
BRINGING TREASURES AND PLACING FEARS: OLD KINGDOM EPITHETS AND TITLES RELATED TO ACTIVITIES ABROAD¹

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ABSTRACT

The present study analyses two epithets related to the Egyptian activities abroad: “who brings the produce from the foreign countries” (inn(.w) hr(y.w)t m h3s.wt) and its variants, and “who places the fear of Horus in the foreign countries” (dd(.w) nrw hrw m h3s.wt). As with other Old Kingdom epithets, they have generally been overlooked as informative data on the administrative roles and vital experiences of their holders. In order to evaluate their potential significance as sources of information, both expressions are brought into connection with the titles of their holders and related biographical accounts. As a result, the epithets become complementary data that help to profile the actual functions and actions of these officials. For the sake of completion, certain titles related to the acquisition of intelligence are also included in this study. Moreover, further thoughts on the possible origins and values of Old Kingdom epithets are also presented

RESUMEN

El presente trabajo estudia dos epítetos asociados a las actividades egipcias en el extranjero: “quien trae los productos de las tierras extranjeras” (inn(.w) hr(y.w)t m h3s.wt) y otras expresiones similares, y “quien pone el terror que inspira Horus en las tierras extranjeras” (dd(.w) nrw hrw m h3s.wt). Como otros epítetos del Reino Antiguo, éstos han sido habitualmente infravalorados como información efectiva sobre las funciones administrativas y las vivencias de quienes los detentaron. Para valorar su posible importancia como fuentes de información, ambos epítetos se han estudiado junto con los títulos y textos biográficos de sus poseedores. El resultado es que ambas expresiones son relevantes para entender y precisar mejor las responsabilidades y acciones de dichos oficiales en el extranjero. En aras de una mayor exhaustividad, también se analizan algunos títulos relacionados con el servicio de inteligencia durante este periodo. Por último, se presentan algunas reflexiones sobre los posibles orígenes y significados de los epítetos durante el Reino Antiguo.

KEYWORDS

Epithets, Ancient Egypt, Old Kingdom, intelligence, foreign policy, inter-regional trade, diplomacy, administration.

PALABRAS CLAVE

Epítetos, Egipto antiguo, Reino Antiguo, servicio de inteligencia, política exterior, comercio exterior, diplomacia, administración.

In 2001 Donald Leprohon raised a series of questions regarding the informative value of several private epithets in Middle Kingdom rock inscriptions at Wadi Hammamat. He finally concluded that “far from being banal and randomly chosen, private laudatory epithets can further help us gain an insight into the mind of an ancient Egyptian official who wished to commemorate his activities for posterity”.² Even though Middle Kingdom graffiti are richer in information than their Old Kingdom counterparts, Leprohon’s view on the usefulness of epithets for profiling the functions of officials can be extrapolated to earlier periods. In this respect, the following pages will deal with some Old Kingdom epithets and, to a lesser degree,

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² Leprohon 2001: 139.

titles related to the Egyptian presence in foreign regions that provide information on both the transfer of exotic imports and intelligence to Egypt, and the diffusion of the king's authority abroad.

The epithets and titles will be studied separately in the initial sections of this chapter. They will firstly include the epithets “who brings the produce/royal *exotica/luxuria* from the foreign countries” (*inn(.w) hry(.w)t/hkr ny-swt m h3s.wt*) and similar expressions related to the import of foreign products to Egypt;³ secondly, official titles connected with the acquisition of information abroad (i.e. intelligence) will be addressed; and thirdly, the epithet, “who places the fear/respect of Horus in the foreign countries” (*dd(.w) nrw hrw m h3s.wt*), which is closely connected to the first group of epithets, will be studied.⁴ Despite not being epithets, the titles in the second group have been included for the sake of completion of the issue of procurement of foreign goods by the Egyptians. Subsequently, both epithets and titles will be analysed with regards to other offices of their holders to identify common patterns or, alternatively, different trends in their careers. Finally, the epithets under study will be discussed as reliable sources of biographical information.

This study is the first of a series of papers by this author that will deal with several Old Kingdom titles and words connected to the acquisition and management of foreign products. I wish Covadonga could have read this paper. Despite being far from her main research interests, the following pages deal with the contacts between Egypt and its neighbours, a subject dear to her that she addressed several times, especially when dealing with Naucratis.

1. EPITHETS REFERRING TO *hkr ny-swt*, *hry(.w)t* AND *inw* FROM THE FOREIGN LANDS

The lives and careers of Old Kingdom officials are generally approached by means of three different groups of textual information: their string of titles and epithets, their genealogy and their biographical accounts. This data is mainly accessed from their tombs, but also from other sources such as rock inscriptions, statues and papyrus. These sources can sometimes be interconnected with each other and with other types of evidence, such as anthropological data.⁵ Titles and epithets are, by far, the most common sources of information. While Egyptian titles have been the focus of many studies, epithets have generally been overlooked as evidence for the activities that their holders carried out. They can, however, be illuminating, as is the case of the epithets that will be analysed in this chapter.

The epithets studied in this section have sometimes been considered as extensions of certain titles.⁶ Here, however, they will be studied as expressions on their own, as they are not clearly related to a single title and they sometimes appear alone (**1.02/3.02**, **1.07**, **1.11**) (see table I). Leaving aside one example (**1.01**), all their attestations can be dated to the 6th dynasty.⁷ They are introduced by the verb “to bring” (*in*), followed by different words related to products that come “from the foreign countries” (*m h3s.wt nb*).⁸ As with many other epithets, they are tenseless and impersonal expressions. Similarly to other examples, the verb is a transitive imperfective active participle that

³ Jones 2000: 306-307, nos. 1115-1118.

⁴ Jones 2000: 1009, no. 3739.

⁵ See, e.g., Kanawati 2000: 21-23.

⁶ See, e.g., Jones 2000: 48, no. 244; 75, no. 330; 287-288, no. 1044; 769-770, no. 2797.

⁷ **1.11** is also not well dated. Eichler (1993: 95, no. 201) places it in the 6th dynasty as it is related to other graffiti of similar date and because of the presence of the title *imy-ir.ty*. Similar epithets and expressions are rarely attested in later periods, see, e.g., Favry 2005: 271-274, no. 187 (*in.n(=i) inw.w <n> nb=i*); Rothe, Rapp, Miller 2008: 254 (BZ06); Brown, Darnell 2013: 135 (*in(.w) inr.w=s <m> h3s.wt rsy(.w)t*).

⁸ For an epithet with the same prepositional expression see Jones 2000: 339, no. 1254 (*irr(.w) mrrt nb=f m h3s.wt*).

refers to regular, repeated or customary actions, i.e. “the one who brings” (*inn(.w)*).⁹ The products brought are defined as, “royal *exotica/luxuria*” (*hkr ny-swt*) (**1.01; 1.03; 1.04; 1.05; 1.11**), *hry(.w)t*, (“produce”)(**1.02; 1.04; 1.05; 1.06/2.04/3.05; 1.07; 1.08; 1.09**), and in one instance as “imported royal *exotica/luxuria*” (*inw n hkr ny-swt*) (**1.06/2.04/3.05**). This set of epithets is attested in different variants that have been grouped in three main sections (see also tables I-II):

a) Epithets referring to the bringing of *hkr ny-swt*:

- “who brings the royal *exotica/luxuria* from the southern foreign countries” (*inn(.w) hkr ny-swt m h3s.wt rsy(.w)t*) (**1.01 (?), 1.03, 1.10**).¹⁰
- “who brings the royal *exotica/luxuria* that loves his lord from all the foreign countries” (*inn(.w) hkr ny-swt m h3s.wt nb(.wt) mrr(.w) nb=f*) (**1.04**).
- “who brings the royal *exotica/luxuria* from the foreign countries [...] before his lord” (*inn(.w) hkr ny-swt hr h3s.wt [...] hr nb[=f]*) (**1.11**).¹¹

b) Epithets referring to the bringing of *inw n hkr ny-swt*:

- “who brings the imported royal *exotica/luxuria*” (*inn(.w) inw n hkr ny-swt*) (**1.06/2.04/3.05**).¹²

c) Epithets referring to the bringing of *hry(.w)t*:

- “who brings the produce of the foreign countries to his lord” (*inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt n nb=f*)(**1.02, 1.08, 1.09**).¹³
- “who brings the produce of all the foreign countries to his lord” (*inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt nb(.wt) n nb=f*) (**1.06/2.04/3.05, 1.07**).¹⁴
- “who brings the produce of the foreign countries to his god” (*inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt n ntr=f*) (**1.04**).¹⁵
- “who brings the produce of the southern and northern foreign countries to the king” (*inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt rsy(.wt) mhty(.wt) n ny-swt*) (**1.05**).¹⁶
- “who brings the produce of the foreign countries [...]?” (*inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt [...]?*) (**1.05**).

⁹ Edel 1955: 312 § 636; Grandet, Mathieu 1997: 456-458 pars. 40.4a-b; Allen 2010²: 335-336.

¹⁰ Jones 2000: 307, no. 1118; 276, no. 1044; 769-770, no. 2797.

¹¹ This epithet and the former example are not listed by Jones 2000.

¹² Jones 2000: 306, no. 1115.

¹³ Jones 2000: 75, no. 330.

¹⁴ Jones 2000: 306, no. 1116.

¹⁵ Not recorded by Jones 2000.

¹⁶ Jones 2000: 306, no. 1116.

	1.01 (<i>hkr-htpw/htpw</i>)	1.02/3.02 (<i>hkr/mry</i>)	1.03/3.03 (<i>in-k3=f</i>)	1.04 (<i>imy/in(w)-df3.w</i>)	1.05/3.04 (<i>tit</i>)	1.06/2.04/3.05 (<i>hkrw-hwt=f</i>)	1.07 (<i>s3bm/nh-n(=t)-ppv</i>)	1.08/3.06 (<i>ppv-nh/hk3-ib</i>)	1.09/3.07 (<i>s3bnf</i>)	1.10/3.09 (<i>hnt</i>)	1.11 (<i>idf</i>)	3.01 (<i>k3(=t)-m-inn</i>)	2.05/3.08 (<i>in-tt=f/mhwt</i>)	3.10 (-)	3.11 (-)
<i>inn(w) hkr ny-swt m h3s.wt</i>	2	-	2	1 ²	-	2 ^a	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
<i>inn(w) hry(w)t h3s.wt n nb=f</i>	-	2	-	1	1 ^a 1 ^b	1 ^a 3 ^b	1	1 ^a	1 ^a	-	-	-	-	-	-
<i>inn(w) inw n hkr ny-swt</i>	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-
<i>dd(w) nrw [hkrw m h3s.wt]</i>	-	1	1	-	-	3 ^a 2 ^b 1 ^c	-	2 ^a 1 ^b	-	1	-	1	2	1?	1?
Other	1 ¹	-	-	-	-	4 ^{a3} 1 ^{b4} 1 ^{c5}	2 ⁶	-	-	-	-	-	1 ⁹	-	-

Table I. Order (expressed in numbers) of the epithets in connection with similar expressions. Greyed columns mark officials dated to the 6th dynasty. Superscript letters indicate different attestations of the epithets. Superscript numbers refer to the following notes:

¹ *imy-ht smnty(w) mrr(w) nb=f*

² The complete epithet is *inn(w) hkr ny-swt m h3s.wt nb mrr(w) nb=f*

³ *irr(w) hst n nb=f*

⁴ *imy-ib n nb=f irr(w) hst nb=f*

⁵ *imy-ib n nb=f irr(w) hst nb*

⁶ *imy-ib n nb=f*

⁷ *whm(w) mdw hkrw*

⁸ *whm(w) mdw hkrw n s3ms=f mit hkrw m h3s.wt*

⁹ Not precisely an epithet but the title under study: *hry-s3t3 n mdwt nb(wt) [innt m h3s.wt nb?]*

The word *hkr ny-swt* is mainly connected to the earlier holders of the epithet (from the 5th to the mid-6th dynasty) (**1.01, 1.03, 1.04, 1.06/2.04/3.05, 1.10, 1.11**). Its meaning has long been debated by Egyptologists.¹⁷ Any interpretation of the term is based on the Old Kingdom logogram *hkr* (Gardiner's sign list Aa31) and the contexts and titles in which it is mentioned. The logogram is attested from the reign of Peribsen onwards.¹⁸ Initially, it was interpreted as an upside-down travertine vase with veining,¹⁹ but it is also closely related to Gardiner's sign list X3, the "drop-/egg-shaped copper hieroglyph".²⁰ The hieroglyph shows a wide range of shapes and colours (white, yellow, red, blue). According to these signs it could depict gold and copper objects,²¹ but it could also refer to some minerals,²² as the inverted travertine stone vase and its veining suggests.

Bearing in mind the different shapes and colours of its logogram, and the ambiguity of their meaning in the texts, the word *hkr* probably refers to a generic term. For instance, it has been translated as "royal ornament", "royal adornment" or "royal insignia" based on

¹⁷ On this word see, e.g. Nord 1970; Baud 1999: 129, n. 176; Brovarski 2016: 17-18.

¹⁸ Kahl 2004: 376; Regulski 2010: 217; 734.

¹⁹ See Griffith in Davies 1900: 37; Fischer 1988: 52; Collombert 2010: 163, §326. For another example of an object with veining see Fischer 1991: 23-25.

²⁰ Brovarski 2008; according to Herslund (2015) Gardiner's sign list X3 depicts a copper melting furnace. On the other hand, Hussein (1997) suggests that the *hkr* logogram could depict a lamp, as the sign is similar to Gardiner's sign list Q7.

²¹ Brovarski 2008.

²² Fakhry 1938.

the meaning of *hkr* as “ornament”.²³ Even though the semagram relates the term to mineral objects, different texts –such as the epithets studied here– suggest that it comprised a wider range of precious products such as gold, linen, ointments and, probably, other metals and minerals kept in a department of the treasure (*pr-hd*).²⁴ The absence of alternative semagrams for the word (i.e. the three circles suggesting mineral products) points again to the fact that it referred to a general idea, as is also seen below with the word *hry(.w)t*. Both terms are actually interchangeable in the expressions under study. Moreover, the epithets point to the fact that *hkr ny-swt* comprises imported luxury items.²⁵ A sealing of Neferirkare from the Egyptian factory of Buhen in Nubia could also refer to the imported nature of the *hkr ny-swt*, as it includes the titles “the one who is charge of the secrets of the *hkr ny-swt* [...]” (*[hry-sš]t3 hkr ny-swt [...]*), and “under-supervisor of the prospectors” (*imy-ht smnty(.w)*).²⁶

The *hkr ny-swt*, among other uses, was given to the officials and palace workers as a reward and, as will be stated below, it also could have served as material for trading with foreign countries. Bearing these circumstances in mind, a translation of *hkr ny-swt* as “royal *luxuria/exotica*” fits better with the epithets under study than the traditional “royal ornaments/regalia”.²⁷

As stated above, the word *hry(.w)t* served as a substitute of *hkr ny-swt* in several variants of the epithet (**1.02, 1.04, 1.05, 1.06/2.04/3.05, 1.07, 1.08, 1.09**). It is the plural or collective *nisba* of the preposition “which is at, under” (*hr*). As *hkr*, it also doesn’t include semagrams. Consequently, it can be translated as a generic term referring to “affair”, “produce”, “possession”, or “need”.²⁸ When connected to the epithet studied here, *hry(.w)t* is usually translated as “foreign products”,²⁹ but it should only be considered simply as “produce”, as is also evident from a similar expression in the *Pyramid texts*.³⁰ The word with a similar meaning is rarely attested elsewhere. It is possibly mentioned in a title on another sealing of Menkaure from Buhen: “the overseer of the produce (?) of the *smnty(.w)*-prospectors” (*imy-r smnty(.w) hry(.w)t (?)*).³¹ Other occurrences of the term are present in the *Pyramid texts* and in some funerary expressions carved on the walls of private tombs, but they do not refer to private or royal products.³²

A similar general treatment can be seen in the composite expression *inw n hkr ny-swt* that is attested only once as a synonym of the previous terms (**1.06/2.04/3.05**). The precise economic meaning of *inw* has been discussed by many scholars.³³ Here, a general translation as “produce” or “import” (i.e. “what is brought”) fits well with the general meaning of the epithets related to it. In fact, *inw* is the most frequent general expression used to refer to the foreign products in the biographies. Herkhuf (**1.06/2.04/3.05**) “bring(s) every produce (*inw*) from this foreign region (Yam) in great quantity”, and Iny/Inudjefau (**1.04**) brought “lapis lazuli, lead/tin, silver, *sft*-oil and every good produce (*inw nb nfr*)

²³ See, e.g., the different translations given by Nord 1970.

²⁴ See, e.g., Nord 1970: 7-11; Brovarski 2016: 17-18.

²⁵ The nature and management of *hkr ny-swt* in the Old Kingdom is the subject of a forthcoming article by the author.

²⁶ Kaplony 1981: 227-228, pl. 69, no. 28 = *nfr-ir-k3-r*^c 28; Jones 2000: 297, no. 1084.

²⁷ Auffrère 2003: 14 translates it as “le tribut exotique”. Moreover, the Middle Kingdom nomarch of Elephantine Sarenput (I) held the title “overseer of every tribute in every entrance of the foreign countries as *hkr ny-swt*” (*imy-r g3.wt nbt r-3 h3s.wt m hkr ny-swt*), see Favry 2005: 239-241, no. 163.

²⁸ Wb. III 318, 10 – 319, 14; Hannig 2003: 965 {23968}, {23978}, {23980}.

²⁹ Hannig 2003: 965 {23979}.

³⁰ PT 248 § 263a: “who brings the produce of the heaven to Re daily” (*inn(.w) hry(.w)t hryt n r^c hrw nb*).

³¹ Kaplony 1981: 129-130, pl. 48 = *mn-k^cw-r^c* 53; Jones 2000: 192, no. 721.

³² For a list of occurrences see, e.g., Hannig 2003: 965 {23968}, {23978}, {23980}.

³³ See, e.g., Gordon 1983; Bleiberg 1996; Warburton 1997; Kubisch 2007.

that his ka (of his majesty) desired”.³⁴ Moreover, it is one of the oldest terms mentioning such imports, as it is already attested in the 1st dynasty in the expression “foreign import” (*inw ḥ3st*).³⁵

2. Epithets/titles referring to information from the foreign lands

Aside from the aforementioned epithets are some titles that could be connected to the bringing of other foreign goods into Egypt. However, they do not mention materials or physical commodities, but abstract ideas: useful information on foreign countries and people or, in other words, intelligence.³⁶ All their holders can be dated to the 6th dynasty. Leaving aside one exception connected with the title “overseer” (*imy-r*) (2.01), all of them are related to the title *ḥry-sšt3*, “keeper of the secrets”³⁷ which, as will be seen below, is part of the blurred boundary that separates titles from epithets.³⁸

Almost all the titles headed with the expression *ḥry-sšt3* are, according to Baud, *Beititeln*³⁹ or, in other words, descriptive or explicative titles on the functions connected to regular titles.⁴⁰ For this reason, they rarely appear in connection with usual administrative practices. For instance, they are barely attested in the Abusir papyri.⁴¹ However, they are well attested from official seals (*Amstsiegeln*)⁴² where many epithets, religious titles and expressions were carved along with regular administrative titles in order to picture and better individualize the profiles of their given, but unnamed holders.⁴³ Generally speaking, titles with the *ḥry-sšt3* heading underline the privileged status of their holders as officials with access to some kind of restricted knowledge,⁴⁴ referring to specified experience and skill in mentioned fields of action and to related regular titles.⁴⁵

As stated above, these titles have been included in this article despite their status, for the sake of completion of the study of the bringing of foreign products and information. They can be separated in two groups:

a) Expressions which explicitly mention the bringing of information:

- “keeper of the secrets of everything that is said that is brought from the narrow entrance to the foreign countries and the southern foreign countries” (*ḥry-sšt3 n mdwt nb(t) innt m r-3 g3w ḥ3s.wt m ḥ3s.wt rsy(.w)t*) (2.03).⁴⁶
- “keeper of the secrets of every secret that is said that come from the narrow entrance of Elephantine” (*ḥry-sšt3 n mdwt nb(t) š3t iwt m r-3 g3w n 3bw*) (2.03).⁴⁷
- “keeper of the secrets of everything that is said [that is brought from all the foreign countries (?)]” (*ḥry-sšt3 n mdwt nb(t) [innt m ḥ3s.wt nbt(?)]*) (2.05/3.08).

