Inyotef is "calm" (*kbb*), and later contrasts both his wealth and generosity with his lack of indifference (*hbs-ḥr*) toward others.¹⁷⁵ While the subject matter for the negative expressions shows a great deal of variation, certain relatively common themes emerge. Character traits that were avoided by the ideal Middle Kingdom official include haste, passion, greed, arrogance, indifference, and carelessness in the execution of one's official responsibilities.

TABLE 12: Positive and Negative Attributes in Couplets

Positive Attribute		Negative Attribute		Text
<i>wʒh-ib</i>	Attentive	<i>prrt-ib</i>	Passion	Sinai 33
<i>wʒh-ib</i>	Attentive	<i>prrt-ib</i>	Passion	Sinai 35
<i>wʒh-ib</i>	Attentive	<i>rrit</i>	Piggishness ?	BM 581
<i>wʒh-ib</i>	Attentive	<i>nhrhr</i>	Stammer	UC 14333
<i>wʒh-ib</i>	Attentive	<i>nhrhr</i>	Stammer	<i>JEA</i> 51, pl. 14
<i>wsh-ib</i>	Broad of heart (generous)	<i>hns-ib</i>	Constricted of heart (greedy)	Leiden V 6
<i>wsh nmtt</i>	Broad of stride	<i>hʒw</i>	Excess	Assiut I

¹⁷⁴ Exceptions include the biography of Ahanakht, which calls him *wʒb šw m kni kdw*, "a purification priest free of sullenness of character."

¹⁷⁵ ANOC 5.2.

<i>wḡ-ib</i>	Prosperous of heart	<i>isw n ns</i>	Lightness of tongue	Hamm. 199
<i>ph³ ḥt</i>	Pure of body	<i>snkwt</i>	Greed/lust? ¹⁷⁶	Hatnub 24
<i>mn rdwy</i>	Sure-footed	<i>ḡf^c</i>	Gluttony	BH 2
<i>mdw r r-^c srw</i>	Who speaks words before officials	<i>ḡd p³</i>	Saying "pa"	MMA 12.184
<i>nb ḡf³w</i>	Possessor of abundance	<i>ḥbs-ḥr</i>	Indifference	BM 581 ¹⁷⁷
<i>nb ḡf³w</i>	Possessor of abundance	<i>ḥbs-ḥr</i>	Indifference	Leiden V 6
<i>nfr-ib</i>	Goodness of Heart	<i>ḡw</i>	Evil/sadness	Hatnub in. 10
<i>ndrw-ib</i>	Possessed of heart	<i>mht</i>	Forgetfulness	Hamm. 199
<i>rḥ sfnw</i>	Who knows mercy	<i>tst bin</i>	Plotting evil	Beni Hasan 2
<i>rḥ st-rd.f</i>	Who knows the place of his foot	<i>'b^c</i>	Boasting	Hamm. 47
<i>rḥ ḡdt</i>	Who knows what is said	<i>'b^c</i>	Boasting	Assiut 6
<i>rs-tp</i>	Vigilant	<i>'wy</i>	Sleeping	Hatnub 49
<i>rs-tp</i>	Vigilant	<i>b³gy</i>	Slack	BM 569
<i>hrw-ib</i>	Calm of heart	<i>prr-ib</i>	Passion	Hamm. 47
<i>hrw-ib</i>	Calm of heart	<i>prr-ib</i>	Passion	Hatnub 26
<i>hrw-s³</i>	Calm	<i>wh³h³</i>	Arrogance	Hamm. 43
<i>šm-ib</i>	Stout of heart	<i>b³gy</i>	Weariness	Hamm. 199
<i>ḡbb</i>	Calm	<i>ḥ³ḥ ḥr</i>	Impatience	BM 581
<i>d³r srf</i>	Self-controlled	<i>hnw</i>	Anger (?)	Louvre C167
<i>ḡd m³t</i>	Who speaks <i>ma'at</i>	<i>ḡd grg</i>	Speaking falsehood	Beni Hasan 2

¹⁷⁶ Lichtheim, *Maat*, 30, renders *snkwt* as "glumness."

¹⁷⁷ The text reads *ḥd-ḥr ḡw-drt nb ḡf³w ḡw m ḥbs-ḥr*, so that the "free from greed" may be understood as contrasting all of the preceding phrases expressing generosity.

Epithets referring to the absence of negative attributes and actions also take the form of participles of the negative verb *tm*,¹⁷⁸ negations of a negative trait using *nn*,¹⁷⁹ and negations of the infinitive.¹⁸⁰ For the most part, these phrases tend to be unique, and to relate to specific administrative duties.¹⁸¹ Unlike the epithets introduced by *šw m*, these negative assertions do not necessarily occur as part of couplets, but like those that do, they frequently emphasize a positive attribute expressed in a preceding epithet by providing a negative contrast. They can also be paired with another negative assertion, to provide further evidence of the official's merit. For example, in the Dynasty 11 stela of Mentuhotep son of Hapy (UC 14333), the epithet *n k3 h3 hft wsr*, "one who is not overbearing before a powerful man," immediately follows *šw m nhrhr*, "one who is free from stammer."¹⁸² Both epithets appear in a sequence describing Mentuhotep's behavior at court and in the administration. In the Hammamat inscription of the Steward Henu (Hammamat 114), also from Dynasty 11, two negative epithets again occur together, this time in a description of Henu's worthy leadership. The text reads, "foremost of men, free of an error of the tongue on the festival of sending-off, one whose heart does not quail."¹⁸³ Later, the inscription describes Henu's administrative success, saying that he "judges without being partial," an expression that is repeated in the Hammamat inscription of the vizier Amenemhat (Hammamat 113). It is noteworthy that the inscriptions in which these epithets occur are, for the most part, long texts with close ties to instructional literature. In this way, they appear to be describing the idealized character of the individual who dedicated the inscription by advising the reader (or listener) of the proper way *not* to behave.

178 See Gardiner, *Grammar*, 315, § 397; Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 207.

179 See Gardiner, *Grammar*, 83, § 108.

180 See Gardiner, *Grammar*, 231, § 307.

181 For a discussion of administrative duties, see below, 173 ff. For epithets introduced by *tm* and *nn*, see Appendix 2.

182 For additional discussion of these epithets, see Goedicke, "Wisdom Text," 28, notes e, f.

183 For the rendering "festival of the sending-off," see Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 52.

8. *Epithets Relating to Events in the Career of the Official*¹⁸⁴

Many epithets discussed in the preceding sections relate directly to the career and administrative responsibilities of the official. Among those describing official duties are references to dispensing justice, establishing boundaries, delivering reports, and participating in cult activities. Self-descriptive phrases stressing personal courage or authority, such as *nht* and *wsr*, should also be understood as directly related to military skill in some cases. In many instances, such phrases are associated with the holders of particular titles; in other cases, they are relatively stereotypical. A final class of epithets relating to the career of the individual are those describing the role of the official in military and trading expeditions. These epithets can vary significantly in subject matter and sometimes have a basis in historical events. Detailed descriptions of expeditions, however, are much more often expressed in verbal narrative accounts, rather than self-descriptive epithets.

Epithets involving foreign relations, trade and military prowess begin in the Old Kingdom, continuing through the Middle Kingdom. They are found most often, as one might expect, in expedition inscriptions, such as those from Hatnub, the Sinai, Wadi Hammamat, and Nubia, but they also occur with some frequency in tombs, and very rarely on Abydene stelae. As a rule, they do not follow standardized formulae and they are often unique. Because the king served as the quintessential warrior and protector of Egypt, non-royal epithets describing military prowess cast the officials in the role of the king. It may not be coincidental that they tend to occur most often in periods when royal control was relatively insecure, a pattern which might reflect actual strife or merely a tendency on the part of officials to assume royal attributes during periods of limited central authority.

¹⁸⁴ Epithets relating to the individual's career and official responsibilities are often exceedingly difficult to separate from actual administrative titles, and have frequently been identified as such. In a brief recent study, Quirke ("Horn, Feather, and Scale," 141-149) has proposed a practical set of criteria for distinguishing between titles and epithets, noting that "Only context and repetition distinguish an impersonal or official title from a personal or unofficial self-description." Official titles are recognizable by their repeated use and their use as a single element identifying a person in addition to his name. I have followed Quirke's guidelines in preparing the following discussion.

Some of the more specific military epithets may refer to actual historical events in the career of the officials they describe. Such epithets are common in texts from Hatnub, where local officials are described as leading their districts in times of strife and providing for them in times of hardship. The chronology of these inscriptions is problematic, and they may describe events either surrounding the reunification of Egypt in Dynasty 11 or referring to the transition between Dynasty 11 and Dynasty 12. In Dynasty 12, Amenemhat of Beni Hasan (tomb 2) describes his participation in foreign campaigns.¹⁸⁵ In any event, it is noteworthy that epithets referring to warfare cease early in Dynasty 12. During the reign of Senwosret I, the viziers Mentuhotep (CG 20539) and Djefaihapi I (Assiut tomb 1) claim to have defeated both rebels and foreigners, but whether they refer to actual events or speak metaphorically is uncertain.¹⁸⁶ The increased focus on foreign relations late in the Middle Kingdom invites speculation about the nature of royal interest in outlying areas and what appears to be an increase in the power of the military.

TABLE 13: Epithets Referring to Military Activities

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>ir imy-r mšc m st nbt</i>	Who acts as overseer of troops in every place	Beni Hasan 17	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>ḥc n smjyt</i>	Warrior of the confederacy	Bersheh 5	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>dd snd.f m-ḥry-ib ššwt</i>	Who places fear of him amidst the masses	BM 1213	Sen. III
<i>mi Šhmt hrw n r-djw</i>	Like Sekhmet on the day of battle	Hatnub 24	Men. IV (?)
<i>mḥ-ib n Mš't t rth p't m sidt ibw n sbiw(?) nb</i>	Favorite of Ma'at in restraining the people and in enfeebling the hearts of all rebels	<i>BIFAO Supp.</i> p. 81, 35	Dyn. 13
<i>nb hrt</i>	Master of terror	Hatnub 24	Men. IV (?)

¹⁸⁵ *Beni Hasan I*, pls. 7 and 8.

¹⁸⁶ For such attributes in association with the vizierate, see van den Boorn, *Duties*, 312-313; Simpson, "Mentuhotep," 333-334. If these epithets reflect actual events, they might refer to the situation in Egypt surrounding the death of Amenemhat I.

<i>nb ḥpš r ʒt hrw.f</i> <i>šhs int.f</i>	Possessor of strength for attacking on his day of fleeing his arrival	Hamm. 43	Am. III
<i>nb snd</i>	Master of fear	Hatnub 24	Men. IV (?)
<i>nḏ</i>	Protector	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>nḏ mʒc</i>	True protector	Hamm. 47	Sen. III
<i>nḏs n ḥn ḏʒmw</i>	Soldier of the camp	Hatnub 27	Men. IV (?)
<i>nḏs kn</i>	Valiant soldier	Hatnub 17 Hatnub 26 RILN 73	Dyn. 11 (?) Men. IV Am. I-Sen. I
<i>nḏs kn n mity.f</i>	Valiant soldier without his equal	Hatnub 16 Hatnub 23	Dyn. 11 (?) Am. I (?)
<i>nḏs kn n ḥn ḏʒmw</i>	Valiant soldier of the camp	Hatnub 20 Hatnub 24 Hatnub 43	Dyn. 11 (?) Dyn. 11 (?) Uncertain
<i>ḥry-tp m šrt</i> <i>sbiw</i>	Chief in driving away rebels	Bersheh 8	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>ḥw</i>	Protector	Beni Hasan 2 Bersheh 2	Sen. I -Am. II Am. II -Sen. III
<i>ḥnrt hrw ḥc.s</i>	Its fortress on the day that it fights	Hatnub 24	Men. IV (?)
<i>ḥʒḥti sbdš</i> <i>mḥtyw nbtyw</i>	Storm that weakens all foreigners	Hamm. 114	Men. III
<i>s kbb m-m</i> <i>ḏʒmw</i>	Calm man in the midst of the troops	RILN 27	Am. I-Sen. I
<i>siddy ḥʒkw-ib</i>	Who makes impotent the disaffected	JEA 51, pl. 14	Am. III
<i>siddy sbi ḥr</i> <i>nswt</i>	Who makes impotent the one who rebels against the king	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>smi ḥʒw m rkw</i>	Who chastises thousands of opponents	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>shrr tʒ r-ḏr.f</i>	Who pacifies the entire land	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>štp sbtiw ḥr</i> <i>irt.sn</i>	Who pacifies rebels from their actions	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>sh Nḥsiw</i>	Who smites the Nubians	Hamm. 43	Am. III

<i>šḥr 'wn-ib m tst.f</i>	Who overthrows avarice with his troops	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>šḥr sbi</i>	Who overthrows the rebel	Bersheh 5	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>sgrḥ n.f ḥryw-š'</i>	Who pacifies the sand- dwellers for him	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>titl n.f ḥ'šwt</i>	Who tramples the foreign lands for him	Hamm. 47	Sen. III
<i>dd ḥwr.f m ḥ'štyw</i>	Who places fear of him among the foreigners	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>dd snḏ nswt (m) psd smrt</i>	Who places fear of the king among the 9 bows	Beni Hasan 2	Sen. I -Am. II

In expedition inscriptions, epithets may also refer to trade and the exploitation of raw materials, subjects which are particularly common in late 12th Dynasty texts from the Sinai and Wadi Hammamat.¹⁸⁷ Unlike epithets referring to military action, those describing mining and quarrying activities tend to occur during periods of strong royal control, times in which the kings were actively exploiting the regions surrounding Egypt. Officials boast of their skill in penetrating previously unfamiliar and potentially dangerous territory and their success in procuring valuable commodities, often on behalf of the king.¹⁸⁸ In some cases, they refer directly to the official's ability to satisfy the king with his successful exploitation of materials specifically for royal commission. The reign of Amenemhat III in particular was a time when a great deal of royal attention seems to have been directed towards procuring raw materials, and this emphasis is clearly visible in the epithets.¹⁸⁹ Attributes such as intelligence, vigilance and foresight are also common in the "autobiographies" of expedition leaders.

¹⁸⁷ For non-royal epithets in expedition inscriptions, see Blumenthal, "Textgattung Expeditionsbericht," 91-93.

¹⁸⁸ These phrases, including *mḥ-ib n nswt m ḥbḥb ḥ'šwt*, "confidante of the king in traversing foreign lands," and *šms nswt (or nb.f) r nmiwt.f*, "one who accompanies the king (or "his lord") on his journey," are discussed in the following chapter, 144 ff.

¹⁸⁹ Leprohon, "Amenemhat III," 217-230.

TABLE 14: Epithets Referring to Procuring Raw Materials

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>imy-r ḥꜣswt nbwt</i>	Overseer of every foreign land	CG 20683	Sen. II-III
<i>wn tꜣ Ṛḥnw</i>	Who opens the land of the Libyans	Hamm. 43	Am. III
<i>mḥ-ib n nswt m hbhb ḥꜣswt</i>	Favorite of the king in traversing foreign lands	W. el Hudi 17 Sinai 116 Sinai 114 Sinai 88 W. el Hudi 149	Sen. III Am. III Am. III Am. III Am. III
<i>mḥ-ib n nswt m hbt ḥꜣswt r int ꜣtt špst n ḥm.f</i>	Favorite of the king in traversing foreign lands in order to bring precious raw materials to His Majesty	Sinai 101a Sinai 405	Am. III Am. III
<i>nr kꜣw n ꜣwt nbwt</i>	Herder of all precious stones	Hatnub 19 CG 20538	Dyn. 11 (?) Am. III
<i>hrrw mšꜥ m šhrw.f</i>	At whose plans the troops are pleased ¹⁹⁰	Sinai 33 Sinai 35	Am. IV Am. IV
<i>ḥnty srw r int n.f ꜣtt špst</i>	Foremost of the officials with regard to bringing him precious raw materials	Sinai 112 Sinai 114	Am. III Am. III
<i>spd ḥr mšꜥ.f nb</i>	Alert on all his expeditions	Hamm. 43	Am. III
<i>šḥm ꜣꜣ m ḥwt- nbw</i>	Great authority in Hatnub	BM 574	Am. II

9. Metaphors Likening Officials to the Gods

A small class of epithets composed of the nisbe adjective *mity* plus the name of a god or the word *nṯr*, meaning "the like of a god"¹⁹¹ serve as metaphors for the successful actions or personal charac-

¹⁹⁰ This epithet may refer to military as well as to mining activities. I have categorized it based upon its context.

¹⁹¹ Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 129. For further discussion and references see Silverman, "Kingship," 62.

teristics of the official. Typically, the monument owners do not actually claim divine status, and the epithets refer rather to specific attributes embodied by the god or goddess named. Similarly, the preposition *mi*, "like," followed by the name of a god or goddess, may be appended to another epithet for special emphasis. In exceptional cases, officials might also be called "the son" or even "the husband" of a deity. Expressions likening human beings to gods, in both funerary and other types of inscriptions, have been discussed elsewhere (by Hornung and others).¹⁹² Royal epithets fairly often allocate divine attributes to the king, who is metaphorically likened to a variety of deities. By adopting similar epithets, non-royal officials are indirectly likening themselves to the king as well as to the gods. The use of phrases associating non-royal officials with divine attributes is far less common, and is restricted to people of relatively high rank.

The gods to whom officials are likened symbolize a particular skill or attribute of the official. In some cases, the local god or patron of a particular activity is named, as in the Sinai inscription of Sobekhorhab son of Henut, who is called *mity Hwt-Hr nbt mfk3t*, "the like of Hathor, Mistress of Turquoise."¹⁹³ Likewise, officials are occasionally compared to Thoth in order to emphasize their precision and accuracy, as in the epithet *mtr m3' mi Dhwtj*, "truly precise, like Thoth," which appears on several Dynasty 12 stelae.¹⁹⁴ The same quality of accuracy is noted in the epithet *mity mh3t*, "the like of the balance."¹⁹⁵ A similar metaphor occurs in contemporary literature, when the eloquent peasant, in his seventh petition, says to the vizier, *ntk snw Dhwtj*, "You are the peer of Thoth," and in his eighth petition, makes several references to balances and scales, which in this case are said to be off balance due to the vizier's lack of judicial integrity.¹⁹⁶ Thoth, in fact, is the god with whom officials are most often associated, in particular in the Hare nome, where he was the local deity.

¹⁹² See Hornung, *Conceptions*, 138-140; Hornung, 1967, "Mensch als Bild Gottes," 123-156.

¹⁹³ Sinai 53.

¹⁹⁴ Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 23.

¹⁹⁵ Found on the stelae of Mentuhotep (CG 20539) and Sehetepibra (CG 20538).

¹⁹⁶ Parkinson, *Eloquent Peasant*, 45-46, lines B1, 352-357 (transcription); Lichtheim, *Literature*, 181 (translation).

TABLE 15: Epithets Associating Officials with Gods

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>mi Shmt hrw n r-dʒw</i>	Like Sekhmet on the day of battle	Hatnub 24	Men. IV (?)
<i>mity ntr</i>	Likeness of a god	Hamm. 114	Men. III
<i>mity ntr m wnw.t.f</i>	Likeness of a god in his craft	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>mity Hwt-Ḥr nbt mfkʒt</i>	The like of Hathor, Mistress of Turquoise	Sinai 53	Am. III
<i>ms n psdty R^c</i>	Born of the two enneads of Ra	Hatnub 20 Hatnub 23 Hatnub 26	Dyn. 11 (?) Am. I (?) Men. IV (?)
<i>mtr mʒ^c mi Dḥwty</i>	Truly precise, like Thoth	BM 581 CG 20538 CG 20539 Durham N1935	Sen. I Am. III Sen. I Sen. II
<i>hi n Tʒyt</i>	Husband of Tayet	UC 14333	Men. II
<i>sʒ Npri</i>	Son of Nepri	UC 14333	Men. II
<i>sʒ Dḥwty n-wn-mʒ^c</i>	Son of Thoth in reality	Hatnub 20 Hatnub 24	Dyn. 11 (?) Men. IV (?)
<i>sʒ ds.f n-wn-mʒ^c</i>	His own son ¹⁹⁷ in reality	Hatnub 23 Hatnub 26	Am. I (?) Men. IV (?)
<i>sš n Dḥwty ḥr ns.f</i>	Upon whose tongue is the writing of Thoth	CG 20539	Sen. I

10. Conclusions

Although their subject matter varies greatly, the epithets collected in this chapter, when viewed as a whole, provide a relatively thorough picture of the Middle Kingdom Egyptians' ideal image of the elite administrator. He was efficient both in a general way, and in the specific manner in which he carried out his official responsibilities. He was knowledgeable of the information essential to his administrative duties, and was able to anticipate how to carry out these duties efficiently. He was obedient to superiors, respectful, patient,

¹⁹⁷ Referring to Thoth.

and attentive. He spoke well and carefully, reported with accuracy, handled crises in a diplomatic manner, and was not overbearing. These characteristics are precisely those necessary for an individual to interact with his superiors, peers and subordinates in the manner described in the following chapters, enabling the official to gain the affection and favor of his superiors, to earn the respect of his peers, to advance his career, and to attend to the needs of his subordinates. Thus, these epithets describe the necessary characteristics of an individual who strives to embody *ma'at*, and to fulfill the obligations inherent to his position within the real and perceived hierarchy of Egyptian society.

The subject matter of epithets referring to the attributes of ideal officials relates very closely to the didactic literature of the Middle Kingdom. The fact that a large number of such epithets are found in a relatively small number of inscriptions, especially on Abydene stelae, suggests that these texts were both derived from the same corpus of ethical and moral principles that inspired the didactic literature, and were intended to serve as brief moral treatises themselves. This practice of inscribing what are, in effect, short instructional texts on stelae reached its peak during the time of Senwosret I. Under later kings, the focus moved toward the more formulaic expressions described in Chapter 3, relating the individual officials to the king, the gods, the cosmos, and the afterlife.

Some groups of epithets that describe actual rather than ideal characteristics seem to refer to traits desirable for people in particular administrative or religious offices. For example, viziers emphasize their judicial responsibilities and their fairness. The men who led missions to mines and quarries are said to have foresight, and to be sure-footed, calm, and confident. Seal-bearers, who were responsible for storing the raw materials procured by these missions, are likely to be called "watchful" or "vigilant." These descriptions continue to be used in expedition texts even when epithets relating to the individual had become less popular in the Nile Valley itself. Likewise, priests and religious personnel stress their purity in carrying out their ritual duties. These epithets, too, continued to be when generalized didactic character descriptions had largely ceased.

CHAPTER 3

INTERACTION WITH SUPERIORS: THE GODS AND THE KING

The most common epithets of the Middle Kingdom refer to the relationship between the officials and their superiors, namely the gods and the king. These phrases are far more numerous and occur in a wider variety of texts than those referring to the official and his interaction with his peers, indicating that during the Middle Kingdom devotion to superiors was the fundamental attribute for defining the worth of the individual. In the Heracleopolitan period and early Dynasty 11, the king plays a noticeably smaller role in epithets than he does in the Middle Kingdom, and officials attribute their success to the favor of the gods. As the Middle Kingdom progressed, and royal authority was consolidated, the predominance of the king in non-royal epithets increased correspondingly. Despite the tendency of biographies of the early Middle Kingdom to elaborate on the ideal characteristics of the individual official, the favor of the king and the gods seems to have remained the principal focus of the most common epithets.

The most common epithets referring to superiors occur in association with the titulary and/or offering formula, are highly formulaic themselves, and do not imply a high degree of interaction between the official and his divine or royal superiors. Most of these phrases may be classified in two very general categories: (1) those relating directly or indirectly to the afterlife and to the perpetuation of the memorial cult, which are often associated with the *hṭp di nswt* formula and often invoke funerary deities;¹ and (2) those referring to the king and to local deities, which relate directly to the Egyptian world view and serve to establish the official's position within it. The most characteristic epithets in these two categories are variations of *imꜣhy*, "venerated," and *mry*, "beloved," respectively. These concepts are intimately connected to each other and to the Egyptian world view. J. Assmann has observed that in order to become a well provided tomb owner—the original meaning of *imꜣhy*

¹ For the development of the offering formula, along with some of the accompanying epithets, see Barta, *Opferformel*.

("Versorgtheit")—an official had to earn the love—*mrwt*—of his contemporaries. He achieves this by doing and saying *ma'at*.²

In the vast majority of epithets, officials claim to be venerated, loved, and favored specifically by superiors. The officials sought in this way to verify their worthiness to share in the cults of the superiors to whom their epithets refer. In turn, women and other individuals depicted alongside the monuments' owners use the same phrases in reference to the owner of the monument, who served symbolically as the intermediary for transmitting divine and royal benevolence.³ A smaller number and variety of phrases refer to the official's actions toward his superiors—he claims to be reverent, obedient and loyal, propitiating the gods and satisfying the king. Gods—designated by name or simply as "the god" (*ntr*)—and the king (usually referred to as *nswt*) are invoked in certain of the more common formulaic epithets, specifically those referring to the receipt of love and favor. This suggests that during the Middle Kingdom there existed a degree of personal piety in the form of a limited personal relationship between non-royal humans and the gods, perhaps exclusively the local gods. Many scholars have argued that such a relationship did not exist prior to the New Kingdom.⁴ The contact between non-royal humans and gods is limited in the Middle Kingdom, and the king dominates the non-royal epithets. It is only in the New Kingdom that private people begin to refer regularly to direct interaction with the gods.

1. Context of Epithets Referring to Superiors

1.1. Context of Epithets Referring to Mortuary Deities

Epithets referring to gods and goddesses, especially those associated with the necropolis, were particularly favored in tombs, less common on stelae, and in general very rare in expedition inscriptions. The relative frequency of such epithets in tombs may be explained in part

² Assmann, *Ma'at*, 107-108.

³ Simpson, "Amor dei," 493-499; Leprohon, "Personnel," 33-38.

⁴ For the concept of personal piety, see Baines, "Practical Religion," 79-98. For a review of scholarship on personal piety, see Loprieno, "Loyalistic Instructions," 406-409. The evidence provided by epithets supports Loprieno's claim for individual piety as early as the Middle Kingdom, based upon the *Loyalistic Instructions*.

by the fact that the offering formulae, in which gods are most likely to be mentioned, are often repeated in more than one location in the tomb. However, since many epithets mentioning gods are found in tomb contexts not directly related to the offering formula, their presence must reflect in part the nature and function of the tomb as a distinct type of monument. To the Egyptians, the tomb was a place in which living human beings came most closely into contact with their gods, and in which the deceased stood on the threshold between mortal and eternal existence, a position in which he or she faced divine judgment. The epithets associated with the offering formula, as discussed in this chapter, were apparently intended to facilitate the transition between this world and the next by affirming that the proceedings of divine judgment would yield positive results for the deceased. In so affirming, the texts would also encourage those left behind to continue maintaining the memorial cult of those buried in the tomb.⁵ Within the tomb, funerary deities are most likely to be mentioned in the texts from those areas of the tomb most directly linked to the mortuary cult, including false doors, shrines, statue bases, and scenes of the table of offerings. Gods associated with the necropolis, notably Osiris and Anubis, are most often named in these locations, most frequently after the phrase *imꜣhy hr*, "venerated by."

When compared to tombs, stelae and votive chapels from sanctuaries contain relatively few references to funerary deities. A study comparing the differences in epithets between Abydene stelae originating in burials and those coming from votive chapels would undoubtedly be illuminating were it possible. Unfortunately, since the majority of Abydene stelae lack a secure context within the site, such a study cannot be carried out, and to date Abydos remains the only site from which a significant number of both types of stelae have been excavated.⁶ As a group, the stelae from Abydos do not mention gods or goddesses with great frequency. Not surprisingly,

⁵ Thus, for example, the very common epithet *imꜣhy* retained a dual meaning, combining its original Old Kingdom meaning of "versorgt" with its more common Middle Kingdom meaning of "venerated."

⁶ Ongoing excavations by the University of Pennsylvania-Yale University-Institute of Fine Arts, New York University Expedition to Abydos, under the direction of David O'Connor and William Kelly Simpson, may eventually help to remedy this difficulty.

the god who is named most often is Osiris, who was both the principal funerary god of Egypt and the local patron deity of Abydos.

1.2. *Context of Epithets Referring to Local Deities and Cults*

The Middle Kingdom practice of mentioning gods and goddesses in non-royal epithets represents something of a departure from the Old Kingdom tendency to avoid references to deities in private inscriptions, except after the phrase *im³h(y) hr*, "venerated by." While *im³h(y) hr* remains the most common formula in which gods are named, Middle Kingdom epithets display greater variation in referring to deities than do Old Kingdom texts.⁷ Epithets referring to local deities, like epithets referring to mortuary gods, are far more common in tombs than in other types of inscriptions. This distribution reflects two features of the necropolis context: first, the nature of the tomb itself as a transitional zone between the world of humans and the realm of the gods; and second, the fact that the rock-cut tombs of the major cemeteries in Middle Egypt were commissioned by the local elite, who lived, ruled, served in the temple priesthood, died and were buried in their own townships, and who therefore expressed devotion to the gods associated with their own local cults. By doing so, they linked their own mortuary cults symbolically to the cults of the local deities.

Epithets naming local gods and goddesses are distributed throughout the tombs. However, they appear most often in texts from the facades, architraves, fishing and fowling scenes, and the so-called "scenes of daily life," as opposed to the false doors and shrines, where epithets tend to focus on funerary deities. Gods associated with local rather than funerary cults are, therefore, differentiated from the gods of the cemetery by the types of epithets in which they are invoked, the parts of the tombs in which these epithets occur, and the nature of the adjacent scenes. Gods and goddesses associated with local cults are named in three basic contexts: (1) in association with the offering formula, (2) in expressions of divine approval in accordance with the established Egyptian world view, and (3) in epithets referring to the career of an official or to his personal piety. While funerary deities are most often named in the first of these contexts, local gods and goddesses are more often named in the last

⁷ As noted by Fischer, "*Sh³-sn*," 69 and note 1.

two, and the phraseology is often identical to that of epithets involving the king, such as *mry* N and *hsy* N. In essence, both local deities and the king are treated as superiors of the inscription owner, who seeks to invoke their favor and protection. The primary difference between divine and royal superiors as expressed in epithets is the degree to which they are accessible to the official.

A variety of local deities are named in tombs. Wepwawet figures prominently in epithets from the tombs near his cult center at Assiut,⁸ as well as on stelae from Abydos.⁹ Hathor, who had a temple in the area of el-Qusiya near Meir, is the only non-funerary deity mentioned in epithets from Meir.¹⁰ Due in part to her association with the Theban necropolis, she also appears in funerary epithets from Theban tombs, such as the tomb of Senet (TT 60),¹¹ and she is frequently named in epithets of women throughout Egypt. At el Bersheh, the local cult was devoted to Thoth, who plays a predominant role in epithets from the site, as well as from the nearby quarries at Hatnub.¹² Several deities were worshipped at Beni Hasan, including Khnum, Horus, Pakhet, and Hekat.¹³ Sometimes, these gods and goddesses are also invoked collectively, as *ntrw imyw M3hd* "the gods who are in the Oryx Nome."¹⁴

The close relationship between provincial leaders and their local gods is further demonstrated in the texts from sanctuaries. At Abydos, a national sanctuary that drew visitors from throughout Egypt, very few epithets refer to local gods, or indeed to any gods at all, despite the fact that the texts from the site include prayers addressed to a variety of deities and descriptions of the officials' role in cult practices. Considering the large number of preserved texts, very few officials are said to be "beloved of Osiris" or "favored by Osiris," the formulae in which local gods appear most often. By contrast, at Elephantine, where the chapels, statues and stelae of the

⁸ See, for example, the tomb of Djefaihapi I (tomb 1), who held the titles *shd hmw-ntr Wp-w3wt*, "inspector of *hm*-priests of Wepwawet," and *imy-r hmw-ntr m3c n Wp-w3wt*, "true overseer of *hm*-priests of Wepwawet." Griffith, *Siut and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 1

⁹ For example, BM 575 and 599, ANOC 43.1 and 43.2.

¹⁰ See, for example, *Meir* III, pl. 9; *Meir* VI, pl. 8.

¹¹ Davies and Gardiner, *Antefoker*, pls. 18, 27.

¹² See, for example, *El Bersheh* I, pls. 12-14 (text on plate 14).

¹³ See *Beni Hasan* I, pls. 7, 9, 24; *Beni Hasan* II, pls. 4, 5, 7, 15.

¹⁴ *Beni Hasan* I, 85 (tomb 14).

Heqaib sanctuary were dedicated by local leaders, these two formulae are common, naming a variety of deities associated with the region, including Anuket, Satet, Khnum, Miket, and the deified Heqaib.¹⁵ At Serabit el Khâdim, a single deity predominates in the epithets: as the patron deity of turquoise and the desert, as well as the goddess of the local sanctuary, Hathor appears in a large number of epithets, while very few other gods are named.

Epithets from expedition inscriptions very rarely mention gods at all, due at least in part to their non-funerary context and the frequent lack of offering formulae in the texts.¹⁶ When the epithets in these texts do refer to gods, they tend to be the local gods and goddesses of the region to which the expedition was sent, and to whose benevolence the expedition members attributed the success of their mission.¹⁷ As E. Hornung has noted, expedition members tended to offer prayers to local patron deities, who were believed to have the power to influence the outcome of any work taking place within their sphere of influence.¹⁸ Inyotef son of Ptahshedwy, for example, left an inscription at the amethyst quarries at Wadi el Hudi during the reign of Mentuhotep IV, in which he describes himself as *mry Stt nbt int*, "beloved of Satet, Lady of the Valley."¹⁹ Although Inyotef himself was probably not a local resident of Aswan, he sought the protection of the local goddess. Hathor, as the patroness of turquoise and of the desert, is named in more epithets from mines and quarries than is any other god or goddess. In the West Nubian desert, she is called "Hathor, Mistress of the Desert,"²⁰ while in the Sinai, she is Hathor, Mistress of Turquoise.²¹ In other cases the successful expedition leader may emphasize his ability by likening himself to the divine patron of the region or of the commodity being exploited. As a rule, however, these references are extremely uncommon.

¹⁵ Franke, *Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 147-152. The goddess Miket, whose name is attested in only a few inscriptions, mostly from the New Kingdom, first appears in the epithet "beloved of Miket" on the early Dynasty 13 chapel of Ameniyatu (no. 36) from the Heqaib sanctuary; see Habachi, "Divinities," 62.

¹⁶ For a more thorough study of the inscriptions of expedition leaders, see Blumenthal, "Textgattung Expeditionsbericht," 85-118.

¹⁷ Hornung, *Conceptions*, 166.

¹⁸ Hornung, *Conceptions*, 69-70.

¹⁹ Wadi el Hudi 2.

²⁰ Engelbach, "Quarries of the Western Nubian Desert," 71.

²¹ *Sinai I*, pls. 12, 33a, 39.

A notable exception to this statement may be found at the site of Hatnub, where Thoth is named in a wide variety of epithets.²² His prominence reflects the fact that local leaders of the Hare nome, the same men who were buried in the necropolis at el Bersheh, were responsible for the Hatnub inscriptions. While most expedition leaders worked relatively far from their homes and the protection of their own local deities, those working at Hatnub were still in their own district and invoked its own deity. Furthermore, the earliest of the Hatnub graffiti date from the period prior to the reunification of Egypt in Dynasty 11, when royal power was relatively unstable. The leaders of the Hare nome dated their inscriptions in terms of their own reigns and attributed their success to Thoth rather than to the king. Even after the reunification, the scribes at Hatnub borrowed thematically from the texts of their predecessors, with the result that the king remained significantly less prominent here than at other expedition sites.

In very rare cases, Egyptian officials seem to have brought the gods of their home district with them when they traveled or relocated, naming them in inscriptions at other sites. For example, Nesumontu, who dedicated a stela (Louvre C 243) at Abydos during the reign of Amenemhat II, may well have been a native of Thebes, as H. G. Fischer has observed.²³ Among the titles listed on his stela is *hry-tp m pr Mntw*, "Great Overlord of the Domain of Montu," and among his epithets is *drp Hr W3sty*, "one who makes offerings to Horus the Theban." Prior to being superseded by Amun, Montu was the local god of Thebes, and Nesumontu had probably served in his temple at Thebes. A similar situation occurs in the case of the vizier Khnumhotep. Khnum was worshipped at Beni Hasan as "Khnum, Lord of Her-wer," and the epithet *mry Hnmw nb Hr-wr* "beloved of Khnum, Lord of Her-wer" appears in tombs from the site.²⁴ D. Franke has argued from the presence of the latter epithet in Khnumhotep's mastaba at Dahshur (tomb 2) that he was a relative of the local ruling family at Beni Hasan, but was buried at Dahshur due to

²² See, for example, Anthes, *Hatnub*, 52, pl. 20 (gr. 23); 57, pl. 24 (gr. 24); 60, pl. 28 (gr. 26). See also the discussion in Lichtheim, *Maat*, 29-31.

²³ Fischer, "Sh3-sn," 70.

²⁴ Tombs 15 and 17. *Beni Hasan II*, pls. 4, 12, 17.

his position in the central administration, and who nevertheless included in his tomb inscription the local deity of his home town.²⁵

1.3. *Context of Epithets Referring to the King*

Epithets pertaining to the king are more numerous than those referring to the gods, and show greater variation. In general, epithets very rarely imply direct interaction between the elite and the gods, but certain examples do suggest limited contact, generally in the form of obedience, with the king. Nevertheless, epithets describe the king in a manner that remains remote and elevated from the non-royal official. As the following chapter demonstrates, interaction among members of the elite, as reflected in their epithets, is more reciprocal in nature than the relatively passive behavior of the officials toward the king. Thus, as one moves downward in a theoretical social hierarchy—from the gods to the king to non-royal superiors, peers and finally to subordinates—the variety of epithets and the official's own level of participation, increase.

In the Middle Kingdom, epithets referring to the king are particularly common in texts from mines, quarries, and other expedition sites.²⁶ The explanations for this phenomenon are several. First, the subjects of the inscriptions were frequently military or treasury personnel, whose duties were related to the central administration rather than to their own cities, and whose inscriptions emphasize this fact.²⁷ Second, since the function of the texts was neither funerary nor specifically religious, gods are very rarely mentioned. Finally, a relatively high proportion of the preserved expedition inscriptions dates to the later part of Dynasty 12, during the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III. This was a period in which royal control appears to have been very strongly established, and in which the king figures prominently in Egyptian literature of all sorts.²⁸

²⁵ Franke, "Khnumhotep III," 51-65. Franke argues that the Khnumhotep buried at Dahshur is the eldest son of the famous Khnumhotep II of Beni Hasan. For an alternate interpretation of the fate of Khnumhotep, see Fischer, *Egyptian Studies I*, 86.

²⁶ A notable exception being Hatnub.

²⁷ Sadek, *Wadi el Hudi*, 101.

²⁸ The subject of increased royal authority during the second half of Dynasty 12 has been treated by a number of authors, including Delia, "Sesostris III," 164 ff.; Franke, "Khnumhotep III," 51 ff.; Hayes, *Scepter*, 31 ff.; Leprohon, "Amenemhat III," vii; Matzker, *letzten Könige*, 11, 105 ff.

References to the king are significantly less common in tombs than they are in expedition inscriptions, in part because epithets from tombs tend to emphasize the gods. The relative rarity of references to the king in epithets from tombs also reflects the geographical and chronological distribution of the tombs themselves. Since a majority of the preserved tomb inscriptions are from provincial sites, and were cut for local leaders, rather than officials connected to the central administration, the epithets tend to stress the personal authority of the tomb owner himself, and his status within his own community. In addition, since the best preserved tombs date to the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom, the lack of emphasis on the king may result in part from the relative independence of the local elite at this time. In tombs, epithets referring to the king occur within fairly long lists of epithets on facades or in doorways, the most public areas of the tomb.²⁹ At both Beni Hasan and Thebes, they also accompany scenes of hunting, fishing or fowling, which may have ritual significance as allusions to the mythical defeat of the powers of chaos and confusion.³⁰ In several tombs, the king is also mentioned in epithets labeling the deceased at the table of offerings,³¹ or in epithets found within the shrine.³² In the tomb of Djehutyhotep at el Bersheh, epithets referring to the king accompany the famous and unique scene showing the transport of a colossal statue, and appear in a scene depicting a procession of boats.³³

In a general sense, references to the king occur most often in the relatively public areas of the tomb and in conjunction with scenes of the deceased functioning within his administrative and domestic realm, rather than in the parts of the tomb dedicated to the mortuary cult, such as in the shrine or on the false door, although exceptions

²⁹ On the facade of the tomb of Sarenput I at Aswan (Qubbet el Hawa tomb 36) and the tomb of Amenemhat at Beni Hasan (tomb 2) and around a doorway inside the tomb of Ukhhotep III at Meir (tomb B4).

³⁰ For the religious significance of such scenes, see Säve-Söderbergh, *Hippopotamus Hunting*; Sørensen, "Divine Access," 116-117; Kamrin, "Monument and Microcosm," 260; Leprohon, "mythologie," 82. Tombs in which epithets mentioning the king appear with these scenes include tombs 3, 15, and 17 at Beni Hasan and tomb 60 at Thebes.

³¹ The tombs of Sarenput II (Qubbet el Hawa 31), Djefaihapi I (Assiut 1), and Ukhhotep II (Meir B2).

³² The tomb of Amenemhat (Beni Hasan 2), Khnumhotep II (Beni Hasan 3), and Sarenput II (Qubbet el Hawa 31).

³³ *El Bersheh* I, pl. 18.

do occur. No preserved depiction of a king has been found in a private tomb of Middle Kingdom date, although a fragmentary scene in Theban tomb 60, built by the vizier Inyotefiqer and used by his mother Senet, appears to have represented the king.³⁴ In tomb 1 at Assiut, several epithets describing another vizier, Djefaihapi I, appear in a long inscription accompanied by a scene in which Djefaihapi stands before a symbolic representation of the king, composed of the royal titulary beneath the hieroglyphic symbol for the sky, surmounted by a pair of *was* scepters.³⁵ It is probably significant that both representations occur in tombs commissioned by viziers, the men with closest access to the king.³⁶

Epithets naming the king appear occasionally in the chapels from the sanctuary of Heqaib at Elephantine, usually within a list of epithets on the facade. The first chapel built at the site by Sarenput I refers to the king more often than any of the later monuments from the site.³⁷ This is probably due not only to the fact that Sarenput's chapel contains among the longest texts from Elephantine, but to the fact that Senwosret I was instrumental in founding the sanctuary. On stelae from the sanctuary of Hathor at Serabit el Khâdim, epithets involving the king make up a relatively high percentage of the total number, a pattern similar to that already observed for mining and quarrying areas. By contrast, the chapels built by private individuals in the sanctuary of Horus at Edfu during Dynasty 13 contain very few epithets referring to the king. Whether the absence of references to the king in epithets from Edfu reflects the relative lack of royal authority at this time is uncertain.

On Abydene stelae, epithets focusing on the relationship between the owner and the king occur with approximately the same frequency as they do in tombs. To some degree, this relatively low percentage contrasts the prominence given to the king in the narrative portions of some stelae. It may be that the presence of these references to the

³⁴ Davies and Gardiner, *Antefoker*, pl. 16.

³⁵ Griffith, *Siut and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 4. For this combination of signs to represent the king, see Frankfort, *Kingship*, 38.

³⁶ Compare later examples of viziers' tombs, such as that of Rekhmire in Dynasty 18, in which the king appears along with the text of the *Instructions for the Vizier*.

³⁷ Franke, *Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 3-29, provides a detailed analysis of the career of Sarenput I under Senwosret I, with references to contemporary officials elsewhere in Egypt. For a translation and commentary of the texts on the shrine, see 216-220.

king within the narrative took the place of epithets for the purpose of demonstrating royal favor. While the number of epithets focusing on the abilities and career of officials tends to diminish late in Dynasty 12, the number of epithets involving the king remains constant, and references to the king may, in fact, have become slightly more common. Two forces may be at work in influencing this transformation. First, as stated above, the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III appear to have been periods of very strong royal control, in which officials sought to state more overtly their loyalty to the central government. Second, the overall length of inscriptions on Abydene stela tends to decrease in the second half of Dynasty 12, with a resulting loss of epithets describing the official himself and his peers. The narrow range of formulae in which the gods and the king are most often mentioned (epithets introduced by *im³h(y)* *hr*, *mry*, and *hsy*) seem to have been the epithets considered essential for validating the position of the individual on earth and in the afterlife. As a result, these epithets remain in use even when other epithets lose favor, and are allotted where possible even to subsidiary figures such as wives and children.

2. *Admittance to the Afterlife: M³c hrw, Im³h(y),
Nb im³h, and W³hm 'nh*

The three epithets most closely associated with the offering formula are *m³c-hrw* "vindicated;" *im³h(y)*, "venerated;" and *nb im³h*, "possessor of a venerated state." These three phrases, or variations thereof, comprise the core component of the non-royal self-presentation throughout much of the Middle Kingdom, being present in all but the shortest texts on stelae and in tombs. As one would expect given their non-funerary context, expedition inscriptions and graffiti rarely include epithets of this type until late in the Middle Kingdom. In Dynasty 13, however, *m³c-hrw* and *w³hm-'nh*, "repeating life," become relatively common in expedition texts. In a great many inscriptions, one or more of these epithets are the only terms used to describe the inscription owner. Some combination of them describes subsidiary figures as well, including the wives, children, and other close associates of the monument owners, whose texts often include only one or more of these epithets. It is within this category of

epithets that the names of gods and goddesses, especially those associated with the mortuary cult, are most likely to be invoked.

2.1. *M³^c-hrw*

The most frequently encountered non-royal epithet is *m³^c-hrw*, literally "true of voice,"³⁸ a term which by the Middle Kingdom referred to the successful outcome of divine litigation upon the entrance to the afterlife. In this context, the deceased individual is associated with either Horus or Osiris.³⁹ Because of its association with legal proceedings, *m³^c-hrw* has been translated "justified," "victorious," or "vindicated." However, its precise meaning has been subject to considerable uncertainty.⁴⁰

M³^c-hrw first occurs in the Pyramid Texts, often in association with trials. J. H. Breasted suggested that it must have been in use as a legal term prior to the time of the Pyramid Texts, and later to have taken on the meaning of "victorious" or "triumphant," in both a moral and physical sense.⁴¹ F. L. Griffith, who supports the rendering "successful" or "triumphant" in his analysis of the Kahun papyri, where it clearly refers to the victories of a living king, does not see a legal origin for the term. According to Griffith, it "must be derived from the belief in the magic power of incantation; the right word or formula, rightly pronounced with the true intonation at the proper moment, ensuring triumph over opposition."⁴² R. Anthes argues that it originally referred to a declaration of the transfigured king's "rightness" in accordance with *ma'at*, rather than specifically with the judgment in favor of Osiris.⁴³

In Utterance 689 of the Pyramid Texts, as well as in the Coffin Texts, *m³^c-hrw* first refers to the verdict in favor of Horus in his

³⁸ Wb. II, 15-18; Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, 35; Brunner, "ma'a-cheru," 1107-1110. As Anthes, "Original Meaning," 21-22, notes, there has been disagreement about the rendering "voice" for *hrw*, some scholars preferring to translate it "proclamation" or "reputation." Anthes himself prefers to translate the entire phrase, at least in its original form, as "the acclaim is right."

³⁹ Spiegel, *Totengericht*, 14-15; Brunner, "ma'a-cheru," 1108; Griffiths, *Horus and Seth*, 74-84; Seeber, "Jenseitsgericht," 250.

⁴⁰ Anthes, "Original Meaning," 21, summarizes the arguments put forth prior to his day.

⁴¹ Breasted, *Religion and Thought*, 35.

⁴² Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri*, 99.

⁴³ Anthes, "Original Meaning," 27-44.

litigation with Seth.⁴⁴ However, Osiris is also named as the vindicated party in the Coffin Texts, and both he and Horus serve as protagonists in the Book of the Dead.⁴⁵ The context is sufficiently vague in these texts to make it unclear whether the "voice" in question is that of the successful plaintiff or that of the individual announcing the verdict—the latter interpretation seems more likely.⁴⁶ As an epithet, *m³c-hrw* was first used with reference to private individuals during the late First Intermediate Period, occurring first in the combination *ikr m³c-hrw*.⁴⁷ Its use was well established by Dynasty 12, and it continued to be used throughout the Middle Kingdom and later. It also appears sporadically in requests from the offering formulae of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom.⁴⁸ In this context, both the legal aspects of the term and its association with the afterlife are clear.⁴⁹

Gardiner and others have assumed that by the Middle Kingdom *m³c-hrw* had come to refer exclusively to the dead, and could for all practical purposes be translated as "deceased."⁵⁰ Other studies, however, have established that this is not in fact the case. In some texts, such as expedition inscriptions and graffiti, *m³c-hrw* clearly seems to be used epithets belonging to living people.⁵¹ In royal inscriptions, it sometimes pertains to the king's legal right to rule.⁵² For example, the *Instructions for Merykara* advise the king to *sm³c-hrw r-gs ntr*, "be vindicated before the god," in the context of just rule and effective kingship, activities that must have been intended to be carried out in life as well as in perpetuity.⁵³ The hymn to

⁴⁴ Griffiths, *Horus and Seth*, 57.

⁴⁵ Griffiths, *Horus and Seth*, 60-65.

⁴⁶ Anthes, "Original Meaning," 22; Griffiths, *Horus and Seth*, 57-58.

⁴⁷ Schenkel, *Frümittelägyptische Studien*, 76.

⁴⁸ Barta, *Opferformel*, 31 (no. 45), 49 (no. 45 a, b), 60 (no. 7e), 65 (no. 80a).

⁴⁹ For the legal significance, see Barta, *Opferformel*, 49, Bitte 45b: *hrw.f m³c w m hsb t 3w*. For the connection to the afterlife, see Barta, *Opferformel*, 59-60, Bitte 7 (especially 60, nos. 7e and f) and 85, Bitte 80a.

⁵⁰ Gardiner, *Grammar*, 50-51; Simpson, "Polygamy," 102, notes that in a scene from tomb 1 at Assiut, one of Djefaihapi's wives is designated *m³t-hrw*, and another *nbt lm³h*. Simpson suggested that the former is a deceased wife while the latter is still alive. Clearly, the scribe intended to make a distinction between the two women in some way, but whether the different epithets were meant to indicate that one was dead and the other alive is uncertain.

⁵¹ For examples and references, see Leprohon, "Amenemhat III," 308.

⁵² Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 109-111.

⁵³ P. Petersburg 1116A, line 30: Helck, *Merykara*, Lichtheim, *Literature*, 99.

Senwosret III on a papyrus from Kahun refers to the actions of the living king as well, when it says *itj.f t'wy m m³'-hrw*, "it is as a vindicated one that he seizes the Two Lands," indicating that he did so with divine sanction and legal right.⁵⁴ In other Middle Kingdom royal inscriptions, *m³'-hrw* also appears to have served as an honorific appellation of the senior co-regent while he was still alive.⁵⁵ Texts from the New Kingdom also indicate that it could be used as a legal term for living non-royal individuals.⁵⁶

Although it is not common, *m³'-hrw* may be followed by the preposition *hr* and the name of a deity by whom the individual is said to be vindicated.⁵⁷ As is the case with *m³'-hrw* alone, these epithets follow the names of the individuals they describe. Almost all examples in which *m³'-hrw* is followed by the name of a deity come from tombs, such as at Meir, where the gods mentioned—Anubis, Osiris, and the Ennead—are all deities associated with divine judgment and the afterlife. In the tomb of Senbi II (B2), the epithet "vindicated by the Ennead" is found on the false door of Senbi's daughter Mersi, although it is otherwise unattested in a text belonging to a woman.⁵⁸ At Elephantine, a stela dedicated by Sarenput I for his father describes his mother as *m³'(t)-hrw hr ntr 3 nb pt*, "vindicated by the great god, lord of heaven,"⁵⁹ also an unusual epithet for a woman. On Abydene stelae, where such epithets are rare, they probably refer to Osiris, although he is not named directly. The stela of Senwosret son of Hetepet is typical, calling its owner "vindicated by the great god".⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri*, pl. I, 1.1; Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 110.

⁵⁵ Leprohon, "Amenemhat III," 308-9; Simpson, "Single-dated Monuments," 216; Wegner, "Sesostris III," 278.

⁵⁶ Anthes, "Original Meaning," 26, also cites examples in which officials are said to be *m³'-hrw* in the palace, a use which is inconsistent with a reference to the dead.

⁵⁷ See Appendix 2.

⁵⁸ Meir VI, pl. 6.

⁵⁹ Habachi, *Elephantine IV*, 32, fig. 5b; pl. 20. For the rendering of the mother's name, see Franke, *Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 109.

⁶⁰ For the stela of Senwosret son of Hetepet, see Frankfort, "Cemeteries of Abydos," pl. 20.1 For the term *ntr 3*, see Hornung, *Conceptions*, 186-187; Baines, "Greatest god," 13-28; Fischer, "Marginalia II," 72-75. For the use of the term as an epithet of Osiris in particular, see Spiegel, *Götter*, 25-30.

2.2. *Im³h(y)* and *Im³h(y) hr*

The epithet *im³h(y)*, "venerated," was very common during much of the Middle Kingdom, as it was from the late Old Kingdom onward.⁶¹ It usually occurs at the end of the offering formula, following the list of requests. Unlike *m³c-hrw*, it always precedes the name of the individual it describes. C. J. C. Bennet, in his study of the development of the *hṭp di nswt* formula, describes the gradual transformation in the nature this epithet's use in offering formulae during the Middle Kingdom.⁶² In the Dynasty 11 and early Dynasty 12 (through the reign of Senwosret I), the inscription owner is designated simply as *im³h(y)*, "the venerated one." By the reign of Amenemhat II, the expression *k³ n im³h(y)*, "the ka of the venerated one," had become the more common designation. Finally, at the end of Dynasty 12 and in Dynasty 13, *im³h(y)* drops out altogether, leaving simply *k³ n*, "the ka of." The wives of monument owners, as well as other subsidiary figures, both male and female, are routinely called *im³h(y)* or *im³h(t)*, as well.

The precise meaning of *im³h(y)* is difficult to render adequately. Derived from the verb *im³hy*, meaning "to honor," "to venerate," "to esteem" or "to rank,"⁶³ it was first used in tomb inscriptions of the Old Kingdom with the meaning "well-provided" by the king or a deity, a reference to the mortuary cult of the deceased.⁶⁴ By the end of the Old Kingdom, it had already come to mean "esteemed" or "venerated."⁶⁵ J. Assmann observes that by the late Old Kingdom, it was believed that the deceased achieved the state of being a *im³hy* in death through doing *ma'at* in life, guaranteeing the perpetuation of his memorial cult.⁶⁶ In offering formulae from as early as Dynasty 4, *im³h* refers to the state of veneration after death, while by Dynasty 5 *im³h(w)* refers to the venerated dead themselves.⁶⁷ Barta's request number 12, for example, asks, *hpi.f hr w³wt nfrwt hppwt im³hw hr sn*, "may he travel upon the beautiful ways on which the venerated

⁶¹ See Appendix 2.

⁶² Bennet, "*Hṭp-di-nswt*," 79.

⁶³ For the form, see Gardiner, *Grammar*, 277-279. For the meaning, see Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 20, *Wb. I*, 81; Barta, *Opferformel*, 343.

⁶⁴ *Wb. I*, 82-82; Assmann, *Ma'at*, 99.

⁶⁵ *Wb. I*, 82 Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 142. See discussion in Fischer, "Three Stelae," 66.

⁶⁶ Assmann, *Ma'at*, 99.

⁶⁷ Barta, *Opferformel*, 10, 16-19; especially requests no. 11 and 12.

ones travel." Requests of this type continue throughout the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom.⁶⁸ Some Middle Kingdom requests clearly refer to the *im³h(w)* as already dead and dwelling either in the west or in the necropolis.⁶⁹ The Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts suggest that once the deceased had achieved the status of a *im³h*, he or she could partake to some extent in the domain of the gods.⁷⁰

Nevertheless, *im³h(y)* does not refer exclusively to those who have already died. At least during the Old Kingdom, it also describes the elderly and others who are venerated while alive, as in the Westcar Papyrus, in which the prince Hardedef greets the aged wise man, Djedi as a "venerated one."⁷¹ Similar examples may be found in the offering formula itself.⁷² H.G. Fischer cites the example of an Old Kingdom architrave which reads *ḡd.tn ink is im³hw mi wn ḡd.ti ir(.i) tp t²*, "May you say that I am indeed a venerated one, as it was when one spoke of me upon earth."⁷³ While references such as these are not as well documented during the Middle Kingdom, it is likely that *im³h(y)* continued to refer at least in some cases to the living as well as the dead.

In many cases, especially in tombs, on coffins and on statue bases, *im³h(y)* is followed by the preposition *hr* and the name of a deity by whom the individual is said to be venerated.⁷⁴ Such epithets account for the vast majority of references to gods and goddesses in non-royal inscriptions from the Old through Middle Kingdoms. As is the case with *im³h(y)* alone, *im³h(y) hr* often appears at the end of the offering formula, immediately before the name of the inscription owner. As a result, *im³h(y)* and *im³h(y) hr* never appear side by side in the same text. It is quite common, however, for *im³h(y) hr* to occur several times in the same inscription, each time referring to a differ-

⁶⁸ Barta, *Opferformel*, 27 (no. 11), 28 (no. 12), 30 (nos. 30c, 31b, 33c), 31 (no. 37a, 38b), 39 (no. 12 a, b), 40 (no. 31, 33c, 38), 41 (no. 47), 48 (no. 12a, 32, 33a), 60 (no. 12, 17a), 62 (no. 33 a, b, 38 a, c), (no. 38d).

⁶⁹ For example, see Barta, *Opferformel*, 59, 4f: *di.f krs nfr m smit imntt m-m im³hw nw hrt-ntr*. "May he grant a good burial in the western desert among the venerated ones of the necropolis."

⁷⁰ See, for example, PT 1203; CT spell 1011.

⁷¹ *Wb.* I, 81; Assmann, *Ma'at*, 123.

⁷² Lapp, *Opferformel*, 215-217.

⁷³ Fischer, "Marginalia," 22.

⁷⁴ For examples, see Appendix 2.

ent god or goddess. This is especially true on statue bases and coffins, which describe the deceased as venerated by a series of funerary and sometimes local deities. The inscription on one of the architraves in the tomb of Khnumhotep II (tomb 3) at Beni Hasan, for example, describes Khnumhotep as being venerated by Anubis, Osiris, Horus "who smites the *rekhyt*," and Pakhet, Mistress of the Speios Valley, incorporating the names of both funerary and local deities.⁷⁵ Some of the statues from the sanctuary of Heqaib at Elephantine also list a series of local gods and goddesses, as well as funerary gods. The inscription on the statue of Ameny (no. 60), for example, says that he is venerated by Anuket, Satet, and the deified Heqaib.⁷⁶

Epithets introduced by *im³h(y) hr* are, in general, significantly more likely to invoke the names of gods and goddesses associated with mortuary cult than deities affiliated with local temples and cults. As the following table demonstrates, Osiris is the god most often named, especially in cemeteries.⁷⁷ Anubis continued to be named frequently in the *im³hy hr* Deity formula from the Old Kingdom through Dynasty 11 and into the first half of Dynasty 12, after which his name appears less frequently, reflecting his relative decline in favor of Osiris after the end of the Old Kingdom.⁷⁸ Epithets introduced by *im³h(y) hr* also name Ptah-Sokar or Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, who appears with greater frequency in late Dynasty 12 and Dynasty 13 than earlier, and is especially popular at Elephantine. The tendency to name funerary deities following *im³h(y) hr*, in particular in middle to late Dynasty 12, supports the assertion that these epithets had by this time come to refer primarily to the afterlife. It is noteworthy that local deities are more often invoked early in the Middle Kingdom, a time in which, as later chapters will demonstrate, the emphasis on mortuary cult is less clearly dominant than it is during and after the

⁷⁵ Beni Hasan II, pl. 24.

⁷⁶ Habachi, *Elephantine IV*, pls. 142-143. Although the sanctuary was dedicated to Heqaib, epithets such as this one that invoke his name are not common.

⁷⁷ For gods named in the offering formula, see Barta, *Opferformel*, 51, 56, 68. Bennet, "*Htp-dl-nsw*," 78-81 discusses the different writings in the name of Osiris, as well as the relative popularity of different gods during various phases of the Middle Kingdom. On the whole, my own findings support and confirm Bennet's chronological development, with the possible exception of his assertion on 80 that Wepwawet often replaces Anubis during the reign of Senwosret III.

⁷⁸ Bennet, "*Htp-dl-nsw*," 80; Barta, *Opferformel*, 45.

reign of Senwosret III, and in which the original Old Kingdom meaning of *im³h(y) hr* may still have been at least partially retained.

Hathor is the only goddess regularly named in the *im³h(y) hr* Deity formula outside her own cult center. Not only was Hathor associated with the judgment of the dead and with the necropolis, especially at Thebes, but she also occupied a prominent position in the personal religion of both royal and non-royal women, as the spouse of Re and the archetypal wife and mother. The epithet *im³ht hr Hwt-Hr*, "venerated by Hathor," is especially common among women, and is found in inscriptions of women throughout Egypt. *Im³hy hr Hwt-Hr* is significantly less popular among men. The majority of examples come from Meir, where Hathor, Mistress of Cusae was the regional deity, and local officials routinely held priestly titles in her cult.

TABLE 1: Deities Named with *im³h(y) hr*⁷⁹

<i>Deity</i>	<i>number of occurrences</i>	<i>Sites</i>
Anubis	10	Abydos, Assiut, Beni Hasan, Elephantine, Lahun, Saqqara
Anuket	1	Elephantine
Geb	4	Elephantine
"the god"	1	Saqqara
"the great god"	1	Naga ed Der
"the great gods"	1	Thebes
"the great god, lord of Abydos"	2	Abydos, Thebes
"the great god, lord of the sky"	14	Abydos, Bersheh, Deir Rifeh, Elephantine, Ezbet Rushdie, Saqqara, Thebes
Hathor	8	Abydos, Beni Hasan, Meir, Thebes
Hekat	1	Beni Hasan
Heqaib	1	Elephantine

⁷⁹ Numbers are based only on the texts listed in Appendix 1, and do not represent the total number of Middle Kingdom occurrences. The table does not include inscriptions from coffins found in the tombs listed.

"His local god"	1	Elephantine
Horus	5	Beni Hasan
Inheret	1	Naga ed Der
Khnum	4	Beni Hasan, Elephantine
Nekhbet	1	Elephantine
Osiris	32	Abydos, Assiut, Beni Hasan, Bersheh, Elephantine, Ezbet Rushdie, Meir, Saqqara, Thebes
Pakhet	1	Beni Hasan
Ptah	5	Elephantine, Ezbet Rushdie
Ptah-Sokar	10	Bersheh, Elephantine, Meir, Saqqara
Satet	3	Elephantine
Sobek	1	Lahun
Sokar	1	Lahun (?)
Wepwawet	2	Abydos, Assiut

In a small number of inscriptions from Dynasty 12, officials claim to be *im³h(y) hr nswt*, "venerated by the king."⁸⁰ In these instances, *im³h(y)* may retain its original Old Kingdom meaning of "provided for," referring to a living king.⁸¹ Alternatively, the epithets might refer to a deceased or deified king, invoked as an advocate in the afterlife. Three of the recorded examples come from funerary contexts, namely the tomb of Khnumhotep II at Beni Hasan, the mastaba of Khnumhotep at Dahshur, and the sarcophagus of Ihy from Saqqara.⁸² Two statues from the Dynasty 12 temple at Ezbet Rushdie, belonging to officials named Ankhhor and Senwosret, both bear the epithet *im³h(y) hr nswt bity Shtp-ib-r^c*, "venerated by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibra."⁸³ Both the Dahshur and Saqqara examples come from tombs located in cemeteries adjacent to royal pyramids, in which officials presumably sought to partake in the benefits of the royal mortuary cult nearby, and in which the deceased king was, as Osiris, a deity in his own right. The

⁸⁰ Old Kingdom precedents for this epithet occur as well. See Barta, *Opferformel*, 11.

⁸¹ For Dynasty 6 examples, see Helck, "Privaten Grabbesitz," 68-70.

⁸² *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 25; DeMorgan, *Dahchour*, fig. 24; Firth and Gunn, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 287-288.

⁸³ Adam, "Ezbet Rushdie," 213-214.

Ezbet Rushdie statues were dedicated within a royal *ka* temple built by Amenemhat I, whose name is specified in the epithet. This temple continued to draw worshippers well after Amenemhat's reign, and is known to have been restored under Senwosret III, during whose reign Ankhhor and Senwosret dedicated their statues. In invoking the name of Schetepibra, the officials who placed their statues in Amenemhat I's temple could have been referring to him as Osiris, rather than as a living king. In the Beni Hasan tomb of Khnumhotep II, *im³hy hr nswt* occurs in the great biographical inscription, where it refers to Amenemhat II, a king under whom Khnumhotep had served earlier in his career, but who was dead at the time the text was inscribed.

Im³ht and *im³ht hr* Deity are among the most common epithets of women, although much less common than *m³t-hrw*. In addition to naming deities, women who are depicted on the monuments of their male relatives are sometimes said to be venerated by the men on whose monuments they are pictured. In Beni Hasan tomb 2, for example, Hetepet, the wife of Amenemhat, is called *im³ht hr hy.s*, "venerated by her husband."⁸⁴ Precedents for this epithet, in which women are said to be venerated by their husbands, occur as early as Dynasty 5. A similar reference appears on the Abydene stela of Kheperkara (CG 20531), whose mother, Insedjemyt, is described as *im³ht.f*, with the suffix pronoun *f* referring to her son, the owner of the stela.⁸⁵ In both the tomb of Khnumhotep II and the stela of Kheperkara, the person by whom the woman is said to be venerated is the principal figure on the monument, so that the relationship of the subsidiary figures to the main figure parallels that between the main figure and the king or the gods.⁸⁶ It is possible that in these cases, *im³ht* may have a dual meaning, both retaining its original meaning of "provided for," in the sense that the monument was literally provided by the man who commissioned it, and referring to the monument owner as an honored spirit in perpetuity.

⁸⁴ *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 28.

⁸⁵ ANOC 23.1.

⁸⁶ For a discussion of a similar phenomenon with regard to the epithet "beloved," see Simpson, "Amor dei," 493-499.

TABLE 2: *Im³ht hr* in Epithets of Women⁸⁷

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>Inpw tpy ḡw.f</i>	Anubis upon his mountain	BM 569	Am. II
<i>Wsr</i>	Osiris	TT 60	Sen. I
<i>Wsr nb ³bdw</i>	Osiris, Lord of Abydos	Beni Hasan 23	Dyn. 12
<i>Wsr nb imntt</i>	Osiris, Lord of the west	TT 60	Sen. I
<i>Pth-Skr</i>	Ptah-Sokar	Meir B3	Sen. I-Am. II
<i>ntr ³ nb pt</i>	The great god, lord of the sky	CG 20531 TT 60	Am. II Sen. I
<i>ntr.s niwty</i>	Her local god	Meir B3	Sen. I-Am. II
<i>ntrw ³w</i>	The great gods	TT 60	Sen. I
<i>hy.s</i>	her husband	Beni Hasan 2	Sen. I-Am. II
<i>Hwt-Hr</i>	Hathor	Meir B3 Beni Hasan 2	Sen. I-Am. II Sen. I-Am. II
<i>Hwt-Hr nbt ³wnt</i>	Hathor, mistress of Dendera	TT 60	Sen. I
<i>Hwt-Hr nbt Nfrws</i>	Hathor, mistress of Neferues	Beni Hasan 14	Am. I

2.3. *Nb im³h*

Closely related in meaning to *im³h(y)*, and perhaps virtually synonymous with it, is the very common epithet *nb im³h*, "possessor of a venerated state."⁸⁸ This phrase almost always occurs at the end of the offering formula, following the name of the inscription owner and the epithet *m³c-hrw*, if the latter is used. Like *im³h(y)*, it may be modified by a prepositional phrase composed of the preposition *hr* and the name of a god or goddess (usually one affiliated with funerary cult) or by the word *ntr*, "the god."⁸⁹ Epithets of this form, however, are extremely uncommon during the Middle Kingdom.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Examples taken only from the texts listed in Appendix 1.

⁸⁸ For examples, see Appendix 2.

⁸⁹ Barta, *Opferformel*, 11. See Appendix 2.

⁹⁰ On the chapel of Ameny son of Satethotep at Elephantine, Ameny calls himself *nb im³h hr Pth-Skr*, "possessor of veneration before Ptah-Sokar." See Habachi, *Elephantine IV*, pl. 143.

As with *im³h(y)*, the presence of the phrase *nb im³h* probably does not indicate necessarily that the individual it describes is already dead.

TABLE 3: Occurrence of *im³hy*, *nb im³h*, *m³c-hrw* 'nd *whm-cnh*⁹¹

Date	Epithet	Tomb	Sanct.	Other	Total
Dyn. 11 ⁹²	<i>im³hy</i>	13	0	0	13
	<i>nb im³h</i>	0	0	2	2
	<i>m³c-hrw</i>	4	0	4	8
	<i>whm-cnh</i>	0	0	0	0
Amen. I - Sen. I	<i>im³hy</i>	12	21	0	33
	<i>nb im³h</i>	10	7	1	18
	<i>m³c-hrw</i>	13	18	3	34
	<i>whm-cnh</i>	0	0	0	0
Amen. II - Sen. II	<i>im³hy</i>	7	11	0	18
	<i>nb im³h</i>	8	16	0	24
	<i>m³c-hrw</i>	12	10	3	25
	<i>whm-cnh</i>	0	0	0	0
Sen. III	<i>im³hy</i>	0	2	1	3
	<i>nb im³h</i>	5	5	5	15
	<i>m³c-hrw</i>	1	9	7	17
	<i>whm-cnh</i>	0	0	0	0
Amen. III- IV	<i>im³hy</i>	0	1	2	3
	<i>nb im³h</i>	0	21	11	32
	<i>m³c-hrw</i>	3	34	6	43
	<i>whm-cnh</i>	0	3	0	3
Dyn. 13	<i>im³hy</i>	0	0	0	0
	<i>nb im³h</i>	1	9	1	11
	<i>m³c-hrw</i>	3	21	2	26
	<i>whm-cnh</i>	0	4	9	13

Nb im³h first appears in the offering formulae of Dynasty 4, in the request *iw.f m nb im³h r imntt*, "may he enter into the West as the possessor of veneration."⁹³ The Coffin Texts also refer to the deceased as possessing a venerated state, which is credited with causing

⁹¹ Table includes data from texts listed in Appendix 1 only.

⁹² Post-unification Dynasty 11 only.

⁹³ Barta, *Opferformel*, 8, 1.

him to behave in a manner that opposes *isft* and resembles the behavior of the gods.⁹⁴ As an epithet, *nb imꜥh* first appears sporadically in late Dynasty 11, but becomes very common during Dynasty 12.⁹⁵ Although it continues to be used in Dynasty 13, it becomes less common, and is gradually replaced by the epithet *wꜥm-ꜥnh*, "repeating life."

2.4. *Wꜥm-ꜥnh*

The epithet *wꜥm-ꜥnh*, "repeating life," which first occurs late in the reign of Amenemhat III and becomes increasingly common in Dynasty 13, relates to the a cyclical interpretation of the afterlife, in which the deceased sinks below the horizon to be reborn like Re at daybreak.⁹⁶ It appears to have been especially popular at expedition sites, originating in the Sinai late in Dynasty 12, and not appearing in Egypt itself until Dynasty 13.⁹⁷ Like *mꜥꜥ-ḥrw* and *nb imꜥh*, *wꜥm-ꜥnh* normally follows the name of the person it describes. While it achieved considerable popularity in the second half of Dynasty 13, it did not completely supplant *mꜥꜥ-ḥrw* or *nb imꜥh*, both of which continue to be used at both Abydos and Elephantine, as table 3 illustrates. On some monuments, *wꜥm-ꜥnh* and *mꜥꜥ-ḥrw* occur simultaneously, as in the sanctuary of Edfu, where *mꜥꜥ-ḥrw* and *wꜥm-ꜥnh* are used alongside one another after the name of the monument owner.⁹⁸ R. J. Leprohon has recently noted that when more than one official is depicted on a monument, the context occasionally suggests that *wꜥm-ꜥnh* was considered a higher status epithet by the end of Dynasty 12 or beginning of Dynasty 13. Leprohon cites a late Middle Kingdom stela of uncertain provenience,⁹⁹ which lists the titles and epithets of two officials, a Soldier of the Town Regiment (*ꜥnh n niwt*) and a Commander-in-Chief of the Town Regiment (*ꜥꜥw n niwt*). Only the senior officer is given the epithet *wꜥm-ꜥnh*, while both are called *mꜥꜥ-ḥrw*.

⁹⁴ See for example CT 1011, DeBuck, *Coffin Texts* VII, 226.

⁹⁵ Schenkel, *Frümittelägyptische Studien*, 76.

⁹⁶ Frankfort, *Religion*, 107.

⁹⁷ The earliest examples are Sinai no. 51 (Amenemhat III, year 38) and no. 142 (Amenemhat III, year 42). For a recent discussion, see Leprohon, "Late Middle Kingdom Stela," 524-527.

⁹⁸ See, for example, Alliot, *Edfou*, 30, 36, 37.

⁹⁹ Leprohon, "Late Middle Kingdom Stela," 524-527.

2.5. *Wsr*: The Deceased as Osiris

In a few cases, deceased non-royal officials are designated by the term *Wsr* NN, "the Osiris NN" or *Wsr h3ty-ꜥ* NN, "the Osiris, the local ruler NN," epithets that identify the individual directly with Osiris. Examples are listed in the following table:

TABLE 4: Epithets designating the deceased as "Osiris"

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>Wsr</i>	The Osiris	JE 91253	Dyn. 12
<i>Wsr N</i>	The Osiris N	Meir B2 Heqaib 36	Sen. I Dyn. 13
<i>Wsr h3ty-ꜥ N</i>	The Osiris, the local ruler N	Heqaib 1	Sen. I
<i>Wsr h3ty-ꜥ N pn</i>	This Osiris, the local ruler N	Meir B2 Meir B4 Heqaib 26 Heqaib 27	Sen. I Am. II Sen. III Sen. III

The practice of identifying the dead with Osiris originated in the Pyramid Texts, where it referred exclusively to the deceased king. In very rare cases, Old Kingdom offering formulae also designate the individual as *Wsr* NN.¹⁰⁰ This identification was extended to private people on a somewhat larger scale during the Heracleopolitan Period when, along with copying Pyramid Text spells in coffins and burial chambers, officials selectively adopted the epithet "Osiris" for use elsewhere in their tombs.¹⁰¹ The earliest examples, as H. G. Fischer demonstrates, come from Saqqara, where the Pyramid Texts were available as a model.¹⁰² In this context, they are found only after the short offering list.

In the Middle Kingdom, the epithet *Wsr* was never widespread among non-royal officials, and was restricted to a small number of sites, including Saqqara, Meir, and Elephantine.¹⁰³ Without excep-

¹⁰⁰ Lapp, *Opferformel*, 219.

¹⁰¹ Fischer, "Osiris *Iti*," 35-41.

¹⁰² Fischer, "Osiris *Iti*," 37.

¹⁰³ Fischer, "Osiris *Iti*," 37-38 lists the examples, aside from those from Elephantine. He notes that of 700 stelae recorded in the *Catalogue Général*, only three contain this epithet.

tion, the examples from tombs are found in connection with an offering scene, in a shrine, or on a false door. At Elephantine, *Wsr ḥꜣty-ꜣ NN* also occurs on statue bases. Thus, even more so than *imꜣḥ(y)*, the epithet is clearly linked to the funerary cult. Why it is found only at these sites, which are neither identical in function nor in close proximity to one another, is difficult to explain. At Saqqara at least, the Middle Kingdom examples continue a Heracleopolitan tradition. The same does not appear to be true for Elephantine or Meir.

3. *Interaction with the Gods: the Official in the Temple*

For the most part, Middle Kingdom epithets referring to the gods are limited to formulaic funerary phrases such as those discussed in the previous section. Expressions of piety, interaction between human beings and the gods, are never common prior to the New Kingdom.¹⁰⁴ As J. Baines has observed, much of personal religion involved protection against misfortune, a subject which would have been considered inappropriate in memorial inscriptions.¹⁰⁵ Funerary ritual was another important aspect of religious practice, and was depicted to a limited degree in tombs. Cult practice in the temple setting was officially portrayed exclusively as a royal responsibility. However, as Baines points out, in actual practice it was the local elite who performed rituals in most temples, and statues of the elite may have served as intermediaries through whom the majority of the population could communicate with deities, to whom they otherwise had no direct access. The local rulers, like Djefaihapi I of Assiut, thus cast themselves in a royal role, taking an active role in cult practice and implying that they could perform ritual actions on behalf of the larger population in exchange for public support and labor.¹⁰⁶

A small but significant category of epithets focuses on the role of the official in cult practice. These phrases, which are largely limited to texts belonging to local officials and priests in local cults, present the official as the ideal priest. They stress his devotion, his generosity in providing offerings, and his careful performance of ritual. In

¹⁰⁴ Baines, "Practical Religion," 79-98.

