EGYPTIAN NON-ROYAL EPITHETS
IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

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EGYPTIAN NON-ROYAL EPITHETS IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM
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EGYPTIAN NON-ROYAL EPITHETS IN
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A Social and Historical Analysis

BY

DENISE M. DOXEY

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In memory of my father,
Lloyd M. Doxey

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADAIK  Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Kairo.
BIFAO  Bulletin de l'Institute française d'archéologie orientale.
Beni Hasan  Numbering system from P. E. Newberry, Beni Hasan (London 1893).
BES  Bulletin of the Egyptiological Seminar.
BMMA  Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.
CAH  Cambridge Ancient History.
CdÉ  Chronique d'Égypte.
Edfu  Numbering system from M. Alliot, Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (Cairo 1935).
FFE  H. W. Müller, Die Felsengräber der Fürsten von Elephantine aus der Zeit des Mittleren Reiches (Glückstadt 1940).
FIFAO  Fouilles de l'Institute française d'archéologie orientale.
GM  Göttinger Miszellen.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>HT</td>
<td>T. G. H. James, <em>Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum</em> (London 1961).</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAOS</td>
<td><em>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>JARCE</td>
<td><em>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEA</td>
<td><em>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNES</td>
<td><em>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JSSEA</td>
<td><em>Journal of the Society for the Study of Egyptian Antiquities.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MÄS</td>
<td><em>Münchner ägyptologische Studien.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>MDAIK</td>
<td><em>Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts Abteilung, Kairo.</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMJ</td>
<td><em>Metropolitan Museum Journal.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>PSBA</td>
<td><em>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology.</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>RdÉ</td>
<td><em>Revue d’Égyptologie.</em></td>
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS


SAOC  *Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization.*


ZÄS  Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.
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 traditionele egyptische Autobiografie voor 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 *m\textsuperscript{3}-ḥrw, im\textsuperscript{3}ḥ(y) and nb im\textsuperscript{3}ḥ*, 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 Housier 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 Corbeý-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 ‘\(m\text{\textsuperscript{r}}-\text{hrw}\), "vindicated", and ‘\(im\text{\textsuperscript{h}(y)\), "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

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\(^1\) 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.

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) and viziers ( testimonia of Dynasty 11 and early Dynasty 12.

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-laurelatory phrases without particular value to the historian. 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. More recently, some epithets, along with narrative accounts of virtuous deeds, have received considerably more attention as evidence for social, ethical, and moral

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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 Ahanakt (tomb 5) at el Bersheh. The date of Ahanakt’s tomb has been debated. Willems, Chests of Life, 70-72, places it late in Dynasty 11. Brovarski, “Ahanakt,” 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.\textsuperscript{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. \textit{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.\textsuperscript{8} Royal monuments typically do not contain “ideal autobiographies,”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{10} C. Eyre has observed that the Semna stelae so closely resemble private memorial inscriptions in their style and spirit, as well as their

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

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{9} Eyre, “Semna stelae,” 142.

\textsuperscript{10} Eyre, “Semna stelae,” 134-165; Baines, “Kingship,” 19. For a thorough treatment of the phraseology of Middle Kingdom royal inscriptions, see Blumenthal, \textit{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.”

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. 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 3), the “good god” (ntr nfr), the “potent god” (ntr mnḥ), the “sole god” (ntr w), and the like. 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. Likewise, the king may be allotted divine attributes, be referred to as the son (ṣ3) or the likeness (mity) of a deity, or be said to perform a specific act “like” (mlḥ) a god or goddess. 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. 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. 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

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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. 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. 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. 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. 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

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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.
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.
26 For the complete text, see Sethé, 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, 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. 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. 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. While both chapels are

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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.


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 redating, 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textit{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.

\textsuperscript{31} Firth and Gunn, \textit{Teti Pyramid Cemeteries}, pls. 40, 41, 84, 85.

\textsuperscript{32} For information and references, see Simpson, “Sobekemhet,” 26 ff; Franke, “Khnumhotep III,” 51-68.

\textsuperscript{33} Franke, “Khnumhotep III,” 61-62.

\textsuperscript{34} See Petrie et al., \textit{Ilahun, Kahun, and Gurob; Lahun II}.

\textsuperscript{35} Petrie, \textit{Lahun II}, 26-28, pl. 27-31. See also Fischer, “Didactic Text,” 45-50. For the dating, see Franke, \textit{Personendaten}, dossier no. 155.

\textsuperscript{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. 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. 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. 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. 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

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38 *Beni Hasan* I, 2-3.


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; Spanel, “Beni Hasan in the Heracleopolitan Period.”
INTRODUCTION: EPITHETS IN CONTEXT

Kingdom.\textsuperscript{41} Only the tomb of Djehutyhotep (EEF no. 2),\textsuperscript{42} is dated by royal cartouches, indicating that Djehutyhotep served under Amenemhat II, Senwosret II and Senwosret III.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{44} If the Amenemhat buried in tomb 3 is the same person who inscribed graffiti 49 at the neighboring quarry of Hatnub, he was in office during year 31 of Senwosret I.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{46} Ahanakht’s tomb may tentatively be dated to the late Heralcleopolitan period or Dynasty 11, probably prior to the reunification.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{41} Newberry et al., \textit{El Bersheh}; Brovarski et al., \textit{Bersheh Reports I}.
\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Bersheh Reports I}, 7-9, and in particular fig. 8.
\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Bersheh I}, pls. 5-6.
\textsuperscript{44} Willems, “Nomarchs of the Hare Nome,” 82-84, and \textit{Chests of Life} 71, 74; Brovarski, “Ahanakht,” 22.
\textsuperscript{45} Brovarski, “Ahanakht,” 23.
\textsuperscript{47} Willems, “Nomarchs of the Hare Nome,” 82-84, and \textit{Chests of Life} 71, 74; Brovarski, “Ahanakht,” 22.
\textsuperscript{48} See Blackman, \textit{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, Wahkhah I (tomb 7) and Wahkhah 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

50 Reisner, “Tomb of Hepzefa,” 79-98; Griffiths, Siut and Dér Rifeh.
51 Montet, “Tombeaux 3” 131-137.
53 Steckeweh and Steindorff, Fürstengräber von Qau.
end of this dynasty. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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.


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. 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. 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; (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. 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

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59 See Appendix 1 for a list of the texts.
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. 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.

Five cult centers have provided inscriptive material used in this study, namely those of Osiris at Abydos, Amun at Karnak, Horus at Edfu, Hekaib at Elephantine, and Hathor at Serabit el Khādim in the Sinai. The sanctuary which has produced the largest quantity of inscribed material is Abydos. 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


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 Poulis, “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. Poulis. 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. 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. 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." 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). 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. Menthuhotep, the vizier under Senwosret I, evidently took great interest in the temple, dedicating as many as eight statues and other inscribed objects. In Dynasty 13, Iymeru, the vizier under Sobekhotep IV, dedicated at least four monuments. 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. While very few monuments in the sanctuary include royal dates, most date to Dynasty 13. A series of such monuments,

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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.
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 Menthuhotep, see Fay, "Custodian of the Seal," 19-28; Simpson, "Menthuhotep," 331-340; Franke, Personendaten, dossier no. 262.
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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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. 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

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77 Leprohon, “Amenemhat III.”
78 See Blumenthal, “Textgattung Expeditionsbericht,” 85-118.
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. 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. 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. 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 (ḥnty bty) 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.

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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. Two stelae were found at Wadi Gasus, inscribed by a pair of officials named Khentktaywer 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 (ʾImy-r ḫnwty) Anku and the other to the vizier (ṯḥty) Inyotefqer, parts of whose mastaba has been found at Lisht and who commissioned the rock-cut tomb of Senet at Thebes.

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. 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. The men responsible for the Wadi el Hudi inscriptions were, like those who worked in Wadi Hammamat, officials of the central administration,

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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. 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. 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. Officials of both high and relatively low ranks, including two viziers, Mentuhotep and Inyotefiquer, 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. A large number of inscriptions have been found at the two sites, in the form of both stelae and rock inscriptions. 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 Zâba, 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 Gurgawi 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 Gurgawi 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.
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. 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.

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

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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.

Tenth Dynasty.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{99} For the career of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep and varying interpretations of the reunification, see Gomà, \textit{ersten Zwischenzeit}, 157; Grimal, \textit{History}, 155-158; Hayes, “Middle Kingdom in Egypt,” 476-481; Redford, \textit{Egypt, Canaan, and Israel}, 69-70.

\textsuperscript{100} For nomarchs displaying allegiance to Mentuhotep, see Hayes, “Middle Kingdom in Egypt,” 482 (with references).

\textsuperscript{101} For evidence of a civil war, see Redford, \textit{Egypt, Canaan, and Israel}, 71-76.


\textsuperscript{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. In any event, by the beginning of the reign of Amenemhat III, royal authority was at a height unprecedented since the Old Kingdom. 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. 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

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-presentation 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{107} Assmann, \textit{Ma'at}, 92-119; Baines, “Practical Religion,” 90-92.

\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{111} The phrasing of epithets distinguishes in discernible ways between different levels of literate officials, such as the \textit{srw}, \textit{wrr}, \textit{snwt}, \textit{s’hw}, and \textit{smrw}. Among the population as a whole, the elite (\textit{p’t}) are clearly distinguished from both the “people” (\textit{rmt}) and the lower classes (\textit{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.\textsuperscript{112} The overarching theme of epithets, and of “ideal autobiographies” as a whole, is \textit{ma’at}.\textsuperscript{113} J. Assmann sees the concept of \textit{ma’at} as rooted in social solidarity, in which the individual plays a significant role, but in

\textsuperscript{110} Quirke, “Townsmen,” 148-149.
\textsuperscript{111} Loprieno (\textit{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.
\textsuperscript{112} Lichtheim, “Didactic literature,” 254, has argued that Egyptian autobiographies are truly autobiographical, and not “idealbiografie.”
\textsuperscript{113} For the concept of \textit{ma’at}, see Assmann, \textit{Ma’at}; Lichtheim, \textit{Maat}.
which individuality is subordinated to cooperation.\footnote{Assmann, \textit{Ma'at}, 85-89; see also the discussion in Parkinson, "Individual and Society," 147.} \footnote{Quirke, "Townsmen," 147.} 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.\footnote{Quirke, "Townsmen," 147.} 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 \textit{ma'at} as a conduit between their divine and royal superiors and the rest of the Egyptian people.
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*. 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 (*rāḥ st-rād*) and to know the plan (*rāḥ sḥr*). When discussing their eloquence, they claim to have said what was good and repeated what was desired (*dd nfrt wḥm mrt*). When discussing their obedience, they say that they have adhered to their appointed paths (*mḥ ḫn ḫ ṣḥt or mḥ ḫn ḫ ṭm*). 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. 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.” 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

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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.
ability to interact successfully with the gods, the king, his peers, and his subordinates. 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. 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, is nowhere more vivid than in these texts. 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

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6 Gnirs, “ägyptische Autobiographie,” 220 (for the Old Kingdom emphasis on the king).
7 For this text (P. Prisse), see Zába, Ptah-hetep.
8 Assmann, “Schrift, Tod und Identität,” 64-93, has sought the origin of the didactic treatises in the self-presentation 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. 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.*

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. 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

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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” (nḥt or ḫpsḥ), a “protector” (ḥd), or a controller (ḥrp). A large class of phrases is introduced by ṭwr, “one who is great,” perhaps to be understood in some contexts as “the greatest.” 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 ṭwr r ṭwr, “greater than the great ones.” 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” (ṭwr sncd), “one great of hunting” (ṭwr ḫb), “one great of hand” (ṭwr ḡrt), and “one great of provisions” (ṭwr ḡḥw). The word ṭwr, also meaning “one who is great,” occurs in epithets expressing strength and authority, such as “one great of respect” (ṭwr šḥyḥ) and “one great of power” (ṭwr ḫpsḥ). Other epithets express individual authority by stating that the official has acted to oppress enemies or wrongdoing, hence defending maʿat against the forces of chaos. Djefaihapi I of Assiut, for example, claims to be “one who represses” (dḥḥ) pride (ḥḥḥḥḥ), presumption (kṣ-sṯḥ), and greed (wmn-lḥḥ). 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 ‘nḥ wḏḥ snḥ after their names, a practice paralleled twice at Wadi el Hudi during the reign of Senwosret I.

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 ṭwr, see Appendix 2. For ṭwr 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

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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.
18 Lichtheim, Littérature, 87-93.
provisions to be presented to the central administration as taxes, the
tomb context is appropriate for such epithets.\textsuperscript{19} In the tomb of
Djefaihapi I of Assiut, as in the tombs of his Heracleopolitan prede-
cessors, the epithets referring to wealth lead directly to those
involving provision for the city in times of shortage.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{imy-r pr})
and overseer of the double granary (\textit{imy-r šawty}) Mentuwserser
(MMA 12.184)\textsuperscript{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 Mentuwserser’s association with the eco-
nomic administration, and his self-description presents a litany of
personal riches. Mentuwserser was an overseer of cattle (\textit{imy-r hḥw}),
and among his epithets are unique phrases that evidently imitate
titles, such as “overseer of donkeys” (\textit{imy-r šw}), “overseer of goats”
(\textit{imy-r ṣw}), “overseer of pigs” (\textit{imy-r šw}), “overseer of sheep”
(\textit{imy-r ṣw}), and “overseer of people in excess of thousands” (\textit{imy-r
rmḥ m-hḥw ḫḥw}).\textsuperscript{23} He also claims to be “beautiful in (his) riches,”

\textsuperscript{19} In biographical narratives, the prompt payment of taxes sometimes appears
alongside the provision for the people of the nome. See, for example, Lichtheim,
\textit{Autobiographies}, 138-9.
\textsuperscript{20} Assiut 1, 227.
\textsuperscript{21} Beni Hasan I, pl. 34; Bersheh II, pl. 7.
\textsuperscript{22} Ransom-Williams, \textit{Menitu-Weser}; Lichtheim, \textit{Autobiographies}, 104-105.
\textsuperscript{23} Ward, \textit{Index}, nos. 58, 60, 372, and 385, lists the first four of these phrases as
titles. Fischer, \textit{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 con-
sidered 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 Mentuwaser’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, Mentuwaser’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 ḫḥw, “great of provisions,” 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 Abyene 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 Mentuwaser (MMA 12.184) just described. Other adjectives used to introduce epithets emphasizing wealth include “good” or “beautiful” (nfr) and “abundant” (ḥḥḥ), both of which are followed by the term for a commodity, such as “monuments” (mnw), “ships” (ḥḤw), or “clothing” (ḥḥḥw). Specific attributes of the commodity itself might also be described, with

24 Faulkner, Dictionary, 322; Wb. V, 571.
phrases such as *k3i nhwt,* “tall of trees,”25 and *w3d sk3w,* “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-p’t h3ty-’*) Mentuhotep expressed his prosperity while also relating himself to deities associated with the afterlife.27 The inscription calls him *s3 Np3, hi n T3yt, hpr.n n.f S3ḥt-Hr mnmnt,* “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

26 Leiden V6. ANOC 23.2.
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 Bersheh, see Brovarski, “Ahanakht,” 18-21.
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.\textsuperscript{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 Semti the Younger (BM 574) and Ikhernofret (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,\textsuperscript{31} the stela of Mentuweser (Florence 1774) from Thebes,\textsuperscript{32} and the tomb of Khnumhotep II (Tomb 3) at Beni Hasan.\textsuperscript{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” (rwd mnw).\textsuperscript{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’h 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.\textsuperscript{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 sm\textsuperscript{2}w 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.

\textsuperscript{31} Griffith, \textit{Siut and Der Rifeh}, pl. 5.
\textsuperscript{32} Fischer, “Sh\textsuperscript{2}-sn,” pl. 7a.
\textsuperscript{33} Beni Hasan I, pls. 24-25.
\textsuperscript{34} See references in Appendix 2.
\textsuperscript{35} Hammamat 192; Lichtheim, \textit{Literature}, 114.
TABLE 1: Epithets Referring to Building Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Inscription</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ir mnw m niwt.tn</em></td>
<td>One who built monuments in this township</td>
<td>Assiut 2</td>
<td>Dyn. 12 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ir mnw n nhā m ħwâ-nfr Ḥnnw</em></td>
<td>Who built the monuments of eternity in the temple of Khnum</td>
<td>BH 17</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ỉ m pr.f</em></td>
<td>Great in his house</td>
<td>Leiden V4</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ỉ mnw n ḥwâ-nfr</em></td>
<td>Great in monuments for the temple</td>
<td>Assiut 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nb ṣps n is pn</em></td>
<td>Noble owner of this tomb chamber</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nfr mnw</em></td>
<td>Beautiful of monuments</td>
<td>Florence 1774</td>
<td>Sen. I-Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rwd mnw</em></td>
<td>Enduring of monuments</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>k3i is ṣwḥ rwdw ḫnty pr-nfr</em></td>
<td>High of tomb, wide of steps, foremost of the embalming place</td>
<td>Assiut 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kd pr ṣwḥ m niwt.f</em></td>
<td>One who built a broad house in his township</td>
<td>Florence 1774</td>
<td>Sen. I-Am. II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *maʿat*, 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 *maʿat* is typically portrayed as a divine responsibility, which also falls to the king as an intermediary between the gods and the rest of

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36 For examples, see Janssen, *Autobiografie I*, 53-54 (wpl), 58 (wfd).
37 For the concept of *maʿat*, see Assmann, *Maʿat*; 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 *wpl* and *wq*\(^{t}\). 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


\(^{39}\) 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.\textsuperscript{44} On a local level, it is likely that the leading official of the district, whether a \( h\text{-}r\text{-}t\) or a \( i\text{-}r\text{-}p\text{-}t\) \( h\text{-}t\text{-}y\text{-}t\), 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 \( w\text{-}d\text{t}\).\textsuperscript{45} Officials are said to “judge without being partial” (\( w\text{d}\text{t} \text{nn } r\text{d}l\text{t } h\text{r}\text{ gs}\)), and to satisfy the disputants identified as \( s\text{nwy\text{-} FN}\), “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.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
Epithet & Translation & Text & Date \\
\hline\hline
\( \ldots D\text{hw}\text{t FY m } w\text{d}\text{t} \) & Thoth in judging a matter & Bersheh 5 & Dyn 11 (?) \\
\hline
\( w\text{p}\text{i hnr\text{-} FN}\) & Who judges a prisoner & Hamm 114 & Men. III \\
\hline
\( \text{w}\text{p}\text{i } s\text{nwy } n\text{nm\text{-}t}\text{. FN}\) & Who judges two peers impartially & Assiut 1 & Sen. I \\
\hline
\( w\text{d}\text{t} \text{nn } r\text{d}l\text{t } h\text{r}\text{-}gs\) & Who judges without being partial & Hamm 113 & Men. IV \\
& & Hamm 114 & Men. III \\
\hline
\( w\text{d}\text{t} \text{snwy}\) & Who judges two peers & Hatnub 14 & Dyn 11 \\
\hline
\( w\text{d}\text{t} sp\text{w}\text{t}\) & Who judges the districts & Bersheh 5 & Dyn 11 (?) \\
\hline
\( nb\text{ st}\) & Lord of the hall (of judgment) & Assiut 1 & Sen. I \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{44} Inyotef (Louvre C 677), Mentuweser (MMA 12.184), and Khuy (Hammamat 47) held the title \( i\text{my}\text{-}r\text{ pr}\), and Henu (Hammamat 113) held the title \( i\text{my}\text{-}r\text{ pr wr}\). For high stewards of early Dynasty 12, see F. Arnold, “High Stewards,” 7-14.

\textsuperscript{45} Faulkner, Dictionary, 75; van den Boorn, “\( W\text{d}\text{t}\text{t}-\text{ryt}\),” 14-15. For examples, including both epithets and narrative uses, see Janssen, Autobiografie, 58.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>rdī pr.snwy htp m wpt nt knbt</th>
<th>Who caused that two peers go forth pleased with the judgment of the qenbet</th>
<th>Hatmub 14 Hatmub 20</th>
<th>Dyn 11 Dyn 11</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hr-ib hrw n wpt</td>
<td>Content on the day of judgment</td>
<td>BH 2</td>
<td>Sen. I-Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hmww m wpi ht</td>
<td>Expert in judging a matter</td>
<td>Hatmub 2</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hry-tp n wdšt mdw</td>
<td>Chief in judging words</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sbšw m wdšt snwy</td>
<td>Wise in judging between two men</td>
<td>BM 572</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sḏm (m) mbršt</td>
<td>Judge in the law court</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sḏm mdw m wšt</td>
<td>Who hears words in private</td>
<td>Bersheh 8</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ss n Dhwt n hr ns.f</td>
<td>Upon whose tongue is the writing of Thoth</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dd pr.snwy htp m prw nw r.f</td>
<td>One who causes two peers to come forth pleased with his utterance</td>
<td>CG 20539 JEA 51, pl. 14</td>
<td>Sen. I Am. III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Less common references to fair judgment also occur. On his stela from Abydos (BM 572), the chamberlain (imy-r īwnyty) Inyotef son of Senet is called sbšw m wdšt snwy, “a teacher in judging between two peers.”\(^{47}\) Certain epithets referring to skillful or careful speech, such as īkr 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 mšt 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-

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\(^{47}\) ANOC 5.1. For the term sbšw, 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. The chamberlain Inyotef son of Senet refers to himself on two of his stelae from Abydos (BM 562 and BM 581) as sḏm hw sḏm mšt, “a judge who hears the truth.”

TABLE 3: Mšt and Mšt in Epithets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wrḥ Mšt n Sḥwt</td>
<td>Who anoints Maʿat in Assiut</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mḥ-ḥb n Mšt n mḥt p’t n sḏt nb</td>
<td>Favorite of Maʿat in restraining the people and in enfeebling the hearts of all rebels</td>
<td>BIFAO Supp. 81, 35</td>
<td>Dyn. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nb mšt iwty isfb</td>
<td>Possessor of maʿat, without wrongdoing</td>
<td>Hatnub 20</td>
<td>Dyn 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rdt ḫb (n) qḏ sw mšt (n) li ḫr.s</td>
<td>Who gave the lie to the one telling it and the truth to the one coming with it</td>
<td>CG 2053</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sʿr mšt r ḫh</td>
<td>Who raises up maʿat to the palace</td>
<td>CG 2053</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sḏm n wn mšt</td>
<td>Who listens to what is true</td>
<td>MMA 12.184</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sḏm ḫw sḏm mšt</td>
<td>Who listens so that I hear the truth</td>
<td>BM 581</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qḏ mšt</td>
<td>Who speaks the truth</td>
<td>Hatnub 22, Louvre C167</td>
<td>Dyn 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qḏ mšt wpl.f snwy</td>
<td>Who speaks the truth when he judges between two peers</td>
<td>BH 2</td>
<td>Sen. I-Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qḏ mḥt mšt</td>
<td>Who speaks true words</td>
<td>BH 2</td>
<td>Sen. I-Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>qḏ mḥt n wn mšt</td>
<td>Who speaks words rightly</td>
<td>MMA 57.95</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 mty or

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51 Cf. the common epithet mšt-ḥrw, discussed in the following chapter.
52 See discussion in Lichtheim, Maat, 35.
mtr, synonymous terms meaning “straightforward,” “precise,” “correct,” or “exact.” The association of precision with justice is particularly clear in the simile mtr m\textsuperscript{2} r Dhwy, “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. As an epithet, the term mtr occurs throughout Dynasty 12.

TABLE 4: Epithets Expressing Accuracy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>≃k\textsuperscript{3} mi iwsw</td>
<td>Precise like a balance</td>
<td>BM 581</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≃k\textsuperscript{3} r lb</td>
<td>Precise more than the plummet of a balance</td>
<td>CG 20538</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtr-lb</td>
<td>Precise of heart</td>
<td>Hamm. 47</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtr m šdt</td>
<td>Precise in reading</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 3</td>
<td>Am. II-Sen. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtr m\textsuperscript{2} r Dhwy</td>
<td>Truly precise, like Thoth</td>
<td>BM 581</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CG 20538</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Durham N1935</td>
<td>Sen. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtr m\textsuperscript{2} r mtį</td>
<td>Truly precise toward people</td>
<td>Leiden V4</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtr-h\textsuperscript{3} ty</td>
<td>Precise of heart</td>
<td>Hamm. 48</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtr-h\textsuperscript{3} tyw</td>
<td>Precise of thoughts</td>
<td>Hamm. 149</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mtr</td>
<td>Precise</td>
<td>Bershah 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Similar in meaning to mtr is the adjective ≃k\textsuperscript{3}, “straightforward,” “precise,” or “just.” In many examples, the official is likened to a

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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.

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 ‘k\(^3\) m\(^i\) i\(^w\)s\(^w\), “precise like a balance,” and the stela of Sehetepibra (CG 20538), also from Abydos, claims that he is ‘k\(^3\) r t\(^h\), “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 (*Mḥ\(^3\)*).”\(^{60}\) 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 m\(^3\)* 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” (*w* *mnḥ*), “efficient man” (*s mnḥ*), “efficient official” (*sr mnḥ*), and “efficient noble” (*s\(^h\) mnḥ*); (3) epithets describing attributes of the official, such as “efficient of action” (*mnḥ s\(^s\)r\(^w\)*), “efficient of heart” (*mnḥ l\(^b\)*), “one whose knowledge is efficient” (*mnḥ rḥ.f*), and “one whose counsel is efficient” (*mnḥ sḥr.f*); and (4) more complex clauses in which the official’s success is attributed to his efficiency.\(^{62}\) Djefaihapi I of

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\(^{57}\) Lines B1, 90-96.

\(^{58}\) ANOC 5.2.


\(^{60}\) Lloyd, “Hamammat Inscription 191,” 57, n. 18.


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

**TABLE 5: Mnḥ in Epithets**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mnḥ</td>
<td>Efficient</td>
<td>BM 572</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Meir C1</td>
<td>Sen. II-III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Saqqara 11Sq</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnḥ-ib</td>
<td>Trustworthy</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BM 100</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assiut 2</td>
<td>Dyn. 12 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnḥ m pr nb.f</td>
<td>Efficient in his lord’s house</td>
<td>Heqaib 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnḥ m st ḫḥ</td>
<td>Efficient in the place of the palace</td>
<td>CG 20538</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnḥ m ẖ３</td>
<td>Truly efficient</td>
<td>Louvre C167</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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63 Griffith, Siat 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 ḫḥ).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mnh ndwt-r</td>
<td>Efficient of counsel</td>
<td>CG 20538</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnh ṛḥ.f</td>
<td>Whose knowledge is efficient</td>
<td>Hamm. 108</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnh sḥr.f</td>
<td>Whose plan is efficient</td>
<td>Hamm. 42</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnh sḥm Ṣḥt</td>
<td>Efficient of conduct</td>
<td>Hamm. 43</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>when he is sent</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnh sšrw</td>
<td>Efficient of action</td>
<td>Louvre C 167</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnh ṭsw</td>
<td>Efficient of speech</td>
<td>Hamm. 48</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W. el Hudi 16</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnh ḏḏ ḫʾḥ Ṣḥm ḫ</td>
<td>Efficient of the secret</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>speech in guiding the palace</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s mnh</td>
<td>Efficient man</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sʾḥ mnh</td>
<td>Efficient noble</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W. el Hudi 149</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sʾḥ ṭ mnh</td>
<td>Effective official</td>
<td>Berlin 1199</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sḥntʾn mnh.f st.ʾf</td>
<td>Whose efficiency</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>advanced his position</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sḥnty ṭr</td>
<td>Who was advanced</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnh.sḥr.f</td>
<td>because his plan was efficient</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḏḏ rʾf mnh.sḥr.f</td>
<td>Of whom it is said,</td>
<td>Sinai 405</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“His plan is efficient”</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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 ṛḥ, “know” or “recognize.” Although N. Shupak asserts that the participle ṛḥ was used adjectivally to mean “wise” by the Middle Kingdom, M. Lichtheim has observed that ṛḥ should more correctly be understood to mean “knowledge” in the general sense of learning, understanding, competence and skill. In this sense, it relates closely to terms referring to efficiency: it is the

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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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{72} Phrases in which the subject is said to be “one who knows” (rḥ) 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.\textsuperscript{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” (rḥ st-rd.f),\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{75} A Dynasty 11 precedent refers to fellow officials, rather than the palace, with the phrase rḥ 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.\textsuperscript{76} An intelligent man

\begin{itemize}
\item\textsuperscript{71} Shupak, \textit{Wisdom}, 218.
\item\textsuperscript{72} Shupak, \textit{Wisdom}, 219.
\item\textsuperscript{73} Janssen, \textit{Autobiografie} I, 73-77; II, 108-9.
\item\textsuperscript{74} Literally “one who knows the place of his foot.”
\item\textsuperscript{75} Janssen, \textit{Autobiografie} II, 108; Lichtheim, \textit{Maat}, 35.
\item\textsuperscript{76} For example, instruction 24 of the \textit{Instructions of Ptaḥhotep}. P. Prisse, 362-370.
\end{itemize}
could be described simply as *rḥḥt*, “one who knows things.”

Knowledge of legal and administrative affairs is expressed by epithets such as “one who knows the laws” (*rḥḥhpw*), which appears in the stela of Khnumhotep from Wadi Gasus and the Hammamat inscription of Wer, 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’.”

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 *rḥḥ shr m-bḥwr srw*, “one who knows the plan in excess of the officials,” and *rḥḥ shr m šḥn srw*, “one who knows the plan in the council of officials.” 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” (*rḥḥ prw n mdw.f*), from the tomb of Amenemhat (tomb 2) at Beni Hasan, and “one who knows the phrase on account of which one becomes angry” (*rḥḥ ts n knnd.t(w) hr.s*), from the Abydene stela of Inyotef, son of Senet (BM 581).

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. This is indicated by statements that the official came from the womb as a *s33*. *Siḥ*, 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

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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.”
79 van den Boorn, *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. In epithets, it can also refer to perception, as when Djefalhapi I of Assiut is called sl3 imyt-lb, “one who perceives what is in the heart,” and Amenweser, on his stela from Abydos, is said to be sl3 s r tpt-r.f, “one who perceives a man according to his speech.” 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. 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.” 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.

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. Gmh hnty and m33 hnty, both meaning “one who sees ahead,” 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.

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” (hmít lhl).
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 ṭḥ sḥr, often incorporated understanding of the sḥr, “plan,” “counsel,” “opinion,” or “advice.”93 N. Shupak distinguishes three contexts in which the sḥr 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 that of the court. ṭḥ sḥr, “one who is excellent/worthy of plan”95 and its variant ṭḥ sḥr.f, “one whose plan is excellent/worthy,” were common in the early Middle Kingdom, after which they were largely supplanted by mnh sḥr.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 ṭmrš) 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, ṭḥ sḥr may refer to military strategy, as suggested by the prevalence of references to sḥr ṭmr 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 ṭḥ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ikr shr m-biḥ...</em></td>
<td>Excellent of plan before...</td>
<td>Berlin 1199</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ikr shrw.f</em></td>
<td>Whose plans are excellent/worthy</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ḥw ḫmsw ḫr shr.f</em></td>
<td>By whose plan one stands and sits</td>
<td>Bersheh 8</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mnḥ shr.f</em></td>
<td>Whose plans are efficient</td>
<td>Hamm. 42, Hamm. 43</td>
<td>Am. III, Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rḥ shr m-hw srw</em></td>
<td>Who knows the plan in excess of the officials</td>
<td>Hamm. 114</td>
<td>Men. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rḥ shr m šn srw</em></td>
<td>Who knows the plan in the council of officials</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 2</td>
<td>Sen. I-Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ḥr n ḫnw ḫr shr ḡd.n.f</em></td>
<td>Pleasing to the Residence because of the plan which he announced</td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šḥtny ḫr mnḥ shr.f</em></td>
<td>Who advanced because his plan was efficient</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ḏḏ(w) n.f mnḥ shr.f</em></td>
<td>Of whom it is said, “His plan is effective”</td>
<td>Sinai 405</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ḏḏw shr.f mnḥ</em></td>
<td>Of whom it is said, “His plan is effective”</td>
<td>Sinai 101A</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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, 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. 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. Likewise, the didactic literature frequently refers to the benefits of careful speech. 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. The couplet, ḏd nfrt, whm 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.
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. 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 \textit{whm nfrt m htr-hrw nb r} \textit{nb}, “one who repeats what is desired in the course of every day,” and \textit{whm 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.

In some cases, accurate reporting might relate specifically to the career of the official being described. The only person to be called \textit{whm nfrt n nb t} \textit{wy}, “one who repeats what is good to the Lord of the Two Lands,” is a man who actually served as a herald (\textit{whmrw}) 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.

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

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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 \textit{dd nfrt whm nfrt}. For a listing of epithets introduced my \textit{whm}, see Appendix 2.


108 Hammamat 108.


Ikr ḏḏ and ikr ṭsw were also used with a similar meaning.\textsuperscript{112} Spd, literally "sharp," but applied idiomatically to mean "efficient," or "skilled,"\textsuperscript{113} was used in epithets referring to the mouth (r) or tongue (ns), metaphors for speaking ability.\textsuperscript{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 ṣḥ n srw, "sharp of speech in the council of officials," and spd-r m swt ḫns-ib, "sharp of speech in situations of greed."\textsuperscript{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).\textsuperscript{116}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḣḥ ḏḏ ḥḥy-ib n nb.f</td>
<td>Effective of speech in his lord’s heart</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikr mdw.f</td>
<td>Whose speech was excellent/worthy</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikr st-ns</td>
<td>Excellent of speech</td>
<td>Hamm. 47</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hamm. 48</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>JEA 51, pl. 14</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W. el Hudi 149</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikr ṭsw</td>
<td>Excellent of speech</td>
<td>Louvre C167</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assiut 2</td>
<td>Dyn. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ikr ḏḏ</td>
<td>Excellent of speech</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CG 20538</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{112} In the case of ikr ḏḏ, Janssen identifies the form of the verb ḏḏ as an infinitive.\textsuperscript{119} Autoibografie II, 19.

\textsuperscript{113} Faulkner, Dictionary, 223; Meeks, Ann. lex. 2, 321; Ann. lex. 3, 250.

\textsuperscript{114} See Janssen, Autoibografie II, 50; Shupak, Wisdom, 286.

\textsuperscript{115} From the tomb of Djedefiapi I (Assiut tomb 1) and the Abydene stelae of Inyotef son of Senet and Sobekwenu (BM 581). For an alternate interpretation, see Shupak, Wisdom, 286.

\textsuperscript{116} ANOC 5.2, lines 8-14.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Source 1</th>
<th>Source 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'khw mdw hrw msbb</td>
<td>Straight of speech on the day of turning away (?)</td>
<td>Hamm. 114</td>
<td>Men. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wlm nt...</td>
<td>Who repeats what is desired...</td>
<td>Sinai 405</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wlmw ikr</td>
<td>Excellent herald</td>
<td>Hatnub 14</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wdb r n mdt hrn'.f</td>
<td>Who directs the speech of the one speaking with him</td>
<td>Hatnub 16</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mnh tsw</td>
<td>Efficient of speech</td>
<td>Wadi el Hudi 16 Hamm. 48</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mdw m swt gnrd</td>
<td>Who speaks in situations of anger</td>
<td>BM 581</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mdw r r-² srw</td>
<td>Who speaks a word before the officials</td>
<td>MMA 12.184</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mdw r hrw.f m pr bity</td>
<td>At whose voice words are spoken in the palace</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nn thw n ns.f hrw nfr n hib</td>
<td>Without error of his speech on the festival of sending-off¹¹⁷</td>
<td>Hamm. 114</td>
<td>Men. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhm r m</td>
<td>Strong in speech</td>
<td>Bersheh 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rh prw n mdw.f</td>
<td>Who knows the outcome of his words</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 2</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rh mdt</td>
<td>Who knows speech</td>
<td>MMA 57.95</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rh ts n knd.t(w) hr.s</td>
<td>Who knows the phrase on account of which anger occurs</td>
<td>BM 581</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rdi ts r st.f</td>
<td>Who put speech in its (proper) place</td>
<td>Hamm. 114</td>
<td>Men. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrw prw n r.f</td>
<td>At whose utterance one is pleased</td>
<td>Hamm. 47</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrw tsw</td>
<td>Pleasing of speech</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spd-ns</td>
<td>Sharp of tongue</td>
<td>Meir B4 Berlin 1204</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spd-r</td>
<td>Sharp of speech</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spd-r wšb</td>
<td>Sharp of speech in answering</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
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<tr>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>spd-r m-ḥry-ib šntiwt</td>
<td>Sharp of speech among the quarrelsome</td>
<td>Bersheh 5</td>
<td>Dyn. I (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spd-r m swt hns-ib</td>
<td>Sharp of speech in situation of greed</td>
<td>BM 581</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spd-r m šh n srw</td>
<td>Sharp of speech in the council of officials</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smi ššm.f nn 'm-ib</td>
<td>Who reports his business without forgetting</td>
<td>BM 569</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sgr rmīw m hnw nfr</td>
<td>Who silences weeping with good words</td>
<td>BM 581</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stp tsōw</td>
<td>Who chooses words</td>
<td>MMA 57.95</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šw m isw n ns</td>
<td>Free of lightness of tongue</td>
<td>Hamm. 199</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šw m dḥ pūw</td>
<td>Free of saying &quot;pa&quot;&quot;¹¹⁸</td>
<td>MMA 12.184</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>šw m dḥ grg</td>
<td>Free of speaking falsely</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 2</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gm mdt nt ḫ</td>
<td>Who finds the speech of the palace</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gm ṭs</td>
<td>Who finds the phrase</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dns mḥwt</td>
<td>Guarded of speech</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡd m r.f ir m 'wy.f</td>
<td>Who speaks with his mouth and acts with his hands</td>
<td>Bersheh 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡd mdt m ḫw n ib</td>
<td>Who says words against angry speech</td>
<td>Bersheh 1</td>
<td>Am. I-Sen. I (?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹¹⁸ See comments in Parkinson, *Voices*, 19. Mentuweser stresses that he does not use the colloquial article "pa," which was considered inappropriate for courtly speech.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>qd nt nfrt wlm mrrt</strong></th>
<th>Who says what is good and repeats what is desired</th>
<th>Assiut 6</th>
<th>Am. II-Sen. II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Louvre C170(^{119})</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BM 569</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CG 20538</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai 500</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hamm. 108</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>qd nt nfrt wlm mrrt m hrt-hrw nt r’nb</strong></td>
<td>Who says what is good and repeats what is desired in the course of every day</td>
<td>Ber. ÄGM 26/66 Manchester</td>
<td>Am. I Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>qd nt nfrt smi mrrt</strong></td>
<td>Who says what is good and reports what is desired</td>
<td>Hamm. 47</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>qd ts r h3w.f</strong></td>
<td>Who speaks a phrase at its time</td>
<td>Hamm. 114</td>
<td>Men. III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 m\(dw\) m swt g\(nd\), r\(h\) ts n kn\(d\).t(w) hr.s “one who speaks in situations of strife and who knows the words on account of which one becomes angry;” sgr r\(m\)iw m h\(n\)w nfr, “one who silences weeping with good words;” r\(h\) g\(d\)dt m h\(3\)b nb, “one who knows what is said in every office;” and m\(dw\) m h\(3\) n m\(3\)t, spd-\(r\) m swt h\(n\)s-\(i\)b, “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 g\(d\).f nfrt.

\(^{120}\) Eyre, “Semna stelae,” 155 ff.

\(^{121}\) For h\(3\), see Faulkner, Dictionary, 183. For h\(n\)s-\(i\)b, 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,”" appears in texts from the Old Kingdom onward. As J. M. A. Janssen notes, this use is the most common one in which the adjective rs, meaning “wakeful,” appears. 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. None of the men described by this epithet have especially prominent titles, “seal-bearer” (ḥtmtḥ-bḥty) 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. Aspects of self control which are specifically expressed in epithets include silence, calmness, patience, and discretion. Silence was

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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” (\textit{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 \textit{Instructions to Kagemni} and the \textit{Instructions of Ptahhotep}.\(^ {130}\) Likewise, the \textit{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, \textit{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 (\textit{srw}), one of

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


\(^{129}\) 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, \textit{Literature}, 99.

\(^{132}\) Lichtheim, “Didactic literature,” 258-261.
whom it is said, ‘await his coming.’”

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.” 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,” appears most often in two epithets, hrw-ib, literally “calm of heart,” and hrw-nmtn, meaning “calm of step.” In didactic literature, hrw, “the calm man,” can be used synonymously with grw, “the silent man,” and kbw, “the cool-tempered man.” 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. Although it can mean “contented,” the context in epithets suggests a meaning of “calm” or “self-controlled,” rather than “satisfied.”

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) and “efficient of speech” (mnḥ ḫsw) respectively, suggesting that prt-ib was understood as the opposite of hrw-ib. Since w3ḥ-ib, “patient” or “attentive,” is also used in contrast to prt-ib, it may be surmised that hrw-ib and w3ḥ-ib are approximately synonymous. Calmness and self control are also emphasized in epithets introduced by the adjective kb or kbb. 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

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133 ANOC 20.1.
134 ḫkw n n ẖn n ṣm rt ḫs ḫd. ANOC 5.2.
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 Sinait 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-Īb*.

**TABLE 8: Epithets Referring to Self-Control**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>nn sin hr</em></td>
<td>Without hasty temper</td>
<td>BM 581</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hrw-Īb</em></td>
<td>Calm-hearted</td>
<td>Hatnub 26</td>
<td>Men. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Heqaib 49</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai 71</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hamm. 47</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hamm. 42</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hamm. 48</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>JEA</em> 51, pl. 14</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai 33</td>
<td>Am. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai 118</td>
<td>Am. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>W. el Hudi 21</td>
<td>Am. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Edfu</td>
<td>Dyn. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hrw-nmtt</em></td>
<td>Calm of step</td>
<td>BM 1236</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Louvre C170</td>
<td>Sen. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hrw-s3</em></td>
<td>Calm</td>
<td>Hamm. 43</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hrw-ţsw</em></td>
<td>Calm of speech</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ḥbs r ḫr ḫrt.n.f</em></td>
<td>Who covers the mouth</td>
<td>Assiut 6</td>
<td>Am. II-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>regarding what he</td>
<td>Sen. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>knows</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ḥrp ṣḥr ḫt</em></td>
<td>Who controls (his)</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>thoughts</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>š btbb m-m</em></td>
<td>Cool man amidst the</td>
<td>RILN 27</td>
<td>Am. 1-Sen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ḏmūw</em></td>
<td>troops</td>
<td></td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>šškw-Īb</em></td>
<td>Self-disciplined</td>
<td>Bersheh 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 26</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kb ḫt</em></td>
<td>Cool of body</td>
<td>Hatnub 10</td>
<td>Dyn. 9/10 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kb srf</em></td>
<td>Cool tempered</td>
<td>Sinai 47</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kbb</em></td>
<td>Calm</td>
<td>BM 581</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>grw</em></td>
<td>Silent man</td>
<td>Hatnub 49</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>gr m-m srw</em></td>
<td>Silent among the</td>
<td>Leiden V4</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>officials</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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5.2. Patience and Attention

A number of officials from the Dynasties 11 and 12 are described as \( w\text{-}h\text{-}ib \), 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 stelae of Mentuhotep (CG 20539) and Amenweser (in a private collection)\(^{145}\)—it is used in the phrase \( w\text{-}h\text{-}ib \ r \ s\text{gdm.} m\text{n}t \), “attentive until speech is heard,”\(^{146}\) where the meaning “attentive” is clearly preferable. In some inscriptions, \( w\text{-}h\text{-}ib \) forms the first half of a couplet, the second half of which refers to speech (\( t\text{s}w \)). Examples include \( w\text{-}h\text{-}ib \ i\text{krm} \ t\text{sw} \), “one who is attentive and excellent/worthy at speech,”\(^{147}\) and \( w\text{-}h\text{-}ib \ m\text{nh} \ t\text{sw} \), “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, \( w\text{-}h\text{-}ib \) 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 \( w\text{-}h\text{-}ib \). Examples include \( w\text{-}h\text{-}ib \ s\text{w} \ m \ n\text{hrh} \), “attentive and free from stammering,”\(^{149}\) \( w\text{-}h\text{-}ib \ s\text{w} \ m \ p\text{rt-ib} \),


\(^{147}\) Louvre C 167. ANOC 4.1.