³⁴ See respectively Urk. I 125, 6 (*in.n(=i) inw m ḥ3st tn r 3t wrt*); Marcolin, Diego Espinel 2011: 581-582 (*(in.n=i) ḥsbḏ ḏḥti ḥḏ sḥt inw nb nfr mr.n k3=f*).

³⁵ Ogdon 1982; Bleiberg 1996: 36, no. 14; 139, n. 26; 37-38.

³⁶ On some intelligence practices during the Old Kingdom see Diego Espinel 2008.

³⁷ Baines 1990: 9.

³⁸ Fischer 2002: 18. For instance, Beatty (2000: 62) has rightly pointed out that titles headed with *ḥry-sšt3* manifest “various aspects of behaviour rather than a qualitatively distinct type of behaviour which must be pigeonholed under the rubric of functional or honorific”.

³⁹ Baud 1999: 270; see also Franke 1984: 107, n. 2.

⁴⁰ Quirke 1986: 107-109.

⁴¹ Posener-Kriéger 1976: 430; Posener-Kriéger, Verner, Vymazalová 2006: pls. 20E; 21E; 21K.

⁴² Kaplony 1977: 10.

⁴³ Nolan 2010: 65. See also below.

⁴⁴ Baines 1990: 9-10; Baud 1999: 237, 269-270.

⁴⁵ Balanda 2009: 334-335.

⁴⁶ Jones 2000: 622-623, no. 2282.

⁴⁷ Jones 2000: 624-625, no. 2288.

- “keeper of the secrets of every secret that is said [...]?” (*hry-s*št3 *n mdwt nb(t) š[t3t]* [...])? (2.05/3.08).
- “keeper of the secrets of every secret that is said in the head of the south” (*hry-s*št3 *n mdwt nb(t) št3(t) n(t) tp-rsy*) (2.07).
- “keeper of the secrets of every secret that is said in the narrow entrance to/of Elephantine/foreign countries (?)” (*hry-s*št3 *n mdwt nb(t) št3t nt r-ʿ3 g3w 3bw/h3s.wt* (?) (2.08).
- “keeper of the secrets of the narrow entrance of the southern desert regarding all [the secrets] (?) that are said” (*hry-s*št3 *n r-ʿ3 g3w h3st rs(yt) m mdwt nbt š[t3t]* (?) (2.09).⁴⁸

b) Expressions which do not explicitly mention the bringing of intelligence:

- “keeper of the secrets regarding every command of the entrance to the foreign land” (*hry-s*št3 *m wdt-mdw nbt nt r-ʿ3 h3st*) (2.01).⁴⁹
- “keeper of the secrets of the king regarding every [secret] command of the ent[rance to the foreign land]” (*hry-s*št3 *n ny-swt m wdt-mdw nbt [št3t] nt r-ʿ3 h3st*) (2.01).⁵⁰
- “keeper of the secrets regarding every command of every entrance of the southern foreign lands” (*hry-s*št3 *m wdt-mdw nbt nt r-ʿ3 nb n h3s.wt rsy(.wt)*) (2.02).⁵¹
- “keeper of the secrets of everything that is said in the head of the south (who is in the heart of his lord)” (*hry-s*št3 *n mdwt nb(t) nyt tp-rsy (imy-ib n nb=f)*) (1.06/2.04/3.05).⁵²
- “keeper of the secrets of everything that is said in the narrow entrance of Elephantine” (*hry-s*št3 *n mdwt nb(t) nt r-ʿ3 g3w n 3bw*) (2.06).⁵³

Titles headed with *hry-s*št3 were held by officials close to the king, and were tightly related to delicate actions which implied discretion. At the same time, these titles would have been an official recognition of that quality.⁵⁴ They would have been connected to several fields of hidden knowledge ((*s*)št3): royal or palace secrets (i.e. state secrets), hidden temple ritual, science and religion, medicine, astronomy, the “house of life” (*pr-nh*) institution, and secret skills of different handicrafts and arts.⁵⁵ The titles in question draw attention to an additional field: the information that comes from abroad, literally “everything that is said” (*mdwt nbt*) that, in some instances, is defined as secret when determined by *št3t*.

As seen below, these intelligence offices were held by high-ranking officials concerned with the import of *exotica* from abroad, either in close contact with the court and the king, in more distant spheres as the provincial administration, or with the expeditions sent abroad by themselves.⁵⁶ Occasionally, *s*št3 may refer to highly valuable materials or

⁴⁸ The last five epithets are not attested in Jones 2000.

⁴⁹ Jones 2000: 618, no. 2266, see also Fischer 2002: 29, no. 2266.

⁵⁰ Jones 2000: 629, no. 2305.

⁵¹ Not attested in Jones 2000.

⁵² Jones 2000: 625-626, no. 2290.

⁵³ Jones 2000: 623, no. 2283.

⁵⁴ Rydström 1994: 65.

⁵⁵ Rydström 1994: 58-81; see also Baud 1999: 269-270; Balanda (2009: 322-326) does not find any precise translation for the term. He divides the term according to two different meanings: on one hand a static one (*št3*) that cannot be translated as “secret”, even though this meaning is clear in some attestations, but as a reference to something that is inaccessible, restricted, remote or, even, magnificent. On the other hand, its causative form (*s*št3) is “the result of an action or the action itself and is therefore dynamic in nature”.

⁵⁶ Balanda 2009: 332-333, 328.

objects, sometimes related to cults and rituals.⁵⁷ A possible connection between *št3/sšt3* and goods can be seen on a 4th dynasty official seal from Buhen of a “seal-bearer of the secret products [...]” (*[h]tmw iḥt št3t [h3st?]*) who also held the title “seal-bearer of the prospectors” (*h̄tmw n smnty(.w)*).⁵⁸ Notwithstanding these sources of evidence, the general content of the titles mainly favours their interpretation as receptors of restricted information, and not of “secret” materials or goods.

These titles could be related to the title “keeper of the secrets of every secret that is said that is brought to the province” (*h̄ry-sšt3 n mdwt nb(t) št3t innt r sp3t*) held by several nomarchs at Dendera and Thebes in the mid-late 6th dynasty.⁵⁹ As will be seen below, some of the holders of the titles under study were also nomarchs, so both groups of titles could imply similar actions.

Many of the titles under study can be expanded and detailed versions of similar titles related to the foreign countries, such as “keeper of the secrets of the foreign countries” (*h̄ry-sšt3 n h3s.wt*) and its variants,⁶⁰ or to the surveillance of the natural entrances to Egypt, as “keeper of the secrets of the narrow door of the foreign country” (*h̄ry-sšt3 n r-3 g3w h3st*) and similar titles.⁶¹ For instance, Tjauti (2.09) held the title “keeper of the secrets of the narrow entrance of the southern foreign country” (*h̄ry-sšt3 n r-3 g3w h3st rsy(t)*) and the epithet “who fill the desire of the king/his lord in the narrow entrance of the south(ern) foreign country” (*mḥ(.w)-ib ny-swt/nb=f m r-3 g3w h3st rsy(t)*). Both were recurrently carved in his tomb.⁶² They could be shortened versions or elusive references to his title “keeper of the secrets of the narrow entrance of the southern desert regarding all [the secrets] (?) that are said” (*h̄ry-sšt3 n r-3 g3w h3st rsy(t) m mdwt nb(t) š[t3t] (?)*), carved only once in his burial chamber. Despite this possibility such “shortened” titles haven’t been considered in this study for reasons of convenience and prudence. Moreover, some titles listed in section b) could, rather than referring to the bringing of intelligence, be related to the management of internal affairs in Egyptian posts. This seems to be the case for the titles mentioning “commands” (*wḏt-mdw*) (2.01, 2.02).⁶³

Finally, the earliest title connected to the acquisition of intelligence seems to be a “regular title”, as it is headed with the office “overseer” (*imy-r*): “overseer of all the secrets which are said at the entrance of the foreign countries” (*imy-r mdw(t) nbt št3(t) nt r-3 h3st*).⁶⁴ This title is attested only once. Its holder, Iunmin/Tjetetu (2.01) also was “keeper of the secrets of the king regarding every [secret] command of the ent[rance to the foreign

⁵⁷ Beatty 2000: 63-64, 71. The same author mentions the passage in which the king gave different products of the court to Sabni (2.06) for the burial of his father Intef/Mekhu (2.05/3.08). Among them are “*sft*-oil from the treasury and secrets (*sšt3*) from the double pure place (of embalmment) (*sft h3b m pr-ḥd sšt3 m wḥb.ty*)”. However, *sšt3* could refer here to religious texts, as it is determined by the usual papyrus roll semagram.

⁵⁸ See Kaplony 1981: 119-120, pls. 38-41 and pl. 45, no. 34 = *mn-k3w-r-3* 30. The title is not attested in Jones 2000. Kaplony (1981: 124, pl. 45 = *mn-k3w-r-3* 38) records another fragmentary 4th dynasty seal from Buhen that also mentions *št3*, but in an unknown context.

⁵⁹ Jones 2000: 625, no. 2289. This title was held during the 6th dynasty by three governors at Thebes and three governors at Dendera, see respectively Saleh 1977: 13, no. 5 (Unisankh) (4.02); 18, no. 5 (Khenti) (4.03); 23, no. 8 (Ihy) (4.04); Fischer 1964: 93, no. 3 (Idu I) (4.05); 103, no. 6 (Tjauti) (4.06); 114, no. 1 (Niibunysut/Bebi) (4.07). This title could refer to information coming from abroad. A possible hint to this could be the titles of Abebi (4.01), an official who held the titles “keeper of the secrets of the head of the south” (*h̄ry-sšt3 n tp-rsy*) and “keeper of the secrets of the province” (*h̄ry-sšt3 n sp3t*) respectively in two different false doors that could be made for different homonymous officials.

⁶⁰ Jones 2000: 637-638, nos. 2335-2336.

⁶¹ Jones 2000: 157-159, nos. 606-610; 624-625, no. 2290; 633-634, nos. 2320-2322. Sabni (1.09/3.07) was, for instance, *h̄ry-sšt3 n r-3 šmḥw/rsy?*

⁶² For the epithets, see Jones 2000: 447-448, no. 1677.

⁶³ On *wḏ* as “royal command” see Hays 2000; Vernus 2013.

⁶⁴ Jones 2000: 146, no. 569.

land]” ([*hry-sšt*]³ *n ny-swt m wdt-mdw nbt [št3t] nt r-³ h3st*]). The latter title could be the *Beititel*-like version of the former or, at least, they could refer to similar responsibilities.⁶⁵

3. EPITHETS REFERRING TO THE FEAR (*nrw*) OF THE KING IN THE FOREIGN LANDS

The third group of expressions under study is the epithet “who places the fear/respect of Horus in the foreign countries” (*dd(.w) nrw hrw m h3s.wt*) which does not present any variant.⁶⁶ As will be seen below, it is closely related to the epithets referring to the import of products from abroad and, like them, it has sometimes been considered as an extension of some titles and epithets.⁶⁷ However, it will also be studied as an expression on its own, since it is not clearly connected with a single title or epithet. It is formed with the imperfective active participle (*dd(.w)*) of “to put”, “to place” (*wđi*).⁶⁸ The most interesting element of the epithet is the object: “the *nrw* of Horus” (*nrw hrw*). The word *nrw* is usually translated as “fear” in the sense of the fear that somebody (i.e. Horus) inspires in his adversaries, but it can also be translated as “respect” or “power”.⁶⁹ The semagram of the word is a man holding a staff (Gardiner’s sign list A24). This sign usually determines terms relating to effort, force or violence, suggesting that *nrw* could be inserted into the general idea of coercion.⁷⁰ Curiously, this epithet is one of the rare attestations of the word in non-religious documents. The word as a verb meaning “to shudder” or “to be terrified” (*nri*) appears in the 5th dynasty biographical text of Washptah, when courtiers fear a possible reaction of their king.⁷¹ Even in the religious sphere, *nrw* is far from being usual. It only appears in the *Pyramid texts* and in several snake-spells discovered in the bedstead inside the coffin of Nyankhpepy.⁷² In both cases its meaning is closely connected with the king and the gods, and it is never related to any other living beings (including humans). In the *Coffin texts* it also features as a divine power which is sometimes held by the deceased.⁷³ In the *Pyramid texts*, the king’s *nrw* extends to person-like beings (opponents, the hearts of unknown beings, those of the sky, gods or sacred images)⁷⁴ but also, like the epithet, to geographic entities (the Two Lands and the marshes).⁷⁵ As in the epithet, in one passage of the *Pyramid texts* *nrw* is “placed” (*wđi*) in the hearts of some unknown beings.⁷⁶

Curiously, the epithet is related to another that is only attested once: “the throwing stick in the foreign lands” (*mit hrw m h3s.wt*), held by Sabni (1.09).⁷⁷ The word *mit* is a variant of “throwing stick” (*m^c3t*), derived from the verb “to throw sticks” (*m^c3*).⁷⁸

⁶⁵ Similarly Kaplony (1981: 46-49, pls. 15-16 = *r^c-h^c-f 14*), records a 4th dynasty *Amtsiegel* from Giza of an official that was [*h*]ry-sšt³ *n h3st i3btyt*, see Jones 2000: 637, no. 2335; and *imy-r k3t nb(t) nt i3btyt*, see Jones 2000: 261, no. 946.

⁶⁶ Curiously Hannig 2003: 638-639 records the epithet in different entries: {15892} {15994} {15595} {15896}.

⁶⁷ See e.g. Jones 2000: 48, no. 244; 108, no. 437; 185-186, no. 699; 626, no. 2291; 769-770, no. 2797; see, however, Andrassy 2002a: 394.

⁶⁸ Again Hannig (2003: 638-639) makes a distinction between some examples with *rdi* {15994} {15995}, and other with *wđi* {15896}.

⁶⁹ Hannig 2003: 638-639, {15994} {15995} {15896}. For the word see also Takács 2015: 66 (560).

⁷⁰ David 2006: 27-28.

⁷¹ Kloth 2004: 330, fig. 4a. See also Kaplony 1981: 284, pl. 81 = *r^c-nfr-f3* for the epithet *m3-nht-nr*.

⁷² The date of Nyankhpepy’s spells is debated. According to Fischer (1979: 179) it should date to the end of the Old Kingdom (8th dynasty) or later, see also Brovarski 2006: 106.

⁷³ Bickel 1988: 21-22; the same applies for the Nyankhpepy spells, see Lapp 2011: 282-283, vers. 1, §3-6.

⁷⁴ See, e.g., PT 197 § 113b; PT 364 § 614c; PT 256 §§ 302c-d; PT 574 § 1488a; PT 622 §§ 1755b-c; PT 635 § 1794c; PT 625 § 1766c.

⁷⁵ See PT 81 § 57b; PT 254 § 280a.

⁷⁶ See PT 256, §§ 302c-d.

⁷⁷ Not included in Jones 2000.

⁷⁸ See respectively Hannig 2003: 271 {5197} {5196}.

The verb is attested in both religious texts and fowling scenes in some private tombs, but the noun is only present, as *nrw*, in the *Pyramid Texts* and in the religious texts from Nyankhpepy's coffin.⁷⁹ As the king's throwing stick, Sabni boasts his efficiency in a very visual way, recalling violent actions, as sticks were thrown in order to hit or kill birds and other animals. In this sense an utterance of the *Pyramid texts* is illustrative of the meaning and use of this tool against the enemies:

This king N lives with his *ka*, and he repels the evil which is before N, he expels the evil which is behind N, as the throwing sticks of the one who presides Khem, that repel the evil which is in front of him and expel out the evil which is behind him.⁸⁰

Both epithets, with terms rarely attested in non-religious texts, could be inspired by spells or ideas derived from, or recorded in, the *Pyramid texts* and other religious compositions. Indeed, Sabni boasts in his tomb (QH 35e) that he has access to religious texts: "I am a useful *akh* who knows his spells. I know the spell of ascending to the great god, the lord of heaven".⁸¹

4. Analysis of the epithets and titles

Taking into account the titularies of the holders of the epithets and titles under study, the first impression is that they had very different careers and responsibilities (Table II). As members of foreign expeditions, an added difficulty is evident in the study of their careers and in the interpretation of their administrative progressions: missions to foreign regions were not periodical, but occasional actions. As a result, many titles and epithets related to these expeditions could be held temporarily rather than permanently. For instance, this seems to be the case, as stated below, with the title "seal-bearer of the god" (*htmw-ntr*).⁸² Significantly, the holders of the epithets related to the procurement of products and to the promotion of the fear of the king are never related to the titles connected to the reception of foreign intelligence, except for Intef/Mekhu (2.05/3.08). On the contrary, the aforementioned epithets were frequently held simultaneously. Six, maybe seven, out of eleven officials (1.02/3.02, 1.03/3.03, 1.06/2.04/3.05, 1.08/3.06, 1.09/3.08, 1.10/3.09 and perhaps also 1.05/3.04) who held epithets connected to the bringing of products also "placed the fear of Horus in the foreign lands". For this reason, in the following pages both sets of epithets will be studied separately from the titles referring to intelligence.

⁷⁹ See PT 553 § 1362b; Lapp 2011: 283 verse 2 § 3-6.

⁸⁰ PT 469 §§ 908a-g (*nh N pn hn k3=f hsr=f dwt tpyt wy N shr=f dwt imyt-ht N mi m3.wt hnty hm shrt dwt tpy(t) wy=f hsr t dwt imyt-ht=f*).

⁸¹ Edel 2008: 816-817, pl. 55 (*ink 3h ikr rh(.w) r(.w)=fiw rh.k(wi) r n i' n ntr 3 nb pt*). For instance, the latter epithet is preceded directly by another epithet "the one who heralds Horus' words to his retinue" (*wlm(.w) mdw hrw n sms(.w)=f*) at the beginning of the same biographical text (the epithet is not recorded by Jones 2000). The sequence of both epithets may vaguely recall two passages of the *Pyramid texts* (PT 471 § 921a; PT 525 § 1245c): "This king N shall be cleaned by Horus' retinue: the bow and throwstick of Wepwawet" (*wb.ti N pn in sms.w hrw pdt m3t/tni wp-w3.wt*).

⁸² Quirke 1996: 671. On the contrary, the same author (*ibid.*: 675-676) rightly states that "through their multiple positions, or at least multiple references to official positions, (private inscriptions remind us) that there is no nine-to-five job in the ancient world, and that the official held his regular title as fixedly as he held his personal name. This obvious Weberian difference between premodern and modern social organization carries important ramifications for our study and understanding of the Egyptian elite."