¹⁰⁵ Baines, "Practical Religion," 91.

¹⁰⁶ Baines, "Practical Religion," 92-93.

exchange, he receives the love and favor of local gods and transfers it to his subordinates. Epithets therefore portray highly-ranked local officials as conduits through which the produce of their districts is transmitted to the gods and through whom divine blessing are transferred back to the local inhabitants. In effect, they cast him symbolically in the role of the king.¹⁰⁷

TABLE 5: Epithets Referring to the Official's Role in Cult Practice

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>iwn knmwt</i>	Pillar of the leopard skin (?)	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>imy-r r-prw</i>	Overseer of chapels	BH 2	Sen. I-Am. II
<i>imy-r hmw-ntr n-wn-mꜛ' n Wp-wꜛwt nb Sꜛwt</i>	True overseer of priests of Wepwawet, Lord of Assiut	Assiut 2	Dyn. 12 (?)
<i>ir mnw n nhꜥ m hwt-ntr</i>	Who constructs the monuments of eternity in the temple	BH 17	Dyn. 10/11 (?)
<i>ir htpw n ntr nb n Mꜥhd</i>	Who make offerings to every god of the Oryx Nome	BH 15 BH 17	Dyn. 10/11 (?) Dyn. 10/11 (?)
<i>ꜥꜥ hꜥw</i>	Great of braziers	Hatnub 24	Men. IV (?)
<i>ꜥꜥ mnw n hwt-ntr</i>	Great in monuments for the temple	Assiut 5	Dyn. 9/10
<i>'bꜥ' wy m shkr ntr</i>	Who presents (his) hands in adorning the god	CG 20538	Am. III
<i>ꜥꜥꜥ sftw</i>	Rich in sacrifices	Bersheh 5	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>wr w'bt m hwt-ntr</i>	Great of meat offerings in the temple	Leiden V4	Sen. I
<i>wꜥm htpw nb</i>	Who repeats every offering	Assiut 5	Dyn. 9/10

¹⁰⁷ Baines, "Practical Religion," 80-81, 91.

<i>wsr 'wy m st shkrt</i>	Strong of hands in the place of adornment	Meir C1	Sen. II-Sen. III
<i>wšn ʔpdw n kʔ n Dḥwty</i>	Who slaughters fowl for the <i>ka</i> of Thoth	Hatnub 17	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>ms ibr stkn ḥknw</i>	Who brings the laudanum (?) and brings forth the <i>hekenu</i> -oil	Hatnub 17	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>nb t ḥnkt nḏmt shṭp.f ḥwt-nṯr</i>	Possessor of bread and sweet beer that he might provide for the temple	Hatnub 17	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>ḥby m wsḥt</i>	Festive in the portal	Bersheh 5 Hatnub 17 Hatnub 23	Dyn. 11 (?) Dyn. 11/12 Dyn. 11/12
<i>ḥry-tp ʔ m Pr-wr</i>	Great overlord of the shrine of upper Egypt	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>ḥry-tp ḥwt-nṯr mi kd.s</i>	Chief of the entire temple	Hatnub 23	Am. I (?)
<i>ḥrp iʔwt nbt nṯrt</i>	Controller of every divine office	Saqq. 11Sq Saqq. 18X Assiut 1 BM 1177 Meir B4 Bersheh 2	Am. I Am. I Sen. I Sen. I Am. II Am. II-Sen. III
<i>ḥrp wrḥt</i>	Controller of ointment	Bersheh 5 BH 2	Dyn. 11 (?) Sen. I-Am. II
<i>ḥrp ḥtpw-nṯr</i>	Controller of divine offerings	BH 2 Sinai 96	Sen. I-Am. II Am. III
<i>ḥrp ḥtpw-nṯr m rw-pr nṯrw niwt tn</i>	Controller of divine offerings in the chapels of the gods of this township	BH 13	Dyn. 12
<i>ḥtm nwdw špsw</i>	Who seals the precious unguents	Bersheh 8	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>ḥry-ḥbt ikrt</i>	Worthy lector priest	Hatnub 12	Dyn. 10/11 (?)

<i>s n hb</i>	Man of festival	Bersheh 1	Am. I-Sen. I (?)
<i>s3t n lrw m3't</i>	Who pours libations for the one who does <i>ma'at</i>	Hatnub 26 Hatnub 23	Men. IV (?) Am. I (?)
<i>sw3š sw m Dhwtt</i>	Who pays homage to him on the feast of Thoth	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>swr hnkt 33wt</i>	Who increases the abundant drink offerings	Meir C1	Sen. II-Sen. III
<i>sft m hwt-ntr m hrt-hrw</i>	Who makes sacrifices in the temple daily	Munich GL-WAF 35	Am. II
<i>sm3y n hrw-nfr</i>	Who joins in holiday	Hatnub 20 Hatnub 24 Hatnub 26 Hatnub 23 Bersheh 1	Dyn. 11 (?) Men. IV(?) Men. IV(?) Am. I Am. I-Sen. I
<i>smsw snwt</i>	Elder of a shrine	Saqq. 18X	Am. I
<i>sndm st(y) hwt-ntr</i>	Who sweetens the smell of the temple	Bersheh 5 Hatnub 20 Hatnub 24	Dyn. 11 (?) Dyn. 11 (?) Men. IV (?)
<i>sš md3t-ntr</i>	Scribe of the sacred writings	Hatnub 12 Assiut 1	Dyn. 10/11 Sen. I
<i>sdf3y h3wt ntrw imyw Wnt</i>	Who endows the altars of the gods who are in the Hare Nome	Bersheh 5	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>k3l mdw dw3.f sw3š.f</i>	Uplifted of voice when he worships and when he pays homage	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>drp m h3w</i>	Who makes offerings in the thousands	Bersheh 5	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>drp Hr W3sty</i>	Who makes offerings to Horus the Theban	Louvre C243	Am. II

<i>dd pr ḥtpw-ntr n ntrw rsyw</i>	Who causes incense to go forth for the gods of the South	Louvre C2	Sen. I
<i>dd tp-rd n ḥmw-ntr</i>	Who gives instructions to the ḥm-priests	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>ḏwi psdt iw.sn</i>	Who summons the Ennead so that they come	Meir C1	Sen. II-Sen. III
<i>ḏb³w ntr m mnḥt.f</i>	Who clothes the god in his clothing	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>sḏb³w ḥtw s³bw ntrw šmsw-Ḥr</i>	Who clothes the bodies of the dignitaries, the gods, and the followers of Horus	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>ḏsr m sšm m pr wr</i>	Splendid of guidance in the Great Place	Meir B2 Meir B3	Sen. I Am. II

Crucial to this role of intermediary between the human and divine realms is the official's access to the deity. The significance of this restricted access is demonstrated by epithets stressing knowledge of secret information, access to private or restricted places, or a role in opening and closing the shrine housing the cult image.

TABLE 6: Epithets Referring to Restricted Access in Cultic Context

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>iry sšt³ n ḥtmty ntr</i>	Keeper of secrets of the god's sealer	Hatnub 26	Men. IV (?)
<i>ḳ ḥw nb sšt³</i>	Who enters into all secret knowledge	Sinai 101A	Am. III
<i>wb³ n.f ḏsrw nbw</i>	For whom everything sacred is revealed	Bersheh 8	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>wn ḥr sw³ḏ sin</i>	Who opens the face and refurbishes the mud seal	Hatnub 26	Men. IV (?)
<i>wstn ḥr st sšt³t</i>	Who travels freely through the secret place	Bersheh 8	Dyn. 11 (?)

<i>mꜣꜣ nfrw Wp-wꜣwt</i>	Who sees the beauty of Wepwawet	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>mꜣꜣ nfrw nb.f</i>	Who sees the beauty of his lord	Assiut 4 Assiut 1 Hatnub 26 Saqqara 18X Bersheh 7 Leiden V4	Dyn. 10/11 Men. IV (?) Am. I Sen. I (?) Sen. I Sen. I
<i>mꜣꜣ ḥbt m ḏsrw</i>	Who sees the dance in secrecy	Bersheh 8	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>mꜣꜣ šḥtp nṯrw</i>	Who sees what propitiates the gods	Bersheh 8	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>ḥry sgr m wꜣt</i>	Master of silence in private	Leiden V4	Sen. I
<i>ḥry-sštꜣ n pr-ḥḥ</i>	Master of secrets in the House of Life	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>ḥry-sštꜣ n ḥwt-nṯr</i>	Master of secrets in the temple	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>šdm mdt m ḥwt n(t) Gb</i>	Who hears the words in the temple of Geb	BM 572	Sen. I
<i>ḏdw n.f mdt ḥꜣpt</i>	To whom secret words are spoken	CG 20539 CG 20538	Sen. I Am. III

4. The King

To the ancient Egyptians, the king was responsible, either directly or indirectly, for every inscribed monument constructed on behalf of a private individual.¹⁰⁸ The owners of Middle Kingdom tombs frequently included evidence of their favor with the king, to whose authority they attributed their own positions and their right to a monumental tomb.¹⁰⁹ Likewise, Abydene stelae may credit the king with awarding a tomb or chapel at Abydos.¹¹⁰ Expeditions to mines,

¹⁰⁸ Frankfort, *Kingship*, 52 ff.

¹⁰⁹ See Silverman, "Kingship," 62-63. A good example of this practice is the long biographical text of Khnumhotep II in tomb 3 at Beni Hasan. Beni Hasan I, pls. 25-26; Lloyd, "Khnumhotep," 30.

¹¹⁰ For examples, see the stelae of Wepwawetaa (Leiden V4 and Munich GL.WAF 35), who was a local priest and was buried at Abydos; as well as the stelae of Mery (Louvre C3), Shensetji (LACMA), Dediq (Berlin 1199), Semti (BM 574), and Ikhemofret (Berlin 1204).

quarries, and military outposts took place under royal authority, with the intention of defending territory or procuring raw materials on behalf of the king. In fact, the king was perceived as critical to the functioning of the Egyptian civilization. Social and cosmic order depended upon the state, which was manifested in the role of the king as intermediary between the gods and humanity.¹¹¹ One would therefore expect the king to be prominent in non-royal epithets. In fact, epithets refer to the king more frequently than all the gods combined, and far more frequently than to other non-royal officials.¹¹²

Epithets virtually never name a specific king, but refer to him in ways that are deliberately abstract, a sensible practice on both a practical and symbolic level. Epithets and the monuments on which they were inscribed were intended to last forever. The memorial cult, like the office of kingship, was conceived as eternal. Therefore, officials presented themselves as loyal retainers who served, and were in turn rewarded by all kings, rather than any specific individual ruler. Certain notable exceptions do occur, and these will be treated separately. Several different terms are used to designate either the king or his office.¹¹³ Most frequently, the king is indicated simply by the third person singular suffix pronoun *f*, as in the epithets *mry.f*, "his beloved," *hsy.f*, "one whom he favors," *n st-ib.f*, "his favorite," and variations of *irr hst.f*, "one who does what he favors." Epithets in which the king is designated by a pronoun generally occur immediately after a title or epithet in which he is identified directly (usually by the title *nswt*), leaving no doubt that the pronoun refers to the king.

4.1. *Nswt*

Nswt is the most frequently used term for the king in Middle Kingdom epithets. The origins of both this title and the term for "King of Lower Egypt," *bity*, are problematic. As K. Sethe noted many years ago, *nswt* probably originated as a designation for the Upper Egyptian king in the Predynastic period. Sethe suggested that it was

¹¹¹ Assmann, *Ma'at*, 200 ff.

¹¹² Approximately 17% of epithets surveyed here involve the relationship between the subject and the king. 10% refer to gods.

¹¹³ See Blumenthal, *Königtum*. For the terminology of kingship in the Old Kingdom, see Goedicke, *Stellung des Königs*.

derived from a term meaning "he of the *swt*-plant," a reference to the symbolic plant of Upper Egypt.¹¹⁴ Sethe's derivation has been questioned by a number of scholars in the intervening period since it was suggested, but no alternative has received general acceptance.¹¹⁵ Most recently, T. Schneider has suggested, based upon the evidence of Hamitosemitic language patterns and early Egyptian writings, that the original meaning was "leader," "prince," or "strong man."¹¹⁶

Very early in Egyptian history, *nswt* came to refer to the king of all Egypt, as it invariably does in Middle Kingdom epithets.¹¹⁷ Rather than an individual king, *nswt* identifies the divine office of kingship, or the king when he functions in this capacity.¹¹⁸ Thus, in epithets like *mry nswt*, "beloved of the king," *im³hy hr nswt*, "venerated by the king," and *hsy n nswt*, "favored by the king," the title is used in the same position in which a god might otherwise be named. Hence, officials state that they are loved, favored and venerated by the occupants of divine offices just as they are by deities.

TABLE 7: *Nswt* in Middle Kingdom Epithets¹¹⁹

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>3wi-ib hr s3m n nswt</i>	Extended of heart regarding royal business	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>im³hy hr nswt</i>	Venerated by the king	Saqqara 18x Dahshur 02	Am. I Sen. III
<i>imy-ib nswt</i>	Favorite of the king	Sinai 405	Sob.
<i>imy-r ht nbt n nswt</i>	Overseer of all royal property	CG 20683 Sinai 98	Sen. II-III Am. III
<i>imy-r s3 n nswt n hft-hr</i>	Overseer of royal writing of the court	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>imy-r skbby n nswt</i>	Overseer of the royal bathroom	TT 103	Men. II

¹¹⁴ Sethe, "König von Oberägypten," 15-23.

¹¹⁵ For a summary of the discussion of this title, with bibliography, see Schneider, "Etymologie," 166-167.

¹¹⁶ Schneider, "Etymologie," 181.

¹¹⁷ Gardiner, *AEO*, 215* notes out that, while this term originally referred only to the king of Upper Egypt, it eventually became the ordinary word for "king".

¹¹⁸ Goedicke, *Stellung des Königs*, 7-17; Silverman, "Kingship," 64-65, 67.

¹¹⁹ For the *pr nswt*, see below, table 12.

<i>imy-r k3wt nbt nt nswt m t3 r- dr.f</i>	Overseer of all royal works in the entire land	Lahun	Sen. III- Am. III
<i>imy-r k3wt nswt</i>	Overseer of royal works	Hamm. 192	Men. IV
<i>in n nswt rh</i>	Who brings knowledge for the king	Hamm. 43	Am. III
<i>in rh nswt mnh shr.f</i>	Who attained the king's acquaintance because his plan was efficient	BM 563 BM 1213	Sen. III Sen. III
<i>iry nfr-h3t m shkr nswt</i>	Keeper of the diadem in adorning the king	BM 839	Am. II
<i>irr h3st nswt m hrt-hrw nt r' nb</i>	Who does what the king favors in the course of every day	Sinai 72	Am. II
<i>3n n nswt</i>	Beautiful to the king	Qubbet el Hawa 36	Sen. I
<i>3k n nswt iwty snw.f</i>	Trusted by the king without his equal	Hatnub 24	Men. IV (?)
<i>w'ty 3h n nswt</i>	Sole one effective for the king	Sinai 101a Sinai 405	Am. III Am. III
<i>w'/w'tt nswt</i>	Sole one of the king	Assiut 4 CG 20539	Dyn. 10 Sen. I
<i>wr n nswt 33 n bity</i>	Great one of the king of Upper Egypt, great one of the king of Lower Egypt	Hamm. 113 Assiut 1 Assiut 2 BM 1177 TT 60 JEA 14, pl. 21 CG 20538	Men. IV Sen. I Dyn. 12 Sen. I Sen. I Sen. III Am. III
<i>mry n nswt/mrrw nswt</i>	Beloved of the king	Assiut 5 Bersheh 5 Turin 1447 Assiut 1 Deir Rifeh 7 Bersheh 2	Dyn. 10 Dyn. 11 (?) Men. II Sen. I Am. II- Sen. II Am. II- Sen. III
<i>mh-lb n nswt, etc.</i>	Favorite of the king	See App. 2	Dyn. 11-12

<i>mty/mtr n nswt</i>	Precise for the king	Hatnub 24 Sinai 112	Men. IV (?) Am. III
<i>r nswt</i>	Royal spokesman	CG 20683	Sen. II-III
<i>rh nswt m²c</i>	True royal acquaintance	See App. 2	
<i>rh nswt hn^c knbt.f</i>	Acquaintance of the king and his court	Hatnub 24 Hatnub 26	Men. IV (?) Men. IV (?)
<i>hry sst³ n ipt nswt</i>	Master of secrets of the king's apartments	Saqqara 18X	Am. I
<i>hry sst³ n nswt m st.f nbt</i>	Master of secrets of the king in all his places	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>hry-tp³ n hkrw nswt</i>	Great overlord of the royal insignia	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>hry-tp db³ nswt m w^cw</i>	Chief of the king's clothing in private	BM 573	Sen. II
<i>hsy/w n nswt</i>	Favored by the king	Hammamat 199 BM 1177	Am. I Sen. I
<i>hpr hr rdwy n nswt</i>	Who grew up at the feet of the king	BM 101	Am. III
<i>hpr nswt</i>	Royal controller	Bersheh 2 Hammamat G70	Am. II- Sen. III Am. III
<i>hpr k³wt nbwt nt nswt</i>	Controller of all royal works	Sinai 112	Am. III
<i>hrd nswt n šdt.f</i>	Child of the king, of his upbringing	Beni Hasan 3	Am. II- Sen. II
<i>sb³ n nswt</i>	Pupil of the king	Assiut 4 BM 1213	Dyn. 10 Sen. III
<i>snw n nswt m wsht³t</i>	Fellow of the king in the great hall	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>shrr t³wy nswt</i>	Who makes the Two Lands content for the king	Hammamat 114	Men. III
<i>ssbk n nswt hnt t³wy</i>	Honored by the king before the Two Lands	Leiden V4	Sen. I

<i>st-ib nswt</i>	Royal favorite	Bersheh 1 Assiut 1 Beni Hasan 2 Bersheh 2	Am. I-Sen. I Sen. I Sen. I- Am. II Am. II- Sen. III
<i>stnn nswt r mityw.f</i>	Whom the king honors more than his peers	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>šps n nswt mrr.f</i>	King's noble whom he loves	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>šms nswt r nmiwt.f</i>	Who accompanies the king on his journeys	Assiut 1 Heqaib 1	Sen. I Sen. I
<i>kšl nswt mšš.f srw nw stp-sš</i>	Whom the king exalts when he sees the nobles of the palace	Sinai 115	Am. III
<i>tnn n nswt r mityw.f</i>	Whom the king promoted more than his peers	Assiut 2	Dyn. 12
<i>dbšw nswt m w'w</i>	Who adorns the king in privacy	BM 839	Am. II

Nswt is also the term for the legal aspect of kingship,¹²⁰ and is therefore used in epithets emphasizing the successful execution of royal business, such as *w' šh n nswt*,¹²¹ "sole one effective for the king," or *šms nswt r nmiwt.f*, "one who accompanies the king on his journeys."¹²²

4.2. *Bity*

At the time of its origin, the title *bity* seems to have referred specifically to the "King of Lower Egypt." However, its original meaning, like that of *nswt*, remains unclear. K. Sethe proposed that it may have been derived from a term meaning "he of the bee,"¹²³ although other

¹²⁰ Goedicke, *Stellung des Königs*, 17; Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 18; Silverman, "Kingship," 64.

¹²¹ Sinai 101A and 405. *Sinai* I, pls. 32, 85.

¹²² Tomb 1 at Assiut and chapel no. 1 at Elephantine. See Griffith, *Siut and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 4; Habachi, *Elephantine IV*, pl. 9. For epithets incorporating the phrase *šms nswt*, see also Blumenthal, "Textgattung Expeditionsbericht," 110.

¹²³ Sethe, "König von Oberägypten," 19.

derivations have also been suggested.¹²⁴ T. Schneider has recently proposed an etymology from an early Hamitosemitic term meaning "leader."¹²⁵ Eventually, *bity* came to refer to the religious aspect of the kingship, as opposed to *nswt*, which referred to its political aspect.¹²⁶ Referring specifically to the reigning king, rather than the office of kingship,¹²⁷ *bity* generally appears in Middle Kingdom non-royal inscriptions primarily in titles such as *hmty bity*, "seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt,"¹²⁸ and occasionally in epithets.

TABLE 8: *Bity* in Middle Kingdom Epithets

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>im3h(y) hr nswt bity Shtp-ib-r</i>	Venerated by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibra	ASAE 56, pl. 6	Am. I
<i>w^c ib n bity</i>	First in the heart of the King of Lower Egypt	CG 20538	Am. III
<i>w^c n nswt w^c n bity</i>	Sole one of the King of upper Egypt, sole one of the King of Lower Egypt	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>wr n nswt 3 n bity</i>	Great one of the King of Upper Egypt, great one of the King of Lower Egypt	Hammamat 113 Assiut 1 BM 1177 TT 60 <i>JEA</i> 14, pl. 21 CG 20538 Assiut 2	Men. IV Sen. Sen. I Sen. I Sen. III Am. III Dyn. 12
<i>sdty nswt sdty bity</i>	Foster-child of the King of Upper Egypt, Foster-child of the King of Lower Egypt	Sinai 93	Am. III

¹²⁴ For a summary of the discussion, with bibliography, see Schneider, "Etymologie," 166-167.

¹²⁵ Schneider, "Etymologie," 181.

¹²⁶ Otto, "Königstitels *bitj*," 144, 150.

¹²⁷ Blumenthal, *Königtum*, 22-23.

¹²⁸ Quirke, "Regular Titles," 123.

The most common epithets using the term *bity* appear in the couplet *wr n nswt ʿ n bity*, "great one of the king of Upper Egypt, great one of the king of Lower Egypt," which occurs sporadically throughout the Middle Kingdom. A similar couplet appears on the stela of the vizier Mentuhotep from Abydos (CG 20539), who is called *wʿ n nswt wʿ n bity*, "sole one of the king of Upper Egypt, sole one of the king of Lower Egypt." *Bity* also occurs in an epithet from the tomb of Djefaihapi I at Assiut (tomb 1), who is said to be *wr ḥst m pr-bity*, "great of favor in the house of the King of Lower Egypt."¹²⁹ This epithet immediately follows the phrase *ḥnty n st m pr nswt*, "foremost of position in the house of the King of Upper Egypt," being juxtaposed with the term *nswt*, in order to form a contrasting couplet. The epithet *wr ḥst m pr-nswt*, using the more common designation for the king, occurs in the approximately contemporary tomb of Amenemhat at Beni Hasan.¹³⁰

4.3. *Hm.f*

The term *hm.f* referred to the king in the form of the earthly ruler.¹³¹ The king was designated as *hm.f* when he was acting in a role connected to the actual life of his people, rather than in his divine role.¹³² Normally used as a respectful means of reference to the individual king, it is frequently translated today as "His Majesty," although the word *hm* seems originally to have meant "body," and the actual meaning would have been something more like "his physical embodiment."¹³³ When an epithet refers to an activity in which the individual king has taken part, or an event within the lifetime of a specific king, such as the departure of an expedition, he is referred to as *hm.f*, rather than by name or by the term *nswt*.¹³⁴ Although *hm.f* is regularly used in biographical narratives, it is not very common in epithets, and its use seems to be restricted largely to expedition inscriptions. While the career of elite officials may have placed them either directly or indirectly in contact with the individual

¹²⁹ Griffith, *Siut and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 5; Montet, "Tombeaux" II, 49.

¹³⁰ *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 15.

¹³¹ Frankfort, *Kingship*, 45; Goedicke, *Stellung des Königs*, 51-79; Silverman, "Divinity and Deities," 67; Silverman, "Kingship," 64-65.

¹³² Silverman, "Kingship," 64.

¹³³ Frankfort, *Kingship*, 45.

¹³⁴ Blumenthal, "Textgattung Expeditionsbericht," 98.

king to whom they refer in the narrative sections of their biographies, the more abstract generalizations expressed in the epithets tend to refer instead to the divine office of kingship.

TABLE 9: *hm.f* in Middle Kingdom Epithets

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>ikr hry-ib n hm.f</i>	Excellent in the heart of H.M.	Hamm. 47	Sen. III
<i>irr wdw hm.f</i>	Who does what H.M. commands	Wadi el Hudi 2	Men. IV
<i>n kn m ib n hm.f</i>	Without offense (?) in the heart of H.M.	Hamm. 43	Am. III
<i>hpr hr rdwy hm.f</i>	Who grew up at the feet of H.M.	Sinai 100	Am. III
<i>k3i mrwt hm.f</i>	Who exalts the will of H.M.	RILN 73	Am. I-Sen. I

4.4. *Nb T3wy*

Nb t3wy, "Lord of the Two Lands," itself an epithet of the king, first occurs in Dynasty 6, continuing to designate the king through the Middle and New Kingdoms. By stressing the Two Lands, it emphasized the personal devotion of the king's subjects throughout Egypt.¹³⁵ Although never especially common as a designation of the king in non-royal epithets, it does occur occasionally, beginning at the end of Dynasty 11 and continuing throughout Dynasty 12. Like *hm.f*, it could be used in epithets dealing with the official's relationship to the individual king, although it can be substituted for other designations of the king as well. It occurs in a variety of standard formulae, following *imy-ib*, "favorite of;" *im3hy hr*, "venerated by;" *mdd w3t nt*, "obedient to;"¹³⁶ and most frequently *irr h3st* "one who does what ... favors." In other instances, *nb t3wy* was used in epithets describing the king's role in the career of the official, such as in the tomb of Djefaihapi I at Assiut, where he is called *rdi*

¹³⁵ Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 12-13; Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 157-159.

¹³⁶ Literally "one who follows the path of."

n(.f) nb t̄wy f̄w.f, "one to whom the Lord of the Two Lands granted his authority."¹³⁷

TABLE 10: *Nb t̄wy* in Middle Kingdom Epithets¹³⁸

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>irr ḥsst nb t̄wy</i>	Who does what the <i>Nb t̄wy</i> favors	Assiut 1 BM 569 Hammamat 48	Sen. I Am. II Am. III
<i>irr ḥsst nb t̄wy m ḥrt-hrw nt r' f nb</i>	Who does what the <i>Nb t̄wy</i> favors in the course of every day	BM 577	Am. III
<i>wḥm nfrt n nb t̄wy</i>	Who repeats what is good to the <i>Nb t̄wy</i>	Hammamat 108	Am. III
<i>ptr n nb t̄wy iḳr.f</i>	Whose excellence the <i>Nb t̄wy</i> beheld	CG 20538	Am. III
<i>nḥb n nb t̄wy k̄.f</i>	For whose <i>ka</i> the <i>Nb t̄wy</i> provided	BM 1213	Sen. III
<i>rdi n nb t̄wy f̄w.f</i>	Whose authority the <i>Nb t̄wy</i> granted	Assiut 1 BM 1177 RILN 74 Manchester JE 91283	Sen. I Sen. I Sen. I Sen. III Dyn. 12
<i>ḥb n.f nb t̄wy</i>	For whom the <i>Nb t̄wy</i> sends	Hammamat 108	Am. III
<i>ḥry s̄st̄ n nb t̄wy</i>	Master of secrets of the <i>Nb t̄wy</i>	Louvre C243	Am. II
<i>ḥrp iḳr n nb t̄wy</i>	Excellent controller of the <i>Nb t̄wy</i>	Sinai 405	Am. III
<i>ḥrp s̄sm n nb t̄wy</i>	Controller of affairs of the <i>Nb t̄wy</i>	Hammamat 113	Men. IV
<i>sgty nb (t̄wy)</i>	Foster-child of the <i>Nb t̄wy</i>	Sinai 93	Am. III

¹³⁷ For Assiut tomb 1, see Griffith, *Siut and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 3, Montet, "Tombeaux" I, 65.

¹³⁸ For a list of Middle Kingdom epithets incorporating the term *nb t̄wy*, including examples from texts not used in this study, see Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 158-159.

4.5. *Ity*

The word *ity*, which may be derived from the Egyptian word for "father" or "forefather," *it*, was used from the late Old Kingdom through the First Intermediate Period to refer to both the king and to honored private people.¹³⁹ While in this context it may refer to any person of exalted position, it is most frequently understood during the Middle Kingdom as a reference to the king, with the meaning "sovereign" or "monarch."¹⁴⁰ Like *nswt*, it seems to have referred to the office of kingship, rather than to the individual king himself.¹⁴¹ *Ity* does not appear frequently as a reference to the king in Middle Kingdom epithets. In tomb 2 at Beni Hasan, Amenemhat is called *imy-ib ity ds.f* "one who is in the heart of the sovereign himself," the use of *ds.f* stressing the fact that it refers to the specific individual king, rather than the office of the king in general.¹⁴²

4.6. *The King as Horus*

The manner in which the name of Horus is used in epithets suggests that in some cases at least it may have been intended to refer to the king. The Dynasty 11 vizier Amenemhat, for example, is called *ḥr m ḥ'w.f*, "vizier of Horus in his appearances."¹⁴³ The most common formula for these epithets is *imy-ib Hr*, literally "he who is in the heart of Horus," and usually rendered "favorite of Horus."¹⁴⁴ In a number of these phrases, Horus is given royal epithets. Three Dynasty 12 examples refer to the owner of the inscription as *imy-ib Hr nb ḥ*, "favorite of Horus, Lord of the palace."¹⁴⁵ The term "Horus in the palace" was used to designate the king from the Old Kingdom onward,¹⁴⁶ and both "Horus" and "Horus, Lord of the

¹³⁹ For the suggestion that *ity* is derived from *it*, see Hassan, *Hymnes*, 50. For a general discussion of the term with bibliography, see Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 7-8.

¹⁴⁰ *Wb.* I, 143; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 32.

¹⁴¹ See Goedicke, *Stellung des Königs*, 49 ff.

¹⁴² *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 7.

¹⁴³ Hammamat 113

¹⁴⁴ For *imy-ib*, see Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 18.

¹⁴⁵ The stela of Deduinyotef, BM 1177, *HT* IV, pl. 3; the stela of Samontu, BM 828, *HT* II, pl. 21; and the tomb of Djehutyhotep, Bersheh tomb 2, *El Bersheh* I, pl. 16.

¹⁴⁶ On a statue of Khafra. See Hornung, *Conceptions*, 142.

palace" refer to the king throughout much of pharaonic history.¹⁴⁷ In another non-royal epithet, Ukhhotep III of Meir is called *imy-ib Hr nb t'wy*, "favorite of Horus, Lord of the Two Lands."¹⁴⁸ The suggestion that "Horus" in these cases is actually the king is strengthened by the fact that *imy-ib* introduces other epithets which identify the king directly, including *imy-ib nswt*, "favorite of the king," and *imy-ib ity*, "favorite of the monarch." *Imy-ib* does not elsewhere precede the name of deities.

TABLE 11: Epithets Referring to Horus/the King

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>imy-ib Hr</i>	Favorite of Horus	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>imy-ib Hr nb 'h</i>	Favorite of Horus Lord of the palace	Assiut 1 BM 1177 BM 828 Bersheh 2	Sen. I Sen. I Am. II Am. II-Sen. III
<i>imy-ib Hr nb t'wy</i>	Favorite of Horus Lord of the Two Lands	Meir B4	Am. II
<i>h'ssw Hr hry-ib 'h</i>	Favored by Horus who is in the palace	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>h'p-ib Hr nb 'h</i>	Pleasing to Horus Lord of the palace	Assiut 1 Hammamat 43	Sen. I Am. III
<i>sb' n Hr nb t'wy</i>	Pupil of Horus Lord of the Two Lands	Durham N1935	Sen. II
<i>sb' n Hr nb iwnt</i>	Pupil of Horus Lord of the palace	Sinai 93 Sinai 98	Am. III Am. III
<i>sb' Hr nb iwnt</i>	Pupil of Horus Lord of the palace	BM 101	Am. III
<i>sb' Hr hnty pt</i>	Pupil of Horus foremost of the sky	Assiut 1 Assiut 2	Sen. I Dyn. 12
<i>sm'y Hr hry-ib 'h</i>	Associate of Horus who is in the palace	ASAE 56, 214	Am. I

¹⁴⁷ Frankfort, *Kingship*, 36-37.

¹⁴⁸ Meir III, pl. 19. This royal epithet dates back to at least the reign of Pepy I. See Sethe, *Urkunden I*, 91.

<i>shpt Hr m lrt.f</i>	Who propitiates Horus with his action	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>shpr Hr nb 'h</i>	Raised by Horus, lord of the palace	BM 1213	Sen. III
<i>ḥty n Hr m h'w.f</i>	Vizier of Horus in his appearances	Hammamat 113	Men. IV

The royal epithets "Horus, Lord of the palace" and "Horus, Lord of the Two Lands" occur in other non-royal epithets as well. In his tomb at Assiut, Djefaihapi I is called *hpt-ib Hr nb 'h*, "one who pleases Horus, Lord of the palace,"¹⁴⁹ as well as *hssw Hr hry-ib 'h*, "one favored by Horus, who is in the palace."¹⁵⁰ The former epithet also occurs in the Hammamat inscription of the vizier Amenemhat.¹⁵¹ Variations of epithets introduced by the noun *sbʒ*, "pupil," include *sbʒ Hr hnty pt*, "pupil of Horus, foremost of the sky," *sbi Hr nb 'h*, "pupil of Horus, Lord of the palace," and *sbʒ (n) Hr nb tʒwy*, "pupil of Horus, Lord of the Two Lands." With the exception of *sbʒ Hr hnty pt*, which could well refer to Horus as the sky god, these epithets appear consistently to refer to the king. The suggestion that the word "Horus" is intended to identify the king is supported by the use of the parallel epithet *sbʒ nswt*, "pupil of the king," on the stela of Khusobek, BM 1213.¹⁵²

4.7. The Palace

The most common designation of the palace in Middle Kingdom epithets is *pr nswt*, literally "Residence of the King of Upper Egypt." A term used for the administrative palace, *pr nswt* seems to have included not only the official residence of the king, but also the offices of the treasury, the justice system, and other important branches of the civil administration, all under the direction of the vizier.¹⁵³ Because this structure was the focal point of much of the civil administration of Egypt, it appears in more epithets than any other term for the palace or its component parts. Epithets refer to the

¹⁴⁹ Assiut tomb 1: Griffith, *Siut and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 4.

¹⁵⁰ From the tomb of Djefaihapi at Assiut (tomb 1), Griffith, *Siut and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 4.

¹⁵¹ Hammamat 43.

¹⁵² HT III, pl. 12; van den Boorn, *Duties*, 66-67, 322-324.

¹⁵³ van den Boorn, *Duties*, 66-67, 322-324.

pr nswt in two principal ways: by stating that the official knows his standing (*rḥ st-rd*) or that he is favored (using a form of the verb *ḥsl*) in the administrative palace. *Ṭwn rsy n pr nswt*, "southern pillar of the palace," and *lwn rsy ʿ? n pr nswt*, "great southern pillar of the palace," occur as epithets of viziers and other highly ranked officials connected to the central government.

Somewhat surprisingly the *pr nswt*, which is associated with the central administration, is often mentioned in epithets of provincial officials, such as the tomb owners of Middle Egypt. Their emphasis on the central administration may be an attempt to associate themselves visibly with the royal government, or may suggest that provincial administrators actually interacted with the central government in the context of the *pr nswt*. In one example from Assiut, *pr bity*, "Residence of the King of Lower Egypt," is used in the epithet *wr ḥst m pr bity*, "great of favor in the *pr-bity*."¹⁵⁴ Because this phrase is juxtaposed with a similar epithet referring to the *pr nswt*, it was probably intended to serve as a parallel, and is not likely to indicate that the *pr bity* was actually an administrative center.

TABLE 12: Epithets Referring to the Palace

ʿḥ: Chapel/Palace			
... <i>Stt n nty m</i> ʿḥ	...ing Asia for the one who is in the ʿḥ	Sinai 54	Am. III
<i>imy-ib n nswt</i> <i>m ʿḥ</i>	Favorite of the king in the ʿḥ	MMA 57.95	Men. II
<i>imy-ib Ḥr nb</i> ʿḥ	Favorite of Horus, Lord of the ʿḥ	Assiut 1 BM 1177 BM 828 Bersheh 2	Sen. I Sen. I Am. II Am. II- Sen. III
<i>mnḥ ḡd ḥḥp</i> <i>ḥr sšm ʿḥ</i>	Efficient of the secret speech in the business of the ʿḥ	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>rḥ sšm n ʿḥ</i>	Who knows the business of the ʿḥ	Bersheh 8	Dyn. 10/11

¹⁵⁴ Griffith, *Siut and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 5.

<i>ḥssw Ḥr ḥry-ib ḥ</i>	Favored by Horus who is in the ḥ	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>ḥtp-ib Ḥr nb ḥ</i>	Pleasing to Horus Lord of the ḥ	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>ḥw n imy ḥ</i>	Protector of him who is in the ḥ	Bersheh 2	Am. II-Sen. III
<i>ḥpr m ḥ</i>	Who grew up in the ḥ	Durham N1935	Sen. II
<i>sʿr mʿt r ḥ</i>	Who raises up <i>maʿat</i> to the ḥ	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>smʿy Ḥr ḥry-ib ḥ</i>	Associate of Horus who is in the ḥ	ASAE 56, 214	Am. I
<i>smr ḥ</i>	Friend of the ḥ	Carnegie 4558	Dyn. 13
<i>tpy šnwt tkm m ḥ</i>	Leader of the entourage that approaches the ḥ	MMA 57.95	Men. II
<i>pr ʿ</i> : Official Residence			
<i>ḥnty st m pr ʿ</i>	Foremost of place in the <i>pr ʿ</i>	Deir Rifeh 1	Sen. I-Am. II
<i>smr pr ʿ</i>	Friend of the <i>pr ʿ</i>	Sinai 86	Am. III
<i>pr bity</i> : House of the King of Lower Egypt			
<i>wr ḥst m pr bity</i>	Great of praise in the <i>pr bity</i>	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>pr nswt</i> : Administrative Palace			
<i>...m-ʿ pr nswt</i>	... in the <i>pr nswt</i>	Hatnub 24	Men. IV (?)
<i>iwn rsy n pr nswt</i>	Southern pillar of the <i>pr nswt</i>	CG 20539 CG 20538	Sen. I Am. III
<i>iwn šmʿw n pr nswt</i>	Upper Egyptian pillar of the <i>pr nswt</i>	Saqqara 11Sq Saqqara 18x	Am. I Am. I
<i>wr ḥst m pr nswt</i>	Great of praise in the <i>pr nswt</i>	Beni Hasan 2	Sen. I-Am. II
<i>wr snḏ m-ḥnw pr nswt</i>	Great of respect inside the <i>pr nswt</i>	CG 20539	Sen. I

<i>mty m pr nswt</i>	Precise to the <i>pr nswt</i>	BM 581	Sen. I
<i>rḥ st-rd.f m pr nswt</i>	Who knows his standing in the <i>pr nswt</i>	MMA 57.95 Assiut 1 Beni Hasan 2 Sinai 47 Sinai 112	Men. II Sen. I Sen. I-Am. II Am. II Am. III
<i>ḥt ḥtyw m pr nswt</i>	Foremost of the foremost in the <i>pr nswt</i>	Hatnub 16	Dyn. 11
<i>ḥry sšt³ n pr nswt</i>	Master of secrets of the <i>pr nswt</i>	Saqqara 18x	Am. I
<i>ḥsy ʿt m pr nswt</i>	Praised greatly in the <i>pr nswt</i>	Beni Hasan 2	Sen. I-Am. II
<i>ḥnty ḥwt m pr nswt</i>	Foremost of offices in the <i>pr nswt</i>	MMA 57.95	Men. II
<i>ḥnty nst m pr nswt</i>	Foremost of seat in the <i>pr nswt</i>	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>smr ʿ n pr nswt</i>	Great companion in the <i>pr nswt</i>	Saqqara 18x	Am. I
<i>smr n pr nswt</i>	Friend of the <i>pr nswt</i>	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>snw ḥn m pr nswt</i>	Brave companion in the <i>pr nswt</i>	MMA 12.184	Sen. I
<i>tkn st ... pr nswt</i> ¹⁵⁵	Who approaches the place ...the <i>pr nswt</i>	Louvre C 1	Am. I-Sen. I
<i>stp-s³</i> : Audience Chamber			
<i>ḥḥi nswt m³.f srw nw stp-s³</i>	Whom the king exalts when he sees the officials of the <i>stp-s³</i>	Sinai 115	Am. III

Other parts of the palace mentioned in epithets include the *pr ʿ*, literally "Great House," which served as the official residence and was also associated with the management of affairs of state;¹⁵⁶ and

¹⁵⁵ The stela is broken at this point. Part of a horizontal sign is visible in the upper portion of the break.

¹⁵⁶ van den Boorn, *Duties*, 59, 67.

the 'h, a part of the palace with both ritual and administrative functions. As one would expect given the relative inaccessibility of the *pr* 's to most people in the administration, this term does not often occur in epithets. The *stp-s*, originally a royal council chamber or audience hall, which eventually came to be associated with the royal residence, is also mentioned very rarely in Middle Kingdom.¹⁵⁷

5. *Rh nswt m*^s and *B³k.f m*^s

It is not generally agreed whether *rh nswt*, "royal acquaintance," and *b³k nswt*, "royal servant," are actually titles or epithets.¹⁵⁸ *Rh nswt*, without the modifier *m*^s, was a very common honorific designation during the Old Kingdom,¹⁵⁹ which continued to be used frequently throughout the Middle Kingdom, sometimes with the addition of the adjective *m*^s, "true." W. Helck has suggested that the offices of *rh nswt* and *rh nswt m*^s were active positions, connected to the performance of ceremonial ritual.¹⁶⁰ W. A. Ward, however, believed them to have been purely honorific epithets, with no actual administrative responsibilities involved.¹⁶¹ It appears that, at least as early as the First Intermediate Period, *rh nswt*, literally, "one whom the king knows," or "one known to the king," served primarily as a designation of rank.¹⁶² Most recently, S. Quirke has observed that during the early part of the Middle Kingdom, *rh nswt* occurred only in autobiographical contexts, and usually modified by *m*^s *mry.f*, whereas in the later Middle Kingdom, it occurs without modifiers and immediately preceding personal names. Thus, it changes during the course of the Middle Kingdom from an epithet to a regular title.¹⁶³

B³k nswt, which Ward also considered an epithet rather than a title,¹⁶⁴ is exceedingly rare in the Middle Kingdom. *B³k.f m*^s, his

¹⁵⁷ Goelet, "*stp-s*," 85-98.

¹⁵⁸ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, 26-28, discusses the alternate rendering of *iry ht nswt* as a title, "custodian of royal affairs."

¹⁵⁹ Strudwick, *Administration*, 310-311.

¹⁶⁰ Helck, *Verwaltung*, 279 ff.

¹⁶¹ Ward, *Index*, 1, note 3.

¹⁶² *Wb.* II, 446-7; Ward, *Index*, no. 1156, and 1, note 3; Leprohon, "False Door," 45-46.

¹⁶³ Quirke, "Horn, Feather and Scale," 672.

¹⁶⁴ Ward, *Index*, 1.

true servant," on the other hand, is very common, appearing in the introductory sections of inscriptions, where it occupies the same position as *rh nswt m^{3c}*. In most cases, it follows a direct reference to the *nswt* (often in the form of a royal date), leaving no doubt that the suffix pronoun *f* refers to the king rather than to a non-royal superior. On the other hand, when a direct reference to the king is absent, or when relatively low-ranking officials appended their own texts to those of higher-ranking officials, *b^{3k}.f m^{3c}* may refer to a non-royal superior as well. "Your servant" is well-attested as a form of address to superior officials in other contexts, such as letters.¹⁶⁵

Both *rh nswt m^{3c}* and *b^{3k}.f m^{3c}* are frequently followed by the phrases *mry.f*, "his beloved," *n st-ib.f*, "his favorite" (literally "of the place of his heart"), and *irr hst.f*, "one who does what he favors," all of which were intended to demonstrate the king's high regard for the official, and are discussed at length below. The frequent repetition of these epithets in the same sequence, which is noted particularly in expedition inscriptions, may be due in part to scribes who copied the inscriptions of their predecessors without a great deal of variation. However, since the epithets occur in the same sequence in tombs and other locations as well, it is likely that they were conceived as an integrated group of stock phrases essential to the Egyptians' self-presentation. One must, in fact, consider that in a largely illiterate society, frequently repeated stock phrases and symbols may have been recognized by a larger segment of the population than could read complete "autobiographies."

Rh nswt m^{3c} and *b^{3k}.f m^{3c}* are mutually exclusive; the same person never has both epithets. Since the two epithets occur in the same location within texts, they seem to serve the same function, namely to define the official's relationship to the king. In this context, they serve primarily as labels. Subsidiary figures shown on monuments are identified in a similar fashion, in this case by their relationship to the owner of the monument (with labels such as "his wife," "his mother," "his son" and the like).

Whether an official is described as *rh nswt m^{3c}* or *b^{3k}.f m^{3c}* may, at least in the early Middle Kingdom, indicate a difference in status among individuals. In inscriptions from mines and quarries, where these two epithets are most numerous, the choice of epithet seems to

¹⁶⁵ See, for example, Wentz, *Letters*, 69-77.

have changed over time. *B³k.f m³c*, more common early in the Middle Kingdom, is largely replaced by *rh nswt m³c* during the reigns of Amenemhat II and Senwosret II. At Wadi Hammamat, *rh nswt m³c* never occurs before the reign of Senwosret III, while *b³k.f m³c* is used from late Dynasty 11 through the reign of Senwosret II. The same pattern is evident at Wadi el Hudi, where there are no securely dated examples of *rh nswt m³c* prior to the time of Senwosret III, after which time *rh nswt m³c* is used exclusively. In the turquoise mining areas of the Sinai, where there are no dated texts earlier than the reign of Amenemhat II, only *rh nswt m³c* is used. It is possible that, just as the disappearance of the title *rh nswt* from provincial areas during the late Old Kingdom coincided with a decrease in royal authority relative to that of local leaders, so the appearance and increased use of the epithet *rh nswt m³c* during Dynasty 12 resulted from a corresponding increase in royal control.¹⁶⁶ At the sites of military installations in Nubia, the situation is different. *Rh nswt m³c* is used at Girgawi from the reign of Senwosret I, a time when it was virtually nonexistent in mining and quarrying regions, and *b³k.f m³c* was never used at all. This phenomenon is paralleled at Wadi Gasus and Wadi Gawasis on the Red Sea coast, where only *rh nswt m³c* appears in inscriptions.

TABLE 13: Number of Occurrences of *B³k.f M³c* and *Rh nswt m³c*¹⁶⁷

Date	Epithet	Expedition	Other	Total
Post-unification	<i>b³k.f m³c</i>	4	2	6
Dynasty 11	<i>rh nswt m³c</i>	0	1	1
Amenemhat I-	<i>b³k.f m³c</i>	15	4	17
Senwosret I	<i>rh nswt m³c</i>	4	2	6
Amenemhat II-	<i>b³k.f m³c</i>	1	4	5
Senwosret II	<i>rh nswt m³c</i>	4	4	8
Senwosret III	<i>b³k.f m³c</i>	0	2	2
	<i>rh nswt m³c</i>	2	1	3
Amenemhat III-IV	<i>b³k.f m³c</i>	0	0	0
	<i>rh nswt m³c</i>	24	2	26

¹⁶⁶ For the disappearance of *rh nswt* in the Old Kingdom, see Fischer, *Dendera*, 45.

¹⁶⁷ Table includes data from texts listed in Appendix 1 only.

Neither *b3k.f m3c* nor *rh nswt m3c* is as common on stelae from the Nile valley as in texts from outlying regions, rendering it difficult to analyze diachronic trends for these epithets in other than provincial areas. The evidence suggests, however, that essentially the same development occurred on Abydene stelae as it did in the rock inscriptions. Theban stelae from Dynasty 11 use *b3k.f m3c* exclusively. On stelae from Abydos, *rh nswt m3c* occurs principally during and after the time of Amenemhat II. Later stelae rarely include either epithet, although examples do occur as late as the reign of Senwosret III. As Quirke has noted, the regular title *rh nswt*, on the other hand, seems to have come into use at this point in time.

While the evidence remains inconclusive, the Middle Kingdom development of the epithets *rh nswt m3c* and *b3k.f m3c* may be summarized as follows: *b3k.f m3c* was the more common expression during Dynasty 11 and early Dynasty 12, but during this period particularly high status people might also be called *rh nswt m3c*, a prerogative which might have reflected actual close ties to the palace. During the second half of Dynasty 12, when royal authority was at its highest level during the Middle Kingdom, the king was becoming the focus of more non-royal epithets, and the increased use of *rh nswt m3c* might reflect a desire on the part of officials to be more closely associated with the king.

6. Epithets Referring to *Nb.f*, "His Lord"

Nb, meaning "lord," "master," or "owner," had become a respectful form of addressing superiors by the Middle Kingdom.¹⁶⁸ Its original meaning was probably "owner" in the strict sense of the word, but it gradually came to refer to legal rights over people as well as to the physical possession of property.¹⁶⁹ By the Middle Kingdom, *nb.i*, "my lord," was the normal way of addressing superiors in personal letters, which were addressed to "the lord (name) l.p.h."¹⁷⁰ In biographical texts, *nb.i* often refers to the king himself, as when the Dynasty 11 official Inyotef son of Tjefi, says, "my lord has placed

¹⁶⁸ *Wb.* II, 227-228; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 128; Gardiner, *Grammar*, 423-424.

¹⁶⁹ Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 12.

¹⁷⁰ *Wb.* II, 230; Bakir, *Epistolography*, 45 ff.; Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 12; Wente, *Letters*, 69, 71-77.

me in Heracleopolis," and later in the same text credits the wealth of his funerary estate to "what the Majesty of my lord has given to me."¹⁷¹ Non-royal officials are also designated as "lord" in biographies, as in the First Intermediate Period stela of Ity (CG 20001), who claims to have served both a great lord and a small lord (*nb nds*).

Middle Kingdom epithets frequently refer to *nb.f*, "his lord," which is usually understood as a synonym for the king. In many epithets, *nb.f* takes the place of royal titles, most often *nswt*, but also *hm.f* and *ity*. It must therefore refer to the king in a majority of these situations. For example, during the reign of Senwosret I, Djefaihapi I is described as *ptr n nb.f ikr.f*, "one whose excellence his lord beheld,"¹⁷² while the Abydene stela of Sehetepibra from the reign of Amenemhat III reads *ptr n nb t'wy ikr.f*, "one whose excellence the Lord of the Two Lands beheld," using a more explicit reference to the king, and a term that gained particular favor in the later part of the Middle Kingdom. In these situations *nb.f* seems to be roughly synonymous with *hm.f* and *nb t'wy* as a reference to the individual pharaoh.

Despite the many instances in which *nb.f* must refer to the king, it was also used in epithets—particularly in situations in which the owner of the text did not have actual contact with the king—to designate non-royal superiors. The scribe in these cases may have intended to be deliberately vague; "his lord" might refer to anyone from a non-royal superior to the king himself or even a deity. One such case is an inscription from the Wadi Hammamat, where two relatively low-ranking scribes, Iytjebu and Sainheret, who were probably responsible for inscribing the adjacent texts of their superiors, carved brief inscriptions on their own behalf, the sole epithet of each being *mry nb.f*, "beloved of his lord."¹⁷³

It is also clear that in some cases at least, and perhaps in a large number of instances, *nb.f* is intended to refer to a deity. During the Heracleopolitan Period, as H. G. Fischer has observed, *nb.f* could refer to the local god, who replaced the king as a source of authority and support during a period in which royal authority had col-

¹⁷¹ Fischer, "In-It.f," fig. 1. For *nb.l* and *nb.f* as designations of the king, see also, Barta, "Königsbezeichnung," Silverman, "Kingship," 65-66.

¹⁷² Assiut tomb 1: Griffith, *Sit and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 4.

¹⁷³ Hammamat G 62 and G 63.

lapsed.¹⁷⁴ Fischer cites for example the stela of Shemai from Naga ed Dêr, which describes the deceased as *lry nfr-ḥꜣt m ḏbꜣ nb.f nṯr.f n nīwt*, "keeper of the diadem in attiring his lord, his local god." In a graffito left at Hatnub by Djehutynakht V, probably in late Dynasty 11, Djehutynakht is said to be *ms snṯr n nb.f*, "one who brings incense to his lord," referring to the local god, Thoth.¹⁷⁵ The Abydene stela of the Dynasty 12 vizier Mentuhotep (CG 20539) calls him *špss mry nb.f irr ḥsst nṯr.f m ḥrt-hrw nt r' nb*, "the noble beloved of his lord, who does what his god praises in the course of every day."

The phrase *mꜣꜣ nfrw nb.f*, "one who sees the beauty of his lord," is used to describe several officials from Dynasty 5 through the Middle Kingdom.¹⁷⁶ Although H. G. Fischer has tentatively interpreted the term *nb.f* in these epithets as a designation of the king, viewing the expression as a reference to the keepers of the royal headdress, he notes that some of the individuals described do not hold titles associated with this role.¹⁷⁷ In these epithets as well, it is possible that *nb.f* refers to a deity. In all three of the Middle Kingdom examples (the tomb of Djefaihapi I at Assiut, the false door of Ihy from Saqqara, and the Abydene stela of Wepwawetaa¹⁷⁸), the epithet refers to an official who held important priestly titles. On stelae from Abydos, officials depicted in a posture of adoration are often labeled as "seeing the beauty" of a god, most often Wepwawet, as on the stela of Mery son of Menkhet (Louvre C3) and the stela of Inyotef son of Senet (BM 581).¹⁷⁹ In his tomb at Assiut, Djefaihapi I is called *mꜣꜣ nfrw Wp-wꜣwt*, "one who sees the beauty of Wepwawet," as well. On the Abydene stela of Nebipusenwosret (BM 101), the label reads, "seeing the beauty of Khakaura," a reference to the deceased Senwosret III,¹⁸⁰ and in the narrative on Ikhernofret's stela (Berlin 1204), he claims to have made the shrine "that carried the beauty of Khentiamentiu."¹⁸¹ These uses suggest that the term *nb.f*

¹⁷⁴ Fischer, "Three Stelae," 61; *Dendera*, 137.

¹⁷⁵ Hatnub gr. 17: Anthes, *Hatnub*, 38, pl. 16.

¹⁷⁶ See Fischer, "Osiris *Iti*," 35-41. Examples are listed on page 39. To Fischer's examples, add those of Djefaihapi and Wepwawetaa discussed in this section.

¹⁷⁷ Fischer, "Osiris *Iti*," 39.

¹⁷⁸ Leiden V4.

¹⁷⁹ ANOC 6.3 and ANOC 5.2.

¹⁸⁰ *HT* II, pl. 1.

¹⁸¹ ANOC 1.1.

could refer to the image of a divinity. E. Hornung notes that the form of a god was revealed to humanity only through images and intermediaries, while most people lived in "an unsatisfied longing to behold the "perfection" (*nfrw*)—which often means the physical manifestation—of the god."¹⁸² Individuals like Ihy and Wepwawetaa served as the intermediaries to whom Hornung refers. They looked forward to seeing the physical manifestation of the deity (or, in Ihy's case, deceased king) whom they served, and did in actual practice see the cult image, an achievement which they celebrated in their epithets.

7. Love and Favor From Superiors

7.1. Love from a Superior: *Mry.f* and Related Phrases

Among the most common epithets found in Middle Kingdom inscriptions are those introduced by a form of the verb *mri*, "love." Doing what was loved by superiors, notably the gods, was a fundamental aspect of biographies from the Old Kingdom, and love (*mrwt*) was, according to J. Assmann, the means by which one achieved a venerated state in the afterlife.¹⁸³ Officials are said to be loved both by deities, in particular local gods and goddesses, and by the king (usually designated as *nswt* or by the suffix pronoun *f*).¹⁸⁴ Such epithets were crucial to the non-royal self-presentation. By stating that an individual was loved—either directly or through an intermediary—by divine and royal superiors, the epithets served to link the official to those superiors in a hierarchy inherent to the Egyptians' world order, and to allow him to partake indirectly of the benefits of royal and divine cults. Epithets referring to the love of a superior often occur first in a series of epithets.¹⁸⁵ When the bestower of the love is designated simply by the suffix pronoun *f*, he or she is identified by a preceding label. For example, when *rh nswt m3'* precedes *mry.f*, the official is said to be loved by the king. When a woman is labeled *hmt.f mrt.f*, "his wife, his beloved," she is said to

¹⁸² Hornung, *Conceptions*, 135.

¹⁸³ Assmann, *Ma'at*, 98, 106-108.

¹⁸⁴ Although Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period biographies frequently state that officials are loved by their parents and other family members, Middle Kingdom epithets very rarely make the same claim.

¹⁸⁵ Or immediately following the label *rh nswt m3'* or *b3k.f m3'*.

be loved by her husband. It is therefore very common for people of different ranks to have exactly the same set of epithets, or for a subsidiary figure on a monument to have essentially the same epithets as the monument's owner. What distinguishes among the identifications is the label indicating whether the individual is loved by a god, by the king, or by the owner of the monument.

Mry, followed by the name of a god or goddess, is the second most common form of epithet referring to deities, although it is far less common than *im³h(y) hr*.¹⁸⁶ W. K. Simpson has studied the concept of divine love, asserting that prior to the New Kingdom, love was always bestowed by a superior upon a subordinate.¹⁸⁷ Simpson's view is certainly correct with regard to the love of gods. During the Middle Kingdom, humans always receive divine love; they are never described as "loving" a god. Even more frequently, non-royal individuals are said to be loved not directly by a god, but by the king, who in turn is loved by the god or by "his lord," a term that may refer to the king or to a deity, and that may have been deliberately ambiguous in meaning. In a few instances, however, officials are said to be loved by their townships (*niwt*) and by the people of Egypt. These cases, in which the inherently "downward" movement of love from superiors to subordinates does not seem to apply, are treated in chapter 5.

The choice of gods named in epithets beginning with *mry* suggests that divine love was a phenomenon rooted in the conceptual world of the living, rather than of the dead. The deities named are almost without exception local gods or goddesses, and are only rarely deities associated with the afterlife or the necropolis, even when the epithet comes from a tomb. At Elephantine, for example, epithets introduced by *mry* refer to Anuket, Satet, Khnum and Miket; at El Bersheh to Thoth; and at Beni Hasan to Hathor, Hekat, Khnum, and "the gods who are in the Oryx nome." Both Hathor, Mistress of Turquoise, and Sopedu, "Lord of Foreign Lands," are named in the Sinai. Osiris is virtually absent from epithets referring to divine love, a marked contrast to the situation with epithets referring to divine veneration (*im³h*), a concept clearly associated, at least to some extent, with the

¹⁸⁶ See examples in Appendix 2.

¹⁸⁷ Simpson, "Amor dei," 493-8.

afterlife.¹⁸⁸ Occasionally, particularly in the period preceding and immediately following the reunification, officials attribute success in their lives to a god's love. This phenomenon is particularly apparent at Hatnub in the Middle Kingdom, where, for example, the 11th Dynasty official Djehutynakht son of Djehutyhotep calls himself *shnt n Dḥwty st.f n-ʿʒt-n mrr.f sw*, "one whose place Thoht advanced because he loved him."

TABLE 14: Deities Named with *mry/mrrw*¹⁸⁹

<i>Deity</i>	<i>No. of examples</i>	<i>Sites</i>
"all its gods" ¹⁹⁰	3	Bersheh
Anuket	2	Elephantine
Hathor	9	Beni Hasan, Serabit el Khâdim, West Nubian Desert
Hekat	1	Beni Hasan
Heqaib	1	Elephantine
"his god"	1	Deir Rifeh
"his local god"	1	Assiut
Horus	1	Beni Hasan
"its local gods"	1	Bersheh
Khnum	5	Beni Hasan, Dahshur, Elephantine
Miket	1	Elephantine
Ptah-Sokar	1	Beni Hasan
Satet	1	Wadi el Hudi
Sekhmet	2	Beni Hasan
Sopedu	1	Sinai
Tayet	1	Bersheh
"the god"	3	Abydos, Deir Rifeh, Meir
"the gods of Ta-wer"	1	Abydos

¹⁸⁸ Kings, on the other hand, may be said to be loved by gods associated with the afterlife, as on the Abydene stela of Ankhaf (BM 233) and Nebipusenwosret (BM 101). *HT* IV, pl. 14 and *HT* II, pls. 1-2, respectively. Both examples date to the reign of Amenemhat III.

¹⁸⁹ Numbers are based only on the texts listed in Appendix 1.

¹⁹⁰ "its" refers to the Hare Nome.

"the gods who are in the Oryx nome"	1	Beni Hasan
"the great gods of his township"	1	Elephantine
Thoth	5	Bersheh, Hatnub, Sinai
Wepwawet	1	Assiut

Non-royal officials are significantly more likely to be described as being loved by the king than by a god.¹⁹¹ The most common form of epithet referring to royal love is simply *mry.f*, "his beloved," following a more explicit reference to the king, such as a royal date or the epithet *rh nswt m³ꜥ*. When the king is designated by title, the term used is typically *nswt*, indicating the divine office of kingship, rather than the specific individual king. Epithets in which the king is designated by *nswt*, rather than simply *f*, occur principally in tombs: examples are found at Assiut, Deir Rifeh, Bersheh, and Thebes.¹⁹² As in the case of epithets referring to divine love, non-royal officials in the Middle Kingdom are not described as "loving" the king, only being loved by him.¹⁹³ Being loved implied a degree of subordination and dependence on the part of the individual receiving the love.¹⁹⁴

Both *mry nb.f*, "beloved of his lord," and *mry nb.f m³ꜥ*, "truly beloved of his lord," are common epithets, occurring with about equal frequency. The majority of examples come from expedition inscriptions, but both epithets are found on votive stelae and in tombs as well. These epithets are well attested in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, and Middle Kingdom examples range in date from Dynasty 11 to the end of the Dynasty 12.¹⁹⁵ While *mry nb.f* is somewhat more common the early Middle Kingdom, both epithets almost disappear during the reign of Senwosret III, and *mry nb.f m³ꜥ* becomes the dominant form in the last reigns of Dynasty 12. Like *rh nswt m³ꜥ* and *b³k.f m³ꜥ*, these epithets are usually the first in a series, and they serve a similar function, namely to identify the inscription

¹⁹¹ See Appendix 2.

¹⁹² Assiut tombs 1 and 5, Deir Rifeh tomb 7, el Bersheh tombs 2 and 5, and a funerary stela from Thebes (Turin 1447).

¹⁹³ Simpson, "Amor dei," 439; Hornung, *Conceptions*, 202.

¹⁹⁴ Baines, "Kingship," 11.

¹⁹⁵ See Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 62-64.

owner and pronounce his worth to his superiors. In some instances, *mry nb.f* can be understood as referring to a superior other than the king.¹⁹⁶ As noted above, *nb.f* could sometimes refer to a deity, and in expedition texts, it might have referred to a generic local god or goddess to whom the success of the expedition was attributed.¹⁹⁷ On an unusual Dynasty 11 stela belonging to a woman named Ipwet (BM 1658), the woman is designated by a feminine form of the epithet (*mrt nb.s*), which is otherwise found only referring to men.¹⁹⁸ Because the original context is lost, it is not clear in this case whether *nb.f* refers to a god, the king, or a non-royal male.

TABLE 15: Number of Occurrences of *Mry nb.f* and *Mry nb.f M*¹⁹⁹

Date	Epithet	Expedition	Other	Total
Dynasty 11 ²⁰⁰	<i>mry nb.f</i>	3	4	7
	<i>mry nb.f M</i> ¹⁹⁹	3	2	5
Amen. I-Sen. I	<i>mry nb.f</i>	4	8	12
	<i>mry nb.f M</i> ¹⁹⁹	2	0	2
Amen. II - Sen. II	<i>mry nb.f</i>	2	0	2
	<i>mry nb.f M</i> ¹⁹⁹	1	2	3
Sen. III	<i>mry nb.f</i>	1	0	1
	<i>mry nb.f M</i> ¹⁹⁹	0	0	0
Amen. III-IV	<i>mry nb.f</i>	4	1	5
	<i>mry nb.f M</i> ¹⁹⁹	10	1	11

A small number of epithets actually specify that an official is loved by a non-royal superior. The Dynasty 11 stela of Ma'aty from Thebes includes the phrase *mry imy-r.f*, "beloved of his overseer."²⁰¹ Two early Dynasty 12 nomarchs, Sarenput I of Elephantine (Qubbet el Hawa tomb 36) and Amenemhat of Beni Hasan (tomb 2) are both described in their tombs as *mry knbt*, "beloved of the

¹⁹⁶ Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 94

¹⁹⁷ Homung, *Conceptions*, 69-70

¹⁹⁸ Edwards, "Toilet Scene," pl. 20.

¹⁹⁹ Table includes data from texts listed in Appendix 1 only.

²⁰⁰ Post-unification Dynasty 11 only.

²⁰¹ Hayes, *Scepter*, pl. 91. For *imy-r*, see Ward, *Index*, 10.

qenbet."²⁰² The stela of Inyotef son of Senet (BM 572), a contemporary of Sarenput and Amenemhat, includes the phrase *mrrw šnwt nswt*, "beloved of the royal entourage."²⁰³

While the owners of inscriptions are said to be loved by their superiors (who typically are not depicted on the monument), the wives, relatives, and colleagues who appear alongside them are said to be loved by the officials themselves.²⁰⁴ Typically, subsidiary figures are labeled by means of their relationship to the owner of the monument (*hmt.f*, "his wife;" *s3.f*, "his son;" *mwt.f*, "his mother," etc.), after which there may be a brief list of epithets. *Mry.f*, or *mrt.f* for women, is by far the most common of these phrases, and in many cases, it is the only epithet used. *Mrt.f* is, therefore, the most common epithet of Middle Kingdom women, with the exception of the nearly ubiquitous *m3't-hrw*, "vindicated." In some cases, subsidiary figures who are not family members are also described as beloved of the monument owner, as on the Abydene stela of Inyotef son of Satneb (UPMAA 69-29-122), where a man named Meket is labeled *hnms.f mry.f*, "his friend, his beloved." The owner of the monument was apparently perceived as an intermediary who received the love of the gods or the king and in turn transferred it to the other people who shared the monument.

Occasionally, subsidiary figures have more elaborate sets of epithets, referring to the monument owner in much the same way that the monument owner refers to the king or the gods. On the late Dynasty 11 stela of Inyotef son of Senettekh (BMA 54.66), for example, the chamberlain Imy, who is shown facing Inyotef, is described as "his servant, his beloved, who does what he praises every day."²⁰⁵ In the rare cases in which monuments were commissioned on behalf of women, they too could serve in the role of intermediaries who transferred royal and divine love, just as their male counterparts could. For example, a pair of Dynasty 12 stelae were dedicated at Abydos in honor of a woman named Senetites.²⁰⁶

²⁰² Müller, *Elephantine*, pl. 6; *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 15. The former example reads *mry knbt.f*, "beloved of his *qenbet*," with the suffix pronoun *f* referring to the king. The latter reads *mry knbt nt hnw*, "beloved of the *qenbet* of the Residence."

²⁰³ ANOC 5.1.

²⁰⁴ See Simpson, "Amor dei," 493-494.

²⁰⁵ Spänel, "Paleographic and Epigraphic Distinctions," 774-775.

²⁰⁶ ANOC 11.1 and 11.2.

Senetites is said to be *mrt hr ntr ʿ nb pt*, "loved by the great god, Lord of the sky," presumably a reference to Osiris.²⁰⁷ Meanwhile, a female servant depicted beneath Senetites's chair is called *mrt hnwt.s*, "beloved of her mistress," in this case referring to Senetites herself.

In very rare cases, an epithet referring to the love of a superior may name a non-royal individual who does not actually appear on the monument. At el Bersheh, for example, an official named Aha built his tomb (number 10) immediately below that of the vizier Ahanakht (tomb 5), under whom he served. In his tomb, Aha claims to be loved not only by the gods and the king, but also by Ahanakht. In this case, the proximity of Aha's tomb to that of Ahanakht apparently led him to refer to the vizier as though the two monuments were connected.

7.2. Royal and Divine Favor: *Hsy.f* and Related Phrases

Forms of the verb *hsl*, meaning "favor" or "praise,"²⁰⁸ function in epithets in much the same manner as do forms of *mri*, and typically occur immediately after them in the series of epithets.²⁰⁹ Here, too, the individual may be said to be favored by a deity, the king, "his lord," or, in the case of subsidiary figures, the owner of the monument. Although typically translated "praised," *hsl* refers, as H. G. Fischer has observed, specifically to praise in the sense of commendation by the gods (or another superior), while *dwʿ*, on the other hand, refers to praise in the sense of worship of the gods.²¹⁰ During the Middle Kingdom, the king or a god is never said to be favored by a non-royal official. The only instances in which an official is said to be favored by an apparent subordinate are those in which a local leader is said to be favored by the people of his township.²¹¹ As discussed above, the same pattern is found in epithets involving love. *Mry* and *hsy* in combination comprise the basic component of the Middle Kingdom self-presentation, and serve to

²⁰⁷ The use of the preposition *hr* in this phrase is unusual, resembling the more common *imʿht hr* Deity.

²⁰⁸ *Wb.* III, 156-158; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 176-177; Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 122-125.

²⁰⁹ Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 93.

²¹⁰ Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 67.

²¹¹ For epithets referring to the townspeople, see Chapter 5.

define in a very basic manner the monument owner's relationship with his superiors.

In the Middle Kingdom, although human success was probably attributed to divine favor (*ḥswt nt ntr*), rather than to fate,²¹² epithets rarely state explicitly that an official is favored by a deity, although examples do occur at Beni Hasan, Assiut, and Elephantine.²¹³ As with epithets referring to divine love, the gods named in these epithets are typically local gods or goddesses, rather than deities associated with the necropolis. At Assiut, for example, Djefaihapi I is described as favored by both "his god" and "Horus who is in the palace," the latter perhaps referring to the king.²¹⁴ In the Heqaib sanctuary at Elephantine, officials are "favored by" local deities, including Satet, Anuket, and the deified Heqaib.²¹⁵

TABLE 16: Deities Named with *ḥsi* ²¹⁶

<i>Deity</i>	<i>no. of examples</i>	<i>Sites</i>
Anuket	1	Elephantine
Hekat of Herwer	1	Beni Hasan
Heqaib	1	Elephantine
"his god"	1	Assiut
Horus who smites the <i>rhyt</i>	1	Beni Hasan
Satet	2	Elephantine

When an official is described as "favored by the king," the term used for the king is *nswt*. *Ḥsy n nswt* is not common, however, the typical form of the epithet being *ḥsy.f*, in which the pronoun refers back to an earlier reference to the king or to "his lord." Examples of *ḥsy n nswt* occur early in Dynasty 12, as in the Wadi Hammamat inscription of Inyotef (no. 199), from the reign of Amenemhat I, and

²¹² Griffiths, "Divine Impact," 92-93.

²¹³ Beni Hasan II, pls. 4 and 12; Griffiths, *Siut and Dêr Rifeh*, pls. 4 and 5; Habachi, *Elephantine IV*, pls. 101, 144-6.

²¹⁴ For epithets referring to the king as "Horus," see Barta, "Königsbezeichnung," 478.

²¹⁵ For the cult of the deified Heqaib, see Franke, *Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 118-152.

²¹⁶ Numbers are based only on the texts listed in Appendix 1.

the stela of Deduinyotef from Wadi Halfa (BM 1177), from the reign of Senwosret I.²¹⁷ *Ḥsy n nb.f*, "favored by his lord," is only slightly more common, the majority of examples coming from the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom. One of the earliest examples uses the determinative of Horus on the standard with *nb.f*, leaving it unclear whether it was intended to refer to the king or a god.²¹⁸ Examples from the Middle Kingdom are too scarce to determine with certainty whether *nb.f* is typically intended to refer to the king or a god.

TABLE 17: *Ḥsy n nswt* and *Ḥsy n nb.f* in MK Epithets

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>ḥsy n nswt</i>	Hammamat 199 BM 1177	Am. I Sen. I
<i>ḥsy n nb.f</i>	Hatnub 14 Hatnub 49 JE 59483	Dyn. 11 Sen. I Sen. I
<i>ḥsy n nb.f mš^c</i>	Shatt er Rigal 468 Shatt er Rigal 472 <i>Inscr... Ab.</i> C13	Men. II Men. II Dyn. 12
<i>ḥsy n nb.f r^c nb</i>	Beni Hasan 17 Louvre C1	Dyn. 11 Am. I-Sen. I

Two epithets introduced by a form of *ḥsi*, both found in texts from the reign of Senwosret I, refer specifically to non-royal superiors. Inyotef son of Senet is described on one of his stelae from Abydos (BM 572) as *ḥssy n imyw-r.f*, "one who is favored by his overseers."²¹⁹ An inscription from Wadi el Hudi (no. 8) calls the assistant treasurer Weni *ḥsy n imy-r mš^c irr ḥsst.f m ḥrt-hrw nt r^c nb*, "one who is favored by the overseer of troops, and who does everything he favors in the course of every day."²²⁰ At Wadi el Hudi, the *imy-r mš^c* was probably the highest official with whom Weni dealt regularly, and the one to whom he had to answer directly. Other high-ranking officials or administrative branches of the central

²¹⁷ Couyat and Montet, *Hammamat*, pl. 38, 101; *HT* IV, pl. 3.

²¹⁸ Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 86.

²¹⁹ ANOC 5.1.

²²⁰ Fakhry, *Wadi el Hudi*, pl. 10A, Sadek, *Wadi el Hudi*, 22, no. 8.

government also appear in epithets of this type. In tomb 1 at Deir Rifeh, for example, Neferkhnun is called *ḥsy n 'rrwt.f*, "favored by his judicial department."²²¹ The suffix pronoun *f* refers back to an earlier reference to the king, by whom Neferkhnun is also said to be loved.²²² The great autobiography of Khnumhotep II from Beni Hasan (tomb 3) expresses a similar sentiment with the phrases *iw.i m im³hy n-ḥr nswt ḥst.i ḥr šnwt.f i³mt.i m-b³ḥ smrw.f*, "I was one venerated by the king, my favor being before his entourage, and my favor being in the presence of his officials."²²³ These epithets indicate that senior non-royal officials could fill the role normally occupied by the king in these epithets, especially in cases where the epithet describes a relatively low-ranking official, as in the case of Weni.

8. *Irr ḥsst.f and Other Epithets Referring to Obedience*

While the Egyptians perceived love and favor (the subjects of some of their most common epithets) as consistently bestowed upon non-royal officials by the gods or the king, they did not view the role of the official as exclusively passive. Both common stock epithets and number of less common and more specific phrases refer to the actions taken by the official to earn divine or royal approval. Both the king and the gods are generally portrayed as remote, omniscient superiors, who by virtue of their positions were aware both of the behavioral ideals to which the elite were expected to aspire, and of the actual behavior of their subjects.

The gods in particular are depicted in non-royal epithets as if removed from the sphere of human activity. The elite propitiated them by maintaining local cults, and in turn received their love and favor.²²⁴ In addition to loving and favoring the official, the king could be pleased by the success of his representatives, and occasional epithets hint at real historical actions on the part of officials. For the

²²¹ The *'rryt* was located at the entrance to the administrative palace, and served a number of functions, including judicial ones. See van den Boorn, "Wd'-ryt," 1-25; van den Boorn, *Duties*, 47, 80-84; Silverman, "Portal Temple," 277.

²²² Montet, "Tombeaux" III, 140.

²²³ *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 25.

²²⁴ Royal epithets, in contrast, identify the king directly with the gods, and portray the gods as directly responsible for the king's success.

most part however the king too remains remote and impersonal. To judge from their epithets, members of the non-royal elite were expected to behave according to general principles of good conduct toward the king and the gods, the focus of many epithets being obedience on the part of the official.

8.1. *Irr ḥsst.f and Related Epithets*

Of epithets referring to obedience, the most common are variations of the phrase *irr ḥsst.f*, "one who does what he favors."²²⁵ These epithets, which usually refer to the king but may also refer to "his lord" or a deity, are part of the often repeated list of epithets forming the basic self-presentation: *mry.f ḥsy.f n st-ib.f irr ḥsst.f*. Doing what the gods and the king favor was essentially synonymous with doing *ma'at*.²²⁶ It was in doing what superiors favor that an official earned their love and favor, and hence justified his position in the afterlife.

