

EGYPTIAN PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION
IN THE EARLY MIDDLE KINGDOM

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1981.



The objective of this paper is an historical study of the workings of the provincial government of the late Eleventh and early Twelfth Dynasties, primarily on the basis of the titles of the officials of that period, particularly the provincial governors. To this end, a Prosopography of early Middle Kingdom officials is included in Chapter two and four Appendices chart the frequency and patterns of occurrence of twenty-three separate titles held by these officials.

The evidence points to a destruction of the old 'feudal' system of provincial government during the late Eleventh Dynasty and its transformation, in the early Twelfth Dynasty, into a system of centralized control of provincial affairs. High-ranking royal officials bearing the titles of provincial governors were stationed in certain key geographical areas. Like most high offices, the governorship at this period seems to have been an appointive office and not an hereditary one. This fact, in addition to the individuals' close relationship to the king, seems to have ensured the loyalty of these officials to the Crown. By stabilizing the provincial administration and re-establishing strong central control, Amenemhat I and Senusert I created the conditions necessary for the rapid expansion of the Twelfth Dynasty into Nubia.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

There are a number of people to whom I would like to express my gratitude for their help and encouragement either in my academic life in general or in the writing of this particular paper. My sincere thanks to Dr. Gerald E. Kadish and Dr. D.B. Redford for a firm foundation, to Prof. H.S. Smith and Ms. Anthea Page at University College for all their hard work on my behalf, to Dr. J. Malek at the Griffith Institute for giving me access to the files there, to Dr. H. Satzinger of the Kunsthistorisches Museum for helping me to find my way through the collection there, and to the staffs of the Wilbour Library at the Brooklyn Museum and the New York Public Library Reference Collection for being helpful and friendly at all times. I would also like to thank Dr. V. Menning for many helpful suggestions during the typing of this paper. And special thanks are due to Dr. G.T. Martin who carefully read this work at several different stages and offered many valuable suggestions as well as making available his own knowledge of the field.

ABBREVIATIONS

- ASAE* *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*
- BIFAO* *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*
- BMMA* *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York*
- JEA* *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
- LAAA* *University of Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*
- LS* Lange, H.O. and J.H. Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo, No. 20001 - 20780. Berlin, Reichsdruckerie, 1902-25. 4 vols.*
- MDAIK* *Mitteilungen des deutschen Instituts für ägyptische Alterthumskunde in Kairo*
- PM* Porter, B. and R. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1927-51. 7 vols. 2nd ed. I pt. 1, 1960, I pt. 2, 1974, II, 1972, III (with J. Málek), 1974.*
- PSBA* *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
- Rec. Trav.* *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philo-*

*logie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et
assyriennes*

ZÄS

*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und
Alterthumskunde*

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INTRODUCTION

The present work represents an attempt to assess, in the light of the available evidence, the provincial government of Egypt during the early Middle Kingdom, which for our purposes comprises the period from the late Eleventh Dynasty until the end of the reign of Senusert I in the Twelfth Dynasty. The perspective will be historical, in so far as is possible, and not primarily linguistic. Since there has been a tendency in the past to confuse history with chronology, a short definition of the term as used in respect of this paper is desirable.

History is the attempt to reconstruct and reanimate past societies. This process involves three distinct, and yet interrelated activities. First, the factual framework of the society in question must be determined as accurately as possible from the evidence available. This framework must extend beyond any one specific topic. Because of the interdependence of the various aspects of a human society, any attempt to treat one sector almost invariably involves a broad general knowledge

of many others. And, in many instances, a working knowledge of neighbouring societies is also required.

Once his reconstruction of this general framework is as factually complete as possible, the historian is faced with the further task of filling in the skeletal outline. It is this animation of the bare bones, the recreation of the society in question in the mind of the scholar, that is at the heart of the art of history. The imaginative powers of the historian must be brought into play, strictly limited and channeled by the nature and extent of the factual evidence which is available to him. This is the most dangerous and difficult task for any historian. As we have said, the historian needs a truly encyclopaedic knowledge of the society with which he is dealing and of the world in which it existed. He must also be familiar with those underlying basics of human nature which he will need to adapt to the specifics of the culture under examination. As an historian, it is his responsibility to analyse the society he is studying from within and to judge it, in so far as is possible, on its own merits rather than by the criteria of his own time and place. Unfortunately, since he is quite often dealing with a people whose basic forms of expression are largely alien to his own age, and because we are all irrevocably products of our own society and its values, the historian can never be entirely

successful in this respect. The degree of failure is directly related to the width and depth of the resources of knowledge and experience upon which each individual scholar can draw.