	1.01 (nfr-hrww/hrpw)	1.02/3.02 (lhi/mrv)	1.03/3.03 (in-k3=f)	1.04 (inv/in(.w)-d3.w)	1.05/3.04 (tll)	1.06/2.04/3.05 (hrw-hwt=f)	1.07 (s3bw ^c nh-n(=l)-ppw)	1.08/3.06 (ppw-nht/hk3-ib)	1.09/3.07 (s3bnt)	1.10/3.09 (hnti)	1.11 (ldi)	2.01 (vvn-mnw/ttw)	2.02 (in-k3=f/inl)	2.03 (mrv-r ^c -nfr/k3r)	2.05/3.08 (in-lf=finhww)	2.06 (s3bnt)	2.07 (hwt-n-hmmw)	2.08 (-)	2.09 (3bwt)	3.01 (k3(=l)-m-tmt)	3.10 (in-k3=f)	3.11 (-)	3.12 (-)	Totals
imy-iz																								1
imy-ir.ty (*pr(.w) w3)			○																	●				3+(1)
imy-r i ^c 3(.w)					○	●	●	○	○	●	●													6+(1)
imy-r it šm ^c w s3b														●										1
imy-r wp(.w)t				●										●										2
imy-r wdt mdw nbt n(v)t ny-swt																				●				1
{imy-r mn}f3t																					●			1
imy- r mš ^c		●			○								●							●	○			4+(2)
imy-r mdw(t) nbt š3(t) nt r- ^c 3 h3st												●												1
imy-r niwt + pyramid								●																1
imy-r r- ^c 3.w g3w(.w) h3s.wt				○																				(1)
imy-r hm(.w)-ntr														●										2
imy-r h3s.wt				○	●	●	○	●	●						○	●	●	●		●				6+(1)
imy-r hnty(.w)-š pr- ^c 3												●		○										2
imy-r hmw		●																						1
imy-r st hnty(.w)-š pr ^c 3												●												1
imy-r sb3w ms.w [ny-swt]																								1
imy-r smnty(.w)				○									●							●				1+(1)
imy-r sš(.w)			○																					(1)
imy-r sš(.w) *pr.w		●								○														1+(1)
imy-r šm ^c w						●								?	●	●			●					5+(1)(?)
imy-r šn ^c (.w) m nhb								●																1
imy-r gs-pr															○									1
imy-r gs hmnty(.w)														○										(1)
imy-r k3t nbt nt ny-swt												●								●				2
imy-ht w3 ^c 3																	●							1
imy-ht hm(.w)-ntr + pyramid																●								1
imy-ht smnty(.w)	●																							1
inn(.w) inn n hkr ny-swt						●																		1
inn(.w) hkr ny-swt m h3s.wt	●		●	●						●	●													4
inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt n nb=f		●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●														7
iry-p ^c t								○								○			●					1+(2)
iry-mh ^c t														○										(1)
iry-ht ny-swt														○										1
*mit hrw m h3s.wt									●						●									1
*d-mr <n> s3b															●									1
wr md šm ^c w															●									1
whm(.w) mdw hrw									●															1
nniw nhb						●		○																1+(1)
nty m z3 + pyramid							●																	1
nty n *pr(.w) [nfr.w (?)]		●																						1
nty n *pr w3		●																						1
mdw mty.w mniw(.w) smnty(.w) (?)				●																				1
mdhw sš ny-swt														●										1
(ny?) nst hntt														●										1
h3ty- ^c				●				○	●					●	○	●	●		●					6
hm-ntr <mmw?>																					○			(1)
hm-ntr + pyramid												●												1
hry-sš3									●			●									○			1+(1)
hry-sš3 m pr dw3t												●	●						?					2+(1)(?)
hry sš3 n wdt-mdw(t)						●																		1
hry sš3 n wdt-mdw(t) nbt nt r- ^c 3 nb n h3s.wt (rsy(.wt))												●	●											2
hry-sš3 n mdwt nb(t) innt m r- ^c 3 g3w h3s.wt m h3s.wt rsy(.wt)														●										1
hry-sš3 n mdwt nb(t) innt m h3s.wt															?									1+(1)(?)
hry-sš3 n mdwt nb(t) nt r- ^c 3 g3w n 3bw																●								1
hry-sš3 n mdwt nb(t) nt tp rsy						●																		1
[hry-s]š3 n mdwt nb(t) š3t															●									1
hry-sš3 n mdwt nb(t) š3t iwt m r- ^c 3 g3w n 3bw														●										1
hry-sš3 n mdwt nb(t) š3t n(t) tp rsy																	●							1
[hry-sš3] n mdwt nb(t) š3t n r- ^c 3 g3w 3bw/h3s.wt																	●	●						1

	1.01 (nfr-htpw/htpw)	1.02/3.02 (htl/mry)	1.03/3.03 (in-k3=f)	1.04 (imv/in(w)-d3.w)	1.05/3.04 (tll)	1.06/2.04/3.05 (hrw-hwt=f)	1.07 (s3bn ^ε nh-n(=l)-ppv)	1.08/3.06 (ppy-nht/hk2-ib)	1.09/3.07 (s3bnl)	1.10/3.09 (hntl)	1.11 (tldl)	2.01 (vvn-mnw/ttw)	2.02 (in-k3=f/inl)	2.03 (mry- ^ε -nfr/k3r)	2.05/3.08 (in-lr=f/inhw)	2.06 (s3bnl)	2.07 (hwt-n-hmmw)	2.08 (-)	2.09 (3wtf)	3.01 (k3(=l)-n-tmt)	3.10 (in-k3=f)	3.11 (-)	3.12 (-)	Totals
hry-s3t3 n ny-swt m wd(t)-mdw nbt												●												1
[s3t3] nt r- ^ε 3 h3st																								1
hry-s3t3 n r- ^ε 3 g3w h3st n(t) m mdwt nbt																			●					1
[s3t3]																								1
hry-s3t3 n r- ^ε 3 sm ^ε w									●															1
hry-s3t3 n r- ^ε 3 g3w h3st (rsyt)																			●					1
hry-s3t3 n r- ^ε 3 g3w h3st rsy(t) m mdwt nbt																			●					1
[s3t3] (?)																								1
hry-s3t3 n h3s.wt n rsy													●											1
hry-tp ^ε 3 n ny-swt									●															1
hry-tp ^ε 3 n sp3t														●										2
hry-tp nhb						●		●											●					2
hk3 hwt														○					●					1+(1)
hnty-š + pyramid		●		●				●				●												5
hrp 3t nbt ntr(y)t																			●					1
hrp nfr.w				●																				1
htmw-bity		●			●	●	●	●	●					○	●	●	●		●					8+(1)
htmw-ntr		●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	○			●						●		○			7
hry-h3b				●	●	●	●	●	●			●	●	●	●	●	●		●		●			13
s3 ny-swt																				●				1
sm3 mnw																					○			(1)
smnty h3st										●														1
smr-pr												●												1
smr-w ^ε ty		●		●	●	●	●	●	●			●	●	●	●	●	●		●	●	●			15
shd hm(w)-ntr + pyramid									●								●	●						3
shd smnty(w)			○																					(1)
s3 md3t ntr																			●		○			1+(1)
s3 smnty(w)		○																						(1)
s3 n z3 + pyramid								●																1
špsi ny-swt												●												1
tpy hr ny-swt (pr- ^ε 3)		●										●	●	●			●							4
dd(w) nrw hrw m h3s.wt		●	●		○	●		●	●	●					●					●	●	●	●	11+(1)

Table II. Titulary of the holders of the epithets and titles under study. Bold horizontal lines group the holders of the epithets and titles under study. Bold squares indicate the different groups of epithets and titles under study. Greyed columns mark officials dated to the 6th dynasty. ● = titles held by the officials under study; ○ = titles held by homonymous officials that are not the officials under study; ● = titles held by both the officials under study and homonymous officials.

The holders of both groups of epithets were involved in activities abroad –as will be stated below– that, according to the epithet referring to the “fear of the king”, could have had a coercive nature. Consequently, it is to be expected that the *cursus honorum* of these officials contain a high number of military titles. This is not the case, however. The most representative military title, “overseer of an expedition” (*imy-r m^εc),⁸³ is only attested on three or perhaps five occasions (1.02/3.02, 2.05/3.08, 3.01 and, possibly, 1.05/3.04, 3.09); and another similar title, “overseer of the *mnf3t*-troops” ([*imy-r mn*]f3t), only once (3.09).⁸⁴ The title “overseer of the speaker(s) of foreign languages” (*imy-r i^ε3(w)*)⁸⁵ is the most frequent, as it is held by five or maybe six officials (1.06/2.04/3.05, 1.07,*

⁸³ Jones 2000: 142, no. 551.

⁸⁴ Jones 2000: 137, no. 536. According to Jansen-Winkel (2016: 197-201), they would be troops transported by ship.

⁸⁵ Jones 2000: 73-76, nos. 327-332.

1.08/3.06, 1.09/3.08, 2.05/3.08 and also possibly **1.05/3.04**). However, its military nature is not completely clear.⁸⁶ The same can be said of naval titles such as “captain” (*imy-ir.ty* (*‘pr(.w) wi3*)) which were closely connected to expeditions abroad⁸⁷ that are only attested on three, or maybe four, occasions (**1.10/3.09, 1.11, 3.01** and also possibly **1.03/3.03**). Other titles include “overseer of the scribe(s) of the crew(s)” (*imy-r sš(.w) ‘pr(.w)*),⁸⁸ held by one or two officials (**1.02/3.02** and also possibly **1.09/3.08**) and “director of recruit(s)” (*hrp nfr(.w)*),⁸⁹ which only appears once (**1.04**). An exception is the title “seal-bearer of the god in the two great ships” (*htmw-ntr m wi3.wy 3*) which was held by four officials (**1.02/3.02, 1.03/3.03, 1.04, 3.01**).⁹⁰ Of course, these numbers do not disregard the military involvement of these officials abroad at all. For instance, Pepynakht/Heqaib (**1.08/3.06**) held both groups of epithets and didn’t hold any apparent military title (except for *imy-r i3(.w)*). However, he participated in two military campaigns against Lower Nubia from which he brought different goods and people to the royal court. Furthermore, he also led a military expedition against the “Asiatics” (*3m.w*) in the Eastern Desert or the Levant.⁹¹

In any case, the link between both groups of epithets with activities in foreign lands is beyond doubt. Five out of fifteen officials holding both epithets either simultaneously or separately have explicit biographical texts mentioning their participation in foreign expeditions (**1.04, 1.06/2.04/3.05, 1.08/3.06, 1.09/3.08, 3.01**). Apparently, only Pepynakht/Heqaib (**1.08/3.06**), and the king’s son Kaiemtjenenet (**3.01**) were involved in military operations. The rest participated in commercial and/or diplomatic missions. It is significant that some officials were sent (*h3b*) expressly by the king to the foreign countries. That is the case of Iny/Inudjefau (**1.04**), sent by three kings to the Levant; Herkhuf (**1.06/2.04/3.05**), sent by two kings to the African region of Yam (*im3*); and Pepynakht/Heqaib’s son, Sabni (**1.09/3.08**), sent to Lower Nubia (*w3w3t*) at least once. They all brought (*in*) products, mainly referred as *inw*, from abroad.⁹²

The geographical origin or final destination of some of these officials also stresses their link to foreign lands (see map). Many of them were buried –or at least mentioned– in frontier posts including Elephantine (**1.05/3.04, 1.06/2.04/3.05, 1.07, 1.08/3.06, 1.09/3.07**) and its periphery (**1.11**), Coptos (**1.03/3.03, 1.10/3.08, 3.09**) and Dakhla oasis (**3.11, 3.12**). Moreover, some of these individuals carved their names and titles, and the epithets under study, in the Eastern Desert (**1.01, 1.02/3.02, 1.03, 1.05/3.04** and perhaps also **1.10/3.09**) or Lower Nubia (**2.05/3.08** and also possibly **1.03/3.03** or **3.10**). Moreover, few of them held other titles connected to the management of frontier posts⁹³ and the reception of foreign goods. Among the latter, the most significant title is “overseer of the foreign countries” (*imy-r h3s.wt*) and its variants which was held by four or maybe five officials (**1.06/2.04/3.05, 1.07, 1.08/3.06, 1.09/3.07** and perhaps **1.05/3.04**).

The involvement of the epithet holders in activities abroad is also evident from some titles connected to prospection works made by “prospectors” (*smnty.w*). That is the case of

⁸⁶ On the title see, e.g., Diego Espinel 2006: 119-123; Diego Espinel 2014: 40-41.

⁸⁷ Jones 2000: 47-48, nos. 243-244; Eichler 1993: 163-173; Allam 2015.

⁸⁸ Diego Espinel 2015: 239-240, n. k.

⁸⁹ Jones 2000: 722, no. 2631.

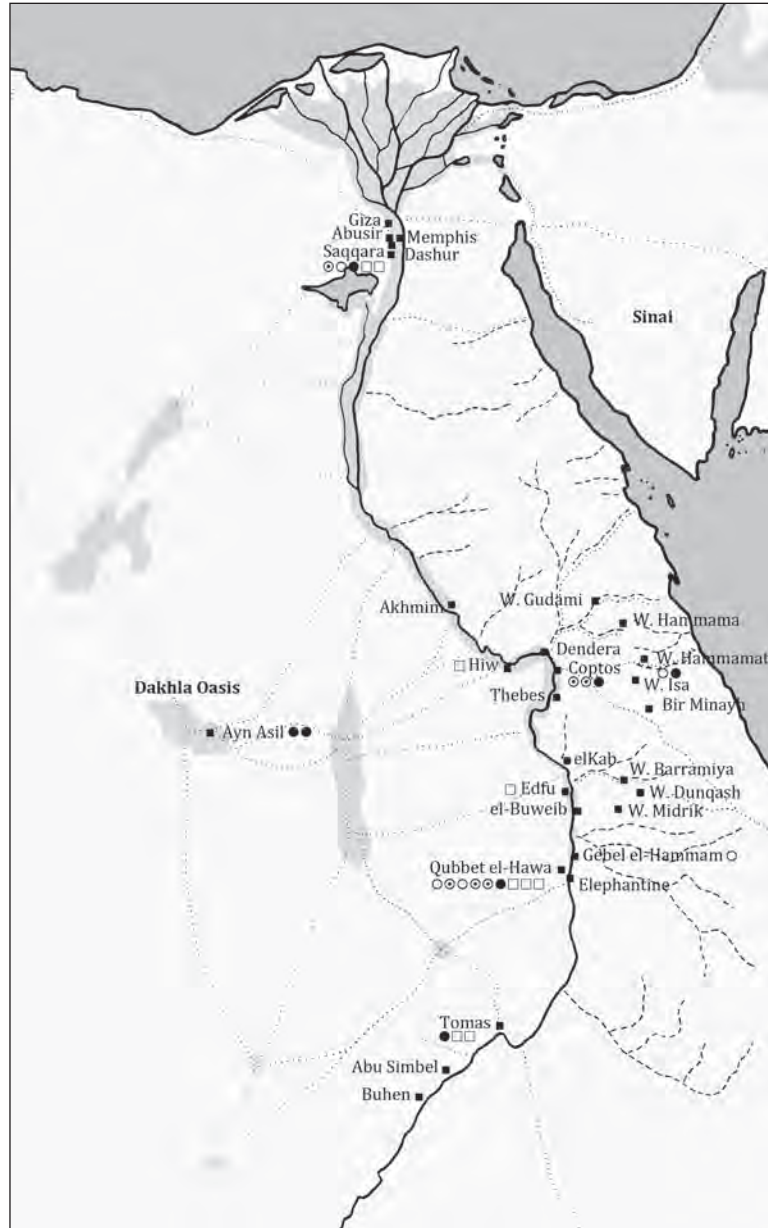
⁹⁰ Jones 2000: 769-770, nos. 2796-2797. It is included in table II as an extended version of *htmw-ntr*.

⁹¹ Strudwick 2005: 333-335, no. 242; Edel 2008: 683-686, pls. 33-34. Similarly, Weni, who didn’t hold any apparent military title, led six military expeditions against Levantine regions in the reign of Pepy I.

⁹² Another possible example is the fragmentary biographical text of Mekhu (II), son of Sabni (**2.06**), at the tomb QH 26 at Qubbet el-Hawa. Mekhu (II) mentions that his father was sent (*h3b*?) by the king to an unknown region (Yam?), and brought different products (*inw*?). See Edel 2008: 52-55, pl. 8.

⁹³ See e.g., *hry-sšt3n mdwt nb(t) tp rsy* (**1.06/2.04/3.05**); *hry-sšt3 n r-3 šm‘w* (**1.09/3.07**), maybe *imy-r r-3 g3w h3s.wt* (**1.05/3.04**) and *hry-sšt3 n mdwt nb(t) [innt m h3s.wt]* (**2.05/3.08**).

the titles “under-supervisor of prospector(s)” (*imy-ht smnty(.w)*) (1.01),⁹⁴ “staff of regulators of herdsman and prospector(s)” (*mdw mty.w mniw(.w) smnty(.w) (?)*) (1.04),⁹⁵ “overseer of prospector(s)” (*imy-r smnty(.w)*) (1.05/3.04), possibly “inspector of prospector(s)” (*shd smnty(.w)*) (1.03/3.03) and “prospector of the foreign country” (*smnty h3st*) (1.11).⁹⁶



Map 1. Places mentioned in the text (except for Upper Nubian and Levantine sites). ○ = occurrences of epithets referring to the bringing of foreign products; ● = occurrences of epithets referring to the placing of the fear of Horus; ◎ = occurrences of both epithets in the same document; □ = occurrences of titles referring to the acquisition of intelligence from abroad.

It is also significant that three of these individuals also held the title of “overseer of Upper Egypt” (*imy-r šmꜣw*).⁹⁷ They may have acquired this title at a later stage of their

⁹⁴ Jones 2000: 297, no. 1084.

⁹⁵ Not attested in Jones 2000.

⁹⁶ See respectively Jones 2000: 966, no. 3563; 228-229, no. 846; Diego Espinel 2014: 34-36, 38-43.

⁹⁷ Jones 2000: 246-248, nos. 895-899; Clarke 2009; Brovarski 2013; Brovarski 2014.

career (**1.06/2.04/3.05**; **1.09/3.08**; **2.05/3.08**) as this office was at the top of the Upper Egyptian administration. Their previous experience abroad, with proved leadership and organizational qualities, could have favoured their appointment to this important post that involved significant responsibilities related to tax activities and financial management.⁹⁸ This office was also probably in charge –perhaps only circumstantially– of welcoming foreign expeditions, presumably from the Upper Egyptian deserts and Nubia, and receiving the products acquired by them. For instance, Iny/Inudjefau’s biographical text (**1.04**) mentions that this official was accompanied by an anonymous overseer of Upper Egypt to the royal court after coming from an expedition to an unknown region.⁹⁹

Curiously, no one among the holders of the epithets and titles under study became vizier, or held one of the highest titles of the central Egyptian administration.¹⁰⁰ Instead, some of the holders had minor offices related to that administration. Three officials were “attendants of a royal mortuary complex” (*hnty(.w)-š* [*royal mortuary complex*]) (**1.02/3.02**, **1.04**, **1.08/3.06**).¹⁰¹ This title could imply that these officials were rewarded as tenant landholders connected to the mortuary complexes of the kings to whom they served.¹⁰² This is self-evident in the biography of Intef/Mekhu’s son, Sabni (**2.06**), in which this official received more than 30 *arourae* of land as attendant of the pyramid of Pepy II because of his deeds in foreign regions.¹⁰³ Similarly, other holders of the epithets under study obtained other royal rewards and favours. For instance, in his biographical texts Iny/Inudjefau (**1.04**) mentions that gold collars were given to him. More generally, he also states that he was rewarded (*hṣi*) several times by the king.¹⁰⁴ In the same vein, Herkhuf (**1.06/2.04/3.05**) also was greatly rewarded after his first trip¹⁰⁵ and Pepy II stated that “my majesty will do great things for you” if he was successful in bringing the *dng*-dwarf from the region of Yam to the Egyptian court.¹⁰⁶ Pepynakht/Heqaib (**1.08-3.06**) also refers to similar royal favours, but less clearly. According to his biography, “(my) lord fulfilled his heart” because of his deeds abroad,¹⁰⁷ and on two occasions he “accomplished what my lord would reward (me)” for the same reason.¹⁰⁸ He was also involved in the management of the royal mortuary complexes, as he was “overseer of the city of the royal mortuary complex” (*imy-r niwt* [*royal mortuary complex*]),¹⁰⁹ “regulator of *phyle(s)* of the royal

⁹⁸ Clarke 2009: 126-130; Brovarski 2013: 98.