The fullest writing, *irr ḥsst.f nbt m ḥrt-hrw nt r' nb*, "one who does everything he favors in the course of every day," is also the most common.²²⁷ Originating in the biographical narratives of the Old Kingdom, it was already in use in use as an epithet at the onset of the Middle Kingdom, and continued to be used throughout Dynasty 12, although it seems to have become less common after the reign of Amenemhat II.²²⁸ Shorter variations were also used, including *irr ḥsst.f nbt*, "one who does everything he favors;" *irr ḥsst.f nbt r' nb*, "who does everything he favors every day;" *irr ḥsst.f r' nb*, "one who does what he favors every day;" and *irr ḥsst.f m ḥrt-hrw nt r' nb*, "one who does what he favors in the course of every day."

The imperfective form of both the participle *irr* and the nominalized relative form *ḥsst* are used consistently in these epithets, in order to place strong focus upon the ongoing nature of the actions. While the subject of *ḥsst* is usually the suffix pronoun *f*, referring back to an earlier mention of the king or his lord, there are a number of instances in which more specific subjects are identified, including the gods (*ntrw*),²²⁹ his god (*ntr.f*),²³⁰ the gods of Upper and Lower

²²⁵ Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 46-48; II, 72-74.

²²⁶ Lichtheim, *Maat*, 25.

²²⁷ See examples in Appendix 2.

²²⁸ For Old Kingdom precedents, see Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 47.

²²⁹ Assiut tomb 1; Griffith, *Siut and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 3.

²³⁰ CG 20539.

Egypt (*nṯrw Šm'w T3-mḥw*),²³¹ the king (*nswt*),²³² the Lord of the Two Lands (*nb t3wy*),²³³ and his lord (*nb.f*).²³⁴ The stela of Nesumontu from Abydos, which names both Amenemhat I and Senwosret I and has often been cited as evidence of a coregency, reads *irr ḥsst.sn nbt m-ḥrt-hrw nt r' nb*, "who does everything *they* favor in the course of every day," referring to both pharaohs.²³⁵

TABLE 18: Superiors named with *Irr ḥsst* in the MK²³⁶

Designation of superior		Text	Date
<i>nb.f</i>	"his lord"	Hatnub 28 RILN 10 W. el Hudi 149 Sinai 118	Men. IV Sen. I Am. III Am. IV
<i>nb t3wy</i>	Lord of the 2 Lands	Assiut 1 BM 569 BM 557 Hammamat 48	Sen. I Am. II Am. III Am. III
<i>nswt</i>	the king	Sinai 72	Am. II
<i>nṯr.f</i>	"his god"	Assiut 1 CG 20539	Sen. I Sen. I
<i>nṯrw</i>	the gods	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>nṯrw Šm'w T3-mḥw</i>	the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt	Sinai 115	Am. III
<i>ḥsst sw</i>	the one who favors him	Heqaib 1 Heqaib 49	Sen. I Sen. I

8.2. To Propitiate and to Please: *Šḥtp* and *Ḥtp-ib*

The causative *šḥtp*, with the basic meaning "cause to rest," has the additional meanings of "propitiate," "please," "pacify," "satisfy," or, in the case of temples, "provide for."²³⁷ One might be called upon to

²³¹ Sinai 115.

²³² Sinai 72.

²³³ Hammamat 48, ANOC 9.1, ANOC 26.1.

²³⁴ Sinai 118, RILN 10, Wadi el Hudi 149.

²³⁵ ANOC 6.2.

²³⁶ For *irr ḥsst.f*, see Appendix 2.

²³⁷ *Wb.* IV, 221-222; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 239; Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 145-146; Meeks, *Ann. lex.* 1, 337, *Ann. lex.* 2, 341-342; *Ann. lex.* 3, 264-265.

"pacify" foreign leaders, as was the Dynasty 6 official Harkhuf, as well to "propitiate" gods.²³⁸ The meaning of *sh̄tp* therefore seems to be fairly broad, the essential concept being that a potentially powerful force was rendered benevolent through the actions of another individual. In the context of Middle Kingdom "autobiography," officials are said to *sh̄tp* a variety of individuals from rebels to the gods, but in epithets they most often claim to propitiate the gods. The king is also said to do this, in texts such as solar hymns, some of which probably date to the Middle Kingdom.²³⁹ When officials claim to have done the same, they are therefore adopting a certain level of royal responsibility.

Middle Kingdom officials are said to propitiate the gods only in a small number of epithets from Dynasty 12 tombs in Middle Egypt.²⁴⁰ In each of these cases, the tomb owner held high ranking titles in the local priesthood, including *imy-r hmw-ntr*. Both the titles of the deceased and the context in which the epithets occur indicate that these phrases refer to pacifying or satisfying the god in conjunction with priestly duties. As a rule, no specific god is named, the more generic term *ntr* or *ntrw* being used instead.²⁴¹ Djehutyhotep of el Bersheh is described as ... *sh̄tp ntrw hr.s*, "... one who satisfies the gods concerning it (i.e., an offering)."²⁴² The epithet *sh̄tp ntr m mrt.n.f* "one who satisfied the god with what he desired," appears on the doorway of the shrine in tomb B4 at Meir, and was probably inscribed in the damaged text above the fowling scene in tomb C1, where only "who satisfied the god" is preserved today, followed by a large break.²⁴³ At Beni Hasan, Khnumhotep I is called *sh̄tp psdt imyt Hr-Wr*, "one who satisfied the Ennead which is in Her-wer."²⁴⁴ The nature of the phrases preceding or surrounding some of these epithets supports the contention that they refer to ritual activity. In both Meir

²³⁸ For the sense of pacifying foreigners, see Kadish, "Old Kingdom Activity," 29.

²³⁹ Assmann, *König als Sonnenpriester*, 22.

²⁴⁰ In the Old Kingdom, references to officials propitiating the gods are scarce and occur in "autobiographical" narratives rather than epithets. See, eg., Janssen, *Autobiografie I*, 104.

²⁴¹ See Hornung, *Conceptions*, 33-42.

²⁴² *El Bersheh I*, 16.

²⁴³ In this instance, the *sdm.n.f* relative form identifies the action as past.

²⁴⁴ *Beni Hasan I*, pl. 44.

tombs, as well as at Bersheh, they appear alongside attributes describing temple-related activity.

Htp-ib, literally "one who makes the heart content," and idiomatically "one who pleases," occurs in a small number of epithets from Dynasty 12, primarily from the rock tombs of Middle Egypt. Both Djefaihapi I, in tomb 1 at Assiut, and Djehutyhotep, in tomb 2 at el Bersheh, are described as *htp-ib n ntr nfr*, "one who pleases the good god."²⁴⁵ *Ntr nfr* is a regular designation of the king,²⁴⁶ and in the tomb of Djefaihapi I this epithet accompanies a scene showing the vizier standing before large cartouches of Senwosret I. Above the central doorway of the same tomb, Djefaihapi is called *htp-ib Hr nb h* "one who pleases Horus, Lord of the palace," also apparently referring to the king.²⁴⁷ The same epithet appears in the Wadi Hammamat inscription of the military official Amenemhat, from the reign of Senwosret III.²⁴⁸ A third epithet from the tomb of Djefaihapi describes him as *htp-ib hr h3b sw*, "one who pleases the one who sent him," again most likely the king. The fact that *shtp* occurs primarily in epithets referring to the gods, while *htp-ib* is used mainly with reference to the king, suggests a distinction in which the king, as a royal but still mortal individual, could be "pleased" by a non-royal official, while a god could merely be "propitiated."

8.3. *Mh-ib n nswt*

Mh-ib n nswt, literally "one who fills the heart of the king," is most often rendered "confidant of the king."²⁴⁹ Unlike epithets beginning with *irr hst.f*, those introduced by *mh-ib n nswt* often state explicitly that the official has earned the king's trust through the successful execution of his administrative or military responsibilities.²⁵⁰ In fact, this class of epithets serves in large part to express the competence of the official as much as his relationship with the king. Although

²⁴⁵ Griffith, *Siut and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 4; *El Bersheh I*, pl. 6. Janssen, *Autobiografie II*, 47, correctly interprets this epithet and the others introduced by *htp(w)-ib* as referring to the king.

²⁴⁶ For *ntr nfr* as a reference to the king, and in particular the living king, see Zivie, "Monument," 105; Silverman, "Divinity and Deities," 64-65.

²⁴⁷ Griffith *Siut and Dêr Rifeh*, pl. 3. Janssen, *Autobiografie II*, 4.

²⁴⁸ No. 43: *Hammamat*, pl. 13.

²⁴⁹ *Wb. II*, 118; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 113; Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 169 renders it "trusty".

²⁵⁰ For a list of examples, see Appendix 2.

formulaic and relatively generalized, the epithets may therefore have a historical origin in the career of the individual. Officials serving on expeditions, for example, are described as *mḥ-ib n nswt m hbt ḥꜣswt*, "king's confidant in crossing foreign lands."²⁵¹ Several treasury officials who served in the Sinai turquoise mining region are even more specific, claiming to be *mḥ-ib n nswt m hbt ḥꜣswt r int ꜣtt špst n ḥm.f*, "king's confidant in traversing foreign lands in order to bring splendid raw materials for His Majesty."²⁵² Sarenput II of Elephantine says that he was the "king's confidant in marshaling troops to the districts of the South."²⁵³ The vizier Inyotefiqer who served under Senwosret I,²⁵⁴ is called "king's confidant in doing *ma'at*,"²⁵⁵ a more generalized designation encompassing all aspects of appropriate behavior.

The normal term for the king in these epithets is *nswt*, although some inscriptions from the Sinai specify that raw materials are brought to *ḥm.f*, "His Majesty," the individual person of the king. During the Old Kingdom, *mḥ-ib n ḥm.f*, "confidant of His Majesty," was significantly more common.²⁵⁶ The change suggests that, while the Old Kingdom Egyptians saw themselves as earning the confidence of the actual living king, who was directly responsible for issuing their official orders, those in the Middle Kingdom saw themselves as answering to the king in either his role as legal ruler or his eternal, divine aspect. Expedition texts, which do refer to the king actually responsible for sending the mission, are exceptional in continuing to refer to "His Majesty."

8.4. *Mḏd wꜣt* and *Mḏd mṯn*

Among the most common epithets describing obedience are those introduced by the words *mḏd mṯn* or *mḏd wꜣt*,²⁵⁷ both of which may be translated literally as "who presses hard upon the roadway," or "who adheres to the path," but which were used idiomatically to refer

²⁵¹ Wadi el Hudi 7 and 149; Sinai 114, 116/164 and 88.

²⁵² Sinai 405.

²⁵³ Müller, *Elephantine*, pl. 34.

²⁵⁴ Compare the 18th Dynasty "Instructions for the Vizier." See van den Boom, *Duties*; Simpson, "Mentuhotep," 333.

²⁵⁵ Davies and Gardiner, *Antefoker*, pl. 7.

²⁵⁶ Janssen, *Autobiografie*, I, 67-68.

²⁵⁷ For a list of examples, see Appendix 2.

to loyalty, dedication and obedience.²⁵⁸ Epithets beginning with *mḏd mṯn* and *mḏd wṣt* were first used in biographies of Dynasty 11, and continued to be used throughout the Dynasty 12.²⁵⁹ They occur in all types of biographical inscriptions, and describe men of widely differing rank, from viziers (as in Assiut tomb 1) to relatively minor treasury officials (as in Sinai 35). They are particularly common in expedition inscriptions,²⁶⁰ often forming the second half of a couplet introduced by the epithet *irr ḥsst.f.*, "who does what he favors." *Mḏd mṯn* is the earlier form, occurring from Dynasty 11 to the middle of Dynasty 12, and largely disappearing after the reign of Amenemhat II.²⁶¹ *Mḏd wṣt*, on the other hand, remains common through the reign of Amenemhat IV. *Mḏd mṯn* occurs unmodified, with the sense of "obedient." Epithets beginning with *mḏd wṣt*, however, typically conclude with the phrase *nt smnh sw*.

TABLE 19: Relative Occurrence of *Mḏd mṯn* and *Mḏd wṣt*²⁶²

Date	Epithet	Total
Dynasty 11 ²⁶³	<i>mḏd mṯn</i>	1
	<i>mḏd wṣt</i>	0
Amen. I-Sen. I	<i>mḏd mṯn</i>	2
	<i>mḏd wṣt</i>	7
Amen.t II - Sen. II	<i>mḏd mṯn</i>	1
	<i>mḏd wṣt</i>	5
Senwosret III	<i>mḏd mṯn</i>	0
	<i>mḏd wṣt</i>	1
Amenemhat III-IV	<i>mḏd mṯn</i>	0
	<i>mḏd wṣt</i>	4

²⁵⁸ *Wb.* II, 192; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 122, 124; Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 169; Meeks, *Ann. lex.* 1, 180 (for *mḏd wṣt*); *Ann. Lex* 2, 182 (for *mḏd mṯn*); *Ann. lex.* 3, 139 (for both).

²⁵⁹ See Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 70-71. Janssen also lists a Dynasty 13 example on a statue (CG 390) from Qurna, but Franke, *Personendaten*, dossier 567, dates this statue to mid-Dynasty 12.

²⁶⁰ Blumenthal, "Textgattung Expeditionsbericht," 91, note 17.

²⁶¹ Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 70-71; II, 103-5

²⁶² Table includes data from texts listed in Appendix 1 only.

²⁶³ Post-unification Dynasty 11 only.

A wide range of meanings may be applied to *smnh* in different contexts. When the object is a person, it could mean "advance," "distinguish," or "promote." When the object is a city or building, it could mean "embellish," "restore," or the like.²⁶⁴ A. B. Lloyd, in discussing the phrase *smnh niwt*, has observed that, "*Smnh* here means something like 'to put in a position where it is and does what it ought to'."²⁶⁵ Applying this definition to epithets, the individual is said to be loyal to whoever placed him in a position through which he could fulfill his appropriate role. Thus, the entire epithet may be rendered "obedient to the one who established him."²⁶⁶ On one of his Abydene stelae from the reign of Senwosret I, Inyotef son of Senet expresses his loyalty in a slightly different fashion, claiming to be *šms hr mtn nn qnb*, "one who follows the road without swerving."²⁶⁷

Exactly to whom *smnh* refers is not, as a rule, stated and, like *nb.f*, it may have been intentionally ambiguous.²⁶⁸ Most readers would have understood it as a reference to the king, but it left open the possibility that another superior might have been meant. On one Dynasty 12 stela, the owner is clearly said to be obedient to the king, with the epithet *mdd w3t nt nb t3wy*, "obedient to the Lord of the Two Lands."²⁶⁹ An epithet introduced by *mdd mtn* also mentions the king directly, namely *mdd mtn n hm.f*, "obedient to His Majesty."²⁷⁰ The use of *nb t3wy* and *hm.f*, rather than the more common term *nswt*, suggests that these epithets describe loyalty to the specific kings who appointed these men, rather than generalized patterns of behavior toward the office of kingship.²⁷¹ A stela probably from Dynasty 11 includes the phrase *mdd mtn n niwt.f*, "obedient to his township."²⁷² The township, as noted with regard to epithets introduced by *mry* and *hsy*, occasionally appears in positions normally

²⁶⁴ *Wb.* IV, 136-8; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 228, Meeks, *Ann. lex.* 3, 254.

²⁶⁵ Lloyd, "Khnumhotpe II," 31, note 7.

²⁶⁶ See Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 104-105; Meeks, *Ann. lex.* 3, 139; Simpson, "Amun-wosre," 66.

²⁶⁷ BM 572, ANOC 5.1.

²⁶⁸ See above, 128-131, for the discussion of *nb.f*. Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 105 assumes that *smnh* refers to the king.

²⁶⁹ Louvre C176.

²⁷⁰ Turin 2. See Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 71.

²⁷¹ For a discussion of different terms for the king, and their use in epithets, see above, 112 ff.

²⁷² Florence 6365. See Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 70.

occupied by superiors, indicating a degree of reciprocity between a local leader and his constituency, on whom the local ruler relies for support in life and for the ultimate maintenance of his cult after death. In the case of the expression *mḡd mḡn n niwt f*, it is possible that the population of the township is seen as the *smnh*, responsible for placing its leader in a position that allowed him to be effective.

8.5. Other Epithets Referring to Obedience

Other epithets referring to obedience are less formulaic, and none are very common. Epithets introduced by *sḏm(w)*, "one who listens," often refer to obedience as well as attentiveness.²⁷³ Some epithets involve obedience to royal commands, as in the tomb of Djefaihapi I, where the vizier is called *mty ḥ³ty ḥr wḏt n.f.*, "precise of heart regarding what is commanded of him."²⁷⁴ The expression *pg³-ḥr*, which literally means "who reveals the face," was used idiomatically to mean "honest."²⁷⁵ In some epithets, honesty in this sense was virtually synonymous with obedience, as in the Sinai inscriptions from the reign of Amenemhat II, which include such phrases as *pg³-ḥr ḥr wḏt n.f.*, "honest concerning what is commanded of him."²⁷⁶

9. Epithets Referring to Selection by the King

Officials sometimes attribute the advancement of their careers directly to the action of a superior, most often the king, but occasionally "his lord" or a god. Epithets beginning with a form of the verb *stp*, "to choose" or "to select," and *tni*, "to distinguish" or "to promote," occur throughout Dynasties 11 and 12, although they are never common.²⁷⁷ As J. M. A. Janssen has noted, the reasons for which official claims to have been chosen vary according to their official responsibilities, although in many cases, the reason is not explicitly stated.²⁷⁸ The body of officials from among whom the

²⁷³ See above, 63 ff..

²⁷⁴ Assiut I, 220.

²⁷⁵ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 96; Meeks, *Ann. lex.* 2, 144. See also Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 91.

²⁷⁶ Sinai 104 and 112.

²⁷⁷ See Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 108; II, 150-151.

²⁷⁸ See Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 151.

selection is made may be the "qenbet court" (*ḳnbt*), the "entourage" (*šnywt*) or the "courtiers" (*smrw*).²⁷⁹

TABLE 20: Epithets Referring to Royal Selection

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>stp.n.f m-ḥry-ib smrw.f</i>	Whom he chose amidst the courtiers	Sinai 112	Am. III
<i>stp n nswt m-ḥry-ib ḳnbt</i>	Whom the king chose amidst the qenbet-court	Hamm. 43	Am. III
<i>stn.n.f m-m smrw</i>	Whom he honored among the courtiers	BM 1213	Sen. III
<i>stny n nswt r mityw.f</i>	Whom the king honors more than his peers	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>tnn.f ḥnty t'wy</i>	Whom he promotes before the Two Lands	CG 20538	Am. III
<i>tnn n nswt r mityw.f</i>	Whom the king promotes above his peers	Assiut 2	Dyn. 12 (?)
<i>tnn nb.f ḥnt ḥḥw</i>	Whom his lord promotes before millions	CG 20538	Am. III
<i>tnn ntr ḥnt ḥḥw</i>	Whom the god promotes before millions	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>tnn srw n 'ḥ</i>	Whom the officials of the palace promote	Berlin 1199	Sen. I

10. Conclusions

Throughout the Middle Kingdom, the theme of approval from the king and the gods—in the form of love, favor, and veneration—forms the essence of the self-presentation. It is the subject of vastly more epithets than all other subjects combined. The elite sought to present themselves as the intermediaries between the royal and divine realm and the rest of humanity. Their position on earth depended on the love and favor of the local deities and the king,

²⁷⁹ For designations of fellow officials, see Chapter 4, 156 ff.

which in turn led to vindication and veneration before the gods of the afterlife. In general, epithets referring to divine approval are formulaic and relatively unspecified, and the role of the official is passive. The gods and the king are portrayed as remote beings who bestow their love and favor on deserving subordinates in return for loyalty and obedience. Officials claim to do what pleases the king and to propitiate the gods with offerings. In turn, they attribute their own success to the favor that results from these actions.

The context, setting, and intended audience of inscriptions influenced the choice of superiors invoked. In the tombs of Middle Egypt, deities are the superiors most often involved, funerary gods being named particularly often in parts of the tomb devoted to mortuary cult activities, while local deities and the king are more often mentioned in scenes of "daily life," on doorways, and on the facades. The relative frequency of epithets referring to gods reflects both the role of the tomb as the transitional zone between earthly and eternal existence and the role of the official as the transmitter of divine favor to the local populace. In sanctuaries, where prayers and descriptions of cult practices are common, epithets naming deities are less numerous than they are in tombs, and the focus is primarily on the local god or goddess of the sanctuary. Expedition texts rarely mention gods, focusing instead on the king, with the notable exception of Hatnub. Overall, epithets referring to the king outnumber even those referring to the gods.

The most common and most formulaic epithets are those associated with admission to the afterlife, involving vindication ($m^{\text{z}}\text{-}hrw$) and veneration ($im^{\text{z}}h(y)$ and $nb im^{\text{z}}h$) in the presence of the gods. These epithets appear in even the shortest inscriptions on the most humble monuments, and describe women and subsidiary male figures as well as the monument owners. By the Middle Kingdom, $m^{\text{z}}\text{-}hrw$ referred to the successful results of the official's testimony before the divine tribunal. $Im^{\text{z}}hy$ and $nb im^{\text{z}}h$ referred to the venerated state of immortality achieved by individuals who had lived in accordance with *ma'at*. Officials are said to be vindicated and venerated primarily by mortuary deities, although local deities and the king appear occasionally in these epithets. In the First Intermediate Period, elite private people came to be called "the Osiris," borrowing the designation of the deceased and deified kings of the

Old Kingdom. This epithets never became common among private people, however.

The vast majority of epithets mentioning the king use the term *nswt*, identifying the king in the aspect of his divine office. Other terms are used less frequently, including *hm.f*, "His Majesty," *nb t3wy*, "Lord of the Two Lands," and *ity*, "monarch." These terms for the king are not used randomly; rather, each is associated with particular formulae.

In addition to epithets referring specifically to the king, many refer to *nb.f*, "his lord." While this term probably refers to the king in many cases, it may also refer to non-royal superiors as well as to gods or to the cult image of the god. In the period preceding and immediately following the reunification of Egypt by Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, the lord and the local gods play a relatively prominent role in epithets, being portrayed by some officials as responsible for their support and protection. With the onset of the unified Middle Kingdom, the king reoccupies this role. Epithets referring to the officials themselves continued to be popular in the early part of Dynasty 12, after which they subsided considerably. An increase in emphasis on the king in epithets from the second half of Dynasty 12 is apparent at a number sites. On Abydene stelae, long self-presentations in the form of lists of epithets give way to relatively brief epithet lists composed of formulaic phrases such as those introduced by *mry* and *hsy*, which tend to focus on the gods, but more often on the king.

CHAPTER 4

INTERACTION WITH PEERS: THE OFFICIAL AND THE ELITE

Epithets referring to fellow administrators vary in subject matter and occasionally refer to specific responsibilities or activities in an individual's career, and even to historical events.¹ In this way, their subject matter can be similar to that of the career narrative portions of "autobiographies." Epithets involving the monument owners' peers may be grouped into three general categories: (1) those comparing him to other officials in a generalized manner in order to demonstrate his status or superiority; (2) those describing aspects of his career, including interaction with his fellow administrators; and (3) those describing attributes considered essential for successful interaction with peers and the execution of administrative duties. Epithets in category (3) have already been discussed in chapter 2, and will be noted only briefly in this section.

Self descriptive phrases referring to peers demonstrate a marked contrast to those dealing with superiors. In relating to the king and the gods, officials seemingly sought foremost to express loyalty, obedience, and approval. In relating to their peers on the other hand, it was essential for them to demonstrate prestige earned through competence, justice, and intelligence. It was also possible, and even desirable, for some officials to claim outright superiority over their colleagues. For this reason, epithets referring to peers and official duties can be closely connected thematically to those describing the king himself.

Like epithets describing the character and behavior of the official himself, epithets focusing on the interaction between an official and his peers reach a peak in popularity during the First Intermediate Period and early Middle Kingdom, declining in frequency and variety by the reign of Senwosret III. This decline, like the similar decline in epithets referring to the character of the monument owners themselves, probably resulted from a combination of factors. In part,

¹ As noted in chapter 2, they may also describe the personal attributes of the official and characteristics considered critical to successful interaction with fellow administrators.

it may represent the direct or indirect result of a relative increase in the stability and authority of the central administration at the expense of individual provincial administrators. Such a development could have led the non-royal elite to limit emphasis on their own authority or their dealings with other officials, while focusing instead on royal and divine favor. Meanwhile, an overall reduction in the size and ostentation of elite monuments, most notably the disappearance of the massive rock-cut tombs, allowed fewer opportunities for long self-description. Other social and religious factors were certainly at work as well. A number of authors have noted an increase in the availability of memorials to a wider range of people, accompanied by a proliferation of smaller monuments, an increase in the use of shared monuments, and an increasing emphasis on religious piety, all of which may have contributed to a relative decline in emphasis on elite officials and their peers.² In the second half of Dynasty 12, votive monuments seem to have changed somewhat in function—no longer did they serve as vehicles for expressing personal attributes and success, but rather emphasized the relationship of the officials to the gods and the king.

1. *The Context of Epithets Referring to Peers*

The context of epithets referring to peers and administrative activities reveals a great deal about their function and intended audience. While such epithets are found on virtually all types of monuments, they vary in relative frequency depending upon the provenience, function and date of the monument on which they appear. In sanctuaries, such epithets are particularly common during the first half of Dynasty 12. This concentration was due at least in part to the fact that votive stelae dedicated at sanctuaries were intended to be seen by other literate officials. Abydos, the most prolific source of memorial stelae, was a state-sponsored institution that drew elite visitors from throughout Egypt and from many different administrative fields. It was to these people that the primary emphasis of the inscriptions seems to have been directed. Invocations to passers-by are a common feature of such stelae. The stelae were probably read

² Leprohon, "Personnel," 33-38; Bourriau, "Patterns of Change," 3-20.

aloud on certain occasions, at which time the texts could be heard by illiterate listeners as well.³

A large number of epithets relate specifically to the career of the monument owner, rather than to his general superiority over his colleagues. These phrases for the most part come from a relatively small number of Abydene inscriptions, principally from the reign of Senwosret I. In the later Middle Kingdom, the "cenotaphs" at Abydos seem to have become so tightly packed together that many of the stelae would have been virtually inaccessible,⁴ but the mere presence of one's name in the vicinity of the sanctuary took on greater importance than the autobiographical content of the accompanying texts. With a few exceptions, such as the stela of Sehetepibra (CG 20538) from the reign of Amenemhat III, stelae from the second half of Dynasty 12 contain relatively few epithets involving the peers or careers of their owners. By Dynasty 13, almost no epithets on votive stelae refer to peers.

In tombs, epithets involving the interaction of the deceased with his peers are relatively common, although considerably less so than epithets referring to the gods and the afterlife.⁵ While the epithets on stelae tend to emphasize the official duties and the peers of the individual, those from tombs are more likely to stress his authority and prestige.⁶ This emphasis suggests that the intended audience for these texts, which like those on votive stelae may have been read aloud to members of the local community, influenced the subject matter of the epithets. Local hereditary leaders of provincial communities sought to stress specifically their dominance—sanctioned by divine and royal authority—over the inhabitants of their communities. This message may have been aimed in particular at the very limited segment of the population, namely the elite, who were literate and thereby able to comprehend the texts. Conversely, the intended audience for many of the funerary epithets (as discussed in the previous chapter) was primarily a divine one, with the result that the epithets found in areas of the tomb dedicated specifically to the

³ The stela of Mentuweser, MMA 12.184, distinguishes between those who read the texts and those who hear them.

⁴ O'Connor, "Cenotaphs," fig. 2.

⁵ See table 1 in this chapter.

⁶ Cf. Baines, "Society, Morality, and Religious Practice," 140-141.

memorial cult tend not to emphasize interaction with living people, but rather with deities.

In texts from mines and quarries, epithets involving interaction with peers are usually second in frequency to those referring to the king. Not surprisingly, epithets involving official duties stress foreign travel and the procurement of resources, as well as occasionally military prowess. A notable exception to this focus on the king occurs in the inscriptions from Hatnub, which place a particularly strong emphasis on the personal authority of the expedition leaders. Epithets stressing the personal status of the expedition leaders also appear with some regularity in the Wadi Hammamat, especially during late Dynasty 11.⁷ This focus may reflect the status of the expedition leaders as representatives of royal authority in relatively remote areas. These officials, who were often very highly ranked members of the administration (such as viziers), were typically accompanied by substantial groups of military or other personnel, over whom they represented the power of the central administration.⁸

Inscriptions from Hatnub continue a First Intermediate Period tendency to emphasize the authority of the local ruler even more strongly than that of the king well into Dynasty 12. By contrast, Dynasty 12 inscriptions from Wadi el Hudi rarely refer to peers and administrative duties, tending instead to stress primarily obedience and royal favor. Relative to expedition texts found closer to the Nile valley, Dynasty 12 inscriptions from the Sinai turquoise mining regions tend to include a wider variety of epithets referring to the expedition leaders themselves. Perhaps at a period in which officials in Egypt tended not to emphasize their own authority, those in remote areas were more inclined to do so owing to a less strict sense of decorum in outlying areas.

The epithets from military installations in Nubia, especially those from the late Dynasty 12 fortresses at Semna and Kumna, tend to focus primarily on the king, as one would expect both in a period of particularly strong royal authority and in a context designed to demonstrate the military power of the pharaoh. Where epithets do refer

⁷ For characteristics unique to expedition texts, see Blumenthal, "Textgattung Expeditionsbericht," 88-91; Eyre, "Semna stelae," 143; Posener, *Littérature et politique*, 131-4.

⁸ See, for example, Hammamat 113 and 114, Hatnub 24-26.

to the career of the owner, the emphasis is quite often on his military actions and skill.

TABLE 1: Percentage of Epithets Referring to Peers and Office⁹

<i>Inscription type</i>	<i>Dyn. II</i>	<i>Amen. I - Sen. I</i>	<i>Amen. II - Sen. II</i>	<i>Sen. III - Amen IV</i>
<i>Cemetery</i>	15.7% (41/261)	11.4% (52/457)	16.9% (46/272)	15.6% (13/83)
<i>Sanctuary</i>	NA	16% (69/430)	14.8% (22/194)	10.2% (39/382)
<i>Expedition</i>	12.7% (46/361)	4.7% (7/149)	8.3% (3/36)	13.5% (27/200)

2. Terms for Fellow Officials and Administrative Departments

Peers of the inscription owner, like non-royal superiors, are not typically designated individually, but rather by generic terms used to identify groups of officials. As with references to the king, they designate the official capacity of the individuals mentioned, rather than the individuals themselves, a pattern suggesting that these epithets were drawn from a common corpus and intended to be timeless in subject matter, rather than being composed for specific occasions and individuals. In the most common epithets, which refer to classes of peers—"the officials" (*srw*), "the great ones" (*wrw*), "the entourage" (*šnwt*), and "the companions" (*smrw*)—the owners of monuments claim precedence over the majority of their colleagues. In this way, they portray themselves as intermediaries between the king and the rest of the elite, in much the same way that the king was portrayed as the intermediary between the gods and humanity.

Epithets referring to administrative rank and personal status are often difficult to distinguish from honorific titles, and the distinction between the two may not always have been clear even to the Egyptians themselves. S. Quirke has proposed a set of criteria by which

⁹ Table includes data from texts listed in Appendix 1 only.

regular titles may be identified, preferring to classify unique designations as self-descriptive phrases rather than real titles.¹⁰ Occasionally, as Quirke notes, an epithet could eventually take on the status of a real title, and visa versa. In other cases, titles could be turned into epithets by the addition of adjectives such as "true" (*m3'*), "foremost" (*hnty*) and "good" (*nfr*).

2.1. *Sr* and *Srw*

Middle Kingdom epithets refer to both the inscription owner himself and to his colleagues as *sr*, "nobleman," "magistrate," or "official."¹¹ Although some Old Kingdom inscriptions, including the Pyramid Texts, associate the *srw* with judicial proceedings,¹² holders of the title do not appear to have had specific administrative duties during the Middle Kingdom. W. A. Ward notes that *sr* was not a regular title in the Middle Kingdom, but rather a general designation for any high official.¹³ A. Loprieno sees the *srw* of the Middle Kingdom as an emerging middle class,¹⁴ although, as both S. Quirke and R. Parkinson have argued, the *srw* were members of the elite, while the closest thing to a modern middle class would have been composed of barely literate urban dwellers, who are unlikely to have commissioned large scale memorials with elaborate self-descriptions.¹⁵ Thus, in Middle Kingdom epithets, *srw* should be understood as referring to the a class of literate officials. In the New Kingdom, it seems to have remained a generic designation of administrators of various ranks. For example, in the 18th Dynasty *Duties of the Vizier*, *sr* is used indiscriminately to denote a representative of the state and the central government, regardless of his hierarchical position, power, or status.¹⁶ In papyrus Wilbour, from Dynasty 19, *sr* is used as a comprehensive designation of officials responsible for the administration of the fields.¹⁷ The manner in which the term is used in Middle Kingdom epithets supports its use as a generalized designa-

¹⁰ Quirke, "Horn, Feather and Scale," 671.

¹¹ *Wb.* IV, 188; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 235.

¹² Anthes, "M3'-hrw," 47.

¹³ Ward, *Titles*, 153.

¹⁴ Loprieno, *Topos und Mimesis*, 87.

¹⁵ Quirke, "Review of *Topos und Mimesis*" 92; Parkinson, "Individual and society," 138.

¹⁶ van den Boom, *Duties*, 24.

¹⁷ Katary, *Land Tenure*, 6.

tion, suggesting that in this period it referred to both members of the central administration and local hereditary leaders.

In epithets, the singular *sr* generally refers to the inscription owner himself, who is said to be a *sr* foremost (*hnty*) of his city or peers. The plural form is used for other officials, as in the phrase *wšh-ib m-hry-ib srw*, "kindly disposed among the officials," and *rš šhr m-hšw srw*, "one who knows the plan over and above the officials." Sometimes, officials claim special royal favor relative to other *srw*, as in the phrase *'k-ib.f hnty šnwt.f srw.f*, "his foremost confidante of his entourage and his officials."¹⁸ Other epithets refer to the inscription owner's competent performance of his duties during meetings of *srw*, saying that he was attentive, that he spoke well, and that he possessed a well-devised plan. To some extent, the attributes of a successful *sr*, as described in the epithets, could be specific to the titles and duties of the inscription owner and his colleagues. For example, the leaders of turquoise mining expeditions to the Sinai are described as *hnty srw r int n.f 'st špst*, "foremost of the officials with regard to bringing precious materials for him (i.e., the king)."¹⁹

TABLE 2: Epithets Referring to the *Srw*

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>'k-ib.f hnty šnwt.f srw.f</i>	His foremost confidante of his entourage and his <i>srw</i>	Hammamat 199	Am. I
<i>wšh-ib m-hry-ib srw</i>	Attentive in the midst of the <i>srw</i>	Beni Hasan 17 Beni Hasan 2	Dyn. 11 (?) Sen. I - Am. II
<i>nb šhr m šh n srw</i>	Possessor of a plan in the hall of the <i>srw</i>	Bersheh 5	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>rš n srw.f tswt.f</i>	Whom his <i>srw</i> and his people know	Assiut 5	Dyn. 10
<i>hnty srw r int n.f 'st špst</i>	Foremost of the <i>srw</i> with regard to bringing him precious raw materials	Sinai 112 Sinai 114	Am. III Am. III

¹⁸ Hammamat 199.

¹⁹ For example, Sinai 112 and 114.

<i>s'h nfr m-m srw</i>	Good noble among the <i>srw</i>	Deir Rifeh 1	Sen. I - Am. II
<i>sbṯ srw m³³.sn sw</i>	At sight of whom the <i>srw</i> rejoice	Hatnub 27	Men. IV
<i>spd-r m sh n srw</i>	Sharp of speech in the hall of the <i>srw</i>	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>sr wh' tsst</i>	Sr who unties the knot	CG 20539 Leiden V4 CG 20538	Sen. I Sen. I Am. III
<i>sr m-hṣt wrw</i>	Sr before the great ones	BM 1177	Sen. I
<i>sr m-hṣt rhyt</i>	Sr before the commoners	Bersheh 1 ²⁰ CG 20531 ²¹ Meir C1 ²² CG 20538 Assiut 2	Am. I-Sen. I Am. II Sen. II - Sen. III Am. III Dyn. 12 (?)
<i>shṃ lr.f m-m srw</i>	Potentate among the <i>srw</i>	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>shnt n.f st.f m pr.f r srw nw t' pn</i>	Whose position was advanced for him in his house more than the <i>srw</i> of this land	Hamm. 114	Men. III
<i>tnn srw n 'h</i>	Whom the <i>srw</i> of the palace promote	Berlin 1199	Sen. I

2.2. *Wr* and *Wrw*

Another frequently used term for the elite, *wrw*, literally "great ones,"²³ appears in both honorific titles and epithets, including *wr r wrw*, "greater than the great ones," and *wr n wrw*, "greatest of the great ones."²⁴ In the Old Kingdom, *wrw* seems to have designated a class of landed nobility, who derived their rank from royal sanction.²⁵ In addition, it could refer to foreign princes as well as native

²⁰ *sr m-hṣt* restored.

²¹ *rhyt* restored.

²² *rhyt* restored.

²³ *Wb.* I, 328; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 64; Ward, *Index*, 86 ff.

²⁴ See Ward, *Index*, 86-88; Fischer, *Titles*, 16.

²⁵ Goedicke, "Laufbahn," 58-61; Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 61.

Egyptians.²⁶ In some cases (such as Hatnub graffito 20), it seems simply to have served as a contrast to the common people. Like *sr*, *wr* was a designation of rank, without an associated administrative office or duties. The manner in which it is used in epithets demonstrates that it differed in rank from *srw*.²⁷ The *wrw* in the Middle Kingdom seem to have been associated at least in part with the residence city and the royal administration, since a number of epithets refer to activities of the *wrw* in or around the palace.²⁸ In particular, the *wrw* are said to form part of an entourage that is either led into the administrative palace by the inscription owner or, more often, greeted by him at the gates. The designation of fellow officials as *wrw* seems to have gone out of favor in the second half of Dynasty 12. Examples are shown in the following table.

TABLE 3: Epithets Referring to the *Wrw*

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>iw n.f wrw m ksw</i>	To whom the <i>wrw</i> come bowing down	Hamm. 113 Sinai 93	Men. IV Am. III
<i>ḳ hr nb.f wrw hr-ph.f</i>	Who enters the presence of his lord, the <i>wrw</i> at his back	UC 14333	Men. II
<i>iw n.f wrw m ksw r rwtj pr-nswt</i>	To whom the <i>wrw</i> come bowing down at the gates of the palace	Shatt er Rigal 459 MMA 57.95 CG 20539	Men. II Men. II Sen. I
<i>iw n.f wrw m ksw ḥṣtyw-ḥ m dy hr ht</i>	To whom the <i>wrw</i> come bowing down, the local rulers prostrate	Louvre C1	Am. I - Sen. I
<i>wḥ wrw</i>	Unique one of the <i>wrw</i>	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>wr wrw</i>	Greatest of the <i>wrw</i>	CG 20546	Am. II - Sen. III
<i>wr wrw sḥw smrw</i>	Greatest of the <i>wrw</i> , <i>sḥw</i> and <i>smrw</i>	Assiut 2	Dyn. 12

²⁶ For example, Louvre C 1 (although Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, asserts that *wrw* was not regularly used to refer to foreigners prior to the Hyksos period).

²⁷ Cf. Goedicke, "Wisdom Text," 28.

²⁸ Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 31.

<i>wr r wrw nw t3- šm'w</i>	Greater than the <i>wrw</i> of Upper Egypt	Heqaib 12	Sen. II
<i>wr r wrw s'hw smrw</i>	Greater than the <i>wrw</i> , <i>s'hw</i> and <i>smrw</i>	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>wr mđw T3- mhw</i>	<i>Wr</i> of the southern tens	Bersheh 5	Dyn. 11 (?)
<i>wr hry-tp wrw</i>	Great overlord of the <i>wrw</i>	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>rdi n.s nn stn im.s wrw.s mi šrrw.s</i>	Who gave to it without discriminating, its <i>wrw</i> just as its small ones	Hatnub 20	Dyn. 11
<i>h3t wrw sis</i>	Foremost of the six <i>wrw</i>	Hamm. 113	Men. IV
<i>hry-tp wrw n(w) šm'w</i>	Chief of the <i>wrw</i> of Upper Egypt	Meir B4	Am. II
<i>h3p wrw šm'w T3-Mhw</i>	Controller of the <i>wrw</i> of the South and the North	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>sm wrw</i>	Who supports the <i>wrw</i>	BM 1164	Men. III
<i>snđw n.f wrw hryw-tp n tkn m h'w n nb.f</i>	To whom the <i>wrw</i> and overlords are subordinate when drawing near his lord's body	Hamm. 114	Men. III
<i>sr m-h3t wrw</i>	Official before the <i>wrw</i>	BM 1177	Sen. I
<i>st3 wrw T3- šm'w</i>	Who ushers in the <i>wrw</i> of Upper Egypt	BM 572	Sen. I

2.3 Šnwt

Epithets use the term *šnwt*, "entourage,"²⁹ in a manner similar to *wrw*, portraying the inscription owner leading the *šnwt* into the presence of the king. For example, the Dynasty 11 official Inyotef son of Tjefi is said to be *tpy šnwt tkn m 'h*, "leader of the entourage that approaches the palace."³⁰ The inscription owner typically plays a dominant role in the *šnwt*, as exemplified by the common epithet *s33 iwt.f n šnwt*, "whose coming is awaited by the entourage."³¹ The use of the term *šnwt nswt*, as well as references to the *šnwt* approaching the palace, suggest that the *šnwt* was affiliated directly with the

²⁹ *Wb.* IV, 511-512; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 268.

³⁰ MMA 57.95. Fischer, *In-it-f*, pl. 7.

³¹ See, for example, the stela of Amenweser, Simpson, "Amun-wosre," 65, 67, pl. 14.

king.³² Whether or not there were other "entourages" serving on a local level is not clear. The *Tale of the Eloquent Peasant* suggests that the High Steward Rensi had his own *šnwt*, which the peasant likens to the entourage of Ra, saying *ntk R' nb pt hn' šnwt.k*, "You are Re, lord of the sky, with your entourage."³³ References to the *šnwt* in epithets begin in Dynasty 11 and continue through Dynasty 12, although they cease to be common in the second half of the dynasty.

TABLE 4: Epithets Referring to the *Šnwt*

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>iry sgr n šnwt</i>	Keeper of silence of the <i>šnwt</i>	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>mrrw šnwt nswt</i>	Beloved of the royal <i>šnwt</i>	BM 572	Sen. I
<i>mtr hnty šnwt</i>	Renowned before the <i>šnwt</i>	Hamm. 104	Sen. II
<i>rh (šhrw?) hrw mdw šnwt</i>	Who knows the plan (?) on the day the <i>šnwt</i> speak	MMA 57.95	Men. II
<i>hsy hr šnwt.f</i> ³⁴	Favored by his <i>šnwt</i>	Beni Hasan 3	Am. II - Sen. II
<i>hry sgr n šnwt w' n nswt</i>	Sole master of silence of the <i>šnwt</i> of the king	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>sš iw.t.f n šnwt</i>	Whose coming is awaited by the <i>šnwt</i>	CG 20539 CG 20538 JEA 51, pl. 14	Sen. I Am. III Am. III
<i>s'r šnwt n nswt</i>	Who presents the <i>šnwt</i> to the king	Durham N 1935	Sen. II
<i>tpy šnwt tkn m 'h</i>	Leader of the <i>šnwt</i> approaching the palace	MMA 57-95	Men. II

Based upon the relative infrequency of epithets referring to the *šnwt*, the high rank of the officials described, and the association of the *šnwt* with the palace and the residence, the term would appear to have designated a somewhat higher status group than the *srw* or *rrw*.

³² See, for example, BM 572, ANOC 5.1; *Beni Hasan* I, pl. 26.

³³ p. Berlin 3023 (B1), 140-141, or 171-172 in Parkinson's reconstruction. See Parkinson, *Eloquent Peasant*, 27.

³⁴ "f" refers to the king.

The high rank of the *šnwt* is further indicated by the use of the term in epithets introduced by forms of *mri* and *hsl*.

2.4. *S'h*

S'h, "noble" or "dignitary," like *sr* and *wr*, was not associated with a specific office, and could refer to nobles both living and dead.³⁵ Epithets such as *wr n wrw s'hw smrw*, "greatest of the great ones, nobles, and officials," *s'h smrw*, "noblest of the companions," and *s'h nfr m-m srw*, "worthy noble among the officials" suggest that the *s'hw* formed a subset of the larger group of *srw* and *smrw*. Since officials take the trouble to distinguish themselves as *s'hw*, the *s'hw* were probably higher in status than the others. The relatively small number of epithets referring to the *s'hw* and the high status of the men referred to as such, including a vizier and two nomarchs, corroborate this assertion.

TABLE 5: Epithets Referring to the *S'hw*

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>wr wrw s'hw smrw</i>	Greatest of the <i>wrw s'hw</i> and <i>smrw</i>	Assiut 2	Dyn. 12
<i>wr r wrw s'hw smrw</i>	Greater than the <i>wrw s'hw</i> and <i>smrw</i>	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>hry-tp s'hw nbw</i>	Chief of all the <i>s'hw</i>	TT 60	Sen. I
<i>s'h ʕ n mpwt m pr imiwt</i>	<i>S'hw</i> great of years in the <i>pr-imiw</i>	Beni Hasan 2	Sen. I - Am. II
<i>s'h ʕ n kdwy hrw n di snd</i>	<i>S'hw</i> great of reputation on the day of giving fear	Beni Hasan 2	Sen. I - Am. II
<i>s'h mnḥ</i>	Efficient <i>s'h</i>	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>s'h nfr m-m srw</i>	Worthy <i>s'h</i> among the officials	Deir Rifeh 1	Sen. I - Am. II

A significant proportion of the epithets referring to *s'hw* come from the rock-cut tombs of Middle Egypt, which may suggest that the rank of *s'h* was a position associated with provincial areas. *S'h* also has some funerary associations, referring to the blessed dead in a

³⁵ *Wb.* IV, 50-51; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 214; Meeks, *Ann. Lex.* 1 (1977) 308; *Ann. Lex.* 2(1978) 310; *Ann. Lex.* 3 (1979) 242.

Middle Kingdom hymn to Osiris and later in the Book of the Dead.³⁶ While most Middle Kingdom epithets seem to use the term with reference to the living, others, such as *s'h mnh* are more ambiguous, and may have been intended to evoke associations with the afterlife.

2.5. *Smr* and *Smrw*

Smr, which appears in the common title *smr w'ty*, is most often rendered "friend" or "companion,"³⁷ but, because the contexts suggest the status of an acquaintance or associate rather than an actual personal friendship, the term "courtier" might be a more appropriate rendering.³⁸ Like *s'h*, *smr* appears to have been a designation of relatively high status. The use of *smrw* as a reference to a limited number of very highly ranked individuals, including a nomarch (Djefaihapi I) and a vizier (Iymeru), lend credence to this hypothesis.

TABLE 6: Epithets Referring to the *Smrw*

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>wr wrw s'hw smrw</i>	Greatest of the <i>wrw s'hw</i> and <i>smrw</i>	Assiut 2	Dyn. 12
<i>wr r wrw s'hw smrw</i>	Greater than the <i>wrw s'hw</i> and <i>smrw</i>	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>mrwt m ht nt smrw wrw 'h h' im</i>	Beloved in the body of <i>smrw</i> , <i>wrw</i> of the palace, and he who appears in glory therein	UC 14333	Men. II
<i>hry-tp 3 n smrw</i>	Great overlord of the <i>smrw</i>	MMA 9.180.111	Am. I
<i>s'h smrw</i>	Noblest of the <i>smrw</i>	CG 20546	Am. II - Sen. III
<i>smr 3 m hwt- nbw</i>	Great <i>smr</i> in the House of Gold	BM 574	Am. II

³⁶ Louvre C286, line 7.

³⁷ Faulkner *Dictionary* 229; Ward, *Index*, 151; *Wb.* IV, 138.

³⁸ Meeks, *Ann. Lex.* 3 (1979) 254.

<i>smr ʿ n mrwt</i>	<i>Smr</i> great of love	Louvre C2 BM 1213 <i>BIFAO Supp.</i> 81, 34	Sen. I Sen. III Dyn. 13
<i>smr wʿty n-wnt snw.f</i>	Sole <i>smr</i> without his peer	Bersheh 8	Dyn. 11 ?
<i>stp.n.f m-ḥry-ib smrw.f</i>	Whom he chose amidst his <i>smrw</i>	Sinai 112	Am. III
<i>stp.n.f m-m smrw</i>	Whom he distinguished among the <i>smrw</i>	BM 1213	Am. III
<i>ḏdw n.f iiw m pr-nswt in smrw imyw ʿh</i>	To whom "Welcome in the palace" is said by the <i>smrw</i> who are in the palace	Heqaib 1 Heqaib 9	Sen. I Sen. I

2.6. *Ḳnbt*

The term *Ḳnbt*, or "court," was used from the early Middle Kingdom onward to refer to a group of magistrates in a general sense, or more specifically to the law courts.³⁹ The latter meaning is clearly intended in the epithet *rdi pr snwy ḥtp m wpt nt Ḳnbt*, "one who caused that two peers go forth satisfied with the verdict of the *qenbet*," an epithet found in the Dynasty 11 graffiti from Hatnub. Epithets referring to the *qenbet* of the king and the *qenbet* of the residence make it clear that this court was associated with the central administration, although the fact that local leaders specify the royal *qenbet* in their epithets may indicate that there were local *qenbets*, as well. The high status of the *qenbet* is indicated by the fact that only a small number of highly ranked officials refer to it in their epithets. Perhaps even more significant is the absence of epithets in which the subject is specifically said to be superior to members of the *qenbet*. In fact, two examples, both found in the tombs of nomarchs, refer to the tomb owner as "beloved of the *qenbet*," using a formula that most frequently refers to superiors.⁴⁰

References to the *qenbet* in epithets are largely concentrated in the texts of the early Middle Kingdom, where they are most prominent in the autobiographies of highly ranked local leaders. Most are from

³⁹ *Wb.* V, 53-54; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 280 and Gardiner, *AEO*, 214*.

⁴⁰ See above, 52-58; for cases in which officials are called "beloved of" peers or subordinates, see below, 190-192.

tombs and expedition inscriptions, and a significant number of examples come from Hatnub. Epithets mentioning the *qenbet* are never common, and are very rare after the first two reigns of Dynasty 12. An exceptional example from the reign of Amenemhat III occurs in the inscription of Amenemhat (no. 43) in the Wadi Hammamat.

TABLE 7: Epithets Referring to the *Ḳnbt*

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>mry ḳnbt.f</i>	Beloved of his <i>qenbet</i>	Qubbet el Hawa 36	Sen. I
<i>mry ḳnbt nt ḥnw</i>	Beloved of the <i>qenbet</i> of the Residence	Beni Hasan 2	Sen. I - Am. II
<i>mrrw ḳnbt</i>	Beloved of the <i>qenbet</i>	Hatnub 43	?
<i>rḥ nswt ḥn^c ḳnbt.f</i>	Acquaintance of the king and his <i>qenbet</i>	Hatnub 24 Hatnub 26	Men. IV ? Men. IV ?
<i>rdi pr snwy ḥtp m wpt nt ḳnbt</i>	Who caused that two peers go forth satisfied with the verdict of the <i>qenbet</i>	Hatnub. 14 Hatnub 20	Dyn. 11 ? Dyn. 11 ?
<i>s n wb³ n.f ib in.f r sh ḥn^c ḳnbt</i>	Man to whom he ⁴¹ opened his heart when he approached the palace with the <i>qenbet</i>	Hatnub 24	Men. IV ?
<i>s n ḳnbt</i>	Man of the <i>qenbet</i>	W. el Hudi 3	Men. IV
<i>shḏ ḳnbt</i>	Inspector of the <i>qenbet</i>	Hamm. 113	Men. IV
<i>stp n nswt m- ḥry-ib ḳnbt</i>	Whom the king chose among the <i>qenbet</i>	Hamm. 43	Am. III

3. Common Epithets Referring to Fellow Officials

Epithets referring specifically to interaction among the elite tend to be considerably less formulaic and repetitive than those referring to superiors, and they typically present the official himself as outstanding among his colleagues. The most common and formulaic epithets

⁴¹ "He" refers to the king.

referring to the inscription owners' peers are discussed in this section.⁴²

3.1. *Wr m i3t '3 m s'h*

One of the most common formulaic references to peers and official responsibilities is the couplet *wr m i3t '3 m s'h*, "one great in office, great in dignity."⁴³ This epithet occurs in texts from a variety of contexts, including tombs, votive stelae, and expedition inscriptions. First attested in Dynasty 6, it reappears in post-unification Dynasty 11, continuing to be used through the first half of Dynasty 12.⁴⁴ The first half of the couplet refers to the actual administrative position of the official, the means by which he earned his living.⁴⁵ As J.M.A. Janssen observed, the preposition *m* in the second half can be understood as instrumental, explaining the means through which the official had become great.⁴⁶ Thus, this epithet juxtaposes two parallel and complementary ideas, greatness in one's administrative post and greatness in one's innate dignity, a quality which enables the official to show greatness in his office.

3.2. *S33 iwt.f*

The phrase *s33 iwt.f* introduces a number of Dynasty 12 epithets referring to the elite.⁴⁷ This expression may be rendered either "one whose coming is awaited" or "one whose coming is guarded," but, from the context, the former meaning is clearly preferable, as both W. Spiegelberg and A. H. Gardiner have argued.⁴⁸ Typically, both in tombs and on Abydene stelae, the owner is said to be awaited by groups of other officials, including "his peers" (*mitiw.f*), "the officials" (*smrw*), and "the entourage" (*šnwt*). The Abydene stela of Senti the Younger (BM 574) refers to his duties in the palace (or

⁴² For examples in which the official is said to be selected by the king from among his colleagues, see above, 69-70.

⁴³ For a list of examples, see Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 15-16 and Appendix 2 in this volume.

⁴⁴ Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 15-16.

⁴⁵ S. Quirke, "Horn, Feather, and Scale," 671, defines the *i3t* as a position for which payment was received.

⁴⁶ Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 20-21.

⁴⁷ See Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 92, II, 129-132; Appendix 2 in this volume.

⁴⁸ *Wb.* III, 419; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 208; Spiegelberg, "Ausdruck *s3 'w.t=f*," 72-73; Gardiner, "To await," 112-113.

possibly the royal mortuary temple), calling him "one whose coming is awaited at the crowning, at the appearance of Horus, lord of the palace."⁴⁹ This epithet probably relates to Semti's priestly titles, including *hry sšt' n hkrw nswt*, "master of secrets of the royal insignia," and *hm nt m pr-nw*, "servant of the red crown in the shrine of Lower Egypt."⁵⁰ In inscriptions from mines and quarries, epithets may describe the setting in which the individual is awaited, often relating directly to his official duties. For example, leaders of turquoise mining expeditions in the Sinai are said to be people "whose coming is awaited in the *pr-nbw*," most likely a reference to the treasury.⁵¹ One director of quarrying in the Wadi Hammamat (Hammamat 48), is described as one "whose coming was awaited by the overseer of works on the day of erecting monuments," referring to his role in procuring stone.⁵²

TABLE 8: Phrases following *Sš' iwt.f*

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>m-m srw</i>	among the officials	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>m hwt-nbw hrw n wpt r</i>	in the Mansion of Gold on the day of the opening of the mouth	Sinai 104	Am. III
<i>m-hry-ib hk'w</i>	amidst the rulers	Bersheh 5	Dyn. 11 ?
<i>m db'w m sh't Hr nb 'h</i>	at the crowning at the appearance of Horus, Lord of the palace	BM 574	Sen. I
<i>(i)n mitiw.f</i>	by his peers	Beni Hasan 2 CG 20536	Sen. I - Am. II Am. III
<i>(i)n hrp k'wt hrw s'h' wdnt imy hrt-ntr</i>	by the overseer of works on the day of erecting offerings in the necropolis	Hamm. 48	Am. III

⁴⁹ ANOC 42.2.

⁵⁰ Ward, *Index*, nos. 934, 1037, and 895.

⁵¹ van den Boorn, *Duties*, 62, n. 42.

⁵² Couyat and Montet, *Hammamat*, pl. 14.

<i>n st nb</i>	everywhere	Hatnub 20 Hatnub 24 Sinai 112 Assiut 6	Dyn. 11 ? Dyn. 11 ? Am. III Am. II - Sen. II
<i>(i)n šnwt</i>	by the entourage	CG 20539 CG 20538 JEA 51, pl. 14	Sen. I Am. III Am. III
<i>(i)n tst</i>	by the troops	Hatnub 43	?
<i>(i) ḏḏw hrw ipt bḏkw</i>	by the assessors on the day of counting revenues	CG 20536	Am. III

3.3. *Iw n.f wrw m ksw and Related Epithets*

The epithet *iw n.f wrw m ksw*, "one to whom the great ones come, bowing," is among the most common epithets stressing an official's stature among his peers.⁵³ It indicates not only that he was highly regarded by his peers, but that they approached him in an attitude of obeisance. Similar expressions refer to deities in Egyptian hymns and funerary texts, some of which predate their use as epithets. A Middle Kingdom hymn, for example, describes Osiris as "one to whom the shrines of the North and South come, bowing down."⁵⁴ The reinterpretation of these phrases as non-royal epithets may be viewed as part of the trend toward the "democratization" of certain elements of religious texts during and after the First Intermediate Period, since these epithets do not occur in the Old Kingdom.

As indicated in the following table, the earliest Middle Kingdom examples, dating to the reign of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, designate the owner as *iw n.f wrw m ksw r rwty pr-nswt*, "one to whom the great ones come bowing at the gates of the administrative palace." In some cases, the individuals described by these epithets also hold titles involving the palace, suggesting that the epithet originated as a reference to actual administrative responsibilities. Inyotef son of Tjefi (MMA 57.95), for example, served as *imy-r ḥnrt nw r-ḏ-wr*, "overseer of the labor compound,"⁵⁵ as well as *ḥkḏ ḥwtiw*, "manager

⁵³ Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 39; II, 60.

⁵⁴ Parkinson, *Voices*, 119.

⁵⁵ For this rendering of the title *imy-r ḥnrt*, see Leprohon, "Gatekeepers," 78. Cf. Ward, *Index*, no. 303; Fischer, "In-It.f," 261-262.

of estate personnel.⁵⁶ The text of his stela includes several references to controlling access to the king. Among Inyotef's epithets are "one whose place is near on the day of assembly," "one who greets the great ones," "one who precedes the great ones approaching the palace," "one who keeps common people (*rhyt*) away from him (i.e., the king)," "one who acts as a door for what is and what is not (i.e., everything)," and "one to whom the king reveals his speech, in order to act as a gateway to it."⁵⁷ It is possible, therefore, that *iw n.f wrw m ksw r rwty pr-nswt* may refer to Inyotef's duties.⁵⁸

A striking pair of epithets in the graffito of the vizier Kay at Hatnub (no. 42), which may date to the period of unrest at the end of Dynasty 11, vary the formula to portray Kay in a royal role. Kay is called *ii n.f Šm'w m ksw*, "one to whom Upper Egypt comes bowing," and *ii.n n.f ḥk'w Šm'w sḏ(w)*, "one to whom the rulers of Upper Egypt came weakened."⁵⁹ The rest of Kay's autobiography describes vividly his actions in defending and providing for the Hare nome in a period of strife, and these otherwise unattested phrases may well have a historical basis. The same is probably true of two late Dynasty 11 epithets from Wadi Hammamat, which stress the authority of their subjects even more strongly. The Steward Henu was called *iw n.f t'wy m ksw*, "one to whom the Two Lands come, bowing."⁶⁰ The vizier Amenemhat, who probably became the king of Egypt and founder of Dynasty 12, was said to be *iw n.f wrw m ksw t' r-ḏr.f ḥr ḥt*, "one to whom the great ones come bowing, the entire land prostrate."⁶¹ The epithets of both Henu and Amenemhat reflect a tendency for officials serving on expeditions to emphasize their own importance in a more emphatic manner than seems to have been typical in other types of texts. The reasons for their expressed self importance are unclear. It may be that as royal representatives abroad, they could legitimately assume certain royal attributes. On the other hand, late Dynasty 11 was a period of some instability, and,

⁵⁶ Fischer, "In-it.f," 261. For the title, Ward, *Index*, no. 1118.

⁵⁷ Fischer, "In-it.f," fig. 1, 260-261.

⁵⁸ According to Fischer, "In-it.f," 265, the *rwty pr-nswt* "probably refers to a gathering preliminary to a ceremonial entrance into the palace." Fischer, 265-266, convincingly supports this assertion, with a number of similar, but more explicit references to this location.

⁵⁹ Hatnub 24.

⁶⁰ Hammamat 114. Couyat and Montet, *Hammamat*, pl. 31, 8.

⁶¹ Hammamat 113. Couyat and Montet, *Hammamat*, pl. 29.

particularly in Amenemhat's case, these epithets might refer to the vizier's own personal authority. The use of such epithets by expedition leaders in the Wadi Hammamat must also reflect the fact that viziers and stewards on missions had access to scribes associated with the central government and experienced in composing royal as well as private inscriptions. Especially when working in border areas, such scribes must have drawn upon a stock of phrases stressing power and intimidation. Epithets beginning with *lw n.f wrw m ksw* do not appear to have continued beyond the middle of Dynasty 12.

TABLE 9: Phrases following *lw n.f wrw*

Epithet	Translation	Text	Date
<i>m ksw</i>	bowing	Sinai 93	Sen. II
<i>m ksw r rwty pr-nswt</i>	bowing at the gates of the palace	MMA 57.95 Shatt er Rigal 459 CG 20539	Men. II Men. II Sen. I
<i>m ksw ḥʿty-ʿw m-dy ḥr ḥt</i>	bowing, the princes prostrate ⁶²	Louvre C1	Am. I - Sen. I
<i>m ksw tʿr-ḡr.f ḥr ḥt</i>	bowing, the entire land prostrate	Hamm. 113	Men. IV

3.4. *Ḥnty*

Several other formulaic epithets serve to emphasize the official's dominance over his administrative colleagues. The most common of these is *nisbe*-adjective *ḥnty* followed by the designation of a place or a group of officials, with the meaning "foremost of" the people or place mentioned.⁶³ *Ḥnty* also introduces a large category of divine and royal epithets, and when followed by a toponym was a common means of designating the local god of a particular region or sanctuary.⁶⁴ Among the best known examples is the epithet of Osiris, *Ḥnty-imntyw*, "Foremost of the Westerners." *Ḥnty* began being used to introduce non-royal epithets in the First Intermediate Period, and

⁶² Literally "placed on their bellies."

⁶³ See Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 34; II, 172-3; Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 194; *Wb.* III, 304-306.

⁶⁴ Kuhlman, "Götterepitheta."

during the Middle Kingdom it usually refers to the prominent position of the official in his office (*i3wt*), in the palace (*pr-nswt* or *pr-3*), among his peers (*srw*), or in the execution of his duties.

In some instances, the subject is said to *hnty i3wt*, "foremost of offices," such as on the Theban stela of Inyotef son of Tjefi (MMA 57.95) and the Abydene stela of Wepwawetaa (Munich GL-WAF 35).⁶⁵ In these cases, the epithets may specify the location of the office in which the subject was employed, Inyotef calling himself "foremost of offices in the palace," and Wepwawetaa claiming to be "foremost of offices in the temple." The leaders of turquoise mining expeditions in the Sinai during the reign of Amenemhat III are called *hnty srw r int n.f 3tt 3pst*, "foremost of the officials with regard to bringing precious raw materials for him," referring specifically to their occupations.⁶⁶ Other references are less specific.

TABLE 10: *Hnty* in MK Epithets

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>hnty i3wt m pr-nswt</i>	Foremost of offices in the palace	MMA 57.95	Men. II
<i>hnty idbwy</i>	Foremost of the two banks	Louvre C2	Sen. I
<i>hnty wr hrp hmwt</i>	Foremost of the master craftsmen	BMA 37.1489E	Sen. I
<i>hnty n i3wt m hwt-ntr</i>	Foremost of office in the temple	Munich GL-WAF 35	Am. II
<i>hnty r hntiw</i>	More foremost than the foremost	Bersheh 5	Dyn. 11 ?
<i>hnty rmt</i>	Foremost of people	Hamm. 114	Men. III
<i>hnty srw r int n.f 3tt 3pst</i>	Foremost of officials with regard to bringing him precious raw materials	Sinai 112 Sinai 144	Am. III Am. III
<i>hnty 3m3w</i>	Foremost of Upper Egypt	Assiut 5	Herac.
<i>hnty t3 pn</i>	Foremost of this land	Hatnub gr.11	Dyn. 9/10
<i>hnty t3.f</i>	Foremost of his land	Leiden V5 Louvre C2	Am. II Sen. I

⁶⁵ Fischer, "In-It.f," fig. 1; ANOC 20.2.

⁶⁶ Gardiner, Peet, and Černy, *Sinai*, 113 and 117, pls. 37, 38.

Epithets beginning with *hnty st* and *hnty n st*, meaning "foremost of place," or "foremost of position," are relatively common, and may appear without modifiers, as on the Abydene stela of Nesumontu (Louvre C 243), or followed by a location, often connected to the palace, in which the official served. Most common is the phrase *hnty st r sm³-Hr*, "foremost of place at the *sema*-throne of Horus, a reference to the royal throne.

TABLE 11: *Hnty-st* and *Hnty-n st* in MK Epithets

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>hnty n st m pr-nswt</i>	Foremost of position in the palace	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>hnty st</i>	Foremost of position	Louvre C243 Edfou 32, 10	Am. II Dyn 13
<i>hnty st m pr-³</i>	Foremost of position in the palace	Deir Rifeh 1	Sen. I - Am. II
<i>hnty st m pr-nswt</i>	Foremost of position in the palace	Bersheh 5	Dyn 11 ?
<i>hnty st r sm³-Hr</i>	Foremost of position at the <i>sema</i> -throne of Horus	Saqqara 18X CG 20539 CG 20531 Berlin 1404	Am. I Sen. I Am. II Sen. III

4. Administrative Responsibilities

4.1. Reporting and Receiving Reports

When followed by the preposition *n* and the name or title of an individual, the verb *smi* means "report to" the person specified.⁶⁷ Epithets describe officials in the role of reporting accurately to, and less frequently as receiving reports from, other officials. It is clear both from epithets and from other sources that receiving reports was a duty associated with high ranking officials, such as the vizier, and that, as a rule, reports were delivered to senior administrators by more junior ones.⁶⁸ Depending on the official titles and relative rank

⁶⁷ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 227.

⁶⁸ Van den Boorn, *Duties*, 311-313.

of the officials involved, Middle Kingdom epithets may describe them as either delivering or receiving reports, or both.

The normal means of describing an official who receives a report is *smi(w) n.f.*..., "to whom ... is reported." The earliest examples of epithets in which the official is said to receive reports come from the Dynasty 11 inscription of the Steward Henu from the Wadi Hammamat (Hammamat 114), dating to the reign of Mentuhotep III, a text that repeatedly stresses Henu's personal authority.⁶⁹ In one instance, the inscription calls him "great of fear, great of love, one to whom the entire land reports" (*smiw n.f t3 r-dr.f*), and in another, he is called one "to whom the Two Lands come, bowing, to whom every office reports (*smi(w) n.f b3wt nbt*)." Both "great of fear" and "great of love" are epithets used elsewhere to describe the king, as in the Hammamat inscription of Mentuhotep IV.⁷⁰ In the following reign, the Hammamat inscription of the vizier Amenemhat (Hammamat 113) includes the epithet *smi(w) n.f ntt iwtt*, "one to whom everything (literally "that which is and that which is not") is reported." In Dynasty 12, epithets of this type continue to appear in expedition inscriptions in both the Sinai and Wadi Hammamat, either because the officials who inscribed them were inspired by the descriptions of their predecessors or because the scribe in both areas were drawing on a common source of inspiration.

In the tomb of the vizier Djefaihapi III at Assiut (tomb 6),⁷¹ the tomb owner is described, as was Henu, as *smi(w) n.f t3 r-dr.f*, "one to whom the entire land reports," and in the chapel of Ipi in the sanctuary of Heqaib (number 61), Ipi is called *smi(w) n.f hrt-t3wy*, "one to whom the affairs of the Two Lands are reported."⁷² This last version of the epithet becomes the usual form from this point on to the end of the Middle Kingdom, in inscriptions from both expedition sites and sanctuaries. It is, in fact, one of the few epithets describing administrative duties to retain its popularity into the late Middle Kingdom. In Dynasty 13, the vizier Iymeru dedicated a pair of statues at Karnak, on which he described himself in the same man-

⁶⁹ Couyat and Montet, *Hammamat*, 8, pl. 31.

⁷⁰ Hammamat 192.

⁷¹ Montet, "Tombeaux" III, 133.

⁷² Habachi, *Elephantine IV*, pls. 44-46.

ner.⁷³ On one statue (Heidelberg 274), this phrase is the vizier's only epithet, while on the other, he also refers to restraining rebels.

The fact that epithets introduced by *sml(w) n.f* occur frequently in inscriptions dedicated by viziers cannot be coincidental. By the New Kingdom, regulations regarding reports to the vizier occupied a prominent place in the *Duties of the Vizier*.⁷⁴ There is, in fact, a direct reference in the *Duties of the Vizier* to the *hrt-twy*, the "affairs of the Two Lands," which are said to be reported to the vizier on a daily basis. While it has been argued that the extant version of the *Duties of the Vizier* was composed in the early New Kingdom, it seems to have been based at least partially on sources from the Middle Kingdom.⁷⁵ The similarity between the epithets introduced by *sml(w) n.f* and certain phrases in the *Duties* indicates that the receiving of these reports was a responsibility already associated with the vizierate during the Middle Kingdom. In the Middle Kingdom, however, epithets beginning with *sml(w) n.f* were not limited to use by viziers, but described the leaders of expeditions as well. In the latter context, they might also refer to actual responsibilities of expedition leaders, since it would surely have been necessary for such men to be kept informed of the progress of work, as well as of affairs in the capital, on a regular basis. Also, as the highest ranking officials present in an outlying area, the leaders of expeditions acted as representatives of the king, and thereby functioned in a capacity not unlike that of the vizier at home.

Epithets also refer to the accurate delivery of reports to superiors by subordinates, the most common expression of which was the couplet *dd nfrt, whm mrrt*, "one who says what is good and repeats what is desired." The focus is on delivering the message well and to the satisfaction of the recipient, who may be assumed to be a superior. Epithets introduced by a form of the verb *sml*, "report," are more varied than those introduced by *whm*, and sometimes identify the recipient of the report. For example, on one of his Abydene stelae, Inyotef son of Senet is called *sml mrrt.f n sgmw*, "one who reports his testimony to the judge."⁷⁶ Highly placed officials claim to report directly to the king, as in a Wadi Hammamat inscription

⁷³ See Habachi, "Iymeru," 29-39.

⁷⁴ van den Boorn, *Duties*, 54-58.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 375.

⁷⁶ BM 572, ANOC 5.1.

dating to the reign of Senwosret III, in which Khuy asserts that he is *smi n nswt*, "one who reports to the king,"⁷⁷ and the Dynasty 11 stela of Inyotef son of Tjefi, who is called *smi n nswt m w^cw*, "one who reports to the king in private."⁷⁸ During the reign of Amenemhat III, Ptahwer states in his Sinai inscription that he is *spd-ḥr smi.f n nb.f*, "attentive when he reports to his lord."⁷⁹ It is noteworthy that in each of the examples in which the recipient of the report is identified, he is a superior of the individual who is presenting it, a practice that foreshadows the New Kingdom *Duties of the Vizier*, in which the subordinate in most cases presents the report.⁸⁰

TABLE 12: *Smi* in MK Epithets

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>smi mrrt</i>	Who reports what is desired	Hamm. 47	Sen. III
<i>smi n nswt m w^cw</i>	Who reports to the king in private	MMA 57.95	Men. II
<i>smi n nswt rd.f mnw</i>	Who reports to the king, his foot being firm	Hamm. 47	Sen. III
<i>smi(w) n.f ḥwt nbt</i>	To whom every office reports	Hamm. 114	Men. III
<i>smi(w) n.f ḥ r-dr.f</i>	To whom the entire land reports	Hamm. 114	Men. III
<i>smi(w) n.f ḥrt tḥwy</i>	To whom the affairs of the two lands are reported	Heqaib 61 Hamm. 108 Hamm. 108 Sinai 105 Heidelberg 274 <i>BIFAO Supp.</i> 81, 35	Am. II - Sen. II Sen. III - Am. III Am. III Am. III Dyn. 13 Dyn. 13

⁷⁷ Hammamat 47.

⁷⁸ Fischer, "In-It.f," fig. 1.

⁷⁹ Sinai 54.

⁸⁰ van den Boorn, *Duties*, 55, 70-73.

<i>smi sšm.f nn 'm-ib</i>	Who reports his business without forgetting	BM 569	Am. II
<i>smit hpw n(w) t'pn</i>	Reporter of the laws of this land	Louvre C1	Am. I - Sen. I
<i>smiw n.f ntt iwtt</i>	To whom everything is reported	Hamm. 113	Men. IV
<i>spd-hr hr smi.f n nb.f</i>	Alert when he reports to his lord	Sinai 54	Am. III

4.2. Administration of Districts for the Central Government

Perhaps the most informative collection of epithets describing the Middle Kingdom administration comes from the massive, two-sided Abydene stela of the vizier Mentuhotep (CG 20539), who served during the reign of Senwosret I.⁸¹ Along with the inscriptions of the Dynasty 11 vizier Amenemhat, Mentuhotep's epithets shed light on the otherwise fairly poorly documented role of the vizier in the early Middle Kingdom. Among the epithets referring specifically to Mentuhotep's responsibilities as vizier are "one who enforces (literally "gives") laws," "one who gives commands to Upper Egypt," "one who separates a district from its neighbor," and "one who sets up the boundary stelae," most of which are later paralleled in the New Kingdom *Duties of the Vizier*. When considered alongside descriptions of administrative activities in the great biographical inscription of Khnumhotep II from Beni Hasan tomb 3, Mentuhotep's reference to defining boundaries is particularly interesting. Khnumhotep describes in considerable detail the delineation of boundaries during the first three reigns of Dynasty 12, including the separation of districts and establishment of boundary markers. The stela of Mentuhotep may have referred to the same historical events, but while Khnumhotep's biography portrays them as specifically royal activities, Mentuhotep's stela indicates that the vizier was responsible for overseeing them. As C. Eyre and others have noted, the establishment or re-establishment of nome boundaries in early Dynasty 12 probably formed part of a royal policy of defining and therefore limiting the authority of provincial leaders, such as those at Beni

⁸¹ Cf. the comments of Simpson, "Mentuhotep," 333-334; van den Boorn, *Duties*, 170, 198.

Hasan.⁸² According to the later *Duties of the Vizier*, the vizier typically acted on behalf of the king in executing acts viewed by the local leaders as the direct actions of the king.⁸³

4.4. *Economic Management*

When epithets use the verb *lp*, meaning "count," "reckon," or "assess,"⁸⁴ the context is invariably economic. Nouns formed from this verb, such as *ip*, "accounting;" *ipt*, "census;" *lpw*, "payments" or "inventories;" and *ipt nswt*, "royal counting-house," also have an economic focus.⁸⁵ In addition, the labels accompanying tomb scenes refer to the accounts and inventories of tribute and other material goods as *lpw*. Epithets identifying the inscription owner as the assessor of inventories are not common, and, to judge from the small number of preserved examples, they generally refer almost exclusively to high ranking officials. The type of inventory being assessed varies, depending upon the office of the individual being described.

4.3. *Control of Access*

The number and variety of epithets referring to an official's access to restricted places, including various portions of the palace and temple, attest to the prestige of such access, as noted in a recent study by R.J. Leprohon.⁸⁶ In some cases, such epithets seem to be more than simple expressions of superiority over peers, but rather references to specific administrative responsibilities, as in the inscription of Inyotef son of Tjefi described above.⁸⁷ Elite peers figure prominently in such epithets, generally being portrayed as being led toward a restricted place by the inscriptions owners or greeted by him there. Officials also claim to have access to confidential conversations and

⁸² The reference to establishing boundaries parallels the royal role later described in the Semna stela of Senwosret III. For discussion and further references, see Eyre, "Semna stela," 136-139; Helck, "Grenzsteine," 897.