Having completed steps one and two as thoroughly as possible, the final, and most important, task for the historian is to act as interpreter between the culture he is studying and the one in which he lives. In the course of this duty he will quite often be called upon to express ancient concepts for which there are no direct modern counterparts, and, more importantly for a scholar whose primary tools are words, no equivalent expressions in modern languages. It is his responsibility to make these difficult ideas as clear as possible to others who have neither the time nor the proper background in the necessary fields to work through the original context for themselves. The use of technical jargon should therefore be avoided in the writing of history whenever it is possible to substitute more universally comprehensible words.¹

Each specific society and topic under historical consideration has its own particular problems, which will, naturally enough, shape the results of any inquiry. As a whole, when dealing with the history of ancient Egypt, certain limitations on the factual level become immediately apparent. First, the tremendous lapse of time, nearly four thousand years

from the early Middle Kingdom, for example, to the present day, means that the amount of actual physical evidence which remains is relatively small compared to more recent periods of history. And, since the majority of the surviving material has been preserved because it was deposited in the desert areas of the country rather than the more hospitable land closer to the Nile where the Egyptians actually lived, certain aspects of ancient Egyptian society are much more fully represented than others.² For the most part, what remains for us to study are those things which, for the Egyptians, had eternal significance. There has, at times, been a tendency to dismiss this problem with the observation that, in ancient Egypt, the close resemblance between this life and the next one would result in a reasonably representative display. While this is, no doubt, largely true from the point of view of artifacts alone, and allows, for example, a serious typological study to be conducted on a number of different classes of objects, the historian, whose primary concern is with ideas and attitudes, will be able to obtain only limited or general background knowledge from many of these sources.

Since ideas and attitudes are usually preserved in language, we would expect to find the majority of the available historical material in a careful study of the relatively extensive body of Egyptian texts

which remain to us either in the original, or, more often in the case of literary texts, in later copies. We are thankful that the Egyptians possessed a form of writing, based on the hieroglyphic signs, which preserves at least the outline of their thought. Without this written record, history, in the strictest sense, would not be possible. Unfortunately, the language of ancient Egypt did not come down to us through time as a living form of expression. The scholars who discovered the phonetic value of the hieroglyphic signs had also, in large part, to reconstruct the language they recorded. To point out that they have not been entirely successful is in no way to belittle their almost superhuman efforts. However, it should always be kept in mind that, while we can be fairly certain of the denotations of many Egyptian words and phrases, their connotations are almost totally lost to us. As anyone who has studied a foreign language can testify, it is just this difference between what is said and what is meant which reveals most clearly the mind and soul of the speaker. Because of this vital deficiency in our understanding of the language of the ancient Egyptians, the historian who deals with their culture has significantly less material to work with than might otherwise be the case. Despite these problems a historical study of Egypt is possible. We must simply be aware that any con-

clusions which are drawn are, of necessity, more tentative than those concerning a more recent era, for example, the Second World War.

The particular topic under discussion in this paper presents its own specific problems. By far the greater part of the available evidence comes from mortuary sources, either tomb inscriptions or funerary stelae and other inscribed objects from the graves. The investigation must be confined almost exclusively to written evidence, because, while it seems logical to suppose that there was a close relationship between wealth and power in early Egypt, a set of magnificent grave goods or an imposing tomb can be useful in this study only if the owner is identified by inscriptions and placed within the official hierarchy by his titles.