⁹⁹ Marcolin and Diego Espinel 2011: 581, 585-586. The same task was developed, however, by a different official in the biographical text of Herkhuf (**1.06/2.04/3.05**). He was received by a *htmw-bity* and *imy-r skbb.wy* called Khenu (Edel 2008: 625-626, pl. 27). An unknown official possibly with the same office (*imy-r [skbb.wy]? pr-ʿ*) welcomed Iny/Inudjefau (**1.04**) initially (Marcolin and Diego Espinel 2011: 581). Despite its odd name, the title “overseer of the two cool rooms (in the great house)” (*imy-r skbb.wy (pr-ʿ)*) (Jones 2000: 237-239, nos. 874-875) seems to be connected with titles and epithets related to the counting of Egyptian and foreign products; see also Moreno García 2015: 91-94.

¹⁰⁰ On the uppermost titles of the central administration see Strudwick 1985.

¹⁰¹ Jones 2000: 691-694, nos. 2530-2537.

¹⁰² Adams 2003: 50-52, 92-94; Fettel 2010: 247.

¹⁰³ Edel 2008: 51-52, pl. 9 (= Urk. I 140, 9-11). Unfortunately, there are no other clear references to the giving of lands to officials by the king. Butterweck-Abdelrahim 1999: 32, table 1.1 also includes the 4th texts of Metjen but they do not explicitly mention the concession of royal lands to the official.

¹⁰⁴ Marcolin and Diego Espinel 2011: 581-582, 587-588, 607.

¹⁰⁵ Edel 2008: 625-626, pl. 27 (= Urk. 124, 15) (*hṣi.t(=i) hr=s ʿ wrt*).

¹⁰⁶ Edel 2008: 627-628, pl. 28 (= Urk. 131, 1) (*iw hm(=i) r irt n=k ʿt*).

¹⁰⁷ Edel 2008: 683-686, pls. 33-34 (= Urk. I 134, 1) (*mḥ(.w) nb(=i) ib=f*).

¹⁰⁸ Edel 2008: 683-686, pls. 33-34; Doret 1986: 94, ex. 166; 110-111, ex. 203 (= Urk. I 133, 11; 134, 5) (*iw ir.n(=i) hṣit <wi> nb=i*); on *hṣi* see, e.g., Trapani 2015: 248-249.

¹⁰⁹ Jones 2000: 148-150, nos. 577-581.

mortuary complex” (*mty m s3* [royal mortuary complex]),¹¹⁰ and “scribe of *phyle(s)* of the royal mortuary complex” (*sš n z3* [royal mortuary complex]).¹¹¹

The holders of the epithets also held other titles connected with internal administrative affairs. Except for some honorific titles, these offices embrace many different fields of action in both the central administration, as for instance “overseer of the residence” (*imy-r hnw*) (1.02/3.02)¹¹² and the provincial milieu, such as “overseer of the storehouse(s) in elKab” (*imy-r šn^c m nhb*) (1.09/3.07).¹¹³ All these officials rarely had similar titles in the Egyptian administration. Such diversity of careers confirms the fact that Egyptian officials generally followed variegated professional paths conditioned by different circumstances according to their capabilities, background and entourage; very few Egyptian officials had specialist careers due to their family background.¹¹⁴

Aside from the military and the “frontier-related” titles, the most frequent offices are, by far, three honorific titles (*htmw-ntr*, *htmw-bity*, *smr-w^cty*) and one religious title (*hry-h3b*). The highest honorific title is “seal-bearer of the *bity*-king” (*htmw-bity*), attested on seven occasions (1.02/3.02, 1.05/3.04, 1.06/2.04/3.05, 1.07, 1.08/3.06, 1.09/3.07, 2.05/3.08).¹¹⁵ Its actual function is unknown.¹¹⁶ According to Franke, in the Middle Kingdom it would have been an office referring to a field of activity (*Signalitel*).¹¹⁷ Quirke has suggested a more precise function for the title during the same period: the privilege of using official seals by their holders.¹¹⁸ Bearing the Old Kingdom evidence in mind, such an interpretation is also relevant for the period under study here. The conferment or precise use of the title is seldom mentioned in biographical texts, however.¹¹⁹ Consequently, it is difficult to have a rough idea of its functions. It is not attested on any Old Kingdom seal or sealing, which perhaps points to the use of the title as a generic –but highly valued– *Signalitel* related to the possession and use of official seals.¹²⁰ The title could be connected to a similar title that was also held by some holders of the epithets under study: “seal-bearer of the god” (*htmw-ntr*) (1.02/3.02, 1.03/3.03, 1.04, 1.05/3.04, 1.06/2.04/3.05 and 3.10).¹²¹ Both titles are very similar, but they are clearly different as they consistently use two different words to refer the king: *bity* and *ntr* respectively. Only three out of twelve officials with the epithets held both titles simultaneously (1.02/3.02, 1.05/3.04, 1.06/2.04/3.05). Ikhi/Mery (1.02/3.02) probably held both titles because he was involved in activities abroad and in the central administration.¹²² The same could have been the case for Tjetji (1.05/3.04) and Herkhuf (1.06/2.04/3.05) since they were probably governors of the Elephantine area.¹²³ On a larger

¹¹⁰ Jones 2000: 452-453, no. 1695.

¹¹¹ Jones 2000: 869-870, no. 3181.

¹¹² Jones 2000: 197, no. 738; Diego Espinel 2015: 232-234, n. e; 250-253.

¹¹³ Not attested in Jones 2000; on the *šn^c(.w)* see Papazian 2012: 63-66.

¹¹⁴ Callender 2000: 369.

¹¹⁵ Jones 2000: 763-764, nos. 2775 and 2777.

¹¹⁶ Baud 1999: 237, 241.

¹¹⁷ Franke 1984: 107, n. 3.

¹¹⁸ Quirke 1986: 123.

¹¹⁹ On some mentions of the title in biographical texts see Edel 2008: 50-51, pl. 9 (= Urk. I 137, 16 – 138, 1); Fischer 1968: 96 (2) (= Urk. I 270, 16).

¹²⁰ Possession of seals of the central administration by officials could serve as *status symbols* both in the administrative and economic spheres; on this matter see a Mesopotamian case study in Patrier 2014.

¹²¹ Jones 2000: 767-772, nos. 2791-2803; Kuraszkiewicz 2006.

¹²² As Ikhi/Mery (1.02), Khui, a seal-bearer of the god involved in expeditions abroad, became an important official of the central administration as “overseer of the residence” (*imy-r hnw*), see Diego Espinel 2015: 232-234, n. e, 250-252). However, he didn’t include the title “seal-bearer of the *bity*-king” in his tomb at Qubbet el-Hawa (QH 34c). See Edel 2008: 502.

¹²³ On this question see below, n. 150.

scale, only eleven out of seventy-two seal-bearers of the god studied by Kuraszkiewicz were also seal-bearers of the *bity*-king.¹²⁴

Iny/Inudjefau's biographical text mentions that the title of seal-bearer of the god was given circumstantially on two occasions. First, he was involved in four expeditions to the Levant "while I was seal-bearer of the god under the majesty of Pepy (I)".¹²⁵ Later, quite differently and unexpectedly, king Pepy (II) conferred upon him the titles "sole companion" (*smr-w^cty*), "lector priest" (*hry-h3b*) and, again, seal-bearer of the god after he was "ushered to the most intimate part of the palace (*hnw-^c*)".¹²⁶ Therefore, the title could be only conferred for a brief lapse of time, for special circumstances (as could be the case of the second example of Iny/Inudjefau) or, more likely, for precise missions and actions.

The seal-bearers of the god were not related to nautical activities, except if they were explicitly connected to ships (i.e. "seal-bearer of the god in the two big ships" (*htmwntr m wi3.wy 3*) or its variants).¹²⁷ Above all, the title seems to be concerned with the organization of missions in foreign regions and/or to the supplying of exotic or precious materials and goods, not necessarily from abroad.¹²⁸ Weni, for instance, mentions a seal-bearer of the god who brought his false door from the Tura quarries¹²⁹ and, moreover, a papyrus from Saqqara mentions one seal-bearer of the god who was probably involved in the building of Pepy's II mortuary complex.¹³⁰ Consequently, the functions of this title – possibly considered an important privilege by their holders as Iny/Inudjefau stresses – were partially described by some of the epithets under study, but, curiously, the title is not as frequent as expected among the holders of the epithets.¹³¹

On the other hand, the holders of the title seal-bearer of the *bity*-king had the privilege of using official seals in their accomplishments in other administrative duties, which may or may not have been connected to the actual undertaking of foreign expeditions. In this sense, four, or maybe five, out of five seal-bearers of the *bity*-king were also "overseers of the foreign countries" (*imy-r h3s.wt*) (**1.06/2.04/3.05**, **1.07**, **1.08/3.06**, **1.09/3.07** and, possibly, **1.05/3.04**), a title which, as stated above, was probably connected to the reception of products and expeditions, and could demand the use of precise official seals.

The title "sole companion" (*smr-w^cty*) was held by nine out of fifteen officials who held the epithets (**1.02/3.02**, **1.04**, **1.05/3.04**, **1.06/2.04/3.05**, **1.07**, **1.08/3.06**, **1.09/3.07**, **2.05/3.08**, **3.01** and **3.10**).¹³² It has been regarded as a *Signalitel* which underlines the close

¹²⁴ Kuraszkiewicz 2006: 201. His table, mainly based on Chevereau's (1989) list, has some problems: nos. 49 and 50, and nos. 56 and 61 could refer to the same officials respectively. Conversely, nos. 20 and 68 are not the same person (Kuraszkiewicz 2006: 200). Nos. 22 and 68 were not *htmwn-bity*, but no. 41 held the title instead. The proportion of *htmwn-w-ntr* holding the title *htmwn-bity* could be even lower, however, as new *htmwn-w-ntr* have been recorded recently, see, e.g., Vandekerckhove, Müller-Wollermann 2001: 342, n. 468, pl. 41 (Idi); Gasse, Rondot 2007: 39, no. 37 (unknown); Rothe, Miller, Rapp 2008: 126 (Geneg, BR 16), 134 (Intef, BR 21), 182 (Khui, BR 66), 309 (Anus, DN 34), 325 (Hornebi (?), DN 41), 326 (Intef, DN 42), 361 (Pepynakht/Geneg, ML 13) and less probably 23 (Khui, AW 06, could be read *shd smnt(y.w)* instead of *htmwn-ntr <imy-r> smnt(y.w)*) and 279 (BZ 33); BR 16 and ML 13 are probably the same person; BR 66 could be Kuraszkiewicz's no. 35; BR 21 and DN 42 could be Kuraszkiewicz's no. 21. For other attestations see Diego Espinel 2015: 36-37 (Nefer), 42-43 (Shendju?).

¹²⁵ Marcolin, Diego Espinel 2011: 580-581, fig. 4 (*sk w(i) m htmwn-ntr hr hm n ppy nb(=i)*).

¹²⁶ Marcolin, Diego Espinel 2011: 606-607, fig. 5, 610-612 (*st3.t(=i) r hnwn-^c nd.t n(=i) smr-w^cty hry-h3b htmwn-ntr*).

¹²⁷ Kuraszkiewicz 2006: 195, 199-200.

¹²⁸ Kuraszkiewicz 2006: 199 and 200,

¹²⁹ *Urk.* I 99, 10-14.

¹³⁰ Posener-Kriéger 1980: 85-86, n. d.

¹³¹ The evidence from the few officials under study doesn't support the idea that the title *htmwn-ntr* was replaced by *imy-r i3.w* in the mid-6th dynasty, see Manassa 2006: 158-159.

¹³² Jones 2000: 892, no. 3268.

connection of their holders to the king.¹³³ Direct contact and/or close proximity of officials to the king were considered privileges that were expressly mirrored in many biographical texts.¹³⁴ Indeed, in some biographies the appointment of officials as sole companions probably meant access to the royal palace.¹³⁵ In the specific case of the officials studied here, the title could be the result of the bringing of foreign materials to the king himself. This is the case of Iny/Inudjefau (**1.04**), the king's son Kaientjenenet (**3.01**), and, less clearly, Herkhuf (**1.06/2.04/3.05**) and Pepynakht/Heqaib (**1.08**) who dispatched different goods to the main governmental building (*hnw*).

Finally, eight officials held the title of “lector priest” (*hry-ḥ3b*) (**1.04**, **1.05/3.04**, **1.06/2.04/3.05**, **1.07**, **1.08/3.06**, **1.09/3.07**, **2.05/3.08** and **3.10**).¹³⁶ Such a number seems somewhat surprising among officials connected with activities abroad, as only eight out of seventy-two seal-bearers of the god listed by Kuraszkiewicz held that title (and only five out of eight can be dated to the 6th dynasty).¹³⁷ Moreover, this office is rarely attested in expedition graffiti. Eichler recorded only fourteen Old Kingdom rock inscriptions mentioning twelve different lector priests, which can all be dated to the 6th dynasty.¹³⁸ Even though its number can be increased significantly,¹³⁹ the title was infrequent in such fields of activities.

On one hand, as lector priests, these officials could have acted as healers and ritualists in charge of the burial of the expedition members who died outside of Egypt.¹⁴⁰ It isn't likely that they played such a role exclusively in expeditions, however, as the careers of these officials were clearly connected to foreign contacts or provincial government, and they very rarely held other priestly and scribal titles.¹⁴¹ Moreover, they didn't hold other significant titles connected to religious or medical skills. Old Kingdom expeditions rarely attest the presence of other “healers” such as *swnw*, for instance.¹⁴² Alternatively, the lector priests could have been in charge of rituals connected to the materials that they were obtaining abroad.¹⁴³ On the other hand, the title could have had an honorary intention.¹⁴⁴ It could imply closeness to the king and the royal palace.¹⁴⁵ Another possibility is that the title could indicate that their holders were proficient in occasionally performing some rituals or actions connected to the Egyptian presence abroad. Herkhuf (**1.06/2.04/3.05**) and Pepynakht/Heqaib's son, Sabni (**1.09/3.07**), mention in their tombs that they knew religious formulae and spells. The former boasted: “I am an able and equipped *akh*-spirit,

¹³³ Baud 1999: 241, 259, 349.

¹³⁴ Stauder-Porchet 2016: 589-591.

¹³⁵ McFarlane 1987: 65-66, n. d., 69.

¹³⁶ Jones 2000: 781-786, nos. 2848-2865.

¹³⁷ Kuraszkiewicz 2006: 201, tab. 3.

¹³⁸ Eichler 1993: 255-257.

¹³⁹ See, e.g., Andrassy 2002b: 13-14 (Khenemti/Ankhkai or, alternatively, Nebkai, or, according to Roccati 1999: 125, Sabni); Seidlmayer 2005: 35-36, fig. 6 (Khui); Gasse, Rondot 2007: 21-22, no. 3 (Khunes, Khenemti); 22, no. 4 (Khunes, Idu?); 24, no. 6 (Abebi, Intef/Mekhu, Sabni); 25, nos. 7 (Abebi, Iqeri), 8 (Mekhu); 26, nos. 9 (Mekhu), 10 (Mereri); 30, no. 16 (Intef?); 31, no. 17 (Intef, Pepyuser); 31, no. 19 (dubious, [...]); 36, no. 28 (dubious, [...]); 47, no. 57 ([...]); 50-51, no. 63 (Iqe[ri]?, Satethetep); 51, no. 64 (Khnumhetep/[...]); Petrie 1888: pl. 12, no. 324 (= de Morgan 1894: 207, no. 34) (Abebi). Moreover, according to drawings by Petrie and de Morgan, Eichler's no. 194 should be read as *smr-w'ty hry-ḥ3b hnmṯi* instead of *smr-w3ty hry-ḥ3b hnmw-ḥḥ*.

¹⁴⁰ Eichler 1993: 257; Forshaw 2014: 123-128.

¹⁴¹ Eichler 1993: 256-257.

¹⁴² On this matter see Diego Espinel 2006: 261-262, n. 321; Tallet 2002: 372-374; Tallet 2011.

¹⁴³ Forshaw 2014: 127. However, the absence of lector priests in the Sinai or in the unpublished inscription of Merenre at Wadi Hammamat do not support this idea that is also notably absent from the written evidence.

¹⁴⁴ Eichler 1993: 257.

¹⁴⁵ Baud 1999: 292-293.

a lector priest who knows his spell”.¹⁴⁶ However, Intef/Mekhu’s son, Sabni (**2.06**), also held the title but, according to his biographical text, he trusted another lector priest sent from the court to perform the funerary rituals of his deceased father.¹⁴⁷ The most plausible explanation for the title in the expeditionary’s *cursus honorum* is its use as an indicator of the title holder’s literacy. More precisely, as has recently been suggested by Piacentini, it could have occasionally replaced the title “scribe” in the provinces at the end of the Old Kingdom.¹⁴⁸ Indeed, a lector priest was in charge of recording the arrival of different goods to Elephantine during the early 9th dynasty.¹⁴⁹

Finally, there are other rarely attested honorific titles. *Iry-pat* (*iry-p^ct*) could have been held by Pepynakht/Heqaib (**1.08/3.06**) if he is indeed the owner of tomb QH 35d.¹⁵⁰ Another higher title, *haty-a* (*h3ty-^c*), was held by four officials (**1.05/3.04**, **1.08/3.06**, **1.09/3.08**, **2.05/3.08**).¹⁵¹ The title may serve as a *Signaltitel* of nome governors, even though the role of these officials as nomarchs is far from accepted.¹⁵²

As the holders of the epithets under study, the officials with titles connected to the reception of information and intelligence also had very different careers. Again, military or nautical titles are not frequent. The offices of “overseer of an expedition” (*imy-r m^sc^c*) and “overseer of speaker(s) of foreign languages” (*imy-r i^c3(.w)*) are only attested two or maybe three times, and one, or maybe two, officials held both titles (see **2.05/3.08**, **2.06** and perhaps also **1.06/2.04/3.05** for *imy-r m^sc^c*, and **2.02**, **2.05/3.08** and perhaps **1.06/2.04/3.05** for *imy-r i^c3(.w)*). Nautical titles are also unusual. Only Khuinkhnum (**2.07**) was “overseer of scribe(s) of the crews” (*imy-r s^s3(.w) ^cpr.w*) and “under-supervisor of the great ship” (*imy-ht wi3 ^c3*).¹⁵³ The rarity of military titles in the careers of these officials seems somewhat surprising, as punitive and exploratory actions were important sources of intelligence, but, as stated above, titles didn’t exactly mirror officials’ experiences. Some titles and, above all, some biographical texts suggest that three, or maybe five, of these officials were involved in expeditions abroad: Herkhuf (**1.06/2.04/3.05**), Intef/Mekhu (**2.05/3.08**), his son Sabni (**2.06**) and, possibly, Inkaf/Ini (**2.02**) and Khuinkhnum (**2.07**).¹⁵⁴

Besides their experiences out of Egypt, the officials in charge of the acquisition of intelligence followed two different—but not antagonistic—careers in Egypt: the management of provinces and the central administration (and court). The best examples of provincial careers are Meryranefer/Qar (**2.03**) and Tjauti (**2.09**) who were nomarchs of the 2nd (Edfu) and 7th nome (Hiw) of Upper Egypt respectively. They held the usual titles connected to the office of nomarch: “great chief of the province” (*hry-tp ^c3 n sp3t*), “overseer of the priest(s)” (*imy-r hm(.w)-ntr*), and *haty-a*.¹⁵⁵ Tjauti and perhaps also Merirenefer/Qar held the office of “governor of a state” (*hk3 hwt*), suggesting that they previously gained experience in the provincial administration, being in charge of state landholdings.¹⁵⁶ Other than these officials, at least three or perhaps even four officials could have been governors

¹⁴⁶ Edel 2008: 621-623, pl. 26 (= Urk. I 122, 13) (*ink ^ch ikr ^cpr hry-h3b rh(.w) r=f*); see also n. 81.