⁸³ van den Boorn, *Duties*, 185-190.

⁸⁴ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 16; *Wb.* I, p. 66.

⁸⁵ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, p. 16; van den Boorn, *Duties*, 103 (with additional references). For *ipt nswt*, see Ward, *Index*, 11, *Feminine Titles*, 81 ff.

⁸⁶ Leprohon, "Gatekeepers," 77-82, which includes a number of epithets not included in this study.

⁸⁷ See above, 169-170.

secret knowledge which was not available to the general public or even to fellow members of the non-royal elite.⁸⁸

A small number of epithets refer to the loosening and untying of knots. They include *sr išt tss(t)*, "official who unties the knot," which occurs on the Abydene stela of Wepwawetaa (Leiden V4), and *sr wh^c tss*, "official who loosens the knot," which is found on the stelae of Mentuhotep (CG 20539) and Sehetetepibra (CG 20538), also from Abydos. These epithets have been interpreted as metaphors for the ability to solve difficult problems, and may well have had such a meaning.⁸⁹ Their context and associated titles, however, suggest that they may instead refer to the opening of sealed doorways, which were tied and knotted prior to the application of the seals. For example, in addition to being the chief purification priest (*w^b ʕ*) at the sanctuary at Abydos, Wepwawetaa (Leiden V4) was the Overseer of Every Kilt (*hrp šndyt nbt*) and Overseer of Linen in the Shrine of Upper Egypt (*imy-r sšrw m pr-wr*). His epithets stress his trustworthiness, as well as his access to the divine image (eg. *m³³ nfrw nb.f*). Mentuhotep,⁹⁰ as vizier, was responsible for opening and closing various enclosures within the administrative palace,⁹¹ and the epithet "official who loosens the knot" appears within a list of epithets specifically describing vizierial duties, rather than within an idealized self-presentation.⁹²

5. Conclusions: Context, Function, and Meaning

Epithets referring to the peers and official duties of individual officials are especially common on Abydene stelae, where their presence may reflect the intention of the scribe to appeal to a contemporary audience made up of the literate priestly elite. In tombs and expedition inscriptions, epithets tend to emphasize the authority and personal power of the official, while on stelae they more often mention administrative duties and fellow officials. Peers and fellow administrators tend to be designated in general ways, rather than with

⁸⁸ See list in Leprohon, "Gatekeepers," 79-80.

⁸⁹ For example, Breasted, *Ancient Records*, I, 256, "loosening the difficult knot;" Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 76, "who unties what is knotty."

⁹⁰ CG 20539.

⁹¹ van den Boom, *Duties*, 311-312.

⁹² Simpson, "Mentuhotep," 333-334.

references to their specific titles and duties. From the manner in which they are mentioned, however, it is possible to theorize about their relative rank and status: *srw* is a generic term for officials of a variety of ranks; *smrw* seems to have designated a higher status group, a particularly prestigious sub-group of which included the *s'hw*. Higher in rank still was the *knbt*, in particular the royal *qenbet*, which is mentioned in epithets of only very highly ranked officials, and is always referred to in a deferential manner. The *wrw*, on the other hand, are sometimes mentioned in subordinate roles.

While the majority of epithets dealing with peers and official responsibilities are not formulaic, a small number of phrases occur with some regularity. These epithets generally emphasize the importance of the inscription owner *vis a vis* his peers, in particular epithets introduced by the phrases *s33 iwt.f*, "one whose coming is awaited," *iw n.f wrw m ksw*, "one to whom the great ones come bowing," and *hnty*, "foremost." These epithets, which originate in the late Old Kingdom and continue through the early Middle Kingdom, may in some cases have a basis in historical events, referring to the administrative duties of the official, his career, or his actions in times of political disturbance.

The branch of the Middle Kingdom administration for which epithets can be most illuminating is the vizierate. Vizierial activities referred to in epithets involve the receiving of reports, the assessment of inventories, the opening of sealed doorways, the dispensation of justice, and the establishment of boundaries. The Abydene stela of Mentuhotep (CG 20539) provides the most comprehensive description of the vizier's duties from the period.⁹³ Specific duties are also mentioned quite frequently in epithets from expedition inscriptions, especially at beginning and end of the Middle Kingdom, in Dynasty 11 and late Dynasty 12. Among the administrative responsibilities commonly attributed to expedition leaders are accurate reporting and maintenance of economic resources.

⁹³ Simpson, "Mentuhotep," 333-334.

CHAPTER FIVE

INTERACTION WITH SUBORDINATES AND THE COMMUNITY

The men responsible for commissioning "autobiographies" formed only a small percentage of the overall population. The literate class of local rulers, administrators, priests and military leaders served as intermediaries between the king and the majority of the population, composed of people who were illiterate and did not hold official titles.¹ This position carried the responsibility to provide for the well-being of the large class of individuals who were dependent upon the elite, especially in times of crisis or shortage.² In turn, local leaders and officials drew economic and other forms of support from their subordinates, and ultimately relied on them for the maintenance of their mortuary cults. "Autobiographical" inscriptions from the Old Kingdom onward stress the capability of officials to provide for their subordinates and the people of their districts. Likewise, the didactic literature advised officials to be generous, merciful and just, not only because it was morally right, but because subordinates who are not well provided for could ultimately rebel.³ The loyalistic instructions of the late Middle Kingdom also imply that officials should be devoted to the support of their dependents, on whose condition that of the king ultimately depended.⁴

Non-royal epithets, on the other hand, very rarely refer to interaction with subordinates, focusing instead on the officials' dealings with their superiors. The existing examples are largely concentrated in the inscriptions of high ranking provincial officials of the early Middle Kingdom. Their subject matter continues several themes developed during the unsettled period preceding the reunification of Egypt in Dynasty 11, when local rulers were called upon to guide their districts through a time of instability, but in turn held unprecedented individual authority. An analysis of Middle Kingdom epithets

¹ Cf. Assmann, *Ma'at*, 92-97.

² Baines, "Society, Morality and Religious Practice," 132-137.

³ See, for example, the *Instructions of Ptahhotep*, maxim number 34; see also the discussion of Lichtheim, "Didactic Literature," 244.

⁴ Posener, *Enseignement loyaliste*, § 12-13; Lichtheim, "Didactic literature," 251; Loprieno, "Loyalty," 546-547.

relating to the care of subordinates reveals both the role of the official as the king's representative in providing for his people and a high degree of reciprocity between local administrators and their constituents.

1. *Context*

1.1. *Tombs*

Although epithets referring to subordinates are rare in all contexts, a small number of epithets from tombs regularly stress the relationship between the tomb owner and the inhabitants of his district. By and large, self-descriptive phrases of this type are considerably more common in tombs than in any other context, and are found in almost every tomb with a significant amount of preserved inscriptional material.⁵ The most common location of these epithets is the facade of the tomb or a doorway, a placement that would enable the text to be seen by visitors to the tomb. Epithets involving the peers and official duties of the tomb owner were often placed in the same location, and all three types of epithets were probably intended to impress primarily the relatives and elite colleagues of the tomb owner. Although most visitors would have been unable themselves to read, the texts were probably read aloud during festivals, at which time the inhabitants of the district would also be reminded of the personal status of their deceased leader. J. Baines asserts that a significant function of these tomb inscriptions was to legitimize the appropriation by the elite of materials from their districts, as well as to reinforce the status of the tomb owner among his peers.⁶ In addition, the texts served to display publicly that the deceased had fulfilled the necessary requirements of *ma'at*,⁷ and was thus justified in taking his place among the honored deceased in the next world. In the process of fulfilling both of these roles, the inscriptions in the relatively public areas of the tombs provide evidence of the ethical ideals to which a local leader was expected to aspire in dealing with his

⁵ An exception being Meir, where the preserved epithets focus largely on the gods and the afterlife.

⁶ Baines, "Society, Morality and Religious Practice," 140.

⁷ On *ma'at*, see Assmann, *Ma'at*; Lichtheim, *Maat*.

subordinates. By and large, this evidence corroborates that of contemporary literary texts and narrative autobiographies.

The location of epithets within the tomb relates directly to their focus. Epithets mentioning the tomb owner's township are rarely found in the shrine area or on the false door, where the emphasis was largely limited to the gods and the afterlife. This placement reflects a difference in both function and intended audience between the parts of the tomb. The inner ("private") areas focused on the deceased person and the gods, while the outer ("public") area was devoted to the deceased person, his peers and the people of his township, as well as the gods. The scenes most often associated with epithets referring to subordinates and townspeople include fishing, fowling, and hunting, which had ritual significance, representing the tomb owner as an embodiment of *ma'at*.⁸ The local inhabitants might also be mentioned in epithets that accompany unusual or unique scenes of activities in the district. Notable among these are the battle scene in Beni Hasan tomb 14, where the nomarch Khnumhotep I is said to be "beloved of his township,"⁹ and the scene showing the transport of a colossal statue in tomb 2 at el Bersheh, where Djehutyhotep is called "beloved of the people of his township."¹⁰ These scenes are likely to depict actual events in the careers of the tomb owners, and thus, direct interaction with the inhabitants of their districts.

1.2. Sanctuaries

Self-descriptive phrases relating to subordinates and townspeople are not numerous on votive stelae, perhaps because many such stelae were dedicated by visitors on official business or religious pilgrimages, rather than by local inhabitants. Furthermore, stelae could be commissioned by people of more moderate means than could monumental tombs, at least during the second half of the Middle Kingdom. At Abydos, where epithets referring to fellow officials were relatively common, those referring to subordinates generally are not. Like epithets referring to the official himself, those referring to his colleagues and career tend to occur in a limited number of early Middle Kingdom texts belonging to officials whose inscriptions

⁸ Kamrin, "Monument and Microcosm," 240; Leprohon, "Mythologie," 40.

⁹ *Beni Hasan I*, 85.

¹⁰ *El Bersheh I*, pl. 8.

borrow heavily from contemporary didactic literature. Rather than referring specifically to the township, these texts tend to emphasize general qualities of generosity and concern for the poor.

On the monuments in the sanctuary of Heqaib on Elephantine, the vast majority of epithets refer to the gods, the afterlife or the king. However, epithets referring to the status of the owner in "his township" (*niwt.f*) do appear occasionally throughout Dynasty 12, from the reigns of Senwosret I through Amenemhat III. The subject matter of these phrases bears a closer resemblance to that from tomb inscriptions than from Abydene stelae, focusing upon the stature of the subject, rather than upon his generosity, justice, or other personal attributes. This pattern reflects the fact that the monuments dedicated at Elephantine were commissioned by local leaders, men of the same rank and administrative position as those who built the provincial tombs. The sanctuary was essentially a local institution, unlike Abydos, which drew visitors from a variety of administrative ranks and from sites throughout Egypt.

1.3. Expedition Inscriptions

For the most part, inscriptions from mines and quarries very rarely mention subordinates, and virtually never mention the people of the township. The omission of such epithets is to be expected, since expedition texts were inscribed by officials working for the central administration far from their own towns. These men did not have local administrative responsibilities, and did not intend their inscriptions for a localized audience. In the inscriptions from the military establishments of Lower Nubia, references to subordinates are slightly more common, although still rare, and generally describe the relationship of a military leader to his troops. In these texts, the common soldiers fill the same role normally occupied by the townspeople in texts from Egypt itself. For example, Inyotefiqer son of Senet, in his rock inscription from Girgawi, describes his generosity to his military subordinates, calling himself *dd ḥbsw m-ḥry-ib ḏḥmw.f*, "one who gives clothing among his troops."¹¹ The inscription of Mentuhotep, from the same site, includes the epithet *mrrw ḏḥmw*, "beloved of the troops."¹² As discussed above, officials

¹¹ RILN 73.

¹² RILN 74.

are usually said to be loved by superiors rather than subordinates. In fact, the only exceptions are cases in which they are said to be beloved of their troops or their townspeople. Such epithets reflect an unusual and specialized type of reciprocity between leaders and those from whom they derive their authority.

The situation at Hatnub is markedly different from that at other expedition sites. Beginning in the First Intermediate Period and continuing into the early Middle Kingdom, the Hatnub quarries were exploited, sometimes on behalf of the king, by local rulers from the Hare nome. Because these men were working in their own region, among their own subordinates, they used epithets reminiscent of those typically found in tombs, attributing their success to the local god Thoth, and directing their self-presentation to a local audience. Because the earliest Hatnub texts were composed at a time when central authority was unstable, the focus on the local elite was further emphasized. This situation may have repeated itself during the transition from Dynasty 11 to Dynasty 12, when some of the longest and best known of the Hatnub graffiti seem to record a time of violence.¹³ Even in Dynasty 12, when royal authority was re-established, the elite of the Hare nome, perhaps inspired by the inscriptions of their illustrious predecessors, continued to repeat epithets characteristic of an earlier period elsewhere.

TABLE 1: Frequency of Epithets mentioning subordinates

	<i>Dyn. 11</i> ¹⁴	<i>Amen. I - Sen. I</i>	<i>Amen. II - Sen. II</i>	<i>Sen. III - Amen IV</i>
<i>Cemetery</i>	5.4% (14/261)	6.6% (30/457)	7.7% (21/272)	8.4% (7/83)
<i>Sanctuary</i>	NA	8.1% (35/430)	5.1% (10/194)	2.1% (8/382)
<i>Expedition</i>	11.9% (43/361)	2.7% (4/149)	0% (0/36)	1% (2/200)

¹³ Eg. Hatnub 24. See discussion in Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 71-76.

¹⁴ Post-unification Dynasty 11 only.

2. Epithets Referring to the Subject's Township and District

2.1. The *niwt*

Epithets referring directly to the "township" (*niwt*)¹⁵ are found most frequently in provincial areas, especially in tombs, in the sanctuary of Heqaib on Elephantine, and in graffiti from Hatnub. Although these epithets are not common relative to those focusing on the king and the gods, they are more common than other references to subordinates.¹⁶ The townships to which these epithets refer were the basis of Egyptian territorial administration, and local rulers, especially in the early Middle Kingdom, probably exercised considerable individual authority and responsibility.¹⁷ Epithets referring to the township are significantly more common during the early Middle Kingdom than in the later part of Dynasty 12. The presence of self-descriptive epithets referring to the *niwt* reflects the fact that these local leaders derived their wealth from the agricultural potential of their region and devoted their careers to its administration. Epithets referring to the township also reflect the function of the tomb as a representation of the world in which the deceased had lived.¹⁸

The most common epithet concerned with the township, *mry niwt.f*, "beloved of his township," appears in tombs from Assiut, Deir Rifeh, el Bersheh and Beni Hasan, as well as in texts from the sanctuary of Heqaib and the Hatnub quarries.¹⁹ Its use appears to have been restricted to the highest ranking local nobility: without exception, each man described as "beloved of his township" is a nomarch, bearing the title *hry-tp* ʿ, "great chief" of his district, as well as the titles *iry-pʿt*, "hereditary noble;" *hʿty-ʿ*, "local ruler," and *imy-r hmw-ntr*, "overseer of *hm*-priests."²⁰ The use of the phrase

¹⁵ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 125; *Wb.* II, 210-212.

¹⁶ Slightly more than one-fourth of all epithets referring to townspeople and subordinates specifically mention the *niwt*.

¹⁷ Quirke, "Townsmen," 148.

¹⁸ For the tomb as a representation of the world, see Kamrin, "Monument and Microcosm."

¹⁹ Hayes has restored the phrase *mry niwt.f* in the text of the Dynasty 11 funerary stela of Henenu from tomb 313 in Thebes. See Hayes, "Henenu," 43 ff.

²⁰ For these titles, see Ward, *Index*, nos. 1050 ff., 854 ff. On the title "nomarch," see Franke, "Career of Khnumhotep III," 51 ff.

mry niwt, like that of most references to the *niwt* in epithets, is also restricted to provincial areas and to the period from just prior to the reunification of Egypt in Dynasty 11 through early Dynasty 12. This distribution suggests that the epithet originated in a period and region in which provincial leaders derived their power from their local populations as much as from the central government.

As noted above, Middle Kingdom texts almost invariably portray love as being bestowed by a superior on a subordinate.²¹ This general pattern does not hold true, however, in the case of the nomarchs and their townships and districts. Love could be directed from a dependent toward a superior in these cases, and officials can be said to be loved not only by the township itself, but also by its inhabitants. Khety of Beni Hasan (tomb 17)²² and Djehutyhotep of el Bersheh (tomb 2)²³ are both called *mry niwtiw.f*, "beloved of his townspeople," and Djefaihapi I of Assiut (tomb 1) is said to be *mrrw hnmw niwt.f*, "beloved of the citizens of his township."²⁴ Clearly the relationship between communities and their leaders was such that love could be reciprocal. Epithets of this type lend support to J. Assmann's association of "love" in ancient Egypt with social solidarity.²⁵

There is further evidence that the township and its inhabitants had a special status in the epithets of local leaders. In a few instances, officials are said to be "favored" (*hsy*) by their townships or townspeople, as on a statue of the hereditary noble (*iry-p't*) Ameny from Elephantine, dating to the reign of Senwosret I.²⁶ This phrase, too, has precedents in the period prior to the Dynasty 11 reunification.²⁷ In virtually all cases *hsy*, like *mry*, refers to superiors, gods, esteemed ancestors and elder family members. It would appear, therefore, that the township and its people could take on the role of an equal, or even a superior in epithets. This may have been possible in part because the township was perceived as a collective body which included not only its general population but also its highest officials,

²¹ Simpson, "Amor dei," 493-494.

²² *Beni Hasan II*, pl. 13.

²³ *El Bersheh I*, pl. 16.

²⁴ Assiut 1, 228-9, 352.

²⁵ Assmann, *Ma'at*, 123.

²⁶ No. 60: Habachi, *Elephantine IV*, pls. 143a.

²⁷ Janssen, *Autobiografie I*, 88.

its local gods, its honored deceased ancestors, and possibly even the king. Both love and favor were apparently viewed as a reciprocal sentiment between a successful local leader and the population from which he derived his authority and prosperity. This reciprocity is demonstrated in the loyalistic instructions of the late Middle Kingdom, which advise the official to provide for his township, asserting that "the township of the beloved man is well-established" (*grg niwt n mryt*).²⁸

As noted above, the Dynasty 11 graffiti from Hatnub, like inscriptions from the Heracleopolitan period at Assiut, place especially strong emphasis on the authority of the local administrators and their provision for their townspeople. Two of the expedition leaders, Nehri I (gr. 20) and Djehutynakht son of Djehutyhotep (gr. 26) claim to be *s'nh niwt.f*, "one who nourishes his township"—literally "causes his township to live." In the former instance, Nehri is specifically said to have done so in a time of drought. Likewise, Djehutynakht V (gr. 17) claims have aided his township "when it had nothing." Thus, the situation described in these epithets could refer to a time of actual shortage, or could be based on the same sources that influenced approximately contemporary literary laments. Just as the latter texts portray the king as the ultimate savior in times of famine and disorder, the expedition leaders are, in effect, likening themselves to the king.

TABLE 2: Epithets Referring to the *Niwt*

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>ꜥh n niwt</i>	Effective for his township	Assiut 3	Dyn. 9/10
<i>iwn niwt spꜣt.f</i>	Pillar of his township and his district	Deir Rifeh 1	Sen. I - Am. II
<i>iry niwt nb</i>	Keeper of every township	Bersheh 2	Am. II - Sen. III
<i>mꜣꜣ n niwt.f n-hnty</i>	Who looks after his township continuously	Hatnub 24	Men. IV ?

²⁸ Posener, *Enseignement loyaliste*, 131, § 13.2. Variants substitute the people of the township for the township itself.

<i>mrr niwt.f</i>	Who loves his township	BM 1010 Heqaib 13	Am. II Sen. II
<i>mrrw niwt.f</i>	Beloved of his township	Hatnub 17 Hatnub 20 Hatnub 39	Dyn. 11 ? Dyn. 11 ? Dyn. 12
<i>mrrw/mry niwtiw.f</i>	Beloved of his townspeople	Assiut 4 Beni Hasan 17 MMA 26.3.217 Beni Hasan 14 Deir Rifeh 1 BM 1010 Heqaib 13 Bersheh 2	Dyn 10 Dyn. 11 ? Men. II Am. I Sen. I - Am. II Am. II Sen. II Am. II - Sen. III
<i>mrrw hmnw n niwt.f</i>	Beloved of the citizens of his township	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>nb niwt.f</i>	Master of his township	Heqaib 28	Am. III
<i>hk³ mry niwt.f</i>	Ruler beloved of his township	Beni Hasan 2	Sen. I- Am. II
<i>hssy n niwt.f</i>	Favored by his township	Hatnub in. 10 Hatnub 11 Heqaib 60	Dyn. 10 Dyn. 11 ? Sen. I
<i>hmnw n niwt.f</i>	Citizen of his township	Hatnub 38	Dyn. 12
<i>s'nh niwt m h³i m^cd^t</i>	Who nourished the township by the <i>madjat</i> -measure	Assiut 5	Dyn. 9/10
<i>s'nh niwt.f m ts</i>	Who nourished his township in drought	Hatnub 20	Dyn. 11
<i>s'nh [niwt.f] smt r-dr.s wrw mi šrw</i>	Who nourished his township, which is aided in its entirety, the great ones together with the small	Hatnub 26	Men. IV ?
<i>sm niwt iw.f n-wn m-^c.s</i>	Who aids his township when it has nothing	Hatnub 17	Dyn. 11 ?
<i>smr th (i)n niwt.f</i>	Courtier known by his township	RIS 14	Am. III
<i>sr m niwt.f</i>	Official in his township	Edfu 10	Dyn. 13

2.2. *The Sp³t*

The term *sp³t* designates an administrative district, a creation of the central administration, as opposed to the township (*niwt*), which developed spontaneously.²⁹ *Sp³t* is frequently translated "nome,"³⁰ although in some cases the meaning is clearly broader.³¹ Middle Kingdom epithets referring to the *sp³t* occur less frequently than those referring to the *niwt*. The majority of examples come from the tombs of nomarchs at the neighboring sites of Assiut and Deir Rifeh.

TABLE 3: Epithets Referring to the *Sp³t*

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>im³t sp³t.f</i>	Gracious of his district	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>iwn niwt sp³t.f</i>	Pillar of his township and his district	Deir Rifeh 1	Sen. I - Am. II
<i>im³h(y) n sp³t.f</i>	Venerated by his district	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>hssy n sp³t.f</i>	Favored by his township	Assiut 4 Assiut 1	Dyn. 10 Sen. I
<i>hk³ sp³t.f</i>	Ruler of his district	Heqaib 28	Am. III
<i>s³nh hkr n sp³t.f</i>	Who nourishes the hungry of his district	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>tpy sp³t.f</i>	Chief of his district	Deir Rifeh 1	Sen. I - Am. II

Two epithets from the tomb of Djefaihapi I at Assiut (tomb 1) demonstrate that the *sp³t*, like the *niwt*, could occupy a position in epithets usually restricted to the gods or the king. *Hssy n sp³t.f*, "favored by his district," immediately follows *mry niwt.f*, "beloved of his township," to form a couplet. In this instance, the term *sp³t* may have been used as a literary device, to provide a contrast and compliment to the preceding mention of the *niwt*. The resulting epithet parallels closely the phrase *hssy n niwt.f*, "favored by his township," which occurs in several texts from the First Intermediate

²⁹ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 222; *Wb.* IV, 97-99; Meeks, *Ann. lex.* 1, 318; *Ann. lex.* 2, 319; *Ann. lex.* 3, 249; Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 44, n. 12.

³⁰ Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 222.

³¹ Lorton, *Juridical Terminology*, 44, n. 12.

Period and early Middle Kingdom.³² The epithet *im³hy n sp³t.f.*, "venerated by his district," also places the district in a position normally occupied in the Middle Kingdom by a deity or (less often) the king.³³ Clearly this epithet represents a case in which *im³hy* cannot be assumed to refer to a deceased individual, since Djefaihapi presumably earned the reverence of his district while he was alive. It is possible that in this case *im³hy* retains its original Old Kingdom meaning of "supported," in which case the well-being of the nomarch is clearly stated to be dependent on the well being of his district.³⁴

3. Epithets Referring to "People"

While epithets of Middle Egyptian nomarchs occasionally refer specifically to the population of their districts and townships, epithets belonging to a wider variety of officials may also refer to the Egyptian people in general. The terms most commonly used for "people" are *rm^t* and *rh^yt*. These terms were not used interchangeably, and their pattern of use suggests differences in the relative status of the two groups, the *rm^t* being of higher status. Two categories of people mentioned less frequently in epithets are the *p^t*, or elite, and a class of lower-status free citizens, the *ndsw*.

3.1. *Rm^t*

The term *rm^t*, "people," was used to refer to people in the general sense of "humankind," acting as the semantic plural of the singular *s*.³⁵ In many cases it referred specifically to Egyptians, as opposed to foreigners.³⁶ In epithets, *rm^t* was used in the same types of phrases that referred to the people of the township, as well as to superiors, all of whom were considered part of the *rm^t*. The phrase *mry rm^t*, "beloved of the people," occurs both on the Dynasty 11 stela of Meru from Thebes (Turin 1447)³⁷ and in the Dynasty 12 tomb of Senbi II

³²Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 88.

³³See above, 93 ff.

³⁴Cf. Assmann, *Ma'at*, 99.

³⁵Quirke, "Townsmen," 145.

³⁶Gardiner, *AEO* I, 100*.

³⁷Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, pl. 3

at Meir (tomb B3).³⁸ From the time of the First Intermediate Period on, doing what the people love, along with doing what the gods favor, was an essential aspect of doing *ma'at*.³⁹

Like *mry niwtiw*, the epithet *mry rmt* suggests that "love" could be reciprocated between superiors and subordinates. In this context, it should be noted that the *rmt*, like the *niwt*, included both the elite and the commoners of Egypt, as a result of which the reciprocal relationship between the elite and the *rmt* included the officials' dealing with their peers and even superiors, as well as their subordinates. Unlike *mry niwtiw*, *mry rmt* was not restricted to use by nomarchs, and was apparently considered appropriate for use by a wider segment of the population.

TABLE 4: Epithets Referring to the *Rmt*

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>iwtj rh.f in rmt</i>	Who is not known by the people	Hatnub 24 Hatnub 26	Men. IV ? Men. IV ?
<i>imy irty rmt</i>	Pilot ⁴⁰ of the people	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>imy-r rmt m-h3w h3w</i>	Overseer of people in excess of thousands	MMA 12.184	Sen. I
<i>ims-ib n rmt nb</i>	Attentively disposed toward all people	Beni Hasan 2	Sen. I - Am. II
<i>mry rmt</i>	Beloved of the people	Turin 1447 Meir B3	Men. II Sen. I - Am. II
<i>nft n rmt nb</i>	Breath of all people	Hatnub 24	Men. IV ?
<i>rh n rmt hst.f</i>	Whose favor the people know	Qubbet el Hawa 36	Sen. I
<i>h3l n rmt ntrw m hsfw hntyw.f</i>	At the approach of whose statues the people and the gods rejoice	Hatnub 24	Men. IV
<i>hsy n rmt nb</i>	Favored by all people	Hatnub 38	Dyn. 12
<i>hnty rmt</i>	Foremost of people	Hamm. 114	Men. III

³⁸ Meir VI, pl. 8.

³⁹ Lichtheim, *Maat*, 21-22.

⁴⁰ Literally "one who is in the eyes."

<i>šs'w rmt m hst.f</i>	With whose favor people are conversant	Assiut I	Sen. I
<i>ḏdw r.f rmt ir.f</i> <i>h' t' mh mitiw.f</i>	Regarding whom people say, "Would that the land were filled with the likes of him."	BM 561	Sen. I

3.2. *Rhyt*

Epithets mention the *rhyt* approximately as often as they refer to the *rmt*. While *rmt* designated people of a variety of social stations, *rhyt* refers specifically to the common people, the members of the lower strata of society which made up the vast majority of the Egyptian population.⁴¹ According to A. H. Gardiner, the *rhyt* were associated by the Egyptians with the segment of the population which, in the days shortly after the creation of the world, displayed "rebellion and subsequent submission" at the hands of the sun god, Re.⁴² This submission placed them in a position of inherent subordination, and subject to the control of both the king and the elite.⁴³

The officials who commissioned inscriptions typically portrayed themselves as separate from, and socially superior to, the *rhyt*, but also as supportive of their needs. Thus, the *rhyt* are mentioned in the same formulae that refer to the hungry and to widows, as in the phrase *s'nh rhyt*, "one who nourishes the *rhyt*."⁴⁴ The most common epithet relating to the *rhyt*, is *sr m-h'it rhyt*, "official at the forefront of the commoners," a phrase that expresses the official's leadership over his subordinates, which is found most often in inscriptions commissioned by local leaders. As A. H. Gardiner noted, another fairly common epithet, *mdw rhyt*, "staff of the commoners," was probably intended to indicate support for and leadership of the poor.⁴⁵ This phrase was common in the Old Kingdom, where it occurred alongside titles and epithets referring to the official's high administrative rank. It closely parallels the phrase "staff of old age,"

⁴¹ Gardiner, *AEO* 1, 100 ff.; Meeks, *Ann. lex.* 3 (1979), p. 173; O'Connor, *City and Cosmos in Ancient Egypt*. I am grateful to Prof. O'Connor for sharing his unpublished manuscript with me.

⁴² Gardiner, *AEO* 1, 105.

⁴³ O'Connor, *City and Cosmos*.

⁴⁴ CG 20539.

⁴⁵ Gardiner, *AEO* 1, 107.

which occurs in the *Instructions of Ptahhotep*. The distinction between the *rmꜥ* and the *rhyt* is demonstrated by a pair of epithets from the Abydene stela of the vizier Mentuhotep (CG 20539). Here, Mentuhotep is described as *imy irty rmꜥ*, *imy irty n rhyt*, "pilot of the people, and pilot of the commoners." By repeating phrases that are virtually identical (with the exception of the term for "people"), the writer has deliberately distinguished between the two categories of people in order to stress the widespread nature of Mentuhotep's influence. The Dynasty 11 inscription of the vizier Amenemhat from Wadi Hammamat (Hammamat 113) contrasts the *rhyt* with the *pꜣt*, or elite, saying that Amenemhat is the '*pꜣt rhyt*, the "arm of the elite and the common people," emphasizing his widespread authority.⁴⁶

TABLE 5: Epithets Referring to the *Rhyt*

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>imy irty n rhyt</i>	Pilot of the commoners	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>'pꜣt rhyt</i>	Arm of the elite and the commoners	Hamm. 113	Men. IV
<i>mdw rhyt</i>	Staff of the commoners	Assiut 1 CG 20539 Louvre C2 <i>Lahun</i> II, pl. 29	Sen. I Sen. I Sen. I Sen. II - Am. III
<i>sꜣnh rhyt</i>	Who nourishes the commoners	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>sr m-ḥꜣt rhyt</i>	Official before the commoners	Bersheh 1 Assiut 1 Assiut 2 CG 20546 Heqaib 12 W. el Hudi 149	Am. I - Sen. I Sen. I Dyn. 12 Am. II- Sen. III Sen. II Am. III

⁴⁶ Hammamat 113.

3.3. *P't*

The term *p't*, which refers to the Egyptian elite exclusively, very rarely appears in epithets.⁴⁷ It usually occurs as part of a couplet, comparing the treatment of the *p't* with that of another segment of the population, such as the *rhyt*. A. H. Gardiner defined the *p't* as "the autochthonous inhabitants of Egypt from the time when earth was first separated from sky and when Geb became the earliest terrestrial ruler,"⁴⁸ following which D. O'Connor associates the elite with the population of Egypt during a cosmological "Golden Age," a belief which justified to them their position in maintaining order on behalf of the king.⁴⁹

As noted in the preceding section, the late Dynasty 11 vizier Amenemhat was described as '*p't rhyt*, the "arm of the elite and the commoners."⁵⁰ This epithet indicates the wide scope of the vizier's authority, which includes both the highest and lowest ranks of Egyptian society. A second reference to the *p't*, in an epithet of another vizier, Iymeru of Dynasty 13, is considerably more enigmatic in meaning. On a statue from Karnak, Iymeru is described as *mḥ-ib n M3't m rḥ p't m sidt lbw nw skr w nbw*, "confidante of *Ma'at* in restraining the elite and enfeebling the hearts of all rebels."⁵¹ It is peculiar to find the *p't* mentioned in the context of being restrained, a position normally occupied by enemies, although, in spite of the apparently negative implications, they remain differentiated from the rebels, who are enfeebled to a greater degree. D. O'Connor notes that, although the *p't* were considered to be of higher status than the *rhyt*, they were nevertheless considered to have fallen with the rest of humankind.⁵² Iymeru's epithet may also have historical implications for Dynasty 13, a period in which the centralized administration was beginning to collapse.⁵³ As the vizier, Iymeru was part of the central

47 Matthews, "How Patrician were the *p't*," 27-28, argues, citing A. Nibbi, that the *p't* and *rhyt* are geographical terms rather than social class distinctions; however, I do not find the arguments persuasive.

48 Gardiner, *AEO* 1, 110.

49 O'Connor, *City and Cosmos*.

50 Hammamat 113.

51 For the text, see Habachi, "Iymeru," 35-39 and pl. IX.

52 O'Connor, *City and Cosmos*.

53 Habachi, "Iymeru," 38-39, has suggested that the epithet refers to "a certain class of Egyptians who revolted against the king."

government and could potentially have been responsible for restraining Egypt's own nobles.

3.4. *Nds*

In the Middle Kingdom, *nds*, a term literally meaning "small man," apparently designated a class of commoners or free citizens, the social standing of which is not fully understood.⁵⁴ Although it can refer to the poor, it also refers, as R. Parkinson notes, to people with titles and considerable wealth, including the prophet Neferty.⁵⁵ The concept of *nds* as economic independence, according to A. Loprieno, emerges during the transition from the Old to the Middle Kingdom.⁵⁶ During the Heracleopolitan Period, *nds ikr ir m hps.f*, "excellent commoner who acted with his arm," is a common epithet at Naga ed Dêr.⁵⁷ The *Instructions of Ptahhotep* indicate that a *nds* could rise in status as well: maxim 10 advises the reader to "serve a well-to-do man (*s ikr*) ... he was once a common man (*nds*)." Middle Kingdom officials do not identify themselves as *ndsw*, but rather use the term to designate a class of relatively poor but favorable portrayed figures in need of support. On his Abydene stela (BM 581), Inyotef son of Senet calls himself "a friend of the common man" (*hnms n ndsw*) and "one who is generous toward the common man" (*?w-drt n ndsw*). Djehutynekhtankh of the Hare nome (Hatnub gr. 12) claims to have recruited soldiers designated as *ndsw*, calling himself *ts n ndsw m st nb*, "recruiter of warriors in every situation."

4. *Providing for Subordinates and the Poor*

Epithets referring to provision for subordinates and the poor may be classified in two broad categories: 1) epithets describing the ability and willingness of the official to provide for his township, family, and others in a general way, and 2) epithets referring to the care of those in particular need, such as the poor, the sick, the widow, and the orphan. To Middle Kingdom Egyptians, generosity was more

⁵⁴ See Parkinson, "Individual and society," 142; Loprieno, "Loyalistic Instructions," 409.

⁵⁵ Parkinson, "Individual and society," 142.

⁵⁶ Loprieno, "Loyalty," 545.

⁵⁷ Fischer, "Three Stelae," 61.

than simply an act of kindness – it was an integral part of the local leaders' role in maintaining *ma'at*.⁵⁸ The didactic literature advises its readers to deal magnanimously with both their peers and their subordinates, indicating that generosity was a fundamental part of the Egyptian social ethic.⁵⁹ The *Instructions of Ptahhotep*, instruction 34, cautions that a person left lacking may become a potential source of rebellion.⁶⁰ "Autobiographical" narratives stress that the officials gave bread, beer and clothing to those in need. These attributes were especially relevant to local hereditary leaders, who had the responsibility of controlling and redistributing commodities to their townspeople, especially in the event of a shortage. As J. Baines notes, the majority of people derived their livelihood from the land, and in the event of a severe flood or drought, the state or the local leader would have to provide for those left hungry.⁶¹ Inscriptions from the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom frequently boast not only of the official's ability to avoid shortages, but also his actions to ease the suffering of his townspeople when such crises did occur. These issues do not appear often in epithets (which tend to avoid negative themes), and the examples that do occur are largely limited to Dynasty 11 and early Dynasty 12. Baines suggests that unpleasant circumstances such as poverty were not considered appropriate for presentation on monuments,⁶² although since "autobiographical" narratives on monuments do refer to such topics, another explanation for their absence in epithets should perhaps be sought.

Epithets relating to generosity may refer specifically to the general maintenance of subordinates, such as townspeople and military troops. Officials also claim to be "gracious" (*imꜣ*) to members of their own households.⁶³ Like epithets referring to the peers and office of the monument owners, those describing their generosity are particularly common from Dynasty 11 through the reign of Senwosret I. During this time, the texts seem to place special emphasis on the individual himself, his administrative role, and, by association,

⁵⁸ See, for example, Lichtheim, *Maat*, 28; Assmann *Ma'at*, 92-109.

⁵⁹ Eg. the *Instructions of Ptahhotep*, nos. 19-22.

⁶⁰ Maxim 34, p. Prisse, 15, 1-2.

⁶¹ Baines, "Society, Morality and Religious Practice," 137.

⁶² Baines, "Society, Morality and Religious Practice," 138.

⁶³ See, eg. Fischer, "Three Stelae," 63.

his role in the maintenance of *ma'at*. In stating that they have provided for their townspeople, local leaders claim to have to have furnished food and clothing to their dependents, to have aided (*sm*) them in times of need, and to have "nourished" their townspeople. In the last case, the verb is *s'nh*.⁶⁴ The use of this epithet during the First Intermediate Period with reference to avoiding a threat of starvation implies that the local population relied upon the elite for its very sustenance.⁶⁵ In many cases, epithets referring to the provision of food or clothing specify the beneficiaries of this generosity, either the local subjects or the military or administrative subordinates of the inscription owner. For example, the nomarch Djefaihapi I of Assiut (tomb 1) is described as *s'nh hkr n sp³t.f*, "one who nourishes the hungry of his district."⁶⁶ The Abydene stela of the contemporary vizier Mentuhotep (CG 20539) calls him *s'nh rhyt*, "one who nourishes the common people." The more general designation of "people" reflects Mentuhotep's role in the central administration, rather than in a specific provincial district. In his inscription from the Nubian military site of Girgawi (RILN 73), Inyotefiqer is said to be *dd hbsw m-hry-ib d³mw.f*, "one who distributes clothing among his troops." These relatively specific examples demonstrate the relationship between an official's administrative role and his responsibility for specific elements of the population. These same elements of the population are the ones by whom the officials are in turn said to be loved. Thus, these phrases serve to emphasize and justify the authority of the monument owner by demonstrating his worthiness to receive the support of his subordinates.

In addition to providing for the general population under their administrative or religious authority, the Egyptian elite were responsible (or at least wished to portray themselves as so) for the care of those members of their communities who were prevented by unusual circumstances from caring for themselves.⁶⁷ These people included widows and orphans (*nmhw*); the physically ill; and those who, for

⁶⁴ See Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 96.

⁶⁵ For a discussion, see Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 135.

⁶⁶ *Siut and Der Rifeh*, pl. 4.

⁶⁷ For a discussion of affliction in Egyptian religion and biography, see Baines, "Practical Religion," 83 ff; Baines, "Society, Morality and Religious Practice," 123 ff., especially 134-137. For a comparative study of Egyptian and other literature regarding the poor, see Fensham, "Widow, Orphan, and the Poor," 129-139.

unspecified reasons, suffered from particularly severe economic hardship. While such epithets are not common, several examples do occur in the early Middle Kingdom.

TABLE 6: Epithets referring to provision for the local population

<i>Epithet</i>	<i>Translation</i>	<i>Text</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>ẓw dṛt</i>	Generous	BM 581	Sen. I
<i>ẓw dṛt n ndsw</i>	Generous to the common man	BM 581	Sen. I
<i>imẓt spẓt.f</i>	Gracious to his district	Assiut I	Sen. I
<i>it n nmḥ</i>	Father to the orphan	MMA 12.184 Kestner 2927	Sen. I Am. II
<i>it n ḥrd</i>	Father to the child	Hatnub 12	Dyn. 10/11 ?
<i>ṗr n ẓbt.f nn ẓhw.s</i>	Who provides for his family so that they do not suffer	Hatnub 12	Dyn. 10/11 ?
<i>wẓ mẓr</i>	Who supports the wretched	Hatnub 20	Dyn. 11 ?
<i>wsh-ib</i>	Generous	Leiden V6	Am. II
<i>bnr imẓt n iwty n.f</i>	Sweet of graciousness to the one who has nothing	BM 581	Sen. I
<i>pḥrt snbt nt iw ind</i>	Healthy remedy for the one who comes sick	Hatnub 20	Dyn. 11 ?
<i>pgẓ-ḥr n ḥẓrt</i>	Honest to the widow	Assiut 3	Dyn. 10
<i>pgẓ dṛt n bw nb</i>	Open-handed to everyone	Assiut 3	Dyn. 10
<i>mẓẓw r ind</i>	Who looks after the afflicted	MMA 12.184	Sen. I
<i>mnṯ ḥẓw</i>	Who nurses children	Louvre C1	Am. I-Sen I
<i>nḥm iwtyw</i>	Who rescues the boatless	CG 20539 JEA 51, pl. 14	Sen. I Am. III
<i>nḥm mẓr m- wsr</i>	Who rescues the wretched man from the powerful	Hatnub 16	Dyn. 11 ?

<i>nḥm ḥꜣrt</i>	Who rescues the widow	Hatnub 20 Hatnub 24 ⁶⁸	Dyn. 11 ? Men. IV ?
<i>nḥ mꜣr</i>	Who protects the sick/wretched	CG 20539 <i>JEA</i> 51, pl. 14	Sen. I Am. III
<i>ḥi n ḥꜣrt</i>	Husband for the widow	Bersheh 1 ⁶⁹ Kestner 2927	Am. I- Sen. I Am. II
<i>ḥbsw n iw ḥꜣw</i>	Clothing for the one who comes naked	Hatnub 20	Dyn. 11 ?
<i>s'nh niwt m ḥꜣl m'ḏꜣt</i>	Who nourished his township by the <i>madjat</i> measure	Assiut 5	Dyn. 10 ?
<i>s'nh niwt.f</i>	Who nourishes his township	Hatnub 26	Men. IV ?
<i>s'nh niwt.f m ts</i>	Who nourished his township in drought	Hatnub 20	Dyn. 11 ?
<i>s'nh rḥyt</i>	Who nourishes the commoners	CG 20539	Sen. I
<i>s'nh ḥꜣr n spꜣt.f</i>	Who nourishes the hungry of his district	Assiut 1	Sen. I
<i>s'nh ḥꜣrwt.s</i>	Who nourishes its widows	Hatnub 17	Dyn 11 ?
<i>sm ḥꜣwt</i>	Who aids multitudes	Bersheh 5	Dyn. 11 ?
<i>sm niwt.f</i>	Who aids his township	Hatnub 17	Dyn. 11 ?
<i>sm ḥꜣrwt</i>	Who aids widows	MMA 12.184	Sen. I
<i>sm st</i>	Who aids it (i.e. his township)	Hatnub 20	Dyn. 11 ?
<i>snḏm ḥꜣnwt</i>	Who eases misfortunes	CG 20538	Am. III
<i>shr st m t.l</i>	Who satisfies it with my bread	MMA 26.3.217	Men. II
<i>sn pr.f n iw snḏ</i>	Who opens his house to the one who comes frightened	Hatnub 20	Dyn. 11 ?
<i>šd nḥn</i>	Who raised the young	Hatnub 26 Bersheh 1	Men. IV ? Am. I- Sen. I
<i>šd ḥrd</i>	Who raised the child	UC 14333	Men. II
<i>šd ḥrd r ph.f wr</i>	Who raised the child until it reached maturity	Beni Hasan 2	Sen. I-Am. II

68 "ḥꜣrt" restored.

69 "ḥi n" restored.

<i>t n ḥkrw ḥnkt nt iw lbw</i>	Bread for the hungry, beer for the one who arrives thirsty	Hatnub 16	Dyn. 11 ?
<i>ṯm-ḥr n sprty</i>	Indulgent toward the petitioner	Assiut 3	Dyn. 9/10 ?
<i>dmi ndm n whyf.f</i>	Sweet abode for his family	Hatnub 12	Dyn. 10/11 ?
<i>dd ḥbsw</i>	Who gives clothing	Louvre C167	Sen. I
<i>dd ḥbsw m-m dṣmw.f</i>	Who gives clothing among his troops	RILN 73	Am. I-Sen. I
<i>dd ḥt n nḥnw</i>	Who gives things to children	BM 1164	Men. III
<i>dd ḥt n nty snw</i>	Who gives property to those in poverty	MMA 12.184	Sen. I
<i>dd kṣw</i>	Who gives food	CG 20539	Sen. I

5. Conclusions

Self-descriptive phrases referring directly to subordinates and dependents are significantly less common than those referring to superiors or to peers. In addition to direct references to the people and the townspeople, epithets also refer to aspects of dealing with subordinates, in particular to generosity and provision for the needy. The township (*niwt*) and district (*spṣt*), and to some degree the people of Egypt (*rmṯ*), seem to have held a special status in epithets. They occasionally appear in formulae that typically refer to the king or the gods, including phrases introduced by forms of the verbs *mri*, *ḥsi*, and *imṣḥ(y)*. The *niwt*, *spṣt*, and *rmṯ* may have been included in such phrases because elite officials themselves were a part of all three groups, enabling them to interact in a reciprocal fashion. In addition, the welfare of the elite derived directly from their townspeople, and the didactic literature indicates an awareness of this dependency. The common people (*rḥyt*) do not appear in the same formulae, but tend rather to be mentioned in epithets demonstrating more clearly their dependence and subordination.

The distribution and placement of epithets referring to the township and district, as well as to the people as a whole, reflects the intended audience for the inscription. In tombs, these epithets are often positioned on the facade, the most public area of the tomb, and

in other cases they appear within the outer, more accessible chamber. They are never found in the shrine, where references are limited to the deceased himself, his family, and the gods. Epithets from expedition texts virtually never refer to these topics, except at Hatnub, where local rulers led expeditions within their own district, and left inscriptions and graffiti intended to be seen by their peers.

CHAPTER SIX
CONCLUSIONS

1. *Structure and Meaning of Non-Royal Epithets*

In most Middle Kingdom non-royal inscriptions, particularly the "ideal autobiographies," a small group of formulaic epithets form the essence of the self-description. These epithets may be classified in two very general categories: (1) those involving the individual's potential acceptance into the afterlife and (2) those asserting the proper standing of the individual relative to the gods, the king, and his townspeople. Epithets in the first category, which are far more common and formulaic than those in the second, are generally associated with the offering formula, and often follow immediately after the titulary of the official. This position is presumably dictated by the connection of the offering formula to mortuary cult and belief.¹ Epithets in the second class typically occur in the self-presentation. Although a number of phrases in this category refer to the peers and subordinates of an official, the most common expressions relate the inscription owner to his perceived superiors, in particular the local gods and the king.

Among the most common groups of epithets related to the afterlife and the offering formula are phrases including a form of *im³h*. The owner of the text may be called a *im³h(w/y)*, "venerated one," a term implying that he or she will receive an honored place in the afterlife. *Nb im³h*, "possessor of a venerated state," is approximately synonymous with *im³h(w/y)*, as a result of which the two epithets virtually never appear side by side in the same text. The *im³h(y) hr* Deity formula invokes gods or goddesses, often—though not always—connected to the mortuary cult, by whom the official is said to be venerated. Occasional references to an individual being venerated by living people, in which case the preposition *hr* may sometimes be replaced by *n*, may harken back to the Old Kingdom meaning of *im³h(y)* as "well-provided." The nomarch Djefaihapi I of Assiut, for

¹ For a study of the offering formula and its relationship to afterlife-related epithets, see Barta, *Opferformel*.

example, is called *im³h(y) n sp³t.f hr nhh*, "venerated by his district forever."²

The very common epithet *m³c-hrw*, literally "true of voice," indicates that an individual either has received, or has the potential of receiving, a favorable verdict at the time of divine judgment.³ When followed by the preposition *hr* and the name of a god or goddess, this epithet specifies the deity before whom the divine judgment and subsequent provision for the afterlife will take place. While both *im³h(y)* and *m³c-hrw* are intimately linked to afterlife beliefs, their use should not be taken as evidence that the inscription owner was necessarily dead at the time the text was inscribed, but simply that he or she had the expectation of being deemed worthy of a favorable status in the afterlife.

The most common epithets referring to interaction with superiors unrelated to the mortuary cult include phrases introduced by forms of the verbs *mri*, "love;" and *h³si*, "favor." These formulae assert that the official is receiving the support and beneficence of the god or person (usually the king) who establishes and maintains the official's position, in both a literal and a ritual sense. When a god is mentioned in this context, it is almost without exception a local god or goddess, and almost never a funerary deity.⁴ Therefore, these epithets should be understood as essentially non-funerary in character. It is possible that they were intended to link the monuments on which they were inscribed, along with the rituals that were presumably conducted there, with a local cult. In this way, the prayers and offerings dedicated to the local deity or king could be shared by the official whose inscription was nearby, by virtue of the "love" and "favor" of the deity. Meanwhile, both male and female family members and others who were depicted and named alongside the official on his monument claim to have been loved or favored by the monument's owner. Thus, they could in turn receive the benefit of the local cult through the patronage of the official, who stood as the intermediary between them and their royal and divine benefactors.⁵

² Griffith, *Sicut and Der Rifeh*, pl. 4.

³ See Anthes, "*M³c-hrw*," and discussion in Chapter 3 above, 91 ff.

⁴ It is noteworthy that Middle Kingdom kings are called "beloved of" funerary deities, but non-royal people are not. See Simpson, "Amor dei," 494 ff.

⁵ For the role of the official as intermediary in religious practices, cf. Baines, "Practical Religion," 91.

A local leader such as a nomarch (*hry-tp* ʕ) could also be said to be loved or favored by his township (*nlwt*), his district (*spʕt*), or the people of Egypt (*rmf*). Epithets asserting the love of the townspeople or people in general constitute a notable exception to the usual pattern in which love is typically bestowed by superiors on subordinates.⁶ In these cases, the epithets might refer to those who actually participated in the memorial cult of the official. It should be remembered that the elite peers of the inscription's owner, and even his superiors, were considered members of this community. As a collective unit, the township, district, or general population may therefore have been accorded a special, elevated status. Local officials interacted with people in all three categories, relying on them for support in life and after death. It is noteworthy that the common people, the *rhyt*, are never mentioned in any of these phrases, but only as the recipient of the officials' goodwill.

In addition to portraying the officials as the recipients of other people's benevolence, epithets may claim that these officials have played an active role in earning divine or royal favor. While such epithets may take a number of forms, the most common are variations on the formula *irr ḥsst X*, "one who does what X favors." The subject of the nominalized relative form *ḥsst* could be a god, the king (*nswt* or *nb ʕwy*) or "his lord" (*nb.f*), a term most often referring to the king but in some cases perhaps to another superior, and possibly even a god.⁷ Usually only the suffix pronoun *f* was used, enabling the inscription owner to relate his actions to the highest possible authority, be it a god, the king, or in some cases a non-royal superior. In the case of women, who typically did not commission their own memorials, the pronoun *f* usually refers to the owner of the monument, most often the woman's husband, but sometimes another male relative, through whose beneficence the woman receives royal and divine favor. In addition to the variations of the *irr ḥsst* formula, an official might be said to "propitiate" (*shtp*) a god, presumably through the performance of cult ritual, or to "please the heart" (*hṯp-ib*) of the king. Through the successful execution of official duties, he could also become "one who fills the heart" (*mḥ-ib*) of the king, thereby becoming a trusted confidante. To express obedience in a

⁶ As demonstrated in Simpson, "Amor dei," 493 ff.

⁷ See above, 141 ff.

more general sense, an Egyptian official could claim to have "followed the path" (*mꜥd mꜥn* or *mꜥd wꜥt*) of "the one who established him" (*smnh sw*), a type of epithet particularly common in expedition inscriptions. Of the epithets expressing obedient behavior, only those introduced by *irr ḥsst.f* are also used to describe family members or other subsidiary figures on monuments, and, as with the phrases *mry.f* and *ḥsy.f*, the suffix pronoun in these cases refers to the owner of the monument. It is noteworthy that epithets mentioning deities are more likely to place the official in a passive role, while those referring to other humans may portray him in an active role.

Epithets referring to peers and subordinates are less formulaic than those referring to the king or gods, displaying considerable variation, although certain formulae occur with some regularity. Officials indicated the importance of their status among their peers by saying that their coming was awaited (*sꜥꜥ iwt.f*) by their fellow administrators, or that the "great ones approach him bowing down" (*iw n.f wrw m ksw*). Many more epithets referring to interaction with peers and colleagues, including phrases that do not adhere to the more common formulae, are discussed at length in Chapter 4.

The temporal aspect implied by the participles and relative forms around which all of these "core" epithets are built is significant in itself. Where they are derived from a mutable verb, such as *mri*, *ḥsi*, or *iri*, the form is typically imperfective. The use of the imperfective form is a deliberate means of demonstrating that the action referred to is continuous, and presumably that it will continue after death.⁸ The official does not claim to receive the favor of his or her superiors only on one particular occasion or due to one specific action, but rather expects it to continue perpetually. The forms of the participles in epithets referring to peers differ from those referring to superiors in two ways. First, they are more often than not in the active voice, indicating that the inscription owner plays an active role. Second, while the time aspect is not entirely consistent, the perfective rather than imperfective form often appears, suggesting that the epithets might in some cases refer to specific episodes in the life of the individual, rather than ongoing and eternal characteristics.

⁸ See Gardiner, *Grammar*, 281-282; Satzinger, "Tense and Aspect," 297-314; Satzinger, "Tense System," 375-383.

A large class of royal epithets emphasizes the role of the king and his office in maintaining divine order. These phrases portray the king metaphorically as a judge, priest, warrior, protector, provider, and even creator.⁹ While non-royal officials may speak in much more modest terms, highly placed administrators such as viziers and nomarchs occasionally claim many of the same or similar attributes. The explanation for this similarity is the parallel function of these categories of royal and non-royal epithets, namely to commemorate the life and actions of the individual, to legitimize his authority, and to justify the perpetuation of his cult. The difference is merely one of magnitude. Royal epithets demonstrate the power of the king over the entire civilized (i.e., Egyptianized) world, while non-royal epithets demonstrate the success of the official only within his own limited social and administrative sphere.

2. Epithets and Literature

In both form and function, epithets serve as a transition between the basic identification of an individual by means of his name and titulary and the full narrative self description of the developed "autobiography."¹⁰ The simplest inscriptions use only those epithets fundamentally linked to the offering formula, such as *im³h(y)* and *m³-hrw*. Frequently, the scribes expanded the text to include the basic society-related epithets *mry* and *hsy*. Longer lists of epithets relating to the career and conduct of the official, or to his relationship with peers and subordinates, are significantly less common and tend to be concentrated in the first half of the Middle Kingdom at most sites.

The role of epithets within private "autobiography" is analogous to that of the king's epithets in royal monumental inscriptions.¹¹ They typically occur immediately after the name and titulary and precede the verbal narrative of the official's career and the circumstances surrounding the consecration of the monument. The

⁹ Barta, "Königsbezeichnung," col. 477-480.

¹⁰ For the genre of "autobiography," see Gnirs, "ägyptische Autobiographie;" Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*. Gnirs provides an excellent summary of the nature and development of the genre, while Lichtheim focuses on the Old and Middle Kingdoms, providing translations and commentary.

¹¹ See Eyre, "Semna stelae," 157 ff.

epithets—which are composed of nouns, adjectives, and relative clauses—do not take the form of full sentences, and like the epithets clustered in the introductory portions of royal monuments, may be symmetrically grouped. Non-royal epithets, like their royal counterparts, serve to prepare readers for the narrative to follow by persuading them of the worthiness of both the official himself and of his office. Epithets primarily relate to ideal character traits, while specific events in the life of the official are confined to the narrative portion of the text. The subject matter and themes of these two portions of the “autobiography” may, of course, overlap considerably, particularly with regard to the official’s career and his interaction with his peers and townspeople. The Middle Kingdom saw the appearance of a type of biography, classified by A. Gnirs as the “encomiastic autobiography,”¹² composed almost entirely of epithets arranged in a series of participial statements. This genre enjoyed popularity especially in the early Middle Kingdom, reappearing occasionally through the early New Kingdom, and is the primary vehicle for unique and innovative epithets relating to the individual official, his character, and his personal authority, subjects otherwise treated more often in the career narrative.

The literary genre most closely associated thematically with the subject matter of epithets is didactic literature—texts that provide advice regarding ideals of behavior and character. In particular, certain of the longer self-presentations, especially those from Abydene stelae of the reign of Senwosret I, closely resemble the *Instructions of Ptahhotep*.¹³ For example, one of the stelae of Inyotef son of Senet (BM 581) is arranged in a series of participial statements listing ideal character traits either closely modeled on the *Instructions* or drawn from the same body of wisdom. Texts such as this one suggest that their composers were attempting to create works of literary merit, as well as inscriptions that served the religious needs of their owners. It is unlikely that these compositions are truly “autobiographical,” as Lichtheim asserts,¹⁴ because their descriptions are highly stylized and idealized in nature. However, the relatively large number of unique phrases does suggest that the

¹² Gnirs, “ägyptische Autobiographie,” 225-7.

¹³ For a transcription and commentary, see Zába, *Ptah-hotep*. For the relationship to epithets, see also Eyre, “Semna stelae,” 121.

¹⁴ Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 2; “Didactic literature,” 254.

inscriptions' composers occasionally attempted to include specific attributes that might reflect the actual duties or characteristics of their owners. Both the stylistic superiority of these inscriptions and their close relationship to early Middle Kingdom literary works suggest that the men who commissioned and composed them were members of the fairly small circle of "literati" associated with the royal court and responsible at least in part for the masterpieces of Middle Kingdom literature.¹⁵

Certain inscriptions left by viziers of the early Middle Kingdom, notably the Abydene stela of the vizier Mentuhotep, who served under Senwosret I, display similarities to the New Kingdom *Duties of the Vizier*, as Chapter 4 has demonstrated.¹⁶ The parallels are close enough to suggest a common source for the two types of texts, presumably a written or unwritten code of the vizier's responsibilities. Such codes may have existed for other offices as well, although clear examples in epithets are not readily apparent.

3. *Setting and Function of Non-Royal Epithets*

The subject matter, themes, and motifs of non-royal epithets were directly influenced both by the function and setting of the inscriptions in which they appear and by their intended audience. This audience might be an actual one, composed of the surviving peers and family of a tomb owner,¹⁷ fellow literate officials visiting a sanctuary, members of later expeditions to the site of a mining or military project, or even the king. Conversely, the text might be aimed at a supernatural or symbolic audience, such as the mortuary deities who oversaw the judgment of the dead, fellow deceased spirits, or the local god in or near whose sanctuary the text was set up.

3.1. *Tombs*

In tombs, epithets mentioning the gods are particularly numerous. Since the owners of most reasonably well-preserved tombs were local provincial rulers, tomb inscriptions also display a relatively

¹⁵ Cf. discussion in Eyre, "Semna stela," 163-165.

¹⁶ See Simpson, "Mentuhotep;" van den Boorn, *Duties*.

¹⁷ For the role of the survivors in the mortuary cult, see Lloyd, "Psychology and Society," 117-133.

strong emphasis on the township (*n/wt*) and its inhabitants, as well as on the personal authority and responsibility of the tomb-owner. Thus, epithets from tombs stress equally the tomb-owner's place in the world of the living and his place in the afterlife.

Within the tomb, certain types of epithets tend to be concentrated in specific areas and with particular scenes, an arrangement reflecting functional divisions within the tomb. Epithets referring to prosperity and generosity are usually found either on the facade or in the outer chapel, areas that might have been accessible to visitors, such as surviving relatives and the mortuary priests who maintained the funerary cult.¹⁸ The same distribution applies to epithets mentioning administrative duties, the township, and references to the tomb owner's authority and personal power, all of which are particularly prominent on the facades of tombs, presumably for the same reason. References to gods appear throughout tombs. While texts from false doors and offering scenes tend to name funerary gods in particular, these gods are also named in other areas. Epithets introduced by forms of *mri* and *h̄si* are generally found in the entrance or the outer chapel, areas of the tomb intended to represent the tomb-owner functioning in world of the living.¹⁹ This arrangement corresponds to the choice of deities named in these epithets as well, which tend to be local rather than mortuary gods. It is also in these outer areas of the tomb and in the *mry* and *h̄sy* formulae that epithets are most likely to refer to the king. The common honorific references *m̄³-hrw*, *im̄³h̄(y/w)*, and *nb im̄³h̄* are distributed in all areas of the tomb. To summarize, the distribution of epithets in tomb inscriptions reflects the division between life on earth (in which one communicates with the gods, the king and the townspeople) and the afterlife (in which one communicates primarily with the gods). Epithets relating to the former are found in those areas of the tomb that represent the world of the living, while those referring to the latter are found in the innermost and thus most sacred areas. The combination of the two foci within the tomb forms a unity reflecting the total Egyptian cosmos, including both the actual world in which the Egyptians lived and the perceived world of the afterlife.

¹⁸ See Baines, "Society, Morality, and Religious Practice," 140.

¹⁹ For the symbolism of the various parts of the tomb, see Kamrin, "Monument and Microcosm;" Leprohon, "Mythologie."

3.2. Sanctuaries

Texts from stelae and other monuments placed in or adjacent to sanctuaries were apparently intended to be read aloud by priests and other scribal-class visitors, as is indicated by the appeals to the living, some of which specifically distinguish between those people who were to read the inscriptions and those who would hear them.²⁰ At Abydos, physical evidence of visitors actually maintaining cults at the Middle Kingdom private offering chapels is provided archaeologically by the abundance of broken pottery, evidently the remains of offerings.²¹ It is perhaps because of their intended visibility that these stelae include a relatively large number of epithets referring to the owners' peers, their administrative duties, and their personal virtue. Since the people who were most likely to see the texts were members of the literate class, such epithets might be expected to appeal to them in particular.²² This emphasis is particularly prominent in stelae from the reign of Senwosret I, a time when the sanctuaries at both Abydos and Elephantine had been newly renovated.²³ The length and content of the texts suggests that at this time highly ranked officials were particularly interested not only in dedicating memorials, but in creating eloquent literary testimonials, portraying themselves in an exemplary fashion to their colleagues who might visit the site.

Stelae from sanctuaries were not intended merely to advertise the ethical superiority of their owners, however. By attracting visitors to perform cult rituals, they enabled the monument to fulfill its role in perpetuating the *kas* of those by whom it was commissioned. In some cases, particularly toward the end of the Middle Kingdom, small stelae were placed in locations where they would probably never have been seen, suggesting that the texts on the stelae could symbolically fulfill this role even in the absence of actual offerings. The inscription of one's name, along with a funerary prayer and a few

²⁰ See, for example, the stelae of Mentuwerer (MMA 12.184) and Inyotef son of Senet (BM 562). For the most complete study of these appeals, see Sainte Faure Garnot, *Appel aux vivants*.

²¹ O'Connor, "Cenotaphs," 170.

²² The fact that the stelae certain officials, such as Sehetepibra (CG 20538) actually copied portions of much earlier stelae (CG 20539) indicates that the stelae were, indeed, read long after they were dedicated.

²³ For the founding of the Heqaib sanctuary, see Franke, *Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 1-26.

essential epithets (such as *im³h(y)* and *m³c-hrw*), was perhaps considered sufficient even if no living person were to see it. In the minds of the Egyptians, these texts could serve to ritually maintain their owners' presence in the god's sanctuary for perpetuity, thereby connecting them to the temple cult.²⁴ When an individual could not provide a large and elaborate monument, the presence of certain critical epithets was probably considered essential for the stela to be effective.

The gods are mentioned much less frequently in the sanctuaries at Abydos and Serabit el Khâdim than they are in tombs. At Abydos, both the *im³h(y) hr* Deity formula and the *mry* Deity are very uncommon. Very few examples of *im³h(y) hr* Deity come from stelae that W. K. Simpson has assigned to "cenotaphs,"²⁵ suggesting that this formula may have been used particularly on stelae from a cemetery context. This possibility is supported by the frequent use of this epithet in tombs, especially on false doors and in the shrine areas. There are no examples of *im³h(y) hr* Deity from Serabit el Khâdim.

The situation is clearly different at Elephantine, where both *mry* Deity and *im³h(y) hr* Deity are relatively common, invoking a variety of local gods, as well as the deified Heqaib.²⁶ Another unusual feature at Elephantine is that, while elsewhere funerary gods are more often named in the *im³h(y) hr* Deity formula, those mentioned at Elephantine are exclusively local deities. Several factors may have contributed to this situation. First, the emphasis on local gods may reflect Elephantine's primarily local audience. Second, while many of the stelae at both Abydos and Serabit el Khâdim were set up outside the actual sanctuary,²⁷ those from the Heqaib sanctuary on Elephantine were actually set up within the sanctuary, and may as a result be aimed at a more strictly divine audience. A large number of the epithets come from statue bases, a particularly frequent location for the *im³h(y) hr* Deity formula. In addition, it is possible that the tombs under construction at Qubbet el Hawa influenced the choice of

²⁴ See Bourriau, "Patterns of Change," 15; Leprohon, "Personnel," 36.

²⁵ Examples occur on the stela of Djebaues (Berlin 1192), ANOC 31.2; the stela of Kheperkara, son of Tjaw (CG 20531), ANOC 23.1; and the stela of Sahathor (BM 569), ANOC 9.1.

²⁶ For the cult of Heqaib, see Franke, *Heiligtum des Heqaib*, 118-152.

²⁷ See, for example, O'Connor, "Cenotaphs," 167.

texts in the sanctuary of Heqaib, and that the same scribes may have composed the texts for both the tombs and the chapels in the sanctuary.

3.3. Expedition Sites

Epithets from the majority of mines, quarries, and military establishments emphasize above all else the king, generally repeating formulaic epithets such as *mry.f*, *ḥsy.f*, *n st-ib.f*, and *irr ḥsst.f m ḥrt-hrw nt r nb*, in sequence. This pattern is especially clear at Wadi el Hudi, where the scribes seem to have copied the same texts repeatedly, and the king is mentioned in almost half of all epithets. Expedition inscriptions utilize the same formulae to refer to "his lord" (*nb.f*), although such epithets are considerably less common than are those referring directly to the king.²⁸ Gods are very rarely mentioned, and the common "core" epithets refer primarily to the official's role in society, rather than in the afterlife. In epithets beginning with *irr ḥsst.f*, the adverbial complement *m ḥrt-hrw nt r nb*, "in the course of every day," both indicates the continuous aspect of the activity and relates it to the daily life, rather than specifically the afterlife, of the inscription owner.

At all expedition sites with the exception of Hatnub, references to the township and its people are even more uncommon than epithets mentioning the gods, a scarcity that reflects the actual duties of the individuals described, who were not directly involved in local civil administration.²⁹ The intended audience is also a factor in the choice of epithets in expedition inscriptions. In addition to the king, these epithets often deal with military prowess or the successful procurement of resources, activities in which the only people who were likely to see these inscriptions were involved. In some cases, the leaders of expeditions were very highly ranked individuals, such as the vizier (*tšty*) or chamberlain (*imy-r ḥnwty*). Some of the epithets used to describe these men seem to reflect their status as royal representatives in remote regions. Such epithets include *iw (n.f) tšwy m ksw*, "one to whom the Two Lands come bowing down,"³⁰ and

²⁸ See Table 6 below.

²⁹ For the position of expedition officials in the central administration, see Gardiner, Peet, and Cérny, *Sinai*, 15-16; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 180 ff., Leprohon, "Amenemhat III," 217 ff.

³⁰ Hammamat 114.

smi n.f hrt t'wy, "one to whom the affairs of the Two Lands are reported."³¹

4. Regional Variation in Epithets

In studying regional variation, it is necessary to observe differences between inscriptions of the same type and date, but from different areas. The most immediately obvious regional difference within all types of inscriptions is the choice of deities invoked, especially in the *mry* + Deity formula. The gods tend to be those worshipped at the site at which the text was inscribed—in fact, when officials left inscriptions at sites far away from their own homes, they invoked the names of local gods of the region, rather than of their home villages.³² Occasional exceptions can be found, as when the vizier Khnumhotep, a possible descendant of the nomarchs of Beni Hasan, inscribed in his mastaba at Dahshur epithets naming Khnum, Lord of Her-wer, a local deity of Beni Hasan.³³

In texts dedicated in or near sanctuaries, the nature of the epithets varies considerably within individual sites, especially at Abydos, where a great many texts include simply the common honorific phrases such as *m^sc-hrw* and *nb im³h*, but where some officials, particularly during the reign of Senwosret I, seem to have taken a particularly strong interest in creating complex self-presentations. There is a notable contrast between the epithets from Abydos and those from the sanctuary of Heqaib on Elephantine, where the epithets show a more religious and funerary character, reasons for which have already been suggested in the preceding section. The distinction between epithets from Abydos and Elephantine becomes less apparent in the late Middle Kingdom, when texts from both sites include a higher percentage of formulaic epithets and a tendency to refer to the gods and the king, rather than to the inscription owner himself. This transition may reflect a number of social and historical developments. First, there seems to have been a change in burial custom, indicated by an increase in the overall number of offerings at Abydos accompanied by increased accessibility to the "cenotaph

³¹ Hammamat 108 and Sinai 105.

³² Hornung, *Conceptions*, 166.

³³ See Franke, "Khnumhotep III," 61.

zone" for a larger portion of the population.³⁴ This change is partially manifested by the increasing popularity of smaller memorials and stelae shared by a number of individuals, both of which include only a small number of "essential" epithets. Second, the consolidation of royal power during the second half of Dynasty 12 appears to have influenced the selection of subject matter of biographical texts, leading to a decrease in emphasis on local administrators and an increased focus on royal authority.³⁵

TABLE 1: Number of Epithets Per Text Referring to the Gods

Site	Number of Epithets per Inscription		
	0	1-2	3 +
Abydos	78.9% (90/114)	19.3% (22/114)	1.75% (2/114)
Elephantine	48.6% (18/37)	29.7% (11/37)	21.6% (8/37)
Sinai	88.7% (47/53)	9.4% (5/53)	1.9% (1/53)

The unusually strong lack of emphasis on gods at the sanctuary of Hathor at Serabit el Khâdim in the Sinai may be due in part to its location in a mining region. As a rule, although gods do not appear as frequently in epithets from sanctuaries as in those from tombs, they are even more uncommon in epithets from expedition inscriptions. In a situation similar to that at Elephantine, the same scribes were probably involved in composing texts for mining and quarrying sites such as Wadi Maghara and for dedications at the sanctuary of Hathor at Serabit el Khâdim. As a result, the epithets from the sanctuary bear a resemblance to those typically found at expedition sites, in that they focus particularly on the king.

The situation in the alabaster quarries at Hatnub differs markedly from that at other expedition sites, where epithets typically focus strongly on the king. Expeditions to Hatnub were led by local officials of the Hare nome from the First Intermediate Period well into the Middle Kingdom. Because these officials were working in their

³⁴ Bourriau, "Patterns of Change," 15-16; Leprohon, "Personnel," 36.

³⁵ See Bourriau, "Patterns of Change," 10-11, where the author argues for a "more deep seated and unselfconscious" cultural change, with references to several other discussions of the process.

own district, and were apparently not always employed directly by the central administration, the focus of their epithets is on the their townspeople and their own authority, rather than on the king. Thus, the epithets have more in common with those from tomb inscriptions than with inscriptions from other expedition sites. The reasons for this are several. First, since the earliest texts from Hatnub date to the period preceding Nebhepetre Mentuhotep's reunification of Egypt, the inscriptions display the focus on the local administrators typical of the First Intermediate Period, a subject that was probably imitated even after the beginning of the Middle Kingdom. Second, like the inscriptions on the facades of the tombs at el Bersheh, the texts were aimed at a local elite audience, rather than a wider audience of administrators associated with the central government. Third, in a provincial area and in a period of very limited literacy, the texts are likely to have been composed by the same scribes who composed the texts from the nearby tombs at el Bersheh, who may have borrowed from their familiar repertoire of tomb inscription motifs. For reasons that cannot be fully understood, these scribes tended to pursue a local literary tradition rather than borrowing from the common themes and subjects that enjoyed popularity during the early Middle Kingdom throughout the rest of Egypt.

TABLE 2: Expedition Inscriptions: Number of Epithets Per Text Referring to the King

<i>Site</i>	<i>Number of Epithets per Inscription</i>		
	<i>0</i>	<i>1-2</i>	<i>3 +</i>
Wadi Hammamat	30% (6/20)	10% (2/20)	60% (12/20)
Wadi el Hudi	27% (7/26)	23.1% (6/26)	50% (13/26)
Sinai	43.4% (23/53)	32.1% (17/53)	24.5% (13/53)
Hatnub	83.3% (20/24)	12.5% (3/24)	4.2% (1/24)

TABLE 3: Expedition Inscriptions: Number of Epithets Per Text Referring to the Official

Site	Number of Epithets per Inscription		
	0	1-2	3 +
Wadi Hammamat	50% (10/20)	5% (1/20)	45% (9/20)
Wadi el Hudi	61.5% (16/26)	19.2% (5/26)	19.2% (5/26)
Sinai	69.8% (37/53)	17% (9/53)	13.2% (7/53)
Hatnub	4.2% (1/24)	25% (6/24)	70.8% (17/24)

5. Chronological Change and Historical Significance

Changes in the focus of epithets over the course of the Middle Kingdom, and the historical implications of these changes, may be studied best at those sites from which inscriptions are preserved from a number of different reigns. Unfortunately, such sites are not common. The sanctuaries at Abydos and Elephantine have produced stelae and statuary from early Dynasty 12 through the middle of Dynasty 13, although neither site retains material from Dynasty 11. Expedition inscriptions from both the Wadi Hammamat and Wadi el Hudi span the entire Middle Kingdom, from late Dynasty 11 through the middle of Dynasty 13. At Hatnub the chronology is less secure, but the texts clearly continue from the preunification period well into the first half of Dynasty 12.³⁶ The periods of use of the cemeteries in Middle and Upper Egypt vary from site to site. Some cemeteries, such as Beni Hasan, el Bersheh, Assiut and Thebes, contain tombs from Dynasty 11 and earlier, while at Meir and Qubbet el Hawa, there is a break in the sequence of tombs between the end of the Old Kingdom and Dynasty 12. Rock cut tombs went out of use throughout Egypt by the end of the reign of Senwosret III, thus permitting a comparison of epithets from the onset of the Middle Kingdom until late Dynasty 12, but not to the end of the Middle Kingdom.

³⁶ Anthes, *Hatnub*, 9-12. On the dates of the rulers of the Hare nome, see Brovarski, "Ahanakht," 29; Willems, "Nomarchs of the Hare Nome," 102.

5.1. *Tomb Inscriptions*

Private tomb inscriptions have furnished some of our best preserved textual information regarding the period preceding and surrounding the reunification of Egypt in Dynasty 11, although the bulk of this information comes in the form of verbal narratives rather than epithets. Assiut is the one site at which securely dated inscribed tombs have been preserved from the Heracleopolitan period, the transition from the Heracleopolitan rulers of Dynasty 10 to the Thebans of Dynasty 11, and from Dynasty 12. A discernable change occurs in the "autobiographies" of the tomb owners around the time of the reunification. Verbal accounts of the nomarchs' accomplishments give way to long lists of attributes. A corresponding change occurs in the subject matter of the epithets. Although the character and conduct of the tomb-owners remains a popular theme throughout the Middle Kingdom, epithets focusing on the tomb-owner decreased in frequency after the reunification, while the frequency of epithets referring to the gods and the king increased correspondingly, and epithets referring to the peers and subordinates of the tomb-owner decreased in frequency by nearly half. In the two tombs that predate the reunification (tombs 3 and 5), more than 60% of the total number of epithets refer to the tomb-owner himself, while another 20% refer to the township and townspeople, and fewer than 5% refer to the king. In Dynasty 12 (tombs 1, 2, and 6), by comparison, although the officials themselves remain the predominant focus of the epithets, epithets referring to the king now account for 12.5% of the total, while those describing the tomb owner drop to just over 48%.