The most useful documents for our purposes would undoubtedly be those most closely concerned with the conduct of daily life during this period. Unfortunately, we have very few papyri of a non-literary nature. While some interesting insights concerning the political and social condition of Egypt can be gained from literary sources³, the functioning of the provincial administration is not a matter of great concern to their authors. There are, in fact, two sets of papyrus documents from the provinces which belong to the period under consideration. The Hekankhte letters from Thebes comprise the personal correspondence of a provincial

k3 priest. They are extremely interesting from a social point of view, concerned as they are with the daily routine of his estates. While they do allow us to catch a glimpse of life in the Theban area at the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, they are not concerned with either politics or administration as such and are therefore of only the most limited use. Another set of papyri from the provinces comes from Nagr el-Deir and dates to the reign of Senusert I. These are the Reisner Papyri, published by William Kelly Simpson. They contain the accounts of a local shipyard, and, while valuable from both a social and economic point of view, are concerned with neither the local nor the central administrative structure. It is unfortunate, from our point of view, that the papyri which do deal with the structure or conduct of the Egyptian administration fall outside of the period under discussion.

In addition to the sources mentioned above, we have a number of inscriptions, many in the form of simple graffiti, found in areas outside the borders of Egypt proper. The great majority of these inscriptions are associated with mining or quarrying sites or major trade routes through the desert regions. They are useful because, while containing little personal information, they place officials with specific titles in specific area.

All of this inscriptional material provides,

in general, a good deal of information concerning the actual titles held by any one individual, but is not nearly complete enough to be ideal for the purposes of an administrative study. While they tell us that a certain individual was a *h3ty-r* or a *sd3wty b'ity* or, quite often, both, they do not include a description of the actual duties or responsibilities of either office. And, only rarely, do they give the geographical area in which the official exercised whatever powers these titles conferred on him.⁴ In an attempt to reconstruct the Egyptian administration of a specific era, it is necessary, at first, to try to determine what titles were held by the officials involved and what each signified.

Since the Egyptians do not define the titles they use, other methods must be used to arrive at their meaning. The most desirable means would be to discover what functions were actually performed by officials who held any given title. Unfortunately, we have sufficient biographical data for only a very small number of the higher-level officials of this period. And these officials invariably list a number of different titles so that we have no way of knowing which functions belonged to each title. Each of these individuals held several titles and presumably exercised several separate yet complimentary functions at the same time.⁵ In this case, we

can only hope that a careful analysis of the groups and circumstances in which specific titles most often occur will give us some additional information concerning the actual structure of the administrative machinery.

Because this is a study of provincial administration, the geographical location of our source material becomes extremely important. In the case of all but the highest officials, our best evidence for their having constituted part of the provincial as opposed to the central administration is the presence of the official's name and title in a part of the country removed from the capital. This introduces yet another problem. Our largest single source of evidence for the officials of the early Middle Kingdom are the funerary stelae and these, unfortunately, are concentrated, for religious reasons, at Abydos.⁶ Officials from all parts of the country left memorial stones there, but it was not necessary, for their purposes, to record the name of their home or the place or places in which they exercised their offices. Some attempt can be made to place these individuals geographically using the names of gods mentioned in the inscriptions or the names of the officials themselves. Neither method is really satisfactory. Gods with the same name had cults in widely scattered sections of the country, for example *Hnmw* at the First Cataract and

Beni Hasan. And Egyptian personal names, like their modern counterparts, were influenced by cycles of popularity and family considerations as well as geographic factors. Even the use of names as a dating tool is suspect. Those men whose names contain a royal name need only have been born at some point after that king's accession. We have no way of determining the exact time which had elapsed between that event and the birth of the child in question. This is especially true of the names of certain kings who remained popular for extended periods after their deaths.

Our most complete source of information on the provincial government of Egypt during the early years of the Middle Kingdom is the tombs of the local governors found at a number of sites along the Nile in Upper Egypt.⁷ These sites, near the ancient locations of towns which acted as administrative centres for the ancient Egyptian provinces, became the preferred burial places of high-ranking provincial administrators late in the Old Kingdom. The geographical and temporal sequence of the tombs that remain is, however, far from complete. Under ideal conditions we would have the contemporaneous tombs from every province in Egypt. The 'white chapel' of Senusert I at Karnak gives a full list of the provinces during his reign, and therefore, most probably, for the entire period under discussion

here.⁸ When we compare our material with this list what emerges is a scattering of evidence concentrated on the area usually referred to as Middle Egypt.⁹ There is so little material evidence of a non-royal nature available from the Delta provinces for the early Middle Kingdom that we are forced to confine our attempts at a reconstruction to Upper Egypt. Since it appears that the provincial administration in Lower Egypt differed from that of the South, at least during the Old Kingdom,¹⁰ we will refrain from any sweeping generalizations, and the conclusions reached here will be understood to refer to Upper Egypt alone, until further information can confirm or deny their relevance for the Delta.