¹⁴⁷ Edel 2008: 50-51, pl. 9 (= Urk. I 138, 2).

¹⁴⁸ Piacentini 2013: 45; Quirke 2010: 55-56; see also Edel 2008: 1756-1757 (*Satz 11 und 12*).

¹⁴⁹ See Edel 2008: 1744-1745, 1811-1813, figs. 21-23, pls. 81-82 (Setka, QH 110).

¹⁵⁰ Vischak (2015: 225-237) convincingly argues against this possibility. On the title (*iry-p^ct*), see Jones 2000: 315-316, nos. 1157, 1159.

¹⁵¹ Jones 2000: 496-497, no. 1858.

¹⁵² See Martinet 2011: 71-74 [51-53], 75-76 [55] for this identification. Martin-Pardey (1976: 196-197) and Brovarski (2013: 95) do not agree. Vischak (2015: 34-35) offers a convergent interpretation.

¹⁵³ Jones 2000: 283, no. 1021.

¹⁵⁴ Sabni (**1.09/3.07**) could also form part of this list, as he was *hry-s3t3 n r-^c3 sm^cw/rsy?* and participated in foreign expeditions.

¹⁵⁵ Martinet 2011: 180-183, 187-193; Tjauti (**2.09**) was also *iry-pat*, see Martinet 2011: 193.

¹⁵⁶ As is the case of Meryranefer’s father, Isi, see Strudwick 2005: 340-342, no. 246; Martinet 2011: 197.

of the Elephantine area: Herkhuf (**1.06/2.04/3.05**), Intef/Mekhu (**2.05/3.08**), his son Sabni (**2.06**) and, less likely, Khuinkhnum (**2.07**).¹⁵⁷ Leaving aside the title *haty-a*, none of these individuals held other titles connected to the management of the province, meaning that their identification as nomarchs is not clear. The absence of nomarchal titles in the 1st nome of Upper Egypt could be connected to the special status of the First Cataract region.¹⁵⁸ The population of Elephantine, originally a small defensive garrison in the southern Egyptian border, increased considerably during the 6th dynasty.¹⁵⁹ Consequently, it became the main centre in the province in the later part of the dynasty (mid-Pepy II), when officials including Pepynakht/Heqaib's son, Sabni (**1.09/3.07**), Iishema/Setkai (tomb QH 98),¹⁶⁰ and Sebekhetep (tomb QH 207)¹⁶¹ gained the office of "great chief of the king" (*hry-tp 3 n ny-swt*).¹⁶² The increasing administrative and political importance of Elephantine could be mirrored in the creation of the so-called "governor's residence" (house H2) on the island during the late 6th dynasty. This building could be the home of "proto-governors" such as Pepynakht/Heqaib (**1.08/3.06**), his son Sabni (**1.09/3.07**), Intef/Mekhu (**2.05/3.08**), or Sebekhetep (tomb QH 90), since the building housed chapels devoted to their cult in a later phase.¹⁶³

Management of intelligence in the provinces by local governors could have been an important responsibility. In a biographical text Meryranef/Qar (**2.03**) mentions that this was an important task for a nomarch:

Nothing similar was found regarding any previous governor in this province, because of my vigilance and my excellence in leading the affairs of the Residence. I was the keeper of the secrets of everything that is said and brought from the narrow entrance of the foreign lands and the southern foreign lands.¹⁶⁴

As stated above, other nomarchs in Thebes and Dendera also held analogous titles related to intelligence from the provinces.¹⁶⁵ On the other hand, as expected, intelligence was probably also managed from Memphis, at least in an earlier stage. At the beginning of the 6th dynasty Iunmin/Tjetetu (**2.01**) and Inkaf/Ini (**2.02**) held titles related to the central administration and were buried in the Teti cemetery at Saqqara.

Undoubtedly both central and provincial administrations were coordinated with each other to control foreign people and to collect information on regions abroad. For instance, the four alleged governors of Elephantine in the list (**1.06/2.04/3.05**, **2.05/3.08**, **2.06**, **2.07**) were also overseers of the foreign countries, an office related indistinctively to their role as nomarchs and to their links with the central administration who, among other responsibilities, could also have been in charge of receiving information from abroad.¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, four or perhaps five officials (**2.03**, **1.06/2.04/3.05**, **2.05/3.08**, **2.09** and also maybe **2.02**), held the title *imy-r šm^cw*, which also served as a bridge between

¹⁵⁷ On Sabni (**2.06**) see Martinet 2011: 74-75 [54]; she doesn't include Khuinkhnum as nomarch.

¹⁵⁸ Vischak 2015: 34-35.

¹⁵⁹ Raue 2008: 5-7; Raue 2013: 152-155.

¹⁶⁰ On the date of this official (mid Pepy II) see Edel 2008: 1351; Vischak 2015: 236.

¹⁶¹ On his date (mid/late Pepy II) see Edel 2008: 1979;

¹⁶² Jones 2000: 654, no. 2390; Edel 2008: 1348-1349. Less likely, the latter official was also "great chief of the province" (*hry-tp 3 n sp3t?*). Müller (2003) considers that Iishema/Setkai didn't hold the title. See however Martinet 2011: 78 [58], 204.

¹⁶³ Dorn 2015. On the building see Moeller 2016: 220-226; for a different interpretation see also Raue 2014: 3. Apparently, Sobekhotep in tomb QH 90 and in the governor's residence is not the same official as the homonymous person mentioned on vases from tomb QH 207. The former was *htmw-bity*; *h3ty-^c*; *htmw-ntr*; *smr-w^cty* (Dorn 2015: 51-52); the latter was *hry-tp 3 n ny-swt*; *smr-w^cty* (Edel 2008: 1976).

¹⁶⁴ el-Khadragy 2002: 206-207, fig. 1 (=Urk. I 254, 10-12) (*n gmt.n is pw m-^c hry-tp wn m sp3t tn tp-^cw n rs-tp(=i) n mn^h(=i) <m> hrp ht n hnw ink hry s3t3 n mdwt nb(t) innt m r-^c g3w h3s.wt m h3s.wt rsy.wt*).

¹⁶⁵ See n. 59.

¹⁶⁶ On the possible links of the title with the nomarchs see Martinet 2011: 205-206.

both spheres of the administration.¹⁶⁷ Some of these individuals were also nomarchs, including Meryranefer/Qar (2.03), Tjauti (2.09) and, possibly, Herkhuf (1.06/2.04/3.05) and Intef/Mekhu (2.05/3.08).¹⁶⁸ As stated above, this office likely meant that the holder had occasional access to foreign goods and, possibly, to restricted information collected by explorers beyond Egypt. In this sense the aforementioned biographical text of Meryranefer/Qar (2.03) is illustrative. Unfortunately, it is not possible to ascertain if the offices related to collecting intelligence were held simultaneously by these officials when they were overseers of Upper Egypt, or in earlier or later stages of their careers. For example, Meryranefer/Qar's biographical text is not entirely clear regarding his appointment as overseer of Upper Egypt. He could be referring to this event when he states: "I came to my harbour at the head of every nomarch of Upper Egypt in its totality. I was a judge of Upper Egypt in its totality".¹⁶⁹ With this ambiguity it is not possible to know if he was in charge of the intelligence from the southern lands and the First Cataract, either as nomarch of Edfu or, more plausibly, as overseer of Upper Egypt.

Some officials also held other offices connected to the court. Significantly, they were buried at Saqqara or, at least, partially developed their career in the Memphite area. No one among all the intelligence officials held the highest titles of the central administration. The most significant title connected to the court is "keeper of the secrets in the house of the morning" (*hry-sšt3 n pr-dw3t*)¹⁷⁰ held by Inkaf/Ini (2.02), Meryrenefer/Qar (2.03) and possibly also Tjauty (2.09). This office, connected to the daily morning cleaning and dressing of the king, implied a close personal contact with the pharaoh and, consequently, a certain level of confidence. Therefore, their holders probably held this title when they served in the royal court.¹⁷¹ Another title connected to the royal milieu was "overseer of the attendant(s) (of the palace)" (*imy-r hnty(.w)-š (pr-š)*),¹⁷² held by Iunmin/Tjetetu (2.01) who was also attendant (*hnty-š*) in a royal mortuary complex, and by the ubiquitous Meryrenefer/Qar (2.03), who held that title before his appointment as nomarch of Edfu (and possibly as overseer of Upper Egypt). Finally, three of these officials held the title "inspector of priest(s)" in several royal mortuary complexes (*šḥd ḥm(.w)-ntr [royal mortuary complex]*) in the late 6th dynasty, despite being part of the provincial administration (2.06, 2.07, 2.09).¹⁷³

The main links of these officials with the central administration and court were made through their honorific titles. Again, they are the most frequently attested in the *cursus honorum* of those in charge of the procurement of intelligence. Only one official among the holders of the epithets under study was "first under the king" (*tpy hr ny-swt*) (1.02/3.02).¹⁷⁴ On the contrary, four intelligence officials held this *Signaltitel* (2.01, 2.02, 2.03, 2.07)

¹⁶⁷ Martinet 2011: 184-185.

¹⁶⁸ Inkaf/Ini (2.02) probably served in the central administration. He is not included in the catalogue of overseers of Upper Egypt by Clarke 2009 and Brovarski 2014.

¹⁶⁹ el-Khadragy 2002: 206-207, fig. 1, 209-210 (= Urk. I 254, 6-7) (*ii.n n(=i) dmi(=i) m ḥ3t hry-tp nb n šm'w mi-ḳd=f ink wpw n šm'w mi-ḳd=f*).

¹⁷⁰ Jones 2000: 620-621, no. 2275; Brovarski 2016: 65-66.

¹⁷¹ Rydström 1994: 65-68. According to the same author (*ibid.*: 68), during the 6th dynasty the title became honorific as it was held by some provincial leaders. However, Martinet only records two nomarchs with the title: Meryrenefer/Qar (Martinet 2011: 78-79 [58]) and Pepyankh-heryib (Martinet 2011: 84-85 [64]). She doesn't mention Tjauti, however. This is a significantly reduced number of attestations when considering the title as honorific. Indeed, both Meryrenefer/Qar and, possibly, Pepyankh-heryib started their careers in Memphis (Kanawati 2004: 57); the latter became vizier and, consequently, he would have been in close contact with the king.

¹⁷² Jones 2000: 189, no. 710.

¹⁷³ Jones 2000: 932, no. 3438.

¹⁷⁴ Jones 2000: 788-791, nos. 2874-2888, who reads *hry-tp ny-swt*, for the reading used here see Diego Espinel 2015: 234-235, n. f.

which could evidence their close contact with the king.¹⁷⁵ At least three of these individuals (**2.01**, **2.02**, **2.03**) progressed within the central administration at Memphis. Moreover, seven out of nine were sole friends (*smr.w-w^cty*), stressing the ties of their holders with the central administration and the court. The presence of five, perhaps six, seal-bearers of the *bity*-king (*htmw.w-bity*) is, again, important in this respect as they were probably in charge of seals of the central administration (**1.06/2.04/3.05**, **2.05/3.08**, **2.06**, **2.07**, **2.09**, and, maybe, **2.03**). Only two of them, Inkaf/Ini (**2.02**) and Herkhuf (**1.06/2.04/3.05**) were also seal-bearers of the god (*htmw.w ntr*). Both officials were involved in expeditions beyond Egypt. For instance, Inkaf/Ini was “overseer of an expedition” (*imy-r mš^c*) and “overseer of prospectors” (*imy-r smnty(.w)*). Finally, eight out of nine officials were lector priests, reinforcing the idea that the title could underline the literacy level of their holders.

The different groups of epithets and titles under study mirror three important aspects of Egyptian foreign policy: war, diplomacy/trade and intelligence. As stated above, their holders followed very different administrative careers. Almost all of them were mainly involved with expeditions abroad commissioned by the central administration, but many of them were also related to the government of the provinces. According to the data on the officials under study, Egyptian foreign policy during the 6th dynasty was based on both central and provincial administrations. Until the early/mid 6th dynasty, their holders were mainly attached to the state apparatus and the court (**1.02/3.02**, **1.04**, **3.01**), even though there were also officials connected to such provincial centres as Elephantine (**1.05/3.04**, **1.06/2.04/3.05**), Coptos (**1.03/3.03**, **1.10/3.09**, maybe **2.01**), and, less likely, Akhmim (**2.02**). From the reign of Pepy II onwards, they were mainly based at provincial sites such as Elephantine (**1.07**, **1.08/3.06**, **1.09/3.07**, **2.05/3.08**, **2.06**, **2.07**, **2.08**), Ayn Asil (Dakhla Oasis) (**3.11**, **3.12**) and, more unexpectedly, Hiw (**2.09**) (see map). Despite this apparent decentralizing trend, their holders seem to have been connected to the royal milieu by some *Signaltiteln* and other minor offices. Moreover, some of them followed official commands explicitly, as is obvious with Herkhuf (**1.06/2.04/3.05**), Pepynakht/Heqaib (**1.08/3.06**), and Iny/Inudjefau (**1.04**) during the reign of Pepy II.

According to several documents, the provincial administration was an important cog in the wheel of Egyptian foreign policy. For example, Weni organized an army recruiting soldiers from many different provinces under Pepy I, and an unpublished graffiti at Wadi Hammamat also refers to the participation of groups of workers from different provinces in a huge quarrying expedition under Merenre.¹⁷⁶ Local initiatives in frontier provinces were also possibly decisive. According to the Ayn Asil tablets, foreign contacts were managed by the local governors of the Dakhla oasis, who could also act as diplomats, at least occasionally.¹⁷⁷ Other tablets and texts from Dakhla also refer to the use of foreign resources –mainly workers– in the oasis, and to trade with far regions.¹⁷⁸ At Elephantine, fragmentary papyri from the governor’s archive suggest similar local initiatives that,¹⁷⁹ in some instances, could result in abusive privately-oriented affairs.¹⁸⁰ This fact would imply that foreign products and intelligence could come directly to the provincial administration where they were recorded and checked and, subsequently, delivered to Memphis.

¹⁷⁵ Diego Espinel 2015: 234-235, n. f; 247-249.

¹⁷⁶ On the inscription of Weni see Urk. I 101, 10 - 102, 8; Collombert 2013: 148-149. The information in the inscription of Merenre in Wadi Hammamat is based on direct observation of the inscription. The text is currently under study by Annie Gasse.

¹⁷⁷ Pantalacci 2013: 289-290.

¹⁷⁸ Pantalacci 2013: 284-286, 288-290.

¹⁷⁹ Pantalacci 2008: 243; Möller 1911: pl. VII-VIII.

¹⁸⁰ Manassa 2006.

In both the central administration and provincial nomarchies, it is likely that foreigners both settled in or passing through Egypt, and *iʿ3(.w)*-troops were important sources of intelligence. However, it is not possible to ascertain how the information they provided was managed by the Egyptians.¹⁸¹ It could have been shared by both administrations. Almost all the overseers of speakers of foreign languages are attested in rock inscriptions beyond the Nile Valley or, at least, far from Memphis. For instance, at the city of Coptos there is evidence of an “overseer of speakers of foreign languages from Yam” (*imy-r iʿ3(.w) im3*).¹⁸² Almost all the officials from Elephantine under study also held that title (**1.06/2.04/3.05, 1.07, 1.08/3.06, 1.09/3.07, 2.05/3.08, 2.06** and, possibly, **1.05/3.04**). Evidence on foreigners in the Memphite area can also be presented: Nubians (*nḥsy.w*), a “companion(?)–supervisor of speakers of foreign languages from Medja, Yam and Irtjet” (*smr/shd? imy-r iʿ3(.w) n.w md3 im3 irtt*)¹⁸³ and an overseer of speakers of foreign languages¹⁸⁴ were closely connected with the city of Snefru’s pyramids at Dashur, close to Memphis. It is evident that the overseers of foreign speakers could also serve in the central administration and in the court, as a small group of them were buried in Memphis.¹⁸⁵

Titles connected to the reception of intelligence do not suggest that a specific department in the “Residence” (*hnw*) was devoted to this activity.¹⁸⁶ This could imply that Egyptian intelligence was not centralized and professionalized, and should be considered cautiously. Intelligence archives did exist, since common information on foreign toponyms and personal names were used in different execration texts during this period,¹⁸⁷ but the titles under study could be related to the gathering of intelligence, not to its management and record keeping.

This circumstance also applies for the epithets under study. The holders of epithets connected to the bringing of products didn’t hold titles related to the subsequent management and storage of these products in the court. Similarly, as stated above, some officials who “placed the fear of Horus in the foreign countries” didn’t hold military titles, which could imply that “placing the fear of Horus” was not exclusively connected to war and aggression. *nṛw* could also mean “respect” or “power” and, consequently, could refer to diplomacy. Equally, the epithets referring to the bringing of products from the foreign lands could also refer to similar activities, since diplomacy was also based on exchange. The biographical texts of Iny/Inudjefau (**1.04**) and Herkhuf (**2.05/3.08, 2.06**) illustrate these practices, as they were apparently not involved in military campaigns but in diplomatic or royal/official trade missions.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, Iny/Inudjefau’s travels to the Levant could have been the Egyptian counterpart to diplomatic contacts recorded in the cuneiform archive of Ebla. According to Biga, the region of Dugurasu (*du-gú-ra-su^{ki}*), mentioned in the Eblaite archive, should be Egypt. Though the philological reasoning for such identification is far

¹⁸¹ Middle Kingdom evidence from the so-called *Semna dispatches* offer some insights into this matter, see Kraemer, Liszka 2016.

¹⁸² Fischer 1964: 27-30, pl. 10, no. 7; Jones 2000: 74, no. 328.

¹⁸³ Jones 2000: 74-75, no. 329.

¹⁸⁴ de Morgan 1895: 14-15; on other kind of evidence on foreigner in Dashur, see Diego Espinel 2011: 165, fig. 2.12 (2).

¹⁸⁵ See, e.g., **4.01**; Cervelló-Autuori 2007: 72-73, n. 6.

¹⁸⁶ May the “overseer of the scribes of the king’s documents” (*imy-r sš(.w) ʿ(.w) ny-swt*) be the final recipient of intelligence from abroad? On this title see Strudwick 1985: 199-216; Jones 2000: 209-210, nos. 780-781.

¹⁸⁷ Diego Espinel 2013: 30-31.

¹⁸⁸ The title “overseer of the mission(s)” (*imy-r wp(.w)t*) held by Iny/Inudjefau could stress this circumstance, even though no other holder of the epithets under consideration had that title. On this office see Valloggia 1976; Piacentini 2001: 10-11.

from convincing,¹⁸⁹ the contents of the tablets studied by Biga point to that identification persuasively. Ebla sent several diplomatic missions to Dugurasu –sometimes through the city of Dulu (DU-lu^{ki}), i.e. Byblos –¹⁹⁰ in order to receive linen, ivory, gold, travertine, copper and bronze objects or ivory tusks, and to deliver lapis lazuli, tin, silver, different clothes, black wool or copper.¹⁹¹ As discussed previously, some of these objects formed part of the royal *luxuria* (*hkr ny-swt*) kept in the Egyptian palace as foreign imports that were subsequently delivered to the elites.