As previously noted, a number of changes in the subject matter of non-royal inscriptions occurred around the reign of Senwosret III, corresponding to an apparent transformation in the Egyptian administration during this reign, in which royal authority seems to have increased relative to the power of the local administrators.³⁷ The disappearance of provincial rock-cut tombs in late Dynasty 12 is at least partially responsible for the shift in the focus of epithets, since it was accompanied by a significant decrease in epithets emphasizing local administration. Epithets from these tombs had stressed the administrative abilities of the tomb owners and their

³⁷ The nature and causes of this change have been much debated. For a useful summary of the evidence, with references, see Franke, "Khnunhotep," 51-55.

relationship to their townspeople to a degree not paralleled in other types of inscriptions, with the exception of those from Hatnub during Dynasty 11. In the absence of the tomb setting, these themes decrease appreciably. The poor state of preservation in the mastaba cemeteries near the capital makes it difficult to analyze whether the epithets at these cemeteries underwent a similar change in subject matter. Although fragmentary, the didactic text from the tomb of Inpy at Lahun indicates that an interest in elaborate literary "autobiographies" was still present in tomb inscriptions near Itj-towy as late as the reign of Amenemhat III.³⁸

5.2. *Inscriptions from Sanctuaries*

The second half of Dynasty 12 witnessed a "democratization" of sorts within sanctuaries, in which individuals of relatively lower status began to dedicate monuments in larger numbers than they had previously.³⁹ In addition, the inscriptions appear increasingly to emphasize the gods and the afterlife, rather than the character of the official.⁴⁰ At Abydos, while an overall decrease in the length of inscriptions and number of epithets during the second half of Dynasty 12 may reflect in part a change in practice resulting from the decreased authority of non-royal officials relative to that of the king, an abrupt change in the focus or subject matter of epithets cannot be attributed to any particular reign. Throughout Dynasty 12, the majority of stelae include only the common honorific epithets *m³-hrw*, *im³h(y)*, and *nb im³h*, although the proportion increases in the second half of the dynasty. Epithets mentioning the king, which were relatively scarce under Senwosret I, increased significantly in proportion under Amenemhat II, after which they gradually resumed their earlier frequency.⁴¹

³⁸ Fischer, "Didactic Text," 45-50.

³⁹ See Bourriau, "Patterns of Change," 15; Leprohon, "Personnel," 33-38; O'Connor, "Cenotaphs," 168 ff.

⁴⁰ See Pflüger, "Private Funerary Stelae," 128.

⁴¹ They account for 7.8% of all epithets from Abydos from the reign of Senwosret I, 28.6% from the reign of Amenemhat II, and about 18.3% thereafter.

TABLE 4: Epithets Per Abydene Stela Referring to the King

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number of Epithets per Inscription</i>			
	<i>0</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3 +</i>
Amen. I-Sen. I	64.5% (20/31)	16.1% (5/31)	6.45% (2/31)	12.9% (4/31)
Amen. II-Sen. II	35.3% (6/17)	11.8% (2/17)	11.8% (2/17)	41.2% (7/17)
Sen. III-Amen. IV	64.3% (18/28)	10.7% (3/28)	7.1% (2/28)	17.85% (5/28)
Dynasty 13	95.65% (22/23)	4.34% (1/23)	0% (0/23)	0% (0/23)

As Dynasty 12 progressed, epithets referring to the peers, office, and subordinates of the official decreased gradually in proportion relative to those referring to the king, reaching a low under Senwosret III before rebounding under Amenemhat III.⁴² It seems likely that the greater number of lower ranking bureaucrats dedicating monuments resulted in changes to the subject matter of epithets. First, on smaller monuments or group stelae, there was room only for the most necessary and fundamental epithets, which referred either to the gods or the king. At the same time, the nation's resources may have become more evenly distributed, lessening the distinction between the higher strata of the elite self presentation and that of other officials, whose epithets had always been devoted almost exclusively to superiors. In addition, as the long-established sanctuaries became increasingly crowded with monuments, long lists of epithets probably became both less appealing and less practical.

Although epithets referring to the conduct and character of the official continued to be used throughout Dynasty 12, long self-presentations based on ideal character traits became less common after the reign of Senwosret I. As the overall number of epithets on Abydene stelae tended to decrease following the reign of Senwosret I, a decline in the number of epithets emphasizing dealings with fellow officials is discernible. During the reign of Amenemhat III, in spite of an overall tendency for texts to be relatively short and repetitive, the sanctuary at Abydos seems to have witnessed a renewed interest in long self-presentations of the type popular during the reign of Senwosret I. Examples of this renaissance of the literary-

⁴² From a high of 42.6% under Senwosret I to 26.1% under Senwosret III.

style self-presentation include the stela of Sehetepibra (CG 20538), on which parts of the earlier stela of Mentuhotep (CG 20539) were actually copied, and the stela of Amenweser.⁴³

TABLE 5: Epithets Per Abydene Stela Referring to Officials

Date	Number of Epithets per Inscription			
	0	1	2	3 +
Amen. I-Sen. I	77.4% (24/31)	3.2% (1/31)	3.2% (1/31)	16.1% (5/31)
Amen. II-Sen. II	82.35% (14/17)	5.9% (1/17)	11.76% (2/17)	0% (0/17)
Sen. III-Amen. IV	89.3% (25/28)	3.6% (1/28)	7.14% (2/28)	0% (0/28)
Dynasty 13	100% (23/23)	0% (0/23)	0% (0/23)	0% (0/23)

A gradual increase in emphasis on deities, piety, and the afterlife during the late Middle Kingdom is apparent in the subject matter of the epithets, a trend that would emerge much more strongly in later periods.⁴⁴ At Abydos, the proportion of epithets referring to the gods remains low relative to those mentioning the king and the official himself, especially when compared to the epithets from tombs. However, in the second half of the dynasty, inscriptions composed only of the name, titles, and honorific funerary appellations *m³c-hrw*, *im³h(y)* and *nb im³h* increase in proportion. At Elephantine, where epithets relating to the gods and divine judgment represent a considerably higher proportion of the total, an increase in the frequency of such epithets during the late middle Kingdom is more apparent. From the reign of Senwosret III onward, virtually all epithets refer to the gods or the afterlife—*m³c-hrw*, *im³h(y)* and *nb im³h*—account for more than half the total number of epithets from the second half of the dynasty. For the most part, however, the relative increase in “religious” epithets at both Abydos and Elephantine can probably be

⁴³ See Simpson, “Provenance and Date,” 174, and “Mentuhotep,” 332-334, with numerous references. R. Freed has pointed (in personal communication) that the artistic representations from this period also display a tendency to imitate styles from earlier in the dynasty.

⁴⁴ Pflüger, “Private Funerary Stelae,” 128. See also Baines, “Practical Religion,” 80 ff.; Gnirs, “ägyptische Autobiographie,” 234 ff. (for New Kingdom developments), Griffith, “Divine Impact,” 92-102.

explained as corresponding to a decrease in epithets of other types, rather than to an actual increase in the number or variety of epithets mentioning the gods and the afterlife. In addition, the majority of late Middle Kingdom inscribed monuments from the Heqaib sanctuary are statues, the bases of which are a common setting for epithets referring to the gods.

TABLE 6: Epithets Referring to the Gods at Elephantine (per text)

Date	Number of Epithets per Inscription		
	0	1-2	3 +
Amen. I-Sen. I	50% (5/10)	40% (4/10)	10% (1/10)
Amen. II-Sen. II	14.3% (1/7)	57.1% (4/7)	28.6% (2/7)
Sen. III-Amen. IV	41.7% (5/12)	25% (3/12)	33.3% (4/12)
Dynasty 13	87.5% (7/8)	0% (0/8)	12.5% (1/8)

5.3. Expedition Inscriptions

Non-royal "autobiographies," largely from expedition sites, are the primary source of historical documentation for Dynasty 11, since contemporary royal inscriptions are scarce. While expedition inscriptions from all periods place a strong emphasis on the official's relationship to the king, those from Dynasty 11 also stress the character and authority of the expedition leaders themselves to a degree that they do not during Dynasty 12. In the inscriptions from Wadi Hammamat, 75% of the Dynasty 11 inscriptions include at least one epithet referring to the king. Nevertheless, the subject matter of epithets from the longer biographies demonstrates the high degree of authority and relative autonomy of certain highly ranked expedition leaders, such as the steward Henu and the vizier Amenemhat. These men portray themselves in a role similar that of the king, and compare their ability to that of the gods. In their inscriptions, epithets describing the character of the expedition leader outnumber those referring to the king by a wide margin. Epithets referring to other officials and to subordinates are also common at this time. At Wadi el Hudi, although inscriptions and epithets from Dynasty 11 are rare, they too focus primarily on the official and his

peers. With the beginning of Dynasty 12, the focus of epithets at both sites shifts in favor of the king.

TABLE 7: Number of Epithets Per Text Referring to the King at Expedition Sites (Excluding Hatnub)

Site	Number of Epithets per Inscription		
	0	1-2	3 +
Dynasty 11	25% (2/8)	37.5 (3/8)	37.5 (3/8)
Amen. I-Sen. II	26.5% (9/34)	20.6% (7/34)	52.9% (18/34)
Sen. III-Amen. IV	43.6% (17/39)	23.1% (9/39)	33.3% (13/39)

In the second half of Dynasty 12 a resurgence in official self-presentation takes place, at precisely the time that epithets referring to the official and his authority seem to have gone out of favor in Egyptian sanctuaries and cemeteries. While the king remains the most common focus of epithets at Wadi el Hudi, epithets referring to the expedition leaders return to their Dynasty 11 level. At Wadi Hammamat, epithets referring to the official once again outnumber those referring to the king. This development may reflect the considerable royal attention paid to the procurement of resources in the last reigns of Dynasty 12, when highly ranked officials with a great deal of responsibility and authority were entrusted with missions to remote regions. With what seems to have been a deliberate decrease in the use of self-aggrandizing inscriptions in the Nile Valley, these men may have taken advantage of the remote location to express their authority.

The mines at Wadi Maghara and Serabit el Khâdim in the Sinai began to be exploited only in the middle of Dynasty 12.⁴⁵ At Serabit el Khâdim, a new sanctuary of Hathor was established as well. The king predominates in epithets from both the mining sites and the sanctuary through the reign of Amenemhat III. Under Amenemhat IV, the latest Dynasty 12 ruler documented in the Sinai, epithets referring exclusively to the expedition leaders increase dramatically in frequency relative to those mentioning the king.

⁴⁵ See Gardiner, Peet and Černý, *Sinai*; Leprohon, "Amenemhat III."

TABLE 8: Number of Epithets Per Text Referring to the Official at Expedition Sites (Excluding Hatnub)

Site	Number of Epithets per Inscription		
	0	1-2	3 +
Dynasty 11	37.5 (3/8)	12.5% (1/8)	50% (4/8)
Amen. I-Sen. II	64.7% (22/34)	14.7% (5/34)	20.6% (7/34)
Sen. III-Amen. IV	56.4% (22/39)	15.4% (6/39)	28.2% (11/39)

6. Epithets and Middle Kingdom Society

The manner in which the Egyptians referred to one another in their epithets provides evidence of ranking within Egyptian society, as well as of Egyptian perceptions regarding the status of different types of individuals within the wider cosmos. The Egyptians perceived their society as an integral part of a structured and orderly universe that included both supernatural and natural elements. A broad ranking of the individuals making up this order included the gods at the top, followed by the king, who served as a liaison between the gods and humanity. Below the king were the elite, and, in turn, the people of Egypt. Foreigners and subject peoples occupied a still lower position. These broad strata could, in some cases, be further ranked internally. The people of Egypt were classified according to their relative status, with the elite designated as the *p^t* and the lower classes termed the *rhyt*, while the term *rm^t* could refer to both.⁴⁶ As a general rule, those who are higher up in the cosmological "hierarchy" are more often mentioned in epithets, but these epithets are likely to be formulaic and repetitive.

In the Middle Kingdom, the gods were portrayed as relatively remote from the daily activities of humanity. Although the Egyptians probably believed that supernatural powers governed some everyday occurrences,⁴⁷ epithets very rarely refer to direct intervention on the part of gods in the affairs of humanity or of non-royal humans in the affairs of gods. With very rare exceptions, the gods are named only in a few formulae, including *im³h(y) hr* Deity, "venerated by Deity;"

⁴⁶ Gardiner, *AEO*, 101-110.

⁴⁷ Griffiths, "Divine Impact," 92-102.

mry Deity, "beloved of Deity;" and *hsy n* Deity, "favored by Deity;" and of these only the first two are common. *Im³hy hr* Deity occurs primarily in conjunction with the offering formula, invoking mainly funerary gods and goddesses. *Mry* Deity, on the other hand, is almost always associated with local, non-funerary deities, and may be found in a wider range of contexts. Other references to divinities are far less common and are usually associated with priestly activities. Officials who served as priests of the local cult are said to have "propitiated" (*sh³tp*) the god. The name of the god is usually not specified, allowing for the possibility that any one of a number of local deities might be intended.

The king, who is mentioned in non-royal epithets more frequently than all gods combined, was the focal point of most Middle Kingdom epithets. The frequency with which epithets refer to the king is partly to be explained by the fact that the ancient Egyptians saw the king as ultimately responsible for virtually every inscribed monument constructed on behalf of a private individual.⁴⁸ Epithets referring to the king tend, like those referring to the gods, to be formulaic, and many of the formulae are the same used with reference to the gods. *Im³h(y) hr* is very rarely used with reference to the king, however, while *mry* and *hsy* are considerably more frequent. Other formulaic epithets refer to the king as well, the most common of which are variations of *irr h³st.f*, "one who does what he favors," and *m³h ib n nswt*, "one who fills the heart of the king," or "king's favorite." These epithets assert that the official takes an active role in pleasing the king, something that epithets rarely state directly with reference to the gods: Other less common epithets refer to the officials' participation in royal missions and fulfillment of royal commands.

The formulae that comprise the "core" of the self-presentation, including those introduced by forms of *mry* and *hsy*, invariably refer to the king as *nswt*, a reference to the divinely-sanctioned office of kingship.⁴⁹ While *nswt* is the most common designation of the king in other epithets as well, those that mention actual duties of the monument owner may also call him *hm.f*, "His Majesty," or *nb t³wy*, "Lord of the Two Lands," both of which refer to the individual king

⁴⁸ Frankfort, *Kingship*, 52 ff.

⁴⁹ Silverman, "Divinity," 67-68; "Kingship," 47.

in office at the time of the inscription.⁵⁰ *Nb.f* also refers to the king in a majority of the instances in which it is used, functioning in much the same way and in the same phrases as *nswt*.

Epithets referring to non-royal superiors are very uncommon, and generally use terms that are deliberately vague, such as *lmy-r.f*, "his overseer." It is likely that *nb.f* in some cases designated non-royal superiors as well.⁵¹ In very rare cases, epithets introduced by forms of both *mry* and *hsy* were used with reference to non-royal superiors, but such cases are exceptional, and are limited in date to late Dynasty 11 and early Dynasty 12. No clearly dated examples post-date the reign of Senwosret I. The general lack of epithets referring to non-royal superiors not only indicates that Middle Kingdom officials sought to express the favor of the highest possible authority; in addition, decorum may have discouraged the use of certain formulaic epithets to refer to anyone other than the gods or the king.

Epithets involving the monument owners' social peers and fellow officials differ dramatically from those mentioning superiors, being not only less frequent, but far less formulaic and more varied in subject matter. As opposed to the relatively passive acceptance of approval expressed in epithets referring to superiors, the official generally takes a more active role in these epithets, which may describe actual administrative duties. He is frequently said to surpass his peers in authority or ability, using formulaic epithets that are sometimes similar to royal epithets. The high status of the official is described using terms such as "foremost (*hnty*) and "great" (*wr* or *ʕ*), the same adjectives used to describe the king in royal monumental inscriptions. He might also be said to be *sꜣꜣ iwt.f*, "one whose coming is awaited," or *iw n.f wrw m ksw*, "one to whom the great ones come bowing."

Peers of the official, like non-royal superiors, are generally not indicated by specific titles. As Chapter 4 discusses, the manner in which epithets refer to the peers of the monument owner provides evidence of the relative rank of those mentioned.⁵² *Sr*, the most common term used to refer to peers, was a general word for "official," and could refer to administrators of a variety of ranks. The

⁵⁰ Silverman, "Kingship," 48-49.

⁵¹ See Chapter 3, 128 ff.

⁵² For discussion and references, see Chapter 4, 156 ff.

wrw, literally "great ones," are also mentioned frequently, but often in a context suggesting that they can be inferior to the monument owner. The *šnwt*, or "entourage," on the other hand, is relatively rarely mentioned, primarily in the epithets of highly ranked individuals. The high status of the *šnwt* is indicated by the fact that no official claims outright superiority over it. In addition, since most of the people who refer to the *šnwt* are members of the central administration, it seems that it was also associated with the capital. Even more highly ranked is the *knbt*, or "court," a group that is also mentioned only in the epithets of very highly ranked officials, and never in a position of subordination. In some cases, in fact, the *knbt* is named in formulae generally restricted to superiors, as in the phrase *mry knbt.f*, "beloved of his qenbet."⁵³

As a collective unit, the township (*niwt*) and the district (*sp³t*) can appear in epithets normally referring to superiors, including epithets introduced by *im³h(y)*, *mry*, and *hsy*. Such phrases appear only in the tombs of nomarchs, and are never common. Since epithets of this type are elsewhere restricted to references to the gods and the king, the township and its inhabitants must have been perceived as having a special status. Either since the *niwt* and *sp³t* were believed to incorporate superiors and possibly even local deities, they held a special elevated position in the social order, or the local provincial elite recognized the reciprocal relationship between itself and its constituency, on whom the officials had to rely for the perpetuation of their memorial cults.

Epithets referring to the common people (the *rhyt*) are relatively rare, and are found primarily in the inscriptions of men who held specifically local positions, such as *hry-tp³* or *iry-p^t h³ty-^c*. Like epithets referring to the especially poor and afflicted, they present the official in an active role while portraying the *rhyt* as passive recipients of his generosity. For example, he might be said to "nourish" them, in epithets using a form of the verb *s^cnh*, implying that the official had direct responsibility over the life and death of his subordinates. Phrases referring to the *p^t*, or "elite," and *rm^t*, "people," are more varied and do not always portray the official in a clearly superior role.

⁵³ From the tomb of Sarenput I, Qubbet el Hawa tomb 36.

TABLE 9: Social Ranking Portrayed in Epithets

Gods (<i>ntrw, nb.f</i>)		
King (<i>nswt, hm.f, nb t'wy, nb.f</i>)		
<i>rmt/niwt/ sp't</i>	<i>p't</i>	<i>knbt</i>
		<i>snwt</i>
		<i>s'h</i>
		<i>srw</i>
		<i>wrw</i>
	<i>rbyt</i>	

7. Epithets and Egyptian Moral and Ethical Values

The epithets found in Middle Kingdom inscriptions, particularly the "encomiastic autobiographies" of the early Middle Kingdom,⁵⁴ supplement other literary sources in providing evidence of the ethics and moral values of the ancient Egyptians.⁵⁵ Taken together, the epithets suggest the following picture of the ethical system guiding elite Egyptians of the Middle Kingdom. A highly ranked official was expected above all to act within the established parameters of his position in society, hence to personify *ma'at*.⁵⁶ In order to do this, he had to be knowledgeable, eloquent, humble, and obedient. He was to behave in a fashion that would be deemed praiseworthy by the gods and the king. This behavior included respecting his peers, and earning their respect through skillful planning and accurate reporting. If he was a local leader, the official sought to accumulate surplus wealth in order to provide for his subordinates in times of need and to build both religious and secular structures for his township. He

⁵⁴ For the development of autobiographies and the term "encomiastic autobiography," see Gnirs, "ägyptische Autobiographie," 225-227.

⁵⁵ For a more complete discussion of these issues, see Baines, "Practical Religion," and "Society, Morality, and Religious Practice;" Lichtheim, *Moral Values*.

⁵⁶ See Assmann, *Ma'at*, especially 108; Hornung, *Conceptions*, 213; Lichtheim, *Maat*; Quirke, "Review of Assmann, *Ma'at*."

was also expected to be generous in providing for those who were unable to provide for themselves.⁵⁷

Based in part upon a study of common epithets such as *mry* and *hsy*, among a variety of other sources, J. Assmann has interpreted the concept of *ma'at* as fundamentally rooted in social solidarity.⁵⁸ Both the subject matter and the pattern of use of Middle Kingdom epithets as a whole support Assmann's assessment. Conformity is very highly emphasized. The most common phrases assert that the official is loved, favored and venerated by the gods, the king, and his community. For every text like those of Inyotef son of Senet (BM 581), Djefaihapi I (Assiut tomb 1), or the vizier Mentuhotep (CG 20539), which have long and individualized self-portrayals, there are dozens of less eloquent testimonials asserting simply that the official is venerated and/or vindicated by the gods and loved by the king. In many cases, these officials are accompanied on their monuments by their wives, children, and subordinate colleagues, who are described in virtually the same fashion, the only distinction being that they are said to be loved by the official, rather than by the king directly. From the beginning of Dynasty 12, even epithets describing the ability and accomplishments of the official himself tend to stress primarily his ability to get along with others, notable exceptions being those epithets that describe the prominence and authority of the local provincial elite.

8. *The Purpose of Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*

To summarize in a comprehensive and meaningful way the underlying purpose of non-royal epithets is a difficult task. Nevertheless, one must ask exactly what it was that the Middle Kingdom Egyptians expected these epithets to do, and why they made an effort to include them in their inscriptions. Clearly, there can be no single explanation,

⁵⁷ In contrast to the attention devoted to provision for the local inhabitants, epithets virtually never stress provision for the wives or children of the officials themselves. Without exception, the only family members mentioned in Middle Kingdom epithets are parents or ancestors, by whom the official is said to be loved, or for whom he has dedicated a monument or inscription. Even these are uncommon. This pattern strongly contrasts that found in Old Kingdom biographies, which often refer to the love and favor of parents and siblings.

⁵⁸ Assmann, *Ma'at*, 85 ff.

and various influences must have worked in combination. Different individuals would have been influenced by different considerations, including purely practical ones, such as the size of the monument one could afford; religious ones, such as the desire to show reverence to a particularly favorite deity; political ones, such as the desire to impress colleagues without overstepping the limits of decorum; and similar motivations of a personal nature, most of which are largely lost to the modern investigator. Nevertheless, the consistency with which epithets appear, and the frequent repetition of certain epithets in particular, indicate possible motives rooted in Egyptian beliefs about life and the afterlife, which may not even have been obvious to the Egyptians themselves. This concluding section will explore these motives and their relationship to the use of epithets.

In attempting to understand the underlying purpose of epithets, it is necessary to bear in mind that the Egyptians do not seem to have distinctly separated either the human and divine worlds or the worlds of the living and the dead.⁵⁹ Thus, the same epithets or the same formulae (the most common of which are discussed above) might simultaneously refer to the official's situation relative to his daily administrative duties and to his situation in the broader cosmological sphere. Similarly, the same phrase might refer to the living official or to his transformed life force after death.⁶⁰ In many cases, it is impossible to distinguish between the meanings, and the ancient reader of the inscription (or the person to whom it was read) might not have been intended to make the distinction.

Epithets, in a very broad sense, appear to have had multiple purposes. First, they served to record and to reaffirm the ethical behavior of the inscription owner, thereby indicating that he or she was worthy of remembrance, and in turn encouraging others to perform the appropriate rites in order to maintain the memorial cult. This purpose is particularly well demonstrated by those formulae that have been classified here as relating to the status of the owner, his relationship to the king, his peers, his city, and his people, epithets which are often found in relatively public locations. Second, the epithets served a ritual function, as a vital part of the process by

⁵⁹ Lloyd, "Psychology and Society," 117-134, with references.

⁶⁰ Even *mꜣꜥ-hrw*, often considered tantamount to "deceased," seems to have had this dual meaning. See Anthes, "*Mꜣꜥ-hrw*," 50.

which a living person could become a *im³hw*, or "venerated one," and could therefore gain admission to the afterlife. Thus, certain formulae are intimately connected to the offering formula, and can be found even in inaccessible locations in tombs. Finally, epithets along with the name and titulary of the official and his depiction on a monument, served to transform that monument symbolically into the embodiment of the individual portrayed. The functions of epithets interacted, since the reaffirmation of the inscription owner's worth would serve to entice visitors to perform cult activities, thus maintaining his cult, and hence his honored status. In turn, the official could act as an intermediary between the gods and those responsible for maintaining the cult.⁶¹

As a *im³hw*, a deceased person (and the use of the term seems to imply that the epithet would remain "active" after the inscription owner was dead) was evidently believed to have certain rights and privileges. Letters to the dead indicate that the honored dead were believed to have a legal status in the afterlife, enabling them to act on behalf of, or in opposition to, their survivors.⁶² In addition, they could interfere directly with the living.⁶³ It was therefore worthwhile for the visitors to a tomb, stela or chapel to recite prayers or to make an offering, as long as there was evidence that the person to whom the monument was dedicated possessed this honored status. The relationship was clearly believed to be reciprocal, as letters to the dead indicate.⁶⁴ The honored dead relied upon the practice of the cult, just as those who practiced it relied upon the benevolent intercession of the *im³hw*.⁶⁵ This relationship between people who commissioned inscriptions and those who later viewed them may explain the prominence placed on epithets based on a form of *im³h*.

⁶¹ Baines, "Practical Religion," 91.

⁶² The Qaw bowl, for example, tells of offerings made to a deceased person who has failed to appreciate them, and encourages the recipient of the letter to litigate with him in the afterlife. Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, 4. For a general discussion of these beliefs, see Wentz, "Funerary Beliefs," 19-20.

⁶³ See, for example, the letter to the dead Leiden papyrus 371. Gardiner and Sethe, *Letters to the Dead*, 8. A letter to the dead that was actually written on a stela makes this point as well; see Wentz, *Letters*, 215.

⁶⁴ Individuals addressing the dead attempt to encourage their help, or express gratitude for it, by providing offerings. See, for example, Piankoff and Clère, "Letter to the Dead," 157 ff.

⁶⁵ In this sense, *im³h* retains its Old Kingdom sense of "well-provided" in addition to the Middle Kingdom sense of "venerated."

It also explains the desire of the inscription owners to perpetuate the memory of their achievements and their ethical behavior.

Epithets introduced by forms of the verbs *mri*, "love," and *hsi*, "favor," seem to have functioned in a slightly different manner from those introduced by *im³h(y)*, and to have served a different purpose, as has been noted above. Such epithets seem to have connected the inscription owner most often to his superiors, but also to the people of his city, by stating that he received their love or favor, which was in turn, passed on by him to subsidiary figures on the monument.⁶⁶ It has been suggested earlier in this volume that these epithets may actually have linked the cult of the non-royal official to that of his superiors, enabling him, in a ritual way, to reap the benefits of these cults.

Just as the deceased and his or her survivors interacted in a reciprocal relationship, the same might be said regarding the official and his royal and divine superiors. In the process of repeating the epithets of the inscription owner, visitors also recited the titles of the king and the names of the gods, reaffirming their worship as well. With reference to the king, it is also noteworthy that the kings themselves do not seem to have inscribed self-presentations like those of non-royal administrators, although the epithets introducing royal monumental inscriptions do serve a similar function to the epithets introducing non-royal "autobiographies." It may therefore be suggested that the actions and qualities expressed in the non-royal epithets also served to describe, by association, the superiors whose favor they invoke. Thus, when the inscription owner claims to be favored by the king or by his lord, his accomplishments and virtues could become theirs as well.⁶⁷

Another question that must be considered is whether the epithets themselves were believed by the Egyptians to have been spiritually empowered, in the sense that the spells of the Coffin Texts were empowered. Could these epithets, in themselves, help to ensure that the monument owner would achieve and maintain a venerated state? In the case of the epithets that are clearly related to funerary religion, such as *m³c-hrw*, *im³h(y)*, and *nb im³h*, it seems that they were believed to have this power, but for many of the others the answer is

⁶⁶ See Simpson, "Amor dei," 494 ff.

⁶⁷ See Silverman, "Kingship," 76.

difficult to provide with any certainty. One might argue that the epithets, along with statuary and depictions, could substitute in a magical or ritual way for the individual himself in the practice of the cult. In the case of epithets in particular, their purpose would be to both to invoke the individual and to initiate the cult. In actual practice, epithets were intended to inspire living viewers to make offerings or recite the offering prayer. Once the cult was initiated in this way, it is possible that the prayers and epithets, along with depictions of offerings, were believed to be self-perpetuating. Theoretically, in this way, the epithets could help to maintain the cult both in reality and symbolically.

Finally, we must consider the effect that the epithets were intended to have on readers or listeners, and how the texts would actually have been used. In the case of the stelae, the texts themselves help to answer this question, by referring to potential readers and listeners, and by invoking passers-by to partake in the recitation of offering formulae. Inscriptions on the facades of tombs have been understood to have served the same purpose,⁶⁸ a suggestion supported by the subject matter of the epithets often chosen for this location. Within the tomb chapel, we should perhaps envisage visitors, namely priests, colleagues, and family members, listening to a recitation of the texts, including epithets, possibly in association with a ritual performed in the same part of the tomb. At the sites of mines, quarries and the like, visitors would have consisted primarily of fellow expedition members and people taking part in later expeditions to the same locations. Although the inscriptions were not directly related to temple or funerary cults, the reading aloud of the epithets may well have fulfilled the same basic purpose of perpetuating the memory, and indeed the continued life of the individual. The "identifying" epithets, along with the name, served to determine and define the individual as a whole, just as an artistic representation could and sometimes did. The fact that offering formulae are occasionally associated with expedition texts lends support, albeit rather tentative, to this hypothesis.⁶⁹

Epithets were undoubtedly intended to affect the reader or listener on a number of different levels. Baines has identified one social

⁶⁸ See, for example, Baines, "Society, Morality, and Religious Practice," 140.

⁶⁹ Blumenthal, "Textgattung Expeditionsbericht," 90.

function of tomb inscriptions—to justify the appropriation and redistribution of wealth and manpower by the elite.⁷⁰ The texts probably did serve such a purpose on one level, but their function went further; some of the longer self-presentations may have served a didactic function, as models for ethical behavior, much like the instructional literature of the Middle Kingdom.⁷¹ There were also more personal purposes for epithets. Lloyd has pointed out that in the performance of the funerary cult, the family and other visitors would have received a psychological benefit in maintaining the memory of their loved one, and the dead would have benefited as well, since their non-human aspects were empowered by the ritual.⁷² When recitations of the inscriptions occurred, the reading of the name, titles and epithets, along with the offering formulae, would serve to honor not only the individual named in the text, but also the king and the gods, whose names appear in the offering formulae and the epithets. Not only would the offerings mentioned in the offering formulae become ritually real, but so would the characteristics described in the epithets, which usually occur in a position immediately adjacent to the offering formulae. In this way, those who read or heard the epithets took part in an ongoing interaction with the monument owner, as well as with his or her royal and divine superiors, to the mutual benefit of all.

⁷⁰ Baines, "Society, Morality, and Religious Practice," 140-141.

⁷¹ Cf. Eyre, "Semna stelae," 150.

⁷² Lloyd, "Psychology and Society," 127 ff.

APPENDIX ONE

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

Abydos (?)

	Sobekdedu	Sen. III-Am. III	Petrie, <i>Courtiers</i> , pl. 12
	Amenhotep	Early Dyn. 13	<i>Abydos</i> , II, pl. 31
	Nebankh	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>Abydos</i> III, 87, fig. 1
	Senwosret son of Hetepet	Sen. III	<i>JEA</i> 14, pl. 20.1
	Titi	Early Dyn. 13	<i>Cem. Ab.</i> fig. 70, 71

Alexandria

Alexandria Univ.	Ankhu	Sen. I	<i>RdÉ</i> 29, 157-59
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Assiut

Assiut 1	Djefaihapi I	Sen. I	<i>Kêmi</i> 1, 55 ff.
Assiut 2	Djefaihapi son of Idy	Dyn. 12	<i>Kêmi</i> 3, 86 ff.
Assiut 3	Iti-ibi	Herac.	<i>Kêmi</i> 3, 89 ff.
Assiut 4	Khety II	Dyn. 10/11	<i>Kêmi</i> 3, 98 ff.
Assiut 5	Khety I	Herac.	<i>Kêmi</i> 3, 107 ff.
Assiut 6	Djefaihapi III	Am. II-Sen. II	<i>Kêmi</i> 6, 131 ff.

Baltimore

Walters 50	Ukhhoteb III	Sen. I	Steindorff, pl. 12
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Basel

Basel	Sasetyt	Sen. III	ANOC 1.8
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Beni Hasan

Beni Hasan 2	Amenemhat	Sen. I-Am. II	<i>BHI</i> , pl. 7-17
Beni Hasan 3	Khnumhotep II	Am. II-Sen. II	<i>BHI</i> , pl. 24 ff
Beni Hasan 13	Khnumhotep	Dyn. 12	<i>BHI</i> , pl. 41

Beni Hasan 14	Khnumhotep I	Am. I	<i>BH I</i> , pl. 44, 46, 85
Beni Hasan 15	Baqt III	Dyn. 11 ?	<i>BH II</i> , pl. 4, 5, 7
Beni Hasan 17	Khety	Dyn. 11 ?	<i>BH II</i> , pl. 12-17
Beni Hasan 21	Nakht I	Am. I-Sen. I	<i>BH II</i> , pl. 22a, 26
Beni Hasan 23	Khnumhotep II, Netjemakht	Am. II-Sen. II	<i>BH II</i> , pl. 24

Berlin

Berlin 1192	Djebaues	Sen. I	ANOC 31.2
Berlin 1199	Dediqu	Sen. I	ZÄS 42, p. 125
Berlin 1204	Ikhernofret	Sen. III	ANOC 1.1
Berlin ÄGM 26/66	Nesumontu	Am. I	ANOC 6.4

Bersheh

Bersheh 1	Djehutynakht VI	Am. I-Sen. I	<i>Bersheh II</i> , pl. 6 ff.
Bersheh 2	Djehutyhotep son of Kay	Am. II-Sen. III	<i>Bersheh I</i> , pl. 5 ff.
Bersheh 3	Sep	Unknown	<i>Bersheh II</i> , 27
Bersheh 4	Nehri I	11 post	<i>Bersheh II</i> , pl. 11
Bersheh 5	Ahanakht	Dyn. 10/11 ?	<i>Bersheh II</i> , 34, pl. 13
Bersheh 6	Djehutynakht	Dyn. 12	<i>Bersheh II</i> , 36
Bersheh 7	Nehri II	Sen. I	<i>Bersheh II</i> , pl. 19
Bersheh 8	Aha	Dyn. 10/11 ?	<i>Bersheh II</i> , 38-39, pl. 21
Bersheh 10	Djehutynakht	Dyn. 10/11 ?	<i>Bersheh II</i> , pl. 20

Bolton

Bolton	Nebankh	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>Serapis 6</i> , fig. 5
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Boston

MFA 13.3844	Seniankh	Sen. III	Dunham, <i>Naga ed Der</i> , pl. 5.1
MFA 29.1130	Montuemhat	Semna	<i>Semna</i> , p. 59, pl. 90
MFA 1980.173	Mentuhotep	Sen. I	<i>MDAIK 47</i> , p. 334

Brooklyn

BMA 16.580.87	Sehetepibra- ankh	Sen. I	James, <i>Brooklyn Museum</i> , pl. 6, 34
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BMA 37.1346E	Amenemhat son of Shabet	Am. I-Sen. I	<i>Fs Simpson,</i> 780-781
BMA 37.1489E	Sehetepibraank h	Sen. I	<i>James, Brooklyn</i> <i>Museum, pl. 34</i>
BMA 54.66	Inyotef son of Senebet	Ment. II	<i>Fs. Simpson,</i> 774-775

Cairo

Cairo ?	Ameny	Am. I	<i>ASAE 56, 215</i>
Cairo ?	Ankhor	Am. I	<i>ASAE 56, 213,</i> <i>pl. 6</i>
Cairo?	Ameny	Am. I	<i>ASAE 56, p. 214</i>
Cairo/Abydos?	Dedu	Dyn. 12	<i>Simpson, Inscr. Ab.</i> <i>C13</i>
CG 20038	Sasetyt	Sen. III	<i>ANOC 1.2</i>
CG 20040	Amenemhat	Am. II	<i>ANOC 13.1</i>
CG 20065	Sakhentykhety	Am. III	<i>CG, pl. 12</i>
CG 20093	Seneb son of Iku	Early Dyn. 13	<i>ANOC 49.1</i>
CG 20127	Khakauraseneb	Sen. I	<i>CG, pl. 11</i>
CG 20131	Ameny	Am. II	<i>CG, pl. 12</i>
CG 20132	Sobeknakht	Sen. III	<i>CG, pl. 12</i>
CG 20231	Senbi son of Inyotef	Am. III	<i>CG, pl. 20</i>
CG 20239	Senwosret	Am. II	<i>CG, pl. 19</i>
CG 20263	Nakht	Sen. I	<i>CG, pl. 21</i>
CG 20282	Seneni	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>CG, pl. 21</i>
CG 20334	Senebsumaa	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>ANOC 17.4</i>
CG 20435	Amenykemes	Sen. III	<i>ANOC 1.11</i>
CG 20474	Hor	Sen. I	<i>ANOC 29.4</i>
CG 20515	Nakht son of Hetep	Sen. I	<i>ANOC 30.1</i>
CG 20531	Kheperkara	Am. II	<i>ANOC 23.1</i>
CG 20536	Sobekemsaf	Am. III	<i>CG, pl. 39</i>
CG 20538	Sehetepibra	Am. III	<i>CG, pl. 40</i>
CG 20539	Mentuhotep	Sen. I	<i>CG, pl. 41</i>
CG 20541	Amenemhat	Am. II	<i>CG, pl. 39</i>
CG 20542	Inyotef son of Nebhu	Sen. I	<i>ANOC 4.3</i>
CG 20546	Ameny son of Kebu	Am. II-Sen. III	<i>ANOC 2.2</i>
CG 20558	Senwosretsenb u	Am. III	<i>ANOC 26.3</i>

CG 20561	Inyotef son of Nebhu	Sen. I	ANOC 4.4
CG 20563	Sobekemsaf	Am. III	CG, pl.
CG 20612	Renseneb	13 to Nef. I	ANOC 59.3
CG 20641	Aye	Am. II	CG, pl.
CG 20683	Pepy	Sen. II-Sen. III	ANOC 1.5
CG 20751	Nakht son of Hetep	Sen. I	ANOC 30.3
CG 23019	Amenemhat	Am. II	ANOC 13.3
CG 23081	Wepwawetaa	Sen. I	ANOC 20.3
JE 52456	Haankhef	Dyn. 13	ASAE 29, 7
JE 59483	Henenu son of Mentuhotep	Sen. I	ASAE 33
JE 59485	Ameny	Sen. II	ASAE 33
JE 71899	Henu son of Mentuhotep, Saankh	Sen. I	ASAE 39, pl. 26b
JE 71900	Henu	Sen. I	ASAE 39, pl. 26a
JE 71901	Hor	Sen. I	ASAE 39, pl. 25
JE 91220	Nakhti son of Khentetbau	Dyn. 12	Simpson, <i>Inscr. Ab.</i> C15
JE 91242	Nep	Dyn. 12	Simpson, <i>Inscr. Ab.</i> C16
JE 91244	Nakhti	Dyn. 12	Simpson, <i>Inscr. Ab.</i> C9
JE 91245	Group	Dyn. 12	Simpson, <i>Inscr. Ab.</i> C2
JE 91247	Amenemhat	Dyn. 12	Simpson, <i>Inscr. Ab.</i> C18
JE 91248	Ankhu	Dyn. 12	Simpson, <i>Inscr. Ab.</i> C14
JE 91249	Group	Dyn. 12	Simpson, <i>Inscr. Ab.</i> C12
JE 91253	Group	Dyn. 12	Simpson, <i>Inscr. Ab.</i> C1
JE 91283	Meketankhu	Dyn. 12	Simpson, <i>Inscr. Ab.</i> C4

Dahshur

Dahshur 2	Khnumhotep	Sen. III	DeMorgan, <i>Dahchour</i> , fig 24
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Deir Rifeh

Deir Rifeh 1	Neferkhnun	Sen. I-Am. II	<i>Kêmi</i> 6, p. 139 ff.
Deir Rifeh 7	Nakhtankh	Am. II-Sen. II	<i>Kêmi</i> 6, p. 158 ff.

Durham

Durham N1932	Dedu	Sen. I	ANOC 31.1
Durham N1935	Khnumhotep	Sen. II	<i>RdÉ</i> 29, pl. 8a

Edfu

Edfu stela 6	Horaa	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>Edfou</i> , 32
Edfu stela 10	Horaa son of Renseneb	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>Edfou</i> , 33
Edfu stela 11	Horaa son of Renseneb	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>Edfou</i> , 32
Edfu naos 1	Horaa son of Renseneb	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>Edfou</i> , 36-37

Elephantine

Heqaib	Iymeru son of Iymeru	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>BIFAO Supp.</i> 81, 34
Heqaib 1	Sarenput I	Sen. I	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 8, 9
Heqaib 2	Heqaib	Sen. I	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 15
Heqaib 3	Sarenput I	Sen. I	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 16
Heqaib 4	Hapi	Am. I-Sen. I	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 20
Heqaib 5	Hapi	Am. I-Sen. I	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 21a
Heqaib 7	Sarenput I	Sen. I	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 23a
Heqaib 9	Sarenput I	Sen. I	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 24
Heqaib 11	Hapi?	Am. I-Sen. I	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 26b
Heqaib 12	Sarenput II	Sen. II	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 28-29
Heqaib 13	Sarenput II	Sen. II	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 36-37
Heqaib 14	Sarenput II, Khema	Am. II	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 38
Heqaib 15	Sarenput II, Khema	Am. II	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 40-41
Heqaib 16	Ankhu	Sen. III	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 47-48
Heqaib 17	Heqaib	Sen. III	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 57
Heqaib 19	Heqaib	Sen. III	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 58b
Heqaib 21	Amenyseneb	Sen. III	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 67
Heqaib 22	Amenyseneb	Sen. III	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 68b
Heqaib 24	Amenyseneb	Sen. III	<i>Eleph.</i> IV, pl. 68a

Heqaib 26	Heqaibankh son of Anuket	Sen. III	<i>Eleph. IV</i> , pl. 72
Heqaib 27	Amenyseneb	Sen. III	<i>Eleph. IV</i> , pl. 73
Heqaib 28	Khakauraseneb	Am. III	<i>Eleph. IV</i> , pl. 79, 86
Heqaib 29	Khakauraseneb	Am. III	<i>Eleph. IV</i> , pl. 87
Heqaib 31	Amenemhat son of Sattjeni	Am. IV	<i>Eleph. IV</i> , pl. 95
Heqaib 36	Amenyiatu	Early Dyn. 13	<i>Eleph. IV</i> , pl. 101, 102
Heqaib 37	Amenyiatu	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>Eleph. IV</i> , pl. 103
Heqaib 40	Iymeru, Neferkara	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>Eleph. IV</i> , pl. 112, 113
Heqaib 44	Nebankh	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>Eleph. IV</i> , pl. 117b
Heqaib 46	Mutwer	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>Eleph. IV</i> , pl. 122
Heqaib 47	Group.	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>Eleph. IV</i> , pl. 123
Heqaib 48	Heqaib son of Kiy	Am. II-Sen. II	<i>Eleph. IV</i> , pl. 125
Heqaib 49	Senbebu son of Satnefertem	Sen. I	<i>Eleph. IV</i> , pl. 126- 128
Heqaib 60	Ameny son of Satethotep	Sen. I	<i>Eleph. IV</i> , pl. 142, 143
Heqaib 61	Ipi son of Tjetji	Am. II-Sen. II	<i>Eleph. IV</i> , pl. 144- 146
Heqaib 66	Memi	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>Eleph. IV</i> , pl. 156, 157

Florence

Florence 1542	Mentuhotep	Sen. I	<i>PSBA</i> 23, pl. 3
Florence 1774	Mentuweser	Sen. I-Am. II	<i>RdÉ</i> 24, pl. 7a

Geneva

Geneva D50	Ameny	Sen. III	ANOC 1.9
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Girgawi

RILN 10	Redis	Sen. I	RILN 39 ff.
RILN 27	Inyotef son of Henenu	Am. I-Sen. I	RILN 54
RILN 73	Inyotefiqer son of Senet	Am. I-Sen. I	RILN 99 ff.
RILN 74	Mentuhotep	Sen. I	RILN 101 ff.

Hannover

Kestner 2927	Amenemhat	Am. II	Drenkhahn no. 21
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Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 10	Khnumiqer son of Ahanakht	Herac. ?	<i>Hatnub</i> , 25
Hatnub gr. 11	Djehutynakht son of Tjehet	Dyn. 10/11 ?	<i>Hatnub</i> , 26
Hatnub gr. 12	Djehutynakht-ankh	Dyn. 10/11 ?	<i>Hatnub</i> , 28, pl. 15
Hatnub gr. 14	Netjeruhotep	Dyn. 11 ?	<i>Hatnub</i> , 32
Hatnub gr. 15?	Herishefnakht	Dyn. 11 ?	<i>Hatnub</i> , 34
Hatnub gr. 16	Nehri I	Dyn. 11 ?	<i>Hatnub</i> , 36
Hatnub gr. 17	Djehutynakht V	Dyn. 11 ?	<i>Hatnub</i> , 38, pl. 16
Hatnub gr. 19	Ahanakht son of Ahanakht	Dyn. 11 ?	<i>Hatnub</i> , 41, pl. 20
Hatnub gr. 20	Nehri I	Dyn. 11 ?	<i>Hatnub</i> , 43, pl. 18
Hatnub gr. 22	Sobekemhat	Dyn. 11 ?	<i>Hatnub</i> , 48, pl. 22
Hatnub gr. 23	Djehutynakht V	Am. I	<i>Hatnub</i> , 52, pl. 20
Hatnub gr. 24	Kay son of Nehri	Ment. IV	<i>Hatnub</i> , 54, pl. 24
Hatnub gr. 25	Kay son of Nehri	Ment. IV	<i>Hatnub</i> , 54, pl. 24
Hatnub gr. 26	Djehutynakht son of Djehutyhotep	Ment. IV	<i>Hatnub</i> , 60, pl. 28
Hatnub gr. 27	Khnumhotep son of Renu	Ment. IV	<i>Hatnub</i> , 62, pl. 28
Hatnub gr. 28	Renu	Ment. IV	<i>Hatnub</i> , 63, pl. 30
Hatnub gr. 30	Kanakht	Dyn. 12	<i>Hatnub</i> , 66, pl. 23
Hatnub gr. 31	Djehutynakht V	Am. I	<i>Hatnub</i> , 67, pl. 29
Hatnub gr. 32	Djehutyhotep son of Nehri	Uncertain	<i>Hatnub</i> , 68, pl. 29
Hatnub gr. 38	Unknown	Dyn. 12	<i>Hatnub</i> , 71, pl. 25
Hatnub gr. 39	Ahanakht son of Khnum	Dyn. 12	<i>Hatnub</i> , 72, pl. 25
Hatnub gr. 42	Djehutynakht IV	Dyn. 11 ?	<i>Hatnub</i> , 73, pl. 14
Hatnub gr. 43	Unknown	Uncertain	<i>Hatnub</i> , 73, pl. 14
Hatnub gr. 49	Amenemhat son of Nehri	Sen. I	<i>Hatnub</i> , 76, pl. 31
Hatnub in. 10	Djehutynakht III	Herac.	<i>Hatnub</i> , pl. 6

Heidelberg

Heidelberg 274	Iymeru son of Iymeru	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>BIFAO Supp.</i> 81, 30
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Karnak

Karnak	Iymeru son of Iymeru	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>BIFAO Sup.</i> 81, p.35
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Kumna

RIK 52	Neferu	Sen. III	<i>Semna, Kumna</i> , 147
RIK 85	Unknown	Sen. III	<i>Semna, Kumna</i> , 156
RIK 104	Ameny	Sen. III	<i>Semna, Kumna</i> , 160
RIK 112	Samontu	Am. III	<i>Semna, Kumna</i> , 162
RIK 115	Samontu	Am. III	<i>Semna, Kumna</i> , 162
RIK 116	Samontu	Am. III	<i>Semna, Kumna</i> , 164
RIK 117	Akhetotep	Am. III	<i>Semna, Kumna</i> , 164
RIK 118	Akhetotep	Am. III	<i>Semna, Kumna</i> , 165
RIK 119a	Mentuhotep	Am. III	<i>Semna, Kumna</i> , 165
RIK 119b	Mentuhotep	Am. III	<i>Semna, Kumna</i> , 165
RIK 119c	Mery	Am. III	<i>Semna, Kumna</i> , 166
RIK 120	Senwosret	Sen. III	<i>Semna, Kumna</i> , 166

Lahun

Lahun	Inpy	Sen. III-Am. III	Lahun II, pl. 29
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Leiden

Leiden C14	Sahathor	Am. IV	Boeser, pl. 1
Leiden V2	Emhat	Sen. I	Boeser II, pl. 6
Leiden V3	Inyotefiqer	Sen. I	Boeser II, pl. 2
Leiden V4	Wepwawetaa	Sen. I	ANOC 20.1
Leiden V5	Kheperkara	Am. II	ANOC 23.2
Leiden V6	Inyotef son of Tjaw	Am. II	Boeser II, pl. 3
Leiden V21	Sahathor, Ankhu	Early Dyn. 13	ANOC 57.4
Leiden V102	Bebi	Nef. I-Sob. IV	Boeser II, pl. 21

London, British Museum

BM 100	Montuaa	Sen. III	<i>HT V</i> , pl. 4
BM 101	Nebipu- senwosret	Am. III	<i>HT II</i> , pl. 1-2
BM 202	Ikhemofret	Sen. III	ANOC 1.6
BM 247	Senwosretsenb u	Am. III	ANOC 26.2
BM 252	Senebsumaa	Nef. I- Sob. IV	ANOC 25.2
BM 257	Sobekhotep	Sen. II	<i>HT IV</i> , pl. 7
BM 258	Setesaf	Am. IV	<i>HT II</i> , pl. 50
BM 428	Senbi	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>HT VI</i> , pl. 26
BM 461	Inyotef son of Senet	Sen. I	<i>HT II</i> , pl. 24
BM 489	Neferu	Sen. I	<i>HT IV</i> , pl. 4
BM 557	Senwosretsenb u	Am. III	ANOC 26.1
BM 559	Inhemakht	Sen. III	ANOC 43.1
BM 561	Setsa	Am. II	ANOC 41.2
BM 562	Inyotef son of Senet	Sen. I	ANOC 5.3
BM 563	Inyotefiger- ankhu	Sen. III	<i>HT III</i> , pl. 29
BM 567	Amenemhat	Am. II	ANOC 13.2
BM 569	Sahathor	Am. II	ANOC 9.1
BM 572	Inyotef son of Senet	Sen. I	ANOC 5.1
BM 573	Djaa	Sen. II	<i>HT II</i> , pl. 6
BM 574	Senti the Younger	Am. II	ANOC 42.2
BM 575	Inhemakht	Sen. III	ANOC 43.2
BM 581	Inyotef son of Senet	Sen. I	ANOC 5.2
BM 583	Shetepib	Am. II	<i>HT II</i> , pl. 26, 27
BM 586	Ity	Sen. I	<i>HT II</i> , pl. 12
BM 692	Group	Sen. III	<i>HT IV</i> , pl. 11
BM 827	Sadiu	Am. III	<i>HT II</i> , pl. 30
BM 828	Samontu	Am. II	<i>HT II</i> , pl. 21
BM 829	Minnefer	Am. II	<i>HT IV</i> , pl. 5
BM 831	Sobekhotep, Senwosret	Sen. III	<i>HT IV</i> , pl. 13
BM 839	Senti the Elder	Am. II	ANOC 42.1
BM 903	Group	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>HT II</i> , pl. 47
BM 1010	Sarenput II	Am. II	<i>HT VI</i> , pl. 20

BM 1164	Inyotef son of Miyet	Ment. III	<i>HT I</i> , pl. 55
BM 1177	Rediintefdedu	Sen. I	<i>HT IV</i> , pl. 3
BM 1213	Khusobek	Sen. III	<i>HT III</i> , pl. 12
BM 1236	Khusobek	Am. II	<i>HT IV</i> , pl. 6
BM 1290	Samontu	Am. III	<i>HT IV</i> , pl. 16

London, University College

UC 14333	Mentuhotep	Ment. II	Stewart, pl. 18
UC 14339	Inpy	Sen. III	Stewart, pl. 36.4
UC 14429	...Ka	Sen. III	Stewart, pl. 30.1

Los Angeles

LACMA	Shensetji	Sen. I	<i>JEA</i> 38, pl. 1
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Manchester

	Khusobek	Sen. III	ANOC 69.1
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Meir

Meir B1	Senbi I	Am. I	<i>Meir I</i> , pl. 2, 9
Meir B2	Ukhhotep II	Sen. I	<i>Meir II</i> , pl. 6-15
Meir B3	Senbi II	Sen. I-Am. II	<i>Meir VI</i> , pl. 8
Meir B4	Ukhhotep III	Am. II	<i>Meir III</i> , pl. 9 ff.
Meir C1	Ukhhotep IV	Sen. II-Sen. III	<i>Meir VI</i> , pl. 11, 13

Munich

GL WAF 35	Wepwawetaa	Am. II	ANOC 20.2
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New York

MMA 9.180.111	Sobeknakht	Am. I	Hayes, <i>Scepter I</i> , fig. 109
MMA 12.184	Mentuweser	Sen. I	Sethe, <i>Lesestücke</i> , 79-80.
MMA 14.2.7	Maaty	Ment. II	Hayes, <i>Scepter I</i> , fig. 91
MMA 26.3.217	Henu	Ment. II	<i>JEA</i> 35, pl. 4
MMA 29.1.45	Shetepibra-ankh	Sen. III	Hayes, <i>Scepter I</i> , fig. 125
MMA 57.95	Inyotef son of Tjefi	Ment. II	<i>JNES</i> 19, pl. 7
MMA 63.154	Renseneb	13 to Nef. I	ANOC 59.1

Oslo

Oslo EM 2383	Ameny	Sen. III	
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Paris, Guimet

Guimet 11324	Kheperkara	Am. II	ANOC 23.3
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Paris, Louvre

Louvre A 125	Iymeru son of Iymeru	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>BIFAO</i> Sup. 81, p.32
Louvre C1	Nesumontu	Am. I-Sen. I	ANOC 6.2
Louvre C2	Hor	Sen. I	ANOC 29.1
Louvre C3	Mery	Sen. I	ANOC 6.3
Louvre C4	Senwosret	Am. II	Gayet, pl. 3
Louvre C5	Sasetyt	Am. III	ANOC 1.7
Louvre C6	Kefenen	Am. III	Gayet, pl. 10
Louvre C11	Amenyseneb	Khendjer	ANOC 58.1
Louvre C12	Amenyseneb	Khendjer	ANOC 58.2
Louvre C19	Group	Sen. I	ANOC 6.1
Louvre C33	Pepy	Sen. III	ANOC 1.10
Louvre C34	Hor	Sen. I	ANOC 29.2
Louvre C166	Sasopedu	Sen. I	Gayet, pl. 24
Louvre C167	Inyotef son of Nebhu	Sen. I	ANOC 4.1
Louvre C170	Senwosret	Sen. II	Gayet, pl. 27
Louvre C243	Nesumontu	Am. II	RdÉ 24, pl. 7b

Parma

Parma 177	Rediefeni	13 to Nef. I	ANOC 67.2
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Philadelphia

UPMAA E 3381	Sobekhotep	Early Dyn. 13	Fischer, <i>Varia Nova</i> , 106
UPMAA 69-29-56	Aamu	Dyn. 12	Simpson, <i>Inscr. Ab.</i> C9
UPMAA 69-29-122	Inyotef son of Sitneb	Dyn. 12	Simpson, <i>Inscr. Ab.</i> C8
UPMAA 69-29-135	Ukhhoteb	Dyn. 12	Simpson, <i>Inscr. Ab.</i> C6
UPMAA 69-29-215	Group	Dyn. 12	Simpson, <i>Inscr. Ab.</i> C26

UPMAA 69-29-216	Ukhhoteb son of It	Dyn. 12	Simpson, <i>Inscr. Ab.</i> C7
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Private Collections

Private Collection	Ankhib son of Dedetnebu	Am. IV	<i>Fs. Simpson 524- 525</i>
Private Collection	Samontu son of Ibi	Am. IV	<i>Fs. Simpson 524- 525</i>
Private Collection	Samontu son of Itenitef	Am. IV	<i>Fs. Simpson 524- 525</i>
Private Collection	Amenuser	Am. III	<i>JEA 51, pl. 14</i>

Qaw el-Kebir

Qaw el Kebir 7	Wahkah I	Am. II	Petrie, <i>Antaeopolis</i> , pl. 4
Qaw el Kebir 18	Wahkah II	Am. III	Petrie, <i>Antaeopolis</i> , pl. 26

Qubbet el Hawa

Qubbet el Hawa 31	Sarenput II	Am. II-Sen. II	<i>FFE, pl. 29, 33, 39, 42</i>
Qubbet el Hawa 36	Sarenput I	Sen. I	<i>FFE, pl. 5-6, Urk. 7, 6</i>

Pittsburgh

Carnegie 4558	Nebankh son of Sobekhotep	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>Cem. Ab. pl. 15; p. 115</i>
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St. Petersburg

St. Petersburg 1075	Sahathor	13 to Nef. I	<i>ANOC 57.3</i>
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Saqqara

Saqqara 11Sq	Hetep	Am. I	<i>Teti Pyr. Cem., 273- 77, pl. 81,2</i>
Saqqara 18X	Ihy	Am. I	<i>Teti Pyr. Cem., 280- 83, pl. 83-5</i>
Saqqara	Mentuhotep	Sen. I	<i>Fischer, Varia, pl. 17</i>

Sehel

Sehel 76	Heqaibankh, Inyotef	Sen. III	<i>JEA</i> 39, 51
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Semna

RIS 1	Khusobek	Sen. III	<i>Semna</i> , 131, pl. 93a
RIS 14	Ameny	Am. III	<i>Semna</i> , 134, pl. 94

Shatt er Rigal

Shatt Er Rigal 448	Itu	Ment. II	Winlock, <i>Rise & Fall</i> , fig. 39, lf
Shatt Er Rigal 455	Meketre	Ment. II	Winlock, <i>Rise & Fall</i> , fig. 39, ld
Shatt Er Rigal 456	Maahesi son of Dagi	Ment. II	Winlock, <i>Rise & Fall</i> , fig. 39, le
Shatt Er Rigal 459	Meru	Ment. II	Winlock, <i>Rise & Fall</i> , fig. 39, lg
Shatt Er Rigal 468	Hepy	Ment. II	Winlock, <i>Rise & Fall</i> , fig. 39, lk
Shatt Er Rigal 472	Mery	Ment. II	Winlock, <i>Rise & Fall</i> , fig. 39, lj

Sinai

Sinai 26	Shemsuhor	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 11
Sinai 27	Sobekdedu, Mesnebineb	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 11
Sinai 28	Sobekhotep, Ameny	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 12
Sinai 30	Iatu son of Py	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 13
Sinai 33	Khuy son of Henu	Am. IV	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 12
Sinai 35	Senaab	Am. IV	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 11
Sinai 47	Mentuhotep son of Sathor	Am. II	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 16
Sinai 51	Sobekdedu	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 18
Sinai 53	Sobekhorhab son of Henu	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 17
Sinai 54	Ptahwer son of Itu	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 18
Sinai 56	Sanofret	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 18
Sinai 71	Group	Am. II	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 21
Sinai 72	Ankhib	Am. II	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 21

Sinai 79	Heqaib	Sen. II	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 22
Sinai 80	Heqaib	Sen. II	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 22
Sinai 85	Unknown	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 23
Sinai 86	Ini	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 26
Sinai 87	Group	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 24
Sinai 88	Penyeni	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 22
Sinai 89	Heruwerra	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 25
Sinai 90	Heruwerra	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 25a
Sinai 91	Snefru	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 33a
Sinai 92	Unknown	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 27
Sinai 93	Amenyseshene n	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 28
Sinai 95	Ameny son of Ituneferu	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 30
Sinai 96	Ameny, Nebkaura	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 32
Sinai 98	Amenyseshene n	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 33
Sinai 100	Group	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 31
Sinai 101a	Renefseneb	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 32
Sinai 103	Renefankh/ Nehy	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 44
Sinai 104	Khenhausenank h son of Hetepui	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 36
Sinai 105	Ameny, Nehy	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 34
Sinai 109	Ptahwer	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 33
Sinai 112	Sanofret son of Sattekh	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 37
Sinai 113	Senwosret son of Hathorhotep	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 44a
Sinai 114	Ankhren, Renefinpu	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 38
Sinai 115	Renefinpu (?) son of Sattjeni	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 39
Sinai 116	Sobekhotep	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , fig. 8
Sinai 117	Unknown	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 40
Sinai 118	Sasoped, Kemau	Am. IV	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 36
Sinai 119	Djefi	Am. IV	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 42
Sinai 120	Ibneith	Am. IV	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 43
Sinai 121	Djefi	Am. IV	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 48, fig. 121

Sinai 142	Ameny son of Sahathor	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 53
Sinai 143	Ptahshed	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 53
Sinai 170	Senbebu son of Sobekra	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 55
Sinai 405	Sobekhotep	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 85
Sinai 406	Heruwerra	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 83
Sinai 407	Sobekdedu	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 83
Sinai 408	Horemsaf		<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 86
Sinai 500	Wekhem	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 89
Sinai 519	Neferhotep son of Sobeket	Am. III	<i>Sinai</i> , pl. 96

Thebes

TT 60	Senet	Sen. I	<i>Antefoker</i> , pl. 5 ff
TT 103	Daga	Ment. II	<i>Five Theban Tombs</i> , pl. 34.

Turin

Turin 1447	Meru	Ment. II	Lichtheim, <i>Autobiographies</i> , pl. 3
Turin 1620	Khenmes son of Kiy	13 to Nef. I	ANOC 54.2
Turin 22018	Wahkah II	Am. III	Habachi, <i>Tavole</i> , 24
Turin 22019	Wahkah	Am. I	Habachi, <i>Tavole</i> , 25

Vienna

Vienna 109	Senebef	Am. IV	<i>Rec. Trav.</i> 12, 15
Vienna 140	Group	Early Dyn. 13	<i>Rec. Trav.</i> 9, 63
Vienna 172	Iwnefer	Early Dyn. 13	<i>Rec. Trav.</i> 9, 60

Wadi el Hudi

Wadi el Hudi 1	Inyotef son of Ptahshedwy	Ment. IV	Fakhry, pl. 6a
Wadi el Hudi 2	Inyotef son of Ptahshedwy	Ment. IV	Fakhry, pl. 6b
Wadi el Hudi 3	Khuyu	Ment. IV	Fakhry, pl. 7a
Wadi el Hudi 4	Inyotef	Ment. IV	Fakhry, pl. 7b
Wadi el Hudi 6	Hetephui	Sen. I	Fakhry, pl. 9
Wadi el Hudi 7	Inyotef	Sen. I	Fakhry, pl. 8b

Wadi el Hudi 8	Inyotefiquer	Sen. I	Fakhry, pl. 10a
Wadi el Hudi 9	Nesumontu son of Hetepi	Sen. I	Fakhry, pl. 10b
Wadi el Hudi 10	Senwosret son of Wenen	Sen. I	Fakhry, pl. 12a
Wadi el Hudi 11	Sobek son of Kheti	Sen. I	Fakhry, pl. 12b
Wadi el Hudi 12	Hetepheru	Sen. I	Fakhry, pl. 11a
Wadi el Hudi 13	Sahathor, User	Sen. I	Fakhry, pl. 11b
Wadi el Hudi 14	Mentuhotep son of Henu	Sen. I	Fakhry, pl. 11b
Wadi el Hudi 16	Inyotefiquer son of Senankh	Sen. III	Fakhry, pl. 13a
Wadi el Hudi 17	Senebu son of Sobekra	Sen. III	Fakhry, pl. 14a
Wadi el Hudi 19	Sa...	Am. III	Fakhry, pl. 14b
Wadi el Hudi 21	Sahathor son of Mereryt	Am. IV	Fakhry, pl. 16b
Wadi el Hudi 23	Group	Nef. I-Sob. IV	Sadek, fig. 32
Wadi el Hudi 24	Group	Nef. I-Sob. IV	Sadek, fig. 51
Wadi el Hudi 25	Nebankh, Beby	Nef. I-Sob. IV	Sadek, fig. 52
Wadi el Hudi 146	Senwosret, Mentuhotep	Sen. I	Sadek, 91
Wadi el Hudi 147	Unknown	Sen. I	Sadek, 92
Wadi el Hudi 149	Sabastet	Am. III	Sadek, 96

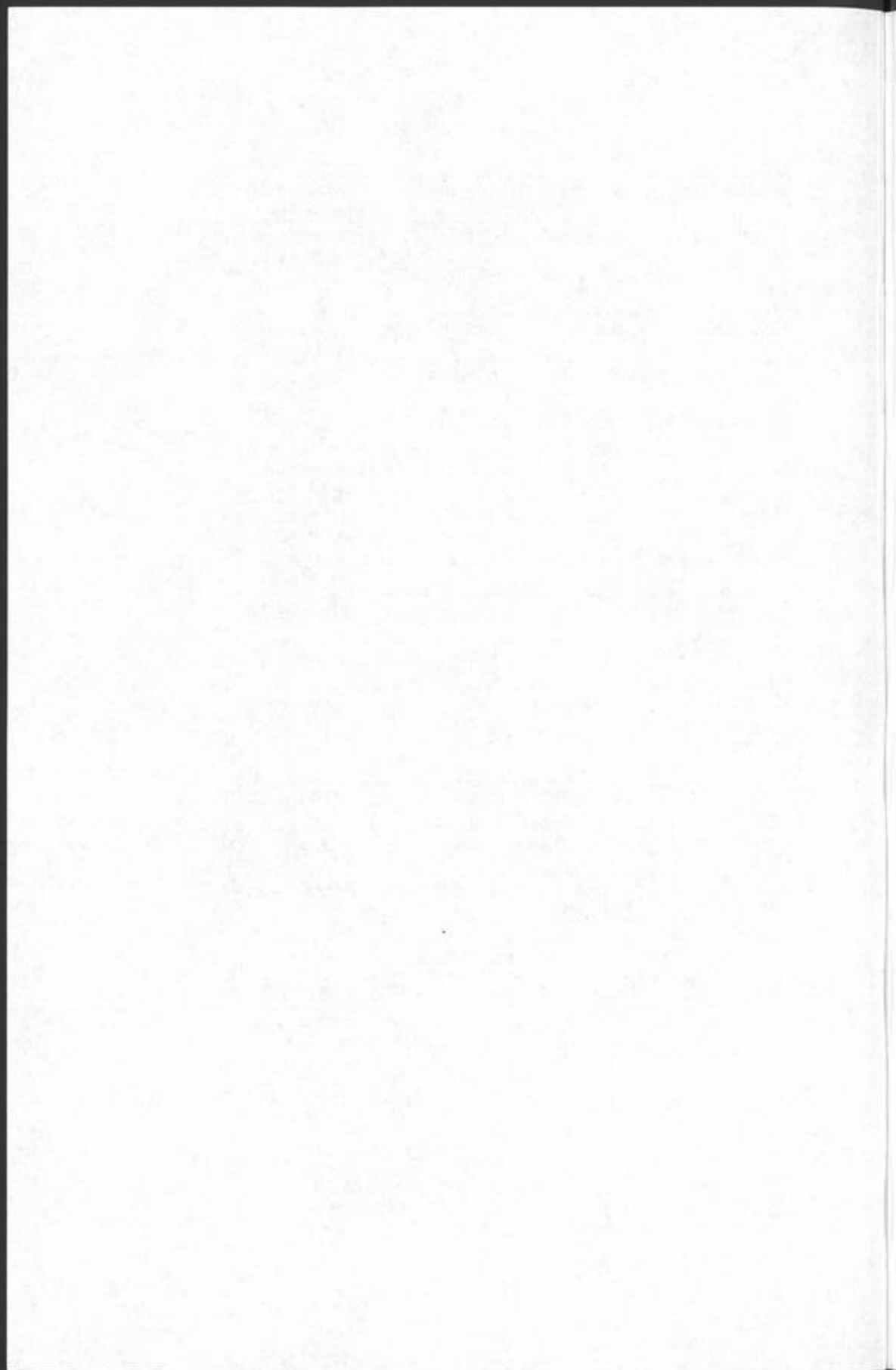
Wadi Hammamat

Hammmamat 17	Hetepy	Am. III	<i>Hammmamat</i> , pl. 5,40
Hammmamat 42	Senwosret	Am. III	<i>Hammmamat</i> , pl. 12,47
Hammmamat 43	Amenemhat	Am. III	<i>Hammmamat</i> , pl. 13,48
Hammmamat 47	Khuy	Sen. III	<i>Hammmamat</i> , pl. 14,49

Hamamat 48	Senwosret	Am. III	<i>Hamamat</i> , pl. 14,51
Hamamat 87	Amenemhat	Sen. I	<i>Hamamat</i> , pl. 20,65
Hamamat 104	Wer (?)	Sen. II	<i>Hamamat</i> , pl. 26,73
Hamamat 108	Unknown	Am. III	<i>Hamamat</i> , pl. 28,108
Hamamat 113	Amenemhat	Ment. IV	<i>Hamamat</i> , pl. 29,80
Hamamat 114	Henenu son of Mentuhotep	Ment. IV	<i>Hamamat</i> , pl. 31,84
Hamamat 123	Heqaib	Sen. I	<i>Hamamat</i> , pl. 85, 86
Hamamat 192	Amenemhat	Ment. IV	<i>Hamamat</i> , pl. 37,99
Hamamat 199	Inyotef	Am. I	<i>Hamamat</i> , pl. 38,101
Hamamat 205	Amenemhat	Ment. IV	<i>Hamamat</i> , pl. 103
Hamamat G61	Ameny	Sen. I	Goyon pl. 23, 24
Hamamat G62	Iytjebu	Sen. I	Goyon, 85
Hamamat G63	Sainheret	Sen. I	Goyon, pl. 23,86
Hamamat G66	Huy son of Mentuweser	Sen. I	Goyon, pl. 20,89
Hamamat G70	Khentykheybity	Am. III	Goyon, pl. 20,91
Hamamat G87	Saremeni son of Senebtifi	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>BIFAO</i> Supp. 81,37

Warsaw

Warsaw 141262	Horaa son of Renseneb	Nef. I-Sob. IV	<i>Edfou</i> ,30, no. 6
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ll.n n.f Šm'w m ksw: One to whom Upper Egypt came bowing
 Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

2.2. *iw*

iw n.f wrw m ksw: One to whom the great ones come bowing
 Sinai 93 Sinai

iw n.f wrw m ksw r rwty pr nswt: One to whom the great ones come bowing at the
 gates of the administrative palace
 MMA 57.95 Thebes
 Shatt er Rigal 459 Shatt er Rigal
 CG 20539 Abydos

iw n.f wrw m ksw ḥ3tyw-^c m dy ḥr ḥt: One to whom the great ones come bowing, the
 local rulers prostrate
 Louvre C1 Abydos

iw n.f wrw m ksw t3 r-dr.f ḥr ḥt: One to whom the great ones come bowing, the
 entire land prostrate
 Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat

iw t3wy m ksw: (One to whom) the Two Lands come bowing down
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

2.3. *iw^c*

iw^c w3d m ḥswt ity nb: Heir who prospers in the favors of every monarch
 Bersheh 2 Bersheh

iw^c.f ikr: His worthy heir
 Heqaib 2 Elephantine
 Heqaib 14 Elephantine
 Heqaib 15 Elephantine

iw^c ḥpr m-ḥry-lb sn: Heir who came into being among them
 Bersheh 2 Bersheh

iw^c kn: Brave heir
 Assiut 1, 234 Assiut

2.4. *iwn*

iwn w^c: Sole pillar
 Munich GL WAF 35 Abydos

iwn niwt.f: Pillar of his township
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

iwn nwt.f spꜣt.f: Pillar of his township and his district
Deir Rifeh 1 (*Kēmi* 6, 140) Deir Rifeh

iwn rsy ʿ: Great southern pillar
CG 20539 Abydos

iwn rsy ʿ *n pr nswt*: Great southern pillar of the administrative palace

Assiut 1, 171 Assiut

CG 20538 Abydos

CG 20539 Abydos

iwn sꜣmt dꜣrt: Pillar of judgment of the desert

CG 20539 Abydos

Lahun II, pl. 29 Lahun

iwn šm'w: Pillar of Upper Egypt

Assiut 1, 241 Assiut

iwn šm'w n pr nswt: Upper Egyptian pillar of the administrative palace

Saqqara 11Sq (*TPC* 274) Saqqara

Saqqara 18x (*TPC* 281) Saqqara

iwn knmwt: Pillar of the leopard skin(?)¹

CG 20539 Abydos

Louvre C2 Abydos

2.5. *iwty*

iwty 'wn-ib.f: One who is not greedy

Louvre C167 Abydos

iwty mht.f: One who is not forgetful

Louvre C167 Abydos

iwty rꜣ.f in rmt: One who is not known by the people

Hatnub gr. 25 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

iwty snw.f: One who is without his equal

CG 20539 Abydos

Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

iwty tꜣt.f(?): One who is without complaint(?)

MMA 57.95 Thebes

¹ See references in Ward, *Index*, 8, no. 18a.

lwty ts.f bln: One who is without evil speech

Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

2.6. *ip*

ip bikwt: One who assesses revenues

CG 20563 Abydos

ip r-ldr n T³-mhw: One who counts the cattle-list of Lower Egypt

CG 20539 Abydos

ip swt d³sw: One who controls the supply depots

B. Hasan 2 (*BHI*, pl. 17) Beni Hasan

Bersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 7) Bersheh

2.7. *im³*

im³-^c: Gracious

B. Hasan 2 (*BHI*, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

B. Hasan 3 (*BHI*, pl. 25) Beni Hasan

im³ n mrwt.f: Kind to his servants

Turin 1447 Thebes

im³ n hwt-ntr: Well-disposed to the temple

Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

Deir Rifeh 1 (*Kêmi* 6, 140) Deir Rifeh

im³ r-gs(?) nb.f r^c nb: Gracious beside his lord every day

Assiut 6, 11 Assiut

2.8. *im³h*

im³h(y)/im³h(w): Venerated

Assiut 1 Assiut

Assiut 4 Assiut

Assiut 5 Assiut

Assiut 6 Assiut

Beni Hasan 2 Beni Hasan

Beni Hasan 3 Beni Hasan

Beni Hasan 14 Beni Hasan

Beni Hasan 15 Beni Hasan

Beni Hasan 17 Beni Hasan

Beni Hasan 21 Beni Hasan

BM 101	Abydos
BM 252	Unknown
BM 561	Abydos
BM 567	Abydos
BM 569	Abydos
BM 572	Abydos
BM 573	Abydos
BM 581	Abydos
BM 583	Unknown
BM 586	Unknown
BM 828	Unknown
BM 829	Abydos
BM 831	Unknown
BM 1290	Semna
BMA 37.1346E	Unknown
BMA 54.66	Unknown
Bersheh 1	Bersheh
Bersheh 3	Bersheh
Bersheh 5	Bersheh
Bersheh 7	Bersheh
Bersheh 8	Bersheh
Bersheh 10	Bersheh
CG 20040	Abydos
CG 20131	Unknown
CG 20239	Unknown
CG 20263	Abydos
CG 20515	Abydos
CG 20526	Abydos
CG 20538	Abydos
CG 20542	Abydos
CG 20546	Abydos
CG 20561	Abydos
CG 20641	Unknown
CG 20683	Abydos
CG 20751	Abydos
CG 23019	Abydos
CG 23081	Abydos
Durham N1932	Abydos
Heqaib 1	Elephantine

Heqaib 4	Elephantine
Heqaib 5	Elephantine
Heqaib 19	Elephantine
Heqaib 48	Elephantine
Heqaib 49	Elephantine
Heqaib 61	Elephantine
JE 91220	Abydos
JE 91242	Abydos
JE 91247	Abydos
JE 91248	Abydos
<i>JEA</i> 14, pl. 20,1	Abydos
Kestner 2927	Unknown
LACMA	Abydos
Leiden C14	Unknown
Leiden V2	Unknown
Leiden V3	Abydos
Leiden V4	Abydos
Leiden V5	Abydos
Leiden V6	Abydos
Louvre C1	Abydos
Louvre C3	Abydos
Louvre C19	Abydos
Louvre C33	Abydos
Louvre C34	Abydos
Louvre C166	Unknown
Louvre C167	Abydos
Louvre C170	Abydos
Meir B1	Meir
Meir B2	Meir
Meir B3	Meir
Meir B4	Meir
Meir C1	Meir
MFA 1980.173	Abydos
MMA 12.184	Abydos
MMA 26.3.217	Thebes
MMA 57.95	Thebes
Qaw el Kebir 18	Qaw el Kebir
Qubbet el Hawa 31	Elephantine

Qubbet el Hawa 36	Elephantine
RIK 119b	Kumna
Saqqara 11Sq	Saqqara
Saqqara 18x	Saqqara
Turin 1447	Thebes
TT 60 ²	Thebes
UC 14333	Armant ?
UPMAA 69-29-122	Abydos
UPMAA 69-29-135	Abydos
Wadi el Hudi 17	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 19	Wadi el Hudi
<i>Inscr. Ab.</i> C13	Abydos

im³h ...m³c: Truly venerated...