\(^{149}\) For the meaning of *nhrh*, 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**

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

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$^{150}$ For prt-ib, see Sinai 1, 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 $sdn$, “hear,” can also emphasize the attention and obedience of the official. The Abydena stela of Inyotef son of Nebhu calls him $sdmw hnw$, “one who listens attentively,” and $sdm ir.f mi ǧdt$, “One who listens that he might act according to what was said.”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.”\textsuperscript{154}

$Hr-nntr$, “calm of step,”\textsuperscript{155} is preserved in Middle Kingdom inscriptions only from the reign of Amenemhat II onward, and continued to be used into Dynasty 13.\textsuperscript{156} As Janssen demonstrates, it was used primarily alongside two other epithets, $mn-ḥyt$, “sure-footed” (literally “firm of sole”);\textsuperscript{157} and $mḏd ʾwḏ nt snnḥ sw$, “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” ($irr ḫst.f$), along with “one who is loyal” ($mḏd mṯn$ or $mḏd ʾwḏ$, literally “one who presses hard upon the roadway”), “one who propitiates (the god)” ($shtp$), and “one who pleases (the king)” ($ḥtp-ib$).\textsuperscript{158}

\textsuperscript{152} Louvre C167.
\textsuperscript{153} Shupak, \textit{Wisdom}, 51-54.
\textsuperscript{154} Shupak, \textit{Wisdom}, 51-52.
\textsuperscript{155} See Meeks, \textit{Ann. lex.} 3, 179.
\textsuperscript{156} Janssen, \textit{Autobiografie} II, 29, includes only examples up to and including the reign of Amenemhat IV.
\textsuperscript{157} Cf. Polotsky, \textit{Inscriften}, 3-8.
\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$nb$ šps n is pn</td>
<td>Noble owner of this tomb chamber</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$šd$ is m smt.f</td>
<td>Who dug a tomb in his necropolis</td>
<td>Florence 1774</td>
<td>Sen. I- Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kšl is wsh rwd lnty pr-nfr$</td>
<td>High of tomb, wide of steps, foremost of the embalming place</td>
<td>Assiut 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 9/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krs šhw</td>
<td>Who buries the aged</td>
<td>Hatnub 29</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krs&amp;W mty</td>
<td>Who buries the dead</td>
<td>MMA 12.184</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>krs tniw</td>
<td>Who buries the elderly</td>
<td>BM 1164</td>
<td>Men. III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

\textsuperscript{160} Baines, "Practical Religion." 91.
epithets.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{162} Epithets referring to funerary practices include phrases introduced by forms of the verb \textit{krs}, "bury," and descriptions of the building of the officials' own tombs.

6.2. Ritual Purity

Epithets introduced by the adjective \textit{w'bt}, "pure,"\textsuperscript{163} are not common in the Middle Kingdom, and virtually always refer to the hands or fingers.\textsuperscript{164} The epithet \textit{w'bt 'wy}, which was used in the Heracleopolitan Period and Dynasty 11,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{161} Baines, "Practical Religion," 82; "Society, Morality, and Religious Practice," 123-137.
\textsuperscript{162} Janssen, \textit{Autobiografie} I, 113-114.
\textsuperscript{163} Wb. I, 282-283; Faulkner, \textit{Dictionary}, 54.
\textsuperscript{165} See, for example, the tomb of Ahanakht, Bersheh tomb 5. \textit{Bersheh} II, pl. 13.
\textsuperscript{166} Scribes may also be called "pure of hands," a reference to their accuracy, an epithets 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.\textsuperscript{167}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>w‘b ‘m shrt ntr</td>
<td>Pure of hand in adorning the god</td>
<td>Berlin 1204</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w‘b ‘wy</td>
<td>Pure of hands</td>
<td>Meir C1</td>
<td>Sen. II-III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w‘b ‘wy mh.f h3w</td>
<td>Pure of hand when he fills the bowl</td>
<td>Bersheh 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w‘b ‘wy drp.f ntr</td>
<td>Pure of hands when he offers to the god</td>
<td>Hatnub 26</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w‘b ‘hw m st dsrt</td>
<td>Who purifies the braziers in the sacred place</td>
<td>Hatnub 26</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w‘b stpwt</td>
<td>Who purifies the choice offerings</td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w‘b gb‘w</td>
<td>Pure of fingers</td>
<td>Bersheh 1</td>
<td>Am. I-Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai 109</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sm w‘b gb‘w(f)</td>
<td>Sm-priest whose fingers are pure</td>
<td>Berlin 1204</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CG 20538</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>twr ‘wy</td>
<td>Clean of hands</td>
<td>Bersheh 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 17</td>
<td>Dyn. 11/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 17</td>
<td>Dyn. 11/12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.3. Firmness of Step in the Cultic Context

The epithets mn-rd, literally “firm of foot,”\textsuperscript{168} and mn-tḥyt, “firm of sole” (or “firm of sandal”)\textsuperscript{169} appear to have been identical in meaning, and the latter seems to have replaced the former in middle to late Dynasty 12.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{167} See Pflüger, “Private Funerary Stelae,” 128.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{169} Janssen, Autobiografie II, 35. For examples, see Appendix 2.
\textsuperscript{170} See Janssen, Autobiografie I, 19-20, Autobiografie II, 35.
Ahanakht (tomb 5) at El Bersheh.\textsuperscript{171} As Janssen notes, some of the earliest Middle Kingdom uses of \textit{mn-tbyt} also refer to religious and funerary settings, as in the phrase \textit{mn-tbyt m st ṣlsrt}, “firm of sole in the sacred place,” probably a reference to the necropolis.

In many cases, both \textit{mn-rd} and \textit{mn-tbyt} are associated with obedience, being followed immediately by epithets introduced by \textit{mgd wšt} or \textit{mgd mtn}. This association, which began by Dynasty 11, continued throughout Dynasty 12. \textit{Mn-rd} was more frequently followed immediately by \textit{mgd mtn}, while \textit{mn-jbyt} was generally followed by \textit{ḥr nmtt}, “calm of steps,” which in turn was often followed by \textit{mgd wšt 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 Hudî. At least two examples of \textit{mn-rd} are followed by a reference to a \textit{sfr}, “plan.” On one stela (BM 1164), the official is said to be \textit{mn-rd mgd sfr}, “one firm of foot, who follows the plan,” while on another (Louvre C1), he is called, \textit{mn-rd ikr sfr}, “one firm of foot and excellent/worthy of plan.”

\textbf{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 \textit{šw m}, “free from,” followed by a negative attribute expressed as a noun or infinitive,\textsuperscript{172} although a number of less common negative forms also appear in epithets. While epithets introduced by \textit{šw m}, “free from,” vary greatly as a rule, a relatively large number involve the concept of \textit{lsft}, meaning “wrong,” “crime,” “falseness,” or “evil,” essentially whatever is the opposite of \textit{ma’at}.\textsuperscript{173} These epithets take two forms: the earlier Dynasty 11 form being \textit{šw m lsft}, “free from evil,” and the later \textit{šw

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{171} Janssen, \textit{Autobiografie II}, 53.
\item \textsuperscript{172} Janssen, \textit{Autobiografie I}, 165-167, \textit{Autobiografie II}, 205-207.
\item \textsuperscript{173} Assmann, \textit{Ma’at}, 213-222; Lichttheim, \textit{Maat}, 146; Faulkner, \textit{Dictionary}, 30.
\end{itemize}
m irt lsft, "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.\textsuperscript{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-hr) toward others.\textsuperscript{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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Positive Attribute</th>
<th>Negative Attribute</th>
<th>Text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>w3h-lb Attentive</td>
<td>prt-lb Passion</td>
<td>Sinai 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w3h-lb Attentive</td>
<td>prt-lb Passion</td>
<td>Sinai 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w3h-lb Attentive</td>
<td>rrit Piggishness?</td>
<td>BM 581</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w3h-lb Attentive</td>
<td>nhhr Stammer</td>
<td>UC 14333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w3h-lb Attentive</td>
<td>nhhr Stammer</td>
<td>JEA 51, pl. 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wšb-lb Broad of heart (generous)</td>
<td>hns-ib Constricted of heart (greedy)</td>
<td>Leiden V 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wšh nmtt Broad of stride</td>
<td>hšw Excess</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{174} Exceptions include the biography of Ahanakht, which calls him w*b šw m kni kdw, “a purification priest free of sullenness of character.”

\textsuperscript{175} ANOC 5.2.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Sign</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wdšl-ib</td>
<td>Prosperous of heart</td>
<td>isw n ns</td>
<td>Lightness of tongue</td>
<td>Hamm. 199</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ph3 ūt</td>
<td>Pure of body</td>
<td>snkwt</td>
<td>Greed/lust?</td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mn rdyi</td>
<td>Sure-footed</td>
<td>ḫfr</td>
<td>Gluttony</td>
<td>BH 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mdw r r-ē</td>
<td>Who speaks words before officials</td>
<td>dd pš</td>
<td>Saying “pa”</td>
<td>MMA 12.184</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nb ḏfšw</td>
<td>Possessor of abundance</td>
<td>ḥbs-ḥr</td>
<td>Indifference</td>
<td>BM 581</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nb ḏfšw</td>
<td>Possessor of abundance</td>
<td>ḥbs-ḥr</td>
<td>Indifference</td>
<td>Leiden V 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfr-ib</td>
<td>Goodness of Heart</td>
<td>ḧw</td>
<td>Evil/sadness</td>
<td>Hatnub in. 10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngrw-ib</td>
<td>Possessed of heart</td>
<td>mḥt</td>
<td>Forgetfulness</td>
<td>Hamm. 199</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṛḥ sfrn</td>
<td>Who knows mercy</td>
<td>ṭst bn</td>
<td>Plotting evil</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṛḥ st-rd.f</td>
<td>Who knows the place of his foot</td>
<td>‘ḥr</td>
<td>Boasting</td>
<td>Hamm. 47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṛḥ ḏtt</td>
<td>Who knows what is said</td>
<td>‘ḥr</td>
<td>Boasting</td>
<td>Assiut 6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rs-tp</td>
<td>Vigilant</td>
<td>‘wy</td>
<td>Sleeping</td>
<td>Hatnub 49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rs-tp</td>
<td>Vigilant</td>
<td>ḫgy</td>
<td>Slack</td>
<td>BM 569</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥrw-ib</td>
<td>Calm of heart</td>
<td>prt-ib</td>
<td>Passion</td>
<td>Hamm. 47</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥrw-ib</td>
<td>Calm of heart</td>
<td>prt-ib</td>
<td>Passion</td>
<td>Hatnub 26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥrw-sš</td>
<td>Calm</td>
<td>ḫḫšš</td>
<td>Arrogance</td>
<td>Hamm. 43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣfrm-ib</td>
<td>Stout of heart</td>
<td>ḫgy</td>
<td>Weariness</td>
<td>Hamm. 199</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kbb</td>
<td>Calm</td>
<td>ḫḫ ḥr</td>
<td>Impatience</td>
<td>BM 581</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḍsr sřf</td>
<td>Self-controlled</td>
<td>ḫnw</td>
<td>Anger (?)</td>
<td>Louvre C167</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dd mššt</td>
<td>Who speaks ma‘at</td>
<td>dd grg</td>
<td>Speaking falsehood</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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176 Lichtheim, *Maat*, 30, renders *snkwt* as “glumness.”
177 The text reads ḫd-ḥr ṣw-dt nb ḏfšw ṣw 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 \( sw m \), 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 \( n k^2 h^3 h^5 f^5 w^5 r^5 \), “one who is not overbearing before a powerful man,” immediately follows \( sw m nh^5 r^5 r^5 h^5 r^5 \), “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 \textit{not} to behave.

\(^{178}\) See Gardiner, \textit{Grammar}, 315, § 397; Janssen, \textit{Autobiografie II}, 207.


\(^{181}\) 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, \textit{Autobiographies}, 52.
8. Epithets Relating to Events in the Career of the Official

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 nḥt and wr, 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><code>br (mul) m st nbt</code></td>
<td>Who acts as overseer of troops in every place</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 17</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>h</code> n smy't</td>
<td>Warrior of the confederacy</td>
<td>Bersheh 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dd snf.t m-hry-ib `bbwt</td>
<td>Who places fear of him amidst the masses</td>
<td>BM 1213</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi Shtm hrw n r-d3w</td>
<td>Like Sekhmet on the day of battle</td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mb-ib n M6'rt t rth p't m sdt lbw n sbiw(?) nb</td>
<td>Favorite of Ma'at in restraining the people and in enfeebling the hearts of all rebels</td>
<td>BIFAO Supp. p. 81, 35</td>
<td>Dyn. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><code>nh bht</code></td>
<td>Master of terror</td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nb ḫps r ḫ hrw.f sḥs int.f</th>
<th>Possessor of strength for attacking on his day of fleeing his arrival</th>
<th>Hamm. 43</th>
<th>Am. III</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nb sng</td>
<td>Master of fear</td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd</td>
<td>Protector</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nd mỉ'</td>
<td>True protector</td>
<td>Hamm. 47</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nds n ḫn ḏsṁw</td>
<td>Soldier of the camp</td>
<td>Hatnub 27</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nds kn</td>
<td>Valiant soldier</td>
<td>Hatnub 17</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 26</td>
<td>Men. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>RILN 73</td>
<td>Am. I-Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nds kn n ṣnty.f</td>
<td>Valiant soldier without his equal</td>
<td>Hatnub 16</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 23</td>
<td>Am. I (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nds kn n ḫn ḏsṁw</td>
<td>Valiant soldier of the camp</td>
<td>Hatnub 20</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 43</td>
<td>Uncertain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥry-ṭp m ṣḥrt sbw</td>
<td>Chief in driving away rebels</td>
<td>Bersheh 8</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hw</td>
<td>Protector</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 2</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bersheh 2</td>
<td>-Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥnrt ḫrw ḡţ'.s</td>
<td>Its fortress on the day that it fights</td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥḥẖṯl sbdš mḥtyw nbtyw</td>
<td>Storm that weakens all foreigners</td>
<td>Hamm. 114</td>
<td>Men. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s ḳbb ṭ-m- ḏsṁw</td>
<td>Calm man in the midst of the troops</td>
<td>RILN 27</td>
<td>Am. I-Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siddy ḥškwr-ib</td>
<td>Who makes impotent the disaffected</td>
<td>JEA 51, pl. 14</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>siddy sbi ḫr nswt</td>
<td>Who makes impotent the one who rebels against the king</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s.mi ḥšw ṭ-r ṭkw</td>
<td>Who chastises thousands of opponents</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shrr ṭ-r- ṭgr.f</td>
<td>Who pacifies the entire land</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sḥp sbtw ḫr int.sn</td>
<td>Who pacifies rebels from their actions</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣḥ Nhšiw</td>
<td>Who smites the Nubians</td>
<td>Hamm. 43</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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. Various phrases referring to 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. 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. 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 mb-lb n nswt m hhbb hswt, “confidante of the king in traversing foreign lands,” and sm 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.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imy-r h₃swt nbwt</td>
<td>Overseer of every foreign land</td>
<td>CG 20683</td>
<td>Sen. II-III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wn t² Thnw</td>
<td>Who opens the land of the Libyans</td>
<td>Hamm. 43</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mh⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻ ib n nswt m hbbh h₃swt</td>
<td>Favorite of the king in traversing foreign lands</td>
<td>W. el Hudi 17&lt;br&gt;Sinai 116&lt;br&gt; sinful 114&lt;br&gt; Sinai 88&lt;br&gt; W. el Hudi 149</td>
<td>Sen. III&lt;br&gt; Am. III&lt;br&gt; Am. III&lt;br&gt; Am. III&lt;br&gt; Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mh⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻ ib n nswt m hbt h₃swt r int 'ṣtt ṣpst n ḫmr.f</td>
<td>Favorite of the king in traversing foreign lands in order to bring precious raw materials to His Majesty</td>
<td>Sinai 101a&lt;br&gt; Sinai 405</td>
<td>Am. III&lt;br&gt; Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nr k³w n ẓwt nbwt</td>
<td>Herder of all precious stones</td>
<td>Hatnub 19&lt;br&gt; CG 20538</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)&lt;br&gt; Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrrw mš⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻ m shrw.f</td>
<td>At whose plans the troops are pleased ¹⁹⁰</td>
<td>Sinai 33&lt;br&gt; Sinai 35</td>
<td>Am. IV&lt;br&gt; Am. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hnty srw r int n.f 'ṣtt ṣpst</td>
<td>Foremost of the officials with regard to bringing him precious raw materials</td>
<td>Sinai 112&lt;br&gt; Sinai 114</td>
<td>Am. III&lt;br&gt; Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spd ḫr mš⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻.f nb</td>
<td>Alert on all his expeditions</td>
<td>Hamm. 43</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shm ḫ³ m ḫwt⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻⁻ nbw</td>
<td>Great authority in Hatnub</td>
<td>BM 574</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9. MetaphorsLikening Officials to the Gods

A small class of epithets composed of the nisbe adjective mity plus the name of a god or the word nfr, 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). 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." Likewise, officials are occasionally compared to Thoth in order to emphasize their precision and accuracy, as in the epithet *mtr m3t mi ḫwty*, "truly precise, like Thoth," which appears on several Dynasty 12 stelae. The same quality of accuracy is noted in the epithet *mity ḫb3t*, "the like of the balance." A similar metaphor occurs in contemporary literature, when the eloquent peasant, in his seventh petition, says to the vizier, *ntk snw ḫwty*, "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. 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.

193 Sinai 53.
195 Found on the stelae of Mentuhotep (CG 20539) and Sehetepibra (CG 20538).
### TABLE 15: Epithets Associating Officials with Gods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mITY ntr</td>
<td>Likeness of a god</td>
<td>Hamm. 114</td>
<td>Men. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mITY nTR m wnwt.f</td>
<td>Likeness of a god in his craft</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mITY Hwt-Hr nbt mfk3t</td>
<td>The like of Hathor, Mistress of Turquoise</td>
<td>Sinai 53</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ms n pdsdy r′</td>
<td>Born of the two enneads of Ra</td>
<td>Hatnub 20</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 23</td>
<td>Am. I (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 26</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mTR m25 mI Dhwty</td>
<td>Truly precise, like Thoth</td>
<td>BM 581</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CG 20538</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Durham</td>
<td>Sen. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N1935</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hi n T3yt</td>
<td>Husband of Tayet</td>
<td>UC 14333</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s3: NprI</td>
<td>Son of Nepri</td>
<td>UC 14333</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s3: Dhwty n-wn-m35</td>
<td>Son of Thoth in reality</td>
<td>Hatnub 20</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s3 ds.f n-wn-m35</td>
<td>His own son(^{197}) in reality</td>
<td>Hatnub 23</td>
<td>Am. I (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 26</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s8 n Dhwty hr ns.f</td>
<td>Upon whose tongue is the writing of Thoth</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *ḥtp 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 *imḥy*, “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 *imḥy*

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” (nṯr)—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

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2 Assmann, Maʿat, 107-108.
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 imiEye 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 imiEye 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 "im²ḥ(y) hr, “venerated by.” While "im²ḥ(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. 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, “$ḥ³-ṣn,” 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 M\(\text{\$}d\)* “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

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\(^8\) See, for example, the tomb of Djefaihapi I (tomb 1), who held the titles *shd hmrw-ntr Wp-w\(\text{-}\)w\(\text{-}\)w, “inspector of hmr-priests of Wepwawet,” and *lnyw hmrw-ntr m\(\text{s}\) n Wp-w\(\text{-}\)w, “true overseer of hmr-priests of Wepwawet.” Griffith, *Siut and D\(\text{\$}\)r R\(\text{\$}\)\(\text{\$}\)f R\(\text{\$}\)\(\text{\$}\)f*, 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, Mikel, and the deified Heqaib. 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. 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. 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. 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 Sst nbt int, “beloved of Satet, Lady of the Valley.” 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,” while in the Sinai, she is Hathor, Mistress of Turquoise.” 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.

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15 Franke, *Heiligum des Heqaib*, 147-152. The goddess Mikel, whose name is attested in only a few inscriptions, mostly from the New Kingdom, first appears in the epithet “beloved of Mikel” 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.
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. 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. Among the titles listed on his stela is hry-t pr Mntw, “Great Overlord of the Domain of Montu,” and among his epithets is drp Hr W3st, “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 Hnmd nb Hwr “beloved of Khnum, Lord of Her-wer” appears in tombs from the site. D. Franke has argued from the presence of the latter epithet in Khnumhotep’s mastaba at Dashur (tomb 2) that he was a relative of the local ruling family at Beni Hasan, but was buried at Dashur due to

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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, “šḥ3-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.  

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. 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. 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.

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26 A notable exception being Hatnub.


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 Djeutyhotep 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

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\(^{29}\) On the facade of the tomb of Sarenput I at Aswan (Quibbet 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*, Sörenson, “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 (Quibbet el Hawa 31), Djefaihapi I (Assiut 1), and Ukhhotep (Meir B2).

\(^{32}\) The tomb of Amenemhat (Beni Hasan 2), Khnumhotep II (Beni Hasan 3), and Sarenput II (Quibbet 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 Inyotefqer and used by his mother Senet, appears to have represented the king.\textsuperscript{34} In tomb 1 at Assiut, several epithets describing another vizier, Djefaiapi I, appear in a long inscription accompanied by a scene in which Djefaiapi 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 \textit{was} scepters.\textsuperscript{35} It is probably significant that both representations occur in tombs commissioned by viziers, the men with closest access to the king.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{34} Davies and Gardiner, \textit{Anfoker}, pl. 16.

\textsuperscript{35} Griffith, \textit{Siut and Dër Rijeh}, pl. 4. For this combination of signs to represent the king, see Frankfort, \textit{Kingship}, 38.

\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Instructions for the Vizier}.

\textsuperscript{37} Franke, \textit{Heiligum 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: M3h-3hrw, Im3h(y), Nb lm3h, and Whm-nh

The three epithets most closely associated with the offering formula are m3h-3hrw "vindicated," im3h(y), "venerated;" and nb lm3h, "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, m3h-3hrw and whm-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. $m3^c$-ḥrw

The most frequently encountered non-royal epithet is $m3^c$-ḥrw, literally “true of voice,” 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. Because of its association with legal proceedings, $m3^c$-ḥrw has been translated “justified,” “victorious,” or “vindicated.” However, its precise meaning has been subject to considerable uncertainty.

$M3^c$-ḥrw 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. 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.”

R. Anthes argues that it originally referred to a declaration of the transfigured king’s “rightness” in accordance with maʿat, rather than specifically with the judgment in favor of Osiris.

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

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38 Wb. II, 15-18; Breasted, Religion and Thought, 35; Brunner, “maʿa-cheru,” 1107-1110. As Anthes, “Original Meaning,” 21-22, notes, there has been disagreement about the rendering “voice” for ḫrw, 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.”
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.
litigation with Seth.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{46} As an epithet, $m\textsuperscript{3c}-\text{hrw}$ was first used with reference to private individuals during the late First Intermediate Period, occurring first in the combination $i\text{khr	extsuperscript{3c}-hrw}$.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{48} In this context, both the legal aspects of the term and its association with the afterlife are clear.\textsuperscript{49}

Gardiner and others have assumed that by the Middle Kingdom $m\textsuperscript{3c}-\text{hrw}$ had come to refer exclusively to the dead, and could for all practical purposes be translated as “deceased.”\textsuperscript{50} Other studies, however, have established that this is not in fact the case. In some texts, such as expedition inscriptions and graffiti, $m\textsuperscript{3c}-\text{hrw}$ clearly seems to be used epithets belonging to living people.\textsuperscript{51} In royal inscriptions, it sometimes pertains to the king’s legal right to rule.\textsuperscript{52} For example, the Instructions for Merykare advise the king to $\text{smi\textsuperscript{3c}-hrw r-\text{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.\textsuperscript{53} The hymn to

\textsuperscript{44} Griffiths, Horus and Seth, 57.
\textsuperscript{45} Griffiths, Horus and Seth, 60-65.
\textsuperscript{46} Anthes, “Original Meaning,” 22; Griffiths, Horus and Seth, 57-58.
\textsuperscript{47} Schenkel, Frümittelegyptische Studien, 76.
\textsuperscript{48} Barta, Opferformel, 31 (no. 45), 49 (no. 45 a, b), 60 (no. 7e), 65 (no. 80a).
\textsuperscript{49} For the legal significance, see Barta, Opferformel, 49, Bitte 45b: $\text{hrw.f m\textsuperscript{3w} m\text{hsbt 5w}}$. For the connection to the afterlife, see Barta, Opferformel, 59-60, Bitte 7 (especially 60, nos. 7e and f) and 85, Bitte 80a.
\textsuperscript{50} Gardiner, Grammar, 50-51; Simpson, “Polygamy,” 102, notes that in a scene from tomb 1 at Assiut, one of Djefaikapi’s wives is designated $\text{m\textsuperscript{3t}-hrw}$, and another $\text{nbt im\textsuperscript{3h}}$. 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.
\textsuperscript{51} For examples and references, see Leprohon, “Amenemhat III,” 308.
\textsuperscript{52} Lorton, Juridical Terminology, 109-111.
\textsuperscript{53} P. Petersburg 1116A, line 30: Helck, Merykare, Lichtheim, Literature, 99.
Senwosret III on a papyrus from Kahun refers to the actions of the living king as well, when it says ḫt.w īḥ ẖw m ṭḥ-rw, "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, ṭḥ-rw 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, ṭḥ-rw may be followed by the preposition ḫr and the name of a deity by whom the individual is said to be vindicated.\(^{57}\) As is the case with ṭḥ-rw alone, these epithets follow the names of the individuals they describe. Almost all examples in which ṭḥ-rw 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 ṭḥ-w(r) ḫr ntr ṭḥ nb ṭp, "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".\(^{60}\)

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\(^{54}\) Griffith, Hieratic Papyri, pl. I, l.1; Lorton, Juridical Terminology, 110.


\(^{56}\) Anthes, "Original Meaning," 26, also cites examples in which officials are said to be ṭḥ-rw 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 Hegaib, 109.

\(^{60}\) For the stela of Senwosret son of Hetepet, see Frankfort, "Cemeteries of Abydos," pl. 20,1. For the term ntr ṭḥ, 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. *Imȝh(y)* and *Imȝh(y) ḥr*

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

The precise meaning of *Imȝh(y)* is difficult to render adequately. Derived from the verb *Imȝhy*, meaning “to honor,” “to venerate,” “to esteem” or “to rank,” 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. By the end of the Old Kingdom, it had already come to mean “esteemed” or “venerated.” J. Assmann observes that by the late Old Kingdom, it was believed that the deceased achieved the state of being a *Imȝhy* in death through doing *ma’at* in life, guaranteeing the perpetuation of his memorial cult. In offering formulae as early as Dynasty 4, *Imȝh* refers to the state of veneration after death, while by Dynasty 5 *Imȝh*(w) refers to the venerated dead themselves. Barta’s request number 12, for example, asks, *ḥpi.f ḫr wȝwt nfrwt ḫppwt Imȝhw ḫr sn*, “may he travel upon the beautiful ways on which the venerated

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61 See Appendix 2.
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.
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. Some Middle Kingdom requests clearly refer to the *im³ḥ(w) as already dead and dwelling either in the west or in the necropolis. The Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts suggest that once the deceased had achieved the status of a *im³ḥ, he or she could partake to some extent in the domain of the gods.

Nevertheless, *im³ḥ(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." Similar examples may be found in the offering formula itself. H.G. Fischer cites the example of an Old Kingdom architrave which reads *gd.ḥn ink is im³ḥw mi wn *gd.tl ir.(i) tp ṭς, "May you say that I am indeed a venerated one, as it was when one spoke of me upon earth." While references such as these are not as well documented during the Middle Kingdom, it is likely that *im³ḥ(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, *im³ḥ(y) is followed by the preposition *ḥr and the name of a deity by whom the individual is said to be venerated. 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 *im³ḥ(y) alone, *im³ḥ(y) *ḥr often appears at the end of the offering formula, immediately before the name of the inscription owner. As a result, *im³ḥ(y) and *im³ḥ(y) *ḥr never appear side by side in the same text. It is quite common, however, for *im³ḥ(y) *ḥr 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: *dl.tkr sfr m smnt imntr m-m *im³ḥw nw brt-nfr. "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.
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 Khnumhotpe II (tomb 3) at Beni Hasan, for example, describes Khnumhotpe 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. 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.

Epithets introduced by *im3b(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. Anubis continued to be named frequently in the *im3bhy 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. Epithets introduced by *im3b(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 *im3b(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

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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-di-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-di-nsw,” 80; Barta, Opferformel, 45.
reign of Senwosret III, and in which the original Old Kingdom meaning of im3ḥ(y) may still have been at least partially retained.

Hathor is the only goddess regularly named in the im3ḥ(y) ḫr 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 im3ḥt ḫr Hwt-Ḥr, “venerated by Hathor,” is especially common among women, and is found in inscriptions of women throughout Egypt. Im3ḥy ḫr Hwt-Ḥr 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 im3ḥ(y) ḫr**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deity</th>
<th>number of occurrences</th>
<th>Sites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anubis</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Abydos, Assiut, Beni Hasan, Elephantine, Lahun, Saqqara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuket</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Elephantine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Geb</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Elephantine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“the god”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Saqqara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“the great god”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Naga ed Der</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“the great gods”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“the great god, lord of Abydos”</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Abydos, Thebes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“the great god, lord of the sky”</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Abydos, Bersheh, Deir Rifeh, Elephantine, Ezbet Rusachie, Saqqara, Thebes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hathor</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Abydos, Beni Hasan, Meir, Thebes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hekat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Beni Hasan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heqaib</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Elephantine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
In a small number of inscriptions from Dynasty 12, officials claim to be \textit{im\text{\textsuperscript}3h(y) hr nswt}, “venerated by the king.”\textsuperscript{80} In these instances, \textit{im\text{\textsuperscript}3h(y)} may retain its original Old Kingdom meaning of “provided for,” referring to a living king.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{82} Two statues from the Dynasty 12 temple at Ezbet Rushdie, belonging to officials named Ankhhor and Senwosret, both bear the epithet \textit{im\text{\textsuperscript}3h(y) hr nswt bity \textit{Shpt-ib-r}’}, “venerated by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibre.”\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{80} Old Kingdom precedents for this epithet occur as well. See Barta, \textit{Opferformel}, 11.

\textsuperscript{81} For Dynasty 6 examples, see Helck, “Privaten Grabbesitz,” 68-70.

\textsuperscript{82} Beni Hasan I, pl. 25; DeMorgan, Dahchour, fig. 24: Firth and Gunn, \textit{Teti Pyramid Cemeteries}, 287-288.

\textsuperscript{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 Sehetepibra, 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, im3ḥtḥ ḥr 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.

Im3ḥt and im3ḥt ḥr Deity are among the most common epithets of women, although much less common than m3įt-ḥrw. 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 im3ḥt ḫr ḫy.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, Inshedjemyt, is described as im3ḥt.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, Im3ḥt 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: *Im3ḥt ḫr* in Epithets of Women

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Imnw tpy ḫw.f</em></td>
<td>Anubis upon his mountain</td>
<td>BM 569</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wsr</td>
<td>Osiris</td>
<td>TT 60</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wsr nb ḫbdw</td>
<td>Osiris, Lord of Abydos</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 23</td>
<td>Dyn. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wsr nb ḫmntt</td>
<td>Osiris, Lord of the west</td>
<td>TT 60</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pth-Skr</td>
<td>Ptah-Sokar</td>
<td>Meir B3</td>
<td>Sen. I-Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nfr ʾw nb pt</td>
<td>The great god, lord of the sky</td>
<td>CG 20531</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>TT 60</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntr.s niwt</td>
<td>Her local god</td>
<td>Meir B3</td>
<td>Sen. I-Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntrw ʾw</td>
<td>The great gods</td>
<td>TT 60</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥwt-Hr</td>
<td>Hathor</td>
<td>Meir B3</td>
<td>Sen. I-Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beni Hasan 2</td>
<td>Sen. I-Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥwt-Hr nb ḫnt</td>
<td>Hathor, mistress of Dendera</td>
<td>TT 60</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥwt-Hr nb ḫw</td>
<td>Hathor, mistress of Neferues</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 14</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3. *Nb im3ḥ*

Closely related in meaning to *im3ḥ(y)*, and perhaps virtually synonymous with it, is the very common epithet *nb im3ḥ*, “possessor of a venerated state.” This phrase almost always occurs at the end of the offering formula, following the name of the inscription owner and the epithet *m3ḥw*, if the latter is used. Like *im3ḥ(y)*, it may be modified by a prepositional phrase composed of the preposition *ḥr* and the name of a god or goddess (usually one affiliated with funerary cult) or by the word *nfr*, “the god.” Epithets of this form, however, are extremely uncommon during the Middle Kingdom.

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87 Examples taken only from the texts listed in Appendix 1.
88 For examples, see Appendix 2.
As with *i̯m²ḥ(y), the presence of the phrase *nb i̯m²ḥ probably does not indicate necessarily that the individual it describes is already dead.

TABLE 3: Occurrence of *i̯m²ḥy, *nb i̯m²ḥ, *m²v²-hrw 'nd *whm-’nḥ⁹¹

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Tomb</th>
<th>Sanct.</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dyn. 11⁹²</td>
<td>i̯m²ḥy</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*nb i̯m²ḥ</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*m²v²-hrw</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*whm-’nḥ</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen. I-Sen.  I</td>
<td>i̯m²ḥy</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*nb i̯m²ḥ</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*m²v²-hrw</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*whm-’nḥ</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen. II-Sen. II</td>
<td>i̯m²ḥy</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*nb i̯m²ḥ</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*m²v²-hrw</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*whm-’nḥ</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen. III</td>
<td>i̯m²ḥy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*nb i̯m²ḥ</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*m²v²-hrw</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*whm-’nḥ</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen. III-IV</td>
<td>i̯m²ḥy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*nb i̯m²ḥ</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*m²v²-hrw</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*whm-’nḥ</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyn. 13</td>
<td>i̯m²ḥy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*nb i̯m²ḥ</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*m²v²-hrw</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*whm-’nḥ</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*nb i̯m²ḥ* first appears in the offering formulae of Dynasty 4, in the request *iw.f m nb i̯m²ḥ r imnnt,* “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

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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 im3ḥ* 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 *wḥm-*ʿ*nḥ*, “repeating life.”

2.4. *Wḥm-*ʿ*nḥ*

The epithet *wḥm-*ʿ*nḥ*, “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 *m3ʾ-hrw* and *nb im3ḥ*, *wḥm-*ʿ*nḥ* 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 *m3ʾ-hrw* or *nb im3ḥ*, both of which continue to be used at both Abydos and Elephantine, as table 3 illustrates. On some monuments, *wḥm* ʿ*nḥ* and *m3ʾ-hrw* occur simultaneously, as in the sanctuary of Edfu, where *m3ʾ-hrw* and *wḥm-*ʿ*nḥ* 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 *wḥm-*ʿ*nḥ* 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 (ʿ*nḥ n niwt) and a Commander-in-Chief of the Town Regiment (*ṯw n niwt*). Only the senior officer is given the epithet *wḥm-*ʿ*nḥ*, while both are called *m3ʾ-hrw*.

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⁹⁴ See for example CT 1011, DeBuck, *Coffin Texts* VII, 226.
⁹⁵ Schenkel, *Frümittelegyptische Studien*, 76.
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 ḫꜣty-ꜣ N*, “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”**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Wsr</em></td>
<td>The Osiris</td>
<td>JE 91253</td>
<td>Dyn. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Wsr N</em></td>
<td>The Osiris N</td>
<td>Meir B2</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Heqaib 36</td>
<td>Dyn. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Wsr ḫꜣty-ꜣ N</em></td>
<td>The Osiris, the local</td>
<td>Heqaib 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ruler N</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Wsr ḫꜣty-ꜣ N pn</em></td>
<td>This Osiris, the local</td>
<td>Meir B2</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ruler N</td>
<td>Meir B4</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Heqaib 26</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Heqaib 27</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 formulæ 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-

¹⁰³ Fischer, “Osiris ḫꜣt,” 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 ḫṣty-⁴ NN also occurs on statue bases. Thus, even more so than imḥ(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 Djefaiahi 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

¹⁰⁵ Baines, “Practical Religion,” 91.
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.\textsuperscript{107}

\begin{table}[h]
\begin{tabular}{|l|l|l|l|}
\hline
\textit{Epithet} & \textit{Translation} & \textit{Text} & \textit{Date} \\
\hline
\textit{iwn knmwt} & Pillar of the leopard skin (?) & CG 20539 & Sen. I \\
\hline
\textit{imy-r r-prw} & Overseer of chapels & BH 2 & Sen. I-Am. II \\
\hline
\textit{imy-r hmw-ntr n-wn-m\textsuperscript{3} n Wp-w\textsuperscript{3}wt nb S\textsuperscript{3}wt} & True overseer of priests of Wepwawet, Lord of Assiut & Assiut 2 & Dyn. 12 (?) \\
\hline
\textit{ir mw\textsubscript{1} n nh\textsubscript{1} m hwt-ntr} & Who constructs the monuments of eternity in the temple & BH 17 & Dyn. 10/11 (?) \\
\hline
\textit{ir htpw n ntr nb n M\textsuperscript{3}h\textsuperscript{3}d} & Who make offerings to every god of the Oryx Nome & BH 15 & Dyn. 10/11 (?) \\
\text{BH 17} & Dyn. 10/11 (?) \\
\hline
\textit{? ?\textsubscript{1}hw} & Great of braziers & Hatnub 24 & Men. IV (?) \\
\hline
\textit{?\textsubscript{3} mnw n hwt-ntr} & Great in monuments for the temple & Assiut 5 & Dyn. 9/10 \\
\hline
\textit{b\textsubscript{3} ?wy m shkr ntr} & Who presents (his) hands in adorning the god & CG 20538 & Am. III \\
\hline
\textit{\textit{s\textsuperscript{3}i} sftw} & Rich in sacrifices & Bersheh 5 & Dyn. 11 (?) \\
\hline
\textit{wr w\textsuperscript{3}bt m hwt-ntr} & Great of meat offerings in the temple & Leiden V4 & Sen. I \\
\hline
\textit{whm htpw nb} & Who repeats every offering & Assiut 5 & Dyn. 9/10 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{107} Baines, “Practical Religion,” 80-81, 91.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Reference</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wrs ‘wy m st shkrt</td>
<td>Strong of hands in the place of adornment</td>
<td>Meir C1</td>
<td>Sen. II-Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wsn 'pdw n k3 n</td>
<td>Who slaughters fowl for the <em>ka</em> of Thoth</td>
<td>Hatnub 17</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhwty</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ms ibr stkn hknw</td>
<td>Who brings the laudanum (?) and brings forth the <em>hekenu</em>-oil</td>
<td>Hatnub 17</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nb t hnkt ndmt</td>
<td>Possessor of bread and sweet beer that he might provide for the temple</td>
<td>Hatnub 17</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shtp.f hwt-ntr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lbby m wsht</td>
<td>Festive in the portal</td>
<td>Bersheh 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 17</td>
<td>Dyn. 11/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 23</td>
<td>Dyn. 11/12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hry-tp 53 m Pr-wr</td>
<td>Great overlord of the shrine of upper Egypt</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hry-tp hwt-ntr m kd.s.</td>
<td>Chief of the entire temple</td>
<td>Hatnub 23</td>
<td>Am. I (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hry-tp hwt-ntr m</td>
<td>Controller of every divine office</td>
<td>Saqq. 11Sq</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndt ntr</td>
<td></td>
<td>Saqq. 18X</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BM 1177</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Meir B4</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bersheh 2</td>
<td>Am. II-Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hry wrht</td>
<td>Controller of ointment</td>
<td>Bersheh 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BH 2</td>
<td>Sen. I-Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hry htpw-ntr</td>
<td>Controller of divine offerings</td>
<td>BH 2</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai 96</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hry htpw-ntr m rw-pr</td>
<td>Controller of divine offerings in the chapels of the gods of this township</td>
<td>BH 13</td>
<td>Dyn. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntrw niwt tn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>htm nwdw špsw</td>
<td>Who seals the precious unguents</td>
<td>Bersheh 8</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hry-hbt ikr3</td>
<td>Worthy lector priest</td>
<td>Hatnub 12</td>
<td>Dyn. 10/11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>s n ḫb</strong></td>
<td><strong>Man of festival</strong></td>
<td><strong>Bersheh I</strong></td>
<td><strong>Am. I-Sen. I (?)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sīt n īrw māt</strong></td>
<td>Who pours libations for the one who does ma‘at</td>
<td>Hatnub 26</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 23</td>
<td>Am. I (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sw2ṣ sw m Dẖwtt</strong></td>
<td>Who pays homage to him on the feast of Thoth</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*<em>swr Ḥnkt <em>ḥ3wt</em></em></td>
<td>Who increases the abundant drink offerings</td>
<td>Meir C1</td>
<td>Sen. II-Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sft m hwt-nṯr m ḫrt-hrw</strong></td>
<td>Who makes sacrifices in the temple daily</td>
<td>Munich GL-WAF 35</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sm2y n īrw-nfr</strong></td>
<td>Who joins in holiday</td>
<td>Hatnub 20</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 26</td>
<td>Men. IV(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bersheh 1</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Am. I-Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>smsw snwt</strong></td>
<td>Elder of a shrine</td>
<td>Saqq. 18X</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>snḥm st(y) hwt-nṯr</strong></td>
<td>Who sweetens the smell of the temple</td>
<td>Bersheh 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 20</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV(?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sḥ mdīt-nṯr</strong></td>
<td>Scribe of the sacred writings</td>
<td>Hatnub 12</td>
<td>Dyn. 10/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sdḥy ḫšwt nṯr w ṳmyw Wnt</strong></td>
<td>Who endows the altars of the gods who are in the Hare Nome</td>
<td>Bersheh 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kṣl mdw dwi.f sw2ṣ.f</strong></td>
<td>Uplifted of voice when he worships and when he pays homage</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>drp m ḫw</strong></td>
<td>Who makes offerings in the thousands</td>
<td>Bersheh 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>drp Ḥr Wįty</strong></td>
<td>Who makes offerings to Horus the Theban</td>
<td>Louvre C243</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epithet</td>
<td>Translation</td>
<td>Text</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lry ssšt n htrmy ntr</td>
<td>Keeper of secrets of the god’s sealer</td>
<td>Hatnub 26</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘k rtw nb ssšt’</td>
<td>Who enters into all secret knowledge</td>
<td>Sinai 101A</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wbi n.f dsw nbw</td>
<td>For whom everything sacred is revealed</td>
<td>Bersheh 8</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wn hr sw3d sin</td>
<td>Who opens the face and refurbishes the mud seal</td>
<td>Hatnub 26</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wṣtn hr st ssšt’t</td>
<td>Who travels freely through the secret place</td>
<td>Bersheh 8</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>m33 nfrw Wp-w3wt</strong></td>
<td>Who sees the beauty of Wepwawet</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>m33 nfrw nb.f</strong></td>
<td>Who sees the beauty of his lord</td>
<td>Assiut 4</td>
<td>Dyn. 10/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 26</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Saqqara 18X</td>
<td>Sen. I (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bersheh 7</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Leiden V4</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>m33 hbt m d3srw</strong></td>
<td>Who sees the dance in secrecy</td>
<td>Bersheh 8</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>m33 shtp ntrw</strong></td>
<td>Who sees what propitiates the gods</td>
<td>Bersheh 8</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hry sgr m w’t</strong></td>
<td>Master of silence in private</td>
<td>Leiden V4</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hry-sšt3 n pr-nh</strong></td>
<td>Master of secrets in the House of Life</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hry-sšt3 n ḫwtnr</strong></td>
<td>Master of secrets in the temple</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sdmt mdt m ḫwt n(t) Gb</strong></td>
<td>Who hears the words in the temple of Geb</td>
<td>BM 572</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ddw n.f mdt h3pt</strong></td>
<td>To whom secret words are spoken</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CG 20538</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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,

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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), Dediqu (Berlin 1199), Semti (BM 574), and Ikhernofret (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. 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.

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. 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 hsst.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

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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, Königum. 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. 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. 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."