Consequently, several of the holders of the epithets under study could have acted as diplomats who promoted the respect (*nrrw*) of the king in distant lands. The presence of similar diplomats or messengers –probably traders in origin– is well attested in 3rd millennium BC cuneiform texts.¹⁹² On some occasions, administrative texts record far-reaching trade and diplomatic contacts between Mesopotamia and the Mediterranean coast, as is the case of messengers of Byblos in Puzriš-Dagan (Drehem) around 2200 BC.¹⁹³ In other instances, literary texts record narratives on diplomatic and military contacts between distant countries, such as the Sumerian poems related to king Enmerkar.¹⁹⁴ Along the same lines, Egyptian officials defined (or not) by the epithets under study could have acted as ambassadors in an ever-developing and changing political landscape both in Africa and Asia in which products, motifs and ideas spread in different directions. This is the case for both the symbolic meanings of lapis lazuli in Egypt and Mesopotamia,¹⁹⁵ and, less clearly, the stone vases with Egyptian typologies in the Near East.¹⁹⁶ It is likely that these officials weren't the exclusive actors of such contacts –private entrepreneurs were also decisive players in interregional trade during this period and in later times¹⁹⁷ but they were the most visible in the Egyptian records.

5. EPITHETS AS SOURCES OF BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

According to Doxey, Middle Kingdom epithets were mainly grounded in ethical beliefs and not on actual events lived by the officials.¹⁹⁸ Therefore, they would configure an idealistic profile of their holders. Along the same line, the late Michel Baud recently considered Old Kingdom epithets as part of Assmann's *kommentierte Titulatur*.¹⁹⁹ Quoting Baud, "commented epithets" would be "a synchronic panorama of the individual's qualities and specific relationship to the king or to a god", which he related to the "ethical" or "ideal

¹⁸⁹ Roccati in Biga y Roccati 2012: 37-42; Schneider (2016: 444-447) has suggested that Dugurasu should be the Nubian state of Kush. Despite their appealing philological grounds, such identification is problematic to assume given that direct contacts between Ebla and Kush (Kerma) would have been practically impossible without Egyptian consent. Moreover, Kush is not attested as a toponym during the 3rd millennium BC; and, for instance, lapis lazuli has not yet been attested in Kerma.

¹⁹⁰ On a different identification of Dugurasu and Dulu see, however, Archi 2016.

¹⁹¹ Biga y Roccati 2012; Biga 2014a; Biga 2014b: 178; Biga 2014c.

¹⁹² See, e.g., Podany 2010; Cripps 2013.

¹⁹³ Lafont 2009.

¹⁹⁴ Vanstiphout 2004; Good 2008; Wilcke 2012.

¹⁹⁵ On the transmission of symbolic values connected to specific materials such as lapis lazuli, see Diego Espinel 2011: 47; Casanova 2014a: 40; Warburton 2014: 129.

¹⁹⁶ Casanova 2007; Bevan 2007: 181-183; Casanova 2014b: 103-106. Egyptian travertine vases –and their variegated and unclear contents– featured among the prestige goods given by the king to his officials (Minaul-Gout 1997; Arnold, Pischikova 1999). Their possible diffusion and imitation in the Near East could follow similar ideas reinforced by the idea that foreign courts were attracted to inscribed vases (Sparks 2003: 43-46) and specific shapes and contents.

¹⁹⁷ On the role of private trade in the Near East during the period under study (and later), see Moreno García 2014a; Moreno García 2014b.

¹⁹⁸ Doxey 1998: 3.

¹⁹⁹ Baud 2005: 105-107; Assmann 2003: 181.

biography” category (*ethische/ideal Biographie*).²⁰⁰ Even if this is correct, this idea of epithets as ideal descriptions of the officials can be nuanced, as Leprohon has already underlined. For instance, the epithets under study are clearly related to the fields of action of their holders and, consequently, their actual information transcends the ideal profile. In some way, they can be considered as biographical complements or markers connected to related titles and, less frequently, to biographical texts of the officials, as they refer both to the tasks these officials undertook during his life, and their loyalty and efficiency before the king: two of the main components of Egyptian biographical texts.²⁰¹

As can be seen from the epithets in Middle Kingdom expedition inscriptions mentioned at the beginning of this essay, the epithets under study here have more secular contents and narrative forms than others connected to royal praise, confidence, love or satisfaction.²⁰² In other words, they seem more “biographical” because they are more precise, informative and allusive to the titles and biographical accounts of their holders. Despite their impersonal style, they refer to actual actions (the bringing of products or information, and the promotion of the fear of the king in foreign places) connected to assumed royal commands. As a result, they serve as hints for recalling precise episodes of the lives and careers of their holders abroad when they are connected with other titles and textual information.²⁰³

Bearing this circumstance in mind, epithets should be considered as more than decorative additions. They can contain significant elements and emphatic formulas which aim to underline and describe, among other aspects, the offices held by the deceased (such as the epithets studied in this chapter), the effectiveness they had when accomplishing them,²⁰⁴ or the confidence placed in them by the king.²⁰⁵ Moreover, expressions in epithets were included –with slight grammatical changes– in the narratives of biographies.²⁰⁶ Consequently, epithets could inspire biographic texts or, conversely, the former could be influenced by the latter.

Contrarily to biographical texts, titles and epithets were created by relatively fixed rules. For instance, epithets were not very varied despite their many occurrences. As stated above, epithets referring to the officials are impersonal expressions as they are in the third person and they reference the king in general terms such as *nb*, *ny-swt*, *hm=f* and *ntr*.²⁰⁷

Where did the epithets under study come from? Some officials, including Intef/Mekhu’s son, Sabni (**2.06**),²⁰⁸ didn’t hold them even though their tombs include a rich epigraphic repertoire connected to activities abroad that contains other epithets. This

²⁰⁰ Baud 2005: 105; Kloth 1998: 202, n. 69.

²⁰¹ Baines 1999: 36.

²⁰² On Middle Kingdom expedition inscriptions see Doxey 1998: 18-22 and Franke 2005.

²⁰³ Other epithets that could evidence precise or regular actions are those that include the verbs *ip* (Jones 2000: 9-10, nos. 35-38; see also Altenmüller 2012: 9-10; 14-15); *m33* (Jones 2000: 419-422, nos. 1552-1562); or *s.b3k* (Jones 2000: 884, no. 3236; see also Diego Espinel 2006: 80, n. 380).

²⁰⁴ See, e.g., Jones 2000: 660, nos. 2413-2414 (*hss(.w) nb=f*); 338, nos. 1248-1249 (*irr(.w) wdt nb=f*); 338-340, nos. 1250-1256, 1258-1259 (*irr(.w) mrr.tw nb=f*); 340-342, nos. 1260-1268 (*irr(.w) hss nb=f*).

²⁰⁵ See, e.g., Jones 44-47, nos. 231-241 (*imy-ib n nb=f*); 444, nos. 1659-1660 (*mrr(.w) (n) nb=f*), 447-449, nos. 1673-1679 (*mh(.w)-ib n nb=f*).

²⁰⁶ See, e.g., the biographies of Weni: Urk. I 99, 7; 101, 1; 105, 16 (*n mh(.w)-ib n(=i) hm=f*), see also Collombert 2015: 148 (x + 9) (*m mh(.w)-ib n(=i) hm=f*); Urk. I 100, 4 (*m mh(.w)-ib n(=i) hm=f*); 100, 9 and 10; 106, 11 (*ir.k(wi) r hst(i) w(i) hm=f*); 107, 13 (*mi wdt.n nb hm=f*); and Pepynakht/Heqaib (**1.08/3.06**): Urk. I 134, 5 (*iw ir.n(=i) r hst(i) nb(=i)*); 134, 12 (*n irt mrrt nb(=i)*). Similar phraseology is attested in the letter written by Pepy II to Herkhuf (**2.05/3.08, 2.06**): Urk. I 129, 5 (*m irt mrrt hss nb=k*); 129, 14 (*r irt mrrt hss wdt nb=f*).

²⁰⁷ Baud 2005: 122. Epithets are seldom connected to a royal name, see, e.g., Jones 2000: 340, no. 1260.

²⁰⁸ Sabni held such epithets as *mh(.w) ib ny-swt* or *n st-ib nb(=f)*, see Edel 2008: pl. 13. Some of his household literally copied the epithet *ir(.w) hss(t) nb=f* in their inscriptions, see e.g. Edel 2008: pls. 7, 9, 11, 14, 15 (repeated several times), or *n st-ib=f*, Edel 2008: pl. 15.

example suggests that these epithets, as titles, were not personal choices or creations for enriching the texts carved in tomb or rock inscriptions. Their content, impersonal tone, and general references to the king point strongly to an official origin. It is likely that epithets were given to these officials by the king or by high officials. In this sense, these expressions could follow the same creative path as other less specific epithets attested, for instance, in official seals.²⁰⁹ These artifacts can offer important clues as to the dynamics of the origin and spreading of epithets. The incorporation of epithets along with different titles on official seals of the central administration was surely a royal or state initiative in order to individualize and profile the identity of their holders: state officials whose personal names were never carved on their seals. As creations coined by the royal favour and the central administration, epithets on the seals could have subsequently been copied by the officials along with other titles in their tombs or in rock inscriptions. In some cases they could also have been inserted into their biographical texts, and could have inspired other people when copying literally or in creating parallel epithets referring to familiar, local or divine spheres.²¹⁰ Regrettably, despite their abundance, it is difficult to know if the epithets can be considered only as rhetorical clichés or whether significant brands emerged from the court that their holders wanted to proudly exhibit. This is not the place for the attentive study that this phraseology deserves and, consequently, it is not possible to precisely establish if seal epithets developed before, after, or in parallel with the epithets attested from the tombs and other inscriptions.²¹¹ A more superficial study of general works hasn't confirmed this possibility. As with many other aspects of the past, it is likely that epithets didn't have a single point of origin and a unique spread and direction, but were probably created, adopted and diffused in variegated circumstances by different agents. As a result, some epithets seem to appear initially in the official seals.²¹² Conversely, others are first attested from private monuments.²¹³ In fact, the epithets under study are not attested in seals.²¹⁴ Only a seal of Menkaure from Buhen could include an expression that recalls the epithets related to the bringing of products: "[who] bri[ngs?] the foreign lands daily [in their whole extension]" (*in[n(.w)?] h3s.wt m-mnt r-[3w-sn]*).²¹⁵

Old Kingdom Egyptian sealing inscriptions are rather different from the administrative seals employed in Mesopotamia during the 3rd millennium BC. Generally, they include specific titles, filiation, and/or the personal name of the official (sometimes only his

²⁰⁹ Baud 2005: 122.

²¹⁰ See, e.g., Jones 2000: 309, no. 1126 (*ir(.w) hsst rmt nb*); 445, nos. 1661-1662 (*mrr(.w) ntr*; *mrr(.w) sn.w=f sn.wt=f*). For the copy of epithets by private individuals see, e.g. n. 207.

²¹¹ Despite its interest, the study of Janssen 1946 is outdated since many new epithets and monuments (including sealings) have since been discovered and published.

²¹² That is the case of *irr(.w) wdt* + Royal name/epithet and some variants. The first attestations of this recurring epithet from official seals appear in the reign of Khafre (Kaplony 1981: 52-53, pls. 17-18, *r^c-h^c-f 17*), but, according to examples presented by Hannig 2003: 184 {46266} {46269}, they are more rarely attested in private monuments from the mid-5th dynasty. *im3hw hr/n nb=f* appears in official seals of Sahure (Kaplony 1981: 181-182, pl. 58, *s3hw-r^c 13*) but only appears in tombs in the reign of Shepseskare, according to the examples given by Jones 2000: 28, nos. 129-130. *irr(.w) hzzt nb=f* is attested for the first time from sealings of Shepseskare (Kaplony: 1981: 289-290, pl. 81, *sps-k3-r^c 2*), but it also appears in private monuments during the 6th dynasty according to the example given by Jones 2000: 309, no. 1125, and the date given in PM III²: 143.

²¹³ *mrr(.w) (n) nb=f* is attested in seals during the reign of Khafre (Kaplony 1981: 37, pl. 13, *r^c-h^c-f 5*) and from mastabas in the reign of Snefru and Khufu, see Sourouzzian 1999: 166, fig. 12; Junker 1929: pls. 17a, 2 respectively. *hzzt nb=f* appears in official seals of Pepy I (Kaplony 1981: 369-370, pl. 99, *mry-r^c 3*), but it is already attested in private monuments in the 5th dynasty, see Jones 2000: 660, nos. 2413-2414; Urk. I 180, 4.

²¹⁴ Conversely, some epithets on seals are not attested from private monuments, see, e.g. Jones 2000: 10, no. 37; 985, no. 3640; 986, no. 3642.

²¹⁵ Kaplony 1981: 116-119, pls. 37-38, *mn-k3w-r^c 29*).

name).²¹⁶ Other texts with biographical information (private epithets) are absent from the seals. The different sealing practices in Egypt and Mesopotamia used to identify their owners evidence the use of combined titles and epithets by the Egyptian administration for individualizing unnamed officials. Epithets were, consequently, identification marks that transcended the seals. They also enriched and enhanced the titles and biographical texts of the officials in their tombs, and served as condensed and highly formulaic biographical accounts by themselves.

These epithets and the titles connected to the acquisition of intelligence encourage us to appreciate the Egyptian administration as a changing and non-linear system of action and promotion. Despite having different backgrounds and careers, their holders carried out significant activities abroad or in the Egyptian frontiers, though in spite of their achievements they never held the highest titles of the Egyptian administration. Moreover, they weren't involved in the administration and storage of the goods they obtained beyond Egypt. The neat divorce between acquisition and management of the foreign *luxuria* implies a structured central administration in which foreign activities and internal management were independent matters.

On the other hand, the epithets under study cannot be taken as mere decorative expressions inserted into the titulary of officials. Their inclusion in the *cursus honorum* of some officials cannot be interpreted as a result of a well-defined career, but rather as somewhat arbitrary recognitions by the king and high dignitaries, as they were given to officials with diverse backgrounds. Along with titles and biographical texts, they offer relevant information on the procurement of foreign goods by the Egyptian central and/or provincial administrations. As such, they can be appreciated as important sources of biographical information and as evidence with which to approach the mechanisms of identification and designation of the Egyptian officials by the state.

Catalogue: Epithets and titles and their holders

1. Epithets connected to the import of foreign products

1.01 – Hetepu/Neferhetepu (*htpw/nfr-htpw*).

Monuments: Rock inscription at Wadi Hammamat: C/M 156 (Couyat, Montet 1912: 93, no. 156; pl. 33; Eichler 1993: 76, no. 137; Sweeney 2014: 286, n. 56); one rock inscription at Wadi Gudami (?); and two rock inscriptions at Wadi Hammama (?) (Green 1909: 321, no. 28, pl. 53; 321, no. 34; pl. 54; 321, no. 38, pl. 54; Eichler 1993: 46, no. 50; 48, no. 56, 49, no. 61).*

Date: 5th dynasty (?). Sahure (?) (Eichler 1993: 46, 48, 49).

Titles: *imy-ht smnty(.w) mrr(.w) nb=f; inn(.w) hkr ny-swt m h3s.wt rsy(.w)t?** (Wadi Hammamat C/M 156); *s3 smnty(.w)* (Wadi Gudami); *s3* (Wadi Hammama).

* According to Eichler (1993: 349), the inscriptions at Wadi Gudami and Wadi Hammama would mention the same official as *htpw* (nos. 56 and 61) or *htpi* (no. 50). The name in Eichler's no. 61 could be, however, a misreading of the title *smr-w'ty*.

** The sign *rsy(.w)t* has been read as *nfr (nfr-htpw)* by Eichler (1993: 76, no. 137). It is followed by a *p*-phonogram that is difficult to integrate either as part of the epithet, or as part of the name. The complete sequence of titles is: *imy-ht smnty(.w) mrr(.w) nb=f inn(.w) hkr ny-swt m h3s.wt rs(y.w)t?*

1.02/3.02 – Ikhi/Mery (*ihi; mry (rn=f nfr)*).

Monuments: Tomb at Saqqara, cemetery at the west of Netjerierkhet's complex (Kuraszkiewicz 2014); rock inscriptions at Wadi Hammamat: G 30 (Goyon 1957: 64, no.

²¹⁶ See e.g., Collon 1987: 105-107.

30, pl. 32), C/M 61, C/M 103, C/M 107 (Couyat, Montet 1912: 58, no. 61; 72, no. 103, pl. 25; 74-76, no. 107, pl. 27), AE 3100 (Sweeney 2014: 278, fig. 1); rock inscription at Wadi Midrik (?) (Roth, Miller, Rapp 2008: 334, MD04).

Date: 6th dynasty. Pepy I – Merenre (Kuraszkiewicz 2014: 215) (after or during the first occasion of the *sed*-festival, year 18 after the census, according to inscriptions C/M 103 and C/M 133; C/M 61 could also mention this date, see Kuraszkiewicz 2014: 202, 215; Sweeney 2014: 278).

Titles: *imy-r mš^c; imy-r hnw; imy-r sš(.w) pr.w; imy-r sš(.w) pr.w m pr 4; inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt n nb=f^{*}; mty ny pr(.w) [nfr.w (?)]; mty ny pr wi3; hnty-š mn-nfr-mry-r^c; hnty-š dd-s.wt-tti; htmw-bity; htmw-ntr; htmw-ntr m wi3.wy 3; smr-w^cty; tpy hr ny-swt; dd(.w) nrw [hrw m h3s.wt]* (tomb at Saqqara); *htmw-ntr* (Wadi Hammamat G30; C/M 61; C/M 107; AE 3100; C/M 103, where he figures as the director of an expedition); *imy-ir.ty pr(.w) wi3* (Wadi Midrik MD04).

* The epithet follows the sequence [...] *dd(.w) nrw hrw [m h3s.wt]t inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt n nb=f*.

1.03/3.03 – Inkaf (*in-k3=f(rn=f nfr)*).*

Monuments: Stela and drum lintel (Cairo JdE 68916 and 68197 respectively) from Zawayda (Coptos) (Fischer 1964: 11-12); rock inscription at Wadi Isa (?) (Bell, Johnson, Whitcomb 1984: 34, fig. 7; 42, fig. 16, no. 3; Eichler 1993: 84, no. 166); two rock inscriptions at Bir Minayh (?) (Rothe, Miller, Rapp 2008: 71-72, MN25 = Almásy, Kiss 2010: 180, E 009/1; Rothe, Miller, Rapp 2008: 81, MN33).**

Date: 6th dynasty (Fischer 1964: 30-32). Pepy I (?).***

Titles: *inn(.w) hkr ny-swt m h3s.wt rsy(.wt)****; htmw-ntr m wi3.wy 3; dd(.w) nrw hrw m h3s.wt* (Cairo JdE 68916-68917); *imy-ir.ty pr.w wi3* (Wadi Isa); *[h]tmw[-ntr?]* (Bir Minayh MN25); *imy-ir.ty; imy-r sš(.w)* (Bir Minayh MN33).

* Kanawati (2004: 56) has proposed that the official Inkaf in a graffiti at Abu Simbel is Inkaf/Ini buried at Teti's cemetery at Saqqara (2.02), but he discards an identification between the latter and an homonymous official buried at Zawayda (see n.** below and 3.10).

** An incomplete stela allegedly from Zawayda (Coptos)(Turin Suppl. 1290) mentions another Inkaf (3.10). Other official called Inkaf is mentioned twice at Wadi Hammamat (C/M 211; G 2); he is a *shd smnty(.w)* (Couyat, Montet 1912: 104, no. 211; Goyon 1957: 41-43, no. 2; Eichler 1993: 50, no. 63; 81, no. 155). Goyon (1957: 41-43) dated the graffiti back to the Early Dynastic period, but Eichler (1993: 50, 81) dated them from the reign of Sahure.