Even in Upper Egypt there is not as much evidence available as could be desired. Of the provinces to the south of the Eleventh Dynasty capital at Thebes, for example, only the southernmost yields evidence of a governor in residence during the early Middle Kingdom.¹¹ At Elephantine there are no remains from this period of governors earlier than the reign of Senusert I. This lack of information may well be significant.¹² Unfortunately, in our present state of knowledge, any argument from silence carries a certain degree of risk. Still, the geographic distribution of our evidence, or lack thereof, can not be totally ignored. Because Egypt was a traditional culture, the information available from a ritual structure,

which the 'white chapel' certainly was, might differ in important aspects from the actual state of affairs. It is quite likely, for instance, that the division of Upper Egypt into twenty-two provinces as depicted there reflected an ideal of the Egyptian state rather than an actual system of administration.

The provincial governors, as high-ranking officials, left large and often elaborate tombs which quite often supply at least some biographical information in addition to their titles to help us to flesh out the bare bones of their activities as administrators. Such, however, is not the case among the lower orders of provincials officials. Where we have any direct knowledge of their function it comes from the paintings in their superiors' tombs.¹³ These painted scenes, at least in some instances, depict the men who served under the provincial governor engaged in the performance of their official duties. We have no means of determining with any degree of certainty that the scenes selected cover the full extent of each man's functions, and, due to the limited space and objectives of such scenes, this, in fact, seems quite unlikely. Still, it remains the only real evidence of the day-to-day activities of these people. Their own tombs¹⁴ provide little information, at times not even their titles. These are the officials most often represented by stelae at Abydos, it would seem. But the nature of those stelae, which has been

noted above, makes it difficult to determine in any individual case if these officials were part of the provincial, as opposed to the central government.

Another dangerous problem which must be avoided while conducting a study of Egyptian government results from projecting a modern thought-pattern onto material from a past culture. The very idea of 'provincial' government may not apply during this period of Egyptian history. Some of the basic questions we will have to consider include the degree of independence exercised by the provincial governors. If it is possible to distinguish between the local and central administrations the relationship between them will have to be determined. The manner in which high-ranking officials were chosen is also important. The school of thought which saw this as Egypt's 'feudal' period assumed that such posts were hereditary and the evidence must be closely examined on this point. If we discover that the provincial governor was a royal official rather than a semi-independent baron, the possible means of royal control must be examined. The answers to questions like these, while no doubt tentative and fragmentary in many instances, will allow us to shape the most complete picture now possible of the way that the provincial government was organized and how it functioned in the early Middle Kingdom.

There is no such thing as a 'definitive' historical study. While historical facts are sometimes certain, history itself, which consists of the conclusions drawn from these facts, can never be. The value of an historical study is that it gathers together material from a specific span of time, in this case from the unification of Egypt under the Eleventh Dynasty to the end of the reign of Senusert I, organizes it and attempts to draw conclusions which will stimulate further debate on the subject.

1. For that reason the Egyptian word *spꜣt*, which refers to the basic regional administrative unit of government, will be rendered in this paper by the English translation, 'province', rather than the Greek word 'nome'. Because we are concerned here exclusively with conditions as they existed in the early Middle Kingdom, there can be no possibility of confusion with the present-day administrative structure of Egypt.
2. For example, in the Middle Kingdom we have relatively extensive remains of tombs, temples, frontier fortresses, and some necropolis towns, but very little from the provincial capitals. And the national capital of the Twelfth Dynasty has not yet been accurately located. It is in these sites that the evidence of the daily functioning of the government would have existed.
3. See, for instance, G. Posner, *Littérature et politique dans la XII^e dynastie*. (Paris, Librairie Honore Champion, 1969).
4. This is, from a human viewpoint, a perfectly natural omission. To cite a modern example, the short biographical entry found in an obituary column would be no more informative. To take the late Lyndon Johnson as an example, it would mention that he served in the Texas State Legislature, the United States House of Representatives and the Senate. And it would give slightly more prominence to the fact that he had been both Vice-President and President of the United States. But there would be no definition or explanation of any of these positions since it is assumed that the reader will have, either from personal experience or other sources, a knowledge of the American system of government.