Very early in Egyptian history, nsyt came to refer to the king of all Egypt, as it invariably does in Middle Kingdom epithets. Rather than an individual king, nsyt identifies the divine office of kingship, or the king when he functions in this capacity. Thus, in epithets like mry nsyt, "beloved of the king," im3hy hr nsyt, "venerated by the king," and hsy n nsyt, "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 Epithets**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3wI-lb hr sšm n nsyt</td>
<td>Extended of heart regarding royal business</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>im3hy hr nsyt</td>
<td>Venerated by the king</td>
<td>Saqqara 18x</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dahshur 02</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imy-lb nsyt</td>
<td>Favorite of the king</td>
<td>Sinai 405</td>
<td>Sob.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imy-r ūt nbt n nsyt</td>
<td>Overseer of all royal property</td>
<td>CG 20683</td>
<td>Sen. II-III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai 98</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imy-r sš n nswt n hft-hr</td>
<td>Overseer of royal writing of the court</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imy-r sšbby n nsyt</td>
<td>Overseer of the royal bathroom</td>
<td>TT 103</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

115 For a summary of the discussion of this title, with bibliography, see Schneider, "Etymologie," 166-167.
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 nsyt, see below, table 12.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Location(s)</th>
<th>Period(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imy- r k3wt nbt nt nswh m br-r- dr.f</td>
<td>Overseer of all royal works in the entire land</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Sen. III- Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imy- r k3wt nswh</td>
<td>Overseer of royal works</td>
<td>Hamm. 192</td>
<td>Men. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in r nswt rh</td>
<td>Who brings knowledge for the king</td>
<td>Hamm. 43</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in r nswt mnh shr.f</td>
<td>Who attained the king’s acquaintance because his plan was efficient</td>
<td>BM 563, BM 1213</td>
<td>Sen. III, Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iry nfr-h3t m shkr nswh</td>
<td>Keeper of the diadem in adorning the king</td>
<td>BM 839</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lrr hsst nswh m bht-hrw nt r’ nb</td>
<td>Who does what the king favors in the course of every day</td>
<td>Sinai 72</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘n n nswt</td>
<td>Beautiful to the king</td>
<td>Qubbet el Hawa 36</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘k n nswt iwty snw.f</td>
<td>Trusted by the king without his equal</td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w’ty 3h n nswt</td>
<td>Sole one effective for the king</td>
<td>Sinai 101a, Sinai 405</td>
<td>Am. III, Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w’/w’tt nswh</td>
<td>Sole one of the king</td>
<td>Assiut 4, CG 20539</td>
<td>Dyn. 10, Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr n nswt *2 n bity</td>
<td>Great one of the king of Upper Egypt, great one of the king of Lower Egypt</td>
<td>Hamm. 113, Assiut 1, Assiut 2, BM 1177, TT 60, JEA 14, pl. 21, CG 20538</td>
<td>Men. IV, Sen. I, Dyn. 12, Sen. I, Sen. I, Sen. III, Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mh-lb n nswh, etc.</td>
<td>Favorite of the king</td>
<td>See App. 2</td>
<td>Dyn. 11-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>mty/mtr n nswt</strong></td>
<td>Precise for the king</td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>r nswt</strong></td>
<td>Royal spokesman</td>
<td>CG 20683</td>
<td>Sen. II-III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rh nswt m³</strong></td>
<td>True royal acquaintance</td>
<td>See App. 2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>rh nswt hn³ knbt.f</strong></td>
<td>Acquaintance of the king and his court</td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hry sšt³ n lpt nswt</strong></td>
<td>Master of secrets of the king's apartments</td>
<td>Saqqara 18X</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hry sšt³ n nswt m st.f nbt</strong></td>
<td>Master of secrets of the king in all his places</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hry-tp ³ n hkrw nswt</strong></td>
<td>Great overlord of the royal insignia</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hry-tp gb³ nswt m w³w³</strong></td>
<td>Chief of the king's clothing in private</td>
<td>BM 573</td>
<td>Sen. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hsy/w n nswt</strong></td>
<td>Favored by the king</td>
<td>Hammamat 199</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BM 1177</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hpr hr rdwy n nswt</strong></td>
<td>Who grew up at the feet of the king</td>
<td>BM 101</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hpr nswt</strong></td>
<td>Royal controller</td>
<td>Bersheh 2</td>
<td>Am. II-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hammamat G70</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hpr kšwt nbwt nt nswt</strong></td>
<td>Controller of all royal works</td>
<td>Sinai 112</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hrd nswt n šdt.f</strong></td>
<td>Child of the king, of his upbringing</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 3</td>
<td>Am. II-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>sbi³ n nswt</strong></td>
<td>Pupil of the king</td>
<td>Assiut 4</td>
<td>Dyn. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BM 1213</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>snw n nswt m wsht ³t</strong></td>
<td>Fellow of the king in the great hall</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>shrr tìwy n nswt</strong></td>
<td>Who makes the Two Lands content for the king</td>
<td>Hammamat 114</td>
<td>Men. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ssbk n nswt hmt tìwy</strong></td>
<td>Honored by the king before the Two Lands</td>
<td>Leiden V4</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| **st-ib nswt** | 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  
| **smn nswt r mityw.f** | Whom the king honors more than his peers | Assiut 1  
|               |               | Sen. I  
| **šps n nswt mrr.f** | King’s noble whom he loves | Assiut 1  
|               |               | Sen. I  
| **šms nswt r nmiwt.f** | Who accompanies the king on his journeys | Assiut 1  
|               |               | Hqaiq 1  
|               |               | Sen. I  
| **kšl nswt m33.f srw nw stp-s3** | Whom the king exalts when he sees the nobles of the palace | Sinai 115  
|               |               | Am. III  
| **tnn n nswt r mityw.f** | Whom the king promoted more than his peers | Assiut 2  
|               |               | Dyn. 12  
| **ğbıw nswt m w"w** | Who adorns the king in privacy | BM 839  
|               |               | Am. II  

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

4.2. Bitý

At the time of its origin, the title bitý seems to have referred specifically to the “King of Lower Egypt.” However, it’s 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,” although other

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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 Dér Rifel*, pl. 4; Habachi, *Elephantine IV*, pl. 9. For epithets incorporating the phrase šms nswt, see also Blumenthal, “Textgattung Expeditionsbericht,” 110.
derivations have also been suggested.\textsuperscript{124} T. Schneider has recently proposed an etymology from an early Hamito-Semitic term meaning “leader.”\textsuperscript{125} Eventually, \textit{bity} came to refer to the religious aspect of the kingship, as opposed to \textit{nswt}, which referred to its political aspect.\textsuperscript{126} Referring specifically to the reigning king, rather than the office of kingship,\textsuperscript{127} \textit{bity} generally appears in Middle Kingdom non-royal inscriptions primarily in titles such as \textit{hmty bity}, “seal bearer of the King of Lower Egypt,”\textsuperscript{128} and occasionally in epithets.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Epithet} & \textbf{Translation} & \textbf{Text} & \textbf{Date} \\
\hline
\textit{im\textsuperscript{b}h(y) br nswt bity Shtp-ib-r\textsuperscript{s}} & Venerated by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Sehetepibra & ASAE 56, pl. 6 & Am. I \\
\hline
\textit{w\textsuperscript{s} n bity} & First in the heart of the King of Lower Egypt & CG 20538 & Am. III \\
\hline
\textit{w\textsuperscript{s} n nswt w\textsuperscript{s} n bity} & Sole one of the King of upper Egypt, sole one of the King of Lower Egypt & CG 20539 & Sen. I \\
\hline
\textit{wr n nswt 3 n bity} & Great one of the King of Upper Egypt, great one of the King of Lower Egypt & Hammamat 113\textsuperscript{a} Assiut 1\textsuperscript{b} BM 1177\textsuperscript{c} TT 60\textsuperscript{d} JEA 14, pl. 21\textsuperscript{e} CG 20538\textsuperscript{f} Assiut 2 & Men. IV\textsuperscript{g} Sen.\textsuperscript{h} Sen. I\textsuperscript{i} Sen. I\textsuperscript{j} Sen. III\textsuperscript{k} Am. III\textsuperscript{l} Dyn. 12 \\
\hline
\textit{sdty nswt sdty bity} & Foster-child of the King of Upper Egypt, Foster-child of the King of Lower Egypt & Sinai 93 & Am. III \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{a} Hammamat 113
\textsuperscript{b} Assiut 1
\textsuperscript{c} BM 1177
\textsuperscript{d} TT 60
\textsuperscript{e} JEA 14, pl. 21
\textsuperscript{f} CG 20538
\textsuperscript{g} Assiut 2

\textsuperscript{124} For a summary of the discussion, with bibliography, see Schneider, “Etymologie,” 166-167.
\textsuperscript{125} Schneider, “Etymologie,” 181.
\textsuperscript{126} Otto, “Königstitels \textit{bitj},” 144, 150.
\textsuperscript{127} Blumenthal, \textit{Königtum}, 22-23.
\textsuperscript{128} Quirke, “Regular Titles,” 123.
The most common epithets using the term *bity* appear in the couplet *wr n nswt w³ 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 *w² n nswt w³ 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 hst m pr-bity*, “great of favor in the house of the King of Lower Egypt.” This epithet immediately follows the phrase *hnty 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 hst m pr-nswt*, using the more common designation for the king, occurs in the approximately contemporary tomb of Amenemhat at Beni Hasan.

4.3. *Hm.f*

The term *hm.f* referred to the king in the form of the earthly ruler. 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. 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.” 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*. 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

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129 Griffith, *Siut and Dér Rifeh*, pl. 5; Montet, “Tombeaux” II, 49.
130 Beni Hasan 1, pl. 15.
132 Silverman, “Kingship,” 64.
133 Frankfort, *Kingship*, 45.
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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lik hr bry-ib n hm.f</td>
<td>Excellent in the heart of H.M.</td>
<td>Hamm. 47</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irr wd'w hm.f</td>
<td>Who does what H.M. commands</td>
<td>Wadi el Hudi 2</td>
<td>Men. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n kn m lb n hm.f</td>
<td>Without offense (?) in the heart of H.M.</td>
<td>Hamm. 43</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hpr hr rdwy hm.f</td>
<td>Who grew up at the feet of H.M.</td>
<td>Sinai 100</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k3i mrwt hm.f</td>
<td>Who exalts the will of H.M.</td>
<td>RILN 73</td>
<td>Am. I-Sen. I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.4. Nb Tₚwy

*Nb Tₚwy,* “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;” *im3ḥy hr,* “venerated by;” *mḥd wšt nt,* “obedient to;”136 and most frequently *irr ḥṣṣt* “one who does what … favors.” In other instances, *nb Tₚwy* 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*

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136 Literally “one who follows the path of.”
n.(f) nb tšwy fšw.f, “one to whom the Lord of the Two Lands granted his authority.”

TABLE 10: Nb tšwy in Middle Kingdom Epithets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ãrr ḫsst nb tšwy</td>
<td>Who does what the Nb tšwy favors</td>
<td>Assiut 1 BM 569 Hammamat 48</td>
<td>Sen. I Am. II Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ãrr ḫsst nb tšwy m ḫrt-hrw n n nb</td>
<td>Who does what the Nb tšwy favors in the course of every day</td>
<td>BM 577</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whmn nfr n nb tšwy</td>
<td>Who repeats what is good to the Nb tšwy</td>
<td>Hammamat 108</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pfr n nb tšwy ik.f</td>
<td>Whose excellence the Nb tšwy beheld</td>
<td>CG 20538</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhb n nb tšwy k3.f</td>
<td>For whose ka the Nb tšwy provided</td>
<td>BM 1213</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫw nb n.f nb tšwy</td>
<td>For whom the Nb tšwy sends</td>
<td>Hammamat 108</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫry ššš n nb tšwy</td>
<td>Master of secrets of the Nb tšwy</td>
<td>Louvre C243</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫp ikr n nb tšwy</td>
<td>Excellent controller of the Nb tšwy</td>
<td>Sinai 405</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫp ššm n nb tšwy</td>
<td>Controller of affairs of the Nb tšwy</td>
<td>Hammamat 113</td>
<td>Men. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sdty nb (tšwy)</td>
<td>Foster-child of the Nb tšwy</td>
<td>Sinai 93</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

137 For Assiut tomb 1, see Griffith, Siut and Dér Rifeh, pl. 3, Montet, “Tombeaux” I 65.
138 For a list of Middle Kingdom epithets incorporating the term nb tšwy, 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* *gš.f* "one who is in the heart of the sovereign himself," the use of *gš.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 *ḥšty n Hr m hšw.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 ʿḥ*, "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

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

**TABLE 11: Epithets Referring to Horus/the King**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>\textit{imy-ib Hr nb 'h}</td>
<td>Favorite of Horus</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{imy-ib Hr nb t\textsuperscript{w}wy}</td>
<td>Favorite of Horus Lord of the Two Lands</td>
<td>Assiut 1, BM 1177, BM 828, Bersheh 2</td>
<td>Sen. I, Sen. I, Am. II, Am. II-Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{htp-ib Hr nb 'h}</td>
<td>Pleasing to Horus Lord of the palace</td>
<td>Assiut 1, Hammamat 43</td>
<td>Sen. I, Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{hs-sw Hr hry-ib 'h}</td>
<td>Favored by Horus who is in the palace</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{sb\textsuperscript{2} n Hr nb t\textsuperscript{w}wy}</td>
<td>Pupil of Horus Lord of the Two Lands</td>
<td>Durham N1935</td>
<td>Sen. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{sb\textsuperscript{2} n Hr nb l\textsuperscript{w}nt}</td>
<td>Pupil of Horus Lord of the palace</td>
<td>Sinai 93, Sinai 98</td>
<td>Am. III, Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{sb\textsuperscript{2} Hr nb l\textsuperscript{w}nt}</td>
<td>Pupil of Horus Lord of the palace</td>
<td>BM 101</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{sb\textsuperscript{2} Hr l\textsuperscript{w}nt}</td>
<td>Pupil of Horus foremost of the sky</td>
<td>Assiut 1, Assiut 2</td>
<td>Sen. I, Dyn. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>\textit{sm\textsuperscript{2}y Hr hry-ib 'h}</td>
<td>Associate of Horus who is in the palace</td>
<td>ASAIE 56, 214</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{147} Frankfort, \textit{Kingship}, 36-37.  
\textsuperscript{148} Meir III, pl. 19. This royal epithet dates back at least the reign of Pepy I. See Scthe, \textit{Urkunden} I, 91.
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 htp-ib Hr nb ‘h, “one who pleases Horus, Lord of the palace,” as well as hssw Hr hry-ib ‘h, “one favored by Horus, who is in the palace.” The former epithet also occurs in the Hammamat inscription of the vizier Amenemhat. Variations of epithets introduced by the noun sb3, “pupil,” include sb3 Hr ḫnty pt, “pupil of Horus, foremost of the sky,” sbi Hr nb ‘h, “pupil of Horus, Lord of the palace,” and sb3 (n) Hr nb tšwy, “pupil of Horus, Lord of the Two Lands.” With the exception of sb3 Hr ḫnty 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 sb3 nswt, “pupil of the king,” on the stela of Khusobek, BM 1213.

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. 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

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149 Assiut tomb 1: Griffith, Siut and Dér Râfeh, pl. 4.
150 From the tomb of Djefaihapi at Assiut (tomb 1), Griffith, Siut and Dér Râfeh, 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-ṛd) or that he is favored (using a form of the verb ḫšl) in the administrative palace. Iwn rṣy n pr nswt, “southern pillar of the palace,” and iwn rṣy ṣ 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 hṣt m pr bity, “great of favor in the pr-bity." 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ḫ: Chapel/Palace</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>... Stt n nty m Ḫ</td>
<td>...ing Asia for the one who is in the Ḫ</td>
<td>Sinai 54</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iny-ỉb n nswt m Ḫ</td>
<td>Favorite of the king in the Ḫ</td>
<td>MMA 57.95</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iny-ỉb Ḥr nb Ḫ</td>
<td>Favorite of Horus, Lord of the Ḫ</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BM 1177</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>BM 828</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bersheh 2</td>
<td>Am. II-Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mnh Ḫ ṣḥ p Ḫ ṣḥ m Ḫ</td>
<td>Efficient of the secret speech in the business of the Ḫ</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rh ṣḥ m Ḫ</td>
<td>Who knows the business of the Ḫ</td>
<td>Bersheh 8</td>
<td>Dyn. 10/11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

154 Griffith, Siut and Dĕr Rifeh, pl. 5.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Repository</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hssw Hr Hry-ib 'h</td>
<td>Favored by Horus who is in the 'h</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Htp-Ib Hr nb 'h</td>
<td>Pleasing to Horus Lord of the 'h</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hw n Imy 'h</td>
<td>Protector of him who is in the 'h</td>
<td>Bersheh 2</td>
<td>Am. II-Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hpr m 'h</td>
<td>Who grew up in the 'h</td>
<td>Durham N1935</td>
<td>Sen. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S'r m'Ir-r 'h</td>
<td>Who raises up ma'at to the 'h</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sm'y Hr Hry-ib 'h</td>
<td>Associate of Horus who is in the 'h</td>
<td>ASAE 56, 214</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smr 'h</td>
<td>Friend of the 'h</td>
<td>Carnegie 4558</td>
<td>Dyn. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tpy Snwt Tkn m 'h</td>
<td>Leader of the entourage that approaches the 'h</td>
<td>MMA 57.95</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**pr ⪞: Official Residence**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Repository</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hnty St m pr ⪞</td>
<td>Foremost of place in the pr ⪞</td>
<td>Deir Rifeh 1</td>
<td>Sen. I-Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smr pr ⪞</td>
<td>Friend of the pr ⪞</td>
<td>Sinai 86</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**pr bity: House of the King of Lower Egypt**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Repository</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wr Hst m pr bity</td>
<td>Great of praise in the pr bity</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**pr Nswt: Administrative Palace**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Repository</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>...m-' pr Nswt</td>
<td>... in the pr Nswt</td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iwn Rsy n pr Nswt</td>
<td>Southern pillar of the pr Nswt</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smw n pr Nswt</td>
<td>Upper Egyptian pillar of the pr Nswt</td>
<td>CG 20538</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wr Hst m pr Nswt</td>
<td>Great of praise in the pr Nswt</td>
<td>Saqqara 11Sq</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wr Smd m-Hnw pr Nswt</td>
<td>Great of respect inside the pr Nswt</td>
<td>Saqqara 18x</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beni Hasan 2</td>
<td>Sen. I-Am. II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>|                |                                                  | CG 20539   | Sen. I   |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>mty m pr nswt</strong></th>
<th>Precise to the <strong>pr nswt</strong></th>
<th>BM 581</th>
<th>Sen. I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>rh st-rd.f m pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>Who knows his standing in the <strong>pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>MMA 57.95</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beni Hasan 2</td>
<td>Sen. I- Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai 47</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai 112</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>h³t h³tyw m pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>Foremost of the foremost in the <strong>pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>Hatnub 16</td>
<td>Dyn. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hry ss³ n pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>Master of secrets of the <strong>pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>Saqqara 18x</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>hsy št m pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>Praised greatly in the <strong>pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>Beni Hasan 2</td>
<td>Sen. I- Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ḥnty ḫwt m pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>Foremost of offices in the <strong>pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>MMA 57.95</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ḥnty nst m pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>Foremost of seat in the <strong>pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>smr š³ n pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>Great companion in the <strong>pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>Saqqara 18x</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>smr n pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>Friend of the <strong>pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>snw kn m pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>Brave companion in the <strong>pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>MMA 12.184</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tkn st ... pr nswt155</strong></td>
<td>Who approaches the place ...the <strong>pr nswt</strong></td>
<td>Louvre C 1</td>
<td>Am. I-Sen. I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**stp-s³: Audience Chamber**

| **kš³ nswt m³.f srw nw stp-s³** | Whom the king exalts when he sees the officials of the **stp-s³** | Sinai 115 | Am. III |

Other parts of the palace mentioned in epithets include the **pr š³**, literally “Great House,” which served as the official residence and was also associated with the management of affairs of state;\(^{156}\) and

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\(^{155}\) 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 ḫ, a part of the palace with both ritual and administrative functions. As one would expect given the relative inaccessibility of the pr to most people in the administration, this term does not often occur in epithets. The stp-ṣī, 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.\textsuperscript{157}

\section{5. Rḥ nswt m3ṣ and Bḥk.f m3ṣ}

It is not generally agreed whether Rḥ nswt, "royal acquaintance," and bḥk nswt, "royal servant," are actually titles or epithets.\textsuperscript{158} Rḥ nswt, without the modifier m3ṣ, was a very common honorific designation during the Old Kingdom,\textsuperscript{159} which continued to be used frequently throughout the Middle Kingdom, sometimes with the addition of the adjective m3ṣ, "true." W. Helck has suggested that the offices of Rḥ nswt and Rḥ nswt m3ṣ were active positions, connected to the performance of ceremonial ritual.\textsuperscript{160} W. A. Ward, however, believed them to have been purely honorific epithets, with no actual administrative responsibilities involved.\textsuperscript{161} It appears that, at least as early as the First Intermediate Period, Rḥ nswt, literally, "one whom the king knows," or "one known to the king," served primarily as a designation of rank.\textsuperscript{162} Most recently, S. Quirke has observed that during the early part of the Middle Kingdom, Rḥ nswt occurred only in autobiographical contexts, and usually modified by m3ṣ 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.\textsuperscript{163}

Bḥk.f nswt, which Ward also considered an epithet rather than a title,\textsuperscript{164} is exceedingly rare in the Middle Kingdom. Bḥk.f m3ṣ, his

\textsuperscript{157} Goellet, "stp-ṣī," 85-98.
\textsuperscript{158} Helck, Beamtenstile, 26-28, discusses the alternate rendering of ḫ ḫt nswt as a title, "custodian of royal affairs."
\textsuperscript{159} Strudwick, Administration, 310-311.
\textsuperscript{160} Helck, Verwaltung, 279 ff.
\textsuperscript{161} Ward, Index, 1, note 3.
\textsuperscript{162} Wb. II, 446-7; Ward, Index, no. 1156, and 1, note 3; Leprohon, "False Door," 45-46.
\textsuperscript{163} Quirke, "Horn, Feather and Scale," 672.
\textsuperscript{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 ṛḥ nswt mšr. 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, bšk.f 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.

Both ṛḥ nswt mšr and bšk.f mšr 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 hssst.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.”

Rḥ nswt mšr and bšk.f mšr 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 ṛḥ nswt mšr or bšk.f mšr 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

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165 See, for example, Wente, Letters, 69-77.
have changed over time. $B^3k.f\ m^2\!^5$, more common early in the Middle Kingdom, is largely replaced by $\rho\ h\ nswt\ m^3\!^5$ during the reigns of Amenemhat II and Senwosret II. At Wadi Hammamat, $\rho\ h\ nswt\ m^3\!^5$ never occurs before the reign of Senwosret III, while $b^3k.f\ m^3\!^5$ 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 $\rho\ h\ nswt\ m^3\!^5$ prior to the time of Senwosret III, after which time $\rho\ h\ nswt\ m^3\!^5$ 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 $\rho\ h\ nswt\ m^2\!^5$ is used. It is possible that, just as the disappearance of the title $\rho\ h\ nswt$ 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 $\rho\ h\ nswt\ m^3\!^5$ during Dynasty 12 resulted from a corresponding increase in royal control.\footnote{At the sites of military installations in Nubia, the situation is different. $\rho\ h\ nswt\ m^3\!^5$ is used at Girgawi from the reign of Senwosret I, a time when it was virtually nonexistent in mining and quarrying regions, and $b^3k.f\ m^3\!^5$ was never used at all. This phenomenon is paralleled at Wadi Gasus and Wadi Gawasis on the Red Sea coast, where only $\rho\ h\ nswt\ m^3\!^5$ appears in inscriptions.}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Expedition</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Post-unification</td>
<td>$b^3k.f\ m^2!^5$</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynasty 11</td>
<td>$\rho\ h\ nswt\ m^2!^5$</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenemhat I-Senwosret I</td>
<td>$b^3k.f\ m^3!^5$</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\rho\ h\ nswt\ m^3!^5$</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenemhat II-Senwosret II</td>
<td>$b^3k.f\ m^2!^5$</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\rho\ h\ nswt\ m^2!^5$</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senwosret III</td>
<td>$b^3k.f\ m^3!^5$</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\rho\ h\ nswt\ m^3!^5$</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenemhat III-IV</td>
<td>$b^3k.f\ m^2!^5$</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>$\rho\ h\ nswt\ m^2!^5$</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\footnote{For the disappearance of $\rho\ h\ nswt$ in the Old Kingdom, see Fischer, \textit{Dendera}, 45.}

\footnote{Table includes data from texts listed in Appendix 1 only.}
Neither $b^3k.f$ $m^2s$ nor $r^h$ $nswt$ $m^2s$ 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 $b^3k.f$ $m^2s$ exclusively. On stelae from Abydos, $r^h$ $nswt$ $m^2s$ 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 $r^h$ $nswt$, 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 $r^h$ $nswt$ $m^2s$ and $b^3k.f$ $m^2s$ may be summarized as follows: $b^3k.f$ $m^2s$ was the more common expression during Dynasty 11 and early Dynasty 12, but during this period particularly high status people might also be called $r^h$ $nswt$ $m^2s$, 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 $r^h$ $nswt$ $m^2s$ 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. 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. 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.” 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

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168 Wb. II, 227-228; Faulkner, Dictionary, 128; Gardiner, Grammar, 423-424.
169 Lorton, Juridical Terminology, 12.
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.”\footnote{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 (\textit{nb nds}).

Middle Kingdom epithets frequently refer to \textit{nb.f}, “his lord,” which is usually understood as a synonym for the king. In many epithets, \textit{nb.f} takes the place of royal titles, most often \textit{nswt}, but also \textit{hm.f} and \textit{ity}. It must therefore refer to the king in a majority of these situations. For example, during the reign of Senwosret I, Djesaihapi I is described as \textit{ptr n nb.f lkr.f}, “one whose excellence his lord beheld,”\footnote{172} while the Abydene stela of Schetepibra from the reign of Amenemhat III reads \textit{ptr n nb t\textsuperscript{2}wy lkr.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 \textit{nb.f} seems to be roughly synonymous with \textit{hm.f} and \textit{nb t\textsuperscript{2}wy} as a reference to the individual pharaoh.

Despite the many instances in which \textit{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 \textit{mry nb.f}, “beloved of his lord.”\footnote{173}

It is also clear that in some cases at least, and perhaps in a large number of instances, \textit{nb.f} is intended to refer to a deity. During the Heracleopolitan Period, as H. G. Fischer has observed, \textit{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-
lapsed.\textsuperscript{174} Fischer cites for example the stela of Shemai from Naga ed Dér, which describes the deceased as \textit{iry nfr-ḥ3t m ḡb3 nb.f nṯr.f n n/wt}, “keeper of the diadem in attiring his lord, his local god.” In a graffito left at Hatnub by Djetutynakht V, probably in late Dynasty 11, Djetutynakht is said to be \textit{ms snṯr n nb.f}, “one who brings incense to his lord,” referring to the local god, Thoth.\textsuperscript{175} The Abydene stela of the Dynasty 12 vizier Mentuhotep (CG 20539) calls him \textit{špss mry nb.f ṭḥ ḫṣst nṯr.f m ḫrt-hrw nṯ rˁ nb}, “the noble beloved of his lord, who does what his god praises in the course of every day.”

The phrase \textit{m33 nfrw nb.f}, “one who sees the beauty of his lord,” is used to describe several officials from Dynasty 5 through the Middle Kingdom.\textsuperscript{176} Although H. G. Fischer has tentatively interpreted the term \textit{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.\textsuperscript{177} In these epithets as well, it is possible that \textit{nb.f} refers to a deity. In all three of the Middle Kingdom examples (the tomb of Djeifaïhapi I at Assiut, the false door of Ihy from Saqqara, and the Abydene stela of Wepwawetaa\textsuperscript{178}), 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).\textsuperscript{179} In his tomb at Assiut, Djeifaïhapi I is called \textit{m33 nfrw Wp-wˁ3wt}, “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,\textsuperscript{180} and in the narrative on Ikhernofret’s stela (Berlin 1204), he claims to have made the shrine “that carried the beauty of Khentiaimentiu.”\textsuperscript{181} These uses suggest that the term \textit{nb.f}
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 mrt, “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 preceded 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

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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 bĩk.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 imiḥ(y) hr. W. K. Simpson has studied the con-
cept of divine love, asserting that prior to the New Kingdom, love
was always bestowed by a superior upon a subordinate. 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 am-
biguous 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 Miken; 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
(imiḥ), a concept clearly associated, at least to some extent, with the

186 See examples in Appendix 2.
afterlife. 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 *shn n Dhwty st.f n-3t-n mrr.f sw*, “one whose place Thoth advanced because he loved him.”

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deity</th>
<th>No. of examples</th>
<th>Sites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“all its gods”</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Bersheh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anuket</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Elephantine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hathor</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Beni Hasan, Serabit el Khādim, West Nubian Desert</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hekat</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Beni Hasan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heqaib</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Elephantine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“his god”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Deir Rifeh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“his local god”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Assiut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horus</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Beni Hasan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“its local gods”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bersheh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khnum</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Beni Hasan, Dahshur, Elephantine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Elephantine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptah-Sokar</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Beni Hasan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Wadi el Hudi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sekhet</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Beni Hasan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sopedu</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Sinai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tayet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Bersheh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“the god”</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Abydos, Deir Rifeh, Meir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“the gods of Ta-ker”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

188 Kings, on the other hand, may be said to be loved by gods associated with the afterlife, as on the Abydene stelae of Ankhaf (BM 233) and Nebipabenwosret (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.
Non-royal officials are significantly more likely to be described as being loved by the king than by a god.\textsuperscript{191} The most common form of epithet referring to royal love is simply \textit{mry.f}, "his beloved," following a more explicit reference to the king, such as a royal date or the epithet \textit{rḥ nswt mꜣ3}\. When the king is designated by title, the term used is typically \textit{nswt}, indicating the divine office of kingship, rather than the specific individual king. Epithets in which the king is designated by \textit{nswt}, rather than simply \textit{f}, occur principally in tombs: examples are found at Assiut, Deir Rifeh, Bersheh, and Thebes.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{193} Being loved implied a degree of subordination and dependence on the part of the individual receiving the love.\textsuperscript{194}

Both \textit{mry nb.f}, "beloved of his lord," and \textit{mry nb.f mꜣ3}, "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.\textsuperscript{195} While \textit{mry nb.f} is somewhat more common the early Middle Kingdom, both epithets almost disappear during the reign of Senwosret III, and \textit{mry nb.f mꜣ3} becomes the dominant form in the last reigns of Dynasty 12. Like \textit{rḥ nswt mꜣ3} and \textit{bꜣk.f mꜣ3}, these epithets are usually the first in a series, and they serve a similar function, namely to identify the inscription

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;the gods who are in the Oryx nome&quot;</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>Beni Hasan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>&quot;the great gods of his township&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Elephantine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thoth</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>Bersheh, Hatnub, Sinai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wepwawet</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Assiut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{191} See Appendix 2.  
\textsuperscript{192} Assiut tombs 1 and 5, Deir Rifeh tomb 7, el Bersheh tombs 2 and 5, and a funerary stela from Thebes (Turin 1447).  
\textsuperscript{194} Baines, "Kingship," 11.  
\textsuperscript{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 Ip wet (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*\(^{199}\)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Expedition</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dynasty 11 (^{200})</td>
<td><em>mry nb.f</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mry nb.f m</em></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen. I-Sen. I</td>
<td><em>mry nb.f</em></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mry nb.f m</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen. II- Sen. II</td>
<td><em>mry nb.f</em></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mry nb.f m</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen. III</td>
<td><em>mry nb.f</em></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mry nb.f m</em></td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen. III-IV</td>
<td><em>mry nb.f</em></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>mry nb.f m</em></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (Qubbat el Hawa tomb 36) and Amenemhat of Beni Hasan (tomb 2) are both described in their tombs as *mry knbt*, “beloved of the

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\(^{196}\) Janssen, *Autobiografie II*, 94

\(^{197}\) Hornung, *Conceptions*, 69-70


\(^{199}\) 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.*" The stela of Inyotef son of Senet (BM 572), a contemporary of Sarenput and Amenemhat, includes the phrase *mrw šnwt nswt,* “beloved of the royal entourage.”

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. Typically, subsidiary figures are labeled by means of their relationship to the owner of the monument (*hmt.f,* “his wife;” *śš.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 *mššt-ḥrw,* “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 *ḥḥmns.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.” 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.

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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 n tḥnw,* “beloved of the *qenbet* of the Residence.”

203 ANOC 5.1.


205 Spanel, “Paleographic and Epigraphic Distinctions,” 774-775.

206 ANOC 11.1 and 11.2.
Senetites is said to be mrt ḫr ntr '3 nb pt, “loved by the great god, Lord of the sky,” presumably a reference to Osiris. 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 hsi, meaning “favor” or “praise,” function in epithets in much the same manner as do forms of mri, and typically occur immediately after them in the series of epithets. 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,” hsi refers, as H. G. Fischer has observed, specifically to praise in the sense of commendation by the gods (or another superior), while dw3, on the other hand, refers to praise in the sense of worship of the gods. 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. 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 ḫr in this phrase is unusual, resembling the more common Imnḫr 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 (hswt 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 hsi²¹⁶**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deity</th>
<th>no. of examples</th>
<th>Sites</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anuket</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Elephantine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hekat of Herwer</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Beni Hasan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heqaib</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Elephantine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“his god”</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Assiut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horus who smites the</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Beni Hasan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rhyt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satet</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Elephantine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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²¹³ Beni Hasan II, pls. 4 and 12; Griffith, Siut and Dër 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ḥsy n nswt</td>
<td>Hammamat 199</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BM 1177</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥsy n nb.f</td>
<td>Hatnub 14</td>
<td>Dyn. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 49</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>JE 59483</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥsy n nb.f mšʾ</td>
<td>Shatt er Rigal 468</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Shatt er Rigal 472</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Inscr... Ab. C13</td>
<td>Dyn. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥsy n nb.f rʾ nb</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 17</td>
<td>Dyn. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Louvre C1</td>
<td>Am. I-Sen. I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.”\textsuperscript{219} An inscription from Wadi el Hudi (no. 8) calls the assistant treasurer Weni Ḥsy n imy-r mšʾ iṣ ur ḥsst.f m ḥrt-hrw nṯ rʾ nb. “one who is favored by the overseer of troops, and who does everything he favors in the course of every day.”\textsuperscript{220} At Wadi el Hudi, the imy-r mšʾ was probably the highest official with whom Weni dealt regularly, and the one to whom he had to answer directly. Other high-rankig officials or administrative branches of the central

\textsuperscript{217} Couyat and Montet, Hammamat, pl. 38, 101; HT IV, pl. 3.
\textsuperscript{218} Janssen, Autobiografie I, 86.
\textsuperscript{219} ANOC 5.1.
\textsuperscript{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, Neferkhnum is called ḥsy n ‘rrw.t.f, “favored by his judicial department.” The suffix pronoun ḟ refers back to an earlier reference to the king, by whom Neferkhnum is also said to be loved. The great autobiography of Khnumhotep II from Beni Hasan (tomb 3) expresses a similar sentiment with the phrases iw.i m im‘ḥḥy n-ḥr nswt ḥst.i ḫr šnw.t.f ḫmt.i m-bḥḥ 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.” 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. ḫrsst.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 portraying 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. 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

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221 The ḫrryṯ was located at the entrance to the administrative palace, and served a number of functions, including judicial ones. See van den Boorn, “Wd*-ryṯ,” 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 hsst.f* and Related Epithets

Of epithets referring to obedience, the most common are variations of the phrase *irr hsst.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 ḫsy.f n st-lb.f irr hsst.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 hsst.f nbt m ḫrt-hrw nt rʾ 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 hsst.f nbt*, "one who does everything he favors;" *irr hsst.f nbt rʾ nb*, "who does everything he favors every day;" *irr ḫst.f rʾ nb*, "one who does what he favors every day;" and *irr hsst.f m ḫrt-hrw nt rʾ 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 (*nṯrw*), 229 his god (*nṯr.f*), 230 the gods of Upper and Lower

227 See examples in Appendix 2.
228 For Old Kingdom precedents, see Janssen, *Autobiografie I*, 47.
229 Assiut tomb 1; Griffith, *Siut and Dēr Rifeh*, pl. 3.
230 CG 20539.
Egypt (ntrw Šm‘w T3-mhw),231 the king (nswt),232 the Lord of the Two Lands (nb tšwy),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 hss.t 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 ḫrsst in the MK

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Designation of superior</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nb.f</td>
<td>“his lord”</td>
<td>Hatnub 28, RILN 10, W. el Hudi 149, Sinai 118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nb tšwy</td>
<td>Lord of the 2 Lands</td>
<td>Assiut 1, BM 569, BM 557, Hammamat 48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nswt</td>
<td>the king</td>
<td>Sinai 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntr.f</td>
<td>“his god”</td>
<td>Assiut 1, CG 20539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntrw</td>
<td>the gods</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ntrw Šm‘w T3-mhw</td>
<td>the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt</td>
<td>Sinai 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥss sw</td>
<td>the one who favors him</td>
<td>Heqaib 1, Heqaib 49</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 8.2. To Propitiate and to Please: Sḥtp and Ḥtp-lb

The causative sḥtp, 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

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231 Sinai 115.
232 Sinai 72.
234 Sinai 118, RILN 10, Wadi el Hudi 149.
235 ANOC 6.2.
236 For irr hss.t.f, see Appendix 2.
“pacify” foreign leaders, as was the Dynasty 6 official Harkhuf, as well to “propitiate” gods. The meaning of shtp 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 shtp 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. 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. 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. Djeuhutyhotep of el Bersheh is described as... shtp ntrw hr.s “... one who satisfies the gods concerning it (i.e., an offering).” The epithet shtp ntr m nrt.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 bowling scene in tomb C1, where only “who satisfied the god” is preserved today, followed by a large break. At Beni Hasan, Khnumhotep I is called shtp psqt imyt Hr-Wr, “one who satisfied the Ennead which is in Her-wer.” The nature of the phrases preceding or surrounding some of these epithets supports the contention that they refer to ritual activity. In both Meir

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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 _hpt-ib n ntr nfr_, “one who pleases the good god.”

_Ntr nfr_ is a regular designation of the king, 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 _hpt-ib Hr nb ‘h_ “one who pleases Horus, Lord of the palace,” also apparently referring to the king. The same epithet appears in the Wadi Hammamat inscription of the military official Amenemhat, from the reign of Senwosret III. A third epithet from the tomb of Djefaihapi describes him as _hpt-ib hr h3b sw_, “one who pleases the one who sent him,” again most likely the king. The fact that _shpt_ occurs primarily in epithets referring to the gods, while _hpt-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. _Mḥ-ib n nswt_

_Mḥ-ib n nswt_, literally “one who fills the heart of the king,” is most often rendered “confidant of the king.” Unlike epithets beginning with _irr hst.f_, those introduced by _mḥ-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. 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

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245 Griffith, *Siut and Dér Rifeh*, pl. 4; *El Bersheh I*, pl. 6. Janssen, *Autobiografie II*, 47, correctly interprets this epithet and the others introduced by _hpt(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.


248 No. 43: *Hammamat*, pl. 13.


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 mh-ib n nswt m hbt ḫswt, "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 mh-ib n nswt m hbt ḫswt r int ḫtt ṣpš t n hm.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 hm.f, "His Majesty," the individual person of the king. During the Old Kingdom, mh-ib n hm.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. Mqd wšt and Mqd mtn

Among the most common epithets describing obedience are those introduced by the words mqd mtn or mqd wšt,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

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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.\textsuperscript{258} Epithets beginning with \textit{mdw mtn} and \textit{mdw wît} were first used in biographies of Dynasty 11, and continued to be used throughout the Dynasty 12.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{260} often forming the second half of a couplet introduced by the epithet \textit{irr hsst.f}, “who does what he favors.” \textit{Mdw mtn} is the earlier form, occurring from Dynasty 11 to the middle of Dynasty 12, and largely disappearing after the reign of Amenemhat II.\textsuperscript{261} \textit{Mdw wît}, on the other hand, remains common through the reign of Amenemhat IV. \textit{Mdw mtn} occurs unmodified, with the sense of “obedient.” Epithets beginning with \textit{mdw wît}, however, typically conclude with the phrase \textit{nt smnh sw}.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dynasty 11\textsuperscript{263}</td>
<td>\textit{mdw mtn}</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{mdw wît}</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen. I-Sen. I</td>
<td>\textit{mdw mtn}</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{mdw wît}</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen.t II - Sen. II</td>
<td>\textit{mdw mtn}</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{mdw wît}</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senwosret III</td>
<td>\textit{mdw mtn}</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{mdw wît}</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenemhat III-IV</td>
<td>\textit{mdw mtn}</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>\textit{mdw wît}</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{258}Wb. II, 192; Faulkner, \textit{Dictionary}, 122, 124; Lichtheim, \textit{Autobiographies}, 169; Meeks, \textit{Ann. lex.} 1, 180 (for \textit{mdw wît}); \textit{Ann. Lex} 2, 182 (for \textit{mdw mtn}); \textit{Ann. lex}. 3, 139 (for both).

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

\textsuperscript{260} Blumenthal, “Textgattung Expeditionsbericht,” 91, note 17.

\textsuperscript{261} Janssen, \textit{Autobiografie} I, 70-71; II, 103-5

\textsuperscript{262} Table includes data from texts listed in Appendix 1 only.

\textsuperscript{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 ḫr mn n n dnb, “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 md st n nb t ḫwy, “obedient to the Lord of the Two Lands.”269 An epithet introduced by md mn also mentions the king directly, namely md mn n ḫm.f, “obedient to His Majesty.”270 The use of nb ḫwy and ḫm.f, rather than the more common term ns, 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 md mn 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.
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 1, 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 *md[n] n n[t] 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 *sd[n]m(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 ḫpjy ḫr wḏt n.f.*, “precise of heart regarding what is commanded of him.”\(^{274}\) The expression *pg3-hr*, 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-hr ḫr 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 *tḥi*, “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

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\(^{273}\) See above, 63 ff.

\(^{274}\) Assiut I, 220.


\(^{276}\) Sinai 104 and 112.


\(^{278}\) See Janssen, *Autobiografie* II, 151.
selection is made may be the “genbet court” (knbt), the “entourage” (snywt) or the “courtiers” (smrw).279

TABLE 20: Epithets Referring to Royal Selection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stp.n.f m-hry-ib smrw.f</td>
<td>Whom he chose amidst the courtiers</td>
<td>Sinai 112</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stp n nswt m-hry-ib knbt</td>
<td>Whom the king chose amidst the genbet-court</td>
<td>Hamm. 43</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stn.n.f m-m smrw</td>
<td>Whom he honored among the courtiers</td>
<td>BM 1213</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sny n nswt r mityw.f</td>
<td>Whom the king honors more than his peers</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tnn.f hnty t'wy</td>
<td>Whom he promotes before the Two Lands</td>
<td>CG 20538</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tnn n nswt r mityw.f</td>
<td>Whom the king promotes above his peers</td>
<td>Assiut 2</td>
<td>Dyn. 12 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tnn nb.f hnt hhw</td>
<td>Whom his lord promotes before millions</td>
<td>CG 20538</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tnn ntr hnt hhw</td>
<td>Whom the god promotes before millions</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tnn srw n 'h</td>
<td>Whom the officials of the palace promote</td>
<td>Berlin 1199</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 (m3’-hrw) and veneration (im3ḥ(y) and nb im3ḥ) 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, m3’-hrw referred to the successful results of the official’s testimony before the divine tribunal. Im3ḥy and nb im3ḥ 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 tswy, “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,

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\(^1\) 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. 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

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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 Seshetepibra (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

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³ The stela of Mentuweres, MMA 12.184, distinguishes between those who read the texts and those who hear them.
⁴ O'Connors, "Cenotaphs," fig. 2.
⁵ See table 1 in this chapter.
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. 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.

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

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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 Office**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cemetery</td>
<td>15.7% (41/261)</td>
<td>11.4% (52/457)</td>
<td>16.9% (46/272)</td>
<td>15.6% (13/83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanctuary</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>16% (69/430)</td>
<td>14.8% (22/194)</td>
<td>10.2% (39/382)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expedition</td>
<td>12.7% (46/361)</td>
<td>4.7% (7/149)</td>
<td>8.3% (3/36)</td>
<td>13.5% (27/200)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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” (snw), 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

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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” (\(m\tfrac{3}{4}\)), “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 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, “Hom, Feather and Scale,” 671.
\(^{11}\) Wb. IV, 188; Faulkner, Dictionary, 235.
\(^{12}\) Anthes, “\(M\tfrac{3}{4}\)-\(brw\),” 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 (ḥnty) of his city or peers. The plural form is used for other officials, as in the phrase wḥ-ib m-hry-ib srw, “kindly disposed among the officials,” and ḥḏ sḥr m-ḥḏw 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 ḫ-ib.f ḥnty šnwtf srw.f, “his foremost confidante of his entourage and his officials.” 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 ḥnty srw r int n.f ṣtt špst, “foremost of the officials with regard to bringing precious materials for him (i.e., the king).”

**TABLE 2: Epithets Referring to the Srw**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫ-ib.f ḥnty šnwtf srw.f</td>
<td>His foremost confidante of his entourage and his srw</td>
<td>Hammamat 199</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wḥ-ib m-hry-ib srw</td>
<td>Attentive in the midst of the srw</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 17</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣb sḥr m ṣḥ n srw</td>
<td>Possessor of a plan in the hall of the srw</td>
<td>Bersheh 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥḏ n srw.f ṣswtf</td>
<td>Whom his srw and his people know</td>
<td>Assiut 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥnty srw r int n.f ṣtt špst</td>
<td>Foremost of the srw with regard to bringing him precious raw materials</td>
<td>Sinai 112</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai 114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

18 Hammamat 199.
19 For example, Sinai 112 and 114.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Vocab Code</th>
<th>Other Code(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ṣḥ nfr r m-m srw</td>
<td>Good noble among the srw</td>
<td>Deir Rifeh 1</td>
<td>Sen. I - Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣḥ nfr r m-m srw</td>
<td>At sight of whom the srw rejoice</td>
<td>Hatnub 27</td>
<td>Men. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spd-r m sḥ n srw</td>
<td>Sharp of speech in the hall of the srw</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣḥ wḥt ṭṣst</td>
<td>ṣḥ who unties the knot</td>
<td>CG 20539 Leiden V4 CG 20538</td>
<td>Sen. I Sen. I Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣḥ m-hḥt wrw</td>
<td>ṣḥ before the great ones</td>
<td>BM 1177</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣḥ m-hḥt ṭḥyt</td>
<td>ṣḥ before the commoners</td>
<td>Bersheh 120 CG 20531 C122 Meir C1</td>
<td>Am. I-Sen. I Am. II Sen. II - Sen. III Am. III Dyn. 12 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣḥm l.r.f m-m srw</td>
<td>Potentate among the srw</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣḥnt n.f st.f m pr.f r srw nw ti pn</td>
<td>Whose position was advanced for him in his house more than the srw of this land</td>
<td>Hamm. 114</td>
<td>Men. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṭḥn srw n ʿḥ</td>
<td>Whom the srw of the palace promote</td>
<td>Berlin 1199</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.2. Wṛ and Wṛw

Another frequently used term for the elite, wṛw, literally “great ones,” appears in both honorific titles and epithets, including wṛ r wṛw, “greater than the great ones,” and wṛ n wṛw, “greatest of the great ones.” In the Old Kingdom, wṛw seems to have designated a class of landed nobility, who derived their rank from royal sanction. In addition, it could refer to foreign princes as well as native

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20 ṣḥ m-hḥt restored.
21 ṭḥyt restored.
22 ṭḥyt restored.
23 Wb. I, 328; Faulkner, Dictionary, 64; Ward, Index, 86 ff.
24 See Ward, Index, 86-88; Fischer, Titles, 16.
Egyptians. 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. 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. 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>iw n.f wrw m ksw</td>
<td>To whom the wrw come bowing down</td>
<td>Hamm. 113 Sinai 93</td>
<td>Men. IV Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'k br nb.f wrw hr-ph.f</td>
<td>Who enters the presence of his lord, the wrw at his back</td>
<td>UC 14333</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iw n.f wrw m ksw r rwty pr-nswt</td>
<td>To whom the wrw come bowing down at the gates of the palace</td>
<td>Shatt er Ribal 459 MMA 57.95 CG 20539</td>
<td>Men. II Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iw n.f wrw m ksw hityw-m dy hr ht</td>
<td>To whom the wrw come bowing down, the local rulers prostrate</td>
<td>Louvre C1</td>
<td>Am. I - Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w* wrw</td>
<td>Unique one of the wrw</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr wrw</td>
<td>Greatest of the wrw</td>
<td>CG 20546</td>
<td>Am. II - Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr wrw s*hw smrw</td>
<td>Greatest of the wrw, s*hw and smrw</td>
<td>Assiut 2</td>
<td>Dyn. 12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

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).