Assiut 1 Assiut

im³h(y) n sp³t.f.: Venerated by his district

Assiut 1 Assiut

im³hy n-hr nswt: Venerated by the king

Beni Hasan 3 Beni Hasan

im³hy nb.f.: Venerated by his lord

Basel (ANOC 1.8) Abydos

im³hy hr...: Venerated by ...

Bersh. 1 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 7) Bersheh

im³h hr Inpw: Venerated by Anubis

Assiut-1 Assiut

B. Hasan 3 (*BHI*, pl. 24) Beni Hasan

B. Hasan 17 (*BH* II, pl. 16) Beni Hasan

BM 461 Elephantine

BM 569 Abydos

BM 1010 Abydos

Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun,* Lahun
& *Gurob*, pl. 12, 11

Saqqara 11Sq (*TPC* 277) Saqqara

Saqqara 18x (*TPC* pl. 83) Saqqara

UC 14339 Kahun ?

² *im³ht.*

- imꜥh hr Inḥrt* : Venerated by Inheret
MFA 13.3844 Naga-ed-Der
- imꜥh hr 'nḳt*: Venerated by Anuket
Heqaib 60 Elephantine
- imꜥh(y) hr Wpwꜥwt*: Venerated by Wepwawet
BM 569 Abydos
- (imꜥhy) hr Wpwꜥwt nb Sꜥwt*: Venerated by Wepwawet, Lord of Assiut
Assiut 1 Assiut
- imꜥh(y) hr Wsr*: Venerated by Osiris
- ASAE 56, 213 Ezbet Rushdi
- Assiut 1 Assiut
- Assiut 6, 16 Assiut
- B. Hasan 3 (*BH I*, pl. 24) Beni Hasan
- Bersh. 1 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 7) Bersheh
- Bersh. 4 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 11) Bersheh
- Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, 39) Bersheh
- BM 583 Unknown
- CG 20541 Unknown
- Heqaib 15 Elephantine
- Heqaib 26 Elephantine
- Heqaib 27 Elephantine
- Meir B1 Meir
- Saqqara 11Sq (*TPC* pl. 81) Saqqara
- Saqqara 18x (*TPC* pl. 83) Saqqara
- TT 60 Thebes
- imꜥh(y) hr Wsr nb imntt*: Venerated by Osiris, Lord of the West:
Berlin 1192 Abydos
- imꜥh hr Wsr nb smt imntt*: Venerated by Osiris, Lord of the western desert
- Assiut 4, 84 Assiut
- Meir B1 Meir
- TT 60³ Thebes
- imꜥh(y) hr Wsr nb Ddw*: Venerated by Osiris, Lord of Busiris
- B. Hasan 3 (*BH I*, pl. 24) Beni Hasan
- Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

³ *imꜥht*.

- Heqaib 17 Elephantine
- Meir B4 (*Meir* III, pl. 15) Meir
- Saqqara 18x (*TPC* pl. 83) Saqqara
- im³h(y) hr Wsr ntr ³ nb ³bdw*: Venerated by Osiris, the great god, Lord of Abydos
 BM 461 Abydos
 CG 20641 Unknown
- im³h(y) hr P³ht nbt Št*: Venerated by Pakhet, Lady of the Speios Valley
 B. Hasan 3 (*BH* I, pl. 24) Beni Hasan
- im³h(y) hr Pth*: Venerated by Ptah
ASAE 56, p. 214 Ezbet Rushdi
 BM 831 Unknown
 Heqaib 27 Elephantine
- im³h(y) hr Pth rsy inb*: Venerated by Ptah, south of his wall
 Heqaib 26 Elephantine
- im³h(y) hr Pth-Skr*: Venerated by Ptah-Sokar
 B. Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 15) Beni Hasan
 Bersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, 25) Bersheh
 CG 20132 Unknown
 CG 20531 Abydos
 Heqaib 17 Elephantine
 Heqaib 21 Elephantine
 Heqaib 24 Elephantine
 Heqaib 48 Elephantine
 Meir B4 Meir
 Saqqara 18x (*TPC* pl. 84) Saqqara
- im³h(y) hr nb.f*: Venerated by his lord
 Assiut 6, 12 Assiut
- im³h(y) hr N³bt*: Venerated by Nekhbet
 Qubbet el Hawa 31 Elephantine
 (*FFE* pl. 33)
- im³h(y) hr nswt*: Venerated by the king
 Dahshur 2 Dashur
 Saqqara 18x (*TPC*, 287-8) Saqqara
- im³h(y) hr nswt bity Šhtp-ib-r' m³'-hrw*: Venerated by the king of Upper & Lower
 Egypt, Sehetepibra, vindicated
ASAE 56, p. 213 Ezbet Rushdi

- im³h(y) hr ntr*: Venerated by the god
Saqqara 11Sq (TPC pl. 81) Saqqara
- im³h(y) hr ntr* ³: Venerated by the great god
MFA 13.3844 Naga-ed-Der
- im³ht hr ntrw* ^{3w}: Venerated by the great gods
TT 60 Thebes
- im³h hr ntr* ³ *nb 3bdw*: Venerated by the great god, Lord of Abydos
CG 20065 Abydos
Turin 1447 Thebes
- im³h hr ntr* ³ *nb pt*: Venerated by the great god, Lord of the sky
Berlin 1199 Abydos
BM 827 Unknown
JE 91220 Abydos
MMA 57.95 Thebes
Saqqara 11Sq (TPC pl. 82) Saqqara
TT 60 Thebes
- im³h(y) hr ntrw imyw hrt-ntr*: Venerated by the gods who are in the necropolis
Meir B2 (Meir II, pl. 15) Meir
- im³hy hr ntr* ³ *nb pt*: Venerated by the great god, Lord of the sky
ASAE 56, p. 215 Ezbet Rushdi
CG 20231 Abydos
Deir Rifeh 1 (Kêmi 6, 140) Deir Rifeh
Bersheh 1 (Bersh. II, pl. 7) Bersheh
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh
Heqaib 3 Elephantine
Heqaib 48 Elephantine
- im³hy hr ntr.f ntwy*: Venerated by his local god
Heqaib 3 Elephantine
- im³hw hr Nb-hwt*: Venerated by Nephthys
Saqqara 11Sq (TPC pl. 81) Saqqara
- im³h(y) hr Hwt-Hr*: Venerated by Hathor
Meir B3 (Meir VI, pl. 8) Meir
B. Hasan 17 (BH II, pl. 15) Beni Hasan
Meir B4 (Meir III, pl. 9) Meir
UPMAA E 3381 Abydos ?
TT 60 Thebes

- im³h(y) hr Hp* Venerated by Hapy
Saqqara 11Sq (TPC pl. 82) Saqqara
- im³h(y) hr Hr nb Hbnw*: Venerated by Horus, Lord of Hebenu
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7,9) Beni Hasan
- im³h(y) hr Hr hh rhyt*: Venerated by Horus, smiter of the rekhyt
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7,9) Beni Hasan
B. Hasan 3 (BH I, pl. 24) Beni Hasan
B. Hasan 15 (BH II, pl. 5) Beni Hasan
B. Hasan 17 (BH II, pl. 15) Beni Hasan
- im³h(y) hr Hk³-ib*: Venerated by Heqaib
Heqaib 60 Elephantine
- im³h(y) hr Hkt*: Venerated by Hekat
Beni Hasan 14 (BH I, 85) Beni Hasan
- im³h(y) hr Hnm*: Venerated by Khnum
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7,9) Beni Hasan
Beni Hasan 14 (BH I, 85) Beni Hasan
Qubbet el Hawa 31 Elephantine
(FFE pl. 33)
- im³h(y) hr Sbk nb Ddw*: Venerated by Sobek, Lord of Busiris
Petrie, *Illahun, Kahun*, Lahun
& *Gurob*, pl. 12, 11
- im³h(y) hr Skr*: Venerated by Sokar
UC 14339 Kahun ?
- im³h hr Stt*: Venerated by Satet
Qubbet el Hawa 31 Elephantine
(FFE, pl. 33)
Heqaib 16 Elephantine
- im³h hr Stt nb(t) ³bw*: Venerated by Satet, Mistress of Elephantine
Heqaib 60 Elephantine
- im³hy hr Gb*: Venerated by Geb
Heqaib 17 Elephantine
Heqaib 26 Elephantine
Heqaib 27 Elephantine
Heqaib 28 Elephantine

2.9. *imꜣt*

imꜣt spꜣt.f. Gracious of his township
Assiut 1, 229 Assiut

2.10. *imy-ib*

imy-ib ity ds.f. Favorite of the monarch himself
Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

imy-ib wr n nb.f. Great favorite of his lord
B. Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 15) Beni Hasan

imy-ib nb.f/ imy-ib n nb.f. Favorite of his lord
Durham N1935 Wadi Gasus
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat
Louvre C2 Abydos
MMA 26.3.217 Thebes

imy-ib nb.f mꜣꜣ: True favorite of his lord
Assiut 1, 218 Assiut
Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh
CG 20538 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos

imy-ib nb.f rꜣ nb. Favorite of his lord every day
Saqqara 18x (*TPC* pl. 83) Saqqara

imy-ib n nswt. Favorite of the king
CG 20563 Abydos

imy-ib n nswt m ꜣh. Favorite of the king in the palace
MMA 57.95 Thebes

imy-ib Hr nb ꜣh. Favorite of Horus, Lord of the palace
BM 1177 Wadi Halfa
BM 828 Unknown
Bersh. 2 (*Bersh.*I, pl. 16) Bersheh

imy-ib Hr nb ꜣh ꜣnn.f ꜣnty mityw.f. Favorite of Horus, Lord of the palace, who promotes him before his peers
Assiut 1, 240 Assiut

imy-ib Hr nb tꜣwy. Favorite of Horus, Lord of the Two Lands
Meir B4 (*Meir* III, pl. 19) Meir

imy-ib Hr sꜣn sw. Favorite of Horus, who honors him
Assiut 1, 221 Assiut

2.11. *imy-lrty*

imy-lrty rmt: Pilot of the people
CG 20539 Abydos

imy-lrty n rhyt: Pilot of the commoners
CG 20539 Abydos

2.12. *imy-bʿh*

imy-bʿh pr ʿz: One who is in front of the palace
Assiut 1, 346 Assiut

2.13. *imy-r*

imy-r ʿbwt hntywt: Overseer of the foremost offices
B. Hasan 13 (BHI, pl. 41) Beni Hasan

imy-r iswy: Overseer of the double chamber
Saqqara 11Sq (TPC 273) Saqqara

imy-r idr nswt: Overseer of the royal herd
Bersh. 2 (Bersh. I, pl. 18) Bersheh

imy-r ʿz Šm ʿw: Overseer of the door to the south
Hamamat 113 Wadi Hamamat
Hamamat 114 Wadi Hamamat

imy-r ʿw: Overseer of donkeys
MMA 12.184 Abydos

imy-r ʿww m-m imyw-r ʿww: Overseer of caravan leaders among overseers of caravan leaders
Wadi el Hudi 4 Wadi el Hudi

imy-r ʿbw: Overseer of horned animals
CG 20683 Abydos

imy-r ʿbw wḥmw: Overseer of horned and hoofed animals
Hamamat 114 Wadi Hamamat

imy-r ʿbw wḥmw šww nšmw: Overseer of horned, hoofed, feathered, and scaled animals
Beni Hasan 2 (BHI, pl. 7) Beni Hasan
CG 20538 Abydos
Louvre C2 Abydos

imy-r wpwt ḥtpw-nṯr: Overseer of the inventories of divine offerings
Assiut 1 Assiut

Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

imy-r wsh̄t: Overseer of the broad hall
CG 20539 Abydos

imy-r mš̄c m st nbt š̄t̄t: Overseer of troops in every secret place
B. Hasan 17 (BH II, pl. 14) Beni Hasan

imy-r nš̄wy snwy: Overseer of the double vessel(?)
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh

imy-r pr n M̄3-ḥd̄: Steward of the Oryx Nome
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, 13) Beni Hasan

imy-r rw-pr: Overseer of the chapels
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

imy-r rwty wrw: Overseer of the great double gate
CG 20683 Abydos

imy-r rmt̄ m-ḥ̄w ḥ̄w: Overseer of people in excess of thousands
MMA 12.184 Abydos

imy-r ḥwnw nfrw: Overseer of recruits
BM 1177 Wadi Halfa

imy-r ḥmw b̄w nḥn: Overseer of priests of the *bas* of Hierakonpolis
Assiut 1, 260 Assiut

imy-r ḥmw-ntr m̄c̄ n Wpw̄wt nb S̄wt: True overseer of priests of Wepwawet, Lord
of Assiut
Assiut 1, 218 Assiut

imy-r ḥmw-ntr n-wn-m̄c̄ n wpw̄wt nb š̄wt: True overseer of priests of Wepwawet,
Lord of Assiut
Assiut 2, 3 Assiut

imy-r ḥ̄swt: Overseer of the hill countries
B. Hasan 3 (BH I, pl. 30) Beni Hasan
Shatt er Rigal 459 Shatt er Rigal

imy-r ḥ̄swt nbwt: Overseer of every hill-country
CG 20683 Abydos
Qubbet el Hawa 36 Elephantine
(*Urk.* VI, 6)

imy-r ḥnrwt nfrwt: Overseer of the beautiful musical troupes
Saqqara 18x (TPC 281) Saqqara

imy-r hrw ʕ dw: Overseer of lowlands, great one of highlands
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

imy-r ht nbt n nswt: Overseer of all royal property
 CG 20683 Abydos
 Sinai 98 Sinai

imy-r ht nbt dd(t) pt km̃(t) t̃: Overseer of everything that heaven gives and earth creates
 Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

imy-r htmt m nbw: Overseer of the gold treasury
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

imy-r smyt ʔbtyt: Overseer of the eastern deserts
 Beni Hasan 21 Beni Hasan
 (BH II, pl. 22a)
 B. Hasan 3 (BH I, pl. 35) Beni Hasan

imy-r srw: Overseer of sheep
 MMA 12.184 Abydos

imy-r sšwy: Overseer of the two marshes
 CG 20539 Abydos
 JE 71901 Wadi el Hudi

imy-r sšwy n šmḥ-lb: Overseer of the two marshes of pleasure
 Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan
 Saqqara 11Sq (TPC 273) Saqqara
 Saqqara 18x (TPC 281) Saqqara

imy-r sšrw m pr-wr: Overseer of linen in the shrine of Upper Egypt
 Leiden V4 Abydos

imy-r skbbwy n nswt: Overseer of the king's bathroom
 TT 103 Thebes

imy-r šw: Overseer of pigs
 MMA 12.184 Abydos

imy-r šnwty m lp lt mḥw: Overseer of the double granary in the reckoning of Upper Egyptian barley
 MMA 12.184 Abydos

imy-r šnwty pr-ḥḏ: Overseer of the double granary of the treasury
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

imy-r šš m pr-ḥḏ: Overseer of writing in the embalming place
 Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh

imy-r sš n nswt n hft-hr: Overseer of royal writing of the court
CG 20539 Abydos

imy-r kbhw pšywt hnnwt: Overseer of aquatic, fluttering and flying birds
MMA 26.3.217 Thebes

imy-r kšwt: Overseer of works
Hamamat 113 Wadi Hamamat

imy-r kšwt nbt nswt m tš r-ḏr.f: Overseer of all royal work in the entire land
Lahun II, pl. 29 Lahun

imy-r kšwt nswt: Overseer of royal works
Hamamat 192 Wadi Hamamat

imy-r gs-prw: Overseer of the administrative districts
CG 20539 Abydos

imy-r gs-pr n nswt: Overseer of the royal administrative district
Assiut 1, 217 Assiut

2.14. *ims-lb*

ims-lb n mṯ nb: Attentively disposed toward all people
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

2.15. *inl*

in phwy tmntw rḥ: One who reached the boundaries of that which is not known
Sinai 54 Sinai

inn mntw(?) hštw m rdwy.f: One who reached the boundaries(?) of foreign lands on his (own) feet
Sinai 54 Sinai

in n.f mš'w nfr n Tḥnw n-š(t)-n bšw ḥm.f: One who brought for him the good products of Libya inasmuch as His Majesty was powerful
Hamamat 47 Wadi Hamamat

in n.f mrt.n.f...: One who brought for him what he desired...
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

inn rḥ nswt: One who attains (the rank of) royal acquaintance
Hamamat 43 Wadi Hamamat

in rḥ nswt mnḥ šḥr.f: One who attained royal acquaintance because his plan was effective
BM 563 Abydos
BM 1213 Unknown

2.16. *iri*

ir 3ht w^c: One who does what is beneficial alone
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

ir 3ht n ml.f: One who did what was beneficial for his equal
 BM 581 Abydos

ir 3 hr ntt iwtt: One who acts as a door for what is and what is not
 MMA 57.95 Thebes

ir 3t ml iry.s: One who performed an office according to its purpose
 CG 20539 Abydos

ir iw n bw nb: One who makes greetings for everyone
 Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

irr imy-r mš^r m st nbt: One who acts as overseer of troops in every situation
 B. Hasan 17 (BH II, pl. 14) Beni Hasan

ir wdw(?) hm.f: One who did what His Majesty commanded(?)
 Wadi el Hudi 2 Wadi el Hudi

ir m hpš.f: One who acted with his strong arm
 Meir C1 (Meir VI, pl. 13) Meir

irr mi ntt m ib.f: One who acted according to what is in his heart (i.e., the heart of his lord)
 Assiut 1, 219 Assiut

ir mnw m niwt nt db(?): One who built monuments in the township of the hippopotamus (?)
 Assiut 2, 9 Assiut

ir mnw n nhh m hwt-ntr Hnm nb Hr-wr: One who constructed the monuments of eternity in the temple of Khnum, Lord of Her-wer
 B. Hasan 17 (BH II, pl. 16) Beni Hasan

irr mrrt nbt m hrt-hrw nb: One who does everything that is desired every day
 Hammamat 123 Wadi Hammamat

ir n lb.f m hrw.f: One whose heart acts for him daily
 BM 572 Abydos
 Leiden V4 Abydos

ir(r) n nb.f: One who acts for his lord
 Bersheh 2 Bersheh
 Heqaib 2 Elephantine
 Heqaib 61 Elephantine

ir n nb.f k̄i.f: One whose lord created his character

Wadi el Hudi 17 Wadi el Hudi

ir nht: One who acted strongly

Meir C1 (*Meir* VI, pl. 13) Meir

ir m.f mnw in s̄.f: One whose name was made in stone by his son

Beni Hasan 17 Beni Hasan

irr ḥsst: One who does what is favored

BM 1177 Wadi Halfa

Siut, pl. 3 Assiut

Wadi el Hudi 2 Wadi el Hudi

ir(r) ḥsst wrt: One who does what is greatly favored

Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 9) Beni Hasan

irr ḥsst.f...: One who does what he favors...

Louvre C167 Abydos

irr ḥsst.f m ḥrt-hrw nt r' nb: One who does what he favors in the course of every day

BMA 16.580.87 Saqqara

CG 20546 Abydos

Sinai 71 Sinai

Inscr. Ab. C13 Abydos

irr ḥsst.f nb(t): One who does everything he favors

Berlin 1199 Abydos

Heqaib 1 Elephantine

Heqaib 11 Elephantine

RIK 117 Kumna

Wadi el Hudi 1 Wadi el Hudi

Wadi el Hudi 7 Wadi el Hudi

Wadi el Hudi 13 Wadi el Hudi

Wadi el Hudi 146 Wadi el Hudi

irr ḥsst.f nbt m ḥrt-hrw nt r' nb: One who does everything he favors in the course of every day

Berlin AGM 26/66 Abydos

BM 575 Abydos

CG 20531 Abydos

CG 20541 Unknown

Hammamat 87 Wadi Hammamat

Hammamat 104 Wadi Hammamat

Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat

Hammamat 114	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat G66	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat G70	Wadi Hammamat
JE 71899	Wadi el Hudi
JE 71900	Wadi el Hudi
JEA 51, pl. 14	Abydos
Kestner 2927	Unknown
Louvre C3	Abydos
MMA 26.3.217	Thebes
MMA 9.180.111	Lisht
Wadi el Hudi 8	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 9	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 14	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 21	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 147	Wadi el Hudi

irr ḥsst.f nbt r' nb r nhḥ dt: One who does everything he favors every day forever and ever

Wadi el Hudi 146 Wadi el Hudi

irr ḥsst.f r' nb: One who does what he favors every day

BM 828 Unknown

Guimet 11324 Abydos

Leiden V5 Abydos

[irr] ḥsst nb.f: One who does what his lord favors

Sinai 118 Sinai

irr ḥsst nb.f r' nb: One who does what his lord favors every day

Assiut 6, 17 Assiut

Louvre C243 Abydos

RILN 10 Girgawi

Wadi el Hudi 149 Wadi el Hudi

irr ḥsst nb ḥwy: One who does what the Lord of the Two Lands favors

Assiut 1, 154, 215 Assiut

BM 569 Abydos

Hammamat 48 Wadi Hammamat

irr ḥsst nb ḥwy m-ḥrt-hrw nt r' nb: One who does what the Lord of the Two Lands favors in the course of every day

BM 557 Abydos

Ir st m sb n sdt n k3 n Dhwtj: One who did it as burnt offering for the *ka* of Thoth⁴
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

Ir twt ...y...r-prw nw ntrw: One who made images ... in the chapels of the gods
Deir Rifeh 1 *Kēmi* 6, 140) Deir Rifeh

Ir tp n ḥssyw: One who reached the forefront of the favored ones
Sinai 405 Sinai

Ir tḥw sp: One who acts every time
Wadi el Hudi 14 Wadi el Hudi

Ir ddt nb ʿ r-dr.f ḥr nḥḥ n sngw nw ldt.f: One who did everything that is said, the
entire land quaking in fear of his wrath
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

2.17. *iry*

iry n ḥḍ ḥn' nbw: Keeper of silver and gold
CG 20538 Abydos
Wadi el Hudi 16 Wadi el Hudi

iry n ḥḍ ḥn' nbw nr-ḥw ʿtt nbt: Keeper of silver and gold, ox-herds, and all precious
stones
CG 20538 Abydos

iry niwt nb: Keeper of every township
Bersh. 2 (*Bersh.*I, pl. 16) Bersheh

iry nfr-ḥʿt m sḥkr nswt: Keeper of the royal diadem in adorning the king
BM 839 Abydos

iry sšt' n ḥtmty ntr: Keeper of secrets of the god's sealer
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

iry sgr n šnwt: Keeper of the silence of the entourage
CG 20539 Abydos

irt sḍwt bity: Keeper of the seal of the king of Lower Egypt
CG 20539 Abydos

2.18. *iry-p't*

iry-p't iry ḥḍ n Gb: Hereditary noble connected to the White Chapel of Geb
B. Hasan 3 (*BHI*, pl. 35) Beni Hasan

⁴ This phrase follows a series of epithets involving offerings. See Anthes, *Hatnub*, 37-38.

iry-p't m swt dsrw: Hereditary noble in the secret places
CG 20539 Abydos

iry-p't (?) wsht: Hereditary noble of the (?) of the forecourt⁵
B. Hasan 3 (*BH I*, pl. 35) Beni Hasan
CG 20539 Abydos

2.19. *irty*

irty nb.f m wn m³: Eyes of his lord in reality
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

2.20. *ikr*

ikr m³-hrw: Worthy vindicated one
Meir B2 (*Meir II*, pl. 10) Meir

ikr m ...: Worthy in ...
Hammamat 104 Wadi Hammamat

ikr rh: Excellent of knowledge
Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat

ikr ndt.f: Excellent of his counsel
BM 572 Abydos

ikr hr ib n hm.f: Worthy in the heart of His Majesty
Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat

ikr sh m wd.t.n.f: Excellent of counsel in what is commanded of him
Suit I, 350 Assiut

ikr shr: Excellent of plan
Assiut 3, 4 Assiut
Assiut 4, 54 Assiut
Berlin 1204 Abydos
BM 581 Abydos
Hammamat 42 Wadi Hammamat
Louvre C1 Abydos
Sinai 117 Sinai

ikr shr(w).f: One whose plan is excellent
Assiut 1, 152, 213 Assiut

⁵ See Ward, *Index*, no. 850a for the reading and rendering of this problematic phrase, with bibliography.

ikr šhr m-bʿh...: Excellent of plan before
Berlin 1199 Abydos

ikr st-ns: Excellent of speech
Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 48 Wadi Hammamat
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos
Wadi el Hudi 149 Khor Dehmit

[ikr] st-ns tsw: Excellent of speech
Edfou, 32, 10 Edfu

ikr tsw: Excellent of speech
Assiut 1, 242 Assiut
Assiut 2, 8 Assiut
Louvre C167 Abydos

ikr dd: Excellent at speaking
CG 20539 Abydos
CG 20538 Abydos

2.21. *it*

it n nmḥ: Father of the orphan
Kestner 2927 Unknown
MMA 12.184 Abydos

it n ḥrd: Father of the child
Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub

it Šm'w...: Upper Egyptian barley (for) ...
Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub

itḥ 'hʿ m-ḥry-lb bw kni n bw nb r.f: Strong fortress in the district, onto which everyone held
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

3. 'c

3.1. 'c

'*p't rhyt*: Arm of the elite and the commoners
Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat

3.2. ʕ (adj.)

ʕ *lt mhw*: One great in Lower Egyptian wheat

Assiut 1, 247 Assiut

ʕ *hw*: One great of braziers

Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

ʕ *m bdt tw tʕ m ts*: One great in northern barley when the land is in shortage

Assiut 5, 9 Assiut

ʕ *m pr.f*: One great in his house

Leiden V4 Abydos

ʕ *m ht nb*: One great in all property

Assiut 1, 247 Assiut

ʕ *m s'h.f*: One great in his rank⁶

Assiut 1, 172 Assiut

ʕ *mnw n hwt.ntr*: One great in monuments for the temple

Assiut 5, 14 Assiut

ʕ *mrwt*: One great of love

Assiut 6, 12 Assiut

Beni Hasan 2 Beni Hasan

CG 20539 Abydos

JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos

Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

ʕ *n ... sstʕ*: Great one of the secret ...

UC 14333 Armant ?

ʕ *n hʕswt nbt*: Door to every foreign land

Bersh. 2 (*Bersh.* I, pl. 16) Bersheh

ʕ *m m tʕwy Hr*: One great of name in the Two Lands of Horus

Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

ʕ *hb*: One great of hunting

Assiut 1, 277 Assiut

⁶ See also page s267-268 below.

- ʕ *ḥnkt nḏm 'ntiw*: One great in beer and sweet in myrrh
 Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub
- ʕ *ḥryt m Sʕwt*: One great of respect in Assiut
 Deir Rifeh 7, 45 Deir Rifeh
- ʕ *ḥst r-gs nb.f*: One great of favor at his lord's side
 Assiut 1, 151-2, 210-11 Assiut
 Assiut 2, 5 Assiut
- ʕ *ḥpš*: One great of power
 Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub
- ʕ *m snḏ m gsw.f*: One greatly feared among his neighbors
 Assiut 5, 17 Assiut
- ʕ *snḏ.f r štt mpt nt idw*: Fear of whom is greater than (?) in a year of pestilence⁷
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat
- ʕ *šḥr m lpt nswt*: One great of plan in the king's private office
 Louvre C1 Abydos
- ʕ *skn knl ḥr wnw.f*: One great of punishing one who is remiss in his duty⁸
 BM 572 Abydos
- ʕ *šfy*: One great of respect
 Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
- ʕ *kd*: One great of character
 Louvre C3 Abydos
- ʕ *ḡww*: Great one of the mountains
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat
- 3.3: ʕ (noun)
- ʕ *ḥʕ ḥnw*: Door behind the Residence
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
- 3.4: 'bʕ
- 'bʕ *'wy m šḥkr nṯr*: One who presents (his) hands in adorning the god
 CG 20538 Abydos

⁷ The meaning of *štt* is unclear; see Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 53-54.

⁸ In rendering this difficult phrase, I am following Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 107. *Knl* is written "*lnk.*"

3.5. *'pr*

'pr n 3bt.fnn 3hw.s: One who provides for his family so that it does not suffer
 Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub

3.6. *'n*

'n n nswt: Pleasing to the king
 Qubbet el Hawa 36 Elephantine
 (FFE, pl.6)

'nw: Pleasant
 BM 581 Abydos

3.7. *'nh*

'nh wd3 snb: Who lives, prospers, is healthy
 Hatnub gr. 10 Hatnub
 Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub
 Hatnub gr. 14 Hatnub
 Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub
 Hatnub gr. 28 Hatnub
 Hatnub gr. 31 Hatnub
 Hatnub gr. 32 Hatnub
 JE 71899 Wadi el Hudi
 Wadi el Hudi 8 Wadi el Hudi

'nh dt: Who lives forever
 Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub
 Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub
 Hatnub gr. 19 Hatnub
 Hatnub gr. 22 Hatnub

'nh dt r nh3: Who lives forever and ever
 Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub
 Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
 Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

3.8. *'rf*

'rf i3wt n ts im.f: One who joins offices
 Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh

3.9. 'rk

'rk(?)-hr.f r Dhwty: More skilled than Thoth
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

3.10. 'h³

'h³ n sm³yt: Warrior of the confederacy
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

3.11. 'h^c

'h^c r ms^c m irt shr: One who attends to the troops in making a plan
 Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

'h^c w nb.f hr mdw.f: One who uplifts lord with his speech
 CG 20539 Abydos

'h^c w hmsw hr shr.f: By whose plan one stands and sits
 Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh

3.12. 'h^w

'h^w špsš tpw-^s: A foremost noble attendant
 Deir Rifeh 1 (*Kēmi* 6, 140) Deir Rifeh

3.13. 'š³

'š³ špdw: One rich in fowl
 Beni Hasan 17 Beni Hasan
 Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub
 Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
 Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

'š³ sftw: One rich in sacrifices
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

'š³ stpw: One rich in choice meats
 Bersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, 19) Bersheh
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

'š³ k³w: One rich in bulls
 Assiut 5, 13 Assiut

3.14. 'k

'k-ib.f: His confidante
 Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat

Sinai 86

Sinai

'*k-ib.f m shrt t'wy*: His confidante in pacifying the Two Lands
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos

'*k-ib.f hnty idbwy*: His confidante before the two banks
 CG 20539 Abydos

'*k-ib.f hnty šnwt*: His confidante before the entourage
 CG 20538 Abydos
 CG 20539 Abydos

'*k-ib.f hnty šnwt.f srw.f*: His foremost confidante of his entourage and his officials
 Hammamat 199 Wadi Hammamat

'*k Bḥdt (?)*: One who enters Edfu
 JE 52456 Edfu

'*k m wštn nn smt.f*: One who enters unhindered, without being announced
 Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh

'*k m wštn ḥr st sšt*: One who enters unhindered into the secret place
 Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh

'*k n ib.f*: His confidante
 MMA 57.95 Thebes

'*k n nswt twty snw.f*: Confidante of the king without his equal
 Hatnub gr. 25 Hatnub

'*k ḥw nb sšt*: One who enters into all secret knowledge
 Sinai 101 A Sinai

'*k ḥr nb.f wrw ḥr-ph.f*: One who entered (the presence of) his lord, the great ones at his back
 UC 14333 Armant ?

'*k ḥr-ḥt pr ḥr-phwy*: One who entered first and left last
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

'*k w n.f inw m ḥst n-št-n mrr.f nb.f*: One to whom tribute enters as a favor inasmuch as he is beloved of his lord
 Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh

3.15. ꜥꜥ

'*ꜥꜥ ib*: Straightforward one
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos
 Louvre C167 Abydos

- '*k̄3 bl̄3t*: One straight of character
Assiut 5, 22 Assiut
- '*k̄3 m sbi n sb̄3*: One straight in conduct to the pupil
BM 561 Abydos
- '*k̄3 ml iws̄w*: One who is precise like a balance
BM 581 Abydos
- '*k̄3 r th̄*: One who is more precise than the plummet of a balance
CG 20538 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos
- '*k̄3 mdw hrw msbb̄*: Straight of speech on the day of turning away
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

3.16. '*ḡ-mr*

- '*ḡ-mr Dp*: Administrator of Dep
Assiut 1, 23 Assiut
RILN 74 Girgawi

4. *w*4.1. *w̄3*

- w̄3 m̄3r*: One who supports the wretched/ill
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

4.2. *w̄3ḥ*

- w̄3ḥ-lb*: Attentive one
B. Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 15) Beni Hasan
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
BM 581 Abydos
CG 20538 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos
Louvre C167 Abydos
Meir C1 Meir
Sinai 33 Sinai
Sinai 35 Sinai
UC 14333 Armant ?
Wadi el Hudi 16 Wadi el Hudi

- w³h-ib lwty snwy.f*: Attentive without his equal
CG 20538 Abydos
- w³h-ib m-hry-ib srw*: Attentive among of the officials
B. Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 15) Beni Hasan
B. Hasan 13 (*BH* I, pl. 41) Beni Hasan
- w³h-ib r sđmt mdt*: Attentive until words have been heard
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos
- w³h mrwt*: Enduring of love
Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 8) Beni Hasan
- w³h tpy t³*: Enduring on earth
Assiut 1, 185 Assiut
Assiut 4, 87 Assiut
Assiut 5, 42 Assiut
- 4.3. *w³d*
- w³d swt*: Green of plants
Assiut 1, 246 Assiut
- w³d sk³*: Fresh of crops
Leiden V6 Abydos
- 4.4. *w^c*
- w^c ib n bity*: First in the heart of the king of Lower Egypt
CG 20538 Abydos
- w^c ih n nswt*: Sole one useful to the king
Sinai 101A Sinai
Sinai 405 Sinai
- w^c wr*: Uniquely great one
CG 20539 Abydos
- w^c wr hb*: Uniquely great of hunting
Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan
Assiut 1, 260 Assiut
- w^c m st-ib n nb.f*: First in the affection of his lord
CG 20531 Abydos
- w^c mnj*: Uniquely effective one
MMA 26.3.217 Thebes

- Wadi el Hudi 14 Wadi el Hudi
- w' mnḥ iwty mtyw.f*: Sole effective one without his equal
Assiut 1, 349-50 Assiut
- w' n bity*: Sole one of the king of Lower Egypt
CG 20539 Abydos
- w' n nb.f*: Sole one of his lord
MMA 57.95 Thebes
- w' n nswt iwty snw.f*: Sole one of the king, without his equal
CG 20539 Abydos
- w' hr-hw.f*: Unique one
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
Assiut 4, 59 Assiut
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub
- w' hr-hw m wb' n.f lb*: Unique in confiding to him
Assiut 1, 242 Assiut
- w' hr-hw n lmy 'ḥ*: Unique for the one who is in the palace
Assiut 1, 214 Assiut
- 4.5. *w'b*
- w'b- m shkrt ntr*: Pure of hand in adorning the god
Berlin 1204 Abydos
- w'b ʕ n Dḥwty m šprt sbi hrw lrt nt-'*: One great wab-priest of Thoth in over-
throwing the rebel on the day of performing ritual
Bersh. 7 (*Bersh.* II, pl.19) Bersheh
- w'b 'wy*: Pure of hands
Meir C1 (*Meir* VI, pl. 13) Meir
- w'b 'wy m wht ntr*: Pure of hands with the god's jar
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
- w'b 'wy mḥ.f ḥʕw*: Pure of hand when he fills the bowl⁹
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
- w'b 'wy drp.f ntr*: Pure of hands when he offers to the god
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

⁹ For the reading "filled," see Brovarski, "Ahanakht," 18-19.

w'b ḥw m st dsrt: One who purifies the braziers in the sacred place
 Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

w'b stpwt snḏm sḏ ḥwt-ntr: One who purifies the choice offerings and who sweetens
 the smell of the temple
 Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

w'b ḏb'w: Pure of fingers
 Bersheh I (*Bersh.* II, pl. 7) Bersheh
 Sinai 109 Sinai

4.6. *w'ty*

w'ty 3ḥ n nswt: Sole one effective for the king
 Sinai 101 A Sinai

w'ty nswt: Sole one of the king
 Assiut 4, 35 Assiut

w'ty sp.: Sole...
 Hatnub gr. 11 Hatnub

4.7. *wbḥ*

wbḥ n.f ib: Someone to whom the heart is revealed
 Wadi el Hudi 3 Wadi el Hudi

wbḥ n.f nswt mdw.f r irt ḥryt ḥr.f: Someone to whom the king reveals his speech in
 order to act as a gateway to it
 MMA 57.95 Thebes

wbḥ n.f ntt m ib m ḥḥpt r rmt nbt: Someone to whom what is in the heart is revealed,
 namely what is hidden from everyone
 JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos

wbḥ n.f dsrw nbw: Someone to whom all secrets are revealed
 Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh

4.8. *wpl*

wpl ḥnr r mtr.f n-wnt nm' im.f: One who judges a prisoner accurately, without par-
 tiality to him
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

wpl snwy n nm'.f: One who judges two peers impartially
 Assiut 1, 249 Assiut

wpp ḥrp r snnw.f: One who separates a district from its neighbor
 CG 20539 Abydos

4.9 *wꜣꜣꜣ*

wꜣꜣꜣ r ḥꜣst nb: Messenger to every foreign land
 RILN 74 Girgawi

4.10. *wn*

wn-ib r wḥꜣꜣw sꜣnw: Open-hearted to the suffering and afflicted
 Louvre C167 Abydos

wn ḥꜣꜣꜣ sꜣꜣwꜣ sꜣn: One who revealed the sight and renewed the mud seal
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
 Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

wn ꜣ ꜣḥnw: One who opened the land of the Libyans
 Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

4.11. *wꜣꜣ*

wꜣꜣ idꜣ: One great of incense
 MMA 57.95 Thebes

wꜣꜣ ꜣꜣꜣ ḥꜣꜣꜣꜣ: One great of food offerings of the festival
 Assiut 1, 228 Assiut

wꜣꜣ wḥꜣꜣꜣ: One great of offerings
 Bersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, 19) Bersheh
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

wꜣꜣ wꜣꜣꜣ m ḥꜣꜣꜣꜣ-nꜣꜣꜣ: One great of meat offerings in the temple
 Leiden V4 Abydos

wꜣꜣ wꜣꜣꜣ: Greatest of the great ones
 CG 20546 Abydos

wꜣꜣ wꜣꜣꜣ sꜣꜣꜣꜣw sꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣw: Greatest of the great ones, nobles and officials
 Assiut 2, 6-7 Assiut

wꜣꜣ m ꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣ: One great in his office
 Louvre C2 Abydos

wꜣꜣ m ꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣ ꜣꜣꜣ m sꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣꜣ: One great in (his) office, great in (his) rank
 Assiut 1, 21-22, 215 Assiut
 Assiut 2, 3-4 Assiut
 Assiut 4, 53 Assiut
 Bersh. 1 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 7) Bersheh
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

BM 1177	Wadi Halfa
CG 20531	Abydos
Hammamat 104	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 113	Wadi Hammamat
Louvre C2	Abydos
Louvre C4	Abydos
Louvre C243	Unknown
Meir C1 (<i>Meir</i> VI, pl. 13)	Meir
Saqqara 18x (<i>TPC</i> pl. 83)	Saqqara
<i>wr m bdt</i> : One great in barley	
MMA 12.184	Abydos
<i>wr m pr nb.f</i> : One great in the house of his lord	
Wadi el Hudi 4	Wadi el Hudi
<i>wr m shwt.f</i> : One great in his fields	
Leiden V4	Abydos
<i>wr m t̄ r-dr.f</i> : Great one in the entire land	
Louvre C2	Abydos
<i>wr mḏw T̄-mḥw</i> : Great one of the southern tens	
Bersh. 5 (<i>Bersh.</i> II, pl. 13)	Bersheh
<i>wr n mnḥ.f</i> : One great of his virtue	
<i>Edfou</i> , 32, 10	Edfu
<i>wr n nswt ʿ n bity</i> : Great one of the king of Upper Egypt, great one of the king of Lower Egypt	
Assiut 1, 151	Assiut
Assiut 2, 4	Assiut
BM 1177	Wadi Halfa
CG 20538	Abydos
Hammamat 113	Wadi Hammamat
<i>JEA</i> 14, pl. 21	Abydos
TT 60	Thebes
<i>wr n T̄-wr</i> : Great one of Tawer	
Leiden V4	Abydos
<i>wr r wrw nw T̄-šm'w</i> : One who is greater than the great ones of Upper Egypt	
Heqaib 12	Elephantine

wr r wrw s'hw smrw: One who is greater than the great ones, nobles, and companions

Assiut 1, 154 Assiut

wr rmw: One great of fishes

Beni Hasan 17 Beni Hasan

wr rmw 'pdw: One great of fish and fowl

B. Hasan 3 (*BH I*, pl. 34) Beni Hasan

wr h'w: One great of vineyards

MMA 12.184 Abydos

wr hb: One great of hunting

Bersh. 1 (*Bersh. II*, pl. 7) Bersheh

wr hry-tp wrw: Great overlord of the great ones

Assiut 1, 231 Assiut

wr hst m pr bty: One great of favor in the Lower Egyptian palace

Assiut 1, 232 Assiut

wr hst m pr nswt: One great of favor in the Upper Egyptian palace

B. Hasan 2 (*BH I*, pl. 15) Beni Hasan

wr snḏ: One great of fear

Assiut 4, 54 Assiut

Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

wr snḏ m-hnw pr nswt: One great of fear in the administrative palace

CG 20539 Abydos

wr šm: One great of going forth

B. Hasan 14 (*BH I*, pl. 44) Beni Hasan

wr t'wy: Great one of the Two Lands

Bersh. 5 (*Bersh. II*, pl. 13) Bersheh

wr diw m pr Dḥwtj: Great one of the five in the temple of Thoth

Bersh. 5 (*Bersh. II*, pl. 13) Bersheh

wr dpty (?): One great of offerings (?)

Bersh. 7 (*Bersh. II*, pl. 19) Bersheh

wr drt: One great of hand

Beni Hasan 2 (*BH I*, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

wr drt m pr nb.f: One great of hand in the house of his lord

Berlin 1204 Abydos

- wr ḏfʿw*: One great of provisions
 Assiut 1, 228 Assiut
 Assiut 6, 5 Assiut
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
- 4.12. *wṛḥ*
- wṛḥ ḥwt m pr ḥkʿ*: Anointer of offices in the house of the ruler
 Florence 1774 Thebes
- wṛḥ Mʿt m sʿwt*: One who anoints Maʿat in Assiut
 Assiut 1, 242 Assiut
- 4.13. *whʿ*
- whʿ-ib*: Capable one
 Meir C1 (*Meir* VI, pl. 13) Meir
- whʿ sp ks n ḥpr.f*: One who eases (lit. loosens) a time of trouble when it happens
 Assiut 1, 248 Assiut
- 4.14. *wḥm*
- wḥm ʿnh*: Repeating life
 BM 428 Abydos
 Bolton Abydos
 CG 20282 Abydos
 CG 20334 Abydos
Edfou, 36-37 Edfu
Fs. Simpson 524-5 Unknown
 Heqaib 36 Elephantine
 Leiden 42 (V 21) Abydos
 Sinai 51 Sinai
 Sinai 142 Sinai
 Wadi el Hudi 23 Wadi el Hudi
 Wadi el Hudi 24 Wadi el Hudi
 Wadi el Hudi 25 Wadi el Hudi
 Warsaw 141262 Edfu
- wḥm ʿnh nfr*: Repeating beautiful life
 Sinai 53 Sinai
- wḥm mrrt*: One who repeats what is desired
 Assiut 6, 6 Assiut
 BM 569 Abydos
 CG 20538 Abydos

Hammamat 108	Wadi Hammamat
Louvre C170	Abydos
Sinai 500	Sinai

wḥm mrrt m ḥrt-hrw nt r' nb: One who repeats what is desired in the course of every day

Berlin ÄGM 26/66	Abydos
Manchester	Abydos

wḥm nfrt ...: One who repeats what is good ...

Sinai 405	Sinai
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wḥm nfrt n nb tšwy: One who repeats what is good to the Lord of the Two Lands

Hammamat 108	Wadi Hammamat
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wḥm(?) nmḥw: Spokesman(?) for the poor

Louvre C1	Abydos
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wḥm ḥtpw nb: One who repeats every offering

Assiut 5, 15	Assiut
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wḥmw ikr: Worthy herald

Hatnub gr. 14	Hatnub
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wḥmw ʔ n bw nfr: Great herald of the Place of Beauty

CG 20539	Abydos
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4.15. *wḥd*

wḥd bkʔt r mswt.s: Patient with a pregnant women until she gives birth

Hatnub gr. 20	Hatnub
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4.16. *Wsr*

Wsr: The Osiris

JE 91253	Abydos
Heqaib 36	Elephantine
Meir B2	Meir

Wsr ḥʔty-ʔ: The Osiris, the local ruler

Heqaib 1	Elephantine
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Wsr ḥʔty-ʔ N pn: This Osiris, the local ruler

Heqaib 26	Elephantine
Heqaib 27	Elephantine
Meir B2	Meir
Meir B4	Meir

4.17. *wsr*

wsr-ib: Stout-hearted
MMA 26.3.217 Thebes

wsr r m st shkrt: Strong of hands in the place of adornment
Meir C1 (*Meir* VI, pl. 13) Meir

wsr r r-^c nht: Powerful in the presence of a strong man
Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

4.18. *wsh*

wsh-ib: Generous (lit. Broad of heart)
Leiden V6 Abydos

wsh nmtt: Broad of steps
Assiut 1, 222, 349 Assiut
Florence 1542 Wadi Halfa

4.19. *wstn*

wstn m^{2c}: Truly unhindered
RILN 74 Girgawi

wstn hr st sst^{2t}: One who travels unhindered through the secret place
Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh

4.20. *wšn*

wšn pdw n k³ n dhwtj: One who slaughters fowl for the *ka* of Thoth
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

4.21. *wšd*

wšdw wrw: One whom the great ones greet
MMA 57.95 Thebes

4.22. *wđi*

wđ snd.f m-ħry-ib š³wt: One who instilled fear of him amidst the masses
BM 1213 Abydos

4.23. *wđ*

wđ mdw n imyw ħnt...: One who gives orders to the foremost...
Siut, pl. 5 Assiut

wḏ mdw n ḥryw wḏb: One who gives orders to the masters of largesse
Bersh. 2 (*Bersh.*I, pl. 5, 6) Bersheh

wḏ sšm ḥpr n nswt: One who orders the business that takes place for the king
Hamamat 114 Wadi Hamamat

4.24. *wḏʿ*

wḏʿ ib: Happy (Prosperous of heart)
Hamamat 199 Wadi Hamamat

4.25. *wḏʳ*

wḏʳ nn rdlṯ ḥr-gs: One who judges without being partial
Hamamat 113 Wadi Hamamat
Hamamat 114 Wadi Hamamat

wḏʳ snwy: One who judges two peers
Hatnub gr. 14 Hatnub

wḏʳ spʿwt: One who judges the districts
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

4.26. *wḏb*

wḏb r n mdt ḥnʳ.f: One who directs the conversation of the one speaking with him
Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

5. *b*5.1. *bʿ*

bʿ imy ʿḥw: *Ba* that is among *akhs*
Meir B2 Meir

5.2. *bʿw*

bʿw n.f ib: One whose heart was powerful for him
CG 20539 Abydos

5.3. *bʿk*

bʿk.f: His servant
Hamamat 113 Wadi Hamamat
Hamamat 114 Wadi Hamamat

Wadi el Hudi 10	Wadi el Hudi
Heqaib 1	Elephantine
<i>b3k.f m3c</i> : His true servant	
Berlin AGM 26/66	Abydos
BM 574	Abydos
BM 575	Abydos
CG 20531	Abydos
CG 20541	Unknown
CG 20546	Abydos
Hammamat 87	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 104	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 114	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 123	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat G 66	Wadi Hammamat
Heqaib 1	Elephantine
Heqaib 14	Elephantine
JE 71899	Wadi el Hudi
JE 71900	Wadi el Hudi
JE 71901	Wadi el Hudi
Louvre C1	Abydos
Louvre C3	Abydos
Louvre C243	Abydos
MMA 26.3.217	Thebes
MMA 57.95	Thebes
Wadi el Hudi 1	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 6	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 7	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 9	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 13	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 14	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 146	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 147	Wadi el Hudi
<i>b3k mry nb.f</i> : Beloved servant of his lord	
Louvre C167	Abydos
Wadi el Hudi 14	Wadi el Hudi
<i>b3k mrrw</i> : Beloved servant	
BM 572	Abydos

b3k nb.f: Servant of his lord
Wadi el Hudi 8 Wadi el Hudi

b3k nb.f m3c: True servant of his lord
Kestner 2927 Unknown

5.4. *bnr*

bnr im3t n iwty n.f: Sweet of graciousness to one who has nothing
BM 581 Abydos

bnr m pr nb.f: Sweet in the house of his lord
BM 581 Abydos

bnr mrwt: Lovable
Bersh. 2 (*Bersh.* I, pl. 16) Bersheh
Louvre C3 Abydos

bnrt h3tyw: Sweet of thoughts
Deir Rifeh 1 (*K3mi* 6, 140) Deir Rifeh

bnrt htnt nt b3 mi-3d.f: Attractive of faience (?) for the entire land
Hatnub gr. 25 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

5.5. *b3n*

b3n h3tyw wsr m-b3h Hr hr nst it.f: One who drives off the enemies of Osiris in the presence of Horus who is upon the throne of his father
Assiut 1, 246 Assiut

6. *p*

6.1. *pr*

pr.f pr it.f n3nw: One whose house was his father's house when he was a child
Bersheh 2 Bersheh

6.2. *pri*

pr m ht s3w: One who came forth from the womb wise
Berlin 1204 Abydos

pr.n.f htnt.f: Before whom (i.e. Thoth) he came forth
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

6.3. *ph³**ph³-ht*: Pure of body/thought

Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

6.4. *phrt**phrt snbt nt iw inḡ*: Healthful remedy for the one who comes sick

Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

6.5. *pg³**pg³-hr*: HonestBeni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan*pg³-hr n h³rt*: Honest to the widow

Assiut 3, 5 Assiut

pg³-hr m sh n 's³t m lrt sh^r: Honest in a council of multitudes in making plans

MFA 29.1130 Semna

pg³-hr hr wḡt n.f.: Honest regarding what is assigned to himSinai 112¹⁰ Sinai

Sinai 104 Sinai

pg³ drt n bw nb: Open-handed to everyone

Assiut 3, 3 Assiut

6.6. *ptr**ptr m³ hbw m-m snw.f.*: Observer who watches festivals with his peers

Leiden V6 Abydos

ptr n nb t³wy ikr.f.: One whose worth the Lord of the Two Lands beheld

CG 20538 Abydos

ptr n nb.f ikr.f.: One whose worth his lord beheld

Assiut 1, 220 Assiut

Sinai 47 Sinai

¹⁰ *Swdt.*

7. *m*7.1. *m*³³*m*³³ *w*³: One who sees far

MMA 57.95 Thebes

*m*³³ *n* ...: One who looks at ...

Assiut 1, 181 Assiut

*m*³³ *n niwt.f n-hnty*: One who looks after his township continuously

Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

*m*³³ *n nb.f*: One who looks upon his lord

Assiut 6, 8 Assiut

*m*³³ *n nb.f ikr.f*: One whose lord sees his worth

Assiut 1, 351 Assiut

*m*³³ *n nhj*: One who looks upon eternity

Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

*m*³³ *nfrw Wpw³wt*: One who sees the beauty of Wepwawet

Assiut 1, 221 Assiut

*m*³³ *nfrw nb.f*: One who sees the beauty of his lord

Assiut 1, 217 Assiut

Assiut 4, 57-8 Assiut

Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

Leiden V4 Abydos

Saqqara 18x (TPC pl. 83) Saqqara

*m*³³ *nfrw nb.f m st* ...: One who sees the beauty of his lord in the place of...

Bersh. 7 (Bersh. II, pl.19) Bersheh

*m*³³ *r ind*: One who looks after the afflicted

MMA 12.184 Abydos

*m*³³ *hbt m qsrw*: One who sees the dance in private

Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh

*m*³³ *hnty*: One who sees ahead

Wadi el Hudi 14 Wadi el Hudi

*m*³³ *shp ntrw*: One who sees what pacifies the gods

Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh

*m*³³ *ss³ n (pr?) nswt*: One who sees the secrets of the (house of?) the king;

Bersh. 1 (Bersh. II, pl. 7) Bersheh

7.2. *m³'*

<i>m³'-hrw</i> : Vindicated	
Abydos II, pl. 31	Abydos
Abydos III, p. 87, fig. 18	Abydos
<i>Edfou</i> , 32, 10	Edfu
<i>Edfou</i> , 33, 13	Edfu
<i>ASAE</i> 56, p. 213, pl. 6B, 7A-B	Ezbet Rushdi
<i>ASAE</i> 56, p. 214	Ezbet Rushdi
Assiut 1, 345	Assiut
Basel, (ANOC 1.8)	Abydos
Beni Hasan 2	Beni Hasan
Beni Hasan 3	Beni Hasan
Beni Hasan 14	Beni Hasan
Beni Hasan 23	Beni Hasan
Berlin 1192	Abydos
Berlin 1204	Abydos
Berlin ÄGM 26/66	Abydos
<i>BIFAO Supp.</i> 81, p. 35	Karnak
BM 101	Abydos
BM 1010	Elephantine
BM 1290	Semna
BM 247	Abydos
BM 252	Abydos
BM 258	Unknown
BM 461	Abydos
BM 489	Unknown
BM 557	Abydos
BM 559	Abydos
BM 561	Abydos
BM 569	Abydos
BM 573	Abydos
BM 575	Abydos
BM 583	Unknown
BM 827	Unknown
BM 829	Abydos
BM 831	Unknown
BM 903	Abydos
BMA 37.1346E	Unknown

BMA 54.66	Unknown
Carnegie 4558	Abydos
<i>Cem. Ab.</i> , p.114, fig. 70	Abydos
<i>Cem. Ab.</i> , p.114, fig. 71	Abydos
CG 20040	Abydos
CG 20065	Abydos
CG 20093	Abydos
CG 20127	Unknown
CG 20131	Unknown
CG 20231	Abydos
CG 20435	Abydos
CG 20538	Abydos
CG 20541	Unknown
CG 20546	Abydos
CG 20558	Abydos
CG 20561	Abydos
CG 20612	Abydos
CG 20683	Abydos
CG 23019	Abydos
Bersheh 1 (<i>Bersh.</i> II, 19)	Bersheh
Bersh. 5 (<i>Bersh.</i> II, pl. 13)	Bersheh
Bersheh 6 (<i>Bersh.</i> II, 36)	Bersheh
Bersheh 8 (<i>Bersh.</i> II, 38)	Bersheh
Fischer, <i>Varia</i> , pl. 17	Saqqara
<i>Fs. Simpson</i> 524-5	Unknown
Geneva D50	Abydos
Hammamat 108	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat G 87	Wadi Hammamat
Hatnub gr. 24	Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 25	Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26	Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 42	Hatnub
Heqaib 1	Elephantine
Heqaib 2	Elephantine
Heqaib 4	Elephantine
Heqaib 7	Elephantine
Heqaib 12	Elephantine
Heqaib 14	Elephantine
Heqaib 15	Elephantine

Heqaib 21	Elephantine
Heqaib 22	Elephantine
Heqaib 24	Elephantine
Heqaib 28	Elephantine
Heqaib 29	Elephantine
Heqaib 31	Elephantine
Heqaib 36	Elephantine
Heqaib 37	Elephantine
Heqaib 44	Elephantine
Heqaib 46	Elephantine
Heqaib 47	Elephantine
Heqaib 48	Elephantine
Heqaib 49	Elephantine
Heqaib 66	Elephantine
JE 91244	Abydos
JE 91245	Abydos
JE 91249	Abydos
Kestner 2927	Unknown
LACMA (<i>JEA</i> 38, pl. 1)	Abydos
Leiden 33 (V 102)	Abydos
Leiden 42 (V 21)	Abydos
Leiden C14	Unknown
Leiden V2	Unknown
Leiden V3	Abydos
Leiden V5	Abydos
Leiden V6	Abydos
Leningrad 1075	Abydos
Louvre C1	Abydos
Louvre C2	Abydos
Louvre C4	Unknown
Louvre C11, 12	Abydos
Louvre C19	Abydos
Louvre C34	Abydos
Louvre C166	Unknown
Louvre C167	Abydos
Louvre C170	Abydos
Louvre C243 (E 3462)	Abydos
Meir B1 (<i>Meir</i> I, pl. 2)	Meir
Meir B2 (<i>Meir</i> II, pl. 7, 10)	Meir

Meir B3 (<i>Meir</i> VI, pl. 8)	Meir
Meir B4 (<i>Meir</i> III, pl. 12)	Meir
Meir C1 (<i>Meir</i> VI, pl. 13)	Meir
MFA 13.3844	Naga-ed-Der
MFA 1980.173	Abydos
MFA 29.1130	Semna
Oslo EM 2383	Unknown
Petrie, <i>Courtiers</i> , pl. 12	Oxyrynchus
Pushkin 33	Illahun ?
Qaw el Kebir 7	Qaw el Kebir
Qaw el Kebir 18	Qaw el Kebir
Qubbet el Hawa 31 (<i>FFE</i> , pl. 29)	Elephantine
Qubbet el Hawa 36 (<i>FFE</i> , pl. 5)	Elephantine
<i>RdÉ</i> 29, p. 157	Wadi Gawasis
RIK 52	Kumna
RIK 85	Kumna
RIK 104	Kumna
RIK 119b	Kumna
RIK 120	Kumna
RIS 1	Semna
Saqqara 18x (<i>TPC</i> pl. 84)	Saqqara
Sehel 76	Elephantine
Sinai 100	Sinai
Sinai 101 A	Sinai
Sinai 105	Sinai
Sinai 112	Sinai
Sinai 114	Sinai
Sinai 118	Sinai
Sinai 119	Sinai
Sinai 142	Sinai
Sinai 143	Sinai
Sinai 170	Sinai
Sinai 26	Sinai
Sinai 27	Sinai
Sinai 28	Sinai
Sinai 54	Sinai
Sinai 56	Sinai
Sinai 71	Sinai

Sinai 72	Sinai
Sinai 85	Sinai
Sinai 86	Sinai
Sinai 87, S	Sinai
Sinai 88	Sinai
Sinai 89	Sinai
Sinai 90	Sinai
Sinai 91	Sinai
Sinai 96	Sinai
Sinai 98	Sinai
Sinai 120 ¹¹	Sinai
Sinai 405	Sinai
Sinai 406	Sinai
Sinai 407	Sinai
Sinai 408	Sinai
TT 60	Thebes
Turin 1447	Thebes
Turin 1620	Abydos
Turin 22018	Qaw el Kebir
Turin 22019	Qaw el Kebir
UC 14333	Armant ?
UPMAA 69-29-56	Abydos
UPMAA 69-29-135	Abydos
UPMAA 69-29-215	Abydos
UPMAA 69-29-216	Abydos
Vienna 140	Abydos
Vienna 172	Abydos
Wadi el Hudi 3	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 7	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 9	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 23	Wadi el Hudi
Walters 50	Assiut ?

m³c-hrw m st.f nbt hr st imntt nt hrt-ntr: Vindicated in all his places in the western desert of the necropolis
 Meir B2 (*Meir* II, pl. 11) Meir

¹¹ *M³t-hrw*.

mꜣꜥ-hrw hr Inpw: Vindicated by Anubis
Meir B4 (*Meir* III, pl. 4,9) Meir

mꜣꜥ-hrw hr Wsr: Vindicated by Osiris
Meir B2 (*Meir* II, pl. 11) Meir

mꜣꜥ-hrw hr Wsr nb 'nh Inpw tpy dw.f: Vindicated by Osiris, Lord of Life, and Anubis, upon his mountain
Meir B2 (*Meir* II, pl. 15) Meir
MMA 57.95 Thebes

mꜣꜥ-hrw hr psdt: Vindicated by the Ennead
Meir B3 (*Meir* VI, pl. 8) Meir

mꜣꜥ-hrw hr ntr '3: Vindicated by the great god
JEA 14, pl. 20,1 Abydos

mꜣꜥ-hrw hr Hr nb Trty: Vindicated by Horus, Lord of Tjerty
Hatnub gr. 49 Hatnub

7.3. *mꜣt*

mꜣt n bity: One who is proclaimed by the king of Lower Egypt
B. Hasan 3 (*BH* I, pl. 33) Beni Hasan

7.4. *mi*

mi Hr m msktt: Like Horus in the Night Bark
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

mi Shmt hrw n r-dꜣw: Like Sekhmet on the day of battle
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

7.5. *mibt*

mibt nswt m hwt sꜣrw(?) hrw n dbꜣ 'ꜥ: Axe of the king in threshing the wheat-fields(?) on the day of restoring the cultivation
Hammamat 48 Wadi Hammamat

7.6. *mity*

mity mhꜣt: Likeness of the balance
CG 20538 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos

mity ntr: The likeness of a god
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

mty ntr m wnw.t.f: The likeness of a god in his hour
CG 20539 Abydos

mty Hwt-Hr nbt mfkꜣt: The likeness of Hathor, Mistress of Turquoise
Sinai 53 Sinai

7.7. *mn*

mn mrw m Wnt: Enduring of love in the Hare nome
Bersh. 2 (*Bersh.*I, pl. 16) Bersheh

mn rd: Firm-footed
Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 9) Beni Hasan
BM 581
BM 1164 Abydos
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub
Louvre C1 Abydos
UC 14333 Armant ?

mn hst ꜣ mrt: Enduring of favor, great of love
Assiut 1, 171 Assiut

mn tbw: Firm-soled
Hammat 108 Wadi Hammat
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos
Louvre C170 Abydos
Manchester Abydos
Sinai 35 Sinai
Sinai 71 Sinai
Sinai 118 Sinai
Wadi el Hudi 16 Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 21 Wadi el Hudi

mn tbwt m st qsr: Firm-soled in the sacred place
Meir B2 (*Meir* II, pl. 11) Meir
MMA 26.3.217 Thebes

7.8. *mni*

mni s(t) shꜣpt m hꜣt mꜣpt nt ꜣst: One who furnishes and proptiates (it) with fields(?) in
a year of drought
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

7.9. *mnlw*

mnlw 'šf: Herdsman of multitudes
 Hammamat 17 Wadi Hammamat

7.10. *mnit*

mnit (n) *mt nbt*: Mooring post for all people
 Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

7.11. *mn't*

mn't ntr m w'w: Tutor of the god in the private chamber
 BM 574 Abydos

mn't h'w: One who nurses children
 Louvre C1 Abydos

7.12. *mnh*

mnh: One who is efficient
 BM 572 Abydos

Meir C1 (*Meir* VI, pl. 13) Meir
 Saqqara 11Sq (*TPC*, 276) Saqqara

mnh-ib: Virtuous one

Assiut 1, 242 Assiut
 Assiut 2, 8 Assiut
 BM 100 Unknown
 CG 20539 Abydos

mnh m pr nb.f: Efficient in his lord's house
 Heqaib 1 Elephantine

mnh m st 'h: Efficient in the palace
 CG 20538 Abydos

mnh m'c: Truly efficient
 Louvre C167 Abydos

mnh nswt(?): Trusty of the king?
 Heqaib 61 Elephantine

mnh ndwt-r: Efficient of counsel
 CG 20538 Abydos

mnh rh.f: One whose knowledge is effective
 Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat

- mnḥ ḥry lb.f*: Efficient in his heart/thoughts
 Hammamat G 61 Wadi Hammamat
- mnḥ sw m lb n ḥm.f r smr.f nb lrw ḥt m sn-wr*: Efficient in the heart of His Majesty more than any of his companions who do business on the sea
RdÉ 29, p. 159 Wadi Gawasis
- mnḥ špr.f*: One whose plan is effective
 Hammamat 42 Wadi Hammamat
 Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat
- mnḥ sšm m-ḥt ḥʿb.f*: Effective of conduct when he is sent
 Assiut 1, 153, 219, 243 Assiut
- mnḥ sšrw*: Effective of action
 Louvre C167 Abydos
- mnḥ ṯsw*: Effective of speech
 Hammamat 48 Wadi Hammamat
 Wadi el Hudi 16 Wadi el Hudi
- mnḥ ḏd ḥʿp ḥr sšm ʿḥr*: Effective of secret speech in the business of the palace
 CG 20539 Abydos
- 7.13. *mri*
- mry*: Beloved
 Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat
 Leiden V5 Abydos
- mrw...*: Beloved of...
 Dahshur 2 Dashur
- mrwty n spʿt/w.f*: Favorite(?) of the people of his district
 Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub
- mry iwn mwt.f*: Beloved of the pillar of his mother (i.e., Horus)
 B. Hasan 14 (*BH* I, 85) Beni Hasan
- mry imy-r.f*: Beloved of his overseer
 MMA (*Scepter*I, fig. 9) Thebes
- mry iry-pʿt Ḥḳʿ-ḥb*: Beloved of the hereditary noble Heqaib
 Heqaib 12 Elephantine
- mry/mrr ʿnkt*: Beloved of Anuket
 Heqaib 61 Elephantine
 Heqaib 28 Elephantine

mrry 'ntiw: One who loves myrrh(?)

Hatnub gr. 20	Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 23	Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24	Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26	Hatnub
Bersheh 1 (<i>Bersh.</i> II, 26)	Bersheh

mry Wpw³wt: Beloved of Wepwawet

Assiut 5, 33	Assiut
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mry n bw nb: Beloved of everyone

Hatnub in. 10	Hatnub
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mry bw nfr: Beloved of the place of beauty

Hatnub gr. 38	Hatnub
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mry Pth-Skr: Beloved of Ptah-Sokar

Beni Hasan 15	Beni Hasan
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mry.f/mrr.f: His beloved

Assiut 1, 4, 248	Assiut
Beni Hasan 15	Beni Hasan
B. Hasan 21 (<i>BH</i> II, 26)	Beni Hasan
B. Hasan 23 (<i>BH</i> II, pl. 24)	Beni Hasan
Bersh. 5 (<i>Bersh.</i> II, pl. 13)	Bersheh
BM 100	Unknown
BM 557	Abydos
BM 561	Abydos
BM 839	Abydos
CG 20539 ¹²	Abydos
Deir Rifeh 1 (<i>Kêmi</i> 6, 140)	Deir Rifeh
Durham N1935	Wadi Gasus
Guimet 11324	Abydos
Hammamat 42	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 43	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 47	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 104	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 199	Wadi Hammamat
Heqaib 1	Elephantine
Heqaib 12	Elephantine
Heqaib 14	Elephantine

¹² *Mry n.f.*

<i>JEA</i> 51, pl. 14	Abydos
Leiden V5	Abydos
MMA 9.180.111	Lisht
MMA 29.1.45	Lisht
Qubbet el Hawa 31 (<i>FFE</i> , pl. 42)	Elephantine
RIK 112	Kumna
RIK 115	Kumna
RIK 116	Kumna
RIK 118	Kumna
RIK 119a	Kumna
RILN 74	Girgawi
Saqqara 18x (<i>TPC</i> pl. 83)	Saqqara
Sinai 27	Sinai
Sinai 47	Sinai
Sinai 48	Sinai
Sinai 71	Sinai
Sinai 76	Sinai
Sinai 80	Sinai
Sinai 85	Sinai
Sinai 86	Sinai
Sinai 87	Sinai
Sinai 89	Sinai
Sinai 90	Sinai
Sinai 93	Sinai
Sinai 96	Sinai
Sinai 98	Sinai
Sinai 101 A	Sinai
Sinai 104	Sinai
Sinai 112	Sinai
Sinai 114	Sinai
Sinai 170	Sinai
Sinai 405	Sinai
Sinai 406	Sinai
TT 60 ¹³	Thebes
Wadi el Hudi 12	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 16	Wadi el Hudi

¹³*Mrt.f.*

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| Wadi el Hudi 17 | Wadi el Hudi |
| Wadi el Hudi 21 | Wadi el Hudi |
| Wadi el Hudi 149 | Khor Dehmit |
| <i>mry/mrr.f m-m smrw</i> : One whom he loves among his courtiers | |
| CG 20531 | Abydos |
| CG 20539 | Abydos |
| <i>mry.f m²</i> : One whom he truly loves | |
| Sinai 48 | Sinai |
| Sinai 101A | Sinai |
| <i>mry/mrr.f n r' nb</i> : One whom he loves every day | |
| Hatnub gr. 49 | Hatnub |
| B. Hasan 17 (<i>BH</i> II, pl. 16) | Beni Hasan |
| <i>mry m²</i> : Truly beloved | |
| Basel | Abydos |
| Louvre C167 | Abydos |
| <i>mry mwt.f it.f</i> : Beloved of his mother and his father | |
| RILN 74 | Girgawi |
| <i>(mrrw) Mikt</i> : Beloved of Miket | |
| Heqaib 36 | Elephantine |
| <i>mry Mnw</i> : Beloved of Min | |
| Hammamat 17 | Wadi Hammamat |
| <i>mry/mrrw niwt.f</i> : Beloved of his township | |
| Assiut 1, 185, 246 | Assiut |
| Assiut 4, 70 | Assiut |
| Beni Hasan 14 (<i>BH</i> I, 85) | Beni Hasan |
| BM 1010 | Elephantine |
| Deir Rifeh 1 (<i>Kêmi</i> 6, 140) | Deir Rifeh |
| Heqaib 13 | Elephantine |
| MMA 26.3.217 | Thebes |
| <i>mrrw niwt.f dmqt hmwt šbn hr tšyw</i> : Beloved of his township, the women being assembled in combination with men | |
| Hatnub gr. 20 | Hatnub |
| Hatnub gr. 17 | Hatnub |

mrrw niwt.f dmdt nn hr hn im.s: Beloved of his township, which is assembled without a sullen face therein

Hatnub gr. 39 Hatnub

mry/mrrw niwtiw.f: Beloved of his townspeople

B. Hasan 17 (*BH* II, pl. 13) Beni Hasan

Bersheh 2 Bersheh

mry/mrr nb.f: Beloved of his lord

B. Hasan 15 (*BH* II, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

B. Hasan 17 (*BH* II, pl. 14) Beni Hasan

Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh

BM 1290 Semna

CG 20538 Abydos

Deir Rifeh 7, 14 Deir Rifeh

Hammamat 17 Wadi Hammamat

Hammamat 205 Wadi Hammamat

Hammamat G 62 Wadi Hammamat

Hammamat G 63 Wadi Hammamat

Hatnub in. 10 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 11 Hatnub

Heqaib 1 Elephantine

JE 59483 West Nubian Desert

Leiden V3 Abydos

Louvre C2 Abydos

MMA 14.2.7 Thebes

Qubbet el Hawa 36 Elephantine

(*FFE*, pl. 6)

Saqqara 11Sq (*TPC* pl. 82) Saqqara

Saqqara 18x (*TPC* pl. 84) Saqqara

Shatt er Rigal 459 Shatt er Rigal

Sinai 79 Sinai

Sinai 121 Sinai

Sinai 143 Sinai

Weigall, pl. 75 Amada

mry/mrr nb.f m^s: Truly beloved of his lord

B. Hasan 15 (*BH* II, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh

BM 569 Abydos

BM 586 Unknown

CG 20531 Abydos

Hammamat 17	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 48	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 199	Wadi Hammamat
MMA 57.95	Thebes
RILN 74	Girgawi
Shatt er Rigal 455	Shatt er Rigal
Shatt er Rigal 456	Shatt er Rigal
Sinai 35	Sinai
Sinai 71	Sinai
Sinai 86	Sinai
Sinai 87, W	Sinai
Sinai 88	Sinai
Sinai 92, N	Sinai
Sinai 95	Sinai
Sinai 118	Sinai
Sinai 500	Sinai
Sinai 519	Sinai
Wadi el Hudi 4	Wadi el Hudi
Vienna 109	Abydos

mrrw nb.f r-'wy.f: One whose lord loves his actions

Assiut 1, 214 Assiut

mrrw nb.f hr 'n.f kd: Beloved of his lord because he is good of character

Heqaib 49 Elephantine

mrrw nb.f drp.f shp.f imiw Hmnw: Beloved of his lord when he makes offerings and propitiates those who are in Hermopolis

Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

mry/mrrw nswt: Beloved of the king

Assiut 1, 236¹⁴ Assiut

Assiut 5, 20 Assiut

Bersheh 2 Bersheh

Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

Deir Rifeh 7, 44 Deir Rifeh

Turin 1447 Thebes

mrrw nswt ssm.f: One whose conduct the king loves

Assiut 1, 247 Assiut

¹⁴ *Mry n nswt*.

- mry ntr*: Beloved of the god
 Beni Hasan 3 Beni Hasan
 CG 20539 Abydos
 Deir Rifeh 7, 43 Deir Rifeh
 Meir B4 (*Meir* III, pl. 19) Meir
- mry ntr.f ntwty*: Beloved of his local god
 Assiut 4, 87 Assiut
- mry ntr.f r' nb*: Beloved of his god every day
 Deir Rifeh 1 (*Kêmi* 6, 140) Deir Rifeh
- mry ntrw imyw Mšhd*: Beloved of the gods who are in the Oryx nome
 Beni Hasan 14 (*BH* I, 85) Beni Hasan
- mrrw ntrw nwtiw wrw*: Beloved of the great local gods
 Heqaib 13 Elephantine
- mrrw ntrw.s*: Beloved of its gods (i.e., the Hare nome)
 Bersheh 8 (*Bersh.* II, 39) Bersheh
- mrrw ntrw.s nb*: Beloved of all its gods (i.e. the Hare Nome)
 Bersheh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
 Bersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 6) Bersheh
 Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
- mrrwt m ht nt smrw wrw 'h h'w im*: Beloved in the persons of the companions, the great ones of the palace, and the one who appears in glory therein (i.e., the king)
 UC 14333 Armant ?
- mrr ntrw T3-wr*: Beloved of the gods of Ta-wer
 Leiden V4 Abydos
- mry n nšsw*: Beloved of the troops
 Hatnub gr. 30 Hatnub
- mry rmt*: Beloved of the people
 Meir B3 (*Meir* VI, pl. 8) Meir
 Turin 1447 Thebes
- mry h'w.f*: Beloved of his kindred
 MMA 12.184 Abydos
- mry Hwt-Hr nbt mfkʔt*: Beloved of Hathor, mistress of turquoise
 Sinai 28 Sinai
 Sinai 28 Sinai
 Sinai 91 Sinai
 Sinai 115 Sinai

- mry Hwt-Hr nbt nbw*: Beloved of Hathor, mistress of gold
Beni Hasan 14 (BH I, 85) Beni Hasan
- mry Hwt-Hr nbt Nfrws*: Beloved of Hathor, mistress of Neferues
Beni Hasan 14 (BH I, 85) Beni Hasan
B. Hasan 15 (BH II, pl. 4) Beni Hasan
- mry Hwt-Hr nbt smt*: Beloved of Hathor, Mistress of the Desert
JE 59483 West Nubian Desert
- mry Hwt-Hr nbt Šbw*: Beloved of Hathor, Mistress of Shebu
Beni Hasan 14 (BH I, 85) Beni Hasan
- mry Hr ḥḥ rhyt*: Beloved of Horus, smiter of the rekhyt
Beni Hasan 15 Beni Hasan
(BH II, pl. 4,7)
- mry ḥsy.f*: One whom he loves and favors
Hammamat G 70 Wadi Hammamat
- mry ḥsy.f m hrt-hrw nt r' nb*: One whom he loves and favors in the course of every day
RdÉ 29, p. 157 Wadi Gawasis
- mrr ḥss...sw*: Beloved of the one who favors him(?)
Hammamat 48 Wadi Hammamat
- mry Hkt Hr-wr*: Beloved of Hekat of Herwer
B. Hasan 15 (BH II, pl. 4) Beni Hasan
- mrrw ḥrp.f nb*: Beloved of everything he undertakes
Sinai 71 Sinai
- mrrw ḥnmw n(w) n'wt.f*: Beloved of the citizens of his township
Assiut 1, 228-9, 352 Assiut
- mrrw Hnmw*: Beloved of Khnum
Heqaib 36 Elephantine
Heqaib 61 Elephantine
- mry Hnmw nb Hr-wr*: Beloved of Khnum, Lord of Her-wer
B. Hasan 15 (BH II, pl. 4) Beni Hasan
B. Hasan 17 Beni Hasan
(BH II, pl. 12, 13, 17)
Dahshur 2 Dashur
- mrr Šwty r-šwi.s*: Beloved of Assiut in its entirety
Assiut 6, 10 Assiut

- mry Spdw [nb] h³swt*: Beloved of Sopedu, Lord of foreign lands
Sinai 115 Sinai
- mry.sn*: One whom they love (i.e., Amenemhat I and Senwosret I)
Louvre C1 Abydos
- mry Sht nbt hb*: Beloved of Sekhet, Mistress of the hunt
B. Hasan 3 (BH I, pl. 34) Beni Hasan
Beni Hasan 17 Beni Hasan
- mry Stt nbt Int*: Beloved of Satet, mistress of Inet
Wadi el Hudi 2 Wadi el Hudi
- mrrw šnwt nswt*: Beloved of the entourage of the king
BM 572 Abydos
- mrrw knbt*: Beloved of the *qenbet*-court
Hatnub gr. 43 Hatnub
- mry knbt.f*: Beloved of his (i.e., the king's) *qenbet* court
Qubbet el Hawa 36 Elephantine
(FFE, pl.6)
- mry knbt nt hnw*: Beloved of the *qenbet* court of the residence
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 15) Beni Hasan
- mry n T³yt*: Beloved of Tayet
Bersheh 5 (Bersh. II, 34) Bersheh
- mry tni*: Beloved of the "Old man" (i.e., Heqaib)
Heqaib 13 Elephantine
- mrrw q³mw*: Beloved of the troops
RILN 74 Girgawi
- mrrw Dhwtj*: Beloved of Thoth
Bersheh 2 Bersheh
Bersheh 5 Bersheh
Sinai 115 Sinai
- mrrw Dhwtj m³³.f m-hrt-hrw nt r' nb*: Beloved of Thoth when he sees him in the
course of every day
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub
- mrr Dhwtj nb Hmnw*: Beloved of Thoth, Lord of Khemenu
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

7.14. *mḥ**mḥ-lb* ...: Favorite of...