5. Just how many titles were exercised simultaneously is a somewhat vexed issue. While it is doubtful that an Egyptian official would neglect, for mortuary purposes, any title he might ever have held, it is also clear that the higher-ranking officials exercised authority over a number of different administrative areas. Perhaps we would be closer to the truth if we thought of the promotion of Egyptian officials as a process of adding various responsibilities to those already held, rather than, as in modern times, leaving a lesser job to assume one of greater importance.

6. The material from Abydos is widely scattered among various museum collections, the most extensive collection being published in H. O. Lange and J. H. Schäfer, *Grab-und Denksteine des Mittleren Reichs im Museum von Kairo, No 20001-20780. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*. 4 vols. (Berlin, Reichsdruckerei, 1902-1925). An interesting publication which brings together material from several collections is W. K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: The Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13*. (New Haven, Peabody Museum, 1974). Early excavation reports include T. E. Peet, *The Cemeteries of Abydos*, pt. II and pt. III. (London, Egypt Exploration Fund, 1914-1915). and W. M. F. Petrie, *Abydos*, pt. I and pt. II. (London, Egypt Exploration Fund, 1902-1903). A complete bibliography will be found in the appropriate section.

7. The principal sites involved are at Beni Hasan, published in P. E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, pt. I and pt. II. (London, Egypt Exploration Fund, 1893), el-Bersha, published in F. L. Griffith, *El Bersheh*

pt. II. (London, Egypt Exploration Fund, 1894), Meir, published in A. M. Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. 1, vol. 2, and vol. 6. (London, Egypt Exploration Society, 1914, 1915, 1953), and Asyut, published in F. L. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siut and Der Rifeh*. (London, Trubner, 1889).

8. P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er} a Karnak*. (Cairo, Institut Français, 1956). A more detailed analysis of this material is found in P. Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne*. 2 vols. (Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1957, 1961) and especially in W. Helck, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*. (Wiesbaden, Reichert, 1974).
9. See our Appendix III.
10. Helck, *Gaue*, 52. Also W. Helck, *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*. (Leiden, Brill, 1958), 91-92, and E. Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptische Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reichs*. (Hildesheim, Gerstenberg, 1976), 71.
11. A. H. Gardiner, 'Inscriptions from the Tomb of Si-renpowet I, Prince of Elephantine' *ZÄS* 45 (1908), 123-140.
12. See H. Kees, 'Beiträge zur altägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung und der Geschichte des Feudalismus', *Nachrichten der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, 1932, 105-106, where he postulates the removal of local governors in these provinces and their grouping under direct royal control to form the power-base for the Theban kings of Dynasty XI.

13. In most cases specifically from the tombs at Beni Hasan.
14. For a work devoted solely to the excavation of a cemetery of lower-ranking officials we must consult J. Garstang, *The Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt as Illustrated by the Tombs of the Middle Kingdom. Being a Report of Excavations Made in the Necropolis of Beni Hasan during 1902-3-4.* (London, Constable, 1907).

PROSOPOGRAPHY OF EARLY
MIDDLE KINGDOM OFFICIALS

In view of the nature of the evidence, a listing of the early Middle Kingdom officials based on the geographical position of their surviving monuments seems to be the most logical method of arranging the raw material of this study. Our list runs from south to north through the twenty-two provinces of Upper Egypt and the first province of Lower Egypt. Because of its special position as a place of devotion for those throughout the entire country, the material from Abydos is not included under the Eighth Province of Upper Egypt but is given separately following the provincial listings. At the very end of this chapter we include material from outside Egypt proper, again grouped by site.

Within each site the officials are arranged in alphabetical order by name. Each official has been assigned a number for reference in our index and the text, which forms a continuous series from one to eight hundred and ninety-five. The number is followed by the name of the individual, his titles (excluding those of a purely religious nature), and

a bibliographical reference (complete bibliographical details can be found under the corresponding entry in the Bibliography at the end of this paper). Each entry ends, if relevant, with a reference to Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* (which is given as *PM* followed by volume number and page). The bibliographic entry *LS* followed by a five digit number refers to stelae from Lange and Schäfer's *Grab-und Denksteine des Mittleren Reiches im Museum von Kairo*.