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>wr r wrw nw t3-Šm’w</th>
<th>Greater than the wrw of Upper Egypt</th>
<th>Heqaib 12</th>
<th>Sen. II</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wr r wrw s’hw smrw</td>
<td>Greater than the wrw, s’hw and smrw</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr mgw T3-mhw</td>
<td>Wr of the southern tens</td>
<td>Bersheh 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr hry-tp wrw</td>
<td>Great overlord of the wrw</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rdl n.s nn sm</td>
<td>Who gave to it without discriminating, its wrw just as its small ones</td>
<td>Hatnub 20</td>
<td>Dyn. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>im.s wrw.s ml Šrrw.s</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h’t wrw sis</td>
<td>Foremost of the six wrw</td>
<td>Hamm. 113</td>
<td>Men. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hry-tp wrw n(w) Šm’w</td>
<td>Chief of the wrw of Upper Egypt</td>
<td>Meir B4</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šrrw.t</td>
<td>Controller of the wrw of the South and the North</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sm wrw</td>
<td>Who supports the wrw</td>
<td>BM 1164</td>
<td>Men. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sndw n.f wrw hryw-tp n tkn m h’w n nb.f</td>
<td>To whom the wrw and overlords are subordinate when drawing near his lord’s body</td>
<td>Hamm. 114</td>
<td>Men. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sr m-h’t wrw</td>
<td>Official before the wrw</td>
<td>BM 1177</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stj wrw T3-Šm’w</td>
<td>Who ushers in the wrw of Upper Egypt</td>
<td>BM 572</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.3 Šnwt

Epithets use the term šnwt, “entourage,” 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 ipy šnwt tkn m ’h, “leader of the entourage that approaches the palace.” The inscription owner typically plays a dominant role in the šnwt, as exemplified by the common epithet s33 lwtf n šnwt, “whose coming is awaited by the entourage.” 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

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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.
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 Rensl had his own šnw.t, which the peasant likens to the entourage of Ra, saying *ntk R*’*nb pt hn*’*šnw.t.k*, “You are Re, lord of the sky, with your entourage.” References to the šnw.t 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 šnw.t**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ity sgr n šnw.t</em></td>
<td>Keeper of silence of the šnw.t</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrw šnw.t nsw.t</td>
<td>Beloved of the royal šnw.t</td>
<td>BM 572</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mtr lhnty šnw.t</em></td>
<td>Renowned before the šnw.t</td>
<td>Hamm. 104</td>
<td>Sen. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rḥ (šhrw?) ḫrw</td>
<td>Who knows the plan (?) on the day the šnw.t speak</td>
<td>MMA 57.95</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mdw šnw.t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫṣy ḫr šnw.t.f</td>
<td>Favored by his šnw.t</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 3</td>
<td>Am. II - Sen. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ḥry sgr n šnw.t</em></td>
<td>Sole master of silence of the šnw.t of the king</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wꜣ n nsw.t</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>š33 šwt.f n šnw.t</td>
<td>Whose coming is awaited by the šnw.t</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CG 20538</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>JEA</em> 51, pl. 14</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’r šnw.t n nsw.t</td>
<td>Who presents the šnw.t to the king</td>
<td>Durham N 1935</td>
<td>Sen. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tpy šnw.t tkn m ḫ</td>
<td>Leader of the šnw.t approaching the palace</td>
<td>MMA 57-95</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based upon the relative infrequency of epithets referring to the šnw.t, the high rank of the officials described, and the association of the šnw.t with the palace and the residence, the term would appear to have designated a somewhat higher status group than the srw or wrw.

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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 ḥsi.

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’hwr smrwr, “greatest of the great ones, nobles, and officials,” s’h smrwr, “noblest of the companions,” and s’h nfr m-m srw, “worthy noble among the officials” suggest that the s’hwr formed a subset of the larger group of srw and smrwr. Since officials take the trouble to distinguish themselves as s’hwr, the s’hwr were probably higher in status than the others. The relatively small number of epithets referring to the s’hwr and the high status of the men referred to as such, including a vizier and two nomarchs, corroborate this assertion.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wr wrw s’hwr smrw</td>
<td>Greatest of the wrw s’hwr and smrw</td>
<td>Assiut 2</td>
<td>Dyn. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr r wrw s’hwr smrw</td>
<td>Greater than the wrw s’hwr and smrw</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hry-tp s’hwr nbw</td>
<td>Chief of all the s’hwr</td>
<td>TT 60</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’h ṣi n rmw n pr lmiwt</td>
<td>S’hwr great of years in the pr-lmiwt</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 2</td>
<td>Sen. I - Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’h ṣi n kdwı hrw n di snq</td>
<td>S’h great of reputation on the day of giving fear</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 2</td>
<td>Sen. I - Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’h mnḥ</td>
<td>Efficient s’h</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’h nfr m-m srw</td>
<td>Worthy s’h among the officials</td>
<td>Deir Rifeh 1</td>
<td>Sen. I - Am. II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A significant proportion of the epithets referring to s’hwr 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

Middle Kingdom hymn to Osiris and later in the Book of the Dead. While most Middle Kingdom epithets seem to use the term with reference to the living, others, such as s’h mnḥ 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,” 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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wr wr w s’hw smrw</td>
<td>Greatest of the wrw s’hw and smrw</td>
<td>Assiut 2</td>
<td>Dyn. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr r wr w s’hw smrw</td>
<td>Greater than the wrw s’hw and smrw</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mrwt m ḫnt n smrw wrw ḫ ḫ ḫm</td>
<td>Beloved in the body of smrw, wrw of the palace, and he who appears in glory therein</td>
<td>UC 14333</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hry-tp ḫ n smrw</td>
<td>Great overlord of the smrw</td>
<td>MMA 9.180.111</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’h smrw</td>
<td>Noblest of the smrw</td>
<td>CG 20546</td>
<td>Am. II - Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smr ḫ m ḫwtnbw</td>
<td>Great smr in the House of Gold</td>
<td>BM 574</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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36 Louvre C286, line 7.
37 Faulkner Dictionary 229; Ward, Index, 151; Wb. IV, 138.
38 Meeks, Ann. Lex. 3 (1979) 254.
### INTERACTION WITH PEERS: THE OFFICIAL AND THE ELITE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>smr w’ty n-wnt snw.f</td>
<td>Sole smr without his peer</td>
<td>Bersheh 8</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stp.n.f m-hry-ib smrw.f</td>
<td>Whom he chose amidst his smrw</td>
<td>Sinai 112</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stn.n.f m-m smrw</td>
<td>Whom he distinguished among the smrw</td>
<td>BM 1213</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gdw n.f iiw m pr-nswt in smrw imyw ‘h</td>
<td>To whom “Welcome in the palace” is said by the smrw who are in the palace</td>
<td>Heqaib 1 Heqaib 9</td>
<td>Sen. I Sen. I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 2.6. Knbt

The term *knbt*, 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 *rdl pr snwy htp m wpt nt knbt*, “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

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\(^{39}\) *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 genbet 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 Knbt**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mry knbt.f</td>
<td>Beloved of his genbet</td>
<td>Qubbet el</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hawa 36</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mry knbt nt hnw</td>
<td>Beloved of the genbet of the Residence</td>
<td>Beni Hasan</td>
<td>Sen. I -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mwrw knbt</td>
<td>Beloved of the genbet</td>
<td>Hatnub 43</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rḥ nswt ḫnʾ knbt.f</td>
<td>Acquaintance of the king and his genbet</td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 26</td>
<td>Men. IV ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rdl pr swy htp m wpt nt knbt</td>
<td>Who caused that two peers go forth satisfied with the verdict of the genbet</td>
<td>Hatnub. 14</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 20</td>
<td>Dyn. 11 ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s n wbʾ n.f ib in.f r šḥ ḫnʾ knbt</td>
<td>Man to whom he opened his heart when he approached the palace with the genbet</td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s n knbt</td>
<td>Man of the genbet</td>
<td>W. el Hudi 3</td>
<td>Men. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shd knbt</td>
<td>Inspector of the genbet</td>
<td>Hamm. 113</td>
<td>Men. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stp n nswt m-ḥry-ib knbt</td>
<td>Whom the king chose among the genbet</td>
<td>Hamm. 43</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 ɪ₃t ˈs m sˈh

One of the most common formulaic references to peers and official responsibilities is the couplet wr m ɪ₃t ˈs m sˈh, “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” (snwt). The Abydene stela of Semti 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 ɪ₃t as a position for which payment was received.
47 See Janssen, Autobiografie I, 92, II, 129-132; Appendix 2 in this volume.
possibly the royal mortuary temple), calling him “one whose coming is awaited at the crowning, at the appearance of Horus, lord of the palace.”

This epithet probably relates to Semti’s priestly titles, including *ḥr sšt n ḫkrw 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.”

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. 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.

**TABLE 8: Phrases following $S^3\, r\, iwt.f$**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>m-m srw</em></td>
<td>among the officials</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>m ḫwtnb nw pr-nw r</em></td>
<td>in the Mansion of Gold on the day of the opening of the mouth</td>
<td>Sinai 104</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>m-hry-lb ḫkṣw</em></td>
<td>amidst the rulers</td>
<td>Bersheh 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 11?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>m gbšw m šḥt Hr nb ẖḥ</em></td>
<td>at the crowning at the appearance of Horus, Lord of the palace</td>
<td>BM 574</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(i)n mtiw.f</em></td>
<td>by his peers</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 2 CG 20536</td>
<td>Sen. I - Am. II Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(i)n ḫrp k3wt hrw sḥw wdnk imy ḫr-t-nr</em></td>
<td>by the overseer of works on the day of erecting offerings in the necropolis</td>
<td>Hamm. 48</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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49 ANOC 42.2.
50 Ward, *Index*, nos. 934, 1037, and 895.
51 van den Boorn, *Duties*, 62, n. 42.
3.3. *Tw 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 hnrtr rw r-3 wr*, “overseer of the labor compound,”\(^{55}\) as well as *hk3 hwitw*, “manager


\(^{54}\) Parkinson, *Voices*, 119.

of estate personnel."\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{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.”\textsuperscript{57} It is possible, therefore, that \textit{iw n.f wrw m ksw r rwty pr-nswt} may refer to Inyotef’s duties.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{iw n.f \textit{Smw} m ksw}, “one to whom Upper Egypt comes bowing,” and \textit{iw n.f \textit{hksw Smw} sgd(w)}, “one to whom the rulers of Upper Egypt came weakened.”\textsuperscript{59} The rest of Kay’s autobiography describes vividly his actions in defending and providing for the Harem 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 \textit{iw n.f t\textit{wy} m ksw}, “one to whom the Two Lands come, bowing.”\textsuperscript{60} The vizier Amenemhat, who probably became the king of Egypt and founder of Dynasty 12, was said to be \textit{iw n.f wrw m ksw t\textit{s} r-gr.f hr h\textit{t}}, “one to whom the great ones come bowing, the entire land prostrate.”\textsuperscript{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,  

\textsuperscript{56} Fischer, “\textit{In-it.f}.” 261. For the title, Ward, \textit{Index}, no. 1118.  
\textsuperscript{57} Fischer, “\textit{In-it.f}.” fig. 1, 260-261.  
\textsuperscript{58} According to Fischer, “\textit{In-it.f},” 265, the \textit{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.  
\textsuperscript{59} Hatnub 24.  
\textsuperscript{60} Hammamat 114. Couyat and Montet, \textit{Hammamat}, pl. 31, 8.  
\textsuperscript{61} Hammamat 113. Couyat and Montet, \textit{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 $iw$ n.f wrw $m$ $ksw$ do not appear to have continued beyond the middle of Dynasty 12.

TABLE 9: Phrases following $iw$ n.f wrw

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$m$ $ksw$</td>
<td>bowing</td>
<td>Sinai 93</td>
<td>Sen. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$m$ $ksw$ $r$ $rwty$ $pr$-$nswt$</td>
<td>bowing at the gates of the palace</td>
<td>MMA 57.95 Shatt er Rigal 459 CG 20539</td>
<td>Men. II Men. II Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$m$ $ksw$ $h$:$ty$-“w $m$-dy $hr$ $ht$</td>
<td>bowing, the princes prostrate\textsuperscript{62}</td>
<td>Louvre C1</td>
<td>Am. I - Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$m$ $ksw$ $t$:$r$-$gr$.f $hr$ $ht$</td>
<td>bowing, the entire land prostrate</td>
<td>Hamm. 113</td>
<td>Men. IV</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4. $Hnty$

Several other formulaic epithets serve to emphasize the official’s dominance over his administrative colleagues. The most common of these is nisbe-adjective $Hnty$ followed by the designation of a place or a group of officials, with the meaning “foremost of” the people or place mentioned.\textsuperscript{63} $Hnty$ 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.\textsuperscript{64} Among the best known examples is the epithet of Osiris, $Hnty$-$imntyw$, “Foremost of the Westerners.” $Hnty$ began being used to introduce non-royal epithets in the First Intermediate Period, and

\textsuperscript{62} Literally “placed on their bellies.”

\textsuperscript{63} See Janssen, Autobiografie I, 34; II, 172-3; Faulkner, Dictionary, 194; Wb. III, 304-306.

\textsuperscript{64} Kuhlman, “Götterepitheta.”
during the Middle Kingdom it usually refers to the prominent position of the official in his office ($i\$w\$t)$, in the palace ($pr-nswt$ or $pr-\$t$), among his peers ($srw$), or in the execution of his duties.

In some instances, the subject is said to $\textit{hnty}$ $i\$w\$t$, “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 $\textit{hnty}$ $srw$ $r$ $nt$ $n.f$ $\$t$ $\$pt$, “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: $\textit{Hnty}$ in MK Epithets

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{hnty}$ $i$w$t$ $m$ $pr$-$nswt$</td>
<td>Foremost of offices in the palace</td>
<td>MMA 57.95</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{hnty}$ $idbw$</td>
<td>Foremost of the two banks</td>
<td>Louvre C2</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{hnty}$ $wr$ $hrp$ $hmw$</td>
<td>Foremost of the master craftsmen</td>
<td>BMA 37.1489E</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{hnty}$ $n$ $i$w$t$ $m$ $hw$-$ntr$</td>
<td>Foremost of office in the temple</td>
<td>Munich GL-WAF 35</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{hnty}$ $r$ $\textit{hntyw}$</td>
<td>More foremost than the foremost</td>
<td>Bersheh 5</td>
<td>Dyn. 11?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{hnty}$ $rm$</td>
<td>Foremost of people</td>
<td>Hamm. 114</td>
<td>Men. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{hnty}$ $srw$ $r$ $nt$ $n.f$ $$t$ $$pt$</td>
<td>Foremost of officials with regard to bringing him precious raw materials</td>
<td>Sinai 112, Sinai 144</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{hnty}$ $\textit{Sm}^{\textit{w}}$</td>
<td>Foremost of Upper Egypt</td>
<td>Assiut 5</td>
<td>Herac.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{hnty}$ $t$ $pn$</td>
<td>Foremost of this land</td>
<td>Hatnub gr. 11</td>
<td>Dyn. 9/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\textit{hnty}$ $t$.f</td>
<td>Foremost of his land</td>
<td>Leiden V5, Louvre C2</td>
<td>Am. II, Sen. I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^65\) Fischer, “$fn$-$lt.f,$” fig. 1; ANOC 20.2.

\(^66\) Gardiner, Peet, and Černý, *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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>*hnty n st m pr-*nswt</td>
<td>Foremost of position in the palace</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hnty st</em></td>
<td>Foremost of position</td>
<td>Louvre C243</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Edfou</em> 32, 10</td>
<td>Dyn 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*hnty st m pr-<em>³</em></td>
<td>Foremost of position in the palace</td>
<td>Deir Rifeh 1</td>
<td>Sen. I - Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*hnty st m pr-<em>nswt</em></td>
<td>Foremost of position in the palace</td>
<td>Bersheh 5</td>
<td>Dyn 11 ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hnty st r sm³-Hr</em></td>
<td>Foremost of position at the <em>sema</em>-throne of Horus</td>
<td>Saqqara 18X</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>CG 20531</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Berlin 1404</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 *sm*I means “report to” the person specified. 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. Depending on the official titles and relative rank

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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” (smi̇w n.f tš r-gef.f), and in another, he is called one “to whom the Two Lands come, bowing, to whom every office reports (smi(w) n.f lbw nbh).” 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 ntw lw tt, “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 tš r-gef.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-tšwy, “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. 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 smil(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. There is, in fact, a direct reference in the Duties of the Vizier to the ḫrt-bwy, 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. The similarity between the epithets introduced by smil(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 smil(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 gd nfrt, whm mrtt, “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 smil, “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 smil mtr.t n sgmw, “one who reports his testimony to the judge.” Highly placed officials claim to report directly to the king, as in a Wadi Hammamat inscription

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,” and the Dynasty 11 stela of Inyotef son of Tjefi, who is called *smi n nswt m w sw*, “one who reports to the king in private.” During the reign of Amenemhat III, Ptahwer states in his Sinai inscription that he is *spd-hr smi f n nb.f*, “attentive when he reports to his lord.” 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.

**TABLE 12: Smi in MK Epithets**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>smi mrrt</em></td>
<td>Who reports what is desired</td>
<td>Hamm. 47</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>smi n nswt m w sw</em></td>
<td>Who reports to the king in private</td>
<td>MMA 57.95</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>smi n nswt rd.f mnw</em></td>
<td>Who reports to the king, his foot being firm</td>
<td>Hamm. 47</td>
<td>Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>smi(w) n.f šwet nbt</em></td>
<td>To whom every office reports</td>
<td>Hamm. 114</td>
<td>Men. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>smi(w) n.f t irr-dg.f</em></td>
<td>To whom the entire land reports</td>
<td>Hamm. 114</td>
<td>Men. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>smi(w) n.f hrt tawy</em></td>
<td>To whom the affairs of the two lands are reported</td>
<td>Heqaib 61</td>
<td>Am. II - Sen. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hamm. 108</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hamm. 108</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sinai 105</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Heidelberg 274</td>
<td>Dyn. 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>BIFAO Supp.</em> 81, 35</td>
<td>Dyn. 13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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77 Hammamat 47.
78 Fischer, “In-It.f,” fig. 1.
79 Sinai 54.
80 van den Boorn, *Duties*, 55, 70-73.
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

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\(^{81}\) Cf. the comments of Simpson, “Mentuhotep,” 333-334; van den Boorn, *Duties*, 170, 198.
Hasan. 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.

4.4. Economic Management

When epithets use the verb *ip*, meaning "count," "reckon," or "assess," the context is invariably economic. Nouns formed from this verb, such as *ip*, "accounting;” *ipt*, “census;” *ipw*, “payments” or “inventories;” and *ipt nswt*, “royal counting-house,” also have an economic focus. In addition, the labels accompanying tomb scenes refer to the accounts and inventories of tribute and other material goods as *ipw*. 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. 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 Tjeji described above. 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

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82 The reference to establishing boundaries parallels the royal role later described in the Semna stelae of Senwosret III. For discussion and further references, see Eyre, “Semna stelae,” 136-139; Helck, “Grenzsteine,” 897.
83 van den Boom, Duties, 185-190.
84 Faulkner, Dictionary, 16; Wb. I, p. 66.
85 Faulkner, Dictionary, p. 16; van den Boom, 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.  

A small number of epithets refer to the loosening and untying of knots. They include sr ḫt tss(t), "official who unites the knot," which occurs on the Abydene stela of Wepwawetaa (Leiden V4), and sr whʾ tṣst, "official who loosens the knot," which is found on the stelae of Mentuhotep (CG 20539) and Sehetepibra (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. 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 (wʾb ʾṣ) at the sanctuary at Abydos, Wepwawetaa (Leiden V4) was the Overseer of Every Kilt (ḥrp ṣndt nbḥ) and Overseer of Linen in the Shrine of Upper Egypt (imy-r ṣšrw m pr-wr). His epithets stress his trustworthiness, as well as his access to the divine image (eg. mšš nfrw nb.f). Mentuhotep, as vizier, was responsible for opening and closing various enclosures within the administrative palace, 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.

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 unites what is knotty."  
90 CG 20539.  
91 van den Boom, Duties, 311-312.  
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 *sḫw*. 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 *š3 iwt.f*, “one whose coming is awaited,” *lw 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.

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, Maʿat, 92-97.
³ See, for example, the Instructions of Ptahhotep, maxim number 34; see also the discussion of Lichtheim, “Didactic Literature,” 244.
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 inscriptive material. 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 the 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. In addition, the texts served to display publicly that the deceased had fulfilled the necessary requirements of ma'at, 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

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5 An exception being Meir, where the preserved epithets focus largely on the gods and the afterlife.
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. 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,” 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.” 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

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" (\textit{nlwt.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 townpeople 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 \textit{dd ḫbsw m-ḥry-ib dšm.w.f}, "one who gives clothing among his troops."

The inscription of Mentuhotep, from the same site, includes the epithet \textit{mrw dšm.w}, "beloved of the troops." As discussed above, officials

\footnotesize
\begin{enumerate}
  \item RILN 73.
  \item RILN 74.
\end{enumerate}
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. 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cemetery</td>
<td>5.4% (14/261)</td>
<td>6.6% (30/457)</td>
<td>7.7% (21/272)</td>
<td>8.4% (7/83)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanctuary</td>
<td>NA</td>
<td>8.1% (35/430)</td>
<td>5.1% (10/194)</td>
<td>2.1% (8/382)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expedition</td>
<td>11.9% (43/361)</td>
<td>2.7% (4/149)</td>
<td>0% (0/36)</td>
<td>1% (2/200)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>13</sup> Eg. Hatnub 24. See discussion in Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 71-76.

<sup>14</sup> 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)\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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 3, “great chief” of his district, as well as the titles iry-p’t, “hereditary noble;” h3ty-m, “local ruler,” and imy-r hmw-ntr, “overseer of hm-priests.”\textsuperscript{20} The use of the phrase

\textsuperscript{15} Faulkner, Dictionary, 125; Wb. II, 210-212.
\textsuperscript{16} Slightly more than one-fourth of all epithets referring to townspeople and subordinates specifically mention the niwt.
\textsuperscript{17} Quirke, “Townsmen,” 148.
\textsuperscript{18} For the tomb as a representation of the world, see Kamrin, “Monument and Microcosm.”
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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 townsships and districts. Love could be directed from a dependent toward a superior in these cases, and officials can be said to be loved not by 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 niwt.f, “beloved of his townspeople,” and Djefaihapi I of Assiut (tomb 1) is said to be mrw 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 townsships 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,

22 Beni Hasan II, pl. 13.
23 El Bersheh I, pl. 16.
24 Assiut I, 228-9, 352.
25 Assmann, Ma’at, 123.
26 No. 60: Habachi, Elephantine IV, pl. 143a.
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 Djeighthouse 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, Djeighthouse 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3ḥ n niwt</td>
<td>Effective for his township</td>
<td>Assiut 3</td>
<td>Dyn. 9/10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lwn niwt spš.t.f</td>
<td>Pillar of his township and his district</td>
<td>Deir Rifeh 1</td>
<td>Sen. I - Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iry niwt nb</td>
<td>Keeper of every township</td>
<td>Bersheh 2</td>
<td>Am. II - Sen. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m33 n niwt.f n-hnty</td>
<td>Who looks after his township continuously</td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV ?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28 Posener, Enseignment loyaliste, 131, § 13.2. Variants substitute the people of the township for the township itself.
| **mrw niwt.f** | Who loves his township | BM 1010 | Am. II |
| | | Heqaib 13 | Sen. II |
| **mrw niwt.f** | Beloved of his township | Hatnub 17 | Dyn. 11 ? |
| | | Hatnub 20 | Dyn. 11 ? |
| | | Hatnub 39 | Dyn. 12 |
| **mrw/mry niwitw.f** | Beloved of his townspeople | Assiut 4 | Dyn 10 |
| | | Beni Hasan 17 | Dyn. 11 ? |
| | | MMA 26.3.217 | Men. II |
| | | Beni Hasan 14 | Am. I |
| | | Deir Rifeh 1 | Sen. I - |
| | | BM 1010 | Am. II |
| | | Heqaib 13 | Am. II |
| | | Bersheh 2 | Sen. II |
| **mrw hnmw n niwt.f** | Beloved of the citizens of his township | Assiut 1 | Am. III |
| **nb niwt.f** | Master of his township | Heqaib 28 | Sen. I - |
| **hkJ mry niwt.f** | Ruler beloved of his township | Beni Hasan 2 | Am. II |
| **hsy n niwt.f** | Favored by his township | Hatnub in. 10 | Dyn. 10 |
| | | Hatnub 11 | Dyn. 11 ? |
| | | Heqaib 60 | Sen. I |
| **hnw n niwt.f** | Citizen of his township | Hatnub 38 | Dyn .12 |
| **snh niwt m hi i m`girt** | Who nourished the township by the madjat-measure | Assiut 5 | Dyn. 9/10 |
| **snh niwt.f m ts** | Who nourished his township in drought | Hatnub 20 | Dyn. 11 |
| **snh [niwt.f] smt r-dr.s wrw ml šrw** | Who nourished his township, which is aided in its entirety, the great ones together with the small | Hatnub 26 | Men. IV ? |
| **sm niwt lw.f n-wn m-.s** | Who aids his township when it has nothing | Hatnub 17 | Dyn. 11 ? |
| **smr ṛḥ (i)n niwt.f** | Courtier known by his township | RIS 14 | Am. III |
| **sr m niwt.f** | Official in his township | Edfu 10 | Dyn. 13 |
2.2. The Spšt

The term spšt designates an administrative district, a creation of the central administration, as opposed to the township (niwt), which developed spontaneously.29 Spšt is frequently translated “nome,”30 although in some cases the meaning is clearly broader.31 Middle Kingdom epithets referring to the spšt 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 Spšt

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>imišt spšt.f</td>
<td>Gracious of his district</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iwn niwt spšt.f</td>
<td>Pillar of his township and his district</td>
<td>Deir Rifeh 1</td>
<td>Sen. I - Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imiḥ(y) n spšt.f</td>
<td>Venerated by his district</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hssy n spšt.f</td>
<td>Favored by his township</td>
<td>Assiut 4, Assiut 1</td>
<td>Dyn. 10, Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hk3 spšt.f</td>
<td>Ruler of his district</td>
<td>Heqaib 28</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s’nh hkr n spšt.f</td>
<td>Who nourishes the hungry of his district</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tpy spšt.f</td>
<td>Chief of his district</td>
<td>Deir Rifeh 1</td>
<td>Sen. I - Am. II</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two epithets from the tomb of Djefaihapi I at Assiut (tomb 1) demonstrate that the spšt, like the niwt, could occupy a position in epithets usually restricted to the gods or the king. Hssy n spšt.f, “favored by his district,” immediately follows mry niwt.f, “beloved of his township,” to form a couplet. In this instance, the term spšt 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. The epithet *lmḥy n spṭ.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. Clearly this epithet represents a case in which *lmḥy 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 *lmḥy 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.

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 *rmt and *rhyt. These terms were not used interchangeably, and their pattern of use suggests differences in the relative status of the two groups, the *rmt being of higher status. Two categories of people mentioned less frequently in epithets are the pʾt, or elite, and a class of lower-status free citizens, the *ndsw.

3.1. *Rmt

The term *rmt, “people,” was used to refer to people in the general sense of “humankind,” acting as the semantic plural of the singular *s. In many cases it referred specifically to Egyptians, as opposed to foreigners. In epithets, *rmt 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 *rmt. The phrase *mry *rmt, “beloved of the people,” occurs both on the Dynasty 11 stela of Meru from Thebes (Turin 1447) and in the Dynasty 12 tomb of Senbi II

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33 See above, 93 ff.
35 Quirke, “Townsmen,” 145.
36 Gardiner, *AEO* I, 100*.
37 Lichtheim, *Autobiographies*, pl. 3
at Meir (tomb B3). 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*.

Like *mry ntwt* *m*, the epithet *mry rm†* suggests that “love” could be reciprocated between superiors and subordinates. In this context, it should be noted that the *rm†*, like the *ntwt*, included both the elite and the commoners of Egypt, as a result of which the reciprocal relationship between the elite and the *rm†* included the officials’ dealing with their peers and even superiors, as well as their subordinates. Unlike *mry ntwt*, *mry rm†* 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 *Rm†***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>iwty rb.f in rm†</em></td>
<td>Who is not known by the people</td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hatnub 26</td>
<td>Men. IV ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>imy ltr† rm†</em></td>
<td>Pilot&lt;sup&gt;40&lt;/sup&gt; of the people</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>imy-r rm† m-htw htw</em></td>
<td>Overseer of people in excess of thousands</td>
<td>MMA 12.184</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ims-lb n rm† nb</em></td>
<td>Attentively disposed toward all people</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 2</td>
<td>Sen. I - Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mry rm†</em></td>
<td>Beloved of the people</td>
<td>Turin 1447</td>
<td>Men. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Meir B3</td>
<td>Sen. I - Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ntf n rm† nb</em></td>
<td>Breath of all people</td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV ?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rb n rm† hst.f</em></td>
<td>Whose favor the people know</td>
<td>Qubbat el Hawa 36</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>h3 l n rm† ntrw m hsfw hntyw.f</em></td>
<td>At the approach of whose statues the people and the gods rejoice</td>
<td>Hatnub 24</td>
<td>Men. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hsy n rm† nb</em></td>
<td>Favored by all people</td>
<td>Hatnub 38</td>
<td>Dyn. 12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>hnty rm†</em></td>
<td>Foremost of people</td>
<td>Hamm. 114</td>
<td>Men. III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<sup>38</sup> *Meir* VI, pl. 8.<br>
<sup>39</sup> Lichtheim, *Maat*, 21-22.<br>
<sup>40</sup> Literally “one who is in the eyes.”
### Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>§§§w rm[t m hst.f</th>
<th>With whose favor people are conversant</th>
<th>Assiut I</th>
<th>Sen. I</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḏd w r.f rm[t ir.f</td>
<td>Regarding whom people say, “Would that the land were filled with the likes of him.”</td>
<td>BM 561</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḥi t‘ mh mtiw.f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2. *Rhyt*

Epithets mention the *rhyt* approximately as often as they refer to the *rm[t*. While *rm[t* 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. 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. This submission placed them in a position of inherent subordination, and subject to the control of both the king and the elite.

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 ḏyṛt*, “one who nourishes the *rhyt*.” The most common epithet relating to the *rhyt*, is *sr m-h₂t ḏyṛt*, “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 ḏyṛt*, “staff of the commoners,” was probably intended to indicate support for and leadership of the poor. 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,”

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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 *rm†* 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 rm†*, *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 *p’t*, or elite, saying that Amenemhat is the *‘ p’t rhyt*, the “arm of the elite and the common people,” emphasizing his widespread authority.\(^\text{46}\)

**TABLE 5: Epithets Referring to the Rhyt**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>imy irty n rhyt</em></td>
<td>Pilot of the commoners</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>‘ p’t rhyt</em></td>
<td>Arm of the elite and the commoners</td>
<td>Hamm. 113</td>
<td>Men. IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>s’nḥ rhyt</em></td>
<td>Who nourishes the commoners</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>sr m-ḥ²t rhyt</em></td>
<td>Official before the commoners</td>
<td>Bersheh 1, Assiut 1, Assiut 2, CG 20546, Heqaib 12, W. el Hudi 149</td>
<td>Am. I - Sen. I, Am. I - Dyn. 12, Am. II - Sen. III, Sen. II, Am. III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{46}\) 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 mh-ib n M3’t m rth p’t m sidi t ibw nw skrw 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 Hammatat 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. Ngs

In the Middle Kingdom, ngs, 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 ngs as economic independence, according to A. Loprieno, emerges during the transition from the Old to the Middle Kingdom.56 During the Heracleopolitain Period, ngs ik r ir m ḫps.f, “excellent commoner who acted with his arm,” is a common epithet at Naga ed Dib.57 The Instructions of Ptahhotep indicate that a ngs 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 (ngs).” Middle Kingdom officials do not identify themselves as ngs, 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” (hāms n ngs) and “one who is generous toward the common man” (iwr-drt n ngs). Djehutynakhtankh of the Hare nome (Hatnub gr. 12) claims to have recruited soldiers designated as ngs, calling himself ts n ngs 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

56 Loprieno, “Loyalty,” 545.
than simply an act of kindness — it was an integral part of the local leaders’ role in maintaining *ma’at*.\(^5^8\) 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.\(^5^9\) The *Instructions of Ptahhotep*, instruction 34, cautions that a person left lacking may become a potential source of rebellion.\(^6^0\) “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.\(^6^1\) 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,\(^6^2\) 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” (*imḥ*) to members of their own households.\(^6^3\) 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,

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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.
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. 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. 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 Djeifaheap I of Assiut (tomb 1) is described as s‘nh hkr n spjt.f, “one who nourishes the hungry of his district.” The Abydene stela of the contemporary vizier Mentuhotepe (CG 20539) calls him s‘nh rhyt, “one who nourishes the common people.” The more general designation of “people” reflects Mentuhotepe’s role in the central administration, rather than in a specific provincial district. In his inscription from the Nubian military site of Gurgawi (RILN 73), Inyotefiqer is said to be dd ḫbsw m-hry-ib ḫmwt.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. These people included widows and orphans (nḥw); 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 Rijeh, 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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Epithet</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3w drt</td>
<td>Generous</td>
<td>BM 581</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3w drt n ndsw</td>
<td>Generous to the common man</td>
<td>BM 581</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>im3t sp3t.f</td>
<td>Gracious to his district</td>
<td>Assiut 1</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it n nnmh</td>
<td>Father to the orphan</td>
<td>MMA 12.184</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kestner 2927</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it n hrd</td>
<td>Father to the child</td>
<td>Hatnub 12</td>
<td>Dyn. 10/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'pr n 3bt.f nn</td>
<td>Who provides for his family so that they do</td>
<td>Hatnub 12</td>
<td>Dyn. 10/11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3hw.s</td>
<td>not suffer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w3 m3r</td>
<td>Who supports the wretched</td>
<td>Hatnub 20</td>
<td>Dyn. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ws3-ib</td>
<td>Generous</td>
<td>Leiden V6</td>
<td>Am. II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bnr im3t n iwty</td>
<td>Sweet of graciousness to the one who has</td>
<td>BM 581</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.f</td>
<td>nothing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phrt snbt nt iw</td>
<td>Healthy remedy for the one who comes sick</td>
<td>Hatnub 20</td>
<td>Dyn. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in3d</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pg3-hr n h3rt</td>
<td>Honest to the widow</td>
<td>Assiut 3</td>
<td>Dyn. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pg3 drt n bw nb</td>
<td>Open-handed to everyone</td>
<td>Assiut 3</td>
<td>Dyn. 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m33w r in3d</td>
<td>Who looks after the afflicted</td>
<td>MMA 12.184</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mn't h3sw</td>
<td>Who nurses children</td>
<td>Louvre C1</td>
<td>Am. I-Sen I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhm iwtyw</td>
<td>Who rescues the boatless</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>JEA 51, pl. 14</td>
<td>Am. III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhm m3r m- ws3r</td>
<td>Who rescues the wretched man from the</td>
<td>Hatnub 16</td>
<td>Dyn. 11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>powerful</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nḥm hīrt</td>
<td>Who rescues the widow</td>
<td>Hatnub 20</td>
<td>Dyn. 11?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| nḥ mār | Who protects the sick/wretched | CG 20539  
JEA 51, pl. 14 | Sen. I | Am. III |
| ḥi n hīrt | Husband for the widow | Bersheh 1  
Kestner 2927 | Am. I- Sen. I  
Am. II |
| ḥbw n ḫw | Clothing for the one who comes naked | Hatnub 20 | Dyn. 11? |
| s’nḥ niwt m ḫl mḏt | Who nourished his township by the madjat measure | Assiut 5 | Dyn. 10? |
| s’nḥ niwt.f | Who nourishes his township | Hatnub 26 | Men. IV? |
| s’nḥ niwt.f m ṭs | Who nourished his township in drought | Hatnub 20 | Dyn. 11? |
| s’nḥ ḥryt | Who nourishes the commoners | CG 20539 | Sen. I |
| s’nḥ ḥkr n spīt.f | Who nourishes the hungry of his district | Assiut 1 | Sen. I |
| s’nḥ ḥ-runtime | Who nourishes its widows | Hatnub 17 | Dyn 11? |
| sm ‘sīwt | Who aids multitudes | Bersheh 5 | Dyn. 11? |
| sm niwt.f | Who aids his township | Hatnub 17 | Dyn. 11? |
| sm ḥrwt | Who aids widows | MMA 12.184 | Sen. I |
| sm st | Who aids it (i.e. his township) | Hatnub 20 | Dyn. 11? |
| sndm ksnwt | Who eases misfortunes | CG 20538 | Am. III |
| shr st m ṭi | Who satisfies it with my bread | MMA  
26.3.217 | Men. II |
| sn pr.f n iw snq | Who opens his house to the one who comes frightened | Hatnub 20 | Dyn. 11? |
| šd nḥn | Who raised the young | Hatnub 26  
Bersheh 1 | Men. IV?  
Am. I- Sen. I |
| šd ḫrd | Who raised the child | UC 14333 | Men. II |
| šd ḫrd r ḫb.f w ṭr | Who raised the child until it reached maturity | Beni Hasan 2 | Sen. I-Am. II |

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68 “Hirt” restored.
69 “Hi n” restored.
| t n ḫkrw ḫnk t nt lw lbwlw | Bread for the hungry, beer for the one who arrives thirsty | Hatnub 16 | Dyn. 11 ? |
| ttrim-hr n sprty | Indulgent toward the petitioner | Assiut 3 | Dyn. 9/10 ? |
| dmi nḏm n whyt.f | Sweet abode for his family | Hatnub 12 | Dyn. 10/11 ? |
| dd ḥbsw | Who gives clothing | Louvre C167 | Sen. I |
| dd ḥbsw m-m dḏm.f | Who gives clothing among his troops | RILN 73 | Am. I-Sen. I |
| dd ḥt n nḥnw | Who gives things to children | BM 1164 | Men. III |
| dd ḥt n nty snw | Who gives property to those in poverty | MMA 12.184 | Sen. I |
| dd kꜣw | 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 (nīwṭ) and district (spīṭ), 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 mrl, ḫsl, and imȝḥ(y). The nīwṭ, spīṭ, 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 \(im\dsh\). The owner of the text may be called a \(im\dsh(w/y)\), "venerated one," a term implying that he or she will receive an honored place in the afterlife. \(Nb\ im\dsh\), "possessor of a venerated state," is approximately synonymous with \(im\dsh(w/y)\), as a result of which the two epithets virtually never appear side by side in the same text. The \(im\dsh(y)\ hr\ Deity\) 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 hearken back to the Old Kingdom meaning of \(im\dsh(y)\) 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, \textit{Opferformel}.\)
example, is called \textit{im\textsuperscript{3}b(y)} \textit{n sp\textsuperscript{2}t.f hr n\textit{hh}}, “venerated by his district forever.”

The very common epithet \textit{m\textsuperscript{3}-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.\textsuperscript{3} When followed by the preposition \textit{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 \textit{im\textsuperscript{3}b(y)} and \textit{m\textsuperscript{3}-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 \textit{mri}, “love;” and \textit{hsi}, “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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{2} Griffith, \textit{Siut and Der Rif\textsuperscript{e}}h, pl. 4.
\textsuperscript{3} See Anthes, “\textit{M\textsuperscript{3}-hrw},” and discussion in Chapter 3 above, 91 ff.
\textsuperscript{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.
\textsuperscript{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 '3) could also be said to be loved or favored by his township (niwt), his district (sp2t), 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. 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 ʾrr hsst X, "one who does what X favors." The subject of the nominalized relative form hsst could be a god, the king (nswt or nb t3wy) 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. 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 ʾrr hsst formula, an official might be said to "propitiate" (shtp) a god, presumably through the performance of cult ritual, or to “please the heart” (htp-lb) of the king. Through the successful execution of official duties, he could also become “one who fills the heart” (mh-lb) of the king, thereby becoming a trusted confidante. To express obedience in a

7 See above, 141 ff.
more general sense, an Egyptian official could claim to have “followed the path” (mḥd mḥn or mḥd wšt) 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 ḫst.f are also used to describe family members or other subsidiary figures on monuments, and, as with the phrases mry.f and ḫsy.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 (ssšt 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, ḫsl, or i rl, 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.

CONCLUSIONS

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. 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 titular and the full narrative self description of the developed “autobiography.” The simplest inscriptions use only those epithets fundamentally linked to the offering formula, such as im3ḥ(y) and m3φ-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. They typically occur immediately after the name and titular and precede the verbal narrative of the official’s career and the circumstances surrounding the consecration of the monument. The

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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.
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," 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-presentation, especially those from Abydene stelae of the reign of Senwosret I, closely resemble the Instructions of Ptahhotep. 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, because their descriptions are highly stylized and idealized in nature. However, the relatively large number of unique phrases does suggest that the

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13 For a transcription and commentary, see Zába, Ptah-hetep. 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.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Duties of the Vizier}, as Chapter 4 has demonstrated.\textsuperscript{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. \textit{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,\textsuperscript{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. \textit{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

\textsuperscript{15} Cf. discussion in Eyre, "Semna stelae," 163-165.
\textsuperscript{16} See Simpson, "Mentuhotep;" van den Boom, \textit{Duties}.
\textsuperscript{17} For the role of the survivors in the mortuary cult, see Lloyd, "Psychology and Society," 117-133.
strong emphasis on the township (n/iwt) 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.\textsuperscript{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 hsi 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.\textsuperscript{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 hsy formulae that epithets are most likely to refer to the king. The common honorific references m\textsuperscript{t}fr-\textsuperscript{t}hrw, im\textsuperscript{t}h(y/w), and nb im\textsuperscript{t}h 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.

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\textsuperscript{18} See Baines, “Society, Morality, and Religious Practice,” 140.

\textsuperscript{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. 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. 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. 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. The length and content of the texts suggests that at this time highly ranked officials were particularly interested not only in dedicating memorial statues, 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

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20 See, for example, the stelae of Mentuweser (MMA 12.184) and Inyotef son of Senet (BM 562). For the most complete study of these appeals, see Sainte Faire Garnot, Appel aux vivants.
22 The fact that the stelae certain officials, such as Sehetepibre (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 *imdet(y)* and *m3-khw*) 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 *imdet(y)* *hr* Deity formula and the *mry* Deity are very uncommon. Very few examples of *imdet(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 *imdet(y)* *hr* Deity from Serabit el Khâdim.

The situation is clearly different at Elephantine, where both *mry* Deity and *imdet(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 *imdet(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 *imdet(y)* *hr* Deity formula. In addition, it is possible that the tombs under construction at Qubbet el Hawa influenced the choice of

\(^{24}\) See Bourriaux, “Patterns of Change,” 15; Leprohon, “Personnel,” 36.
\(^{25}\) Examples occur on the stela of Djehuayes (Berlin 1192), ANOC 31.2; the stela of Kheperkara, son of Tjau (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 \textit{mry.f, hsy.f, n st-lb.f, and irr hsst.f m hrt-hrw nt r e 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" (\textit{nb.f}), although such epithets are considerably less common than are those referring directly to the king.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{irr hsst.f}, the adverbial complement \textit{m hrt-hrw nt r e 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.\textsuperscript{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 (\textit{tity}) or chamberlain (\textit{lmr-r nhwy}). Some of the epithets used to describe these men seem to reflect their status as royal representatives in remote regions. Such epithets include \textit{lw (n.f) twy m ksw}, "one to whom the Two Lands come bowing down,"\textsuperscript{30} and

\textsuperscript{28} See Table 6 below.
\textsuperscript{30} Hammamat 114.
smi n.f hr[t b'wy, “one to whom the affairs of the Two Lands are reported.”

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. 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-ker, a local deity of Beni Hasan.