Sinai 121 Sinai

mḥ-lb.f: His favorite

Louvre C2 Abydos

mḥ-lb.f ḥnty rḥw.f: His favorite before his comrades

Leiden V4 Abydos

mḥ-lb n M³t m rḥ p't m sldt lbw n sbi nb: Favorite of Ma'at in restraining nobles and in enfeebling the hearts of all rebels*BIFAO Supp.* 81, p. 35 Karnak*mḥ-lb nswt/mḥ-lb n nswt*: Favorite of the kingBersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

BM 1177 Wadi Halfa

CG 20531 Abydos

Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat

Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

Hammamat 192 Wadi Hammamat

Leiden V5 Abydos

Meir B2 (*Meir* II, pl. 12) Meir

RILN 74 Girgawi

Sinai 104 Sinai

Sinai 405 Sinai

mḥ-lb n nswt m...: Favorite of the king in ...

Hammamat 42 Wadi Hammamat

MMA 57.95 Thebes

mḥ-lb n nswt m lrt m³t: Favorite of the king in doing justice

TT 60 Thebes

mḥ-lb nswt m b³kt Šm^cw: Favorite of the king in serving Upper Egypt

Louvre C2 Abydos

mḥ-lb n nswt m nfr...: Favorite of the king in good...Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh*mḥ-lb n nswt m hbhb ḥ³swt*: Favorite of the king in traversing foreign lands

Brussels E 5266 Sinai

Sinai 114 Sinai

Sinai 88	Sinai
Wadi el Hudi 17	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 149	Khor Dehmit

mḥ-ib n nswt m hbt ḥꜣswt r int ʿꜣtt špst n ḥm.f: Favorite of the king in traversing foreign lands in order to bring precious raw materials to His Majesty

Sinai 101a ¹⁵	Sinai
Sinai 405	Sinai

mḥ-ib n nswt m srd mnw.f m lrt r-ꜣ ḥr Kmt: Favorite of the king in erecting his monuments and in making the entry into Egypt

MFA 29.1130	Semna
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mḥ-ib n nswt m šhr.f nb: Favorite of the king in all his plans

Assiut 1, 241	Assiut
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mḥ-ib n nswt m sšm.f nb: Favorite of the king in all his conduct

Meir B4 (<i>Meir</i> III, pl. 9)	Meir
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mḥ-ib nswt m st.f nb: Favorite of the king in all his places

Shatt er Rigal 472	Shatt er Rigal
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mḥ-ib nswt m Šm'w: Favorite of the king in the South

B. Hasan 17 (<i>BH</i> II, pl. 14)	Beni Hasan
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mḥ-ib n nswt m tšt mš' r spꜣwt Šm'w: Favorite of the king in marshalling troops to the districts of the South

Qubbet el Hawa 31	Elephantine
(<i>FFE</i> , pl. 34)	

mḥ-ib nswt m dšr ḥn: Favorite of the king in suppressing the rebel

<i>JEA</i> 51, pl. 14	Abydos
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mḥ-ib n nswt ḥnt.f: Favorite of the king when he sails upstream

Assiut 5, 18-19	Assiut
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mḥ-ib nswt ḥnty tꜣ pn: Favorite of the king before this land

Bersh. 5 (<i>Bersh.</i> II, pl. 13)	Bersheh
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mḥ-ib n nswt ḥnty tꜣwy: Favorite of the king before the Two Lands

Assiut 2, 4	Assiut
BM 100	Unknown
CG 20539	Abydos

¹⁵ *Mḥ-ib n nswt m hbt* restored.

mḥ-lb ḥr ḥr(t?) ḥss.f n r' nb: One who fills the heart in doing what he favors every day

Wadi el Hudi 4 Wadi el Hudi

mḥ-lb.sn: Their favorite

Sinai 121 Sinai

mḥ ' m špss nb ḏfḥw mnmnt nb: One who fills the hand with all wealth, (all) provisions, all cattle

Assiut 1, 241 Assiut

mḥ ' dwn ḏrt n tst.f: One who fills the hand(?), with hand outstretched for his troops

Hatnub in. 10 Hatnub

7.15. *mḥi*

mḥy ḥr ḥkr mdw.f: One who is respected for the excellence of his speech

Assiut 1, 242 Assiut

7.16. *ms*

ms ḥbr stkn ḥknw: One who brings laudanum(?) and brings forth the *hekenu*-oil

Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

mss wrt ḥkḥw: One who brings forth the Weret Heqaw

BM 574 Abydos

ms sntr n nb.f 'wy.f ḥr bw (nb) nfr: One who brings incense to his lord (Thoth), his hands carrying everything good

Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

7.17. *msi*

ms n psḏty R': Born of the two enneads of Ra

Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

7.18. *mki*

mki tš.f: One who guards his boundary

BM 569 Abydos

7.19. *mtwt*

mtwt ḥr-mḥ't: Offspring of "He who does *ma'ar*" (i.e. Thoth)

Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

mtwt kꜣ Mꜣ't: Offspring of the bull of Ma'at

Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

7.20. *mtr/mty*

mtr: Precise

Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

mtr n nswt: One who is precise for the king

Hatnub gr. 25 Hatnub

mtr m pr nb.f.: Precise in the house of his lord

BM 581 Abydos

mtr m pr nswt: Precise in the administrative palace

Louvre C1 Abydos

mtr m šdt: Precise in reading

Beni Hasan 3 Beni Hasan

mtr mꜣ' ml Dḥwty: Truly precise like Thoth

BM 581 Abydos

CG 20538 Abydos

CG 20539 Abydos

Durham N1935 Wadi Gasus

mtr mꜣ' r rmꜣ: Truly precise towards people

Leiden V4 Abydos

mtr n pr nswt: Precise to the administrative palace

BM 581 Abydos

mtr n nb.f ḥnty ḥḥ: Renowned by his lord before millions

Sinai 405 Sinai

mtr m m rh ḥtw: Precise of name as one who knows things

BM 572 Abydos

mtr ḥꜣty: Precise of heart/thought

Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat

Hammamat 48 Wadi Hammamat

mtr ḥꜣty ḥr wdt n.f.: Precise of heart regarding what is commanded to him

Assiut 1, 220 Assiut

mtr ḥꜣtyw: Precise of thoughts

Wadi el Hudi 149 Khor Dehmit

7.21. *mtr*

mtr n nswt: Renowned by the king
Sinai 112 Sinai

mtr hnty šnyt: Renowned before the entourage
Hammamat 104 Wadi Hammamat

7.22. *mdw*

mdw m h³ n m³t: One who speaks in the hall of justice
BM 581 Abydos

mdw m swt dnd: One who speaks in situations of anger
BM 581 Abydos

mdw n.f m w'w: One who speaks to him in private
Carnegie 4558 Abydos

mdw r r-^c srw: One who spoke before the nobles
MMA 12.184 Abydos

mdw r-hrw.f: One who spoke up
Bersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, 19) Bersheh
Wadi el Hudi 4 Wadi el Hudi

[*mdw*] *r-hrw.f p't grti rhtiw m sgr*: One who spoke up when the nobles were quiet
and the commoners were silenced
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

mdw r-hrw.f m pr bity: One who spoke up in the palace of Lower Egypt
CG 20539 Abydos

mdw rhyt: Staff of the commoners
Assiut 1, 216 Assiut
CG 20539 Abydos
Lahun II, pl. 29 Lahun
Louvre C2 Abydos

mdw hp: Attendant of the Apis-bull
Assiut 1, 332 Assiut

mdw hn^c nb.f m w'w: One who speaks with his lord in privacy
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

7.23. *mds*

mds m ib n nb: One who is acute in the heart of his lord
Louvre C1 Abydos

7.24. *mḏd**mḏd w3t nt smnh sw*: One who is obedient of the one who established him

Assiut 1, 221, 349	Assiut
BM 581	Abydos
BM 1177	Wadi Halfa
BM 1236	Unknown
Durham N1935	Wadi Gasus
Florence 1542	Wadi Halfa
Hammamat 17	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 108	Wadi Hammamat
Heqaib 1	Elephantine
<i>JEA</i> 51, pl. 14	Abydos
Louvre C170	Abydos
Manchester (ANOC 69.1)	Abydos
Meir B4 (<i>Meir</i> III, pl. 19)	Meir
Sinai 33	Sinai
Sinai 35	Sinai
Sinai 121	Sinai
Wadi el Hudi 9	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 21	Wadi el Hudi

mḏd mtn: One who is obedient

Louvre C3	Abydos
UC 14333	Armant ?
Sinai 71	Sinai

mḏd mtn n niwt.f: One who is obedient to his township

Florence 1774	Thebes
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mḏd shr: One who follows the plan

BM 1164	
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8. *n*8.1. *n**n mrwt*: Beloved(?)

Bersheh 2 (<i>Bersh.</i> I, pl. 16)	Bersheh
BM 202	Abydos
CG 20538	Abydos
Hatnub gr. 14	Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 17	Hatnub

Heqaib 40	Elephantine
JE 91283	Abydos
<i>Siut</i> , pl. 3	Assiut
<i>n st-ib.f.</i> Of his affection ("the place of his heart")	
Bersh. 8 (<i>Bersh.</i> II, pl. 21)	Bersheh
Berlin ÄGM 26/66	Abydos
BM 100	Unknown
BM 557	Abydos
BM 569	Abydos
BM 574	Abydos
BM 575	Abydos
BM 839	Abydos
BM 1236	Unknown
CG 20531	Abydos
CG 20541	Unknown
CG 20546	Abydos
Durham N1935	Wadi Gasus
Guimet 11324	Abydos
Hammamat 17	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 42	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 43	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 47	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 48	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 87	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 104	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 108	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 113	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 114	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 123	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat G 66	Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat G 70	Wadi Hammamat
Heqaib 1	Elephantine
JE 71899	Wadi el Hudi
JE 71900	Wadi el Hudi
JE 71901	Wadi el Hudi
Kestner 2927	Unknown
Leiden V5	Abydos
Louvre C3	Abydos
Louvre C243	Abydos

MMA 26.3.217	Thebes
MMA 57.95	Thebes
RIK 117	Kumna
RIK 119a	Kumna
Sehel 76	Elephantine
Sinai 27	Sinai
Sinai 33	Sinai
Sinai 35	Sinai
Sinai 47	Sinai
Sinai 48	Sinai
Sinai 54	Sinai
Sinai 71	Sinai
Sinai 85	Sinai
Sinai 86	Sinai
Sinai 87	Sinai
Sinai 88	Sinai
Sinai 90	Sinai
Sinai 101A	Sinai
Sinai 112	Sinai
Sinai 118	Sinai
Sinai 121	Sinai
Sinai 405	Sinai
Sinai 406	Sinai
Sinai 500	Sinai
Sinai 519	Sinai
Turin 1447	Thebes
Vienna 109	Abydos
Wadi el Hudi 1	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 6	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 7	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 9	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 13	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 14	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 16	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 17	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 21	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 146	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 147	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 149	Khor Dehmit

8.2. *n* (negative)

n lw sp.f. No fault of whom came forth

Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

n k³k³ lb.f. One whose heart did not falter(?)¹⁶

Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

n(n) kst m ib n hm.f. Without offense(?) in the heart of his majesty

Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

n k³hs hft wsr. Who was not overbearing before a powerful man

UC 14333 Armant ?

8.3. *nb*

nb im³ly. Possessor of a venerated state

Assiut 1, 84, 217 Assiut

Basel, (ANOC 1.8) Abydos

B. Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 12) Beni Hasan

Beni Hasan 3 (*BH* I, pl. 9) Beni Hasan

B. Hasan 14 (*BH* I, pl. 44) Beni Hasan

B. Hasan 23 (*BH* II, Pl. 24) Beni Hasan

Berlin 1204 Abydos

Bersh. 1 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 7) Bersheh

Bersh. 2 (*Bersh.* I, pl. 5,6) Bersheh

*BIFA*O *Supp.* 81, p. 34 Elephantine

BM 202 Abydos

BM 252 Abydos

BM 557 Abydos

BM 692 Sinai

BM 828 Unknown

BM 1010 Elephantine

BMA 37.1346E Unknown

BMA 37.1489E Unknown

Bolton Abydos

Cem. Ab., p. 114 fig. 70 Abydos

CG 20038 Abydos

CG 20065 Abydos

¹⁶ The rendering of *k³k³* is uncertain. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 276, suggests "vainglorious (?)." Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 52, tentatively renders the entire phrase "whose heart did not quail."

CG 20127	Unknown
CG 20435	Abydos
CG 20474	Abydos
CG 20531	Abydos
CG 20538	Abydos
CG 20563	Abydos
CG 20683	Abydos
CG 23081	Abydos
Dahshur 2	Dashur
Dahshur 55	Dashur
Guimet 11324	Abydos
Hammamat 108	Wadi Hammamat
Heqaib 2	Elephantine
Heqaib 28	Elephantine
Heqaib 36	Elephantine
Heqaib 40	Elephantine
Heqaib 47	Elephantine
Heqaib 49	Elephantine
Heqaib 61	Elephantine
JE 59485	West Nubian Desert
JE 91220	Abydos
JE 91244	Abydos
JE 91245	Abydos
JE 91248	Abydos
<i>JEA</i> 14, pl. 20,1	Abydos
Kestner 2927	Unknown
<i>Lahun</i> II, pl. 29	Lahun
Leiden C14	Unknown
Leiden V3	Abydos
Leiden V4	Abydos
Leiden V5	Abydos
Leiden V6	Abydos
Leiden V6	Abydos
Leiden V 21	Abydos
Louvre A125	Karnak
Louvre C2	Abydos
Louvre C3	Abydos
Louvre C4	Unknown
Louvre C5	Abydos

Louvre C6	Unknown
Meir B1 (<i>Meir</i> I, pl. 9)	Meir
Meir B2 (<i>Meir</i> II, pl. 11)	Meir
Meir B3 (<i>Meir</i> VI, pl. 8)	Meir
Meir B4 (<i>Meir</i> III, pl. 2,17)	Meir
Meir C1 (<i>Meir</i> VI, pl. 13)	Meir
MFA 29.1130	Semna
MMA 21.1.45	Lisht
MMA 63.154	Abydos
Parma 177	Abydos
Petrie, <i>Illahun, Kahun & Gurob</i> , pl. 12, 11	Lahun
Qaw el Kebir 07	Qaw el Kebir
Qubbet el Hawa 31 (<i>FFE</i> , pl. 42)	Elephantine
Qubbet el Hawa 36 (<i>FFE</i> , pl.5)	Elephantine
RIK 104	Kumna
RIK 112	Kumna
RIK 115	Kumna
RIK 116	Kumna
RIK 117	Kumna
RIK 118	Kumna
RIK 119c	Kumna
RIK 120	Kumna
RIS 1	Semna
Saqqara 11Sq (<i>TPC</i> 276)	Saqqara
Saqqara 18x (<i>TPC</i> pl. 83)	Saqqara
Sinai 27	Sinai
Sinai 28	Sinai
Sinai 30	Sinai
Sinai 35	Sinai
Sinai 48	Sinai
Sinai 71	Sinai
Sinai 72	Sinai
Sinai 79	Sinai
Sinai 85	Sinai
Sinai 87	Sinai
Sinai 96	Sinai
Sinai 100	Sinai

Sinai 103	Sinai
Sinai 105	Sinai
Sinai 115	Sinai
Sinai 118	Sinai
Sinai 120 ¹⁷	Sinai
Sinai 142	Sinai
Sinai 143	Sinai
Sinai 170	Sinai
Sinai 407	Sinai
Sinai 408	Sinai
Sinai 519	Sinai
UC 14339	Kahun ?
UC 14429	Abydos
Wadi el Hudi 1	Dabod
Wadi el Hudi 2	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 17	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 25	Wadi el Hudi

nb im³h hr Pth-Skr: Possessor of a venerated state before Ptah-Sokar
Heqaib 60 Elephantine

nb im³t: Possessor of graciousness
Edfou, 32, 10 Edfu
Assiut 6, 12 Assiut
Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 8) Beni Hasan
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos

nb ³w ³srw: Possessor of many donkeys and sheep
MMA 12.184 Abydos

nb ³h^cw: Possessor of riches
Assiut 1, 247 Assiut

nb p³wt dr rk tpw^c: Possessor of an ancient family since the time of the ancestors
MMA 57.95 Thebes

nb m³t lwty lsft.f: Possessor of justice, without wrongdoing
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

nb mrwt: Possessor of love
Assiut 1, 228 Assiut
Assiut 1, 84 Assiut

¹⁷ *Nbt im³h*.

- nb nwt.f.*: Master of his township
Heqaib 28 Elephantine
- nb nfrt.*: Possessor of what is good
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 38 Hatnub
- nb rw 's' 3pdw.*: Possessor of geese, rich in fowl
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub
- nb hbsw.*: Possessor of clothing
Assiut 1, 154, 219, 244 Assiut
- nb hryt.*: Possessor of terror
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
- nb hst hr ipt nbt.*: Possessor of favor at every assessment
Assiut 1, 154, 219, 244 Assiut
- nb hps̄.*: Possessor of strength
Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub
- nb hps̄ r 3t r'.f shs int.f.*: Possessor of strength for attacking on his day of fleeing his arrival
Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat
- nb s3t imt-ib.*: Possessor of prudence
Siut, pl. 3 Assiut
- nb smlw n [t' ?] r dr.f.*: Master of heralds of the entire land(?)
Assiut 6, 8 Assiut
- nb snq.*: Master of fear
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
- nb sh.*: Lord of the hall
Assiut 1, 249 Assiut
- nb shr m sh n srw hrw mdt ksnt.*: Possessor of a plan in the hall of the officials on the day of painful words
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

- nb šhrw*: Possessor of plans
CG 20539 Abydos
- nb šps n is pn*: Noble owner of this tomb chamber
Assiut 1, 227 Assiut
- nb špssw m ʿ3tt nb msjnt hnmw ir mnt*: Possessor of riches, namely every costly raw material of the birthplace of Khnum, the creator of humanity
UC 14333 Armant ?
- nb šfyf...*: Possessor of respect...
Deir Rifeh 7, 45 Deir Rifeh
- nb šfyf hrw iš3(?)*: Possessor of respect on the day of summons(?)
Wadi el Hudi 16 Wadi el Hudi
- nb šfyf hrw wd3 mdw*: Possessor of respect on the day of judging words
B. Hasan 2 (BHI, pl. 15) Beni Hasan
- nb šfyf hrw st3 w3(?)*: Possessor of respect on the day the poor are brought:
MMA 57.95 Thebes
- nb kd*: Possessor of virtue
Assiut 1, 227 Assiut
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub
Hatnub in. 10 Hatnub
- nb k3w ʿ3myt (?)*: Possessor of bulls and Asiatic cattle(?)
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
- nb k3w ʿš3 ʿwt*: Possessor of many bulls and goats
MMA 12.184 Abydos
- nb df3w*: Possessor of abundance
BM 581 Abydos
Leiden V6 Abydos
- nb t hnkt ndmt štp.f hwt-ntr mi-kd.s*: Possessor of bread and sweet beer that he may propitiate the entire temple
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub
- 8.4. *nfr*
- nfrw*: Good man
BM 581 Abydos
- nfr-lb*: Good-hearted
Hatnub in. 10 Hatnub

- nfr 'bb*: Good of (?)¹⁸
Leiden V6 Abydos
- nfr bit*: Good of character
Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
- nfr m-hnw h³wt*: Good in offices
BM 581 Abydos
- nfr m hrw m pr nb.f*: Good at speaking in his lord's house
Munich GL WAF 35 Abydos
- nfr mnw (?)*: Beautiful of monuments (?)
Florence 1774 Thebes
- nfr n ...*: Good of ...
Hamamat 42 Wadi Hamamat
- nfr h'ww*: Well-supplied of ships
Assiut 5, 18 Assiut
MMA 12.184 Abydos
- nfr hms m hwt-nr*: Well-placed of position (lit. "sitting") in the temple
Bersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, 26) Bersheh
- nfr hsmn*: Well-supplied of food
Leiden V6 Abydos
- nfr s³t' m-hnw hnwtj*: Good of wisdom in the audience chamber
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
- nfr s³dm*: Good at listening
CG 20538 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos
- nfr spss*: Well-supplied of riches
MMA 12.184 Abydos
- 8.5. *nft*
- nft n mn³ nbt*: Breath for all people
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

¹⁸ The meaning of 'bb is unclear. Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 113, renders it "harvest," while Faulkner, *Dictionary*, renders it "use the pitchfork." Lichtheim, *Moral Values*, 51. Translates the entire epithet "good with the spear."

8.6. *nn*

nn ʒhw n dd.n.i (n.f): Without misery to someone to whom I give
MMA 12.184 Abydos

nn wn hnt m ht.f: There being no greed in his body
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

n(n) nhy.i m ht.i nbt: Without shortage in all my possessions
MMA 12.184 Abydos

nn hr hn: Without a scowling face
Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub

nn sin hr: Without hastiness of temper
BM 581 Abydos

nn swʒ hr.f: Without transgression (?)
Louvre C167 Abydos
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

nn thw n ns.f hrw nfr n hʒb: Without transgression of his speech on the holiday of
being sent (on his mission)
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

nn ts im.f: Without anger in him
Bersheh 8 Bersheh
(*Bersh.* II, pl. 21)

8.7. *nr*

nr kʒw n ʒwt nbwt: Cattle-herd of all precious raw materials
CG 20538 Abydos
Hatnub gr. 19 Hatnub

8.8. *nḥb*

nḥb n nb tʒwy kʒ.f: One who marshalled his *ka* for the Lord of the Two Lands
BM 1213 Abydos

nḥb n.f kʒw spsw: One who marshalled the noble *kas* for him
Deir Rifeh 1 Deir Rifeh
(*Kēmi* 6, 139, 140)

nḥb kʒw.f ḥsʒk wnt: One who marshalled his *kas* and supplied the Hare nome¹⁹
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

¹⁹ See Brovarski, *Ahanakht*, 18.

8.9. *nḥm**nḥm*... : One who rescues...

Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

nḥm iwty: One who rescues the boatless

CG 20539 Abydos

JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos*nḥm mꜣr m-ꜣ wsr*: One who rescues the wretched man from the powerful man

Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub

nḥm ḥꜣrt: One who rescues the widow

Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

8.10. *nḥ**nḥ mꜣr*: One who protects the wretched man

CG 20539 Abydos

nḥ mr: One who protects the sick man*JEA* 51, pl. 14 Abydos8.11. *Nḥby**Nḥby m pr-nsr*: Nekhebite in the shrine of Lower Egypt

Qubbet el Hawa 36 Elephantine

(Urk. VII, 1)

8.12. *nḥt**nḥt*: Strong man

MMA 26.3.217 Thebes

nḥt iwnt: Strong of bow

Assiut 5, 16 Assiut

nḥt m r: Strong in speechBersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh*nḥt kni*: Valiant warrior

JE 52456 Edfu

nḥt dd nḥm.tw...: Strong man who causes that...be rescued

Deir Rifeh 7, 45 Deir Rifeh

8.13. *nty*

nty t3 pn hr mrwt.f. One whose love this land possesses

Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

8.14. *nd*

nd: Protector

Assiut 1, 227 Assiut

nd m3: True protector

Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat

8.15. *ndm*

ndm: Pleasant

RILN 73 Girgawi

8.16. *ndnd*

ndnd rdi nd.tw.f. One who consults so as to cause that he be consulted

BM 581 Abydos

Leiden V6 Abydos

8.17. *ndrw*

ndrw-ib hr ddt n.f. One who is possessed of heart regarding what is said to him

Hammamat 199 Wadi Hammamat

ndr tpw n sb3 nb.f mi it.f h3l.n(i) m st.f. One who takes the best of his lord's teaching, like his father when he ascends to his place

Assiut 1, 348 Assiut

8.18. *nds*

nds n hn d3mw: Warrior of the encampment

Hatnub gr. 27 Hatnub

nds kn: Valiant warrior

Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

RILN 73 Girgawi

nds kn n mity.f. Valiant warrior without his equal

Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub

ngs kn n hn d3mw: Valiant warrior of the encampment

Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 25 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 43 Hatnub

9. *r*

9.1. *r*

r P nb: Spokesman of every Pe-ite

Assiut 1, 213, 332 Assiut

Assiut 2, 12 Assiut

Bersh. 2 (*Bersh.*I, pl. 16) Bersheh

r nswt: Royal spokesman

CG 20683 Abydos

9.2. *r-3*

r-3 h3swt: Entrance of foreign lands

B. Hasan 3 (*BH* I, pl. 26) Beni Hasan

r-3 h3swt rsyt: Entrance of the southern foreign lands

Qubbet el Hawa 31 Elephantine

(*FFE*, pl. 42)

r-3 Sm'w W3st T3-sty: Entrance of Upper Egypt, Thebes, and Nubia

RIK 085 Kumna

9.3. *rwq*

rwq mnw: Enduring of monuments

Assiut 1, 235 Assiut

rwqdw n ht nb: Enduring of everything

MMA 26.3.217 Thebes

rwq hni pr-6 m mrt nb.f: One who controls (his) speech and is active through his lord's love

BM 1177 Wadi Halfa

rwq srf: Controlled of temperament

Assiut 1, 350 Assiut

9.4. *m*

m.f sdm Šm'w T3-mhw: His name being heard in Upper and Lower Egypt
Shatt er Rigal 456 Shatt er Rigal

9.5. *rh*

rh imy ht nbt: One who knows what is in every mind
CG 20539 Abydos

rh 'h'w n hpri nb: One who knows the time of every occasion
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

rh wd't: One who is knowledgeable of justice
Hatnub gr. 14 Hatnub

rh prw: One who knows the outcome
BM 581 Abydos

rh prw n mdw.f: One who knows the outcome of his words
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 15) Beni Hasan

rh phr m sw n ddt: One who recognizes persuasion by flattery
BM 581 Abydos

rh m tit: One who is knowledgeable in signs
Beni Hasan 3 Beni Hasan

rh mdt: One who knows speech
MMA 57.95 Thebes

rh n nb.f: Acquaintance of his lord
Berlin 1199 Abydos
Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat
RIS 14 Semna

rh n nb.f m.f: One whose lord knows his name
Hammamat 17 Wadi Hammamat

rh n nswt lw.f m-hnw hbs it.f: One who is recognized by the king when he is in the
garment of his father
Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub

rh n nswt n sdt.f: Royal acquaintance of his upbringing
B. Hasan 3 (BH I, pl. 32) Beni Hasan

rh n nty n.rh.f: One who is knowledgeable for the one who does not know
BM 581 Abydos

- rh n ntr*: Acquaintance of the god
 Shatt er Rigal 456 Shatt er Rigal
- rh(w) n rmt hst.f*: One whose favor the people know
 Qubbet el Hawa 36 Elephantine
 (FFE, p. 1.6)
- rh hpw*: One who knows the laws
 Durham N1935 Wadi Gasus
 Hammamat 104 Wadi Hammamat
- rh n srw.f tst.f*: Acquaintance of his officials and his people
 Assiut 5, 20 Assiut
- rh n Šm'w*: Acquaintance of Upper Egypt
 Assiut 1, 152, 212-13 Assiut
- rh n t'wy*: Acquaintance of the Two Lands
 Assiut 1, 152, 212-13 Assiut
- rh nmtt hpw nw irt*: One who knows the procedure of the law of behavior
 BM 572 Abydos
- rh nmtt.f*: One whose actions are known
 Assiut 1, 350 Assiut
- rh nn n h'tlw*: Acquaintance of these local rulers
 Hatnub gr. 27 Hatnub
- rh nswt m³'*: True royal acquaintance
 Assiut 1, 4, 248 Assiut
 Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan
 Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh
 BM 100 Unknown
 BM 557 Abydos
 BM 839 Abydos
 BM 1290 Semna
 Durham N1935 Wadi Gasus
 Guimet 11324 Abydos
 Hammamat 42 Wadi Hammamat
 Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat
 Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat
 Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat
 Hammamat G 70 Wadi Hammamat
 JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos
 Leiden V5 Abydos

MMA 29.1.45	Lisht
<i>RdÉ</i> 29, p. 157	Wadi Gawasis
RIK 112	Kumna
RIK 115	Kumna
RIK 116	Kumna
RIK 117	Kumna
RIK 118	Kumna
RIK 119a	Kumna
RILN 10	Girgawi
RILN 74	Girgawi
Shatt er Rigal 448	Shatt er Rigal
Sinai 27	Sinai
Sinai 47	Sinai
Sinai 48	Sinai
Sinai 80	Sinai
Sinai 85	Sinai
Sinai 87	Sinai
Sinai 89	Sinai
Sinai 90	Sinai
Sinai 91	Sinai
Sinai 93	Sinai
Sinai 96	Sinai
Sinai 98	Sinai
Sinai 104	Sinai
Sinai 112	Sinai
Sinai 406	Sinai
Wadi el Hudi 12	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 16	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 17	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 21	Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 149	Wadi el Hudi
<i>rh nswt hn' knbt.f.</i> Acquaintance of the king and his court	
Hatnub gr. 24	Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26	Hatnub

rh r n mdw st(?) hrw mdw snwt: One who knows the secret words on the day the courtiers speak²⁰
MMA 57.95 Thebes

rh hnty hprwt: One who knows both sides of what happens
Assiut 1, 182 Assiut

rh ht: One who knows things
BM 1164

Siut I, 182 Assiut
MMA 57.95 Thebes

rh sb' sw rhy: One who knows having taught himself knowledge
BM 581 Abydos
Leiden V6 Abydos

rh sfn n iw sp.f: One who knows mercy when his time comes
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7, 9) Beni Hasan

rh snd m-hnw 'hnwty: One who knows respect in the audience chamber
Hatnub gr. 14 Hatnub

rh shr m-h'w srw: One who knows the plan in excess of the officials
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

rh shr m sh n srw: One who knows the plan in the council of officials
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 9) Beni Hasan

rh ssm n 'h: One who knows the business of the palace
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh

rh ssm n ntt lwtt nn sw't hr.f: One who knows the condition of what is and what is not, nothing escaping from him
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

rh st-rd.f: One who knows his standing
Edfou, 32, 10 Edfu
Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat
Louvre C170 Abydos
RIK 118 Kumna

rh st-rd.f m pr nswt: One who knows his standing in the administrative palace
Assiut 1, 220 Assiut
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 15) Beni Hasan

²⁰ For this restoration of the text, of which several signs are missing, see Fischer, "In.it.f," 266-267.

- MMA 57.95 Thebes
 Sinai 47 Sinai
 Sinai 112 Sinai
- rḥ kʔ...: One who knows the bull...²¹*
 Hatnub gr. 15? Hatnub
- rḥ tp-rd n iwt.s: One who knows an instruction before it comes*
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos
- rḥ ts n ꜥnd.t(w) ḥr.s: One who knows the phrase on account of which one becomes angry*
 BM 581 Abydos
- rḥ dwʔ (n) iwt.f: One who knows the dawn before it comes*
 Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
- rḥ ḏdt: One who knows what is said*
 Assiut 6, 11 Assiut
- rḥ ḏdt m ḥʔ nb: One who knows what is said in every office*
 BM 581 Abydos
- 9.6. *rs*
- rs: Vigilant man*
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
- rs wnw.t.f n nb.f: One who is vigilant of his duty for his lord*
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat
- rs ḥrw.t.f: One who is vigilant of his duties*
 BM 569 Abydos
- rs-tp: Vigilant man*
 BM 569 Abydos
 Hatnub gr. 49 Hatnub
 Sinai 405 Sinai
- rs-tp mʔʕ: Truly vigilant*
 Hammamat 17 Wadi Hammamat
- rs-tp mʔʕ ḥr wnw.t.f ḥr ꜥmʔt ib.f: Truly vigilant regarding his duty and regarding that which his heart creates*
 Hammamat 48 Wadi Hammamat

²¹ For this phrase, see Anthes, *Hatnub*, 35.

rs-tp hr ddt n.f. One who is vigilant regarding what is said to him
Assiut 5, 19 Assiut

9.7. *rs*

rs(?) w'bw m m³.f m-ht n 'hnwty. At seeing whom the wab-priests rejoice(?)
before the audience chamber
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

9.8. *rd*

rd.f mnw. One whose foot is firm
Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat

9.9. *rdi*

rdi .f hr s lw.f rh sw. One who helped a man knowing him
Hatnub gr. 15 Hatnub

rdi(w) m-b³h hr htw.sn m ³t n iry-p't ³ty. One who was placed before those who are
prostrate in the chamber of the prince and vizier
BM 572 Abydos

rdi m tp n m³'-hrw hft sdm ht. One who presented (cases) for judgment at the time a
matter was heard
BM 572 Abydos

rdi n iwn.f m-ht.f. One whose disposition put him in his (i.e., the king's) presence
Wadi el Hudi 14 Wadi el Hudi

rdi n ikr.f mh.t(w).f. One whose worth caused that he be respected
Assiut 1, 242 Assiut

rdi n ikr.f spd-hr.f r srw. One whose worth caused that his expression be more sharp
than the (other) officials
Sinai 112 Sinai

rdi(w) n.f lw't nhh Wpw³wt. One to whom was given Wepwawet's inheritance of
eternity
Assiut 1 (*Siut* pl. 5) Assiut

rdi n mnh.f r-h³t. One whose efficiency placed him at the forefront
Assiut 1, 242 Assiut

rdi n nb.f wr.t(w).f. One whose lord caused that he be great
Assiut 1, 350 Assiut

rdi.n nb.f mr.t(w).f. One whose lord caused that he be loved
UC 14333 Armant ?

rdl n.f nbw m hswt: One to whom was given the gold of honor
 Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

rdl n nb.f mh.t(w).f: One whose lord caused that he be respected
 Assiut 1, 213 Assiut

rdl n nb t'wy 3w ib.f hft sp.f hr lrw.f: One whom the Lord of the Two Lands caused to rejoice for his actions according to his deed
 JE 91283 Abydos

rdl n nb t'wy 3w.f: One whose authority the Lord of the Two Lands granted
 Assiut 1, 153, 221, 243 Assiut
 BM 1177 Wadi Halfa
 Manchester Abydos
 RILN 74 Girgawi

rdl n.s(t) nn stn im.s wrw.s ml 3rw.s: One who gave to it (i.e., the *niwt*), distinguishing the great just as the small therein
 Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

rdl pr snwy htp m wpt nt knbt: One who caused that two brothers go forth satisfied with the decision of the court
 Hatnub gr. 14 Hatnub
 Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

rdl r ddt nb: One who gave more than everything that was said (?)²²
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

rdl h3w hr gmt.f m sn[t r] wnt w3sy: One who exceeded that which he found in the likeness of that which was destroyed
 Bersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, 25) Bersheh

rdl h3w hr ddt n.f: One who exceeded what was told to him
 Louvre C167 Abydos

rdl s(t) hr w3wt nt grg: One who placed it (i.e., his township) on the way to security
 Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

rdl s hr ist it.f: One who placed a man on his father's property
 Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

rdl grg (n) dd 3w m3't (n) li hr.s: One who gave the lie to the one telling it and the truth to the one who comes bringing it
 CG 20539 Abydos

²² This phrase is followed by the difficult phrase *m shtt hprt*, for which see Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 52-54.

- rdl ts r st.f.*: One who puts speech in its (appropriate) place
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat
- dl mdw drf.*: One who caused writing to speak
 Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan
- dl n.f h̄k̄³ m s n mh w̄:*: One to whom rule was given as a person of one cubit
 Assiut 5, 21 Assiut
- dd...:* One who gives/causes ...
 Bersh. 1 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 7) Bersheh
- dd ³wr.f m h̄³stiw.*: One who places fear of him among the foreigners
 CG 20539 Abydos
- dd wd̄w n Šm'w.*: One who gives commands to Upper Egypt
 CG 20539 Abydos
- dd pr. h̄tpw-ntr n ntrw rsyw.*: One who causes that incense go forth for the gods of the south
 Louvre C2 Abydos
- dd pr.snwy h̄tp m prw nw r.f.*: One who causes twopeers to come forth satisfied with his utterance
 CG 20539 Abydos
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos
- dd r mrr.f.*: One who gives as he likes
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat
- dd hpw.*: One who gives laws
 CG 20539 Abydos
- dd h̄bsw...:* One who gives clothing...
 Louvre C167 Abydos
- dd h̄bsw m-hry-ib d̄mw.f.*: One who gives clothing among his troops
 RILN 73 Girgawi
- dd hr n hryw-tp.*: One who pays attention to those in authority(?)
 Sinai 405 Sinai
- dd hr s̄smw.*: One who attends to the followers
 Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat
- dd ht n nhnw:* One who gives things to children
 BM 1164

dd ht r st lrt: One who puts a matter in proper place

Assiut 1, 347 Assiut

CG 20539 Abydos

ddw ht n nty (m) snw: One who gives property to those who are in poverty

MMA 12.184 Abydos

dd s r wn.f m²³: One who appoints a man so that he is true (i.e., in his proper position)

CG 20539 Abydos

dd snđ nswt psđt: One who places fear of the king (among) the 9 bows

Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

dd k³w: One who gives food

CG 20539 Abydos

dd t³ pn hr mhrw.f ml wđw ntr: One who places this land in its (proper) order as the god commanded²³

CG 20539 Abydos

dd tp-rđ n hmw-ntr m ssm n ³bd nt: One who gives instructions to the hm-priests in conducting the monthly festival, the half-monthly festival

Assiut 1, 181 Assiut

10. h

10.1. h³l

h³y r l³t tn n ikr shr.l m lb.f: One who acceded to this office because my counsel was excellent in his heart

Louvre C1 Abydos

[h³]w n.f ³t špsst: For whom precious raw materials came down

Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

h³ r st nfrt m hst nt nb.f: One who descended to the place of beauty (i.e. the tomb) in the favor of his lord

Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh

10.2. h³b

h³b n mn³.f hr.lb: One who is sent because he is efficient in (his) heart

BM 572 Abydos

Leiden V4 Abydos

²³ See Simpson, "Mentuhotep," 333.

h³b n.f nb t³wy: For whom the Lord of the Two Lands sends
 Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat

h³b n nb...: One whose lord sent him...
 Hatnub gr. 28 Hatnub

h³by m mds bit: One who was sent through forcefulness of character
 MMA 12.184 Abydos

10.3. *hi*

hi n h³rt: Husband to the widow
 Kestner 2927 Unknown

hi n T³yt: Husband of Tayet
 UC 14333 Armant ?

10.4. *hbhb*

hbhb intw s³t³w: One who traverses hidden valleys
 Sinai 54 Sinai

hbhb h³swt n nb t³wy: One who traverses foreign lands for the Lord of the Two
 Lands
 Sinai 118 Sinai

hbhb h³swt nbt: One who traverses every foreign land
 Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

10.5. *hnn*

hnn mdw rhw r.sn: One who pays attention to the words of those who know their
 speech
 BM 572 Abydos

10.6. *hr*

hr-ib: Calm of heart
 Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat
 Hammamat 48 Wadi Hammamat
 Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

hr-ib hrw n wpt: Calm of heart on the day of judgment
 B. Hasan 2 (*BHI*, pl. 15) Beni Hasan

hr n hnw hr shr dd.n.f: Pleasing to the residence because of the plan which he speaks
 Hatnub gr. 25 Hatnub

hr-nmtt: Quiet of steps
 BM 1236 Unknown

- | | |
|---|---------------|
| <i>Edfou</i> , 32, 10 | Edfu |
| Hammamat 42 | Wadi Hammamat |
| Heqaib 49 | Elephantine |
| <i>JEA</i> 51, pl. 14 | Abydos |
| Louvre C170 | Abydos |
| Manchester (ANOC 69.1) | Abydos |
| Sinai 33 | Sinai |
| Sinai 71 | Sinai |
| Sinai 118 | Sinai |
| Wadi el Hudi 16 | Wadi el Hudi |
| Wadi el Hudi 21 | Wadi el Hudi |
|
 | |
| <i>hr s³</i> : Quiet/peaceful | |
| Hammamat 43 | Wadi Hammamat |
|
 | |
| <i>hr tsw</i> : Pleasing of speech | |
| Assiut 1,346 | Assiut |
|
 | |
| <i>hrrw m^s m shrw.f.</i> : At whose plans the troops are pleased | |
| Sinai 35 | Sinai |
| Sinai 33 | Sinai |
|
 | |
| <i>hrrw rsw shr.f Mhw hr wd.f.</i> : At whose plans the South is content, under whose commands the North is content | |
| Bersh. 5 (<i>Bersh.</i> II, pl. 13) | Bersheh |
|
 | |
| <i>hrrw hr prw n r.f.</i> : At whose utterance one is content | |
| Hammamat 47 | Wadi Hammamat |
|
 | |
| <i>hrrw t^{wy} hr st r.f.</i> : At whose speech the Two Lands are content | |
| BM 100 | Unknown |
|
 | |
| 10.7. <i>hrp</i> | |
|
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| <i>hrp shr ht</i> : One who suppresses the body's desire | |
| Assiut 1, 181 | Assiut |
|
 | |
| 11. <i>h</i> | |
|
 | |
| 11.1. <i>h³</i> | |
|
 | |
| <i>h³ nb.f m w^{''}w</i> : One who attends his lord in privacy | |
| CG 20538 | Abydos |
| CG 20538 | Abydos |

11.2. *ḥꜣt**ḥꜣt wrw sꜣs*: Foremost of the six great ones

Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat

ḥꜣt ḥꜣtꜣw: Foremost of the foremost

Assiut 4, 55 Assiut

ḥꜣt ḥꜣtꜣw m pr nswt: Foremost of the foremost in the palaceBersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, 25) Bersheh

Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub

ḥꜣt Ḥmꜣw: Foremost of the SouthBersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, 25) Bersheh

Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 22 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

ḥꜣty-ꜣ m pr-wr: Local ruler in the shrine of Upper EgyptB. Hasan 3 (*BH* I, pl. 35) Beni Hasan11.3. *ḥꜣi**ḥꜣi n rmt ntrw m ḥsꜣw ḥntyw.f hrw wꜥꜣ.sn r ḥwt-ntr*: At the approach of whose statues the people and gods rejoice on the day they proceed to the temple

Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

11.4. *ḥꜣi**ḥby m wsꜣt*: Celebrator of festivals in the broadcourtBersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub

11.5. *ḥbs**ḥbs-ꜣ m st imnt m mꜣꜣ nfrw nb.f*: One with (his) hand covered in hidden places, as one who sees the beauty of his lord

Leiden V4 Abydos

ḥbs-r ḥr rꜣt.n.f: Discreet²⁴ regarding what is known by him

Assiut 6 Assiut

²⁴ Literally "one who covers the mouth."

ḥbsw n iw ḥšw: Clothing for the one who comes naked

Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

11.6. *Ḥp*

Ḥp n mṯ.f: A Nile for his people

Assiut 3, 6 Assiut

Assiut 5, 44 Assiut

11.7. *ḥm*

ḥm nt m pr-nw: Servant of the Red Crown in the shrine of Lower Egypt

BM 574 Abydos

ḥm-nṯr ḥst Sḥt: Priest of Isis and Seshat

Assiut 1, 238 Assiut

ḥm-nṯr wr-šḥmw nb wrt: Priest of the Great-of-Power, Lord of the Red Crown

Assiut 1 Assiut

ḥm-nṯr wrt-ḥkʿw: Priest of the Great-of-Magic

CG 20683 Abydos

ḥm-nṯr m pr-nsr: Priest in the Shrine of Lower Egypt

Sinai 112 Sinai

ḥm-nṯr n ḥnty ḥsrt: Priest of the foremost of *Hsrt* (i.e., Thoth)

Bersh. 2 (*Bersh.* I, pl. 16) Bersheh

ḥm-nṯr n šmʿ-s mḥw-s: Priest of the White and Red Crowns

BM 574 Abydos

ḥm-nṯr Nḥbt: Priest of Nekhbet

BM 575 Abydos

ḥm-nṯr Ḥr: Priest of Horus

B. Hasan 3 (*BH* I, pl. 35) Beni Hasan

CG 20539 Abydos

ḥm-nṯr Ḥr-Ḥpw: Priest of Horus-Anubis

Assiut 1 Assiut

ḥm-nṯr Ḥr-Ḥpw ḥnty pr šmswt: Priest of Horus-Anubis who presides over the suite

CG 20539 Abydos

ḥm-nṯr Ḥr srḳty: Priest of Horus of the double scorpion

Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

ḥm-nṯr Ḥr Kfti: Priest of Horus Kefi

CG 20539 Abydos

hm-ntr Šw Tfn: Priest of Shu and Tefnut

Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

hm dwʿw m pdt šs: Priest of Dwaw in stretching the cord²⁵

Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat

11.8. *hmw*

hmw m s...: Expert in ...

Hatnub gr. 14 Hatnub

hmww m wp ht: Expert in judging a matter

Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub

hmww m hʿt-drit: Expert in examining with his hand(?)

Hatnub gr. 15 Hatnub

hmw m dbʿw.f: Expert in his fingers

CG 20539 Abydos

hmw n wnw.f: Expert of his duty

Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 15? Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 19 Hatnub

hmww n mrwt: Beloved craftsman

Hatnub gr. 30 Hatnub

11.9. *hn*

hnt Dḥwty phw.f r gr spʿt.f: One whose rearguard Thoth commands so that his entire district is ready

Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

11.10. *hnb*

hnb ntt iwt: One who conveyed what is and what is not

Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

11.11. *hnk*

hnk nbw: One who offers gold

Meir C1 (*Meir* VI, pl. 13) Meir

²⁵ See Ward, *Titles*, 113, no. 942.

11.12. *hry*

hry wgb m³ n r nb: True master of largesse of every day
BMA 37.1489 E Unknown

hry nst Itm: Master of the throne of Atum
Siat, pl. 5 Assiut

hry sgr m w³r: Master of silence in private
Leiden V4 Abydos

hry sgr n snwt: Master of silence of the entourage
CG 20539 Abydos

hry-sšt³ pr-wr: Master of secrets of the shrine of Upper Egypt
Sinai 112 Sinai

hry-sšt³ m m³by: Master of secrets in the lawcourt (Hall of the Thirty)
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos

hry-sšt³ m hwt-nbw: Master of secrets in Hatnub
Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat
Sinai 405 Sinai

hry-sšt³ m hwt-ntr: Master of secrets in the temple
Assiut 1, 245 Assiut

hry-sšt³ n ipt nswt: Master of secrets of the king's apartments
Saqqara 18x (TPC 282) Saqqara

hry-sšt³ n W³dyt: Master of secrets of Nekhbet and Buto
CG 20683 Abydos
Meir B4 (*Meir* III, pl. 9) Meir
Saqqara 18x (TPC 281) Saqqara
Sinai 120 Sinai

hry-sšt³ n W³dyt wrty hk³w: Master of secrets of Nekhbet and Buto, the 2 great ones
of magic
BM 839 Abydos

hry-sšt³ n Wsr: Master of secrets of Osiris
Assiut 1, 330 Assiut

hry-sšt³ n pr-nb: Master of secrets in the embalming place
CG 20539 Abydos

hry-sšt³ n pr-nswt: Master of secrets in the administrative palace
Saqqara 18x (TPC 280) Saqqara

- hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t*: Master of secrets in the robing room
 Saqqara 18x (TPC 280) Saqqara
- hry-sšt3 n m33t w6*: Master of secrets of that which only one sees
 Meir B2 (*Meir* II, pl. 15) Meir
 Meir B4 (*Meir* III, pl. 9) Meir
- hry-sšt3 n mdw-ntr*: Master of secrets of the sacred writing
 Assiut 1, 4,22,216 Assiut
 Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, 12) Beni Hasan
 Beni Hasan 3 (*BH* I, p. 42) Beni Hasan
 Bersh. 2 (*Bersh.* I, pl. 16) Bersheh
 CG 20539 Abydos
- hry-sšt3 n nb t3wy*: Master of secrets of the Lord of the Two Lands
 Louvre C243 Abydos
- hry-sšt3 n nswt m st.f nbt*: Master of secrets of the king in all his places
 CG 20539 Abydos
- hry-sšt3 n ntr m swt dsrwt*: Master of secrets of the god in the sacred places
 Bersh. 2 (*Bersh.* I, pl. 6) Bersheh
- hry-sšt3 n r-prw*: Master of secrets of the chapels
 Bersh. 2 (*Bersh.* I, pl. 6) Bersheh
 CG 20538 Abydos
 CG 20683 Abydos
- hry-sšt3 hwt-ntr nt ...*: Master of secrets in the temple of ...
 B. Hasan 13 (*BH* I, pl. 41) Beni Hasan
- hry-tp 3wt hwt-ntr*: Chief of temple offices
 B. Hasan 13 (*BH* I, pl. 41) Beni Hasan
- hry-tp 3wt hwt-ntr P3ht*: Chief of temple offices of Pakhet
 B. Hasan 3 (*BH* I, pl. 33) Beni Hasan
- hry-tp 3wt hntiwt*: Chief of principal offices
 Assiut 1, 172 Assiut
 Bersh. 2 (*Bersh.* I, pl. 16) Bersheh
- hry-tp 3 m pr-wr*: Great chief in the shrine of Upper Egypt
 Assiut 1, 231 Assiut
- hry-tp 3 n hkrw-nswt*: Great chief of the royal insignia
 CG 20539 Abydos

- hry-tp ? n smrw*: Great chief of the companions
MMA 9.180.111 Lisht
- hry-tp wrw n Šm'w*: Chief of the great ones of Upper Egypt
Meir B4 (*Meir* III, pl. 9) Meir
- hry-tp wd'-mdw*: Chief of the judgment hall
CG 20539 Abydos
- hry-tp m lnt nrt*: Chief in bringing the goddess
B. Hasan 3 (*BH* I, pl. 33) Beni Hasan
- hry-tp m šrt sbiw*: Chief in overthrowing rebels
Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh
- hry-tp n wd' mdw*: Chief in judging words
CG 20539 Abydos
- hry-tp n pr 'ntyw*: Chief of the house of myrrh
Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh
- hry-tp n kmwt dšrw*: Chief of the cultivated lands and the desert
CG 20539 Abydos
- hry-tp n t' r-dr.f*: Chief of the entire land
CG 20683 Abydos
Leiden V5 Abydos
- hry-tp n t' (?) Šm'w*: Chief of Upper Egypt (?)
Assiut 4, 54 Assiut
- hry-tp niwt Kmt Dšrt*: Chief of the townships of the cultivation and the desert
CG 20539 Abydos
- hry-tp hwt-nbw*: Chief of Hatnub
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
- hry-tp hwt-ntr ml kd.s*: Chief of the entire temple
Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub
- hry-tp Hpw*: Chief of the Apis bull
Assiut 2, 12 Assiut
- hry-tp s'hw nbw*: Chief of all dignitaries
TT 60 Thebes
- hry-tp smsw h'yt*: Chief elder of the portal
Louvre C1 Abydos

hry-tp sht.f: Chief of his fields

Assiut 6, 8 Assiut

hry-tp šw Šm'w: Chief of the pools of Lower Egypt

Bersh. 2 (*Bersh.*I, pl. 16) Bersheh

hry-tp [Šm'w] T3-mhw: Chief of [Upper] and Lower Egypt

Sinai 93 Sinai

hry-tp db3 nswt m w'w: Chief of the king's clothing in the private chamber

BM 573 Abydos

11.13. *hst*

hst: Favored one

Assiut 5, 15 Assiut

Hatnub gr. 28 Hatnub

Wadi el Hudi 11 Wadi el Hudi

hst(y) 3t m pr nswt: One greatly favored in the administrative palace

Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 9) Beni Hasan

hstsw nkt: One favored by Anuket

Heqaib 36 Elephantine

hst.f/hst.f: One whom he favors

Assiut 1, 233 Assiut

B. Hasan 15 (*BH* II, pl. 4) Beni Hasan

Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh

Hammamat 205 Wadi Hammamat

Heqaib 12 Elephantine

Meir B2 Meir

MMA 14.2.1 Thebes

Sinai 47 Sinai

Sinai 120 Sinai

Vienna 109 Abydos

hst(y).f wn m3: One whom he truly favors

Meir B2 Meir

hst(y).f m hrt-hrw nt r' nb: One whom he favors in the course of every day

Meir B4 Meir

B. Hasan 15 (*BH* II, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

hst(y).f n st ib.f: One whom he favors, of his affection

B. Hasan 15 (*BH* II, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

B. Hasan 17 (<i>BH</i> II, pl. 16)	Beni Hasan
B. Hásan 21 (<i>BH</i> II, pl. 22a)	Beni Hasan
Heqaib 1	Elephantine
Louvre C167	Abydos
MMA 57.95	Thebes
Saqqara 18x (<i>TPC</i> pl. 83)	Saqqara
RILN 74	Girgawi
Wadi el Hudi 3	Wadi el Hudi

hs(y).fr' nb: One whom he favors every day
B. Hasan 17 (*BH* II, pl. 14) Beni Hasan

hs(y) m sht: Favored in the marshlands
Meir C1 (*Meir* VI, pl. 13) Meir

hssy m^s: Truly favored one
Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh

hsy mry: Favored and beloved one
Hatnub gr. 43 Hatnub

hssy n imiw-r.f nty rhw m pr nb.f: Favored by his overseers, known in his lord's house
BM 572 Abydos

hssy n imy-r m^s: Favored by the overseer of troops
Wadi el Hudi 8 Wadi el Hudi

hssy n iry-p't Hk^s-ib: Favored by the hereditary noble Heqaib
Heqaib 61 Elephantine

hsy n 'rrwt.f: Favored by his judicial department
Deir Rifeh 1 (*Kêmi* 6, 140) Deir Rifeh

hsy n nb.f: Favored by his lord
Hatnub gr. 49 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 14 Hatnub
JE 59483 West Nubian Desert

hssy n nb.f m^s: Truly favored by his lord
Shatt er Rigal 468 Shatt er Rigal
Shatt er Rigal 472 Shatt er Rigal
Inscr. Ab. C13 Abydos

hssy n niwt(.f): Favored by his township
Assiut 5, 47 Assiut

Hatnub gr. 11	Hatnub
Hatnub in. 10	Hatnub
Heqaib 60	Elephantine

<i>ḥsy/ḥsw n nswt</i> : Favored by the king	
BM 1177	Wadi Halfa
Hammamat 199	Wadi Hammamat

<i>ḥss n ntr.f</i> : Favored by his god	
Assiut 1, 236	Assiut

<i>ḥsy n ntr.f niwty m-ḥrt-ḥrw nt r' nb</i> : Favored by his local god in the course of every day	
Assiut 4, 85	Assiut

<i>ḥsy n rmt nb</i> : Favored by all people	
Hatnub gr. 38	Hatnub

<i>ḥs(y) n Hr ḥḥ rḥyt</i> : Favored by Horus, smiter of the rekhyt	
B. Hasan 15 (BH II, pl. 4)	Beni Hasan

<i>ḥs(y) n Ḥkt Hr-wr</i> : Favored by Hekat of Her-wer	
B. Hasan 17 (BH II, pl. 13)	Beni Hasan

<i>ḥssy n sp³t.f</i> : Favored by his district	
Assiut 1, 184	Assiut
Assiut 4, 70	Assiut

<i>ḥs(y) n stp.f</i> : Favored by his the people of his district	
B. Hasan 17 (BH II, pl. 13)	Beni Hasan

<i>ḥss/ḥsy n Stt/ḥssw Stt</i> : Favored by Satet	
Heqaib 28	Elephantine
Heqaib 36	Elephantine
Heqaib 61	Elephantine

<i>ḥs(y)/ḥssw nb.f r' nb</i> : Favored by his lord every day	
Beni Hasan 17	Beni Hasan
Louvre C1	Abydos

<i>ḥssw nb.f šmt.f</i> : One whose lord favors his actions	
Assiut 1, 247	Assiut
Louvre C1	Abydos

<i>ḥss(w) r' nb</i> : One who is favored every day	
Assiut 6, 12	Assiut

- hssw ntrw.s nbw*: One whom all its gods favor
Bersheh 2 Bersheh
- hstt.i hr.f r' nb*: One whose favor is before him every day
Assiut 6, 15 Assiut
- hssw Hr hry-ib 'h*: Favored by Horus who is in the palace
Assiut 1, 220 Assiut
- hs(y) hr snwt.f*: Favored by his entourage
Beni Hasan 3 Beni Hasan
- hs(y).s*: One whom she (i.e., Sekhet) favors
Bersheh 2 Bersheh
- hs(y).sn*: One whom they favor (i.e., Amenemhat I and Senwosret I)
Louvre C1 Abydos

11.14. *hsb*

- hsb ir sw*: Reckoned by the one who made him(?)
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

11.15. *hk³*

- hk³ mry niwt.f*: Beloved ruler of his township
B. Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 8) Beni Hasan
- hk³ n mrwt*: Beloved ruler
Assiut 1,181 Assiut
- hk³ niwt m³wt*: Ruler of the new townships
B. Hasan 3 (*BH* I, pl. 25) Beni Hasan
- hk³ sp³t.f*: Ruler of his district
Heqaib 28 Elephantine

11.16. *htp*

- htp-ib n ntr nfr*: Pleasing to the good god
Assiut 1, 214 Assiut
Bersheh 2 (*Bersh.* I, pl. 6) Bersheh
- htp-ib Hr nb 'hr*: Pleasing to Horus, Lord of the palace
Assiut 1, 153 Assiut
Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat
- htp-ib hr h³b sw*: Pleasing to the one who sent him
Assiut 1, 215 Assiut

11.17. *hd**hd msyt*: Bright of supper(?)

Leiden V6 Abydos

hd n hr (n) skw n nswt hrw 'h³: Generous to the king's troops on the day of fighting

Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

hd hbsw: White of clothing

Leiden V6 Abydos

hd-hr: Generous

BM 581 Abydos

Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

hd-hr n tw³w.f.: Generous to his subordinate²⁶

BM 581 Abydos

hd-hr h³wt wmt: Generous in food and fodder

MMA 12.184 Abydos

12. *h*12.1. *h³m**h³m n wpwt*: One who bows down to messengers

B. Hasan 2 (BH1, pl. 9) Beni Hasan

h³m n wrwt: One who bows down to the great ones

Bersheh 8 (Bersheh, II, pl. 21) Bersheh

h³m rmn.f n hriw-tp.f.: One who bends his arm to his superiors

BM 572 Abydos

12.2. *hw**hw*: Protector

B. Hasan 2 (BH1, pl. 17) Beni Hasan

Bersheh 2 (Bersheh, I, pl. 9) Bersheh

hw w' iwtw snwy.f.: Sole protector without his equals

Meir B2 Meir

hw n imy-'hr: Protector of the one who is in the palace

Bersheh 2 (Bersheh, I, pl. 6) Bersheh

²⁶ The *n* is written twice; see Hoch, *Grammar*, 191.

12.3. *ḥwyt*

ḥwyt ḥsy: A shelter for the cold
Kestner 2927 Unknown

ḥwyt ḥmt n ḥsw m W3sty: A warm shelter for the cold in the Theban Nome
Louvre C1 Abydos

12.4. *ḥwd*

ḥwd ʔ ḥr ḳd: Rich man, entirely great
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

ḥwd m 'nhw: One rich in sheep
Assiut 1, 247 Assiut

ḥwd n ḥt nb: One rich in everything
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

12.5. *ḥbw(?)*

ḥbw(?) n mrwt: Beloved dancer(?)
Hatnub gr. 39 Hatnub

12.6. *ḥpr*

ḥpr iwt r ḥpr: One who brought about what was not going to happen(?)
Sinai 35 Sinai

ḥpr m 'ḥ: One who grew up in the palace
Durham N1935 Wadi Gasus

ḥpr n n.f Sh't-Hr mmnt: For whom Sekhat-Hor created cattle
UC 14333 Armant ?

ḥpr ḥr rdwy ḥm.f: One who grew up at the feet of His Majesty
Sinai 100 Sinai

ḥpr ḥr rdwy n nswt: One who grew up at the feet of the king
BM 101 Abydos

12.7. *ḥpš*

ḥpš: Powerful man
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

12.8. *hmt**hmt lit.*: One who anticipates what is coming

BM 581 Abydos

12.9. *hnms**hnms.f mry.f.*: His friend whom he loves

Sehel 76 Elephantine

hnms n ndsw.: Friend to commoners

BM 581 Abydos

12.10. *hnrt**hnrt h³ m šdyt [knit] bw nb r.f.*: Strong fortress in the marshes, onto whom everyone holds

Hatnub gr. 25 Hatnub

hnrt.s hrw h³.s nh³t.s m šdt.š³: Its fortress on the day that it fights²⁷, its shelter in apportioning the marshland

Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

12.11. *hnty**hnty Bwt m pr nswt.*: Foremost of offices in the palace

MMA 57.95 Thebes

hnty idbwy.: Foremost of the two banks

Louvre C2 Abydos

hnty wr hrp hmwt.: Foremost of the master craftsmen

BMA 37.1489 E Unknown

hnty n Bwt m hwt-nr.: Foremost of offices in the temple

Munich GL WAF 35 Abydos

hnty n mrwt.f st.f.: Love of whom advanced his place

Manchester Abydos

hnty n st m pr nswt.: Foremost of position in the palace

Assiut 1, 231 Assiut

hnty r hntiw.: More advanced than the foremostBersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh²⁷ The suffix pronoun *s* refers to the *niwt*.

ḥnty mṯ: Foremost of people

Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

ḥnty srw r int n.f ʿtt špst: Foremost of the officials with regard to bringing him precious raw materials

Sinai 112 Sinai

Sinai 114 Sinai

ḥnty st: Foremost of place

Louvre C243 (E 3462) Abydos

Edfou, 32, 10 Edfu

ḥnty st m pr-ʿ: Foremost of place in the palace

Deir Rifeh 1 (*Kēmi* 6, 140) Deir Rifeh

[ḥnty st m] pr nb.f: Foremost of place in his lord's house

Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat

ḥnty st m pr nswt: Foremost of place in the administrative palace

Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

ḥnty st r smḥ Hr: Foremost of place at the *smḥ*-throne of Horus

Saqqara 18x (*TPC* pl. 83) Saqqara

CG 20531 Abydos

Berlin 1204 Abydos

CG 20539 Abydos

ḥnty Šm'w: Foremost of Upper Egypt

Assiut 5, 21 Assiut

ḥnty tḥ pn: Foremost of this land

Hatnub gr. 11 Hatnub

ḥnty tḥ.f: Foremost of his land

Leiden V5 Abydos

Louvre C2 Abydos

12.12. *ḥrp*

ḥrp ḥwt: Controller of offices

Bersheh 2 (*Bersh.* I, pl. 9) Bersheh

ḥrp ḥwt nbt ntrt: Controller of every divine office

Assiut 1, 216 Assiut

BM 1177 Wadi Halfa

Bersheh 2 (*Bersh.* I, pl. 9) Bersheh

Meir B4 (*Meir* III, pl. 18) Meir

- Saqqara 11Sq (TPC 274) Saqqara
 Saqqara 18x (TPC 281) Saqqara
- hrp ḥwtiw*: Controller of officials
 MMA 57.95 Thebes
- hrp ḥkmt*: Controller of lakmet
 Saqqara 18x (TPC 280) Saqqara
- hrp-ib*: Controlled of heart
 Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan
 Hammamat 199 Wadi Hammamat
- hrp-ib wnw t̄st*: Controlled of heart when time is hurried
 Louvre C167 Abydos
- hrp imiw-r*: Controller of overseers
 Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat
- hrp imiw st.f*: Controller of those who are in his places
 Meir B2 Meir
- hrp ikr n nb t̄wy*: Worthy controller for the Lord of the Two Lands
 Sinai 405 Sinai
- hrp ḥst m t̄ kywy*: Controller of multitudes in the land of others²⁸
 Sinai 54 Sinai
- hrp wrw Ḥm'w T̄-mḥw*: Controller of the great ones of Upper and Lower Egypt
 CG 20539 Abydos
- hrp wrḥt*: Controller of ointment
 Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan
 Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh
- hrp b̄w t̄wy skr b̄w Nḥn*: Controller of the *bas* of the Two Lands, who adorns the *bas* of Nekhen
 Assiut 1, 238 Assiut
- hrp mrwt.f r iwt ḥrw nfr n.i im*: Director of my servants until the holiday came for me
 Florence 1774 Thebes
- hrp n.f ḥḥ m rḥyt r irt n.f ḥrt-ib.f r mnw.f wḥ tpy t̄*: One who directs for him millions of common people to do his wishes for him concerning his monuments which endure upon the earth
 Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat

²⁸ Fischer, *Titles*, 27.

- hꜣp nbw*: Controller of gold
Meir B2 (*Meir* II, pl. 12) Meir
- hꜣp nswt*: Royal controller
Bersh. 2 (*Bersh.* I, pl. 18) Bersheh
Hammamat G 70 Wadi Hammamat
- hꜣp nsty*: Controller of the two thrones
Bersh. 7 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 19) Bersheh
- hꜣp nsty m prwy*: Controller of the two thrones in the double house
Assiut 1, 4 Assiut
- hꜣp rhw nswt*: Controller of king's acquaintances
Saqqara 11Sq (*TPC* 273) Saqqara
Saqqara 18x (*TPC* 281) Saqqara
- hꜣp hꜣpw-ntr*: Controller of divine offerings
B. Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 16) Beni Hasan
Sinai 96 Sinai
- hꜣp hꜣpw-ntr m rw-pr ntrw niwt tn*: Controller of divine offerings in the chapels of this township
B. Hasan 13 (*BH* I, pl. 41) Beni Hasan
- hꜣp hꜣwnt nt*: Controller of the estates of the Red Crown
Assiut 1, 216 Assiut
B. Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 17) Beni Hasan
Bersheh 2 (*Bersh.* I, pl. 9) Bersheh
Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat
Saqqara 11Sq (*TPC* 274) Saqqara
- hꜣp S3w*: Controller of Sais
BM 574 Abydos
- hꜣp shꜣr-ht*: One who controls (his) thoughts
Assiut 1 Assiut
- hꜣp sšm n nb tšwy*: Controller of affairs of the Lord of the Two Lands
Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat
- hꜣp šm'w*: Controller of Upper Egypt
*Siu*t, pl. 5 Assiut
- hꜣp k3wt nbwt nt nswt*: Controller of all works of the king
Sinai 112 Sinai
- hꜣp tšwy*: Controller of the Two Lands
*Siu*t, pl. 5 Assiut

12.13. *hsf**hsf w3y m 3t.f.* One who drives the robber away from his attack

Assiut 1, 230 Assiut

hsf 3dw: One who repels the aggressor

Assiut III, 6 Assiut

hsf m ... 3kw-ib: One who repels from ... the disaffected of heartBersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh12.14. *htm**htm nwdw 3psw:* Sealer of the precious unguentsBersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh*htm hr hkr:* Sealer of the royal insigniaBersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh*htm r.f hr sdmt.f:* One whose mouth is sealed concerning his judgment

CG 20539 Abydos

htnty ikr: Worthy sealbearer

Hatnub gr. 14 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 28 Hatnub

13. *h*13.1. *h3h3ti**h3h3ti sbd3 m3tiw nbtiw:* Storm that weakens all northerners

Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

13.2. *hpn**hpn k3w dd3 iw3w:* Fat of cattle, fat of oxen

Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

13.3. *hms**hms s3.f m r3... r-dr.s:* One who bends his back in knowing my ... entirely

Hatnub gr. 49 Hatnub

13.4. *hnmw*

hnmw n niwt.i: Citizen of his township
 Hatnub gr. 38 Hatnub

13.5. *hr*

hr kꜣ: Possessor of a *ka*
 Meir B2 Meir
 Meir B4 Meir

13.6. *hry-ḥbt*

hry-ḥbt ikr: Worthy lector-priest
 Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub

hry-ḥbt psdt ꜣt: Lector priest of the great ennead
 Meir B4 (*Meir* III, pl. 9) Meir

13.7. *hrd*

hrd nswt n šdt.f: Child of the king of his upbringing
 B. Hasan 3 (*BH* I, pl. 32) Beni Hasan

14. *s*14.1. *s*

s ikr n wbꜣ n.f lb: Worthy man in whom one confides
 Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh

s bit: Man of character
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

s mnḥ rḥ.n.f rn.f: Effective man whose name he knew
 CG 20539 Abydos

s n ...: Man of ...
 Hatnub gr. 38 Hatnub

s n ꜣwi.tw n.f gbꜣ: Man to whom one stretches his arm
 Leiden V4 Abydos

s n ḥnwty n snw.f: Man of the audience-chamber, without his equal
 Hatnub gr. 22 Hatnub

s n wꜣyw: Man of the private apartments
 CG 20539 Abydos

s n wb³ n.f ib in.f r sh hn^c knbt: Man to whom he (i.e., the king) opens his heart when he reaches the booth with the *qenbet*-court

Hatnub gr. 25 Hatnub

s n blt hnty mt: Man of character before the people

Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

s n m³t hnty t³wy: Man of justice before the Two Lands

CG 20538 Abydos

CG 20539 Abydos

s n mtr: Man of precision

Louvre C167 Abydos

s n mtr r-gs mt: Man of precision to people

BM 561 Abydos

s n hb: Man of festival

Bersheh 1 (*Bersheh*, II, 26) Bersheh

Sinai 35 Sinai

s n hnt: Man of rank(?)

Bersheh. 8 (*Bersheh*, II, pl. 21) Bersheh

s n knbt: Man of the *qenbet*-court

Wadi el Hudi 3 Wadi el Hudi

s n tp hsb: Man of rectitude

JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos

s kbb m-m d³mw: Calm man in the midst of the troops

RILN 27 Girgawi

14.2. *s³*

s³ n i³w: Son for an old man

Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub

s³ idt: Son of the cow

Bersheh. 5 (*Bersheh*, II, pl. 13) Bersheh

s³.f ikr: His worthy heir

Heqaib 27 Elephantine

s³.f mry.f: His son, his beloved

Heqaib 2 Elephantine

Heqaib 4 Elephantine

Heqaib 7 Elephantine

Heqaib 15	Elephantine
<i>s³.f ds.f n-wn-m³ꜣ</i> : His own son in reality ²⁹	
Hatnub gr. 23	Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26	Hatnub
<i>s³ mri.f</i> : Son whom he loves	
CG 20539	Abydos
CG 20538	Abydos
<i>s³ Npri</i> : Son of Nepri	
UC 14333	Armant ?
<i>s³ hk³ n Wnt</i> : Son of a ruler of the Hare Nome	
Hatnub gr. 16	Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 17	Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24	Hatnub
<i>s³ s iwty (hsf).f</i> : Son of a man without his enemy	
Hatnub gr. 24	Hatnub
<i>s³ s nht</i> : Son of a strong man	
Hatnub gr. 24	Hatnub
<i>s³ sr</i> : Son of a noble	
Leiden V4	Abydos
<i>s³ Dhwtj n-wn m³ꜣ</i> : Son of Thoth in reality	
Hatnub gr. 20	Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24	Hatnub
14.3. <i>s³l</i> (n.)	
<i>s³l</i> : Wise man	
Hatnub gr. 24	Hatnub
BM 461	Abydos
BM 569	Abydos
BM 572	Abydos
Louvre C170	Abydos
MMA 57.95	Thebes

²⁹ Refers to Thoth

14.4. *s3i* (vb.)

s33 iwt.f m-m srw: One whose coming is awaited among the officials

Assiut 1, 214, 246 Assiut

s33 iwt.f m hwt nbw hrw n wp r: One whose coming is awaited in Hatnub on the day of opening the mouth

Sinai 104 Sinai

s33 iwt.f m-hry-lb hk3w: One who coming is awaited amidst the rulers

Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

s33 iwt.f m db3w m sh't Hr nb 'h: One whose coming is awaited at the crowning at the appearance of Horus, Lord of the Palace

BM 574 Abydos

s33 iwt.f (i)n mitw.f: One whose coming is awaited by his peers

CG 20536 Abydos

B. Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 15) Beni Hasan

s33 iwt.f n hrp k3wt hrw s'h' wdnt lmy hrt-ntr: One whose coming is awaited by the overseer of works on the day of erecting the offerings which are in the necropolis

Hammamat 48 Wadi Hammamat

s33 iwt.f n st nbt: One whose coming is awaited everywhere

Assiut 6, 10 Assiut

Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 25 Hatnub

Sinai 112³⁰ Sinai

s33 iwt.f n st nfrt: One whose coming is awaited at the place of beauty

Sinai 112 Sinai

s33 iwt.f (i)n snwt: One whose coming is awaited by the entourage

CG 20538 Abydos

CG 20539 Abydos

JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos

s33 iwt.f (i)n tst.f: One whose coming is awaited by his troops

Hatnub gr. 43 Hatnub

s33 iwt.f (i)n d3d3w hrw ipt b3kw: One whose coming is awaited by the assessors on the day of counting revenues

CG 20536 Unknown

³⁰ "Nbt" restored.