*** Possibly reign of Pepy I, as the long wig uncovering the ears in Cairo JdE 68916 is only frequent after Teti (mainly Pepy I – Pepy II) (Cherpion 1989: 57-58, *critère* 31; Baud 1998: 66); the short curled wig of Inkaf's wife, Henti, in the same stela suggests Pepy I (Cherpion 1989: 67, *critère* 43), but Baud (1998: 69) predates its use to Teti. According to Fischer (1968: 76) the introduction of the name with *rn=f nfr* in the 4th-7th provinces would be a feature "limited to a brief span within the reign of Pepy II". Kanawati (1984: 30), however, thinks these feature could be dated "somewhat earlier".

**** The epithet follows the sequence *htmw-ntr m wi3.wy 3 dd(.w) nrw hrw m h3s.wt inn(.w) hkr ny-swt m h3s.wt rsy(.wt)*.

1.04 – Iny/Inudjefau (*iny/in(.w)-df3.w*).

Monuments: Unlocated tomb at the Memphite area (probably Saqqara); false door (Barcelona, Museu egipci E-261), lintel (Tokyo, Middle Eastern Culture Centre in Japan, reg. no. 10617- (1-5)); and wall reliefs from an unlocated tomb (Barcelona, Museu egipci E-445; E-561 and block with unknown number; Los Angeles private collection; New York, private collection; Tokyo, Ancient Egyptian Museum cat. no. AEM 3-010; other fragments seen in the antiquities market).

Date: 6th dynasty. Pepy I – early Pepy II.

Titles: *imy-r wp(.w)t; inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt n ntr=f; inn(.w) hkr ny-swt m h3s.wt nb(.wt) mrr(.w) nb=f; * mdw mty.w (?); mdw mty.w mniw(.w) smnty(.w) (?); hnty-š mn-nfr-ppy/mry-r^c; hrp nfr.w; htmw-ntr; htmw-ntr m wi3.wy 3; hry-h3b; smr-w^cty.*

* The epithets follow the sequences *hrp nfr.w inn(.w) hkr ny-swt m h3s.wt nb mrr(.w) nb=f*, and *htmwntr m wi3.wy 3 inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt n ntr=f*.

1.05/3.04 – Tjetji (*tti*).

Monuments: Tomb QH 103 at Qubbet el-Hawa (Edel 2008: 1499-1533; pl. 68; Fischer 1996: 21); rock inscriptions at Wadi Hammamat: C/M 35, C/M 64 and an unpublished graffiti (Couyat, Montet 1912: 46, no. 35, pl. 10; 60, no. 64; Newberry 1938: 183; Diego Espinel 2004: 13-14; Edel 2008: 1528-1529).

Date: 6th dynasty. Possibly late Pepy I – early Pepy II (Vischak 2014: 231-232).^{*} Merenre or Pepy II (Martinet 2011: 71 [51]).

Titles: *inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt rsy(.wt) mhty(.wt) n ny-swt; inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt [...] (?);** h3ty-^c; htmw-bity; htmw-ntr; hry-h3b; smr-w^cty* (tomb QH 103); *imy-r i3(.w);*** imy-r mš^c; imy-r r-3.w g3w(.w) h3s.wt; imy-r h3s.wt nbt imnty(.w)t i3bty(.w)t; imy-r smnty(.w); htmw-bity; htmw-ntr; smr-w^cty; dd(.w) nrw hrw m h3s.wt***** (Wadi Hammamat, C/M 35); *htmwntr* (Wadi Hammamat, C/M 64 and unpublished rock inscription).*****

* Tjetji's rock inscription C/M 35 is related to the inscription C/M 32 of Pepy I (Couyat, Montet 1912: 45, no. 32, pl. 10), that, apparently, is also connected with C/M 34 (*ibid.*: 46, pl. 34, pl. 10) and, maybe, with another damaged graffiti on which was carved C/M 33 (*ibid.*: 45, no. 33, pl. 10); C/M 64 could be related to a similar inscription (*ibid.* 59-60, no. 16, pl. 16). The same applies with an unpublished graffiti of Tjetji close to the inscription C/M 60 with Merenre's titulary (*ibid.*: 58, no. 60, pl. 6). As C/M 35, the unpublished graffiti is introduced by the *wpt ny-swt irt.n* formula. Apparently, Tjetji is not mentioned in the unpublished graffiti of Merenre's first year after the census.

** The first epithet follows this sequence: *htmwntr inn(.w) hr(y.w)t h3s.wt rsy(.wt) mhty(.wt) n ny-swt*. The second one –very dubious– would follow the title *htmwntr*.

*** Alternatively, but less plausibly, *imy-r nbw* (contrarily to Diego Espinel 2004: 13-14, n. a).

**** This epithet follows the sequence *htmwntr smr-w^cty htmwntr imy-r mš^c imy-r smnt(y.w), imy-r i3(.w) imy-r h3s.wt nbt imnty(.w)t i3bty(.w)t imy-r r-3.w g3w(.w) h3s.wt dd(.w) nrw hrw m h3s.wt*.

***** He could be nomarch of Elephantine, even though he didn't hold the usual titles connected to the office (Martinet 2011: 71 [51], 204-206).

1.06/2.04/3.05 – Herkhuf (*hrw-hwi=f*).

Monuments: Tomb QH 34n at Qubbet el-Hawa (Edel 2008: 617-661).

Date: 6th dynasty. Merenre – early Pepy II (Vischak 2015: 230).

Titles: *imy-ib n nb=f; imy-iz; imy-r i3(.w); imy-r h3s.wt nb(t) n(.w)t tp rsy; imy-r šm^cw; inn(.w) inw n hkr ny-swt; inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt nb(t) n nb=f; irr(.w) hsst n nb=f; mni nhb; h3ty-^c; hry sš3 n wdt md(.wt); hry-sš3 n mdwt nb(t) n(.w)t tp rsy; hry-sš3 n mdwt nb(t) n(.w)t tp rsy imy-ib n nb=f; hry-tp nhb; htmw-bity; htmwntr; hry-h3b; smr-w^cty; dd(.w) nrw [hrw] m h3st.***

* The epithet follows this sequence in the façade (Edel 2008: pl. 27): *imy-r i3(.w) inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt nb(t) n nb=f inn(.w) inw n hkr ny-swt imy-r h3s.wt nb(.wt) n(y.w)t tp rsy dd(.w) nrw [hrw] m h3s.wt irr(.w) hsst n nb[=f]*. The epithet follows this sequence in a pillar (Edel 2008: pl. 30 text 12): *hry-sš3 n md(.w)t nb(.wt) n(y.w)t tp rsy imy-ib n nb=f irr(.w) hsst n nb=f dd(.w) nrw [hrw] m h3st inn(.w) hr(y.w)t h3s.wt nb n nb=f imy-r h3s.wt nb(t) n(.w)t tp rsy*; in another pillar (Edel 2008: pl. 31 text 14): *hry-sš3 n md(.w)t nb(t) n(.w)t tp rsy imy-ib n nb=f irr(.w) hsst n nb=f dd(.w) nrw [hrw] m h3st inn(.w) inw n hkr ny-swt m h3s.wt nb(.wt)*.

** He could be nomarch of Elephantine, even though he didn't hold the usual titles connected to the office (Martinet 2011: 72 [52], 204-206).

1.07 – Sabn(i)/Ankhnipepy (*s3bn*; *nh-n(=i)-ppy (rn=f nfr)*).*

Monuments: Tomb QH 34n at Qubbet el-Hawa: pillar and false door (Edel 2008: 630 (text 10), pl. 30, fig. 11; 633-634, pl. 32, fig. 15; Vischak 2015: 101; 190).

Date: 6th dynasty. Merenre – early Pepy II (Vischak 2015: 230).

Titles: *imy-r i3(.w)*; *imy-ib n nb=f*; *imy-r h3s.wt nb(t) n(.w)t tp rsy*; *inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt <nb.wt n> nb=<f>*; ** *htm-w-bity*; *hry-h3b*; *smr-w^cty*.

* This official was possibly a close relative of Herkhuf (uncle, brother, son?), as his titles and name were carved on a pillar and on a false door carved in Herkhuf's chapel. In one occasion Edel suggested that he could be Herkhuf himself (Edel 2008: 644, n. 109).

** The epithet follows directly the name of its owner, with no previous title: *inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt nb(=i/f) imy-r h3s.wt nb(t) n(.w)t tp rsy imy-ib n nb=f*.

1.08/3.06– Pepynakht/Heqaib (*ppy-nht*; *hk3-ib (rn=f nfr)*)(father of **1.09/3.07**).

Monuments: Tombs QH 35 and QH 35d at Qubbet el-Hawa (Edel 2008: 679-704; 733-802 respectively); wooden portable chest at Elephantine (Dorn 2015: 52-53)

Date: 6th dynasty. Merenre – early Pepy II (Vischak 2015: 230-231). Pepy II (Martinet 2011: 75 [55]). Alternatively he could be dated from the late third of Pepy II, as Vischak (2015: 225-237) believes that the owners of tombs QH 35 and QH 35d are not the same person. The latter could be son or grand-son of the former. Consequently, his son Sabni (**1.09/3.07**), the owner of QH 35e, would be slightly later.

Titles: *imy-iz*; *imy-r i3(.w)*; *imy-r i3(.w) nb(.w)*; *imy-r niwt mn-nfr-ppy*; *imy-r h3s.wt*; *inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt n nb=f*; * *mty m z3 h^c-nfr(.w)-mr.n-r^c*; *h3ty-^c*; *hry-tp nhb*; *hnty-š mn-^cnh-nfr-k3-r^c*; *htm-w-bity*; *hry-h3b*; *smr-w^cty*; *šš n z3 mn-^cnh-nfr-k3-r^c*; *dd(.w) nrw hrw m h3s.wt* (QH 35); *imy-iz*; *imy-r i3(.w)*; *imy-r h3s.wt*; *iry-p^ct*; *mniw nhn*; *h3ty-^c m3^c*; *hry-h3b*; *hry-tp nhb*; *htm-w-bity*; *smr-w^cty*; *shd hm(.w)-ntr mn-nfr-ppy*; *shd hm(.w)-ntr- h^c-nfr(.w)-mr.n-r^c* (QH 35d); *imy-r i3(.w) h3s.wt*; *imy-r h3s.wt*; *h3ty-^c*; *hry-h3b*; *htm-w-bity*; *smr-w^cty* (Elephantine, chapel).*

* The epithets follows these sequences in the façade: *imy-r i3(.w) inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt n nb=f*; in another line of the same text: *mty n s3 dd(.w) nrw hrw h3s.wt* (Edel 2008: pl. 33, text 2); in another section: *imy-r i3(.w) dd(.w) nrw hrw m h3s.wt* (Edel 2008: pl. 34, text 2).

** He could be nomarch of Elephantine, even though he didn't hold the usual titles connected to the office (Martinet 2011: 75 [55], 204-206).

1.09/3.07 – Sabni (*s3bni*)(son of **1.08/3.06**).

Monuments: Tomb QH 35e at Qubbet el-Hawa (Edel 2008: 803-869); wooden portable chest at Elephantine (?) (Dorn 2015: 52-53); papyrus Berlin P. 8869 from Elephantine (?) (Manassa 2006; Dorn 2015: 53; Edel 2008: 222 identifies the person mentioned in the papyrus with the owner of QH 26, see **2.06**).

Date: 6th dynasty. See **1.08/3.06** for possible dates.

Titles: *imy-r i3(.w)*; *imy-r h3s.wt*; *imy-r h3s.wt nb(.wt)*; *imy-r h3s.wt n st-ib nb=f*; *imy-r šm^cw*; *imy-r šn^c(.w) m nhb*; *inn(.w) hry(.w)t h3s.wt <n> nb=f*; *T whm(.w) mdw hrw*; *whm mdw hrw n šmsw=f*; *mit hrw m h3s.wt*; *mh <ib?> <n?> ny-swt <m?> tp-rsy (?)*; *h3ty-^c*; *hry-sšt3 nb=f*; *hry-sšt3 n r-^c3 šm^cw*; *hry-tp 3 n ny-swt*; *htm-w-bity*; *hry-h3b*; *smr-w^cty*; *shd hm(.w)-ntr mn-nfr-ppy*; *shd hm(.w)-ntr-h^c-nfr(.w)-mr.n-r^c*; *d<d(.w)> nrw <hrw> m h3s.wt n nb=f* (QH 35e); *imy-r i3(.w)*; *hry-h3b*; *htm-w-bity*; *smr-w^cty* (Elephantine, chapel); *imy-r sš(.w) pr.w*; *h3ty-^c*; *htm-w-bity*; [*smr-w^cty*] (Berlin P. 8869).*

* The epithet follows this sequence (Edel 2008: pls. 50-51, text 1a): *hry-h3b inn(.w) hr(y.w)t h3s.wt <n> nb=f*. In the façade it is also attested this sequence (Edel 2008: pls. 50-51, text 6): *h3ty-^c htmw-ntr whm(.w) mdw hrw d<d(.w)> nrw <hrw> m h3s.wt n nb=f*.

** He could be nomarch of Elephantine, even though he didn't hold the usual titles connected to the office (Martinet 2011: 77 [57], 204-206). He wouldn't be related to Berlin P. 8869 (the papyrus would refer to Intef/Mekhu's son, Sabni, see **2.06**).

1.10/3.09 – Henti (*hnti* (*rn=f nfr*)).

Monuments: Stela from Zawayda (?) (Coptos) (Karlsruhe Museum H.411) (Fischer 1964: 32-33); rock inscription at Bir Minayh (?) (Almásy, Kiss 2010: 180, fig. 7; 181, E 009/3).

Date: 6th dynasty (Fischer 1964: 32-33).

Titles: *imy-ir.ty* 'pr(.w) wī3; *inn(.w) hkr ny-swt m h3s.wt rsy(.wt)**; *dd(.w) nrw hrw m h3s.wt* (Karlsruhe); *htm-w-ntr* (Bir Minayh).

* The epithet follows this sequence: *imy-ir.ty dd(.w) nrw hrw m h3s.wt inn(.w) hkr ny-swt m h3s.wt rsy(.wt)*.

1.11 – Idi (?) (*idi*?).

Monuments: Rock inscription at Gebel el-Hammam (Petrie 1888: pl. 12, no. 326; de Morgan 1894: 207, no. 32; Eichler 1993: 95, no. 205.*

Date: 6th dynasty (?).

Titles: *imy-ir.ty*; [*imy-r?*] *smnty(.w) h3st*; *inn(.w) hkr ny-swt hr h3s.wt [...]* *hr/n nb[=f]*.**

* The inscription is misread by Eichler 1993: 95, no. 205: *špsi-ny-swt htmw ny-swt (?) h3s.wt [...]* *hr nbw smn.ty imy-ir.ty idi*. The reading *hkr* is clear in Petrie 1888: pl. 12, no. 330.

** The copies of the inscription at hand are not completely reliable enough to offer a definite reading. The sign after *hkr ny-swt* can be *htm(.w)* or, much more probably, *hr*. Both possibilities are not attested elsewhere. *hr* serves occasionally as a substitute for *m* (Edel 1973). The final part of the sentence can be read as *hr n nb<=f>*, or *hr nb<=f>*. *hr* could be interpreted as “to”. The epithet follows the sequence *inn(.w) hkr ny-swt hr h3s.wt [...]* *hr nb=f* [*imy-r*] *smnty(.w) h3st imy-ir.ty*.

2. Epithets connected to the bringing of foreign information**2.01 – Iunmin/Tjetetu** (*iwn-mnw*; *ttw* (*rn=f nfr*)).*

Monuments: Mastaba at Saqqara, north west of Teti's pyramid (Kanawati et al. 1984: 29-36; Lloyd et al. 1990: 47, pl. 21, no. 1).

Date: 6th dynasty. Pepy I (Kanawati et al. 1984: 30).

Titles: *imy-r mdwt nbt š3t nt r-3 h3st*; *imy-r hnty(.w)-š*; *imy-r st hnty(.w)-š pr-3*; *hm-ntr dd-s.wt-tti*; *hry-sš3*; *hry-sš3 n ny-swt m wdt-mdw nbt n(t) r-3 h3st*; [*hry-sš3*] *n ny-swt m wdt-mdw nbt [š3t] n(t) r-3 h3st*; *hnty-š dd-s.wt-tti*; *hry-h3b*; *smr-w'ty*; *smr pr*; *špsi ny-swt*; *tpy <hr> ny-swt pr-3*.

* This official could come from the Coptite area because of his theophorous name and titles (Kanawati et al. 1984: 29). Moreover, one of his sons is named Intef, a name common in the area around Thebes.

2.02 – Inkaf/Ini (*in-k3=f*; *ini* (*rn=f nfr*)).*

Monuments: Tomb at Saqqara, north west of Teti's pyramid, reused by Inkaf from an earlier owner whose name is unknown, but he could come from the area of Akhmim, as Min of Ipu (Akhmim) is mentioned in the original decoration of the tomb (Kanawati 2004).

Date: 6th dynasty. Pepy I (Kanawati 2004).

Titles: *imy.r mšc*; *imy-r smnty(.w)*; *imy-r šm'w/imy-r rsy (?)***; *hry-sš3 n pr dw3t*; *hry-sš3 m wdt-mdw nbt nt r-3 nb n h3s.wt rsy(.wt)*; *hry-sš3 n h3s.wt n rsy*; *hry-h3b*; *smr-w'ty*; (titles inscribed by *in-k3=f*); *imy-r k3t nbt nt ny-swt*; *irr(.w) h3st ny-swt m k3t-f nbt hrw nb*; *htm-w-ntr m wī3.wy 3*; *tpy hr ny-swt pr-3* (titles of the former owner of the tomb, possibly also given to *in-k3=f*).

* See 1.03 (note *) for a possible identification of this official with Inkaf of Abu Simbel.

** According to Kanawati (2004: 60, n. 27) the title could actually be a miswriting of *imy-r <šm'w>*.

2.03 – Meryrenefer/Qar (*mry-r^c-nfr; k3r (rn=f nfr)*)

Monuments: Tomb at Edfu with offering niche (Cairo JE 43370-43771); possibly (but not probably) tomb at the Teti cemetery at Saqqara (Kanawati 2011; see however Diego Espinel 2015: 244); possibly several reliefs from an unlocated tomb at Saqqara (BM EA 1319A-B, 1330, 1341, 1342, James 1961: 33-36; Hermitage inv. No. 18233, Bolshakov 2005: 111-121; Stanford University Museum of Art T173, van Siclen III 1990: 50; see however Kanawati 2011: 218).*

Date: 6th dynasty. Teti-early Pepy II (Brovarski 2014: 25, no. 21).

Titles: *imy-ib n ny-swt; imy-r it šm^cw; imy-r wp(.w)t nb n ny.swt; imy-r hm(.w)-ntr; imy-r hnty(.w)-š pr-3; imy-r šm^cw; iry-ht ny-swt; d-mr <n> s3b; wr md šm^cw; mdhw sš ny-swt; (ny?) nst hntt; h3ty-^c; hry-sšt3 m pr dw3t; hry-sšt3 n mdwt nb(t) innt m r-3 g3w h3s. wt m h3s. wt rsy(.w)t; hry-sšt3 n mdwt nb(t) š3t twt m r-3 n 3bw; hry-tp <3?> n sp3t; hry-tp 3 n sp3t imy-ib n ny-swt; hry-h3b; smr-w^cty; tpy hr ny-swt m3^c (tomb at Edfu); imy-r hnty(.w)-š pr-3; imy-r gs hmwty(.w); iry-mh^ct; iry-ht ny-swt (tomb at Saqqara); imy-r gs-pr; h3k3 hwt; hry-h3b; htmw-bity; htmw-bity m3^c; smr-w^cty; sš md3t ntr; sš md3t ntr n st-ib nb=f (unlocated tomb at Saqqara).*

* There are, at least, two other blocks (Kelsey Museum 81.4.1; Stockholm MME 1990:004) that could come from this tomb, but the titles are somewhat different. In the Kelsey block the individual is called *k3r* and his *rn=f nfr* is *ppy-nfr*, and his titles are: *hry-h3b imy ib n nb=f; [hry-sšt3?] n pr dw3t; z3b iry-nhn m3^c* (Richards, Wilfong 1995: 26, no. IV.1; Callender 2000: 380, no. 24, who relates it to the blocks kept at the British Museum). The block in Stockholm depicts two offering bringers and an ox which is *n k3 n z3b iry-nhn k3r* (see Peterson 1981).