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 mš-t-hrw and nb imšḫ, 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{35}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Site} & \textbf{Number of Epithets per Inscription} & \textbf{0} & \textbf{1-2} & \textbf{3+} \\
\hline
Abydos & 78.9\% & 19.3\% & 1.75\% \\
\quad (90/114) & \quad (22/114) & \quad (2/114) \\
Elephantine & 48.6\% & 29.7\% & 21.6\% \\
\quad (18/37) & \quad (11/37) & \quad (8/37) \\
Sinai & 88.7\% & 9.4\% & 1.9\% \\
\quad (47/53) & \quad (5/53) & \quad (1/53) \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Number of Epithets Per Text Referring to the Gods}
\end{table}

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

\textsuperscript{34} Bourriaux, “Patterns of Change,” 15-16; Leprohon, “Personnel,” 36.

\textsuperscript{35} See Bourriaux, “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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Number of Epithets per Inscription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadi Hammamat</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(6/20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadi el Hudi</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(7/26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinai</td>
<td>43.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(23/53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatnub</td>
<td>83.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(20/24)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABLE 3: Expedition Inscriptions: Number of Epithets Per Text Referring to the Official

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Number of Epithets per Inscription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadi Hammamat</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(10/20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wadi el Hudi</td>
<td>61.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(16/26)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinai</td>
<td>69.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(37/53)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatnub</td>
<td>4.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(1/24)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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.

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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

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\(^{37}\) The nature and causes of this change have been much debated. For a useful summary of the evidence, with references, see Franke, "Khnumhotep," 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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{39} In addition, the inscriptions appear increasingly to emphasize the gods and the afterlife, rather than the character of the official.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{m3$^\text{t}$-hrw, im3$h(y)$}, and \textit{nb im$h$}, 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.\textsuperscript{41}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{38} Fischer, “Didactic Text,” 45-50.
\item \textsuperscript{39} See Bourriau, “Patterns of Change,” 15; Leprohon, “Personnel,” 33-38; O’Connor, “Cenotaphs,” 168 ff.
\item \textsuperscript{40} See Pfüger, “Private Funerary Stelae,” 128.
\item \textsuperscript{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.
\end{itemize}
TABLE 4: Epithets Per Abydene Stela Referring to the King

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number of Epithets per Inscription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen. I-Sen. I</td>
<td>64.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(20/31)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen. II-Sen. II</td>
<td>35.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen. III-Amen. IV</td>
<td>64.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynasty 13</td>
<td>95.65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(22/23)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.\textsuperscript{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-

\textsuperscript{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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number of Epithets per Inscription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen. I-Sen. I</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(24/31)</td>
<td>77.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1/31)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen. II-Sen. II</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(14/17)</td>
<td>82.35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1/17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen. III-Amen. IV</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(25/28)</td>
<td>89.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1/28)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynasty 13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(23/23)</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 \( m\textsuperscript{sc}_{-}-h\textsuperscript{wrw} \), \( im\textsuperscript{sh}(y) \) and \( nb im\textsuperscript{h} \) 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—\( m\textsuperscript{sc}_{-}-h\textsuperscript{wrw} \), \( im\textsuperscript{sh}(y) \) and \( nb im\textsuperscript{h} \)—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.

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)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Number of Epithets per Inscription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen. I-Sen. I</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5/10)</td>
<td>(4/10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen. II-Sen. II</td>
<td>14.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1/7)</td>
<td>(4/7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen. III-Amen. IV</td>
<td>41.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(5/12)</td>
<td>(3/12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynasty 13</td>
<td>87.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(7/8)</td>
<td>(0/8)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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 Amen-emhat. 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)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Number of Epithets per Inscription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynasty 11</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(2/8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(3/8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen. I-Sen. II</td>
<td>26.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(9/34)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(18/34)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen. III-Amen. IV</td>
<td>43.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(17/39)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(13/39)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 Magharga and Serabit el Khâdim in the Sinai began to be exploited only in the middle of Dynasty 12. 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.

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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)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Number of Epithets per Inscription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dynasty 11</td>
<td>37.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(3/8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amen. I-Sen. II</td>
<td>64.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(22/34)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sen. III-Amen. IV</td>
<td>56.4%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 rmf 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 \textit{im\textbar h(y) \textbar Deity, “venerated by Deity,”}

---

mry Deity, “beloved of Deity;” and hsy n Deity, “favored by Deity;” and of these only the first two are common. Imhwy 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” (shtp) 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.  

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. Imh(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 hsts.f, “one who does what he favors,” and mḥ lb 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.  

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 ḫwy, “Lord of the Two Lands,” both of which refer to the individual king.

48 Frankfort, Kingship, 52 ff.
in office at the time of the inscription.\textsuperscript{50} \textit{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 \textit{nsw.t}.

Epithets referring to non-royal superiors are very uncommon, and generally use terms that are deliberately vague, such as \textit{imy-r.f}, "his overseer." It is likely that \textit{nb.f} in some cases designated non-royal superiors as well.\textsuperscript{51} In very rare cases, epithets introduced by forms of both \textit{mry} and \textit{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 (\textit{hnty}) and "great" (\textit{wr} or \textit{r}), the same adjectives used to describe the king in royal monumental inscriptions. He might also be said to be \textit{s33 lw.t.f}, "one whose coming is awaited," or \textit{lw 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.\textsuperscript{52} \textit{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

\textsuperscript{50} Silverman, "Kingship," 48-49.
\textsuperscript{51} See Chapter 3, 128 ff.
\textsuperscript{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.”

As a collective unit, the township (niwt) and the district (spšt) can appear in epithets normally referring to superiors, including epithets introduced by imšḫ(y), mry, and hṣy. 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 spšt 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 ṛḥṭḥḥ) are relatively rare, and are found primarily in the inscriptions of men who held specifically local positions, such as ḥṛṭp ’š or ḫṛṭp ḫḥḥy-. Like epithets referring to the especially poor and afflicted, they present the official in an active role while portraying the ṛḥṭḥḥ as passive recipients of his generosity. For example, he might be said to “nourish” them, in epithets using a form of the verb s’nh, implying that the official had direct responsibility over the life and death of his subordinates. Phrases referring to the p’ṯ, or “elite,” and ṛmt, “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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gods (ntrw, nb.f)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>rmt/nw:ty t</td>
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<tr>
<td>rhyt</td>
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</table>

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

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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.\textsuperscript{57}

Based in part upon a study of common epithets such as \textit{mry} and \textit{hsy}, among a variety of other sources, J. Assmann has interpreted the concept of \textit{ma’at} as fundamentally rooted in social solidarity.\textsuperscript{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.

\section*{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,

\textsuperscript{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.

\textsuperscript{58} Assmann, \textit{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{59} Lloyd, “Psychology and Society,” 117-134, with references.

\textsuperscript{60} Even \textit{mi's}-\textit{brw}, often considered tantamount to “deceased,” seems to have had this dual meaning. See Anthes, “\textit{Mi's}-\textit{brw},” 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*.  

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\(^{61}\) 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 Wente, “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 Wente, *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 mrl, “love,” and hsi, “favor,” seem to have functioned in a slightly different manner from those introduced by imiḥ(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-presentation 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 mšnc-hrw, imšḥ(y), and nb imšḥ, it seems that they were believed to have this power, but for many of the others the answer is

67 See Silverman, “Kingship,” 76.
CONCLUSIONS

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.

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## APPENDIX ONE

### LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS

#### Abydos (?)

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<td>JEA 14, pl. 20.1</td>
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#### Assiut

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<td>Kêmi 1, 55 ff.</td>
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**London, University College**

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**Los Angeles**

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**New York**

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### Pittsburgh

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### St. Petersburg

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<td>Hammamat 114</td>
<td>Henenu son of Mentuhotep</td>
<td>Ment. IV</td>
<td>Hammamat, pl. 31,84</td>
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<td>Hammamat 123</td>
<td>Heqaib</td>
<td>Sen. I</td>
<td>Hammamat, pl. 85, 86</td>
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<td>Hammamat 192</td>
<td>Amenemhat</td>
<td>Ment. IV</td>
<td>Hammamat, pl. 37,99</td>
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<td>Hammamat 199</td>
<td>Inyotef</td>
<td>Am. I</td>
<td>Hammamat, pl. 38,101</td>
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<td>Hammamat G61</td>
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<td>Goyon pl. 23, 24</td>
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<td>Iyitjebu</td>
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<td>Nef. I-Sob. IV</td>
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</table>

Warsaw

| Warsaw 141262 | Horaa son of Renseneb | Nef. I-Sob. IV | Edfou, 30, no. 6 |
APPENDIX TWO

LIST OF EPITHETS

1. 3

1.1. 3wi

3w dtr: Generous
BM 581 Abydos

3w dtr n ndsw: Generous to the common man
BM 581 Abydos

3w-lb ḫr sṯm n nswt: Enthusiastic (extended of heart) regarding royal business
Assiut 1, 221, 349 Assiut

3w m-hry-ib ẖnyt: Steadfast among questioners
Berlin 1204 Abydos

1.2. ẖ

ẖ lkr ḫr: Worthy, well-equipped akh
Assiut 6, 6 Assiut

ẖ n nḥt.f: Effective for his township
Assiut 3, 4 Assiut

ẖ n nb.f m ḫrt dbḥ: Beneficial to his lord on the day of making requests
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

ẖ ḫd ḫry-ib n nb.f: Effective of speech in the heart of his lord
CG 20539 Abydos

1.3. 3dw

3dw: Aggressor(?)
BM 1177 Wadi Halfa

2. i

2.1. ii

ii.n f ḫk3w Ṣm w sdḥ(?): One to whom the rulers of Upper Egypt came weakened(?)
Hatnub gr. 25 Hatnub
254

APPENDIX TWO

*i.n. n.f Šm‘w m ksw*: One to whom Upper Egypt came bowing
Hatnub gr. 24

2.2. *iw*

*iw n.f wrw m ksw*: One to whom the great ones come bowing
Sinai 93

*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
Shatt er Rigal 459
CG 20539

*iw n.f wrw m ksw hityw i t m dy hr ht*: One to whom the great ones come bowing, the
local rulers prostrate
Louvre C1

*iw n.f wrw m ksw t3 r-dr.f hr ht*: One to whom the great ones come bowing, the
entire land prostrate
Hammamat 113

*iw tšwy m ksw*: (One to whom) the Two Lands come bowing down
Hammamat 114

2.3. *iw‘*

*iw‘ w’d m hswt lty nb*: Heir who prospers in the favors of every monarch
Bersheh 2

*iw‘ f lkr*: His worthy heir
Heqaib 2
Heqaib 14
Heqaib 15

*iw‘ hr pr m-hty-İb sn*: Heir who came into being among them
Bersheh 2

*iw‘ k*: Brave heir
Assiut 1, 234

2.4. *iwn*

*iwn w*: Sole pillar
Munich GL WAF 35

*iwn nltw f*: Pillar of his township
Bersh. 5 *(Bersh. II, pl. 13)*
LIST OF EPITHETS

*iwn niwt.f  spit.f*: Pillar of his township and his district
Deir Rifeh 1 (*Kêmi* 6, 140) Deir Rifeh

*iwn rsy 'q*: Great southern pillar
CG 20539 Abydos

*iwn rsy 'q n pr nswt*: Great southern pillar of the administrative palace
Assiut 1, 171 Assiut
CG 20538 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos

*iwn sdm.t dšrt*: 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 kmwtr*: Pillar of the leopard skin(?)
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 rh.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 tšt.f(?)*: One who is without complaint(?)
MMA 57.95 Thebes

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1 See references in Ward, *Index*, 8, no. 18a.
iwty ṯs.f ḫtn: One who is without evil speech
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

2.6. ḫp

ḫp ḫkwtn: One who assesses revenues
(CG 20563) Abydos

ḫp ṭ-thdn n Tš-mhw: One who counts the cattle-list of Lower Egypt
(CG 20539) Abydos

ḫp ṣwt ḫwrr: One who controls the supply depots
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 17) Beni Hasan
Bersheh 1 (Bersh. II, pl. 7) Bersheh

2.7. imʒ

imʒ: Gracious
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan
B. Hasan 3 (BH I, pl. 25) Beni Hasan

imʒ n mrwt.f: Kind to his servants
Turin 1447 Thebes

imʒ n ḫwtn-nfr: Well-disposed to the temple
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh
Deir Rifeh 1 (Kēmi 6, 140) Deir Rifeh

imʒ r-gs(?!) nb.f ṭ nb: Gracious beside his lord every day
Assiut 6, 11 Assiut

2.8. imश

imšḥ(y)/imšḥ(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
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<td>Heqaib 1</td>
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APPENDIX TWO

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
JEA 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
LIST OF EPIPHETS

Qubbet el Hawa 36 Elephantine
RIK 119b Kumma
Saqqara 11Sq Saqqara
Saqqara 18x Saqqara
Turin 1447 Thebes
TT 602 Thebes
UC 14333 Armant ?
UPMMAA 69-29-122 Abydos
UPMMAA 69-29-135 Abydos
Wadi el Hudi 17 Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 19 Wadi el Hudi
Inscr. Ab. C13 Abydos

imḥ ...miḥː Truly venerated...
Assiut 1 Assiut

imḥ(y) n spṭ.t.f. Venerated by his district
Assiut 1 Assiut

imḥy n-hr nswt: Venerated by the king
Beni Hasan 3 Beni Hasan

imḥy nb.f. Venerated by his lord
Basel (ANOC 1.8) Abydos

imḥy ḫr...: Venerated by ...
Bersh. 1 (Bersh. II, pl. 7) Bersheh

imḥ ḫr Inpw: Venerated by Anubis
Assiut-1 Assiut
B. Hasan 3 (BH I, 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, & Gurob, pl. 12, 11 Lahun
Saqqara 11Sq (TPC 277) Saqqara
Saqqara 18x (TPC pl. 83) Saqqara
UC 14339 Kahun ?

2 Imḥt.
im|l|ḥ ḫr Iḥbrt: Venerated by Inheret
MFA 13.3844  Naga-ed-Der

im|l|ḥ ḫr 'nкт: Venerated by Anuket
Heqaib 60  Elephantine

im|l|ḥ(y) ḫr Wpwywr: Venerated by Wepwawet
BM 569  Abydos

(im|l|ḥ(y) ḫr Wpwywr nb S|wrt: Venerated by Wepwawet, Lord of Assiut
Assiut 1  Assiut

im|l|ḥ(y) ḫr 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

im|l|ḥ(y) ḫr Wsr nb imnn: Venerated by Osiris, Lord of the West:
Berlin 1192  Abydos

im|l|ḥ ḫr Wsr nb smt imnn: Venerated by Osiris, Lord of the western desert
Assiut 4, 84  Assiut
Meir B1  Meir
TT 603  Thebes

im|l|ḥ(y) ḫr 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 fm|l|ḥt.
LIST OF EPITHETS

Heqaib 17  
Meir B4 (Meir III, pl. 15)  
Saqqara 18x (TPC pl. 83)  

Im:ḥ(y) br Wsr ntr 's nb ḫw: Venerated by Osiris, the great god, Lord of Abydos  
BM 461  
CG 20641  

Im:ḥ(y) br Ptḥ nbt Ṣt: Venerated by Pakhet, Lady of the Speios Valley  
B. Hasan 3 (BH I, pl. 24)  

Im:ḥ(y) br Ptḥ: Venerated by Ptah  
ASAE 56, p. 214  
BM 831  
Heqaib 27  

Im:ḥ(y) br Ptḥ rsy inb: Venerated by Ptah, south of his wall  
Heqaib 26  

Im:ḥ(y) br Ptḥ-Skr: Venerated by Ptah-Sokar  
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 15)  
Bersheh 1 (Bersh. II, 25)  
CG 20132  
CG 20531  
Heqaib 17  
Heqaib 21  
Heqaib 24  
Heqaib 48  
Meir B4  
Saqqara 18x (TPC pl. 84)  

Im:ḥ(y) br nb.f: Venerated by his lord  
Assiut 6, 12  
Assiut  

Im:ḥ(y) br Nḥbt: Venerated by Nekhbet  
Qubbet el Hawa 31  
(FFE pl. 33)  
Elephantine  

Im:ḥ(y) br nswt: Venerated by the king  
Dahshur 2  
Dashur  
Saqqara 18x (TPC, 287-8)  

Im:ḥ(y) br nswt bły Sḥtp-ib-r' m:ḥr.w: Venerated by the king of Upper & Lower Egypt, Sehetepibra, vindicated  
ASAE 56, p. 213  

Elephantine  
Meir  
Saqqara  
Abydos  
Unknown  
Beni Hasan  
Ezbet Rushdi  
Unknown  
Elephantine  
Ezbet Rushdi  
Elephantine  
Elephantine  
Elephantine  
Elephantine  
Meir  
Saqqara  
Assiut  
Elephantine  
Elephantine  
Elephantine  
Elephantine  
Meir  
Ezbet Rushdi
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<td>Saqqara 11Sq (TPC pl. 81)</td>
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<th><strong>imḥy(y) ḫr nṯr ỉśḥq</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>MFA 13.3844</td>
<td>Naga-ed-Der</td>
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<th><strong>imḥḥt ḫr ṅṯrw ỉḥwrw</strong></th>
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<tr>
<td>TT 60</td>
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<tr>
<th><strong>imḥḥ ḫr nṯr ỉḥwr ḫbw</strong></th>
<th>Venerated by the great god, Lord of Abydos</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CG 20065</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
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<td>Turin 1447</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
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<th><strong>imḥḥ ḫr nṯr ỉḥwr ḫbw nb ḫḥ</strong></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>MMA 57.95</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Saqqara 11Sq (TPC pl. 82)</td>
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<th><strong>imḥḥ(y) ḫr nṯr imy wh nṯr</strong></th>
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<td>ASAE 56, p. 215</td>
<td>Ezbet Rushdi</td>
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<td>CG 20231</td>
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<td>Deir Rifeh 1 (Kemi 6, 140)</td>
<td>Deir Rifeh</td>
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<td>Bersheh 1 (Bersh. II, pl. 7)</td>
<td>Bersheh</td>
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<td>Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13)</td>
<td>Bersheh</td>
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<td>Heqaib 48</td>
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LIST OF EPIPHETS

\[l m\hbar^3 h(y) h r \ H_p\] Venerated by Hapy
Saqqara 11Sq (TPC pl. 82) Saqqara

\[l m\hbar^3 h(y) h r \ H r \ n b \ H b n w\] Venerated by Horus, Lord of Hebenu
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7,9) Beni Hasan

\[l m\hbar^3 h(y) h r \ H r \ h h \ r h y t\] 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

\[l m\hbar^3 h(y) h r \ H k t^3 - l b\] Venerated by Heqaib
Heqaib 60 Elephantine

\[l m\hbar^3 h(y) h r \ H k t\] Venerated by Hekat
Beni Hasan 14 (BH I, 85) Beni Hasan

\[l m\hbar^3 h(y) h r \ H n m\] 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)

\[l m\hbar^3 h(y) h r \ S h k \ n b \ D d w\] Venerated by Sobek, Lord of Busiris
Petrie, Illahun, Kahun, & Gurob, pl. 12, 11

\[l m\hbar^3 h(y) h r \ S k r\] Venerated by Sokar
UC 14339 Kahun ?

\[l m\hbar^3 h h r \ S t t\] Venerated by Satet
Qubbat el Hawa 31 Elephantine
(FFE, pl. 33)
Heqaib 16 Elephantine

\[l m\hbar^3 h h r \ S t t \ n b(t) \ ? b w\] Venerated by Satet, Mistress of Elephantine
Heqaib 60 Elephantine

\[l m\hbar^3 h y h r \ G b\] Venerated by Geb
Heqaib 17 Elephantine
Heqaib 26 Elephantine
Heqaib 27 Elephantine
Heqaib 28 Elephantine
2.9. *imw*.

*imw* spīt.f: Gracious of his township
Assiut 1, 229  Assiut

2.10. *imw-ib*

*imw-ib* šty ds.f: Favorite of the monarch himself
Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* 1, pl. 7)  Beni Hasan

*imw-ib* wr n nb.f: Great favorite of his lord
B. Hasan 2 (*BH* 1, pl. 15)  Beni Hasan

*imw-ib* nb.f *imw-ib* n nb.f: Favorite of his lord
Durham N1935  Wadi Gasus
Hammamat 114  Wadi Hammamat
Louvre C2  Abydos
MMA 26.3.217  Thebes

*imw-ib* nb.f mtr: True favorite of his lord
Assiut 1, 218  Assiut
Bersh. 8 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 21)  Bershesh
CG 20538  Abydos
CG 20539  Abydos

*imw-ib* nb.f fr n: Favorite of his lord every day
Saqqara 18x (*TPC* pl. 83)  Saqqara

*imw-ib* n nswt: Favorite of the king
CG 20563  Abydos

*imw-ib* n nswt m ḫ: Favorite of the King in the palace
MMA 57.95  Thebes

*imw-ib* ḫr nb Ḫ: Favorite of Horus, Lord of the palace
BM 1177  Wadi Halfa
BM 828  Unknown
Bersh. 2 (*Bersh.*I, pl. 16)  Bershesh

*imw-ib* ḫr nb Ḫ ḫmn.f ḫnty mityw.f: Favorite of Horus, Lord of the palace, who promotes him before his peers
Assiut 1, 240  Assiut

*imw-ib* ḫr nb tswy: Favorite of Horus, Lord of the Two Lands
Meir B4 (*Meir* III, pl. 19)  Meir

*imw-ib* ḫr stn sw: Favorite of Horus, who honors him
Assiut 1, 221  Assiut
2.11. *lmw*-lm *lmw*-lm: Pilot of the people
CG 20539   Abydos

2.12. *lmw*-br
*lmw*-br pr 3; One who is in front of the palace
Assiut 1, 346   Assiut

2.13. *lmw*

*lmw* 3w: Overseer of the foremost offices
B. Hasan 13 (BH I, pl. 41)   Beni Hasan

*lmw* 3w: Overseer of the double chamber
Saqqara 11S (TPC 273)   Saqqara

*lmw* 3w: Overseer of the royal herd
Bersh. 2 (Bersh.I, pl. 18)   Bersheh

*lmw* 3w: Overseer of the door to the south
Hammamat 113   Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 114   Wadi Hammamat

*lmw* 3w: Overseer of donkeys
MMA 12.184   Abydos

*lmw* 3w-m *lmw*-3w: Overseer of caravan leaders among overseers of car-
van leaders
Wadi el Hudi 4   Wadi el Hudi

*lmw* 3w: Overseer of homed animals
CG 20683   Abydos

*lmw* 3w *lmw* 3w: Overseer of homed and hooved animals
Hammamat 114   Wadi Hammamat

*lmw* 3w *lmw* 3w *lmw*: Overseer of homed, hooved, feathered, and scaled
animals
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7)   Beni Hasan
CG 20538   Abydos
Louvre C2   Abydos

*lmw* wpwt 3pw-3w: Overseer of the inventories of divine offerings
Assiut 1   Assiut
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

**imy-r wsjt:** Overseer of the broad hall
CG 20539 Abydos

**imy-r m8s m st nb t stt:** Overseer of troops in every secret place
B. Hasan 17 (BH II, pl. 14) Beni Hasan

**imy-r n`wy snwy:** Overseer of the double vessel(?)
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bershesh

**imy-r pr n Mf-hdf:** 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 r WT w:** Overseer of the great double gate
CG 20683 Abydos

**imy-r rmt m-hlw hlw:** Overseer of people in excess of thousands
MMA 12.184 Abydos

**imy-r hwW nfrw:** Overseer of recruits
BM 1177 Wadi Halfa

**imy-r hwW bw nhm:** Overseer of priests of the bas of Hierakonpolis
Assiut 1, 260 Assiut

**imy-r hwW-ntr m8s n WpwWwt nb S8wt:** True overseer of priests of Wepwawet, Lord of Assiut
Assiut 1, 218 Assiut

**imy-r hwW-ntr n-wn-m8s n wpwWwt nb S8wt:** True overseer of priests of Wepwawet, Lord of Assiut
Assiut 2, 3 Assiut

**imy-r h8swt:** Overseer of the hill countries
B. Hasan 3 (BH I, pl. 30) Beni Hasan
Shatt er Rigal 459 Shatt er Rigal

**imy-r h8swt nbw:** Overseer of every hill-country
CG 20683 Abydos
Qubbet el Hawa 36 Elephantine
(Urk. VI, 6)

**imy-r hnrw nfrw:** Overseer of the beautiful musical troupes
Saqqara 18x (TPC 281) Saqqara
LIST OF EPITHETS

_Imy-rt ħrw š ḏwr:_ Overseer of lowlands, great one of highlands
Hammamat 114  Wadi Hammamat

_Imy-rt ḫ nbt n nswt:_ Overseer of all royal property
CG 20683  Abydos
Sinai 98  Sinai

_Imy-rt ḫ nbt dd(t) pt kmḥ(t) tḥ:_ Overseer of everything that heaven gives and earth creates
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7)  Beni Hasan

_Imy-rt ḫtmnt m nbw:_ Overseer of the gold treasury
Hammamat 114  Wadi Hammamat

_Imy-rt snyt ḫbīt:_ Overseer of the eastern deserts
Beni Hasan 21  Beni Hasan
(BH II, pl. 22a)  Beni Hasan
B. Hasan 3 (BH I, pl. 35)  Beni Hasan

_Imy-rt srw:_ Overseer of sheep
MMA 12.184  Abydos

_Imy-rt šswy:_ Overseer of the two marshes
CG 20539  Abydos
JE 71901  Wadi el Hudi

_Imy-rt šswy n sṃḥ-ḥb:_ Overseer of the two marshes of pleasure
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7)  Beni Hasan
Saqqara 11Saq (TPC 273)  Saqqara
Saqqara 18x (TPC 281)  Saqqara

_Imy-rt šsrw m pr-wr:_ Overseer of linen in the shrine of Upper Egypt
Leiden V4  Abydos

_Imy-rt škbhwv n nswt:_ Overseer of the king’s bathroom
TT 103  Thebes

_Imy-rt šw:_ Overseer of pigs
MMA 12.184  Abydos

_Imy-rt šnwty m ip it mḥw:_ Overseer of the double granary in the reckoning of Upper Egyptian barley
MMA 12.184  Abydos

_Imy-rt šnwty pḥḥ:_ Overseer of the double granary of the treasury
Hammamat 114  Wadi Hammamat

_Imy-rt šś m pr-nḥ:_ Overseer of writing in the embalming place
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21)  Bersheh
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APPENDIX TWO

imy-r ss n nswt n hft-hr: Overseer of royal writing of the court
CG 20539 Abydos

imy-r kbbw p/ywt hnnwt: Overseer of aquatic, fluttering and flying birds
MMA 26.3.217 Thebes

imy-r k3wt: Overseer of works
Hammatam 113 Wadi Hammamat

imy-r k3wt nb nswt m tr-dr.f: Overseer of all royal work in the entire land
Lahun II, pl. 29 Lahun

imy-r k3wt nswt: Overseer of royal works
Hammatam 192 Wadi Hammamat

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. ins-lb

ins-lb n rmt nb: Attentively disposed toward all people
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

2.15. inl

in phwy tmntw rlb: One who reached the boundaries of that which is not known
Sinai 54 Sinai

inn mntw(? ) b’stw m rdwy.f: One who reached the boundaries(?) of foreign lands on
his (own) feet
Sinai 54 Sinai

in n.f m3w nfr n Twnw n-3’(t)-n b/w hm.f: One who brought for him the good
products of Libya inasmuch as His Majesty was powerful
Hammatam 47 Wadi Hammamat

in n.f mrt.n.f...: One who brought for him what he desired....
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bershah

inn rlb nswt: One who attains (the rank of) royal acquaintance
Hammatam 43 Wadi Hammamat

in rlb nswt mnh sfr.f: One who attained royal acquaintance because his plan was
effective
BM 563 Abydos
BM 1213 Unknown
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Location</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ir šḥt w</em>: One who does what is beneficial alone</td>
<td>Hammamat 114</td>
<td>Wadi Hammamat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ir šḥt n ml.f</em>: One who did what was beneficial for his equal</td>
<td>BM 581</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ir ṣḥḥ ntt lwtt</em>: One who acts as a door for what is and what is not</td>
<td>MMA 57.95</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ir ḫt ml ibr.š</em>: One who performed an office according to its purpose</td>
<td>CG 20539</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ir ḫw n bw nb</em>: One who makes greetings for everyone</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 2 (<em>BH</em> I, pl. 7)</td>
<td>Beni Hasan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ir ḫm-y-re st nbt</em>: One who acts as overseer of troops in every situation</td>
<td>B. Hasan 17 (<em>BH</em> II, pl. 14)</td>
<td>Beni Hasan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ir ḫw ḫm</em>: One who did what His Majesty commanded (?)</td>
<td>Wadi el Hudi 2</td>
<td>Wadi el Hudi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ir ḫm ḫps.f</em>: One who acted with his strong arm</td>
<td>Meir C1 (<em>Meir</em> VI, pl. 13)</td>
<td>Meir</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ir ml ntt m lb.f</em>: One who acted according to what is in his heart (i.e., the heart of his lord)</td>
<td>Assiut 1, 219</td>
<td>Assiut</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>ir mnw m niwt nt db(?)</em>: One who built monuments in the township of the hippopotamus (?)</td>
<td>Assiut 2, 9</td>
<td>Assiut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ir mnw n nbh m hwt-ntr Ham nb Hr-wr</em>: One who constructed the monuments of eternity in the temple of Khnum, Lord of Her-wr</td>
<td>B. Hasan 17 (<em>BH</em> II, pl. 16)</td>
<td>Beni Hasan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ir mrt nb m hrt-hrw nb</em>: One who does everything that is desired every day</td>
<td>Hammamat 123</td>
<td>Wadi Hammamat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ir n lb.f m hrw.f</em>: One whose heart acts for him daily</td>
<td>BM 572</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Leiden V4</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ir(r) n nb.f</em>: One who acts for his lord</td>
<td>Bersheh 2</td>
<td>Bersheh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heqaib 2</td>
<td>Elephantine</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Heqaib 61</td>
<td>Elephantine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX TWO

*i r n nb.f kdr.f* One whose lord created his character
Wadi el Hudi 17 Wadi el Hudi

*i r nbt* One who acted strongly
Meir C1 (Meir VI, pl. 13) Meir

*i r m.f mnw in sh.f* One whose name was made in stone by his son
Beni Hasan 17 Beni Hasan

*i r* hsst: One who does what is favored
BM 1177 Wadi Halfa
Siut, pl. 3 Assiut
Wadi el Hudi 2 Wadi el Hudi

*i r(r) hsst wrt* One who does what is greatly favored
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 9) Beni Hasan

*i r* hsst.f...: One who does what he favors...
Louvre C167 Abydos

*i r hsst.f m hrt-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

*i r hsst.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

*i r hsst.f nbt m hrt-hrw nt r' nb*: One who does everything he favors in the course of every day
Berlin ÄGM 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
JE 51, pl.14   Abydos
Kestner 2927   Unknown
Louvre C3      Abydos
MMA 26.3.217  Thebes
MMA 9.180.111  Lish
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 hsst.f nbt r’ nb r nhḥ ḡt:**_ One who does everything he favors every day forever and ever
Wadi el Hudi 146 Wadi el Hudi

_**irr hsst.f r’ nb:**_ One who does what he favors every day
BM 828          Unknown
Guimet 11324    Abydos
Leiden V5       Abydos

_**[irr] hsst nb.f:**_ One who does what his lord favors
Sinai 118       Sinai

_**irr hsst 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 hsst nb ḡt’wy:**_ One who does what the Lord of the Two Lands favors
Assiut 1, 154, 215 Assiut
BM 569          Abydos
Hammamat 48    Wadi Hammamat

_**irr hsst nb ḡt’wy m-hṛt-hrw n t’ nb:**_ One who does what the Lord of the Two Lands favors in the course of every day
BM 557          Abydos
APPENDIX TWO

irr hsst nswt m hrt-hrw nt r' nb: One who does what the king favors in the course of every day
Sinai 72 Sinai

irr hsst nfrw: One who does what the gods favor
Assiut 1, 184 Assiut

irr hsst nfr.f: One who does what his god favors
Assiut 1, 336 Assiut

irr hsst nfr.f m hrt-hrw nt r' nb: One who does what his god favors in the course of every day
CG 20539 Abydos

[irr h]sst nfrw Šmn'w Tš-mhw m hrt-hrw nt r' nb: [One who does] what the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt favor in the course of every day
Sinai 115 Sinai

irr hsst sn nbt m-hrt-hrw: One who does everything they favor every day (i.e., Amenemhat I and Senwosret I)
Louvre C1 Abydos

irr hsst hss sw: One who does what the one who favors him favors
Assiut 2, 7-8 Assiut
Heqaib 1 Elephantine
Heqaib 49 Elephantine

ir htpw n ntr nb n Mšyq: One who made offerings to every god of the Oryx nome
B. Hasan 15 (BH II, pl. 5) Beni Hasan
B. Hasan 17 (BH II, pl. 15) Beni Hasan

ir htp: One who acted powerfully
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

ir ḫt n tp nfr: One who did things successfully
Louvre C170 Abydos
CG 20538 Abydos

ir ḫt rhw: One who did things, knowingly
Wadi el Hudi 4 Wadi el Hudi

ir ssšm n nb.f n šbt.f: One who did his lord's business without ceasing
Hatnub gr. 28 Hatnub
**LIST OF EPIPHETES**

*ir st m sb n sḏt n k' n ḫwty*: One who did it as burnt offering for the *ka* of Thoth\(^4\)
Hatnub gr. 17
Hatnub

*ir ttw ...y... r-prw nw nṯrw*: One who made images ... in the chapels of the gods
Deir Rifeh 1 *Kêmi* 6, 140) Deir Rifeh

*ir tp n ḫsyw*: One who reached the forefront of the favored ones
Sinai 405
Sinai

*ir ṭnw sp*: One who acts every time
Wadi el Hudi 14
Wadi el Hudi

*ir ḡdt nb ẖ r-ḏr.f ḫr ṭḥnṯ n snḏw nw ḫḏf*: 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 ḫḏ ḫnṯ nbw*: Keeper of silver and gold
CG 20538
Abydos
Wadi el Hudi 16
Wadi el Hudi

*iry n ḫḏ ḫnṯ nbw nrt-lṯw ḫrt nbt*: Keeper of silver and gold, ox-herds, and all precious stones
CG 20538
Abydos

*iry nṯwt nb*: Keeper of every township
Bersh. 2 (*Bersh*.I, pl. 16) Bershah

*iry nfr-rḫt m sḥkr nwtn*: Keeper of the royal diadem in adorning the king
BM 839
Abydos

*iry sḏt n ḫntty nṯr*: Keeper of secrets of the god's sealer
Hatnub gr. 26
Hatnub

*iry sgr n ṣnwtn*: Keeper of the silence of the entourage
CG 20539
Abydos

*irt sḏwṯ bḥty*: Keeper of the seal of the king of Lower Egypt
CG 20539
Abydos

2.18. *ir-y-p’t*

*ir-y-p’t iry ḫḏ n Gb*: Hereditary noble connected to the White Chapel of Geb
B. Hasan 3 (*BHI*, pl. 35) Beni Hasan

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\(^4\) This phrase follows a series of epithets involving offerings. See Anthes, *Hat-nub*, 37-38.
Appendix Two

\textit{itr\textsuperscript{y}-p\textsuperscript{t}m swt ġṣrw}: Hereditary noble in the secret places
CG 20539 Abydos

\textit{itr\textsuperscript{y}-p\textsuperscript{t}m (?) wsḥt}: Hereditary noble of the (?) of the forecourt\textsuperscript{5}
B. Hasan 3 (BH I, pl. 35) Beni Hasan
CG 20539 Abydos

2.19. \textit{irty}

\textit{irty nb.f m wn m\textsuperscript{?}}: Eyes of his lord in reality
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

2.20. \textit{ikr}

\textit{ikr m\textsuperscript{?}-ḥrw}: Worthy vindicated one
Meir B2 (Meir II, pl. 10) Meir

\textit{ikr m ...:} Worthy in ...
Hammamat 104 Wadi Hammamat

\textit{ikr ḫḥ}: Excellent of knowledge
Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat

\textit{ikr nṯt.f}: Excellent of his counsel
BM 572 Abydos

\textit{ikr ḫr lb n ḫm.f:} Worthy in the heart of His Majesty
Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat

\textit{ikr ṣḥ m ṣḏt.n.f}: Excellent of counsel in what is commanded of him
Suit I, 350 Assiut

\textit{ikr ṣḥr}: 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

\textit{ikr ṣḥr(w).f}: One whose plan is excellent
Assiut 1, 152, 213 Assiut

\textsuperscript{5} See Ward, \textit{Index}, no. 850a for the reading and rendering of this problematic phrase, with bibliography.
LIST OF EPITHETS

\[ ikr \, shr \, m-biḥ\ldots: \text{Excellent of plan before} \]
Berlin 1199 Abydos

\[ ikr \, st-ns: \text{Excellent of speech} \]
Hammatam 47 Wadi Hammamat
Hammatam 48 Wadi Hammamat
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos
Wadi el Hudi 149 Khor Dehmit

\[ [ikr] \, st-ns \, tsw: \text{Excellent of speech} \]
Edfu, 32, 10 Edfu

\[ ikr \, tsw: \text{Excellent of speech} \]
Assiut 1, 242 Assiut
Assiut 2, 8 Assiut
Louvre C167 Abydos

\[ ikr \, dḥt: \text{Excellent at speaking} \]
CG 20539 Abydos
CG 20538 Abydos

2.21. \textit{it}

\[ it \, n \, nmḥ: \text{Father of the orphan} \]
Kestner 2927 Unknown
MMA 12.184 Abydos

\[ it \, n \, ḫrd: \text{Father of the child} \]
Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub

\[ it \, ḫm\waw\ldots: \text{Upper Egyptian barley (for) ...} \]
Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub

\[ ḫb \, ḫḥy-ḥwb \, ḫm \, n \, ḫw \, nb \, r.f: \text{Strong fortress in the district, onto which everyone held} \]
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

3. \textit{ʿ}

3.1. \textit{ʿ}

\[ ʿpḥ \, ṭḥyt: \text{Arm of the elite and the commoners} \]
Hammatam 113 Wadi Hammamat
3.2. *b* (adj.)

*š it mhw: One great in Lower Egyptian wheat
Assiut 1, 247 Assiut

*š htw: One great of braziers
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

*š m bdt lw t' m ts: One great in northern barley when the land is in shortage
Assiut 5, 9 Assiut

*š m pr.f: One great in his house
Leiden V4 Abydos

*š m ḫt nb: One great in all property
Assiut 1, 247 Assiut

*š m sḥr.f: One great in his rank\(^6\)
Assiut 1, 172 Assiut

*š mnw n ḫwt.nfr: One great in monuments for the temple
Assiut 5, 14 Assiut

*š mrwt: One great of love
Assiut 6, 12 Assiut
Beni Hasan 2 Beni Hasan
CG 20539 Abydos
*JE A* 51, pl. 14 Abydos
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat
Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

*š n ... sêtḥ: Great one of the secret ... 
UC 14333 Armant ?

*š n ḫiswt nbt: Door to every foreign land
Bersh. 2 (*Bersh.* I, pl. 16) Bershah

*š m m ḫwy ḫr: One great of name in the Two Lands of Horus
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bershah

*š ḫbb: One great of hunting
Assiut 1, 277 Assiut

\(^6\) See also page s267-268 below.
LIST OF EPITHETS

'ḥmnk nḏm ‘ntlw. One great in beer and sweet in myrrh
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

'ḥnyt m S3wšt. One great of respect in Assiut
Deir Rifeh 7, 45 Deir Rifeh

'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

'ḥps: One great of power
Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub

'ḥ mn m gsw.f. One greatly feared among his neighbors
Assiut 5, 17 Assiut

'snd.f r ṣṭt rnt nt ḫdw. Fear of whom is greater than (?) in a year of pestilence?
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

'sḥr m ipt nswt. One great of plan in the king’s private office
Louvre C1 Abydos

'skn knl ḫr wnwt.f. One great of punishing one who is remiss in his duty
BM 572 Abydos

'sfyt: One great of respect
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

'ḥd: One great of character
Louvre C3 Abydos

'ḏwšt. Great one of the mountains
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

3.3: 'ḥ (noun)

'ḥb: 'ḥnw. Door behind the Residence
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersh

3.4: 'ḥb:

'ḥb 'wy m shkr nṯr: One who presents (his) hands in adorning the god
CG 20538 Abydos

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7 The meaning of ṣṭt is unclear; see Lichtheim, Autobiographies, 53-54.
8 In rendering this difficult phrase, I am following Lichtheim, Autobiographies, 107. Kml is written “Ink.”
3.5. ‘pr

‘pr n šbt.f nn ḫw.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 wdj 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 ḏt: Who lives forever
Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 19 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 22 Hatnub

‘nh ḏt r nḥḥ: Who lives forever and ever
Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

3.8. ‘rf

‘rf i wt n ṣs im.f: One who joins offices
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bershah
3.9. 'rk

'rk(?)-hr.f r Dhwty: More skilled than Thoth
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

3.10. 'hр

'hр n sm'yr: Warrior of the confederacy
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

3.11. 'h'

'h'r mš'm lrt shr: One who attends to the troops in making a plan
Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

'h'w nb.f hr mdw.f: One who uplifts lord with his speech
CG 20539 Abydos

'h'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 špss tpw-5: A foremost noble attendant
Deir Rifeh 1 (Kêmi 6, 140) Deir Rifeh

3.13. 'šš

'sš špwd: One rich in fowl
Beni Hasan 17 Beni Hasan
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

'sš sťtw: One rich in sacrifices
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

'sš stpw: One rich in choice meats
Bersheh 1 (Bersh. II, 19) Bersheh
Bersheh 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

'sš kšw: One rich in bulls
Assiut 5, 13 Assiut

3.14. 'k

'k-řb.f: His confidante
Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat
Sinai 86  Sinai

'k-lb.f m shr t'wy: His confidante in pacifying the Two Lands JEA 51, pl. 14  Abydos

'k-lb.f nh Ty ldbwy: His confidante before the two banks CG 20539  Abydos

'k-lb.f nh Ty swnw: His confidante before the entourage CG 20538  Abydos
CG 20539  Abydos

'k-lb.f nh Ty swnw.f srw.f: His foremost confidante of his entourage and his officials Hammamat 199  Wadi Hammamat

'k Bhd (?): One who enters Edfu JE 52456  Edfu

'k m wstn nn smt.f: One who enters unhindered, without being announced Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21)  Bersheh

'k m wstn hr st stt: One who enters unhindered into the secret place Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21)  Bersheh

'k n lb.f: His confidante MMA 57.95  Thebes

'k n nswt lwty snw.f: Confidante of the king without his equal Hatnub gr. 25  Hatnub

'k nhw nb stt: One who enters into all secret knowledge Sinai 101  Sinai

'k hr nb.f wrw hr-ph.f: One who entered (the presence of) his lord, the great ones at his back UC 14333  Armant ?

'k hr-hlt pr hr-phwy: One who entered first and left last Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13)  Bersheh

'kw n.f lnw m hst n-3t-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. 'k?