14.5. *sʒw**sʒw prwy ḥd*: Guard of the double house of silver

Sinai 104 Sinai

Sinai 112 Sinai

sʒw ḥnmw ntrw: Guard of the gods' herd

Assiut 1, 234 Assiut

14.6. *sʒb**sʒb ʒd-mr*: Senior administratorBersh. 2 (*Bersh.* pl. 16) Bersheh*sʒb ʒd-mr Dp*: Senior administrator of Dep

Assiut 2, 13-14 Assiut

Bersheh 2 (*Bersh.* I, pl. 7) Bersheh14.7. *sʒk**sʒk*: Controlled

BM 581 Abydos

sʒk-ib: Self-controlledBersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

sʒk-ib ḥr wpt nswt: Self-controlled regarding royal business

Hamamat 113 Wadi Hamamat

sʒk sw r rwty: Self-controlled toward the stranger

Hamamat 199 Wadi Hamamat

14.8. *sʒt**sʒt n ir mʒt*: One who pours libations for the one who does *ma'at* (i.e., Thoth)

Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

14.9. *slʒ**slʒ imyt-ib*: One who perceives what is in the heart

Assiut 1, 182 Assiut

slʒ s r tpt-r.f: One who perceives a man according to his speech

JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos

14.10. *slp*

slp n.f ntt iwt: Tom whom is entrusted what is and what is not
Leiden V4 Abydos

14.11. *sikr*

sikr n.f hnty t'wy: One who enriched for him the Southland
BM 1213 Abydos

14.12. *sitn*

sitn n.f n wrw 'p: One to whom the great ones of the palace were subordinated
Louvre C1 Abydos

14.13. *sid*

siddy h'kw-lb: One who enfeebles the disaffected
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos

siddy sbi hr nswt: One who enfeebles the one who rebels against the king
CG 20539 Abydos

14.14. *s'?*

s' n Dhwty 'h'.f r sw'd hwt-ntr: One whose wealth Thoth made great in order to
provide for the temple

Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

14.15. *s'nh*

s'nh niwt m h'i m'd't: One who nourished the township by the *madjat* measure
Assiut 5, 9 Assiut

s'nh niwt.f m ts: One who nourishes his township in drought

Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

s'nh niwt.f smt r-dr.s wrw.s mi šriw.s n hr hn: One who nourishes his township,
assisting it's entirety, its great ones together with its small ones, without a scowling
face

Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

s'nh rhyt: One who nourishes the common people

CG 20539 Abydos

s'nh hkr n sp't.f: One who nourishes the hungry of his district

Assiut 1, 228 Assiut

- s'nh h'rw.t.s*: One who nourishes its widows
 Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub
- s'nh d'mw*: One who nourishes the troops
 Brussels E 5266 Sinai
- 14.16. *s'r*
- s'r m't r 'h*: One who raises up ma'at to the palace
 CG 20539 Abydos
- s'r mdt 'rk.n.f s(t)*: One who presents a report of which he is knowledgeable
 JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos
- s'r mdt r hnw k'r*: One who presents a report in the shrine
 CG 20539 Abydos
- s'r(?) nswt hr-hnty t' n s'hr hn*: One whom the king presented before the land on account of profound advice³¹
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
- s'r snwt n nswt*: One who presents the entourage to the king
 Durham N1935 Wadi Gasus
- s'r knd.f(?)*: One who promotes his character
 BM 100 Unknown
- 14.17. *s'h*
- s'h 's n mpt m pr imlwt*: Noble great of years in the house of the *imlwt*
 Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan
- s'h 's n kdwy hrw n di snq*: Noble great of reputation on the day of giving fear
 Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan
- s'h mnw*: Noble of monuments
 Beni Hasan 3 Beni Hasan
- s'h mnh*: Efficient noble
 Assiut 1, 227 Assiut
 Wadi el Hudi 149 Khor Dehmit
- s'h nfr m-m srw*: Worthy noble among the officials
 Deir Rifeh 1 (*Kemi* 6, 140) Deir Rifeh
- s'h smrw*: Noblest of the companions
 CG 20546 Abydos

³¹ This rendering follows Brovarski, "Ahanakht," 18, 21.

s'h špss: Illustrious noble

Meir B3 (*Meir* VI, pl. 8) Meir

14.18. *s'h'*

s'h' n nb.f nhh (?): One who is promoted by his lord forever (?)

Hammamat 17 Wadi Hammamat

14.19. *sw'w'*

sw'w' isst hr lb: One who ponders what is (?) in the heart³²

BM 581 Abydos

14.20. *sw'h*

sw'h mrwt.f m snḏ: One who makes his love endure through respect

Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh

14.21. *sw'š*

sw'š sw m Dhwt: One who pays him homage on the feast of Thoth

Assiut 1. 238 Assiut

14.22. *sw'd*

sw'd sint: One who freshens the seals

Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

14.23. *swr*

swr hnk' š'wt: One who increases the abundant drink offerings

Meir C1 Meir

14.24. *swḏ'*

swḏ' snḏ: One who calms fear

Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

14.25. *sb'*

sb' lb.f r-hrt: One who taught his heart satisfactorily

Assiut 1, 243, 350 Assiut

³² The meaning of *isst* is uncertain. See Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 138; Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 111.

- sbꜣ m wdꜣ s snw*: A teacher in judging between two men
BM 572 Abydos
- sbꜣ n nswt*: Pupil of the king
Assiut 4, 72 Assiut
BM 1213 Abydos
- sbꜣ n Hr nb iwnt*: Pupil of Horus, Lord of the palace
BM 101 Abydos
Sinai 93 Sinai
Sinai 98 Sinai
- sbꜣ n Hr nb tꜣwy*: Pupil of Horus, Lord of the Two Lands
Durham N1935 Wadi Gasus
- sbꜣ n hrꜣwt .f.*: Teacher of his people³³
BM 1213 Abydos
- sbꜣ Hr ꜥnty pt*: Pupil of Horus, foremost of the sky
Assiut 1, 82, 260 Assiut
Assiut 2, 12-13 Assiut
- sbꜣ s ꜣꜥ.t(y).s(y) n.f.*: One who teaches a man what will be beneficial for him
BM 581 Abydos
- sbꜣ sꜣmw mꜣꜣ*: Teacher of right conduct
Munich GL WAF 35 Abydos
- 14.26. *sbꜣ*
- sbꜣ*: Splendid one
Louvre C170³⁴ Abydos
- sbꜣ m-ꜥry-ib wrw*: Splendid amidst the great ones
Louvre C167 Abydos
- 14.27. *sbꜣ*
- sbꜣ n ꜣsw.f.*: Friendly toward his troops
Hatnub gr. 39 Hatnub
- sbꜣ-ꜥr ꜥnꜣ bw nb*: Friendly with everyone
Assiut 3, 6 Assiut

³³ See the comments on *hrꜣw* in Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 139.

³⁴ The reading is uncertain. See Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 32, no. As 4.

sbṯ srw mʔʔ.sn sw: At seeing whom the officials are friendly
 Hatnub gr. 27 Hatnub

14.28. *spd*

spd-ib ḥr 's lrw: Effective of heart when summoned(?)³⁵
 BM 572 Abydos

spd-ns: Sharp of tongue
 Berlin 1204 Abydos
 Meir B4 (*Meir* III, pl. 12) Meir

spd-r: Sharp of speech
 Assiut 1, 346 Assiut

spd-r wšb: Sharp of speech when answering
 Assiut 1, 249 Assiut

spd-r m-ḥry-ib šntt: Skilled of speech among the quarrelsome
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

spd-r m swt ḥns-ib: Sharp of speech in times of greed³⁶
 BM 581 Abydos

spd-r m šh n srw: Sharp of speech in the hall of the officials
 Assiut 1, 248 Assiut

spd-ḥr: Alert
 Florence 1774 Thebes

spd ḥr pht(y).f: Alert regarding his power
 Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

spd-ḥr m st.f nbt: Alert in every place
 Hatnub gr. 28 Hatnub

spd-ḥr sml.f n nb.f: Alert when he reports to his lord
 Sinai 54 Sinai

14.29. *sfn*

sfnw sḏm.l m.l n ḏd n.(l) wnnt m lb: Friendly when I hear my name to one who told
 me what was in his heart
 BM 581 Abydos

³⁵ The meaning of 's lrw is uncertain. Cf. Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 50; Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, 107.

14.30. *sft*

sft m hwt-ntr m hrt-hrw: One who makes sacrifices in the temple every day

Munich GL WAF 35 Abydos

14.31. *sm* (n.)

sm w'b db'w(.f): *Sm*-priest pure of fingers

CG 20538 Abydos

Berlin 1204 Abydos

14.32. *sm* (v.)

sm 'šwt: One who assists multitudes

Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

sm wrw: One who assists the great ones

BM 1164

sm niwt.f iw (n)n-wn m-^c.s: One who assisted his township when it has nothing

Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

sm hkr nn ht.f: One who aids the hungry, the one without anything

BM 581 Abydos

sm h'rw: One who aids widows

MMA 12.184 Abydos

sm h'rt iwt hy.s: One who aids the widow who has no husband

Hatnub gr. 14 Hatnub

sm s(t) iw nn wn: One who aids it (i.e. *niwt*) when there is nothing

Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

14.33. *sm*³

*sm*³ *P'ht*: *Sema*-priest of Pakhet

B. Hasan 3 (*BH* I, pl. 24) Beni Hasan

*sm*³ *m pr P'ht*: *Sema*-priest in the temple of Pakhet

B. Hasan 3 (*BH* I, pl. 33) Beni Hasan

*sm*³ *n swt st P'ht*: *Sema*-priest in the abodes of(?) of Pakhet

BM 839 Abydos

14.34. *sm*³*y*

*sm*³*y m hwt nt*: Associate in the temple of the Red Crown

Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

sm³y n hrw nfr: One who joins in holiday

Bersheh 1 (<i>Bersh.</i> II, 26)	Bersheh
Hatnub gr. 20	Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 23	Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24	Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26	Hatnub
Sinai 35	Sinai

sm³y n h^c ntr: One who is united to the flesh of the god

CG 20539	Abydos
Saqqara 18x (<i>TPC</i> pl. 83)	Saqqara

sm³y Hr hry-ib 'h: Associate of Horus who is in the palace

ASAE 56, p. 215	Ezbet Rushdi
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sm³(y) Sh³t-Hr: Associate of Sekhat-Hor

Assiut 5, 43-44	Assiut
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14.35. *sm³c*

sm³w iswt: One who restores ancient things

Assiut 1, 235	Assiut
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14.36. *sm³c-hrw*

sm³c-hrw Wsr m stw.f nt rkrrt dsrt imyt S³wt: One whom Osiris vindicates in his

Assiut 1, 237	Assiut
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14.37. *smi*

smi mrrt: One who reports what is desired

Hammamat 47	Wadi Hammamat
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smi(w) n.f i³wt nbt: One to whom every office reports

Hammamat 114	Wadi Hammamat
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smiw n.f ntt iwt: One to whom is reported what is and what is not

Hammamat 113	Wadi Hammamat
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smi(w) n.f hrt-³wy: One to whom the affairs of the Two Lands are reported

<i>BIFAO Supp.</i> 81, p. 35	Karnak
Hammamat 108	Wadi Hammamat
Heidelberg 274	Karnak
Heqaib 61	Elephantine
Sinai 105	Sinai

sml(w) n.f t' r-dr-f: One to whom the entire land reports
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

sml n nswt m w'wt: One who reports to the king in privacy
 MMA 57.95 Thebes

sml n nswt rd.f mnw: One who reports to the king, his foot being firm
 Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat

sml smtr.f n sdm rh phr n wnt m ib: One who reports his testimony to the judge
 knowing the turn of what is in his heart
 BM 572 Abydos

sml ssm.f nn 'm-lb: One who reports his business without forgetting
 BM 569 Abydos

smlt hpw n t' pr: Reporter of the laws of this land
 Louvre C1 Abydos

14.38. *sml*

sml h' m rkw: One who chastises thousands of opponents
 Assiut 1, 229 Assiut

14.39. *smn*

smn iswt t'swt: One who sets up the boundary stelae
 CG 20539 Abydos
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

smn m hmt: One who is established in (his) craft
 Heqaib 49 Elephantine

smn rd n t'fy: One who makes firm the foot of the restless(?)
 Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

smn hpw.f hr sp't.f: One who established his laws throughout his district
 Siut, pl. 4 Assiut

14.40. *smnh*

smnh mi ntt ib r.s: One who is distinguished according to what is desired
 Louvre C167 Abydos

smnh n mrt.f st.f: One whose love established his position
 BM 1177 Wadi Halfa

14.41. *smr*

smr ³ *m* *hwt-nbw*: Great companion in Hatnub
BM 574 Abydos

smr ³ *n pr nswt*: Great companion in the administrative palace
Saqqara 18x (TPC pl. 85) Saqqara

smr ³ *n mrwt*: Companion great of love
BIFAO Supp. 81, p. 34 Elephantine
BM 1213 Abydos
Louvre C2 Abydos

smr ³ *h*: Companion of the palace
Carnegie 4558 Abydos

smr w'ty n-wnt snw.f: Sole companion without his peer
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh

smr.f: His companion
RdÉ 29, p. 159 Wadi Gawasis

smr mry nb.f: Companion beloved of his lord
CG 20539 Abydos

smr pr-³: Companion of the palace
Sinai 86 Sinai

smr n pr-nsw: Companion of the administrative palace
CG 20539 Abydos

smr rh n niwt.f: Companion known by his township
RIS 14 Semna

14.42. *smsw*

smsw ist m prwy: Elder of the palace in the double house
Bersheh 2 (Bersh. I, pl. 7) Bersheh

smsw snwt: Elder of a shrine
Saqqara 18x (TPC 281) Saqqara

14.43. *smtr*

smtr n.f: One who bears witness for him (i.e., the king)
CG 20538 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos

14.44. *sn*

sn pr.f n lw snḡ: One who opens his house to the one who comes frightened
 Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

14.45. *snw*

snw.f m shrt tšwy: His fellow in pacifying the Two Lands (Thoth)
 CG 20539 Abydos

snw n nswt m wshṯ ʿṯ: Fellow of the king in the great hall
 CG 20539 Abydos

snw n nswt m nd-ḥr m: Fellow of the king, one who is greeted (by) name
 CG 20539 Abydos

snw kn m pr nswt: Brave companion in the administrative palace
 MMA 12.184 Abydos

14.46. *snf*

snf ḥwrw n niwt: One who causes the poor of the township to breathe
 Hatnub gr. 14 Hatnub

14.47. *snḡ*

snḡw n.f wrw ḥriw-tp n tkn m ḥ'w n nb.f: One to whom the great ones and chiefs are subordinate when drawing near his lord's manifestation
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

14.48. *snḡm*

snḡm sṯ ḥwt-ntr: One who sweetens the smell of the temple
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
 Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

snḡm ḳsnwt: One who eases misfortunes
 CG 20538 Abydos
 CG 20539 Abydos

14.49. *sr* (n.)

sr wh' ṯsst: Official who loosens the knot
 Leiden V4 Abydos
 CG 20538 Abydos
 CG 20539 Abydos
 Louvre C170 Abydos

- sr m niwt.f*: Official in his township
 Edfou, 32, 10 Edfu
- sr m hrrt 'šwt*: Official in making the multitudes content
 Bersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, 26) Bersheh
- sr m-ḥst...*: Official before ...
 CG 20531 Abydos
 Meir C1 (Meir VI, pl. 11) Meir
- sr m-ḥst wrw*: Official before the great ones
 BM 1177 Wadi Halfa
- sr m-ḥst rhyt*: Official before the common people
 Assiut 1, 151 Assiut
 Assiut 2, 4 Assiut
 Bersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 7) Bersheh
 CG 20538 Abydos
 CG 20546 Abydos
 Heqaib 12 Elephantine
 Wadi el Hudi 149 Khor Dehmit
- sr mnḥ*: Effective official
 Berlin 1199 Abydos
- 14.50. *sr* (vb.)
- sr irrt nbt*: One who foretells everything that is done
 MMA 57.95 Thebes
- 14.51. *srwḍ*
- srwḍ p³wt*: One who perpetuates the primeval gods
 CG 20539 Abydos
- 14.52. *shr*
- shr st m t.f*: One who satisfies it with my bread
 MMA 26.3.217 Thebes
- shr t³ r-dr.f*: One who pacifies the entire land
 CG 20539 Abydos
- shr t³wy n nswt*: One who pacifies the Two Lands for the king
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

14.53. *sh*³

*sh*³*l n r-^cwy.f mn*^h.f: One who reveals his actions so that he is efficient
BM 1177 Wadi Halfa

14.54. *sh*¹*r*

*sh*¹*r rhyt hr.f*: One who kept people away from him (i.e., the king)
MMA 57.95 Thebes

14.55. *sh*¹*p*

*sh*¹*p psdt imyt Hr-wr*: One who propitiates the Ennead that is in Her-wer
B. Hasan 14 (BH I, pl. 44) Beni Hasan

*sh*¹*p ntr*: One who propitiates the god
Meir C1 (Meir VI, pl. 13) Meir

*sh*¹*p ntr m mrt.n.f*: One who propitiates the god with what he desired
Meir B4 (Meir III, pl. 19) Meir
Meir C1 (Meir VI, pl. 13) Meir

*sh*¹*p ntrw hr.s*: One who propitiates the gods regarding it
Bersheh 2 Bersheh

*sh*¹*p Hr m irt.f*: One who propitiates Horus with his action
Assiut 1, 244 Assiut

*sh*¹*p sbtlw hr irt.sn*: One who pacifies rebels from their actions
CG 20539 Abydos

*sh*¹*p snw.f snw.f*: One who pacifies his peers and retainers
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

... *sh*¹*pw swt hwt-ntr*: ...who provides for the temple storehouses
Bersheh 1 (Bersh. II, 19) Bersheh
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

14.56. *sh*¹*d*

*sh*¹*d n šntw*: One who gives explanation to the quarrelsome man(?)
BM 572 Abydos

*sh*¹*d hwt-ntr*: Inspector of a temple
B. Hasan 13 (BH I, pl. 41) Beni Hasan

*sh*¹*d sh*¹*d*w: Inspector of inspectors
Hammatat 113 Wadi Hammatat
Hammatat G 61 Wadi Hammatat

shd knbt: Inspector of the *qenbet*-court
 Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat

14.57. *sh*

sh Nhsiw: One who smites the Nubians
 Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

14.58. *sh³*

sh³w hr spw.f m'r: One who is remembered for his successful deeds
 BM 581 Abydos

14.59. *shpr*

shpr Pth wd-mdw: One whom Ptah created to rule
 Assiut 5, 48 Assiut

shpr n Hr nb 'h: One who was raised by Horus, Lord of the palace
 BM 1213 Abydos

14.60. *shm* (n.)

shm ntrw: Scepter of the gods(?)
 Bersh. 2 (*Bersh*.I, pl. 17) Bersheh

shm '3 m hwt-nbw: Chief authority in Hatnub
 BM 574 Abydos

14.61. *shm* (adj.)

shm-ib r shprt m-^c.f: Stout-hearted regarding what happens in his charge
 Hammamat 199 Wadi Hammamat

14.62. *shm-ir.f*

shm-ir.f m idbwy: Potentate on the two banks
 CG 20539 Abydos

shm-ir.f m-m srw: Potentate among the officials
 CG 20539 Abydos

shm ir.f m-h³w-hr.f: Potentate in front of him (i.e., the king)
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

14.63. *shmh*

shmh-ib m mrt.n.f.: One who pleased the heart with what it desired
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

14.64. *shnt*

shnt b'wt: One who advanced (his) offices

CG 20539 Abydos
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

shnt n lwn.f r h'z: One whose character advanced him to the forefront
Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh

shnt n.f st.f m pr.f r srw nw b'pn: One whose place was advanced for him in his house more than any official of this land
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

shnt n.f st m d'nmw: One whose place was advanced for him among the youths
Assiut 5, 21 Assiut

shnt n mnj.f st.f.: One whose efficiency advanced his position
Assiut 1, 221 Assiut

shnt n mrt.f st.f.: Love of whom advanced his position
Heqaib 1 Elephantine

shnt n Dhwtj st.f.: One whose position Thoth advanced
Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub

shnt n Dhwtj st.f n-'t-n mrr.f sw: One whose place Thoth advanced because he loves him
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

shnt nb.f b't.f.: One whose lord advanced his offices
Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat

shnty hr mnj shr.f.: One who is advanced because his plan is effective
Assiut 1, 351, 243 Assiut

shnt Hnmw st.f.: One whose place Khnum advanced
Deir Rifeh 1 Deir Rifeh
(*Kêmi* 6, 139, 140)

shnt st.f m hrd: One whose position was advanced in childhood
Meir C1 (*Meir* VI, pl. 13) Meir

14.65. *shr*

shr 'wn-ib m tst.f.: One who overthrew avarice in his troops
Siut, pl. 5 Assiut

shr sbi: One who overthrew the rebel
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

14.66. *shsh*

shsh int.f.: One whose carrying is rapid
Hamamat 17 Wadi Hamamat

14.67. *shkr*

shkr wrt-hk'w: One who adorns the uraeus
Meir B4 (Meir III, pl. 9) Meir

shkr b'w Nhn: One who adorns the *bas* of Hierakonpolis
Assiut 1, 173 Assiut

14.68. *sbk*

sbk n nswt hnt t'wy: One who is honored by the king before the Two Lands
Leiden V4 Abydos

14.69. *sš*

sš lkr ...: ...Worthy scribe
Hatnub gr. 11 Hatnub

sš lkr wrt: Very worthy scribe
Louvre C167 Abydos

sš lkr n db'w.f.: Scribe excellent of his fingers
RILN 73 Girgawi

sš md't-ntr: Scribe of the sacred writings
Assiut 1 (Siut, pl. 4) Assiut
Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub

sš n hrt-ib: Scribe of favor
Hatnub gr. 10 Hatnub

sš n Dhwtj hr ns.f.: Upon whose tongue is the writing of Thoth
CG 20539 Abydos

14.70. *sšm*

sšm r ḥ'w.f hrw nf '3: One who ruled according to its positions on the day of great wrongs³⁷

Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

sšmw n lrw.f ḥt: Leader of his administrators(?)³⁸

Assiut 1 Assiut

14.71. *sk'i*

sk' n.f ḥnt mn-nfrt(?) r ḥswt irt n.f: One whom he exalted before Memphis (?) regarding the favors that were done for him³⁹

Hammamat 17 Wadi Hammamat

14.72. *skr*

skrw: Metalworker

Hatnub gr. 19 Hatnub

skrw n ḥd ḥn' nbw: Worker of silver and gold

Hatnub gr. 19 Hatnub

14.73. *sgr*

sgr rmiw m ḥnw nfr: One who silences weeping with good words

BM 581 Abydos

14.74. *sgrḥ*

sgrḥ n.f ḥryw-š': One who pacifies the sand-dwellers for him

CG 20539 Abydos

14.75. *st-ib*

st-ib nswt: King's favorite

Assiut 1, 214 Assiut

Beni Hasan 2 (*BH I*, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

Bersh. 1 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 7) Bersheh

Bersheh 2 Bersheh

³⁷ For this reading and discussion of the text, see Brovarski, "Ahanakht," 18-19.

³⁸ Following Janssen, *Autobiografie II*, 149.

³⁹ The rendering of *mn-nfrt* is uncertain.

14.76. *stp*

stp.n.f m-hry-ib smrw.f: One whom he selected amidst his courtiers
Sinai 112 Sinai

stp n nswt m-hry-ib knbwt: One whom the king selected amidst the *genbet*-court
Hamamat 43 Wadi Hamamat

stp tsw: One who chooses words (carefully)
MMA 57.95 Thebes

14.77. *stm*

stm n nbt t'wy: *Stm*-priest of the Mistress of the Two Lands (i.e., Hathor)
Meir B2 (*Meir* II, pl. 11) Meir
Meir B3 (*Meir* VI, pl. 13) Meir
Meir B4 (*Meir* III, pl. 9) Meir

14.78. *st³*

st³ wrw T³-šm'w: One who ushers in the great ones of Upper Egypt
BM 572 Abydos

st³ hnrw hr.f spd: One who ushers in the musical troupe with his face alert
Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh

14.79. *stny*

stn n.f m-m smrw: One whom he distinguished among the courtiers
BM 1213 Abydos

stn n.f hnt: One who distinguished the south for him
BM 100 Unknown

stn n nswt r mitw.f: One whom the king distinguished more than his peers
Suit I, 152 Assiut

14.80. *sdmi*

sdmi n-n šbt.f: Close to his family
MMA 12.184 Abydos

14.81. *sdf³y*

sdf³y h³wt n³rw imlw wnt: One who endows the altars of the gods who are in the Hare Nome
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

14.82. *sdm*

sdm ir.f mi qddt: One who listens so that he acts as was said
Louvre C167 Abydos

sdm bw-ikr m 3ht n niwt.f: One who hears excellence, namely what is beneficial for his township
Assiut 1, 249 Assiut

sdm m^wb^yt: Judge of the lawcourt (Hall of the Thirty)
CG 20539 Abydos

sdm mdw m w^w: One who hears words in private
Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh

sdm mdw m hwt(?) n(t) Gb: One who hears the word in the temple of Geb
BM 572 Abydos

sdm mdw hnmmt: One who hears the words of humanity⁴⁰
Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat

sdmw r wn m^s: One who listens to the truth
MMA 12.184 Abydos

sdmw hnw: One who listens attentively
Louvre C167 Abydos

sdm sw: One who paints his eyes⁴¹
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

sdm sh n ikkw: One who hears the counsel of the councilors(?)
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

sdm sdm w^t: One who hears what is heard alone
Qubbet el Hawa 36 Elephantine
(*FFE*, pl.5)

sdm sdmt w^t m w³t(?): One who hears what is heard alone in the council(?)
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

sdm sdmt w^t m ist: One who hears what is heard alone in the palace
BM 583 Unknown

sdmw sdm m^st: A judge who hears the truth
BM 581 Abydos

⁴⁰ For the reading of the final group of signs as *hnmmt*, see Couyat and Montet, *Hammamat*, 80, note 3.

⁴¹ Refers to the eyes of the god.

14.83. *sdsr*

sds[r] (?) snwt: One who consecrates(?) the entourage
 Bersh. 1 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 7) Bersheh

15. *š*15.1. *šl*

šl 'rk.f m ht nb: One whose skill is ready in every matter
 Louvre C167 Abydos

15.2. *šd*

šd ls m smyt.f: One who dug a tomb in his necropolis
 Florence 1774 Sen. I-Amen. II

15.3. *šw*

šw m šf hr mr.f niwt: Free of gluttony through his love of the township
 Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 9) Beni Hasan

šw m irt isft: Free of doing evil

CG 20538 Abydos

CG 20539 Abydos

JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos

Wadi el Hudi 4 Wadi el Hudi

šw m irt isft n smš.f sw hr šh m šhr n nbt smt(?): Free of doing evil because he has
 joined the council with a plan of the Mistress of the Desert(?) (i.e., Hathor)

Wadi el Hudi 4 Wadi el Hudi

šw m išw n ns: Free of lightness of tongue

Hammamat 199 Wadi Hammamat

šw m isft: Free of evil

MMA 57.95 Thebes

Wadi el Hudi 2 Wadi el Hudi

šw m "wy hr hn nb n pr nswt: Free of sleep regarding every command of the palace

Hatnub gr. 49 Hatnub

šw m 'b': Free of boasting

Assiut 6, 11 Assiut

Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat

šw m wšt: Free of conspiracy

B. Hasan 13 (*BH* I, pl. 41) Beni Hasan

šw m whšhš: Free of arrogance (?)

Hammamat 43	Wadi Hammamat
<i>šw m b'g</i> : Free of weariness	
BM 569	Abydos
Sinai 405	Sinai
<i>šw m prt-ib</i> : Free of passion	
Hammamat 47	Wadi Hammamat
Sinai 35 ⁴²	Sinai
Sinai 33	Sinai
<i>šw m prt-ib šmmt hrw r-d'w</i> : Free of passion and fever(?) on the day of battle	
Hatnub gr. 26	Hatnub
<i>šw m mht</i> : Free of negligence	
BM 569	Abydos
<i>šw m nhrhr</i> : Free of tremor ⁴³	
UC 14333	Armant ?
<i>JEA</i> 51, pl. 14	Abydos
<i>šw m rrit</i> : Free of piggishness(?) ⁴⁴	
BM 581	Abydos
<i>šw m h'w</i> : Free of excess	
Assiut 1, 222, 349	Assiut
<i>šw m hbs-hr</i> : Free of indifference	
BM 581	Abydos
Leiden V6	Abydos
<i>šw m hnw</i> : Free of anger(?)	
Louvre C167	Abydos
<i>šw m hns-ib</i> : Free of greed	
Leiden V6	Abydos
<i>šw m h'h-hr</i> : Free of impatience	
BM 581	Abydos
<i>šw m hnf r hryw-tp.f</i> : Free of arrogance(?) to those who are above him	
Bersh. 8 (<i>Bersh.</i> II, pl. 21)	Bersheh

⁴² *M prt-ib* restored.

⁴³ For the meaning of *nhrhr*, see Goedicke, "Wisdom Text," 28 (e).

⁴⁴ The meaning of *rrit* is uncertain. Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 151, tentatively offers this suggestion.

- šw m sp n bʿgy*: Free of an occasion of slackness
 Hammamat 199 Wadi Hammamat
- šw m sp n mht*: Free of an occasion of forgetfulness
 Hammamat 199 Wadi Hammamat
- šw m snkt*: Free of greed/lust
 Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
- šw m shʿ n nb.f šd sw m hrd*: Free of hostility to his lord, who raised him as a child
 Assiut 5, 23 Assiut
- šw m šnt-ntr*: Free of blasphemy
 Hatnub gr. 10 Hatnub
- šw m kni kdw*: Free from sullenness of character
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
- šw m ksm*: Free of defiance(?)
 Assiut 1, 6 Assiut
- šw m tst bin*: Free of plotting evil
 B. Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 7.9) Beni Hasan
- šw m qw*: Free of evil/sadness
 Hatnub in. 10 Hatnub
- šw m dd pʿw*: Free of saying "pa"
 MMA 12.184 Abydos
- šw m dd grg*: Free of speaking falsely
 Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 9) Beni Hasan
- 15.4. *šwyt*
- šwyt nt tʿ pn r-qr.f hrw šdyt-šʿ*: Shade for this entire land on the day of apportioning the marshlands
 Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub
- 15.5. *šbn*
- šbn n hm n-mrwt hsf ʿd*: One who intervenes with the ignorant in order to avoid anger
 BM 581 Abydos
- 15.6. *špss*
- špss m hbs*: Rich in clothing
 MMA 12.184 Abydos

špss mry nb.f. Nobleman beloved of his lord
CG 20539 Abydos

šps n nswt mrr.f. King's nobleman whom he loves
Assiut 1, 231 Assiut

15.7. *šm*

šmw bw nb m šw.f. In whose light everyone travels
CG 20539 Abydos

15.8. *šms*

šms(w) nb.f r nmiwt.f. One who accompanies his lord on his journeys
CG 20538 Abydos

CG 20539 Abydos

Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

Wadi el Hudi 9 Wadi el Hudi

šms(w) nb.f hr wnt. One who accompanies his lord through the Hare Nome
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

šms(w) nswt r nmiwt.f. One who accompanies the king on his journeys

Assiut 1, 222 Assiut

Heqaib 1 Elephantine

šms(w) ntr r st.f m [m]ḥ^t lmyt r-krrt. One who follows the god to his place, his tomb which is in Raqereret

Assiut 1, 174 Assiut

šms(w) hr mṯn nn ḏnb. One who follows the road without swerving

BM 572 Abydos

15.9. *šs³*

šs³(?): Skilled(?)

Wadi el Hudi 2 Wadi el Hudi

šs³ m lrt. Skilled in behavior

Durham N1935 Wadi Gasus

šs³w mṯ m ḥst.f. With whose praises people are conversant

Assiut 1, 152, 212, 242 Assiut

15.10. *šdi*

šdi mdḥt m hrt-hrw. One who reads the scroll daily

Hatnub gr. 15? Hatnub

šdw wrw: One whom the great ones greet
MMA 57.95 Thebes

15.11. *šdi*

šd nḥr: One who nourishes the young
Bersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, 19) Bersheh
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

šd ḥrd: One who nourishes the child
UC 14333 Armant ?

šd ḥrd r pḥ.f wr: Guardian of a child to its maturity
B. Hasan 2 (*BHI*, pl. 15) Beni Hasan

šdy n...: Child of (the royal nursery ?)
Sinai 100 Sinai

šdy nb ...: Foster-child of the lord of...
Sinai 93 Sinai

šdy nswt šdy bity: Foster-child of the king of Upper Egypt, ward of the king of Lower Egypt
Sinai 93 Sinai

16. *ḳ*16. 1. *ḳḳi*

ḳḳi is wšḥ rwdw ḥnty pr-nfr: High of tomb, wide of steps, foremost of the embalming place
Assiut'5, 19-20 Assiut

ḳḳi mdw dwḥ.f swḥḥ.f: One who is uplifted of voice when he worships and when he pays homage
Assiut 1, 238 Assiut

ḳḳi mrwt ḥm.f: One who exalts the will of His Majesty
RILN 73 Girgawi

ḳḳi nhwt: Tall of trees (sycamores)
Florence 1774 Thebes

ḳḳi nswt mḥ.f srw nw stp-sḥ: One whom the king exalts when he sees the noblemen of the palace
Sinai 115 Sinai

ḳḳi ḥrw m st sgr: Uplifted of voice in a situation of silence
Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat

ḳꜣl ḥrw ḥr nḏ m n nswt ḥrw ḥsf šꜣt: Uplifted of voice in calling the king's name on the day of warding off terror

Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

ḳꜣl sr.f (s)w m st ḏsrt: One who raises himself up in the sacred place

Bersh. 1 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 7) Bersheh

B. Hasan 3 (*BH* I, pl. 33)⁴⁵ Beni Hasan

16. 2. *ḳbb*

ḳbb: Calm

BM 581 Abydos

ḳb ḥt: Calm of body

Hatnub gr. 10 Hatnub

ḳb srf: Calm-tempered

Sinai 47 Sinai

16. 3. *ḳmꜣ*

ḳmꜣ šḥr.f: One who carries out his plan

Hammamat 17 Wadi Hammamat

16. 4. *ḳni*

ḳni: Brave/Capable

Hatnub gr. 15 Hatnub

ḳni m ḳt.f: Capable in his office

Leiden V3 Abydos

ḳni m ḥpš.f: Capable with his strong arm

Assiut 5, 16 Assiut

ḳni m ḏbꜣw.f: Capable in his fingers

Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub

16. 5. *ḳrḥt*

ḳrḥt spt ḥt ḳ pn rmt nbt wss: Prince of an ancient family in this land, everyone (else) having died out

Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

⁴⁵ The reading of the final signs in this phrase is uncertain.

16. 6. *ḳrs*

ḳrs ḳw: One who buries the aged
 Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

ḳrsw mty: One who buries the dead
 MMA 12.184 Abydos

ḳrs sb n ḳʿ.f: One who buries the dead
 Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub

ḳrsw tniw: One who buries the elderly
 BM 1164

16. 7. *ḳd*

ḳd pr wsh m niwt.f: One who built a broad house in my township
 Florence 1774 Thebes

17. *k*17.1. *ḳḳ-ib*

ḳḳ-ib: Trustworthy

Sinai 104 Sinai

Sinai 120 Sinai

Sinai 405 Sinai

18. *g*18.1. *gmi*

gm mdt nt 'ḥ: One who finds the speech of the palace
 CG 20539 Abydos

gm ḥt gʿw r.s: One who finds things in which there is a lack
 CG 20539 Abydos

gm ts: One who finds the utterance
 CG 20538 Abydos
 CG 20539 Abydos

gm ts m gʿw.f: One who finds the utterance when it is lacking
 Assiut 1, 248 Assiut
 Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 9) Beni Hasan
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

18.2. *gmh**gmh hnty*: One who sees ahead

Hammamat 199 Wadi Hammamat

18.3. *gr/grw**gr n dnd*: One who is silent to the angry

BM 581 Abydos

grw: Silent man

Hatnub gr. 49 Hatnub

grw m-m srw: Silent man among officials

Leiden V4 Abydos

18.4. *grg**grg pr.f*: One who establishes his house

Heqaib 2 Elephantine

grg-ib r sh't bštw(?) hrw n mdt [šhw(?)]: Ready to bring down the rebel on the day of [miserable] words⁴⁶Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh*grg-ḥr m irt ḥt m kšb ḥnmwt*: Alert in doing things among the citizens

Louvre C167 Abydos

19. *t*19.1. *t**t n ḥkrw ḥnkt nt iw ibw*: Bread for the hungry, beer for the one who arrived thirsty

Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub

19.2. *titi**titi n.f ḥšwt iwntyw*: One who tramples the foreign lands of the bowmen for him (i.e., the king)

Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat

19.3. *twš**twš ḥdt m Pr-wr*: One who holds up the White Crown in Perwer

BM 574 Abydos

⁴⁶ This follows the reading proposed by Brovarski, "Ahanakht," 18, 20.

19.4. *twr**twr* 'wy: Clean of handsBersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub

19.5. *tw**tw* *m*² *n* *mrwt*: True image of love

CG 20538 Abydos

CG 20539 Abydos

19.6. *tpy**tpy* *sp*² *t.f*: Chief of his districtDeir Rifeh 1 (*Kêmi* 6, 139) Deir Rifeh*tpyw* *šnwt* *tkn* *m* 'h: One who precedes the entourage approaching the palace

MMA 57.95 Thebes

19.7. *tm**tm* *ir(w)* *n* *kt* *hwrw*(?): One who does not (?) a wretched person⁴⁷

RIS 14 Semna

tm *n* *ndrw* *s* *hr* *tpt-r*: One who does not sieze a man for an utterance

BM 581 Abydos

tm *n* *hpr* *sp* *th* *m*⁻ *f*: One under whose authority a transgression did not occur

MMA57.95 Thebes

tm *hnn* *wqt-mdw* *f*: One whose command is not interefered with

Assiut 1, 268 Assiut

tm *thi* *tp-rd* *n* 'h *tpt-r* *n* *stp-s*²: One who does not disobey the instructions of the palace or the utterance of the palace

Durham N1935 Wadi Gasus

19.8. *tm*⁻*tm*⁻: Strong-armed

Meir B4 Meir

⁴⁷ The reading of this phrase is uncertain. See the discussion in Dunham and Janssen, *Second Cataract Forts I*, 134.

19.9. *tkʒ*

tkʒ itrw m-hʒt mšʕ: One who illuminates the river before the troops
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

19.10. *tkn*

tkn m nb.f: One who approaches his lord
 Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21) Bersheh

tkn mʕʕ rh hrt-ib: One who approaches the truth knowing what is desired
 CG 20539 Abydos

tkn-st ... pr nswt: One whose place was near the ... of the administrative palace
 Louvre C1 Abydos

tkn-st hrw n sʕʕ: One whose place is near on the day of assembly
 MMA 57.95 Thebes

20. *f*20.1. *ḥm*

ḥm hr n sprty: Indulgent (veiled of face) toward a petitioner
 Assiut 3, 4 Assiut

20.2. *ḥty*

ḥty n Hr m ḥʕw.f: Vizier of Horus in his appearances
 Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat

20.3. *ḥni*

ḥnn...: Distinguished ...
 Hammamat 42 Wadi Hammamat

ḥnn iwn.f: Distinguished of his disposition
 Wadi el Hudi 14 Wadi el Hudi

ḥnw irw m-m wrw: Distinguished of stature among the great ones
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

ḥnn.f ḥnty tʕwy: One whom he promotes before the Two Lands
 CG 20538 Abydos

ḥnn n nswt r mityw.f: One whom the king promotes above his peers
 Assiut 2, 5-6 Assiut

tnn nb.f hnt hhw: One whom his lord promotes before millions
CG 20538 Abydos

tnn ntr hnt hhw m s mnḥ rḥ.n.f m.f: One whom the god promotes before millions as
an efficient man whose name he knew
CG 20539 Abydos

tnn srw n ḥ: One whom the palace officials promote
Berlin 1199 Abydos

20.4. *trr*

trrw šnwt ḥt n mḥḥ.sn: One who gladdens the great entourage when they see(him ?)
Heqaib 1 Elephantine

20.5. *ts*

ts hr tmḥ r-gs nb.f: One who sits on the mat beside his lord
Hatnub gr. 19 Hatnub

20.6. *tsi*

ts m phwy: One who levies the rearguard(?)
B. Hasan 2 (BHI, pl. 15) Beni Hasan

ts n ndsw m st nb: One who levies warriors in every situation
Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub

tsi iḥw: One who supports the elderly
Louvre C1 Abydos

tsi snb[ḥ] (?): One who erects battlements
Bersh. 1 (Bersh. II, 25) Bersheh

tsi ḡmw.sn ḥrdw n-mrwt ḥḥ ḥprw.s: One who supports their youths and children so
that its offspring are numerous⁴⁸
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

21. *d*21.1. *dḥr srf*

dḥr srf: Self-controlled
Hatnub gr. 10 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

⁴⁸ "Its" refers to the township.

Heqaib 49 Elephantine
 Louvre C167 Abydos

21.2. *dwꜣ*

dwꜣ m wꜣg: One who gives praise at the Wag-festival
 Assiut 1, 238 Assiut

dwꜣ n niwt.f r-pr.f r dwꜣ kꜣ.f rꜣ nb: One whose township praised him at his house in order to praise his *ka* every day
 Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

dwꜣ [s]wꜣ.f hr.f: One who praises the one who surpasses him
 Hatnub gr. 10 Hatnub

21.3. *dbꜣ*

dbꜣ shr.f: One whose plan is requested(?)⁴⁹
 Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

21.4. *dm*

dm [n] dmw: Sharp to the sharp(?)⁵⁰
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

21.5. *dmi*

dmi ndm n whyt.f: Sweet abode for his family
 Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub

21.6. *dns*

dns ib: Guarded of heart
 Assiut 1, 181 Assiut

dns mhwt: Guarded of speech
 CG 20539 Abydos

⁴⁹ *Shr* is written with falling man determinative, as in the word *shr*, to fall. R.J. Leprohon, in a lecture "Remarks on Private Epithets Found in the Middle Kingdom Wadi Hammamat Graffiti," delivered at Yale University on April 3, 1998, tentatively suggests the possible alternate rendering "who requests (i.e., from the king ?) what he has caused to fall."

⁵⁰ For the restoration and rendering, see Brovarski, "Ahanakht," 18.

21.7. *dr*

dr 'wn-lb m tswt.f. One who subdues the greedy with his words
Assiut 1, 230-31 Assiut

dr bw nb bin: One who subdues everyone evil
Assiut 3, Assiut

dr bhḥḥ m k3-s3: One who dispels pride from the presumptuous
Assiut 1, 229 Assiut

dr sp. One who subdues wrongdoing
Assiut 1, 242 Assiut

dr k3-s3 m btn-lb sidw m nfr-r (?):⁵¹ One who dispels presumption from the insolent man and makes (him) powerless with good speech.
Assiut 1, 230 Assiut

21.8. *drp*

drp m h3w: One who makes offerings by the thousands
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

drp Hr W3sty: One who makes offerings to Horus the Theban
Louvre C243 (E 3462) Abydos

21.9. *dḥi*

dḥi mn: Humble
RILN 73 Girgawi

21.10. *dšr*

dšr-lb m33.f tkr nb blnt n lr(r) mḥn.f. Furious when he sees an opponent, possessor of kindness to one who obeys
Assiut 1, 230 Assiut

21.11. *dgi*

dgi m-ḥt: One who sees the future
Assiut 6, 8 Assiut

⁵¹ The lower portion of the *nfr* sign is missing and the reading is uncertain. Montet, "Tombeaux" 2, 49, reads it as a *sm3* sign. Janssen, *Autobiografie* I, 95 follows Sethe, *Urkunden* VII, 54, 20 in reading it as a *nfr*.

22. *d*22.1. *dʒi*

dʒ-ib r st nt sʒt: Extended of heart in the place of knowledge
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

22.2. *dʒi*

dʒ tʒ hr int nb: One who crossed the land doing everything
 Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

22.3. *dʒr*

dʒr phw mdw: One who sought out the the completion of a matter
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

dʒr(?) n.s shʒ n grg.s: One who sought out a plan for it (i.e., the township), for its provision
 Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

22.4. *dwi*

dwi psdt iw.sn: One who summons the Ennead so that they come
 Meir C1 (*Meir* VI, pl. 13) Meir

22.5. *dbʒ*

dbʒw nswt m wʳw: One who adorns the king in privacy
 BM 839 Abydos

dbʒw ntr m mnht.f: One who dresses the god with his clothing
 Assiut 1, 245 Assiut

dbʒw htw sʳbw ntrw šmsw Hr: One who clothes the bodies of the dignitaries, the gods, and the followers of Horus
 Assiut 1, 173, 238 Assiut

22.6. *dʒr*

dʒr m sšm m pr wr: Splendid of guidance in the shrine of Upper Egypt
 Meir B2 (*Meir* II, pl. 11) Meir

22.7. *dd*

dd m r.f ir m ʳwy.f: One who speaks with his mouth and acts with his hands
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

dd m³t: One who speaks the truth

Hatnub gr. 22 Hatnub

Louvre C167 Abydos

dd m³t wpl.f snwy: One who speaks the truth when he judges between two brothers

Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 9) Beni Hasan

dd mdt m l'w-n-lb: One who says words against angry speech

Bersh. 1 (Bersh. II, 26) Bersheh

dd mdt m³t: One who speaks true words

Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

dd mdt r wn.s m³: One who gives speech rightly

MMA 57.95 Thebes

dd n n.f htw hrt.sn: Someone to whom people tell their affairs

CG 20538 Abydos

JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos

dd n nswt wdw.f r.f iw hrw n nḡwt-r: One to whom the king gave orders when the day of consultation came

Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

dd nfrt: One who says what is good

Assiut 6, 6 Assiut

Berlin ÄGM 26/66 Abydos

BM 569 Abydos

CG 20538 Abydos

Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat

Manchester (ANOC 69.1) Abydos

Sinai 500 Sinai

dd.f nfrt: One who says what is good

Louvre C170 Abydos

dd r nfrt: One who says what is good

Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat

dd r.f mnḥ šhr.f: Of whom it is said, "His plan is effective."

Sinai 405 Sinai

dd(?) ḥsst.f: One who says what he favors

Wadi el Hudi 2 Wadi el Hudi

dd ḥpr: One who says what happens

Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

dd ts r h'w.f. One who speaks a phrase at its (proper) time
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

dd.t(w) ih sw m lb n nb.f. Of whom it is said, "He is beneficial in the heart of his lord."
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

ddw n.f ilw m pr.nswt in smrw imyw 'h: One to whom it is said, "Welcome to the palace" by those who are in the palace
Heqaib 1 Elephantine
Heqaib 9 Elephantine

ddw n.f mdt h'pt: Someone to whom secret words are spoken
CG 20538 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos

ddw n.f s'w iwt.f. Someone of whom is said, "Await his coming"
BM 572 Abydos
Leiden V4 Abydos

ddw r.f rmt ir.f h' t' mh mitw.f. Regarding whom people say, "Would that he land were filled with his equals!"
BM 561 Abydos

ddw sh.r.f mnj ...: Of whom it is said, "His plan is effective."
Sinai 101 A Sinai

23. Missing first sign(s)

...w sft n nty m 'h: ...ing Asia for the one who is in the palace
Sinai 54 Sinai

...wr: Great...
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh

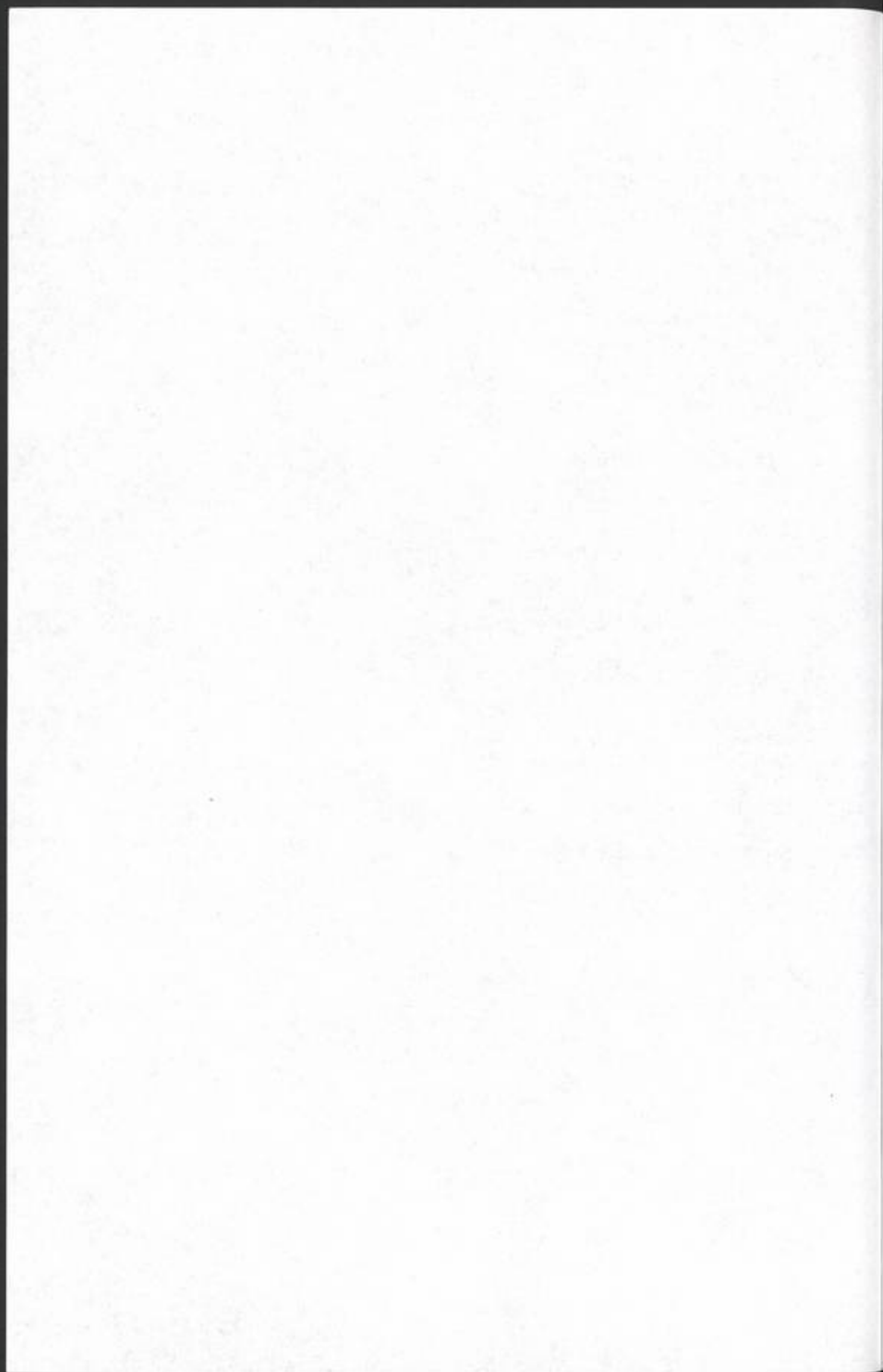
...wqt nb.f. ... What his lord commanded
Sinai 405 Sinai

...f nb.f. ...his lord
Hatnub gr. 28 Hatnub

...f r wd.f. ...concerning his command
Edfou, 32, 10 Edfu

...m pr wr 'h: ... in the shrine of Upper Egypt
Meir B4 Meir

- ...*m-^c pr nswt*: ...in the palace
 Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
- ...*m^s*: True...
 BM 1236 Unknown
- ...*mnw*: ...of monuments
 Bersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, 24) Bersheh
- ... *n nb.f.* ... of his lord
 BMA 16.580.87 Saqqara
- ...*n ḥḏ ḥm^c nbw*: ... of silver and gold
 Hatnub gr. 19 Hatnub
- ...*ḥⁱrt*: ... the widow
 Bersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, 19) Bersheh
- ... *s^cḥw*: ... of the nobles
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
- ...*gmt.n.f.* ...what he found
 Assiut 5, 15 Assiut
- ... *Dḥwty m wd^c ḥt*: ...Thoth in judging a matter
 Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
- ...*Dḥwty ms.tw n-nfr-n it.f n.f.*: ...Thoth "may you approach" because of what he did
 for him
 Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub



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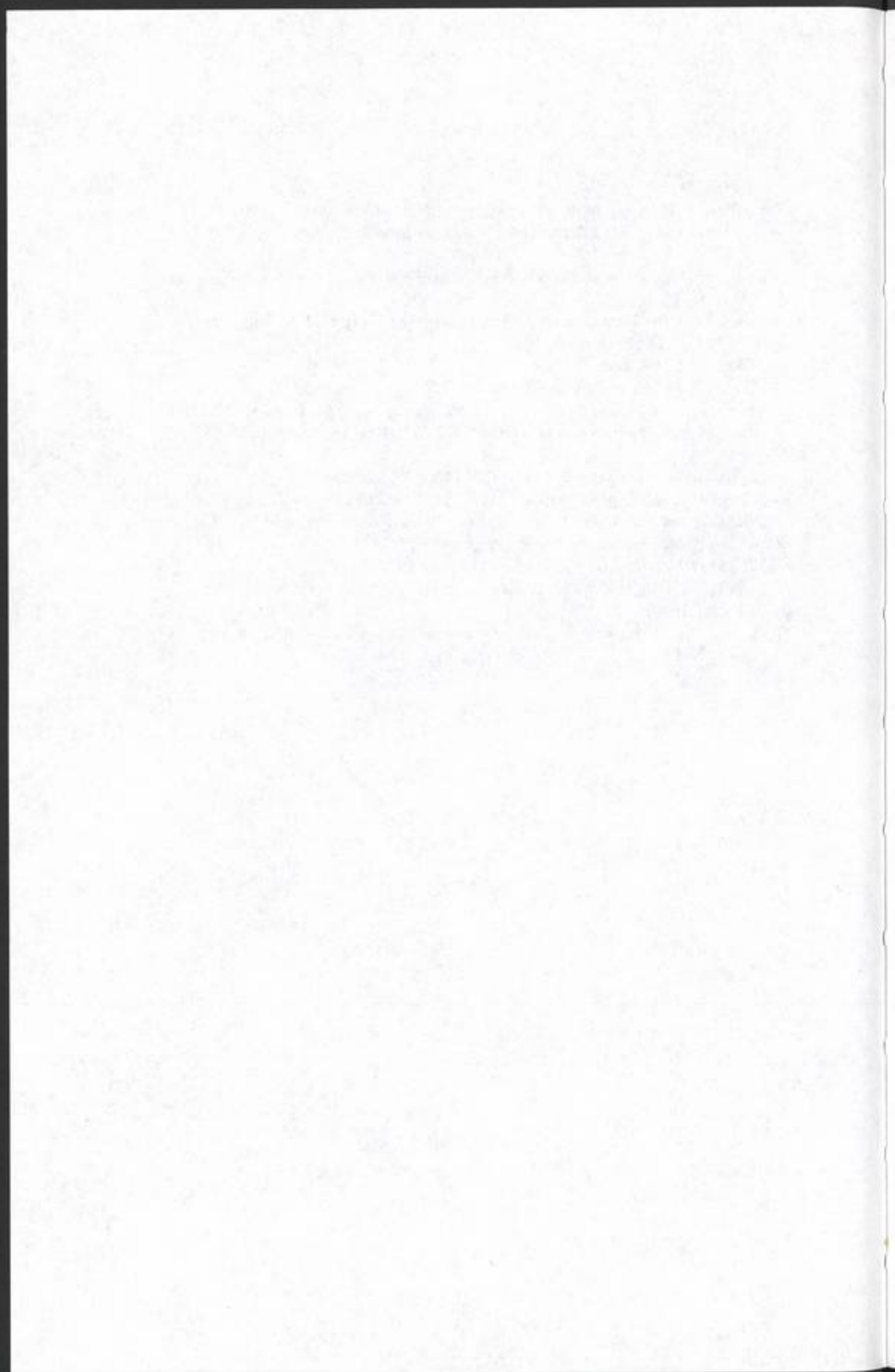
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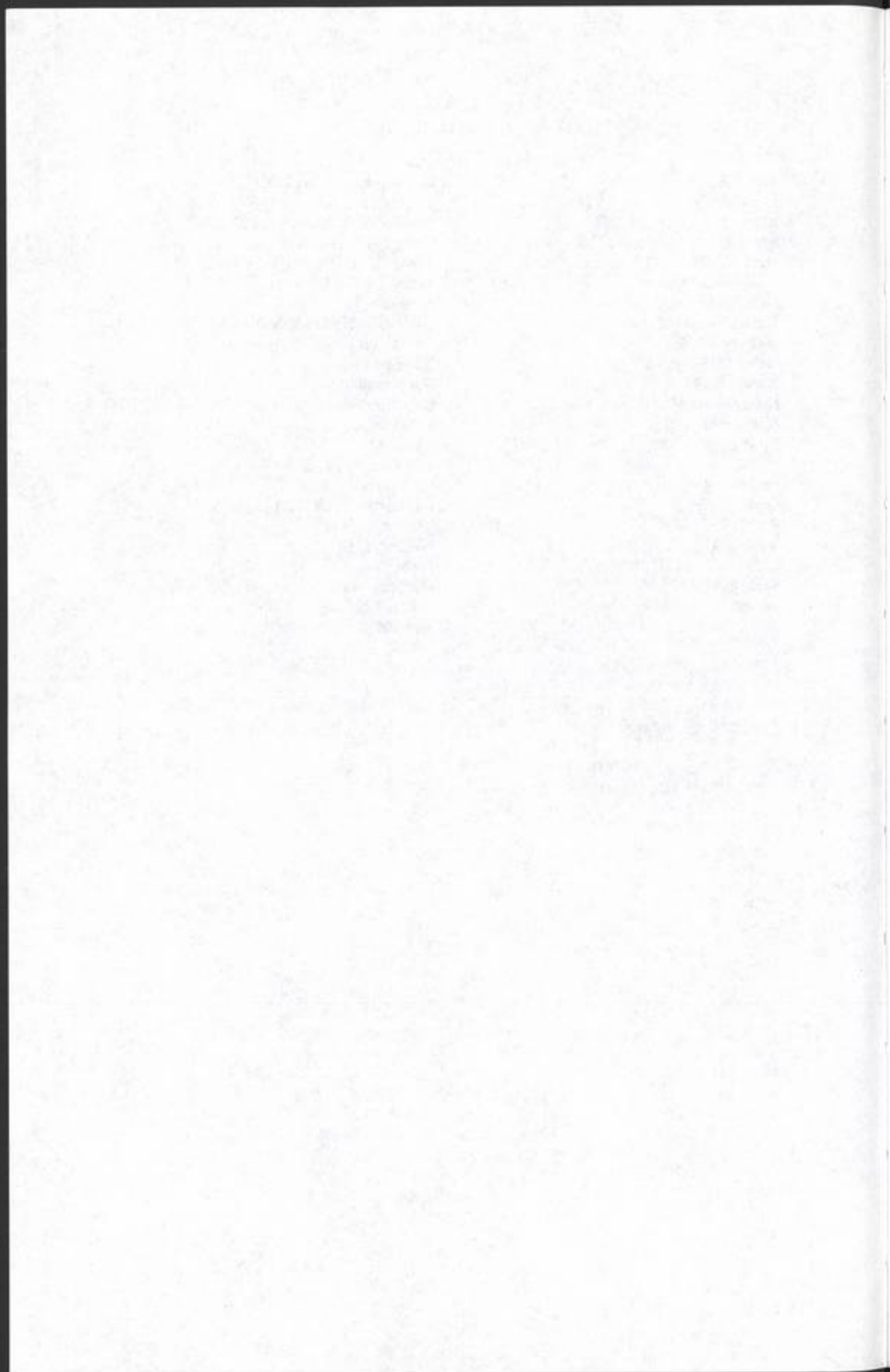
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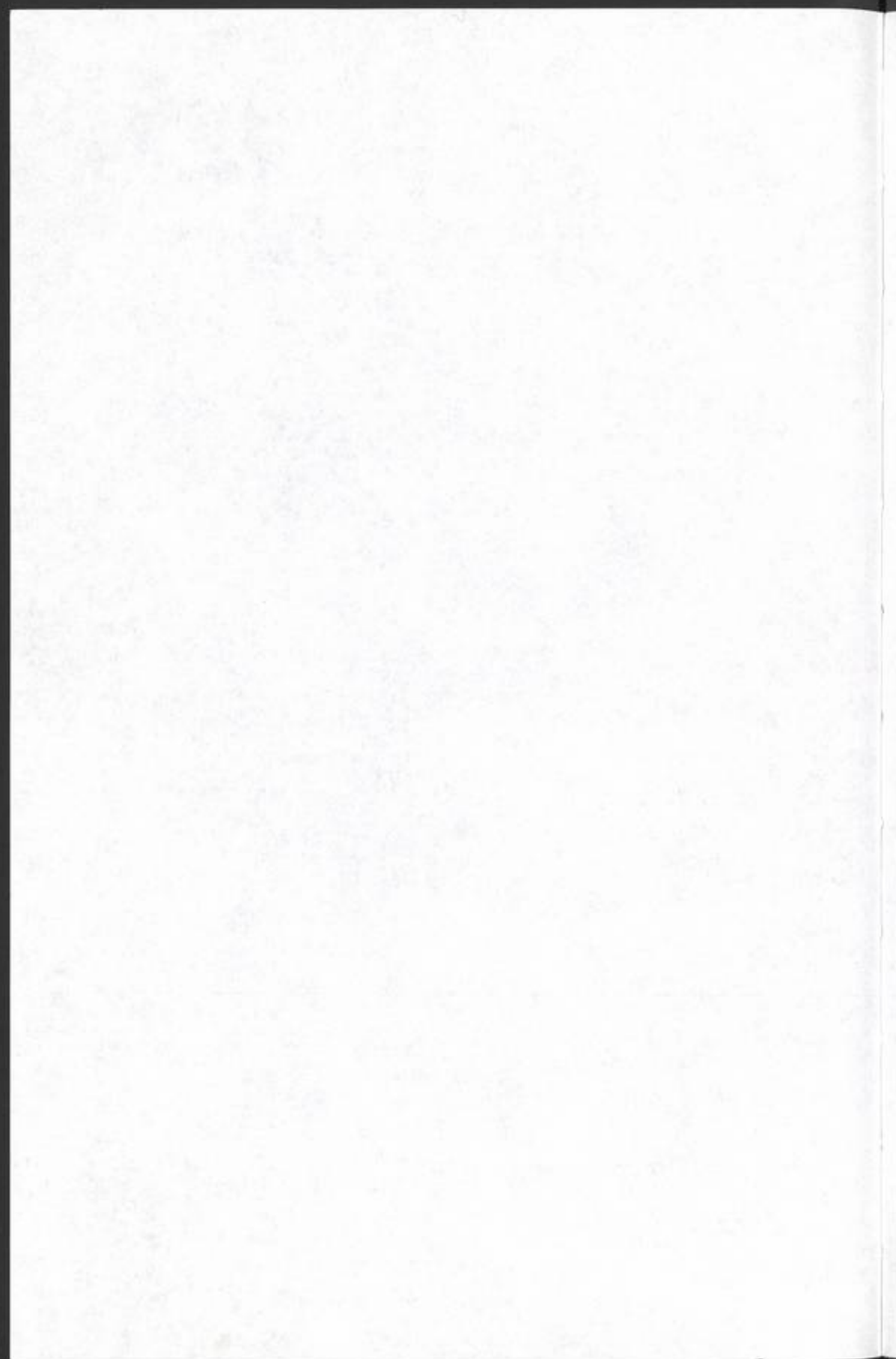
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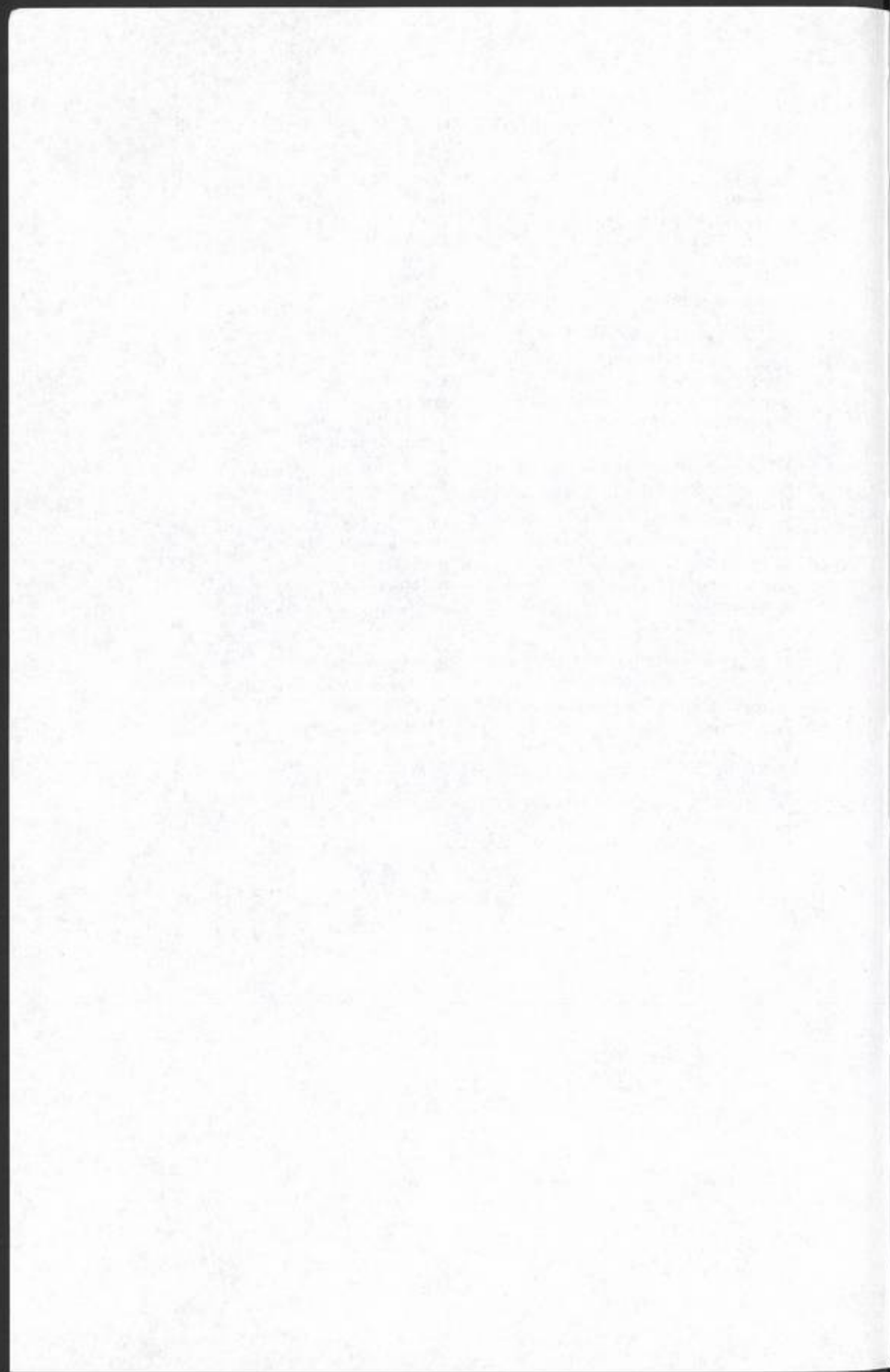
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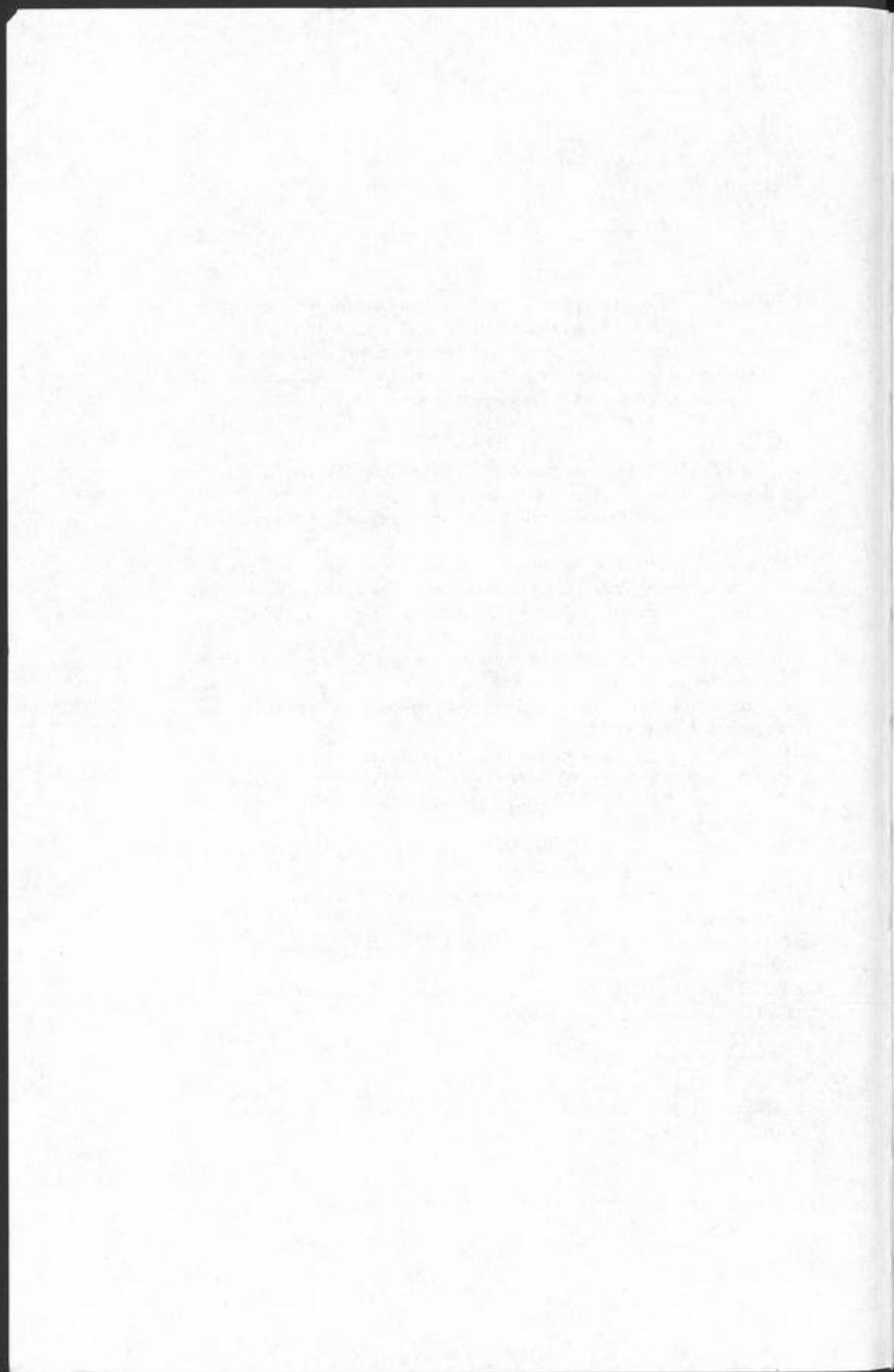


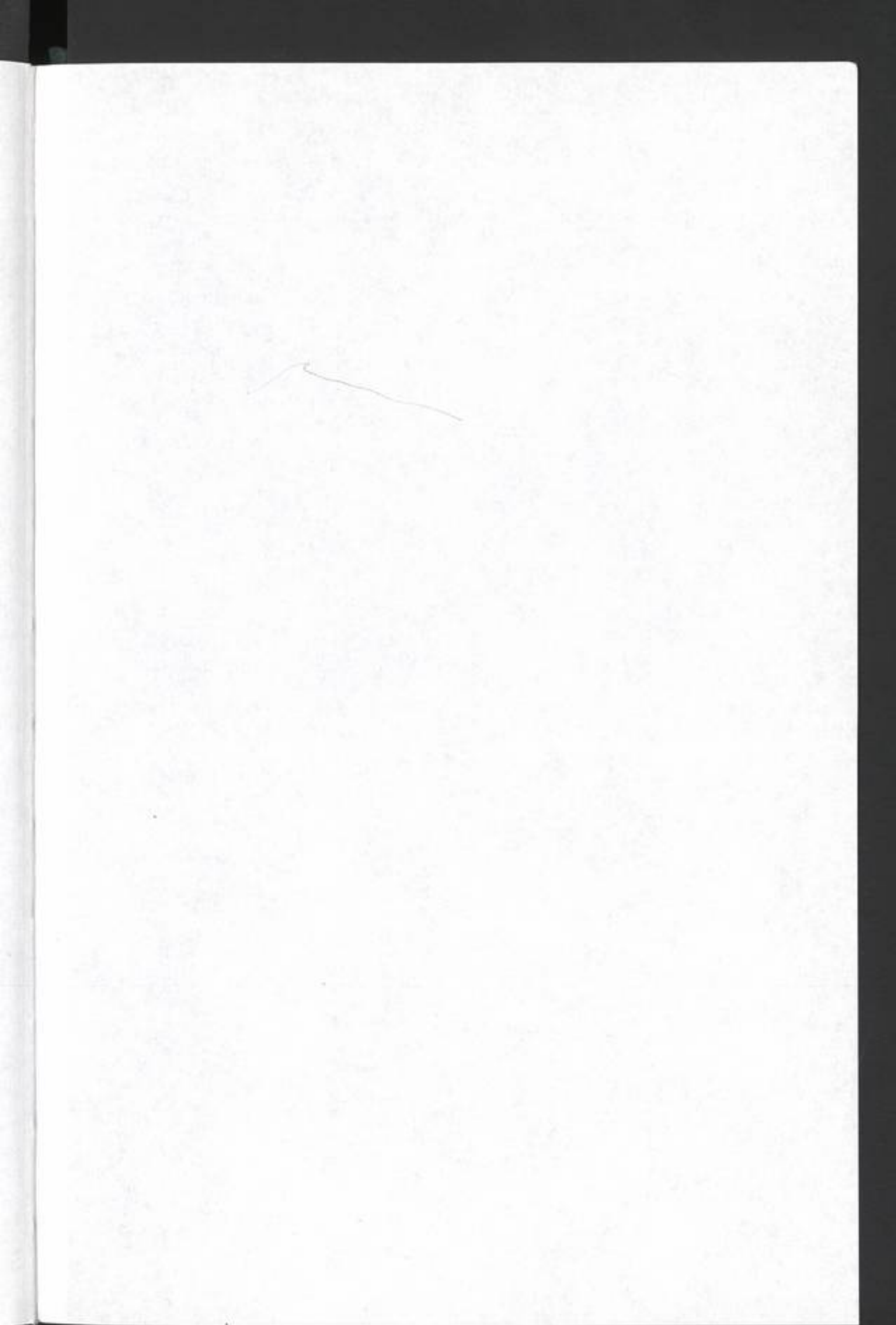
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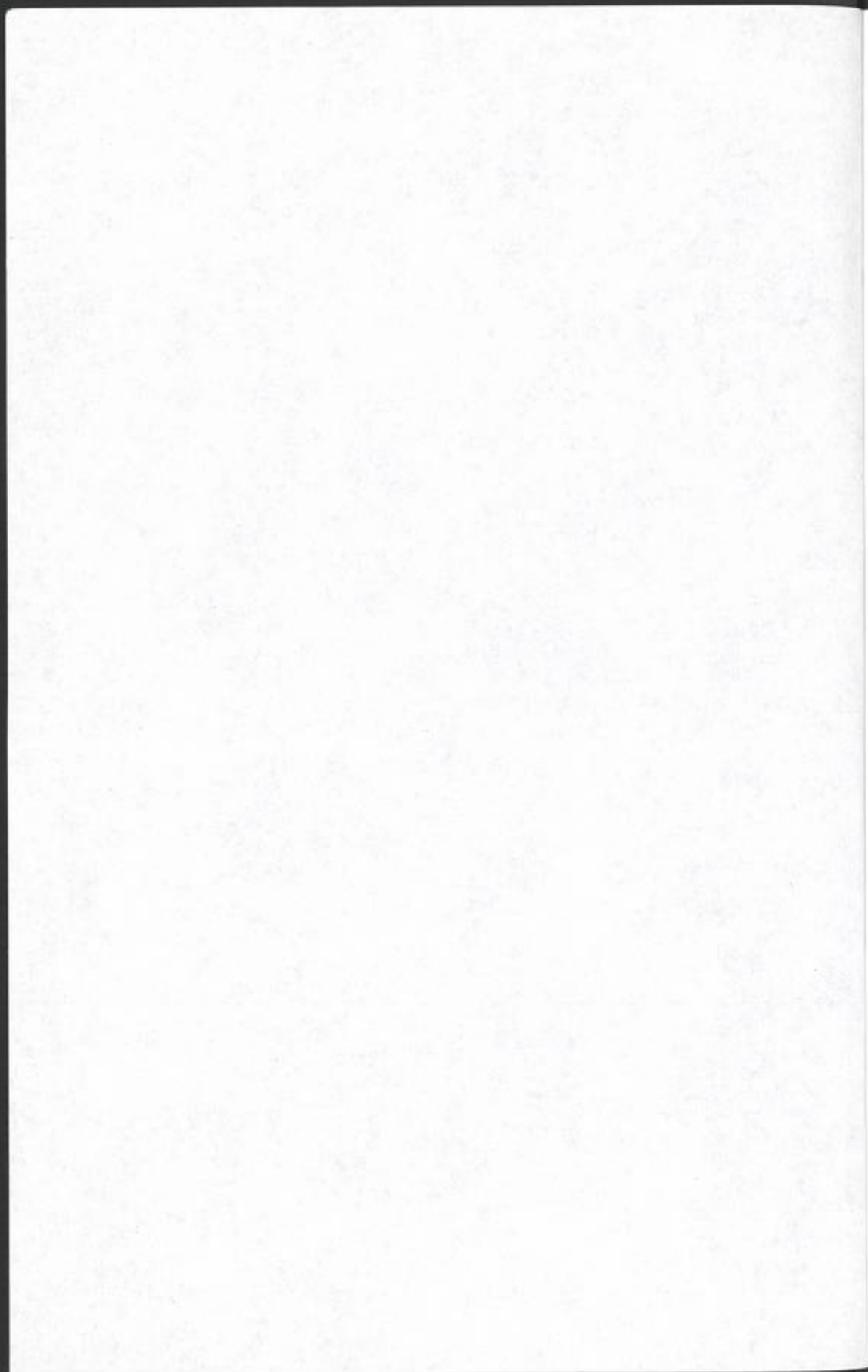
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