Moreover, Qar “Junior” at Abusir was possibly named Meryrenefer/Pepynefer too (Bárta 2009: 147, 246-247, n. 17). Another inscription at Wadi Barramiya mentioning an official Qar with the title *imy-r sš(.w)* of the 2nd nome has been tentatively connected to this official (Eichler 1998: 251-252, no. 1, pl. 28a = Rothe, Miller, Rapp 2008: 180, BR64). A practically identical rock inscription was found at Wadi Dinqash (Rothe, Miller, Rapp 2008: 285, DN02) again with the title *imy-r sš(.w)*.

2.04 (=1.06/2.04/3.05) – Herkhuf (*hrw-hwi=f*).

Date: 6th dynasty. Merenre – early Pepy II.

2.05/3.08 – Intef/Mekhu (*in-it=f; mh^cw (rn=f nfr)*)(father of **2.06**).

Monuments: Tomb QH 25 at Qubbet el-Hawa (Edel 2008: 5-265); wooden portable chest at Elephantine (Dorn 2015: 189, no. 17); rock inscription at Tomas (Edel 1971; Eichler 1993: 112, no. 258); papyrus Strasbourg Cb vso, 5 from Elephantine (?) (Möller 1911: pls. 6-6a).*

Date: 6th dynasty. Mid-Pepy II (Vischak 2015: 232-236). Late Pepy II (Edel 2008: 230). Early Pepy II (Martinet 2011: 73-74 [53]).

Titles: *imy-r i3(.w) n st-ib nb=f; imy-r mš^c;** imy-r h3s.wt; imy-r h3s.wt nbt; h3ty-^c; h3ty-^c m3^c; [hry-s]št3 n mdt nb(t) š[t3t]; hry-h3b; htmw-bity; smr-w^cty (tomb QH 25); imy-r h3s.wt; h3ty-^c; smr-w^cty (Elephantine); imy-r i3(.w); imy-r mš^c hr s3tw; imy-r h3s.wt n nb=f m im3 irtt w3w3t; hry-sšt3 n mdwt nb(t) [innt m h3s.wt nbt?];*** hry-h3b; htmw-bity; smr-w^cty; smr-w^cty [mh(.w) ib n?] ny-swt; dd(.w) nrw hrw [m h3s.wt rsy(.w)t?]**** (Tomas); imy-r pr (pap. Strasbourg Cb vso, 5).******

* According to Martinet (2011: 74 [54]) this papyrus would mention Intef/Mekhu and his son Sabni. However, the title of the former (*imy-r pr*) raises doubts about an ultimate identification (Edel 2008: 222, n. 679).

** Vischak (2015: 235) suggests that Intef/Mekhu was *imy-r šm^cw* according to the inscriptions in his coffin, but Edel (2008: 124-125, 127, figs. 177-179) does not record this title in the coffin remains.

*** The remaining signs in the picture published by Edel (1971) permit that reading or an alternative one: *hry-sšt3 n mdwt nbt* [*ny-swt m h3s.wt nbt?*]. Edel (1971: 55, 57) restore “[der ‘engen Türöffnung’ der Fremdländer]”. Alternatively Edel (2008: 208) restored [*nt r-ʕ g3w n 3bw*] because of the same title held by his son Sabni at Tomas: *hry-sšt3 n mdwt nb(t) nt r-ʕ g3w n 3bw* (Edel 1971: 55, 58-59).

**** The complete sequence of titles is *htmw-bity smr-wʕty hry-h3b imy-r iʕ3(.w) smr-wʕty* [*mḥ(.w) ib n?*] *ny-swt imy-r h3s.wt n nb=f m im3 irtt w3w3t hry-sšt3 n mdwt nb(t) [innt h3s.wt nbt?] dd(w.) nrw hrw [m h3s.wt rsy.wt]*.

***** He could be nomarch of Elephantine, even though he didn’t hold the usual titles connected to the office (Martinet 2011: 73-74 [53], 204-206).

2.06 – Sabni (*s3bni*)(son of 2.05/3.08).

Monuments: Tomb QH 26 at Qubbet el-Hawa (Edel 2008: 5-265); rock inscription at Tomas (Edel 1971; Eichler 1993: 112, no. 258); papyrus Strasbourg Cb vso, 5 from Elephantine (?) (Möller 1911: pls. 6-6a; see 2.05/3.08, n. *); papyrus Berlin P. 8869 from Elephantine (?) (Edel 2008: 222; Manassa 2006 and Dorn 2015: 53 identify the homonymous official in the papyrus with the owner of QH 34e, see 1.09/3.07).

Date: 6th dynasty. Mid-Pepy II or slightly later (Vischak 2015: 234). Late Pepy II (Edel 2008: 230). Early Pepy II (Martinet 2011: 74-75 [54]).

Titles: *imy-r iʕ3(.w)*; *imy-r <r>-ʕ3 (?)*; * *imy-r h3s.wt*; *imy-r h3s.wt mḥ(.w)-ib ny-swt m tp rsy*; *imy-r h3s.wt n nb=f*; *imy-r šmʕw*; *imy-r šmʕw n st-ib nb=f*; *imy-ḥt ḥm(.w)-ntr mn-ḥh-nfr-kʕ-rʕ*; *iry-pʕt (?)*; *h3ty-ʕ*; *htmw-bity*; *hry-h3b*; *smr-wʕty*; *šḥd ḥm(.w)-ntr mn-ḥh-nfr-kʕ-rʕ* (tomb QH 25); *hry-sšt3 n mdwt nb(t) nt r-ʕ gʕw n 3bw*; *hry-h3b*; *smr-wʕty*; (Tomas); *smr-wʕty* (pap. Strasbourg Cb vso, 5); *hry-h3b*. **

* In Edel (2008: pl. 2, scene 3) the reading *imy-r <r>-ʕ3*, “overseer of the door” is perfectly clear, but it is possibly a miswriting of *imy-r iʕ3(.w)* (see Edel 2008: 31).

** He could be nomarch of Elephantine, even though he didn’t hold the usual titles connected to the office (Martinet 2011: 74-75 [54], 204-206).

2.07 – Khuinkhnum (*ḥwi-n-ḥnmw*)

Monuments: Tomb QH 102 at Qubbet el-Hawa (Edel 2008: 1387-1456); rock inscriptions at Sehel (Elephantine area): SEH 12-13 (Gasse, Rondot, 2007: 28-29, 433-434; Eichler 1993: 97, no. 205 = SEH 13; 99, no. 211 = SEH 12); el-Buweib, rock inscription (Eichler 1993: 92, no. 189).

Date: 6th dynasty. Mid-Pepy II or slightly later (Vischak 2015: 235). Late Pepy II (Edel 2008: 1442).

Titles: *imy-r h3s.wt*, *imy-r sš(.w) ʕpr.w*, *imy-ḥt wi3 ʕ3*, *h3ty-ʕ*, *hry-sšt3 n mdwt nb(t) ššt3(t) n(t) tp rsy*, *htmw-bity*, *hry-h3b*, *smr-wʕty*, *šḥd ḥm(.w)-ntr mn-ḥh-nfr-k3-rʕ*, *tpy hr ny-swt* (QH 102); *imy-r sš(.w) ʕprw*, *hry-sšt3 n mdwt nb(t)*, *tpy hr ny-swt* (Sehel, SEH 12-13).

2.08 – [...]

Monuments: Coffin remains (QH 102/169a) from shaft V of tomb QH 102 at Qubbet el-Hawa (Edel 2008: 1421, 1425-1426, 1429, fig. 78, 1441-1442).

Date: 6th dynasty. Probably from the same period as 2.07.

Titles: [*hry-sšt3 n mdwt nb(t) ššt3 n(y)t r-ʕ g3w 3bw/h3s.wt (?)*].

2.09 – Tjauti (*t3wti*).

Monuments: Tomb T 73 at el-Qasr wa es-Saiyad (Hiw) (Säve-Söderbergh 1994: 36-56).

Date: 6th dynasty. Mid-late Pepy II (Martinet 2011: 84 [64]).

Titles: *imy-r ḥm(.w)-ntr*; *imy-r šmʕw*; *imy-r šmʕw m3ʕ*; *iry-pʕt*; *mḥ(.w)-ib nb=f r-ʕ3 g3w h3st rsy(t)*; *mḥ(.w)-ib ny-swt m r-ʕ3 g3w h3st rsy(t)*; *h3ty-ʕ*; *h3ty-ʕ m3ʕ*; *hry-sšt3 n pr*

d[w3t] (?); *hry-sšt3 n r-3 g3w*; *hry-sšt3 n r-3 g3w h3st rsy(t) m mdwt nbt š[t3t] (?)*; * *hry-tp 3 n sp3t*; *hk3-hwt*; *hrp i3t nbt ntryt*; *htm-w-bity*; *hry-h3b*; *smr-w^cty*; *šd hm(.w)-ntr mn-^cnh-mry-r^c*; *šd hm(.w)-ntr mn-^cnh nfr-k3-r^c*; *šd hm(.w)-ntr h3-nfr mr-n-r^c*; *sš md3t-ntr*.

* The title is not recorded by Säve-Söderbergh, but is clear (leaving aside *š[t3t]*) in Säve-Söderbergh 1994: pl. 38.

3. EPITHETS CONNECTED TO THE “FEAR OF HORUS IN THE FOREIGN COUNTRIES”

3.01 – Kaiemtjenenet (*k3=i-m-tnnt*)

Date: 5th dynasty. Isesi.

Monuments: Mastaba D 7 at Saqqara (Baud 1997: 71-72, 78; *id.* 1999: 591-592, no. 237); possibly mastaba G 7411 at Giza: G 7411 (unpublished, see Simpson 1979: 493-494; Baud 1999: 592).*

Titles: [*imy-ir.ty*] *pr.wy wi3[.wy] imy-ib n nb=f*; *imy-r wdt mdw nbt nt ny-swt*; *imy-r wdt mdw nbt nt ny-swt mrr nb=f*; *imy-r mš^c*; *imy-r sb3w ms.w [ny-swt]*; *imy-r k3t nbt nt ny-swt mrr nb=f*; *htm-w-ntr*; *htm-w-ntr m i3.wy 3*; *s3 ny-swt*; *smr-w^cty*; *<dd(.w)> nrw hrw m h3s.wr*** (mastaba D 7 at Saqqara); *imy-ir.ty pr(.w.) wi3*; [*htm-w-ntr m wi3.wy [3?]*] (and other unpublished and unreadable titles) (mastaba G 7411 at Giza).

* Maybe the owners of both tombs are different officials as the names of their wives are different. In any case, the mastabas have similar plans. G 7411 is very similar to the mastaba of Iesiankh (mastaba D8 at Saqqara; Baud 1999: 421-422, no. 31), a relative, possibly the son, of Kaiemtjenenet at Saqqara (Baud 1999: 591).

** The epithet follows the sequence *imy-r wdt mdw nb n ny-swt <dd(.w)> nrw hrw m h3st*.

3.02 (= 1.02/3.02) – Ikhi/Mery (*ihi*; *mry (rn=f nfr)*).

Date: 6th dynasty. Pepy I – Merenre.

3.03 (= 1.03/3.03) – Inkaf (*in-k3=f (rn=f nfr)*).

Date: 6th dynasty. Pepy I (?).

3.04 (= 1.05/3.04) – Tjetji (*tti*).

Date: 6th dynasty. Possibly late Pepy I – early Pepy II. Merenre or Pepy II (?).

3.05 (= 1.06/3.05/2.04) – Herkhuf (*hrw-hwi=f*).

Date: 6th dynasty. Merenre – early Pepy II.

3.06 (= 1.08/3.06) – Pepynakht/Heqaib (*ppy-nht*; *hk3-ib (rn=f nfr)*)(father of 1.09/3.08).

Date: 6th dynasty. Merenre – early Pepy II. Pepy II. Late third of Pepy II.

3.07 (= 2.05/3.07) – Intef/Mekhu (*in-it=f*; *mh-w (rn=f nfr)*)(father of 2.06).

Date: 6th dynasty. Early Pepy II to late Pepy II. .

3.08 (= 1.09/3.08) – Sabni (*s3bni*) (son of 1.08/3.06).

Date: 6th dynasty. Merenre – early Pepy II. Pepy II. Late third of Pepy II. Late Pepy II.

3.09 (= 1.10/3.09) – Henti (*hnti*).

Date: 6th dynasty.

3.10 – Inkaf (*in-k3=f*).

Monuments: Incomplete stela from Zawayda (Coptos) (Turin Suppl. 1290) (Fischer 1964: 8-14; 33-34, no. 10; pl. XII); rock inscription at Abu Simbel (?) (Fischer 1964: 12; Eichler 1993: 115, no. 271).

Date: 6th dynasty.

Titles: [*imy-r mn*]f3t; *hry-h3b*; [*smr*]-w^cty; [*dd(.w)*] *nrw* [*hrw m h3s.wt*] (Zawayda); *imy-r mš^c*, *hm-ntr <mnw?>*, *hry-sšt3*, *sm3 mnw*, *smr-w^cty* (Abu Simbel).

* He doesn't seem to be the homonymous official at Zawayda (1.03/3.03), but he could be the person mentioned at Abu Simbel, as both seem to be connected to the Coptite area.

3.11 – [...]

Monuments: Doorjamb found at Ayn Asil (Dakhla).

Date: 6th dynasty. Early/mid-6th dynasty (Pantalacci 1997: 342).

Titles: [...] *dd(.w)* *nrw* *hrw m h3s.wt* [...].

3.12 – [...]

Monuments: Block found at Ayn Asil (Dakhla), northern area of the city.

Date: 6th dynasty. Early/mid-6th dynasty (Pantalacci 1997: 342).

Titles: [...] [*dd(.w)*] *nrw* *hrw* *m h3s.wt*.

4. Other officials mentioned in the text

4.01 – Abebi (*3bbi*)

Monuments: False door from Saqqara (?) (Cairo CG 1406); unprovenanced false door (Cairo CG 1459) (Saqqara?) (Borchardt 1937: 68-69, pl. 18; 148-149, pl. 36 respectively); rock tomb QH 109 at Qubbet el-Hawa (?) (Edel 2008: 1663-1714). The owner of both false doors could be the same official (Brovarski 2006: 94-95). If so, they would come from different tombs, as both false doors are rather different in style. Moreover, Brovarski (1989: 984, n. 71) has also suggested an identification between the owner of Cairo CG 1406 and the owner of QH 109, Abebi/Tjesu (*3bbi/tsw*), who held similar titles.

Date: 6th dynasty. Mid-6th dynasty (later than Merenre because of the T-shaped panel).

Titles: *imy-r i3(.w)*, *hry-sšt3 n tp-rsy*, *hry-h3b*, *hnty-š mn-nfr-ppy*, *smr-w^cty* (CG 1406); *hry-sšt3 n sp3t*, *hry-h3b*, *smr-w^cty* (CG 1459); *imy-r i3(.w)*, *hry-h3b*, *htm-w-bity*, *smr-w^cty* (QH 109).

4.02 – Unisankh (*wnis-^cnh*).

Monuments: Tomb TT 413 at el-Khokha (Thebes); block (MMA 22.3.325) (Saleh 1977: 12-17).

Date: 6th dynasty. Early 6th dynasty (Martinet 2011: 49-50 [29]).

Titles: *imy-r šm^cw*, *imy-r šnw.ty*, *hry-sšt3 n mdwt nb št3t innt r sp3t*, *hry-tp 3 n sp3t*, *tpy hr ny-swt*.

4.03 – Khenti (*hnti*).

Monuments: Tomb TT 405 at el-Khokha (Thebes) (Saleh 1977: 18-22).

Date: 6th dynasty. Possibly same period as 4.02 (Martinet 2011: 81, n. 87) [61].

Titles: *hry-sšt3 n mdwt nb št3t innt r sp3t*, *hry-tp 3 n sp3t*, *hry-h3b*, *htm-w-bity*, *smr-w^cty*.

4.04 – Ihy (*ihy*) (*rn=f nfr*).

Monuments: Tomb TT 186 at el-Khokha (Thebes) (Saleh 1977: 23-26).

Date: 6th dynasty. Merenre – Pepy II (Martinet 2011: 80 [60]).

Titles: *iwn knmwt*, *imy-ib n ny-swt hnty idb.wy*, *imy-r s3.w sp3t*, *imy-r šnw.ty*, *ḏ-mr s3b*, *mdw rhyt*, *ny nst hntyt*, *hry-sšt3 n mdwt nb št3t innt r sp3t*, *hry-tp 3 n sp3t*, *h3b-hwt*, *hry-h3b*, *smr-w^cty*, *tpy hr ny-swt pr-3*.

4.05 – Idu (I) (*idw*)(father of 4.06?)*

Monuments: Mastaba and stela at Dendera (Fischer 1968: 93-100).

Date: 6th dynasty, reign of Pepy II (Fischer 1968: 93; Martinet 2011: 82 [62]).

Titles: *imy-iz, imy-r šm^cw, imy-r šm^cw nbw m³c, imy-r s3.w sp3t, ʿd-mr s3b, wr mdw šm^cw, ny nst hntyt, h3ty-^c, hry-sšt3 n mdwt nb št3(t) innt r sp3t, [hry]-sšt3 n [mdw-ntr?], hry-tp ʿ3 n sp3t, hk3-hwt, hk3-hwt nfr-k^c-r^c-mn-^cnh, hk3-hwt mry-r^c-mn-nfr, hry-h3b, htmw-bity, smr-w^cty, smr-pr, špss ny-swt.*

* Fischer 1968: 100-103.

4.06 – Tjauti (I) (*t3wti*)(son of 4.05?).

Monuments: Stela from Dendera (Philadelphia Univ. Museum E 17749) (Fischer 1968: 103-107).

Date: 6th dynasty. Late Pepy II (Fischer 1968: 187, 93, n. 420; Martinet 2011: 101-102 [79]).

Titles: *[hry-sšt3 n] mdwt nb [št]3(t) innt r [sp3t], [hry]-sšt3 n [mdw-ntr?], hry-tp ʿ3 n sp3t, hk3-hwt, hry-h3b, htmw-bity, smr-w^cty.*

4.07 – Niibunysut/Bebi (*ny-ib.w-ny-swt/bbi (rn=f nfr)*).

Monuments: Tomb 770 at Dendera (blocks lt3, rt 6, lt, tr2) (Fischer 1968: 114-119).

Date: 8th dynasty (Fischer 1968: 114, 187; Martinet 2011: 103-104 [81]).

Titles: *imy-r hm(.w)-ntr, ʿd mr s3b, wr mdw šm^cw, ny nst hntyt, rsy-t r wdw sr.w, hry-sšt3 n wdt-mdw, hry-sšt3 n mdwt nb innt r sp3t, hry-[sšt3 n] htmw-ntr, hry-tp ʿ3 n sp3t, hk3-hwt, hry-h3b, htmw-bity, smr-w^cty, tpy hr ny-swt.*

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