'k lb: Straightforward one JEA 51, pl. 14  Abydos
Louvre C167  Abydos
LIST OF EPITHETS

‘k³ bît: One straight of character
Assiut 5, 22 Assiut

‘k³ m sbl n sb: One straight in conduct to the pupil
BM 561 Abydos

‘k³ mū lwsw: One who is precise like a balance
BM 581 Abydos

‘k³ r th: One who is more precise than the plummet of a balance
CG 20538 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos

‘k³ mdw hrw msbb: Straight of speech on the day of turning away
Hammat 114 Wadi Hammamat

3.16. ‘d-mr

‘d-mr Dp: Administrator of Dep
Assiut 1, 23 Assiut
RILN 74 Gurgawi

4. w

4.1. w³

w³ mšr: One who supports the wretched/ill
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

4.2. w³ḥ

w³ḥ-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
wil-h-lb lwty snwy.f: Attentive without his equal
CG 20538    Abydos

wil-h-lb m-hry-lb srw: Attentive among the officials
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 15)    Beni Hasan
B. Hasan 13 (BH I, pl. 41)    Beni Hasan

wil-h-lb r sqmt md: Attentive until words have been heard
JEA 51, pl. 14    Abydos
CG 20539    Abydos

wil mrwt: Enduring of love
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 8)    Beni Hasan

wil tpy t: Enduring on earth
Assiut 1, 185    Assiut
Assiut 4, 87    Assiut
Assiut 5, 42    Assiut

4.3. wil

wil swt: Green of plants
Assiut 1, 246    Assiut

wil sk: Fresh of crops
Leiden V6    Abydos

4.4. w’t

w’t lb n hlty: First in the heart of the king of Lower Egypt
CG 20538    Abydos

w’t lh n nsrw: Sole one useful to the king
Sinai 101A    Sinai
Sinai 405    Sinai

w’t wr: Uniquely great one
CG 20539    Abydos

w’t wr hh: Uniquely great of hunting
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7)    Beni Hasan
Assiut 1, 260    Assiut

w’t m st-lb n nb.f: First in the affection of his lord
CG 20531    Abydos

w’t mnh: Uniquely effective one
MMA 26.3.217    Thebes
LIST OF EPIPHETS

Wadi el Hudi 14 Wadi el Hudi

w’ mh n mityw.f: Sole effective one without his equal
Assiut 1, 349-50 Assiut

w’ n hly: Sole one of the king of Lower Egypt
CG 20539 Abydos

w’ n nbf: Sole one of his lord
MMA 57.95 Thebes

w’ n nswt jwty 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) Bershah
Assiut 4, 59 Assiut
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

w’ hr-hw m wbs n.f ltr: Unique in confiding to him
Assiut 1, 242 Assiut

w’ hr-hw n imy ‘ht: Unique for the one who is in the palace
Assiut 1, 214 Assiut

4.5. w’b

w’b ‘ m shkt ntr: Pure of hand in adoring the god
Berlin 1204 Abydos

w’ b ‘ n Dhwty m shrt sbl hrw irt nt-: One great wab-priest of Thoth in overthrowing the rebel on the day of performing ritual
Bersh. 7 (Bersh. II, pl.19) Bershah

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) Bershah

w’ b ‘ wy mnh.f ḫw: Pure of hand when he fills the bowl
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bershah

w’ b ‘ wy drp.f ntr: Pure of hands when he offers to the god
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

w'b ḫw m st ḫsr: One who purifies the braziers in the sacred place
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

w'b ṣtpw t snḏm st hwt-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 1 (Bersh. II, pl. 7) Bersheh
Sinai 109 Sinai

4.6. w'ṭy
w'ṭy ḫn n swt: Sole one effective for the king
Sinai 101 A Sinai

w'ṭy swt; Sole one of the king
Assiut 4, 35 Assiut

w'ṭy sp.: Sole...
Hatnub gr. 11 Hatnub

4.7. ṭb
ṭb n.f ḫb: Someone to whom the heart is revealed
Wadi el Hudi 3 Wadi el Hudi

ṭb n.f swt mdw.f ḫ r ḫt 'rtyt ḫr.f. Someone to whom the king reveals his speech in
order to act as a gateway to it
MMA 57.95 Thebes

ṭb n.f nt t m ḫb m ḫpt r rmt nbt: Someone to whom what is in the heart is revealed,
namely what is hidden from everyone
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos

ṭb n.f dsrw nbw: Someone to whom all secrets are revealed
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh

4.8. ṭpl
ṭpl ḫnr ḫ mtr.f n-wnt nm' ḫm.f: One who judges a prisoner accurately, without par-
tiality to him
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

ṭpl snwy n nm'.f: One who judges two peers impartially
Assiut 1, 249 Assiut

ṭpp ḫrp r snnw.f: One who separates a district from its neighbor
CG 20539 Abydos
4.9 wpwty

wpwty r h'lst nb: Messenger to every foreign land
RILN 74  Gurgawi

4.10. wn

wn hr swd sin: One who revealed the sight and renewed the mud seal
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13)  Bersheh
Hatnub gr. 26  Hatnub

wn t' Thaw: One who opened the land of the Libyans
Hammamat 43  Wadi Hammamat

4.11. wr

wr ldt: One great of incense
MMA 57.95  Thebes

wr 'sbt hbyt: One great of food offerings of the festival
Assiut 1, 228  Assiut

wr w'hwit: One great of offerings
Bersheh 1 (Bersh. II, 19)  Bersheh
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13)  Bersheh

wr w'btr m hwt-ntr: One great of meat offerings in the temple
Leiden V4  Abydos

wr wrw: Greatest of the great ones
CG 20546  Abydos

wr wrw s'hw smrw: Greatest of the great ones, nobles and officials
Assiut 2, 6-7  Assiut

wr m Btr.f: One great in his office
Louvre C2  Abydos

wr m Btr(f) s'h(f): 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
APPENDIX TWO

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 (Meir VI, pl. 13)  Meir
Saqqara 18x (TPC pl. 83)  Saqqara

wr m bdt: One great in barley
MMA 12.184  Abydos

wr m pr nb.f: One great in the house of his lord
Wadi el Hudi 4  Wadi el Hudi

wr m shwt.f: One great in his fields
Leiden V4  Abydos

wr m ts r-dr.f: Great one in the entire land
Louvre C2  Abydos

wr mdw T3-mhw: Great one of the southern tens
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13)  Bersheh

wr n mn.f: One great of his virtue
Edfou, 32, 10  Edfu

wr n nswt 3 n bity: 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
JEA 14, pl. 21  Abydos
TT 60  Thebes

wr n T3-wr: Great one of Tauer
Leiden V4  Abydos

wr r wrw nw T3-smw: One who is greater than the great ones of Upper Egypt
Heqqib 12  Elephantine
wr r wrw štḥw 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 ḫw: One great of vineyards
MMA 12.184  Abydos

wr ḫḥ: One great of hunting
Bersh. 1 (Bersh. II, pl. 7)  Bersheh

wr ḫry-tp wrw: Great overLord of the great ones
Assiut 1, 231  Assiut

wr ḥst m pr blyt: One great of favor in the Lower Egyptian palace
Assiut 1, 232  Assiut

wr ḥst m pr nswt: One great of favor in the Upper Egyptian palace
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 15)  Beni Hasan

wr snḥ: One great of fear
Assiut 4, 54  Assiut
Hammamat 114  Wadi Hammamat

wr snḥ 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 tḥwy: Great one of the Two Lands
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13)  Bersheh

wr dlw m pr ḏḥwy: Great one of the five in the temple of Thoth
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13)  Bersheh

wr ḏpty (?): One great of offerings (?)
Bersh. 7 (Bersh. II, pl. 19)  Bersheh

wr ḏṛṭ: One great of hand
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7)  Beni Hasan

wr ḏṛṭ m pr nh.f: One great of hand in the house of his lord
Berlin 1204  Abydos
wr mḏw: One great of provisions
Assiut 1, 228 Assiut
Assiut 6, 5 Assiut
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bershesh

4.12. wrḥ

wrḥ iḥw ṭ m ṭ ḫ: Anointer of offices in the house of the ruler
Florence 1774 Thebes

wrḥ Mḥʾt ṭ m ṭ ḫ: One who annoints Maʾat in Assiut
Assiut 1, 242 Assiut

4.13. ḫʾ

ḥʾʾḫb: Capable one
Meir C1 (Meir VI, pl. 13) Meir

ḥʾ ṭ ṣ ḫ ʾ n ḫʾ: One who eases (lit. loosens) a time of trouble when it happens
Assiut 1, 248 Assiut

4.14. ḥʾm

ḥʾm ʾḥʾ: 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

ḥʾm ʾḥʾ nṯr: Repeating beautiful life
Sinai 53 Sinai

ḥʾm nṯr: One who repeats what is desired
Assiut 6, 6 Assiut
BM 569 Abydos
CG 20538 Abydos
LIST OF EPITHETS

Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat
Louvre C170 Abydos
Sinai 500 Sinai

\textit{whm mrt m hrt-hrw nt r' nb}: One who repeats what is desired in the course of every day
Berlin AGM 26/66 Abydos
Manchester Abydos

\textit{whm nfr ...}: One who repeats what is good ...
Sinai 405 Sinai

\textit{whm nfr n nb t²wy}: One who repeats what is good to the Lord of the Two Lands
Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat

\textit{whm(?)} nmhw: Spokesman(?) for the poor
Louvre C1 Abydos

\textit{whm htpw nfr}: One who repeats every offering
Assiut 5, 15 Assiut

\textit{whmw ikr}: Worthy herald
Hatnub gr. 14 Hatnub

\textit{whmw ' s n bw nfr}: Great herald of the Place of Beauty
CG 20539 Abydos

4.15. \textit{whd}

\textit{whd bk³t r mswt.s}: Patient with a pregnant women until she gives birth
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

4.16. \textit{Wsr}

\textit{Wsr}: The Osiris
JE 91253 Abydos
Heqaib 36 Elephantine
Meir B2 Meir

\textit{Wsr h³ty⁻¹}: The Osiris, the local ruler
Heqaib 1 Elephantine

\textit{Wsr h³ty⁻¹ N pn}: This Osiris, the local ruler
Heqaib 26 Elephantine
Heqaib 27 Elephantine
Meir B2 Meir
Meir B4 Meir
4.17. wrs

wrs-ib: Stout-hearted
MMA 26.3.217 Thebes

wrs ‘wy m st shkrt: Strong of hands in the place of adornment
Meir C1 (Meir VI, pl. 13) Meir

wrs r r-‘ 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 nmss: Broad of steps
Assiut 1, 222, 349 Assiut
Florence 1542 Wadi Halfa

4.19. wstn

wstn m3*: Truly unhindered
RILN 74 Girgawi

wstn br st sšt3t: One who travels unhindered through the secret place
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh

4.20. wsn

wsn ‘pdw n k3 n ḏhwty: One who slaughters fowl for the ka of Thoth
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

4.21. wšd

wšdwr wrw: One whom the great ones greet
MMA 57.95 Thebes

4.22. wdl

wð snld.f m-hry-ib ‘š3wt: One who instilled fear of him amidst the masses
BM 1213 Abydos

4.23. wd

wd mdwn imyw ūnt...: One who gives orders to the foremost...
Šiut, pl. 5 Assiut
LIST OF EPITHETS

\textit{wd mdw n bryw wdbr}: One who gives orders to the masters of largesse
Bersh. 2 (Bersh. I, pl. 5, 6) Bersheth

\textit{wd ssm hpr n nsw}: One who orders the business that takes place for the king
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

4.24. \textit{wd}\textsuperscript{3}

\textit{wd\textsuperscript{3} lb}: Happy (Prosperous of heart)
Hammamat 199 Wadi Hammamat

4.25. \textit{wd}\textsuperscript{4}

\textit{wd\textsuperscript{4} nn rd\textit{it hpr-gs}}: One who judges without being partial
Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

\textit{wd\textsuperscript{4} snwy}: One who judges two peers
Hatnub gr. 14 Hatnub

\textit{wd\textsuperscript{4} sp\textit{wt}}: One who judges the districts
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheth

4.26. \textit{wd\textit{b}}

\textit{wd\textit{b} r n mdt h\textit{nh}.\textit{f}}: One who directs the conversation of the one speaking with him
Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

5. \textit{b}

5.1. \textit{b\textit{i}}

\textit{b\textit{i} im\textit{y} z\textit{hw}}: Ba that is among \textit{akh}\textit{s}
Meir B2 Meir

5.2. \textit{b\textit{w}}

\textit{b\textit{w} n.f lb}: One whose heart was powerful for him
CG 20539 Abydos

5.3. \textit{b\textit{k}}

\textit{b\textit{k.f}}: His servant
Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat
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<td><em>bik.f mi</em>: His true servant</td>
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<td>Wadi el Hudi 6</td>
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<td><em>bik mry nb.f</em>: Beloved servant of his lord</td>
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<td>Louvre C167</td>
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<td>Wadi el Hudi 14</td>
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<td><em>bik mrrw</em>: Beloved servant</td>
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</table>
LIST OF EPITHETS

bšk nb.f: Servant of his lord
Wadi el Hudi 8 Wadi el Hudi

bšk nb.f mš: True servant of his lord
Kestner 2927 Unknown

5.4. bnr

bnr ḫnt n lwty 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 mwrt: Lovable
Bersh. 2 (Bersh.1, pl. 16) Bersheh
Louvre C3 Abydos

bnr ḫtyw: Sweet of thoughts
Deir Rifeh 1 (Kēmi 6, 140) Deir Rifeh

bnr ḫnt nt tš ml-kd.f: Attractive of faience (?) for the entire land
Hatnub gr. 25 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

5.5. bhn

bhn ḫtyw wsr m-br Hr ḫr 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 lt.f nbhw: One whose house was his father’s house when he was a child
Bersheh 2 Bersheh

6.2. pri

pr m bt sšw: One who came forth from the womb wise
Berlin 1204 Abydos

pr.n.f ḫnt.f: Before whom (i.e. Thoth) he came forth
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub
6.3. ph3

ph3-hr: Pure of body/thought
Hatnub gr. 24  Hatnub

6.4. pht

pht snbt nt iw ing: Healthful remedy for the one who comes sick
Hatnub gr. 20  Hatnub

6.5. pg3

pg3-hr: Honest
Beni Hasan 2 (BH 1, pl. 7)  Beni Hasan

pg3-hr n h3rt: Honest to the widow
Assiut 3, 5  Assiut

pg3-hr m sh n śśt m irt śhr: Honest in a council of multitudes in making plans
MFA 29.1130  Semna

pg3-hr br wdt n.f: Honest regarding what is assigned to him
Sinai 11210  Sinai
Sinai 104  Sinai

pg3 drt n bw nb: Open-handed to everyone
Assiut 3, 3  Assiut

6.6. ptr

ptr m33 hw m-m snw.f: Observer who watches festivals with his peers
Leiden V6  Abydos

ptr n nb twy 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 Swgt.
7. m

7.1. m³³

m³³ w³: One who sees far
MMA 57.95 Thebes

m³³ n ...: One who looks at ...
Assiut 1, 181 Assiut

m³³ n niwt.f n-hnty: One who looks after his township continuously
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

m³³ n nb.f: One who looks upon his lord
Assiut 6, 8 Assiut

m³³ n nb.f lk.r.f: One whose lord sees his worth
Assiut 1, 351 Assiut

m³³ n nh³: One who looks upon eternity
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

m³³ nfrw Wpw³³wt: One who sees the beauty of Wepwawet
Assiut 1, 221 Assiut

m³³ 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

m³³ nfrw nb.f m s¹: One who sees the beauty of his lord in the place of...
Bersh. 7 (Bersh. II, pl.19) Bersheh

m³³ r ind: One who looks after the afflicted
MMA 12.184 Abydos

m³³ ḫbt m dshr: One who sees the dance in private
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh

m³³ ḫnty: One who sees ahead
Wadi el Hudi 14 Wadi el Hudi

m³³ sḥtp ntrw: One who sees what pacifies the gods
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh

m³³ sḥt³ n (pr?) nswt: One who sees the secrets of the (house of?) the king:
Bersh. 1 (Bersh. II, pl. 7) Bersheh
7.2. *m²*

*m²*-hrw: Vindicated

Abydos II, pl. 31
Abydos

Abydos III, p. 87, fig. 18
Abydos

*Edfou, 32*, 10
Edfu

*Edfou, 33*, 13
Edfu

*ASAE 56*, p. 213,
pl. 6B, 7A-B
Ezbet Rushdi

*ASAE 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

*BIFAO Supp.* 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
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<td>Meir B2 (Meir II, pl. 7,10)</td>
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Meir B3 (*Meir* VI, pl. 8)  Meir
Meir B4 (*Meir* III, pl. 12)  Meir
Meir C1 (*Meir* VI, pl. 13)  Meir
MFA 13.3844  Naga-ed-Der
MFA 1980.173  Abydos
MFA 29.1130  Semna
Oslo EM 2383  Unknown
Petrie, *Courtiers*, pl. 12  Oxyrynchus
Pushkin 33  Ilahun ?
Qaw el Kebir 7  Qaw el Kebir
Qaw el Kebir 18  Qaw el Kebir
Qubbet el Hawa 31  Elephantine
(*FFE*, pl. 29)
Qubbet el Hawa 36  Elephantine
(*FFE*, pl. 5)
*RdE* 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 (*TPC* pl. 84)  Saqqara
Sehel 76  Elephantine
Sinai 100  Sinai
Sinai 101 A  Sinai
Sinai 105  Sinai
Sinai 112  Sinai
Sinai 114  Sinai
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Vienna 140  
Vienna 172  
Wadi el Hudi 3  
Wadi el Hudi 7  
Wadi el Hudi 9  
Wadi el Hudi 23  
Walters 50

$m^3hrw m st.f nbt hr st imntt nt hrt-ntr$: Vindicated in all his places in the western desert of the necropolis

Meir B2 (Meir II, pl. 11)  
Meir

11 $M^3-t-hrw$. 
LIST OF EPITHETS

m35-ḥrw nfr Inpw: Vindicated by Anubis
Meir B4 (Meir III, pl. 4,9) Meir

m35-ḥrw nfr Wsr: Vindicated by Osiris
Meir B2 (Meir II, pl. 11) Meir

m35-ḥrw nfr 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

m35-ḥrw nfr psḏt: Vindicated by the Ennead
Meir B3 (Meir VI, pl. 8) Meir

m35-ḥrw nfr ntr 'ḥ: Vindicated by the great god
JEA 14, pl. 20,1 Abydos

m35-ḥrw nfr Hr nb Trty: Vindicated by Horus, Lord of Tjerty
Hatnub gr. 49 Hatnub

7.3. m3t

m3t n bilty: 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 Shmr hrw n r-qdw: Like Sekhmet on the day of battle
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

7.5. m3ibt

m3ibt nswt m ḫwt sšrw(?): hrw n qdb 'ḥ: Axe of the king in threshing the wheat-
fields(?) on the day of restoring the cultivation
Hammamat 48 Wadi Hammamat

7.6. m3ty

m3ty mḥḥt: Likeness of the balance
CG 20538 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos

m3ty ntr: The likeness of a god
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat
mily ntr m wawt.f: The likeness of a god in his hour
CG 20539 Abydos

mily Hwt-Hr nbt mfk.tel: 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
Hatnb gr. 17 Hatnb
Hatnb gr. 23 Hatnb
Louvre C1 Abydos
UC 14333 Armant ?

mn hst s mrt: Enduring of favor, great of love
Assiut 1, 171 Assiut

mn tbw: Firm-soled
Hammamat 108 Hammamat
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 dsrt: Firm-soled in the sacred place
Meir B2 (Meir II, pl. 11) Meir
MMA 26.3.217 Thebes

7.8. mni

mni s(t) sbpt m h't rmpt nt st: One who furnishes and proptiates (it) with fields(?) in a year of drought
Hatnb gr. 20 Hatnb
7.9. mniw

*mniw* 'ḥā: Herdsman of multitudes
Hammamat 17 Wadi Hammamat

7.10. mnit

*mnit* (n) *mnjt nbt:* Mooring post for all people
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

7.11. mn’t

*mn’t ntr m w’tw:* Tutor of the god in the private chamber
BM 574 Abydos

*mn’t h’sw:* One who nurses children
Louvre C1 Abydos

7.12. mnḥ

*mnḥ:* One who is efficient
BM 572 Abydos
Meir C1 (*Meir* VI, pl. 13) Meir
Saqqara 11 Sq (*TPC*, 276) Saqqara

*mnḥ-lb:* Virtuous one
Assiut 1, 242 Assiut
Assiut 2, 8 Assiut
BM 100 Unknown
CG 20539 Abydos

*mnḥ m-pr nb.f:* Efficient in his lord’s house
Heqaib 1 Elephantine

*mnḥ m st ‘fr:* Efficient in the palace
CG 20538 Abydos

*mnḥ m ‘s:* Truly efficient
Louvre C167 Abydos

*mnḥ nswt(?):* Trusty of the king?
Heqaib 61 Elephantine

*mnḥ ndw’t-r:* Efficient of counsel
CG 20538 Abydos

*mnḥ Ṳḥ.f:* One whose knowledge is effective
Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat
APPENDIX TWO

\textit{mnḫ hry ib.f.}: Efficient in his heart/thoughts
Hammamat G 61 Wadi Hammamat

\textit{mnḫ sw m ib n hm.f r smr.f nb irw ht m sn-wr}: Efficient in the heart of His Majesty
more than any of his companions who do business on the sea
\textit{RdE} 29, p. 159 Wadi Gawasis

\textit{mnḫ šhr.f.}: One whose plan is effective
Hammamat 42 Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

\textit{mnḫ ššm m-ḫt hḥ mb.f}: Effective of conduct when he is sent
Assiut 1, 153, 219, 243 Assiut

\textit{mnḫ ššrw}: Effective of action
Louvre C167 Abydos

\textit{mnḫ tsw}: Effective of speech
Hammamat 48 Wadi Hammamat
Wadi el Hudi 16 Wadi el Hudi

\textit{mnḫ ḫḏ ḫḏ ḫḥ ṣšm ṣḥ}: Effective of secret speech in the business of the palace
CG 20539 Abydos

7.13. \textit{mṛi}

\textit{mṛy}: Beloved
Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat
Leiden V5 Abydos

\textit{mṛw...}: Beloved of...
Dahshur 2 Dashur

\textit{mṛwty n spṭiw.f}: Favorite(?) of the people of his district
Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub

\textit{mṛy iw mwt.f}: Beloved of the pillar of his mother (i.e., Horus)
B. Hasan 14 (\textit{BH} I, 85) Beni Hasan

\textit{mṛy imy-r.f}: Beloved of his overseer
MMA (\textit{Scepter} I, fig. 9 Thebes

\textit{mṛy ḫy-p’t ḫḥk3-ḥtx}: Beloved of the hereditary noble Heqaib
Heqaib 12 Elephantine

\textit{mṛy/mrr ḫḥ}: Beloved of Anuket
Heqaib 61 Elephantine
Heqaib 28 Elephantine
LIST OF EPITHETS

*mry `ntiw*: One who loves myrrh(?)
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub
Bersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, 26) Bersheh

*mry Wpwšwt*: Beloved of Wepwawet
Assiut 5, 33 Assiut

*mry n bw nhr*: Beloved of everyone
Hatnub in. 10 Hatnub

*mry bw nfr*: Beloved of the place of beauty
Hatnub gr. 38 Hatnub

*mry Pth-Skr*: Beloved of Ptah-Sokar
Beni Hasan 15 Beni Hasan

*mry lst/mrr.f.*: His beloved
Assiut 1, 4, 248 Assiut
Beni Hasan 15 Beni Hasan
B. Hasan 21 (*BH* II, 26) Beni Hasan
B. Hasan 23 (*BH* II, pl. 24) Beni Hasan
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
BM 100 Unknown
BM 557 Abydos
BM 561 Abydos
BM 839 Abydos
CG 20539\(^{12}\) Abydos
Deir Rifeh 1 (*Kemi* 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.*
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\textsuperscript{13}Mrt.f.
LIST OF EPITHETS

Wadi el Hudi 17  Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 21  Wadi el Hudi
Wadi el Hudi 149 Khor Deimit

*mry/mrr.f m-m smrw*: One whom he loves among his courtiers
CG 20531 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos

*mry.f m*: One whom he truly loves
Sinai 48 Sinai
Sinai 101A Sinai

*mry/mrr.f n n*r* nb*: One whom he loves every day
Hatnub gr. 49 Hatnub
B. Hasan 17 (*BH II*, pl. 16) Beni Hasan

*mry m*: Truly beloved
Basel Abydos
Louvre C167 Abydos

*mry mwt.f lt.f*: Beloved of his mother and his father
RILN 74 Girgawi

(*mrrw*) *Mikt*: Beloved of Mikt
Heqaib 36 Elephantine

*mry Mnw*: Beloved of Min
Hammamat 17 Wadi Hammamat

*mry/mrrw niwt.f*: Beloved of his township
Assiut 1, 185, 246 Assiut
Assiut 4, 70 Assiut
Beni Hasan 14 (*BH I*, 85) Beni Hasan
BM 1010 Elephantine
Deir Rifeh 1 (*Kemi 6*, 140) Deir Rifeh
Heqaib 13 Elephantine
MMA 26.3.217 Thebes

*mrrw niwt.f dmst hmwt šbn hr tšyw*: Beloved of his township, the women being assembled in combination with men
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub
mry/mrwy niwtw.f: Beloved of his townspeople
B. Hasan 17 (BH II, pl. 13) Beni Hasan
Bersheh 2 Bersheh

mry/mrwy 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
Qubbat el Hawa 36 Elephantine
(FFE, pl. 6)
Saqqara 11 Sq (TPC pl. 82) Saqqara
Saqqara 18x (TPC pl. 84) Saqqara
Shatt er Rigel 459 Shatt er Rigel
Sinai 79 Sinai
Sinai 121 Sinai
Sinai 143 Sinai
Weigall, pl. 75 Amada

mry/mrwy nb.f m³₂: 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
Heqalib 49  Elephantine

*mrrw nb.f drp.f shtp.f ǐmìw Ḫmnw:* 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 sšm.f:* One whose conduct the king loves
Assiut 1, 247  Assiut

14 *Mry n nswt.*
mry nfr: 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 nfr.f niwty: Beloved of his local god
Assiut 4, 87 Assiut

mry nfr.f r’ nb: Beloved of his god every day
Deir Rifeh 1 (Kemi 6, 140) Deir Rifeh

mry ntrw imyw Mr3d: Beloved of the gods who are in the Oryx nome
Beni Hasan 14 (BH I, 85) Beni Hasan

mry ntrw niwtlw wrw: Beloved of the great local gods
Hegab 13 Elephantine

mry ntrw.s: Beloved of its gods (i.e., the Hare nome)
Bersheh 8 (Bersh. II, 39) Bersheh

mry ntrw.s nb: Beloved of all its gods (i.e. the Hare Nome)
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh
Bersh. 1 (Bersh. II, pl. 6) Bersheh
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

mru m hnt ntrw wrw *h h’w lm: 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 Arman ?

mry ntrw T3-wr: Beloved of the gods of Ta-wer
Leiden V4 Abydos

mry ndsw: 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 h3w.f: Beloved of his kindred
MMA 12.184 Abydos

mry Hwt-Hr nbt mfk3t: 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 Śbw: Beloved of Hathor, Mistress of Shebu
Beni Hasan 14 (BH I, 85) Beni Hasan

mry Hr ḫḥ rḥy: Beloved of Horus, smiter of the rekhyt
Beni Hasan 15 Beni Hasan
(BH II, pl. 4.7)

mry bṣy.f: One whom he loves and favors
Hammamat G 70 Wadi Hammamat

mry bṣy.f m ḫrt-hrw ṣt rʾ 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 ḫḥp.f nb: Beloved of everything he undertakes
Sinai 71 Sinai

mrrw ħmnw n(w) niwt.f: Beloved of the citizens of his township
Assiut 1, 228-9, 352 Assiut

mrrw Ḥmnw: Beloved of Khnum
Heqaib 36 Elephantine
Heqaib 61 Elephantine

mry Ḥmnw nb Ḥr-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 Ślwty r⁻šwls: Beloved of Assiut in its entirety
Assiut 6, 10 Assiut
mry Spdw [nb] h|s|wrt: 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 St nbt In|t: Beloved of Satet, mistress of Inet
Wadi el Hudi 2    Wadi el Hudi

mrrw šnw t ns|wrt: Beloved of the entourage of the king
BM 572              Abydos

mrrw knb|t: Beloved of the gen|bet-court
Hatnub gr. 43     Hatnub

mrrw knb|t.f: Beloved of his (i.e., the king’s) gen|bet court
Qubbet el Hawa 36    Elephantine
(FFE, pl.6)

mry knb|t n |lw: Beloved of the gen|bet court of the residence
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 15) Beni Hasan

mry n T|yt: Beloved of Tayet
Bersheh 5 (Bersh. II, 34) Bersheh

mry tn|t: Beloved of the “Old man” (i.e., Heqaib)
Heqaib 13        Elephantine

mrrw dšnw: Beloved of the troops
RILN 74          Girgawi

mrrw Dḥwty: Beloved of Thoth
Bersheh 2        Bersheh
Bersheh 5        Bersheh
Sinai 115        Sinai

mrrw Dḥwty m|[3]|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 Dḥwty nb Ḫmnw: Beloved of Thoth, Lord of Khemenu
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh
7.14. mh

mh-ib ...: Favorite of...
Sinai 121  Sinai

mh-ib.f: His favorite
Louvre C2  Abydos

mh-ib.f hnty rhw.f: His favorite before his comrades
Leiden V4  Abydos

mh-ib n Mˁt m rth pʿt m slt lbw n sbl nb: Favorite of Maʿat in restraining nobles
and in enfeebling the hearts of all rebels
BIFAO Supp. 81, p. 35  Karnak

mh-ib nswt/mh-ib n nswt: Favorite of the king
Bersh. 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  Gergawi
Sinai 104  Sinai
Sinai 405  Sinai

mh-ib n nswt m...: Favorite of the king in...
Hammamat 42  Wadi Hammamat
MMA 57.95  Thebes

mh-ib n nswt m irt mˁt: Favorite of the king in doing justice
TT 60  Thebes

mh-ib n nswt m bikt Šmʿw. Favorite of the king in serving Upper Egypt
Louvre C2  Abydos

mh-ib n nswt m nfr:... Favorite of the king in good...
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21)  Bersheh

mh-ib n nswt m ḫḥḥb ḫʾswt: 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

mh-lb n nswt m hbt hswt r int ṣtt ṣpst n hm.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

mh-lb n nswt m srd mnw.f m r-\(5\) hr Kmt: Favorite of the king in erecting his monuments and in making the entry into Egypt
MFA 29.1130  Semna

mh-lb n nswt m shri.f nb: Favorite of the king in all his plans
Assiut 1, 241  Assiut

mh-lb n nswt m sšm.f nb: Favorite of the king in all his conduct
Meir B4 (Meir III, pl. 9)  Meir

mh-lb nswt m st.f nb: Favorite of the king in all his places
Shatt er Rigal 472  Shatt er Rigal

mh-lb nswt m šm\(^{w}\): Favorite of the king in the South
B. Hasan 17 (BH II, pl. 14)  Beni Hasan

mh-lb n nswt m tst mšš r spšt ṣm\(^{w}\): Favorite of the king in marshalling troops to the districts of the South
Qubbet el Hawa 31  Elephantine
(FFE, pl. 34)

mh-lb nswt m dšr ḫn: Favorite of the king in suppressing the rebel
JE A 51, pl. 14  Abydos

mh-lb n nswt hnt.f: Favorite of the king when he sails upstream
Assiut 5, 18-19  Assiut

mh-lb nswt hnty t pt: Favorite of the king before this land
Bersheh 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13)  Bersheh

mh-lb n nswt hnty t\(^{w}\)y: Favorite of the king before the Two Lands
Assiut 2, 4  Assiut
BM 100  Unknown
CG 20539  Abydos

\(^{15}\) Mh-lb n nswt m hbt restored.
LIST OF EPITHETS

mh-ib ḥr Ir(?) hss.f n r' nb: One who fills the heart in doing what he favors every day
Wadi el Hudi 4  Wadi el Hudi

mh-ib.sm: Their favorite
Sinai 121  Sinai

mh ' m ṣpss nb dtβw mnnnt nb: One who fills the hand with all wealth, (all) provisions, all cattle
Assiut 1, 241  Assiut

mh ' dwn dtr n tst.f: One who fills the hand(?), with hand outstretched for his troops
Hatnub in. 10  Hatnub

7.15. mbi

mby ḫr lkr mdw.f: One who is respected for the excellence of his speech
Assiut 1, 242  Assiut

7.16. ms

ms lbr stkn ḫknw: One who brings laudanum(?) and brings forth the hekenu-oil
Hatnub gr. 17  Hatnub

mss wrt ḫk3w: One who brings forth the Weret Heqaw
BM 574  Abydos

ms snr n nb.f 'wy.f ḫr 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 ḫsdty R': Born of the two enneads of Ra
Hatnub gr. 20  Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 23  Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26  Hatnub

7.18. mki

mki t's.f: One who guards his boundary
BM 569  Abydos

7.19. mtwt

mtwt Ir-m3t: Offspring of "He who does ma'at" (i.e. Thoth)
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13)  Bersheh
7.20. *mtr*/*mtw*:

- **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 sdt**: Precise in reading
  - Beni Hasan 3  Beni Hasan
- **mtr m i Dhwty**: Truly precise like Thoth
  - BM 581  Abydos
  - CG 20538  Abydos
  - CG 20539  Abydos
  - Durham N1935  Wadi Gasus
- **mtr m i r rmf**: Truly precise towards people
  - Leiden V4  Abydos
- **mtr n pr nswt**: Precise to the administrative palace
  - BM 581  Abydos
- **mtr n nb.f hnty hh**: Renowned by his lord before millions
  - Sinai 405  Sinai
- **mtr m m rh hw**: Precise of name as one who knows things
  - BM 572  Abydos
- **mtr hity**: Precise of heart/thought
  - Hammamat 47  Wadi Hammamat
  - Hammamat 48  Wadi Hammamat
- **mtr hity hr wldt n.f**: Precise of heart regarding what is commanded to him
  - Assiut 1, 220  Assiut
- **mtr hityw**: Precise of thoughts
  - Wadi el Hudi 149  Khor Dehmit
7.21. mtr

mtr n nsrw: Renowned by the king
Sinai 112  Sinai

mtr ḫnty ṣnyt: Renowned before the entourage
Hammamat 104  Wadi Hammamat

7.22. mdw

mdw m hꜣ n mꜣr: One who speaks in the hall of justice
BM 581  Abydos

mdw m swt ḡnd: 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-ꜣ ṣrw: One who spoke before the nobles
MMA 12.184  Abydos

mdw r-brw.f: One who spoke up
Bersheh 1  (Bersh. II, 19)  Bersheh
Wadi el Hudi 4  Wadi el Hudi

[mdw] r-brw.f p’t ṣrtw 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-brw.f m pr bity: One who spoke up in the palace of Lower Egypt
CG 20539  Abydos

mdw ṭḥyt: 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 ḫn‘ nb.f m w‘w: One who speaks with his lord in privacy
Hammamat 114  Wadi Hammamat

7.23. mds

mds m ḫb n nb: One who is acute in the heart of his lord
Louvre C1  Abydos
7.24. mḏd

*mḏd wṯt 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
- *JEAS* 51, pl. 14: Abydos
- Louvre C170: Abydos
- Manchester (ANOC 69.1): Abydos
- 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 nṯwt.f*: One who is obedient to his township
- Florence 1774: Thebes

*mḏd sḥr*: One who follows the plan
- BM 1164

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8. n

8.1. n

*n mḥwt*: Beloved(?)
- Bersheh 2 (*Bersh.1*, pl. 16): Bersheh
- BM 202: Abydos
- CG 20538: Abydos
- Hatnub gr. 14: Hatnub
- Hatnub gr. 17: Hatnub
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<td>Siut, pl. 3</td>
<td>Assiut</td>
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<td><em>n st-ib.f.</em> Of his affection (“the place of his heart”)</td>
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<td>Bersh. 8 (<em>Bersh.</em> II, pl. 21)</td>
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8.2. \( n \) (negative)

\( n \ i w \ s p . f . \) No fault of whom came forth
Beni Hasan 2 (\( BH \) I, pl. 7)  Beni Hasan

\( n \ k i k i \ b f . \) One whose heart did not falter\(^{16}\)
Hammamat 114  Wadi Hammamat

\( n(n) \ k s t \ m \ i b \ n \ h m . f . \) Without offense\(^{(?)}\) in the heart of his majesty
Hammamat 43  Wadi Hammamat

\( n \ k i h s \ h f t \ w s r . \) Who was not overbearing before a powerful man
UC 14333  Armant?

8.3. \( n b \)

\( n b \ l m s b h p . \) 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
\( B I F A O \ Supp . \) 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
\( C e m . A b . , \) p. 114 fig. 70  Abydos
CG 20038  Abydos
CG 20065  Abydos

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\(^{16}\) The rendering of \( k i k i \) is uncertain. Faulkner, \textit{Dictionary}, 276, suggests “vainglorious (?)”. Lichtheim, \textit{Autobiographies}, 52, tentatively renders the entire phrase “whose heart did not quail.”
APPENDIX TWO

CG 20127
CG 20435
CG 20474
CG 20531
CG 20538
CG 20563
CG 20683
CG 23081
Dahshur 2
Dahshur 55
Guimet 11324
Hammamat 108
Heqaib 2
Heqaib 28
Heqaib 36
Heqaib 40
Heqaib 47
Heqaib 49
Heqaib 61
JE 59485
JE 91220
JE 91244
JE 91245
JE 91248
JEA 14, pl. 20,1
Kestner 2927
Lahun II, pl. 29
Leiden C14
Leiden V3
Leiden V4
Leiden V5
Leiden V6
Leiden V6
Leiden V21
Louvre A125
Louvre C2
Louvre C3
Louvre C4
Louvre C5

Unknown
Abydos
Abydos
Abydos
Abydos
Abydos
Abydos
Abydos
Dashur
Dashur
Abydos
Wadi Hammamat
Elephantine
Elephantine
Elephantine
Elephantine
Elephantine
Elephantine
Elephantine
West Nubian Desert
Abydos
Abydos
Abydos
Abydos
Abydos
Abydos
Abydos
Unknown
Lahun
Unknown
Abydos
Abydos
Abydos
Abydos

Karnak
Abydos
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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

\textit{nb imu} hr Pt\textit{h}-Skr: Possessor of a venerated state before Ptah-Sokar
Heqaib 60  Elephantine

\textit{nb imu}: Possessor of graciousness
\textit{Edfou}, 32, 10  Edfu
Assiut 6, 12  Assiut
Beni Hasan 2 (\textit{BH I}, pl. 8)  Beni Hasan
\textit{JEA 51}, pl. 14  Abydos

\textit{nb '3w '55 srw}: Possessor of many donkeys and sheep
MMA 12.184  Abydos

\textit{nb 'b\textsuperscript{w}}: Possessor of riches
Assiut 1, 247  Assiut

\textit{nb p\textit{iwt dr rk tpw-}:} Possessor of an ancient family since the time of the ancestors
MMA 57.95  Thebes

\textit{nb m\textsuperscript{3}tw iwtf.} Possessor of justice, without wrongdoing
Hatnub gr. 20  Hatnub

\textit{nb mrwt}: Possessor of love
Assiut 1, 228  Assiut
Assiut 1, 84  Assiut

\textsuperscript{17} \textit{Nbt imu} hr.
LIST OF EPITHETS

nb niwt.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 rwr ś3 śpxw: 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 hps$: Possessor of strength
Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

nb hps r ṣt ṣ.f šhs int.f: Possessor of strength for attacking on his day of fleeing his arrival
Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

nb sit imt-ib: Possessor of prudence
Siut, pl. 3 Assiut

nb smiw n [ti' ?] 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 htw 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 šḥrw: Possessor of plans
CG 20539 Abydos

nb šps n is pn: Noble owner of this tomb chamber
Assiut 1, 227 Assiut

nb špsw m ṣtt nb mḥnt ḫmwr ir mmt: Possessor of riches, namely every costly raw material of the birthplace of Khnum, the creator of humanity
UC 14333 Armant?

nb šfyt...: Possessor of respect...
Deir Rifeh 7, 45 Deir Rifeh

nb šfyt hrw šš (?): Possessor of respect on the day of summons(?)
Wadi el Hudi 16 Wadi el Hudi

nb šfyt hrw wḏβ mdw: Possessor of respect on the day of judging words
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 15) Beni Hasan

nb šfyt hrw st: wš (?): Possessor of respect on the day the poor are brought:
MMA 57.95 Thebes

nb ḱd: Possessor of virtue
Assiut 1, 227 Assiut
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub
Hatnub in. 10 Hatnub

nb kšw ṣmyt (?): Possessor of bulls and Asiatic cattle(?)
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

nb kšw ṣs Ṿwt: Possessor of many bulls and goats
MMA 12.184 Abydos

nb ḏβw: Possessor of abundance
BM 581 Abydos
Leiden V6 Abydos

nb t ḫnkt ndmt sḥtpf hwt-nfr mi-ḳdš: 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
LIST OF EPITHETS

*nfr* ‘bb: Good of (?) 18
Leiden V6 Abydos

*nfr* bit: Good of character
Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

*nfr* m-ḥnwḥwt: Good in offices
BM 581 Abydos

*nfr* m ḫrw m pr ṣḥfr: 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...
Hammamat 42 Wadi Hammamat

*nfr* ḫww: Well-supplied of ships
Assiut 5, 18 Assiut
MMA 12.184 Abydos

*nfr* ḫms m ḫwt-nfr: Well-placed of position (lit. “sitting”) in the temple
Bersheh 1 (Bersh. II, 26) Bersheh

*nfr* ḫsmn: Well-supplied of food
Leiden V6 Abydos

*nfr* sīt m-ḥnw ḥnwt: Good of wisdom in the audience chamber
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

*nfr* ṣdma: Good at listening
CG 20538 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos

*nfr* šps: Well-supplied of riches
MMA 12.184 Abydos

8.5. nft

*nft* n rmṯ nbt: Breath for all people
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

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8.6. *nn*

*nn tḥw n dd.n.i (n.j)f: Without misery to someone to whom I give*
MMA 12.184    Abydos

*nn ḫmt m ḫt.f: There being no greed in his body*
Beni Hasan 2 (*BH I*, pl. 7)    Beni Hasan

*n(n) nḥy.i m ḫ.t.i nḥt: Without shortage in all my possessions*
MMA 12.184    Abydos

*nn ḫr ḫn: Without a scowling face*
Hatnub gr. 23    Hatnub

*nn sin ḫr: Without hastiness of temper*
BM 581    Abydos

*nn swā ḫr.f: Without transgression (?)*
Louvre C167    Abydos

Hammamat 114    Wadi Hammamat

*nn tḥw n ns.f ḫrw nfr n ḫb: Without transgression of his speech on the holiday of*
Hammamat 114    Wadi Hammamat
*being sent (on his mission)*

*nn ḫs im.f: Without anger in him*
Bersheh 8    Bersheh

(*Bersh. II*, pl. 21)

8.7. *nr*

*nr kšw n ṣw tḥw nbwt: Cattle-herd of all precious raw materials*
CG 20538    Abydos
Hatnub gr. 19    Hatnub

8.8. *nhb*

*nhb n nb ṣw tšy kš.f: One who marshalled his ka for the Lord of the Two Lands*
BM 1213    Abydos

*nhb n.f kšw ṣpsw: One who marshalled the noble kas for him*
Deir Rifeh 1    Deir Rifeh

(*Kēmi* 6, 139, 140)

*nhb kšw.fr ḫšk wnt: One who marshalled his kas and supplied the Hare nome*
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh. II*, pl. 13)    Bersheh

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LIST OF EPITHETS

8.9. nḥm

nḥm...: One who rescues...
Hatnub gr. 24  Hatnub

nḥm lwty: One who rescues the boatless
CG 20539  Abydos
JEA 51, pl. 14  Abydos

nḥm mšr m-ꜣ wsr: One who rescues the wretched man from the powerful man
Hatnub gr. 16  Hatnub

nḥm bḥr: One who rescues the widow
Hatnub gr. 20  Hatnub

8.10. nh

nh mšr: One who protects the wretched man
CG 20539  Abydos

nh mr: One who protects the sick man
JEA 51, pl. 14  Abydos

8.11. Nhby

Nhby 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 lwnt: Strong of bow
Assiut 5, 16  Assiut

nḥt m r: Strong in speech
Bersh. 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
APPENDIX TWO

8.13. nty
nty ṭ ṭn ḫr mrw.t.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 mš: True protector
Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat

8.15. ndm
ndm: Pleasant
RILN 73 Girogawi

8.16. ndnd
ndnd ṭl nd.tn.f: One who consults so as to cause that he be consulted
BM 581 Abydos
Leiden V6 Abydos

8.17. ngrw
ngrw-ib ḫr ḫd.t n.f: One who is possessed of heart regarding what is said to him
Hammamat 199 Wadi Hammamat

ngr ṭpw n šbš nb.f mš it.f h:i.t.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 nḫn dšnw: Warrior of the encampment
Hatnub gr. 27 Hatnub

nds kš: Valiant warrior
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub
RILN 73 Girogawi

nds kš n mšy.f: Valiant warrior without his equal
Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub
LIST OF EPITHETS

nds 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.1, pl. 16) Bersheh

r nswt: Royal spokesman
CG 20683 Abydos

9.2. r-$'$

r-$'$ h$\ddot{s}w$t: Entrance of foreign lands
B. Hasan 3 (BH 1, pl. 26) Beni Hasan

r-$'$ h$\ddot{s}w$t rsyt: Entrance of the southern foreign lands
Qubbet el Hawa 31 Elephantine
(FFE, pl. 42)

r-$'$ Shm$'$w W$t T-$'$ sty: Entrance of Upper Egypt, Thebes, and Nubia
RIK 085 Kumna

9.3. rgb

rgb mnhw: Enduring of monuments
Assiut 1, 235 Assiut

rgb nw h t nb: Enduring of everything
MMA 26.3.217 Thebes

rgb hni pr-$'$ m mrt nb.f: One who controls (his) speech and is active through his
lord's love
BM 1177 Wadi Halfa

rgb srf: Controlled of temperament
Assiut 1, 350 Assiut
9.4. ṛm

ṛm ṣḏm Șm’w Ṭꜣ-mḥw: His name being heard in Upper and Lower Egypt
Shatt er Rigal 456 Shatt er Rigal

9.5. ṛḥ

ṛḥ lmy ḫt ṅḥt: One who knows what is in every mind
CG 20539 Abydos

ṛḥ ḫḫ’w n ḫḥpt ṅḥt: One who knows the time of every occasion
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

ṛḥ ṭḏt’: One who is knowledgeable of justice
Hatnub gr. 14 Hatnub

ṛḥ prw: One who knows the outcome
BM 581 Abydos

ṛḥ prw n mḏw.f: One who knows the outcome of his words
B. Hasan 2 (BH 1, pl. 15) Beni Hasan

ṛḥ prḥ m swn ḏdt: One who recognizes persuasion by flattery
BM 581 Abydos

ṛḥ m ṭḥt: One who is knowledgeable in signs
Beni Hasan 3 Beni Hasan

ṛḥ mḏt: One who knows speech
MMA 57.95 Thebes

ṛḥ ni ṅḥf: Acquaintance of his lord
Berlin 1199 Abydos
Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat
RIS 14 Semna

ṛḥ ni ṅḥf ṛḥ: One whose lord knows his name
Hammamat 17 Wadi Hammamat

ṛḥ ni nswt lw.f m-lḥnw ḫbs ḫf: One who is recognized by the king when he is in the
Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub

ṛḥ ni nswt ni sḏt.f: Royal acquaintance of his upbringing
B. Hasan 3 (BH 1, pl. 32) Beni Hasan

ṛḥ ni nṭy ṛḥ: One who is knowledgeable for the one who does not know
BM 581 Abydos
LIST OF EPITHETS

*n n nfr: Acquaintance of the god
Shatt er Rigel 456

*rh(w) n rnt hst.f: One whose favor the people know
Qubbet el Hawa 36

(FFE, p. 1.6)

*rh hwr: One who knows the laws
Durham N1935

Hammamat 104

*n srw.f tst.f: Acquaintance of his officials and his people
Assiut 5, 20

Assiut

*rh n Sm’w: Acquaintance of Upper Egypt
Assiut 1, 152, 212-13

Assiut

*rh n twy: Acquaintance of the Two Lands
Assiut 1, 152, 212-13

Assiut

*rh nmtn hwr nw iri: One who knows the procedure of the law of behavior
BM 572

Abydos

*rh nmtn.f: One whose actions are known
Assiut 1, 350

Assiut

*rh nn n b’twr: Acquaintance of these local rulers
Hatnub gr. 27

Hatnub

*rh nsrw m3t: True royal acquaintance
Assiut 1, 4, 248

Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7)

Bersheb 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21)

BM 100

BM 557

BM 839

BM 1290

Durham N1935

Guimet 11324

Hammamat 42

Hammamat 43

Hammamat 47

Hammamat 108

Hammamat G 70

JEA 51, pl. 14

Leiden V5

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*rḥ nswt hn' knbt.f*: Acquaintance of the king and his court

Hatnub gr. 24 | Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26 | Hatnub
LIST OF EPITHETS

rḥ r n mdw št?(?) hrw mdw šnwt: One who knows the secret words on the day the courtiers speak
MMA 57.95 Thebes

rḥ hnty hprwt: One who knows both sides of what happens
Assiut 1, 182 Assiut

rḥ ht: One who knows things
BM 1164
Siut I, 182 Assiut
MMA 57.95 Thebes

rḥ sbḥ sw rḥ: One who knows having taught himself knowledge
BM 581 Abydos
Leiden V6 Abydos

rḥ sfḥ n lw sp.f: One who knows mercy when his time comes
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7, 9) Beni Hasan

rḥ snḥ m-ḥnw ʾḥnwty: One who knows respect in the audience chamber
Hatnub gr. 14 Hatnub

rḥ sḥr m-ḥw swṛ swr: One who knows the plan in excess of the officials
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

rḥ sḥr m sb n swr: One who knows the plan in the council of officials
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 9) Beni Hasan

rḥ ssḥ n ʾḥ: One who knows the business of the palace
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh

rḥ ssḥ n nḥt lwṭ n n swṣt ḫr.f: One who knows the condition of what is and what is not, nothing escaping from him
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

rḥ st-rḥ.f: One who knows his standing
Edfou, 32, 10 Edfu
Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat
Louvre C170 Abydos
RIK 118 Kumna

rḥ st-rḥ.f m pr nsṛt: 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  

*rh k*:...: One who knows the bull...\(^{21}\)  
Hatnub gr. 15?  Hatnub  

*rh tp-rd n iwt.s*: One who knows an instruction before it comes  
JE A 51, pl. 14  Abydos  

*rh ts n knl.t(w) h.r.s*: One who knows the phrase on account of which one becomes angry  
BM 581  Abydos  

*rh dw? (n) iwt.f*: One who knows the dawn before it comes  
Hatnub gr. 24  Hatnub  

*rh ddt*: One who knows what is said  
Assiut 6, 11  Assiut  

*rh ddt m h3 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)  Bersh.  

*rs wnw.t.f n nb.f*: One who is vigilant of his duty for his lord  
Hammamat 114  Wadi Hammamat  

*rs hrw.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 m3*: Truly vigilant  
Hammamat 17  Wadi Hammamat  

*rs-tp m3* hr wnw.t.f hr knl.t lb.f: Truly vigilant regarding his duty and regarding that which his heart creates  
Hammamat 48  Wadi Hammamat  

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\(^{21}\) For this phrase, see Anthes, *Hatnub*, 35.
LIST OF EPITHETS

rs-tp hr ddt n.f: One who is vigilant regarding what is said to him
Assiut 5, 19

9.7. rš

rš(?) wʿbw m mỉ3.f m-ḥnt n ʿḥnwty: At seeing whom the wab-priests rejoice(?)
before the audience chamber
Hatnub gr. 17

9.8. rd

rd.f mnw: One whose foot is firm
Hammamat 47

9.9. rdl

rdl ḫr st īw.f rḥ sw: One who helped a man knowing him
Hatnub gr. 15

rdl(w) m-biḥ ḫr htw.sn m ṯ n iry-pʾt ʾṣṭy: One who was placed before those who are
prostrate in the chamber of the prince and vizier
BM 572

rdl m tp n mỉ4-hrw ḫt sdḥ ḫt: One who presented (cases) for judgment at the time a
matter was heard
BM 572

rdl n hwf.n.f m-ḥt.f: One whose disposition put him in his (i.e., the king’s) presence
Wadi el Hudi 14

rdl n ḫkr.f mh ṯ(w).f: One whose worth caused that he be respected
Assiut 1, 242

rdl n ḫkr.f spd-ḥr.f r swː One whose worth caused that his expression be more sharp
than the (other) officials
Sinai 112

rdl(w) n.f lwʾtḥḥ Wpwpwʾwː One to whom was given Wepwawet’s inheritance of
eternity
Assiut 1 (Siut pl. 5)

rdl n mnḥ.f r-hbʾt: One whose efficiency placed him at the forefront
Assiut 1, 242

rdl n nb.f wr.ṭ(w).f: One whose lord caused that he be great
Assiut 1, 350

rdl n nb.f mr.ṭ(w).f: One whose lord caused that he be loved
UC 14333
rdl n.f nbw m ḫswt: One to whom was given the gold of honor
Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

rdl n nb.f mt.[w].f: One whose lord caused that he be respected
Assiut 1, 213 Assiut

rdl n nb tūwy ḫw ib.f ḫpt sp.f ḫr ḫrw.f: One whom the Lord of the Two Lands caused
JE 91283 Abydos
to rejoice for his actions according to his deed

rdl n nb tūwy bsw.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 Gargawi

rdl n s(t) m nn ṣtn ḫm.s wrw.s m ṣt śrw.s: One who gave to it (i.e., the niwt), distinguishing
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub
the great just as the small therein

rdl pr snwy ḫtp m wpt nt ḫnt: One who caused that two brothers go forth satisfied
Hatnub gr. 14 Hatnub
with the decision of the court
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

rdl r ddt nb: One who gave more than everything that was said (?)²²
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

rdl ḫw ḫr gmt.f m sn[t r] wnt ṣwšy: One who exceeded that which he found in the
Bersheh 1 (Bersh. II, 25) Bersheh
likeness of that which was destroyed

rdl ḫw ḫr gdt n.f: One who exceeded what was told to him
Louvre C167 Abydos

rdl s(t) ḫr wšwt nt grg: One who placed it (i.e., his township) on the way to security
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

rdl s ḫr ḫṣ ḫt.f: One who placed a man on his father’s property
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

rdl grg (n) dd św m st (n) ḫ ḫr.s: One who gave the lie to the one telling it and the
CG 20539 Abydos
truth to the one who comes bringing it

²² This phrase is followed by the difficult phrase m sḥṭ ḫprt, for which see
Lichtheim, Autobiographies, 52-54.
LIST OF EPITHETS

rdl ḫṣ r st.f.: One who puts speech in its (appropriate) place
Hamammat 114  Wadi Hammamat

dl mdw drf.: One who caused writing to speak
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7)  Beni Hasan

dl n.f ḫk3 m s n mh w*: 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 ḫw.f m ḫstiw: One who places fear of him among the foreigners
CG 20539  Abydos

dd ṣw.w n ḫm.w: One who gives commands to Upper Egypt
CG 20539  Abydos

dd pr.ḥtpw-ntr n ntw rṣyw: One who causes that incense go forth for the gods of the south
Louvre C2  Abydos

dd pr.ḥnwy ḫtp 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
Hamammat 114  Wadi Hammamat

dd ḫpw: One who gives laws
CG 20539  Abydos

dd ḫbšw...: One who gives clothing...
Louvre C167  Abydos

dd ḫbšw m-hry-ib dṃw.f.: One who gives clothing among his troops
RILN 73  Girgawi

dd ḫ ṣ n ḫryw-tp: One who pays attention to those in authority(?)
Sinai 405  Sinai

dd ḫ ṣ sṃw: One who attends to the followers
Hamammat 108  Wadi Hammamat

dd ḫt n nbnw: One who gives things to children
BM 1164
APPENDIX TWO

\textit{dd ht r st irt}: One who puts a matter in proper place  
Assiut 1, 347  
CG 20539  
Assiut  
Abydos

\textit{ddw ht n nty (m) snw}: One who gives property to those who are in poverty  
MMA 12.184  
Abydos

\textit{dd s r wn.f m35}: One who appoints a man so that he is true (i.e., in his proper position)  
CG 20539  
Abydos

\textit{dd snd nswt psdt}: One who places fear of the king (among) the 9 bows  
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7)  
Beni Hasan

\textit{dd k3w}: One who gives food  
CG 20539  
Abydos

\textit{dd t3 pn hr nhhrw.f ml wdw ntr}: One who places this land in its (proper) order as the god commanded\textsuperscript{23}  
CG 20539  
Abydos

\textit{dd tp-rd n hmw-ntr m ss-n n šbd n}: One who gives instructions to the \textit{hm}-priests in conducting the monthly festival, the half-monthly festival  
Assiut 1, 181  
Assiut

10. \textit{h}

10.1. \textit{hi$h}

\textit{hi$y r it tn n ik$r shr.i m ib.f}: One who acceded to this office because my counsel was excellent in his heart  
Louvre C1  
Abydos

\textit{[h]$w n.f Št śpsst}: For whom precious raw materials came down  
Bersh. 5 (\textit{Bersh}. II, pl. 13)  
Bersheh

\textit{hi$r st nrtr 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 (\textit{Bersh}. II, pl. 21)  
Bersheh

10.2. \textit{hi$b}

\textit{hi$b n mnh.f hr.lb}: One who is sent because he is efficient in (his) heart  
BM 572  
Abydos

Leiden V4  
Abydos

\textsuperscript{23} See Simpson, “Mentuhotep,” 333.
LIST OF EPITHETS

hi³b n.f nb t³wy: For whom the Lord of the Two Lands sends
Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat

hi³b n nb...: One whose lord sent him...
Hatnub gr. 28 Hatnub

hi³by m mds bît: One who was sent through forcefulness of character
MMA 12.184 Abydos

10.3. hi

hi n hîrt: Husband to the widow
Kestner 2927 Unknown

hi n T³yt: Husband of Tayet
UC 14333 Armant?

10.4. hbbh

hbbh intw sš³w: One who traverses hidden valleys
Sinai 54 Sinai

hbbh hîswt n nb t³wy: One who traverses foreign lands for the Lord of the Two Lands
Sinai 118 Sinai

hbbh hîswt nbt: One who traverses every foreign land
Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

10.5. hnn

hnn mdw rhy r.sn: One who pays attention to the words of those who know their speech
BM 572 Abydos

10.6. hr

hr⁻ldr: Calm of heart
Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat 48 Wadi Hammamat
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

hr⁻ldr hry n wpt: Calm of heart on the day of judgment
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 15) Beni Hasan

hr n hynw hr shr gd.n.f: Pleasing to the residence because of the plan which he speaks
Hatnub gr. 25 Hatnub

hr⁻nmst: Quiet of steps
BM 1236 Unknown
### APPENDIX TWO

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hr s*: Quiet/peaceful

| Hammamat 43       | Wadi Hammamat            |

hr tsw*: Pleasing of speech

| Assiut 1,346      | Assiut                   |

hrw ms* m shrw.f: At whose plans the troops are pleased

| Sinai 35          | Sinai                    |
| Sinai 33          | Sinai                    |

hrw rsw shr.f Mhw hr wd.f: At whose plans the South is content, under whose commands the North is content

| Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) | Bersheh               |

hrw hr prw n r.f: At whose utterance one is content

| Hammamat 47       | Wadi Hammamat           |

hrw twy hr st r.f: At whose speech the Two Lands are content

| BM 100            | Unknown                  |

10.7. hrp

hrp shr ht: One who suppresses the body’s desire

| Assiut 1, 181     | Assiut                   |

11. h

11.1. h’d

h’d nb.f m w’w: One who attends his lord in privacy

| CG 20538         | Abydos                   |
| CG 20538         | Abydos                   |
11.2. hût

*hût wrw sís*: Foremost of the six great ones
Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat

*hût hûtìw*: Foremost of the foremost
Assiut 4, 55 Assiut

*hût hûtìw m pr nsùr*: Foremost of the foremost in the palace
Bersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, 25) Bersheh
Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub

*hût Šm’w*: Foremost of the South
Bersheh 1 (*Bersh.* II, 25) Bersheh
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 22 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

*hûty-*m pr-wr*: Local ruler in the shrine of Upper Egypt
B. Hasan 3 (*BH* I, pl. 35) Beni Hasan

11.3. h’i

*h’i n rmt ntrw m ḥsfw ḥntyw.f hrw wd’ sn r hwt-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. h’i

*hby m wsḥt*: Celebrator of festivals in the broadcourt
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bersheh
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub

11.5. ḫbs

*ḫbs-’m st imnt m mḥ3 nfrw ṭb.f*: One with (his) hand covered in hidden places, as one who sees the beauty of his lord
Leiden V4 Abydos

*ḫbs-ḥr ṭḥt.n.f*: Discreet\textsuperscript{24} regarding what is known by him
Assiut 6 Assiut

\textsuperscript{24} Literally “one who covers the mouth.”
hbsw n lw htw: Clothing for the one who comes naked
Hatnub gr. 20

11.6. Hp

Hp n rmt.f.: A Nile for his people
Assiut 3, 6
Assiut 5, 44

11.7. hm

hm nt m pr-nw: Servant of the Red Crown in the shrine of Lower Egypt
BM 574
Abydos

hm-ntr šst Sššt: Priest of Isis and Seshat
Assiut 1, 238
Assiut

hm-ntr wr-sbwmw nb wrt: Priest of the Great-of-Power, Lord of the Red Crown
Assiut

hm-ntr wrt-hkšw: Priest of the Great-of-Magic
CG 20683
Abydos

hm-ntr m pr-nsr: Priest in the Shrine of Lower Egypt
Sinai 112
Sinai

hm-ntr n hnty hršr: Priest of the foremost of Hsr (i.e., Thoth)
Bersh. 2 (Bersh.1, pl. 16)
Bersheh

hm-ntr n šm'-s mhw-s: Priest of the White and Red Crowns
BM 574
Abydos

hm-ntr Nḥbrt: Priest of Nekhbet
BM 575
Abydos

hm-ntr Hr: Priest of Horus
B. Hasan 3 (BH 1, pl. 35)
Beni Hasan
CG 20539
Abydos

hm-ntr Hr-Inpw: Priest of Horus-Anubis
Assiut 1
Assiut

hm-ntr Hr-Inpw hnty pr šmsrw: Priest of Horus-Anubis who presides over the suite
CG 20539
Abydos

hm-ntr Hr srkty: Priest of Horus of the double scorpion
Beni Hasan 2 (BH 1, pl. 7)
Beni Hasan

hm-ntr Hr Kfš: Priest of Horus Kefu
CG 20539
Abydos
LIST OF EPITHETS

hm-ntr ṣw Tftnt: Priest of Shu and Tefnut
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

hm dwlw m pdt šš: 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 ḫt: Expert in judging a matter
Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub

hmww m ḫt-drit: Expert in examining with his hand(?)
Hatnub gr. 15 Hatnub

hmw m gb’w.f: Expert in his fingers
CG 20539 Abydos

hmw n wnwt.f: Expert of his duty
Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 15? Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 19 Hatnub

hmww n mrw.t: Beloved craftsman
Hatnub gr. 30 Hatnub

11.9. ḫn

ḥnt Dhwty phw.f r gr sp’lt.f: One whose rearguard Thoth commands so that his entire
district is ready
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

11.10. ḫnbn

ḥnbn nti ṭwrt: One who conveyed what is and what is not
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

11.11. ḫnk

ḥnk nbw: One who offers gold
Meir C1 (Meir VI, pl. 13) Meir

²⁵ See Ward, Titles, 113, no. 942.
11.12. hry

hry wdḥ m threaten n r' nb: True master of largesse of every day
BMA 37.1489 E Unknown

hry nsḥ Itm: Master of the throne of Atum
Siut, pl. 5 Assiut

hry sgr m w't: Master of silence in private
Leiden V4 Abydos

hry sgr n šawt: Master of silence of the entourage
CG 20539 Abydos

hry-sšt pr-wr: Master of secrets of the shrine of Upper Egypt
Sinai 112 Sinai

hry-sšt m mn'byt: Master of secrets in the lawcourt (Hall of the Thirty)
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos

hry-sšt m hwt-nbw: Master of secrets in Hatnub
Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat
Sinai 405 Sinai

hry-sšt m hwt-ntr: Master of secrets in the temple
Assiut 1, 245 Assiut

hry-sšt n ipt nswt: Master of secrets of the king's apartments
Saqqara 18x (TPC 282) Saqqara

hry-sšt n Wṣdyt: 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-sšt n Wṣdyt wrty ḥkḥw: Master of secrets of Nekhbet and Buto, the 2 great ones of magic
BM 839 Abydos

hry-sšt n Wsr: Master of secrets of Osiris
Assiut 1, 330 Assiut

hry-sšt n pr-'nh: Master of secrets in the embalming place
CG 20539 Abydos

hry-sšt n pr-nswt: Master of secrets in the administrative palace
Saqqara 18x (TPC 280) Saqqara
LIST OF EPITHETS

*hry-sšt\'t n pr-dw:ti* Master of secrets in the robing room
   Saqqara 18x *(TPC 280)* Saqqara

*hry-sšt\'t n m\$št\' t w*: Master of secrets of that which only one sees
   Meir B2 *(Meir II, pl. 15)* Meir
   Meir B4 *(Meir III, pl. 9)* Meir

*hry-sšt\'t 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-sšt\'t n nb t\$wy* Master of secrets of the Lord of the Two Lands
   Louvre C243 Abydos

*hry-sšt\'t n nswt m st.f nbt* Master of secrets of the king in all his places
   CG 20539 Abydos

*hry-sšt\'t n ntr m swt $s\$rw\$t* Master of secrets of the god in the sacred places
   Bersh. 2 *(Bersh. I, pl. 6)* Bersheh
   CG 20538 Abydos
   CG 20683 Abydos

*hry-sšt\'t hwt-ntr nt ...* Master of secrets in the temple of ...
   B. Hasan 13 *(BH I, pl. 41)* Beni Hasan

*hry-tp i\$wt hwt-ntr* Chief of temple offices
   B. Hasan 13 *(BH I, pl. 41)* Beni Hasan

*hry-tp i\$wt hwt-ntr P\$ht* Chief of temple offices of Pakhet
   B. Hasan 3 *(BH I, pl. 33)* Beni Hasan

*hry-tp i\$wt hnty\$wt* Chief of principal offices
   Assiut 1, 172 Assiut
   Bersh. 2 *(Bersh. I, pl. 16)* Bersheh

*hry-tp $t m pr-wr* Great chief in the shrine of Upper Egypt
   Assiut 1, 231 Assiut

*hry-tp $t n $krw-nswt* Great chief of the royal insignia
   CG 20539 Abydos
hry-stp nb smrw: Great chief of the companions
MMA 9.180.111 Lisht

hry-stp wrw n Smw: Chief of the great ones of Upper Egypt
Meir B4 (Meir III, pl. 9) Meir

hry-stp wd't-mdw: Chief of the judgment hall
CG 20539 Abydos

hry-stp m int ntrt: Chief in bringing the goddess
B. Hasan 3 (BH I, pl. 33) Beni Hasan

hry-stp m sbrt sbw: Chief in overthrowing rebels
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh

hry-stp n wd't mdw: Chief in judging words
CG 20539 Abydos

hry-stp n pr ntwy: Chief of the house of myrrh
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh

hry-stp n kwtr dshr: Chief of the cultivated lands and the desert
CG 20539 Abydos

hry-stp n tr r-qrfr: Chief of the entire land
CG 20683 Abydos
Leiden V5 Abydos

hry-stp n t'(?) Smw: Chief of Upper Egypt (?)
Assiut 4, 54 Assiut

hry-stp nwt Kmt Dsr: Chief of the townships of the cultivation and the desert
CG 20539 Abydos

hry-stp hwt-nbw: Chief of Hatnub
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

hry-stp hwt-ntr mti kds: Chief of the entire temple
Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub

hry-stp Hpw: Chief of the Apis bull
Assiut 2, 12 Assiut

hry-stp s'hw nbw: Chief of all dignitaries
TT 60 Thebes

hry-stp smsw hlyt: Chief elder of the portal
Louvre C1 Abydos
\textit{hry-tp sht.f:} Chief of his fields  
Assiut 6, 8 \hspace{1cm} Assiut

\textit{hry-tp šw Šm*wr:} Chief of the pools of Lower Egypt  
Bersh. 2 (\textit{Bersh.} I, pl. 16) \hspace{1cm} Bersheh

\textit{hry-tp [Šm*wr] T3-nhw:} Chief of [Upper] and Lower Egypt  
Sinai 93 \hspace{1cm} Sinai

\textit{hry-tp ḏb; nswt m w“w:} Chief of the king’s clothing in the private chamber  
BM 573 \hspace{1cm} Abydos

11.13. \textit{ḥsīl}

\textit{ḥsīl:} Favored one  
Assiut 5, 15 \hspace{1cm} Assiut  
Hatnub gr. 28 \hspace{1cm} Hatnub \hspace{1cm} Wadi el Hudi 11 \hspace{1cm} Wadi el Hudi

\textit{ḥṣ(y)} 3t m pr nswt: One greatly favored in the administrative palace  
Beni Hasan 2 (\textit{BH} I, pl. 9) \hspace{1cm} Beni Hasan

\textit{ḥṣsw }nḥt: One favored by Anuket  
Heqaib 36 \hspace{1cm} Elephantine

\textit{ḥṣy.ʾl/ ḥṣṣ.f:} One whom he favors  
Assiut 1, 233 \hspace{1cm} Assiut  
B. Hasan 15 (\textit{BH} II, pl. 4) \hspace{1cm} Beni Hasan  
Bersh. 8 (\textit{Bersh.} II, pl. 21) \hspace{1cm} Bersheh \hspace{1cm} Hammamat 205 \hspace{1cm} Wadi Hammamat \hspace{1cm} Heqaib 12 \hspace{1cm} Elephantine \hspace{1cm} Meir B2 \hspace{1cm} Meir \hspace{1cm} MMA 14.2.1 \hspace{1cm} Thebes \hspace{1cm} Sinai 47 \hspace{1cm} Sinai \hspace{1cm} Sinai 120 \hspace{1cm} Sinai \hspace{1cm} Vienna 109 \hspace{1cm} Abydos

\textit{ḥṣ(y).f wn mʾāʾ:} One whom he truly favors  
Meir B2 \hspace{1cm} Meir

\textit{ḥṣ(y).f m hrt-hrw nt ṟ nḥ:} One whom he favors in the course of every day  
Meir B4 \hspace{1cm} Meir  
B. Hasan 15 (\textit{BH} II, pl. 7) \hspace{1cm} Beni Hasan

\textit{ḥṣ(y).f n st ḫḥ.f:} One whom he favors, of his affection  
B. Hasan 15 (\textit{BH} II, pl. 7) \hspace{1cm} Beni Hasan
B. Hasan 17 (BH II, pl. 16) Beni Hasan
B. Hasan 21
(BH II, pl. 22a)
Heqaib 1
Louvre C167
MMA 57.95
Saqqara 18x (TPC pl. 83)
RILN 74
Wadi el Hudi 3

hsy(x).fr nb: One whom he favors every day
B. Hasan 17 (BH II, pl. 14) Beni Hasan

hsy(x) m sht: Favored in the marshlands
Meir C1 (Meir VI, pl. 13) Meir

hssy m3#: Truly favored one
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bershesh

hsy mry: Favored and beloved one
Hatnub gr. 43

hssy n imiw-r.f nty rhy m pr nb.f: Favored by his overseers, known in his lord’s house
BM 572

hsy n lmy-r ms#: Favored by the overseer of troops
Wadi el Hudi 8

hsy n iry-p’t Hk3-ilb: Favored by the hereditary noble Heqaib
Heqaib 61

hsy n ‘rrwt.f: Favored by his judicial department
Deir Rifeh 1 (Kemi 6, 140) Deir Rifeh

hsy n nb.f: Favored by his lord
Hatnub gr. 49
Hatnub gr. 14
JE 59483

hsy n nb.f m3#: Truly favored by his lord
Shatt er Rigal 468
Shatt er Rigal 472
Inscr. Ab. C13

hssy n niwt(f): Favored by his township
Assiut 5, 47

Abydos
Saqqara
Girgawi
Wadi el Hudi
Meir
Hatnub
Abydos
Wadi el Hudi
Elephantine
Assiut
LIST OF EPITHETS

Hatnub gr. 11  Hatnub
Hatnub in. 10  Hatnub
Heqaib 60  Elephantine

ḥṣy/ḥṣw n nswt: Favored by the king
BM 1177  Wadi Halfa
Hammamat 199  Wadi Hammamat

ḥṣ ṳ n ntr.f: Favored by his god
Assiut 1, 236  Assiut

ḥṣ y n ntr.f niivy m-hṛt-hrw n r’ nb: Favored by his local god in the course of every
day
Assiut 4, 85  Assiut

ḥṣ y n rmṯ nb: Favored by all people
Hatnub gr. 38  Hatnub

ḥṣ(y) n Ḥr hh ṭḥy: Favored by Horus, smiter of the rekhyt
B. Hasan 15 (BH II, pl. 4)  Beni Hasan

ḥṣ(y) n Ḥkt Ḥr-wr: Favored by Hekat of Her-wer
B. Hasan 17 (BH II, pl. 13)  Beni Hasan

ḥṣṣy n śpī.t.f: Favored by his district
Assiut 1, 184  Assiut
Assiut 4, 70  Assiut

ḥṣ(y) n štp.f: Favored by his the people of his district
B. Hasan 17 (BH II, pl. 13)  Beni Hasan

ḥṣṣ/ḥṣy n Sṭṭ/ḥṣsw Sṭṭ: Favored by Satet
Heqaib 28  Elephantine
Heqaib 36  Elephantine
Heqaib 61  Elephantine

ḥṣ(y)/ḥṣsw nb.f r’ nb: Favored by his lord every day
Beni Hasan 17  Beni Hasan
Louvre C1  Abydos

ḥṣṣw nb.f śmt.f: One whose lord favors his actions
Assiut 1, 247  Assiut
Louvre C1  Abydos

ḥṣṣ(w) r’ nb: One who is favored every day
Assiut 6, 12  Assiut
APPENDIX TWO

ḥssw nṯrw.s nbw: One whom all its gods favor
Bersheh 2  Bersheh

ḥss.t ḫr.f rʾ nb: One whose favor is before him every day
Assiut 6, 15  Assiut

ḥssw ḫr ḫry-ib ʾḥ: Favored by Horus who is in the palace
Assiut 1, 220  Assiut

ḥs(y) ḫr šnwt.f: Favored by his entourage
Beni Hasan 3  Beni Hasan

ḥs(y).s: One whom she (i.e., Sekhet) favors
Bersheh 2  Bersheh

ḥs(y).sn: One whom they favor (i.e., Amenemhat I and Senwisret I)
Louvre C1  Abydos

11.14. ḫsb

ḥsb ḫr sw: Reckoned by the one who made him(?)
Hammatmat 114  Wadi Hammamat

11.15. ḫkš

ḥkš mry niwt.f: Beloved ruler of his township
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 8)  Beni Hasan

ḥkš n mrw.t: Beloved ruler
Assiut 1,181  Assiut

ḥkš niwt mšw.t: Ruler of the new townships
B. Hasan 3 (BH I, pl. 25)  Beni Hasan

ḥkš ṣpšt.f: Ruler of his district
Heqaib 28  Elephantine

11.16. ḫtp

ḥtp-ib n nṯr nfr: Pleasing to the good god
Assiut 1, 214  Assiut
Bersheh 2 (Bersh. I, pl. 6)  Bersheh

ḥtp-ib ḫr nb ʾḥ: Pleasing to Horus, Lord of the palace
Assiut 1, 153  Assiut
Hammatmat 43  Wadi Hammamat

ḥtp-ib ḫr ḫḥb sw: Pleasing to the one who sent him
Assiut 1, 215  Assiut
LIST OF EPITHETS

11.17. ḫḏ

ḥḏ msṛt: Bright of supper(?)
Leiden V6 Abydos

ḥḏ n hr (n) skw n nswt hrw ‘ḥ: Generous to the king’s troops on the day of fighting
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

ḥḏ ḫṣw: White of clothing
Leiden V6 Abydos

ḥḏ-ḥr. Generous
BM 581 Abydos
Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

ḥḏ-ḥr n tw³w.f: Generous to his subordinate
BM 581 Abydos

ḥḏ-ḥr ḫṣwt wnīmt: Generous in food and fodder
MMA 12.184 Abydos

12. ḫ

12.1. ḫṯm

ḥṯm n wpwt: One who bows down to messengers
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 9) Beni Hasan

ḥṯm n wrwt: One who bows down to the great ones
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh

ḥṯm rmn.f n hrw-tp.f: One who bends his arm to his superiors
BM 572 Abydos

12.2. ḫw

ḥw: Protector
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 17) Beni Hasan
Bersh. 2 (Bersh. I, pl. 9) Bersheh

ḥw ḫw ‘ḥty snwy.f: Sole protector without his equals
Meir B2 Meir

ḥw n ʿin[y- ḫ: Protector of the one who is in the palace
Bersh. 2 (Bersh. I, pl. 6) Bersheh

26 The n is written twice; see Hoch, Grammar, 191.
12.3. ḫwyt

ḫwyt hsy: A shelter for the cold
Kestner 2927       Unknown

ḫwyt ḫnt n ḫsw m W3styun A warm shelter for the cold in the Theban Nome
Louvre C1           Abydos

12.4. ḫwd

ḫwd ṣ hr ḫd: Rich man, entirely great
Hatnub gr. 17       Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24       Hatnub

ḫwd m ṣnhw: One rich in sheep
Assiut 1, 247       Assiut

ḫwd n ḫt nb: One rich in everything
Hatnub gr. 24       Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26       Hatnub

12.5. ḫbw(?)

ḫbw(?), n mrwt. Beloved dancer(?)
Hatnub gr. 39       Hatnub

12.6. ḫpr

ḫpr ḫwt r ḫpr: One who brought about what was not going to happen(?)
Sinai 35            Sinai

ḫpr m ḫr: One who grew up in the palace
Durham N1935        Wadi Gasus

ḫpr n n.f Shḥt-Ḥr mnnmt: For whom Sekhat-Hor created cattle
UC 14333            Armant?

ḫpr ḫr ṣdw n ḫm.f: One who grew up at the feet of His Majesty
Sinai 100           Sinai

ḫpr ḫr ṣdw n nswt: One who grew up at the feet of the king
BM 101              Abydos

12.7. ḫps

ḫps: Powerful man
Hatnub gr. 17       Hatnub
12.8. ḫmt

ẖmt lii: One who anticipates what is coming
BM 581          Abydos

12.9. ḫrms

ẖrms.f mry.f: His friend whom he loves
Sehel 76           Elephantine

ẖrms n ndsw: Friend to commoners
BM 581          Abydos

12.10. ḫrḥt

ẖrḥt ‘hː m šdyt [knit] bw nb r.f: Strong fortress in the marshes, onto whom everyone holds
Hatnub gr. 25       Hatnub

ẖrḥt.s hrw ‘hː.s nhitiš m šdt.šː: Its fortress on the day that it fights\textsuperscript{27}, its shelter in apportioning the marshland
Hatnub gr. 23       Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24       Hatnub

12.11. ḫnty

ẖnty išwt m pr nswt: Foremost of offices in the palace
MMA 57.95          Thebes

ẖnty idbwː: Foremost of the two banks
Louvre C2          Abydos

ẖnty wr ḫrp ḫmwt: Foremost of the master craftsmen
BMA 37.1489 E       Unknown

ẖnty n išwt m hwt-nfr: Foremost of offices in the temple
Munich GL, WAF 35   Abydos

ẖnty n m nwt.f st.f: Love of whom advanced his place
Manchester         Abydos

ẖnty n st m pr nswt: Foremost of position in the palace
Assiut 1, 231      Assiut

ẖnty r ḫnṭwː: More advanced than the foremost
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

\textsuperscript{27} The suffix pronoun s refers to the niwt.
$\textit{hnty mnt}$: Foremost of people
Hammat 114  Wadi Hammamat

$\textit{hnty srw r int n.f. 3lt spst}$: Foremost of the officials with regard to bringing him precious raw materials
Sinai 112  Sinai
Sinai 114  Sinai

$\textit{hnty st}$: Foremost of place
Louvre C243 (E 3462)  Abydos
\textit{Edfou}, 32, 10  Edfu

$\textit{hnty s m pr-}$: Foremost of place in the palace
Deir Rifeh 1 (\textit{Kemi}, 6, 140)  Deir Rifeh

$\textit{[hnty s m pr nb.f]}$: Foremost of place in his lord's house
Hammat 113  Wadi Hammamat

$\textit{hnty s m pr nswt}$: Foremost of place in the administrative palace
\textit{Bersh}. 5 (\textit{Bersh}. II, pl. 13)  Bersheh

$\textit{hnty st r sm?}$: Hr: Foremost of place at the sm$^3$-throne of Horus
Saqqara 18x (\textit{TPC} pl. 83)  Saqqara
CG 20531  Abydos
Berlin 1204  Abydos
CG 20539  Abydos

$\textit{hnty Sm'w}$: Foremost of Upper Egypt
Assiut 5, 21  Assiut

$\textit{hnty t\% pr}$: Foremost of this land
Hatnub gr. 11  Hatnub

$\textit{hnty t\%}$: Foremost of his land
Leiden V5  Abydos
Louvre C2  Abydos

12.12. \textit{brp}

\textit{brp}$\textit{t\%}$: Controller of offices
\textit{Bersh} 2 (\textit{Bersh}. I, pl. 9)  Bersheh

\textit{brp}$\textit{t\% nbt ntrt}$: Controller of every divine office
Assiut 1, 216  Assiut
BM 1177  Wadi Halfa
\textit{Bersh} 2 (\textit{Bersh}. I, pl. 9)  Bersheh
\textit{Meir} B4 (\textit{Meir} III, pl. 18)  Meir
LIST OF EPITHESES

Saqqara 11Sq (TPC 274)  Saqqara
Saqqara 18x (TPC 281)  Saqqara

ḥrp Bwtw: Controller of officials
MMA 57.95  Thebes

ḥrp Tškm: Controller of lakmet
Saqqara 18x (TPC 280)  Saqqara

ḥrp-ib: Controlled of heart
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7)  Beni Hasan
Hammamat 199  Wadi Hammamat

ḥrp-ib waₜwt ḥst: Controlled of heart when time is hurried
Louvre C167  Abydos

ḥrp Ṭmiw-r: Controller of overseers
Hammamat 113  Wadi Hammamat

ḥrp Ṭmiw st.f: Controller of those who are in his places
Meir B2  Meir

ḥrp Ṭkr n nb ṭwy: Worthy controller for the Lord of the Two Lands
Sinai 405  Sinai

ḥrp ẖst m tš kywy: Controller of multitudes in the land of others
Sinai 54  Sinai

ḥrp Ṣm'w Ṯḥ-mhw: Controller of the great ones of Upper and Lower Egypt
CG 20539  Abydos

ḥrp wrḥt: Controller of ointment
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7)  Beni Hasan
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13)  Bersheh

ḥrp Ṣw tšwy skr Ṣw Nhmn: Controller of the ṣw of the Two Lands, who adorns the ṣw of Nekhen
Assiut 1, 238  Assiut

ḥrp mrwt.f r iwt hrw nfr n.i im: Director of my servants until the holiday came for me
Florence 1774  Thebes

ḥrp n.f ḫḥ m ṭḥyt r int n.f ṣhr-ḥb.f r mnh.f wšt tpy ṭi: 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

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28 Fischer, Tities, 27.
ḥrp nbw: Controller of gold
Meir B2 (Meir II, pl. 12) Meir

ḥrp nswt: Royal controller
Bersh. 2 (Bersh. I, pl. 18) Bershah
Hammamat G 70 Wadi Hammamat

ḥrp nsty: Controller of the two thrones
Bersh. 7 (Bersh. II, pl. 19) Bershah

ḥrp nsty m prwy: Controller of the two thrones in the double house
Assiut 1, 4 Assiut

ḥrp rwy nsrw: Controller of king’s acquaintances
Saqqara 11Sq (TPC 273) Saqqara
Saqqara 18x (TPC 281) Saqqara

ḥrp htvp-ntr: Controller of divine offerings
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 16) Beni Hasan
Sinai 96 Sinai

ḥrp htvp-ntr m rw-pr ntrw nlt w: Controller of divine offerings in the chapels of
this township
B. Hasan 13 (BH I, pl. 41) Beni Hasan

ḥrp hwt nt: Controller of the estates of the Red Crown
Assiut 1, 216 Assiut
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 17) Beni Hasan
Bershah 2 (Bersh. I, pl. 9) Bershah
Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat
Saqqara 11Sq (TPC 274) Saqqara

ḥrp Ssw: Controller of Sais
BM 574 Abydos

ḥrp shr-ḥt: One who controls (his) thoughts
Assiut 1 Assiut

ḥrp ššm n nb ṭwy: Controller of affairs of the Lord of the Two Lands
Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat

ḥrp Šmʾw: Controller of Upper Egypt
Siu, pl. 5 Assiut

ḥrp kʾwt nbwt nt nswt: Controller of all works of the king
Sinai 112 Sinai

ḥrp ṭwy: Controller of the Two Lands
Siu, pl. 5 Assiut
12.13. ḫsf

ẖsf ẖwī y m ṣf.f: One who drives the robber away from his attack
Assiut 1, 230  Assiut

ẖsf ḫdw: One who repels the aggressor
Assiut III, 6  Assiut

ẖsf m ... ḫw-ib: One who repels from ... the disaffected of heart
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13)  Bershesh

12.14. ḫtm

ẖtm nwḥw ṣḥsw: Sealer of the precious unguents
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21)  Bershesh

ẖtm ḫr ḫkr: Sealer of the royal insignia
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21)  Bershesh

ẖtm ṣf ḫr ṣḏmt.f: One whose mouth is sealed concerning his judgment
CG 20539  Abydos

ẖtmty ḫkr: Worthy sealbearer
Hatnub gr. 14  Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 28  Hatnub

13. ḫ

13.1. ḫẖḏti

ẖẖḏti ṣbdš ṣḥṭw ṣḥtmw: Storm that weakens all northerners
Hammamat 114  Wadi Hammamat

13.2. ḫpn

ẖpn ḫw ḫḏs ḫw: Fat of cattle, fat of oxen
Hatnub gr. 17  Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 20  Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24  Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26  Hatnub

13.3. ḫms

ẖms ṣf.f ḫ ṭḥ... ṭḏr.s: One who bends his back in knowing my ... entirely
Hatnub gr. 49  Hatnub
13.4. hnmw

_hnmw n niwt.: _Citizen of his township
Hatnub gr. 38
                Hatnub

13.5. hr

_hr k3: _Possessor of a ka
Meir B2
              Meir
Meir B4
              Meir

13.6. hry-hbt

_hry-hbt lkr. _Worthy lector-priest
Hatnub gr. 12
                Hatnub

_hry-hbt psdt 'it: _Lector priest of the great ennead
Meir B4 (Meir III, pl. 9)
                Meir

13.7. hrd

_hrd nswt n śdt.f: _Child of the king of his upbringing
B. Hasan 3 (BH I, pl. 32)
                Beni Hasan

14. s

14.1. s

s lkr n wb3 n.f lkb: _Worthy man in whom one confides
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21)
                Bersheh

s b3t: _Man of character
Hammamat 114
                Wadi Hammamat

s mnḥ ṭh.n.f nn.f: _Effective man whose name he knew
CG 20539
                Abydos

s n ...: _Man of ...
Hatnub gr. 38
                Hatnub

s n ṣwi.tw n.f gb3: _Man to whom one stretches his arm
Leiden V4
                Abydos

s n ḫnwty n sna.f: _Man of the audience-chamber, without his equal
Hatnub gr. 22
                Hatnub

s n w'yw: _Man of the private apartments
CG 20539
                Abydos
LIST OF EPITHETS

$s n\, w\breve{b}^3\, n.f\, l\breve{b}\, in.f\, r\, \breve{s}h\, lmn^r\, knbt$: Man to whom he (i.e., the king) opens his heart when he reaches the booth with the genbet-court
Hatnub gr. 25  
Hatnub

$s n\, blt\, h\breve{m}ty\, rmf$: Man of character before the people
Hammamat 114  
Wadi Hammamat

$s n\, m^si\breve{t}\, h\breve{m}ty\, t\ddot{e}wy$: Man of justice before the Two Lands
CG 20538  
Abydos
CG 20539  
Abydos

$s n\, mtr$: Man of precision
Louvre C167  
Abydos

$s n\, mtr\, r-gs\, rmf$: Man of precision to people
BM 561  
Abydos

$s n\, h\breve{b}r$: Man of festival
Bersheh 1 (*Bersh. II, 26*)  
Bersheh
Sinai 35  
Sinai

$s n\, h\breve{m}nt$: Man of rank(?)
*Bersh.* 8 (*Bersh. II, pl. 21*)  
Bersheh

$s n\, knb\breve{t}$: Man of the genbet-court
Wadi el Hudi 3  
Wadi el Hudi

$s n\, t\breve{p}\, h\breve{sb}$: Man of rectitude
*JEA* 51, pl. 14  
Abydos

$s k\breve{b}b\, m-m\, d\ddot{a}m\breve{w}$: Calm man in the midst of the troops
*RILN* 27  
Girgawi

14.2. $s^3$

$s^3\, n\, b\breve{v}w$: Son for an old man
Hatnub gr. 12  
Hatnub

$s^3\, l\breve{d}t$: Son of the cow
Bersheh 5 (*Bersh. II, pl. 13*)  
Bersheh

$s^3.f\, i\breve{k}r$: His worthy heir
Heqaib 27  
Elephantine

$s^3.f\, m\breve{r}y.f$: His son, his beloved
Heqaib 2  
Elephantine
Heqaib 4  
Elephantine
Heqaib 7  
Elephantine
Heqaib 15

sš.f ds.f n-wn-mš: His own son in reality²⁹
Hatnub gr. 23
Hatnub gr. 26

sš mrš.f: Son whom he loves
CG 20539
CG 20538

sš Nprš: Son of Nepri
UC 14333

sš hkš n Wnt: Son of a ruler of the Hare Nome
Hatnub gr. 16
Hatnub gr. 17
Hatnub gr. 24

sš s lwty (hsf).f: Son of a man without his enemy
Hatnub gr. 24

sš s nḥt: Son of a strong man
Hatnub gr. 24

sš sr: Son of a noble
Leiden V4

sš Ḟḥwty n-wn miš: Son of Thoth in reality
Hatnub gr. 20
Hatnub gr. 24

14.3. sš(n.)

sšk: Wise man
Hatnub gr. 24
BM 461
BM 569
BM 572
Louvre C170
MMA 57.95

²⁹ Refers to Thoth
14.4. \(s\hat{\imath}\) (vb.)

\(s\hat{\imath}\ \textit{iwt.f} m-m \textit{srw}: \) One whose coming is awaited among the officials
Assiut 1, 214, 246 Assiut

\(s\hat{\imath}\ \textit{iwt.f} m \textit{hwt nbw hrw n wp r}: \) One whose coming is awaited in Hatnub on the day of opening the mouth
Sinai 104 Sinai

\(s\hat{\imath}\ \textit{iwt.f} m \textit{bry-ib hbk\^w}: \) One who coming is awaited amidst the rulers
Bersheh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

\(s\hat{\imath}\ \textit{iwt.f} m \textit{gb\^w m sh\^t Hr nb \^h}: \) One whose coming is awaited at the crowning at the appearance of Horus, Lord of the Palace
BM 574 Abydos

\(s\hat{\imath}\ \textit{iwt.f} n \textit{militw.f}: \) One whose coming is awaited by his peers
CG 20536 Abydos
CG B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 15) Beni Hasan

\(s\hat{\imath}\ \textit{iwt.f} n \textit{bpt k\^wth hrw sh\^t wdn\^t imy hrt-nfr}: \) One whose coming is awaited by the overseer of works on the day of erecting the offerings which are in the necropolis
Hamamat 48 Wadi Hammamat

\(s\hat{\imath}\ \textit{iwt.f} n \textit{st nbt}: \) One whose coming is awaited everywhere
Assiut 6, 10 Assiut
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 25 Hatnub
Sinai 112\(^30\) Sinai

\(s\hat{\imath}\ \textit{iwt.f} n \textit{st nfr}: \) One whose coming is awaited at the place of beauty
Sinai 112 Sinai

\(s\hat{\imath}\ \textit{iwt.f} n \textit{snwt}: \) One whose coming is awaited by the entourage
CG 20538 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos
JE A 51, pl. 14 Abydos

\(s\hat{\imath}\ \textit{iwt.f} n \textit{tst.f}: \) One whose coming is awaited by his troops
Hatnub gr. 43 Hatnub

\(s\hat{\imath}\ \textit{iwt.f} n \textit{d\^i\^w hrw lpt b\^kw}: \) One whose coming is awaited by the assessors on the day of counting revenues
CG 20536 Unknown

\(^{30}\) "\(Nbr\)" restored.
14.5. *sw
*sw prwy ḫdf: Guard of the double house of silver
Sinai 104 Sinai
Sinai 112 Sinai
*sw hmnw ntrw: Guard of the gods’ herd
Assiut 1, 234 Assiut

14.6. *šb
*šb *ḏ-mr: Senior administrator
Bersh. 2 (Bersh. pl. 16) Bersheh
*šb *ḏ-mr Dep: Senior administrator of Dep
Assiut 2, 13-14 Assiut
Bersh. 2 (Bersh. I, pl. 7) Bersheh

14.7. *šk
*šk: Controlled
BM 581 Abydos
*šk-ib: Self-controlled
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub
*šk-ib hr wpt nswt: Self-controlled regarding royal business
Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat
*šk sw r rwty: Self-controlled toward the stranger
Hammamat 199 Wadi Hammamat

14.8. *šl
*šl ṭ n ir mḥt: 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. *šl
*šl lmyt-ib: One who perceives what is in the heart
Assiut 1, 182 Assiut
*šl s r ṭpt-x.f: One who perceives a man according to his speech
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos
14.10. sip

*sip n.f ntt lwtt*; Tom whom is entrusted what is and what is not
Leiden V4 Abydos

14.11. slikr

*sikr n.f hnty tšwy*; One who enriched for him the Southland
BM 1213 Abydos

14.12. sītn

*sītn n.f n wrw šḥ*; One to whom the great ones of the palace were subordinated
Louvre C1 Abydos

14.13. sid

*siddī hɪkw-ɪb*; One who enfeebles the disaffected
JE A 51, pl. 14 Abydos

*siddī sḫi ṣr nswt*; One who enfeebles the one who rebels against the king
CG 20539 Abydos

14.14. sš

*sš n Dhwty hš.f r swšd ḫwt-nfr*; One whose wealth Thoth made great in order to provide for the temple
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

14.15. sšnh

*sšnh niwt m hšl mḏdc*; One who nourished the township by the *madjat* measure
Assiut 5, 9 Assiut

*sšnh niwt.f m ts*; One who nourishes his township in drought
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

*sšnh niwt.f smt r-drs wrw.s mšriw.s n ḫr ḫn*; 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

*sšnh ḫrty*; One who nourishes the common people
CG 20539 Abydos

*sšnh ḫkr n spiš.t.f*; One who nourishes the hungry of his district
Assiut 1, 228 Assiut
s'nh h3rw.t:s: One who nourishes its widows
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

s'nh d3mnw: One who nourishes the troops
Brussels E 5266 Sinai

14.16. s'r

s'r m3't r ḫt: One who raises up ma'at to the palace
CG 20539 Abydos

s'r md.t ṛk.n.f s(t): One who presents a report of which he is knowledgable
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos

s'r md.t ḫnw k3r: One who presents a report in the shrine
CG 20539 Abydos

s'r(? ) nswn hr-hnty t3 n sfr ḫn : One whom the king presented before the land on
account of profound advice
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

s'r šnwt n nswn: 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 ʿ3 n ōp.t m ɪr iniw.t: Noble great of years in the house of the iniw.t
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

s'h ʿ3 n ṭdw yr hwrv n di snfd: 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 mnfl: 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 (Kēmi 6, 140) Deir Rifeh

s'h smrw: Noblest of the companions
CG 20546 Abydos

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31 This rendering follows Brovarski, “Ahanakht,” 18, 21.
s’ḥ ṣpss: Illustrious noble
Meir B3 (Meir VI, pl. 8) Meir

14.18. s’ḥ‘

s’ḥ‘ n nb.f nḥḥ (?): One who is promoted by his lord forever (?)
Hammamat 17 Wadi Hammamat

14.19. swwś

swwś ṭssḥ ḫr ḫb: One who ponders what is (?) in the heart
BM 581 Abydos

14.20. swwḥ

swwḥ mrwt.f m snḏ: One who makes his love endure through respect
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bersheh

14.21. swwś

swwś sw m Dḥwtt: One who pays him homage on the feast of Thoth
Assiut I. 238 Assiut

14.22. swwḏ

swwḏ snlṯt: One who freshens the seals
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

14.23. swr

swr ḫnkt ṣwśwr: One who increases the abundant drink offerings
Meir C1 Meir

14.24. swdḏ

swdḏ snḏ: One who calms fear
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

14.25. sbb

sbb ḫb.f r-hṛt: One who taught his heart satisfactorily
Assiut 1, 243, 350 Assiut

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32 The meaning of ṭssḥ is uncertain. See Janssen, Autobiografie II, 138; Lichtheim, Autobiographies, 111.
368  APPENDIX TWO

$sbt\ m\ wq\ 's\ snw$: A teacher in judging between two men
BM 572  Abydos

$sbt\ n\ nswt$: Pupil of the king
Assiut 4, 72  Assiut
BM 1213  Abydos

$sbt\ n\ Hr\ nb\ iwnt$: Pupil of Horus, Lord of the palace
BM 101  Abydos
Sinai 93  Sinai
Sinai 98  Sinai

$sbt\ n\ Hr\ nb\ t\'wy$: Pupil of Horus, Lord of the Two Lands
Durham N1935  Wadi Gasus

$sbt\ n\ hprwt\ .f$: Teacher of his people
BM 1213  Abydos

$sbt\ Hr\ hnty\ pr$: Pupil of Horus, foremost of the sky
Assiut 1, 82, 260  Assiut
Assiut 2, 12-13  Assiut

$sbt\ s\ 'h.t(y).s(y)\ n.f$: One who teaches a man what will be beneficial for him
BM 581  Abydos

$sbt\ ss\ n\ m\ ': Teacher of right conduct
Munich GL. WAF 35  Abydos

14.26. sbk

sbk: Splendid one
Louvre C170$^{34}$  Abydos

$sbt\ m-hry-ib\ wrw$: Splendid amidst the great ones
Louvre C167  Abydos

14.27. sbt

$sbt\ n\ ts\ .f$: Friendly toward his troops
Hatnub gr. 39  Hatnub

$sbt-hr\ hn\ 'bw\ nb$: Friendly with everyone
Assiut 3, 6  Assiut

$^{33}$ See the comments on hprw in Janssen, Autobiografie II, 139.
$^{34}$ The reading is uncertain. See Janssen, Autobiografie I, 32, no. As 4.
LIST OF EPITHETS

sbt srw m??.sn sw: At seeing whom the officials are friendly
Hatnub gr. 27 Hatnub

14.28. spd

spd-ib ḫr ṣ irw: Effective of heart when summoned(?)
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 wšlt: Sharp of speech when answering
Assiut 1, 249 Assiut

spd-r m-bry-ib šalt: Skilled of speech among the quarrelsome
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

spd-r m swt ḫnt-ib: Sharp of speech in times of greed
BM 581 Abydos

spd-r m š n srw: Sharp of speech in the hall of the officials
Assiut 1, 248 Assiut

spd-ḥr: Alert
Florence 1774 Thebes

spd ḫr pht(y).f: Alert regarding his power
Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

spd-ḥr m st. ṣ nb: Alert in every place
Hatnub gr. 28 Hatnub

spd-ḥr smi.f ṣ nb.f: Alert when he reports to his lord
Sinai 54 Sinai

14.29. sfn

sfnw sdm.1 m.1 ḫ ṣn.ii ṣ nbm: Friendly when I hear my name to one who told me what was in his heart
BM 581 Abydos

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APPENDIX TWO

14.30. sft

sft m hwí-ntr m ħrt-hrw: One who makes sacrifices in the temple every day
Munich GL WAF 35 Abydos

14.31. sm (n.)

sm w)b gb'w.(f); Sm-priest pure of fingers
CG 20538 Abydos
Berlin 1204 Abydos

14.32. sm (v.)

sm ʾṣʾwr: One who assists multitudes
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

sm wrw: One who assists the great ones
BM 1164

sm nṣwt.f lw (n)n-wn m-ʾ:s: One who assisted his township when it has nothing
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

sm ḫkr nn ḫt.f: One who aids the hungry, the one without anything
BM 581 Abydos

sm hirwt: One who aids widows
MMA 12.184 Abydos

sm hwr lw ḫt.ṣ: One who aids the widow who has no husband
Hatnub gr. 14 Hatnub

sm s(t) lw ṣmr ṣmr: One who aids it (i.e. nṣwt) when there is nothing
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

14.33. smʾ

smʾ Pḥt: Sema-priest of Pakhet
B. Hasan 3 (BH I, pl. 24) Beni Hasan

smʾ m pr Pḥt: Sema-priest in the temple of Pakhet
B. Hasan 3 (BH I, pl. 33) Beni Hasan

smʾ n swt st Pḥt: Sema-priest in the abodes of (?) of Pakhet
BM 839 Abydos

14.34. smʾy

smʾy m ḫwt nt: Associate in the temple of the Red Crown
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan
LIST OF EPITHETS

\textit{smi\textsuperscript{3}y n hrw nfr}: One who joins in holiday
Bersheh 1 (\textit{Bersh.} II, 26) Bersheh
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub
Sinai 35 Sinai

\textit{smi\textsuperscript{3}y n h\textsuperscript{4} ntr}: One who is united to the flesh of the god
CG 20539 Abydos
Saqqara 18x (\textit{TPC} pl. 83) Saqqara

\textit{smi\textsuperscript{3}y Hr hry-ib \textsuperscript{3}h}: Associate of Horus who is in the palace
\textit{ASAE} 56, p. 215 Ezbet Rushdi

\textit{smi\textsuperscript{3}(y) Sh\textsuperscript{3}t-Hr}: Associate of Sekhat-Hor
Assiut 5, 43-44 Assiut

14.35. \textit{smi\textsuperscript{3}}

\textit{smi\textsuperscript{3}w iswt}: One who restores ancient things
Assiut 1, 235 Assiut

14.36. \textit{smi\textsuperscript{3}-hrw}

\textit{smi\textsuperscript{3}-hrw Wsr m stw.f nt rkr rt \textit{dst} lnyt S\textsuperscript{3}wt}: One whom Osiris vindicates in his places of sacred Raquerret which is in Assiut
Assiut 1, 237 Assiut

14.37. \textit{smi}

\textit{smi mrrt}: One who reports what is desired
Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat

\textit{smi(w) n.f i\textsuperscript{3}wt nbt}: One to whom every office reports
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

\textit{smi\textsuperscript{3}w n.f ntt l\textsuperscript{3}wt}: One to whom is reported what is and what is not
Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat

\textit{smi(w) n.f hrt-t\textsuperscript{3}wy}: One to whom the affairs of the Two Lands are reported
\textit{BIFA0 Supp.} 81, p. 35 Karnak
Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat
Heidelberg 274 Karnak
Heqaib 61 Elephantine
Sinai 105 Sinai
sml(w) n.f t3 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 rḥ pḥr n wnt m lb: One who reports his testimony to the judge
knowing the turn of what is in his heart
BM 572 Abydos

sml sshm.f nn ’m-lb: One who reports his business without forgetting
BM 569 Abydos

smit hpw n t3 pm: Reporter of the laws of this land
Louvre C1 Abydos

14.38. smi

sml h3 m rkw: One who chastises thousands of opponents
Assiut 1, 229 Assiut

14.39. smn

smn iswt t3swt: One who sets up the boundary stelae
CG 20539 Abydos
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersh. 5

smn m hmt: One who is established in (his) craft
Heqaib 49 Elephanta

smn rd n tft: One who makes firm the foot of the restless(?)
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

smn hpw.f ḫr spīt.f: One who established his laws throughout his district
Siut, pl. 4 Assiut

14.40. snnḥ

snnḥ mḥ n ṭt ib r.s: One who is distinguished according to what is desired
Louvre C167 Abydos

snnḥ n mḥt.f st.f: One whose love established his position
BM 1177 Wadi Halfa
14.41. **smr**

*smr* ḫwt-ḥwt: Great companion in Hatnub  
BM 574  
Abydos  

*smr* ḫw n pr nswt: Great companion in the administrative palace  
Saqqara 18x (TPC pl. 85)  
Saqqara  

*smr* ḫw n mrt: Companion great of love  
BIFAO Supp. 81, p. 34  
Elephantine  
BM 1213  
Abydos  
Louvre C2  
Abydos  

*smr* ḫw: Companion of the palace  
Carnegie 4558  
Abydos  

*smr* wty ḫ-wmt snw.f: Sole companion without his peer  
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21)  
Bersheh  

*smr:* His companion  
RdÉ 29, p. 159  
Wadi Gawasis  

*smr* mry nb.f: Companion beloved of his lord  
CG 20539  
Abydos  

*smr* pr-ẖw: Companion of the palace  
Sinai 86  
Sinai  

*smr* ḫw n pr-nswt: Companion of the administrative palace  
CG 20539  
Abydos  

*smr* ḫ w 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* snw: Elder of a shrine  
Saqqara 18x (TPC 281)  
Saqqara  

14.43. **smtr**

*smtr* nb.f: One who bears witness for him (i.e., the king)  
CG 20538  
Abydos  
CG 20539  
Abydos  

LIST OF EPITHETS

373
14.44. *sn*

*sn pr.f n lw snf*: One who opens his house to the one who comes frightened
Hatnub gr. 20 Hātnūb

14.45. *snw*

*snw.f m shrt tšwy*: His fellow in pacifying the Two Lands (Thoth)
CG 20539 Abydos

*snw n nswt m wsyt št*: Fellow of the king in the great hall
CG 20539 Abydos

*snw n nswt m nd-hr 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 hwrw n niwt*: One who causes the poor of the township to breathe
Hatnub gr. 14 Hātnūb

14.47. *snd*

*sndw n.f wrw hriw-tp n tkn m h’w n nb.f*: One to whom the great ones and chiefs are subordinate when drawing near his lord’s manifestation
Hammamat 114 Wādī Hammamat

14.48. *sndm*

*sndm st hwt-ntr*: One who sweetens the smell of the temple
Bersh. 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13) Bērsēḥ
Hatnub gr. 20 Hātnūb

*sndm ksnwt*: One who eases misfortunes
CG 20538 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos

14.49. *sr* (n.)

*sr wh’ tsst*: Official who loosens the knot
Leiden V4 Abydos
CG 20538 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos
Louvre C170 Abydos
LIST OF EPITHETS

sr m niwt.f: Official in his township
Edfou, 32, 10
Edfu

sr m hrt 's3wt: 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-ḥt wrw: Official before the great ones
BM 1177 Wadi Halfa

sr m-ḥt ṛḥyt: 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 lrrt nḥb: One who foretells everything that is done
MMA 57.95 Thebes

14.51. srwd

srwd ṭštwt: One who perpetuates the primeval gods
CG 20539 Abydos

14.52. shr

shr st m t.i: One who satisfies it with my bread
MMA 26.3.217 Thebes

shr t'i r-dr.f: One who pacifies the entire land
CG 20539 Abydos

shr t'wy n nswt: One who pacifies the Two Lands for the king
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat
14.53. shi

shi n r-wy.f mnḥ.f: One who reveals his actions so that he is efficient
BM 1177 Wadi Halfa

14.54. shri

shr rḥt ḫr.f: One who kept people away from him (i.e., the king)
MMA 57.95 Thebes

14.55. ship

ship psdt ṭmy ḫr-wr: One who propitiates the Ennead that is in Her-wer
B. Hasan 14 (BH I, pl. 44) Beni Hasan

ship ntr: One who propitiates the god
Meir C1 (Meir VI, pl. 13 ) Meir

ship 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

ship ntrw ḫr.s: One who propitiates the gods regarding it
Bersheh 2 Bersheh

ship ḫr ṭrt.f: One who propitiates Horus with his action
Assiut 1, 244 Assiut

ship sḥtw ḫr ṭrt.sn: One who pacifies rebels from their actions
CG 20539 Abydos

ship swn.f štnw.f: One who pacifies his peers and retainers
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub

... shipw swt ḫwt-ntr: ...who provides for the temple storehouses
Bersheh 1 (Bersh. II, 19 ) Bersheh
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13 ) Bersheh

14.56. šḥd

šḥd n štnw: One who gives explanation to the quarrelsome man(?)
BM 572 Abydos

šḥd ḫwt-ntr: Inspector of a temple
B. Hasan 13 (BH I, pl. 41) Beni Hasan

šḥd šḥdw: Inspector of inspectors
Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat
Hammamat G 61 Wadi Hammamat
LIST OF EPITHETS

shd knbt: Inspector of the qenbet-court
Hammamat 113 Wadi Hammamat

14.57. šḥ

šḥ Nḥsw: One who smites the Nubians
Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

14.58. šḥḥ

šḥḥw ḫr spw.f mʾr: One who is remembered for his successful deeds
BM 581 Abydos

14.59. šḥpr

šḥpr Pḥḥ ḫḏ-mdw: One whom Ptah created to rule
Assiut 5, 48 Assiut

šḥpr n ḫr nb ḫḥ: One who was raised by Horus, Lord of the palace
BM 1213 Abydos

14.60. šḥm (n.)

šḥm nṯrw: Scepter of the gods(?)
Bersh. 2 (Bersh.1, pl. 17) Bersheh

šḥm ḫʾ m ḫwt-nbw: Chief authority in Hatnub
BM 574 Abydos

14.61. šḥm (adj.)

šḥm-ʾbr šḥpr mʾ.f: Stout-hearted regarding what happens in his charge
Hammamat 199 Wadi Hammamat

14.62. šḥm-ḥr.f

šḥm-ḥr.f m ʾḥbwy: Potentate on the two banks
CG 20539 Abydos

šḥm-ḥr.f m-hw-ḥr.f: Potentate among the officials
CG 20539 Abydos

šḥm ir.f m-hw-ḥr.f: Potentate in front of him (i.e., the king)
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat
14.63. shmh

shmh-lb m mrt.n.f: One who pleased the heart with what it desired
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13)  Bensheh

14.64. shnt

shnt lw.t: One who advanced (his) offices
CG 20539  Abydos
Hammamat 114  Wadi Hammamat

shnt n lwn.f r h.t: One whose character advanced him to the forefront
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21)  Bensheh

shnt n.f st.f m pr.f r srw nw t' pr: 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 dl*mw: One whose place was advanced for him among the youths
Assiut 5, 21  Assiut

shnt n mnh.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 Dhwt.f st.f: One whose position Thoth advanced
Hatnub gr. 23  Hatnub

shnt n Dhwt.f st.f n-št-n mrr.f sw: One whose place Thoth advanced because he
  loves him
Hatnub gr. 26  Hatnub

shnt nb.f lw.t: One whose lord advanced his offices
Hammamat 113  Wadi Hammamat

shnty hr mnh 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
(Kēmi 6, 139, 140)

shnt st.f m ḫrd: One whose position was advanced in childhood
Meir C1 (Meir VI, pl. 13 )  Meir
14.65. sḫr

*sḫr* 'mtn-šb m ʾst.f.: One who overthrew avarice in his troops
*Siut*, pl. 5  Assiut

*sḫr šḥ*: One who overthrew the rebel
*Bersh.* 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13)  Bersheh

14.66. sḫšḫ

*sḫšḫ int.f.:* One whose carrying is rapid
Hammamat 17  Wadi Hammamat

14.67. sḫkr

*sḫkr wrt-hkšw*: One who adorns the uraeus
*Meir* B4 (*Meir* III, pl. 9)  Meir

*sḫkr biw Nṯmn*: One who adorns the *ḥbš* of Hierakonpolis
Assiut 1, 173  Assiut

14.68. ssbk

*ssbk n nswtḥm tiwy*: One who is honored by the king before the Two Lands
Leiden V4  Abydos

14.69. ss

*ss ḫšr ...*: ...Worthy scribe
Hatnub gr. 11  Hatnub

*ss ḫšr wrt*: Very worthy scribe
Louvre C167  Abydos

*ss ḫšr n dbʾw.f.:* Scribe excellent of his fingers
RILN 73  Girgawi

*ss mdšt-nṯr*: Scribe of the sacred writings
Assiut 1 (*Siut*, pl. 4)  Assiut
Hatnub gr. 12  Hatnub

*ss n ḫrt-ʾḫ*: Scribe of favor
Hatnub gr. 10  Hatnub

*ss n Ḝhwty ḫr ns.f.:* Upon whose tongue is the writing of Thoth
CG 20539  Abydos
14.70. sšm

ššm r ḥšw.f ħrw nš ḥ#: One who ruled according to its positions on the day of great wrongs.footnote[37] Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersh. 5

ššmw n ħrw.f ḥt: Leader of his administrators(?).footnote[38] Assiut I Assiut

14.71. šk‘i

šk‘ n.f ħnt mn-nfrt(?) r ḥswt Ĥrt n.f: One whom he exalted before Memphis (?) regarding the favors that were done for him.footnote[39] Hammamat 17 Wadi Hammamat

14.72. škr

škrw: Metalworker

Hatnub gr. 19 Hatnub

škrw n ḫd ḫn‘ nbw: Worker of silver and gold

Hatnub gr. 19 Hattaub

14.73. sgr

sgr rmw n ħnw 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-lb

st-lb nswt: King’s favorite

Assiut 1, 214 Assiut

Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

Bersh. 1 (Bersh. II, pl. 7) Bersh. 1

Bersh. 2 Bersh. 2

footnote[37] For this reading and discussion of the text, see Brovarski, “Ahanakht,” 18-19.

footnote[38] Following Janssen, Auto-biografie II, 149.

footnote[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 qenbet-court
Hammamat 43  Wadi Hammamat

stp tsw: One who chooses words (carefully)
MMA 57.95  Thebes

14.77. stm

stm n nbt t³wy: Stm-priest of the Mistress of the Two Lands (i.e., Hator)
Meir B2 (Meir II, pl. 11)  Meir
Meir B3 (Meir VI, pl. 13)  Meir
Meir B4 (Meir III, pl. 9)  Meir

14.78. stš

stš wrw Tšš-sm°w: One who ushers in the great ones of Upper Egypt
BM 572  Abydos

stš hnrw hr.f spd: One who ushers in the musical troupe with his face alert
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21)  Bershesh

14.79. stny

stn n.f m-m smrw: One whom he distinguished among the courtiers
BM 1213  Abydos

stn n.f ūnt : One who distinguished the south for him
BM 100  Unknown

stn n nswt r mštiw.f: One whom the king distinguished more than his peers
Suit I, 152  Assiut

14.80. sdmnl

sdml n-n šbt.f: Close to his family
MMA 12.184  Abydos

14.81. sḏḥy

sḏḥy bšwt ntrw šmlw wnt: One who endows the altars of the gods who are in the Hare Nome
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13)  Bershesh
14.82. *sdm*

*sdm lr.f ml ēddr:* One who listens so that he acts as was said
Louvre C167  Abydos

*sdm bw-ikr m ēḥt n niw:r.f:* One who hears excellence, namely what is beneficial for
his township
Assiut I, 249  Assiut

*sdm m‘biyt:* Judge of the lawcourt (Hall of the Thirty)
CG 20539  Abydos

*sdm mḏw m w‘w:* One who hears words in private
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. III, pl. 21)  Bersheh

*sdm mḏw m ḫwt(?), n(t) Gb:* One who hears the word in the temple of Geb
BM 572  Abydos

*sdm mḏw ḫmmt:* One who hears the words of humanity
Hammamat 113  Wadi Hammamat

*sdnw ṟ wb m ):(:* One who listens to the truth
MMA 12.184  Abydos

*sdnw ḫw:* One who listens attentively
Louvre C167  Abydos

*sdm sw:* One who paints his eyes
Hatnub gr. 17  Hatnub

*sdm šḥ n ikkw:* One who hears the counsel of the councilors(?)
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. III, pl. 13)  Bersheh

*sdm sḏm w‘t:* One who hears what is heard alone
Quibet el Hawa 36  Elephantine
(FFE, pl.5)

*sdm sḏmt w‘t m wšt(?):* One who hears what is heard alone in the council(?)
Hatnub gr. 26  Hatnub

*sdm sḏmt w‘t m ists:* One who hears what is heard alone in the palace
BM 583  Unknown

*sdnw sḏm m‘št:* A judge who hears the truth
BM 581  Abydos

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40 For the reading of the final group of signs as ḫmmt, see Couyat and Montet, *Hammamat*, 80, note 3.
41 Refers to the eyes of the god.
14.83. sḏsr

sḏsr (?): One who consecrates(?!) the entourage
Bersh. I (Bersh. II, pl. 7)  Bershèh

15. $s$

15.1. $sḏ$  

$sḏ$ 'rėk f m ḫt nb: One whose skill is ready in every matter  
Louvre C167  Abydos

15.2. $sḏ$  

$sḏ$ is m snyt f: One who dug a tomb in his necropolis  
Florence 1774  Sen. I-Amén. II

15.3. $s_w$

$s_w$ m 3$f$ hr m ru n niwt: Free of gluttony through his love of the township  
Béni Hasan 2 (BHI 1, pl. 9)  Béni Hasan

$s_w$ m lrt lsḏf: Free of doing evil  
CG 20538  Abydos  
CG 20539  Abydos  
JEA 51, pl. 14  Abydos  
Wadi el Hudi 4  Wadi el Hudi

$s_w$ m lrt lsḏf n sm3 f s w hr sḥ m sḥr 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

$s_w$ m lsw n nsf: Free of lightness of tongue  
Hammamat 199  Wadi Hammamat

$s_w$ m lsḏf: Free of evil  
MMA 57.95  Thebes  
Wadi el Hudi 2  Wadi el Hudi

$s_w$ m "wḏg hr ḫn nb n pr nsrw: Free of sleep regarding every command of the palace  
Hattan gr. 49  Hattan

$s_w$ m ḫr: Free of boasting  
Assiut 6, 11  Assiut  
Hammamat 47  Wadi Hammamat

$s_w$ m wḥḥ: Free of conspiracy  
B. Hasan 13 (BHI 1, pl. 41)  Béni Hasan

$s_w$ m wḥḥ: Free of arrogance (?)
Hammamat 43 Wadi Hammamat

$\text{sw m } b\text{g}: \text{ Free of weariness}
BM 569 Abydos
Sinai 405 Sinai

$\text{sw m } prt-ib: \text{ Free of passion}
Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat
Sinai 3542 Sinai
Sinai 33 Sinai

$\text{sw m } prt-ib \ text{ smmt } hrw \ r-d^f\text{w}: \text{ Free of passion and fever(?) on the day of battle}
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

$\text{sw m } mht: \text{ Free of negligence}
BM 569 Abydos

$\text{sw m } nhrhr: \text{ Free of tremor}
UC 14333 Armant ?
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos

$\text{sw m } rrit: \text{ Free of piggishness(?)}
BM 581 Abydos

$\text{sw m } h\text{w}: \text{ Free of excess}
Assiut 1, 222, 349 Assiut

$\text{sw m } hbs-hr: \text{ Free of indifference}
BM 581 Abydos
Leiden V6 Abydos

$\text{sw m } hnw: \text{ Free of anger(?)}
Louvre C167 Abydos

$\text{sw m } hns-ib: \text{ Free of greed}
Leiden V6 Abydos

$\text{sw m } h\text{h}-hr: \text{ Free of impatience}
BM 581 Abydos

$\text{sw m } nh\text{n}\text{r}\text{r} r \ hryw-tp.f: \text{ Free of arrogance(?) to those who are above him}
Bersh. 8 (Bersh. II, pl. 21) Bershah

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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.
§w m sp n bigy: Free of an occasion of slackness
Hammamat 199 Wadi Hammamat

§w m sp n mht: Free of an occasion of forgetfulness
Hammamat 199 Wadi Hammamat

§w m snkt: Free of greed/lust
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

§w m shr n nb.f ḏd sw m ḫrd: Free of hostility to his lord, who raised him as a child
Assiut 5, 23 Assiut

§w m šnt-ntr: Free of blasphemy
Hatnub gr. 10 Hatnub

§w m knl kdw: Free from sulleness of character
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

§w m ksm: Free of defiance(?)
Assiut 1, 6 Assiut

§w m tšt bin: Free of plotting evil
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7.9) Beni Hasan

§w m dhw: Free of evil/sadness
Hatnub in. 10 Hatnub

§w m ḫḏ p/w: Free of saying "pa"
MMA 12.184 Abydos

§w m ḫḏ ḡrg: Free of speaking falsely
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 9) Beni Hasan

15.4. šwytn

šwytn ṣṯ p ḫn r-dr.f ḫrw šḏyt-ṣḏ: Shade for this entire land on the day of apportioning the marshlands
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

15.5. šbn

šbn ḫm n-nmrwt ḫsf ṣḏ: One who intervenes with the ignorant in order to avoid anger
BM 581 Abydos

15.6. špss

špss ḫbs: Rich in clothing
MMA 12.184 Abydos
§pss mry nb.f: Nobleman beloved of his lord
CG 20539  Abydos

§ps n nswt mrr.f: King’s nobleman whom he loves
Assiut 1, 231  Assiut

15.7. §m
§mw 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 wmt: 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) mtr r st.f m [m]’h’t imy ṭ r-krrt: One who follows the god to his place, his
tomb which is in Raqereret
Assiut 1, 174  Assiut

šms(w) hr mtn nn ḏnb: One who follows the road without swerving
BM 572  Abydos

15.9. šš§
šš§(?): Skilled(?)
Wadi el Hudi 2  Wadi el Hudi

šš§ m lrt: Skilled in behavior
Durham N1935  Wadi Gasus

ššw mnt m ḫst.f: With whose praises people are conversant
Assiut 1, 152, 212, 242  Assiut

15.10. šdl
šdl mdjṭ m ḥrt-hrw: One who reads the scroll daily
Hatnub gr. 15?  Hatnub
LIST OF EPITHETS

$dw$ wrw: One whom the great ones greet
MMA 57.95 Thebes

15.11. $\ddot{s}d i$

$\ddot{s}d$ nhm: One who nourishes the young
Bersheh 1 (Berskh. II, 19) Bersheh
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

$\ddot{s}d$ hrd: One who nourishes the child
UC 14333 Armant ?

$\ddot{s}d$ hrd r ph. f wr: Guardian of a child to its maturity
B. Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 15) Beni Hasan

$\ddot{s}dty$ n...: Child of (the royal nursery ?)
Sinai 100 Sinai

$\ddot{s}dty$ nb ...: Foster-child of the lord of...
Sinai 93 Sinai

$\ddot{s}dty$ nswt $\ddot{s}dty$ bity: Foster-child of the king of Upper Egypt, ward of the king of
Lower Egypt
Sinai 93 Sinai

16. $k$

16.1. $k\ddot{3}l$

$k\ddot{3}l$ ls ws$\ddot{b}$ rwdw hnty pr-nfr: High of tomb, wide of steps, foremost of the
embalming place
Assiut 5, 19-20 Assiut

$k\ddot{3}l$ mdw dw$\ddot{e}$. f sw$\ddot{s}$$. f: One who is uplifted of voice when he worships and when he
pays homage
Assiut 1, 238 Assiut

$k\ddot{3}l$ mrw$\ddot{t}$ hm.$f$: One who exalts the will of His Majesty
RILN 73 Girgawi

$k\ddot{3}l$ nhw$\ddot{t}$: Tall of trees (sycamores)
Florence 1774 Thebes

$k\ddot{3}l$ nswt m$\ddot{3}$. f swr nw stp-s$: One whom the king exalts when he sees the noblemen
of the palace
Sinai 115 Sinai

$k\ddot{3}l$ hrw m st sgr: Uplifted of voice in a situation of silence
Hammamat 108 Wadi Hammamat
kəl hrw hr nd m n nswt hrw ḫṣf šr. Uplifted of voice in calling the king’s name on the day of warding off terror
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

kəl sr.f (s)w m st ḏsr. 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. kbb

kbb: Calm
BM 581 , Abydos

kb ḫt: Calm of body
Hatnub gr. 10 Hatnub

kb sr.f: Calm-tempered
Sinai 47 Sinai

16. 3. kmñ

kmñ sбр.f: One who carries out his plan
Hammamat 17 Wadi Hammamat

16. 4. kni

kni: Brave/Capable
Hatnub gr. 15 Hatnub

kni m išt.f: Capable in his office
Leiden V3 Abydos

kni m ḫps.f: Capable with his strong arm
Assiut 5, 16 Assiut

kni m ḏb’t.w.f: Capable in his fingers
Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub

16. 5. krḥt

krḥt sбр ḫt b’ pn rmt nbt wsš: 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. krs

*krs bw*: One who buries the aged
Hatnub gr. 20  Hatnub

*krsw mty*: One who buries the dead
MMA 12.184  Abydos

*krs sb n kāt.f*: One who buries the dead
Hatnub gr. 12  Hatnub

*krs wmn*: One who buries the elderly
BM 1164

16. 7. kd

*kd pr wsh m niwt.f*: One who built a broad house in my township
Florence 1774  Thebes

17. k

17.1. kft⁻⁻ib

*kft⁻⁻ib*: Trustworthy
Sinai 104  Sinai
Sinai 120  Sinai
Sinai 405  Sinai

18. g

18.1. gmi

*gm mdnt nṯr*: One who finds the speech of the palace
CG 20539  Abydos

*gm ḫt g3w 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 g3w.f*: One who finds the utterance when it is lacking
Assiut 1, 248  Assiut
Beni Hasan 2 (*BH* I, pl. 9)  Beni Hasan
Bersheh 5 (*Bersh.* II, pl. 13)  Bersheh
18.2. gmb

gmb 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 shšt bštw(?) hrw n mdt [jhw(?)]: Ready to bring down the rebel on the day of [miserable] words
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

grg-hr m īt īt m kšb ħmwt: Alert in doing things among the citizens
Louve C167 Abydos

19. t

19.1. t

t n ḫkrw ḫnt n iw ībw: Bread for the hungry, beer for the one who arrived thirsty
Hatnub gr. 16 Hatnub

19.2. titi

titi n.f ḫswt ītwyt: One who tramples the foreign lands of the bowmen for him
(i.e., the king)
Hammamat 47 Wadi Hammamat

19.3. twš

twš ḫdt 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.
LIST OF EPITHETS

19.4. _twr_

_twr_ 'wy: Clean of hands
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 23 Hatnub

19.5. _twt_

_twt m2 n mrwt_: True image of love
CG 20538 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos

19.6. _tpy_

_tpy sp3:t.f_: Chief of his district
Deir Rifeh 1 (Kēmi 6, 139) Deir Rifeh

_tpyw śwだけ tkt m ḫt: _One who precedes the entourage approaching the palace_
MMA 57.95 Thebes

19.7. _tm_

_tm ir(w) n kt ḫwrw(?): One who does not (?) a wretched person47_
RIS 14 Semna

_tm mdrw s hr tpt-r_: One who does not seize a man for an utterance
BM 581 Abydos

_tm n hpr sp th m--capital f_: One under whose authority a transgression did not occur
MMA 57.95 Thebes

_tm ḥnn wḏt-mdw.f_: One whose command is not interferred with
Assiut 1, 268 Assiut

_tm ḥl ṭp-rd n ʿḥ tpt-r n ṣtp-s?: 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.
392  APPENDIX TWO

19.9.  tk$3

tk$3  ḫrw m-h$it m$š$: 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 mšv ḫr$: ẖrt-šb: 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 ḫrw n stš$: One whose place is near on the day of assembly
MMA 57.95  Thebes

20.  ṭ

20.1.  ṭm

ṭm ḫr n sptry: Indulgent (veiled of face) toward a petitioner
Assiut 3, 4  Assiut

20.2.  ṭty

ṭty n ḫr m ḫw.f: Vizier of Horus in his appearances
Hammamat 113  Wadi Hammamat

20.3.  ṭni

ṭnn...: Distinguished ...
Hammamat 42  Wadi Hammamat

ṭnn ḫwn.f: Distinguished of his disposition
Wadi el Hudi 14  Wadi el Hudi

ṭnw ḫrw m-m wrw: Distinguished of stature among the great ones
Bersh. 5  (Bersh. II, pl. 13)  Bersheh

ṭnn ḫtny ṭwy: One whom he promotes before the Two Lands
CG 20538  Abydos

ṭnn n nswt ḫ mtyw.f: One whom the king promotes above his peers
Assiut 2, 5-6  Assiut
LIST OF EPITHETS

$t n b.f h n t b h w$: One whom his lord promotes before millions
CG 20538 Abydos

$t n t r h n t b h w m s m n \tilde{b}. n.f m.f$: One whom the god promotes before millions as
an efficient man whose name he knew
CG 20539 Abydos

$t n s r w n 4 h$: One whom the palace officials promote
Berlin 1199 Abydos

20.4. $t r$

$t r w \tilde{s} n w t \ 't n m^{33}. s n$: One who gladdens the great entourage when they see(him?)
Heqaib 1 Elephantine

20.5. $t s$

$t s h r t m i r-g s n b.f$: One who sits on the mat beside his lord
Hatnub gr. 19 Hatnub

20.6. $t s i$

$t s m p h w y$: One who levies the rearguard(?)
B. Hasan 2 (BH 1, pl. 15) Beni Hasan

$t s n n d s w m s t n b$: One who levies warriors in every situation
Hatnub gr. 12 Hatnub

$t s i s b [t] (?):$ One who supports the elderly
Louvre C1 Abydos

$t s i s n b[f] (?):$ One who erects battlements
Bersh. 1 (Bersh. II, 25) Bersheh

$t s i d b m w s n h r d w n-m r w t \ 's t b p r w s$: One who supports their youths and children so
that its offspring are numerous
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

21. $d$

21.1. $d r s r f$

$d r s r f$: Self-controlled
Hatnub gr. 10 Hatnub
Hatnub gr. 26 Hatnub

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48 “Its” refers to the township.
21.2. dwš

_dwš m wšg_: One who gives praise at the Wag-festival
Assiut 1, 238  Assiut

_dwš n nIw.t.f r-pr.r r dwš kš.f r' nb_: One whose township praised him at his house in
order to praise his _ka_ every day
Hatnub gr. 24  Hatnub

_dwš [s]wš.f hš.f_: One who praises the one who surpasses him
Hatnub gr. 10  Hatnub

21.3. dbš

dbš sšr.f: One whose plan is requested(?)
Hammamat 43  Wadi Hammamat

21.4. dm

dm [n] dšmr: Sharp to the sharp(?)
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 šb: Guarded of heart
Assiut 1, 181  Assiut

dns nhwt: Guarded of speech
CG 20539  Abydos

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49 _šfr_ is written with falling man determinative, as in the word _šfr_, 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 w-nl-b m ṭsw.t.f: One who subdues the greedy with his words
Assiut 1, 230-31 Assiut

*dr bū nb bīn: One who subdues everyone evil
Assiut 3, Assiut

*dr bḥḥḥḥ m kš-sš: One who dispels pride from the presumptuous
Assiut 1, 229 Assiut

*dr ṣp: One who subdues wrongdoing
Assiut 1, 242 Assiut

*dr kš-sš m bṭn-ib sidw m nfrt-rt (?): One who dispels presumption from the insolent man and makes (him) powerless with good speech.
Assiut 1, 230 Assiut

21.8. *dp

*dp m bšw: One who makes offerings by the thousands
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

*dp Ḥr Wštšy: One who makes offerings to Horus the Theban
Louvve C243 (E 3462) Abydos

21.9. *dhī

*dhī mnw: Humble
RILN 73 Girgawi

21.10. *dšr

*dšr-lb mšš.f ḫkr nb bīnt n ḫrt(r) mtn.f: Furious when he sees an opponent, possessor of kindness to one who obeys
Assiut 1, 230 Assiut

21.11. *ḏgī

*ḏgī m-hḥt: One who sees the future
Assiut 6, 8 Assiut

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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. ġ\textsuperscript{i}

\(d\textsuperscript{ī}b r st n t s\textsuperscript{ī}l\): Extended of heart in the place of knowledge
Bersh. 5 (\textit{Bersh.} II, pl. 13) Bershesh

22.2. ġ\textsuperscript{i}

\(d\textsuperscript{ī} t\textsuperscript{ī} hr \textit{lrt nḥ}: One who crossed the land doing everything
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat

22.3. ġ\textsuperscript{r}

\(d\textsuperscript{r} \textit{phw mdw}: One who sought out the completion of a matter
Bersh. 5 (\textit{Bersh.} II, pl. 13) Bershesh

\(d\textsuperscript{r}(?): n.s \textit{sḥr n gṛg.s}: One who sought out a plan for it (i.e., the township), for its provision
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

22.4. ġ\textit{wl}

\(d\textit{wl psḏt \textit{lw.sn}: One who summons the Ernhead so that they come
Meir C1 (\textit{Meir VI}, pl. 13) Meir

22.5. ġ\textsuperscript{b}i

\(d\textsuperscript{b}w nswt m w\textsuperscript{ī}w: One who adorns the king in privacy
BM 839 Abydos

\(d\textsuperscript{b}w ntr m mnḥt.f: One who dresses the god with his clothing
Assiut 1, 245 Assiut

\(d\textsuperscript{b}w htw s\textsuperscript{b}w ntrw šmsw Ḥr: One who clothes the bodies of the dignitaries, the gods, and the followers of Horus
Assiut 1, 173, 238 Assiut

22.6. ġ\textit{sr}

\(d\textit{sr m ššm m pr wr: Splendid of guidance in the shrine of Upper Egypt
Meir B2 (\textit{Meir II}, pl. 11) Meir

22.7. ġ\textit{d}

\(d\textit{d m r.f jr m \textit{w\textsuperscript{y}.f: One who speaks with his mouth and acts with his hands
Bersh. 5 (\textit{Bersh.} II, pl. 13) Bershesh
LIST OF EPITHETS

-dd mšt: One who speaks the truth
Hatnub gr. 22 Hatnub
Louvre C167 Abydos

-dd mšt wp.l.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 ḫw-n-ilḥ. One who says words against angry speech
Bersh. 1 (Bersh. II, 26) Bersheh

-dd mdt mšt: One who speaks true words
Beni Hasan 2 (BH I, pl. 7) Beni Hasan

-dd mdt r wn.s miś: One who gives speech rightly
MMA 57.95 Thebes

-dd n n.f htw hrt.sm: Someone to whom people tell their affairs
CG 20538 Abydos
JEA 51, pl. 14 Abydos

-dd n nswt wḏw.f r.f iw hrw n nḏwtr-r: One to whom the king gave orders when the
day of consultation came
Hatnub gr. 20 Hatnub

-dd nfr: 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 nfr: One who says what is good
Louvre C170 Abydos

-dd r nfr: 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(? ) hsst.f: One who says what he favors
Wadi el Hudi 2 Wadi el Hudi

-dd ḫpr: One who says what happens
Hammamat 114 Wadi Hammamat
APPENDIX TWO

$qd\;ts\;rh\;w.f$: One who speaks a phrase at its (proper) time
Hammatam 114 Wadi Hammatam

$qd.t(w)\;lh\;sw\;m\;ib\;n\;nb.f$: Of whom it is said, “He is beneficial in the heart of his lord.”
Hammatam 114 Wadi Hammatam

$qdw\;n.f\;liw\;m\;pr.ns\;tr\;in\;smrw\;inny\;h$: One to whom it is said, “Welcome to the palace” by those who are in the palace
Heqaib 1 Elephantine
Heqaib 9 Elephantine

$qdw\;n.f\;mdt\;hi\;pt$: Someone to whom secret words are spoken
CG 20538 Abydos
CG 20539 Abydos

$qdw\;n.f\;siw\;iwt.f$: Someone of whom is said, “Await his coming”
BM 572 Abydos
Leiden V4 Abydos

$qdw\;r.f\;rmf\;ir.f\;h\;t\;m\;mh\;miw.f$: Regarding whom people say, “Would that he land were filled with his equals!”
BM 561 Abydos

$qdw\;shr.f\;mnh\;...$: Of whom it is said, “His plan is effective.”
Sinai 101 A Sinai

23. Missing first sign(s)

...$w\;st\;n\;nty\;m\;h$: ...ing Asia for the one who is in the palace
Sinai 54 Sinai

...wr.: Great...
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

...$wdt\;nb.f$: ... What his lord commanded
Sinai 405 Sinai

...$f\;nb.f$: ...his lord
Hatnub gr. 28 Hatnub

...$f\;r\;wd.f$: ...concerning his command
Edfu, 32, 10 Edfu

...$m\;pr\;wr\;h$: ... in the shrine of Upper Egypt
Meir B4 Meir
...m\textsuperscript{-} pr nswt: ...in the palace
Hatnub gr. 24 Hatnub

...m\textsuperscript{2}: 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 btj hn\textsuperscript{4} nbw: ... of silver and gold
Hatnub gr. 19 Hatnub

...h\textsuperscript{prt}: ... the widow
Bersheh 1 (Bersh. II, 19) Bersheh

... s\textsuperscript{hrw:} ... of the nobles
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

...gmt.n.f: ...what he found
Assiut 5, 15 Assiut

... Dhwty m wgd\textsuperscript{4} ht: ... Thoth in judging a matter
Bersh. 5 (Bersh. II, pl. 13) Bersheh

...Dhwty ms.tw n-nfr-n ltr.f n.f: ... Thoth "may you approach" because of what he did for him
Hatnub gr. 17 Hatnub
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