FIRST PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - T3-STY

Aswan

1. ^ʼIw-snb: ḥry-pr. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 42 (7). *PM V*, 221.
2. Wnb·f: ḥry-pr. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 42 (5). *PM V*, 221.
3. M3·w: šmsw. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 43 (17). *PM V*, 221.
4. Nfr-^ʼiw: ^ʼimy-r pr ḥsb ^ʼiḥw. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 42 (5). *PM V*, 221.
5. Rn·f-snb: ḥry-pr n ḥt. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 42 (5). *PM V*, 221.
6. Hk3-^ʼib: ḥ3ty-ḥ. Gardiner, *ZÄS* 45 (1908), 136.
7. S3-rnpwt: ^ʼiry pḥt, ḥ3ty-ḥ, sd3wty b^ʼity, smr wḥty, ^ʼimy-r ḥmw-nṯr n Stt nb 3bw, ḥry-tp ḥ3 n T3-sty, ^ʼimy-r ḥmw-nṯr n Hnmw, ḥry sšts n nsu m mšḥ, ^ʼiry Nḥn m pr Stt, ḥry sšts n mdw nṯr, ^ʼimy-r ḥ3w, ^ʼimy-r ḥḥw wr m pr nsu. Gardiner, *ZÄS* 45 (1908), 123-142. *PM V*, 238-239.
8. Snb: sd3wty b^ʼity. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 42 (1). *PM V*, 221.
9. Snb: šmsw. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 42 (10). *PM V*, 221.

10. *Snb·f-n·i: sš n sdmt wr.* De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 42 (1). *PM V*, 221.
11. *Snbbw: i'my-r pr ḥsb iḥw.* De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 42 (5). *PM V*, 221.
12. *Snbbw: ḥrp.* De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 16 (76). *PM V*, 221.
13. *Snbbw: šmsw.* De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 42 (5). *PM V*, 221.
14. *Šmṣi: i'my-r šnt.* Cecil, *ASAE* 6 (1905), 227.
15. *Gbw: tṣw n ḥft-ḥr.* De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 42 (1). *PM V*, 221.

SECOND PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - *Wt̄s Hr*

Edfu

16. *'Ib-'i*: *ḥꜣty-ꜣ, 'imy-r ḥmw-nṯr*. Alliot,
Edfu, pl. XIII (1). *PM V*, 202.
17. *Mḥ-'ib-ḥr*: *'iry pꜣt, ḥꜣty-ꜣ, sḏꜣwty b'ity, smr
wꜣty, ḥm-nṯr n Hr*. LS no. 20530. *PM V*,
203.

Buêb

18. *Hw-n. s-ḥnmw*: *sḏꜣwty b'ity, smr wꜣty, 'imy-r
sš ꜣprw*. Daressy, *Rec. Trav.* 10 (1888),
141-142. *PM V*, 219.

Wâdi el-Shaṭṭ el-Rigâl

19. *'Iꜣi*: *sḏꜣwty b'ity, smr wꜣty, sš ꜣ n nsu*.
Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 38C. *PM V*, 206.
20. *'Itw*: *rḥ nsu mꜣꜣ, 'imy-r Tꜣ-mḥw*. Winlock,
Rise and Fall, 39F. *PM V*, 206.
21. *Mry*: *sḏꜣwty b'ity, 'imy-r sḏꜣwt(yw)*. Winlock,
Rise and Fall, 39J. *PM V*, 206.
22. *Mrw*: *sḏꜣwty b'ity, smr wꜣty, 'imy-r ḥꜣswt
'iꜣbtt, 'imy-r sḏꜣwt(yw)*. Winlock, *Rise
and Fall*, 39G. *PM V*, 206.
23. *Rnnw*: *wr mḏw Šmꜣw*. Winlock, *Rise and Fall*,
39III.

24. *Hr-ḥtp: wr mḏw Šmꜣw.* Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 39III. *PM V*, 206.
25. *Hr-ḥwī·f: wr mḏw Šmꜣw.* Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 39III. *PM V*, 207.
26. *Hnmw-nḥt: ḥimy-r Tꜣ-mḥw.* Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 39F. *PM V*, 207.
27. *Hty: sḏꜣwtj bḥty, ḥimy-r sḏꜣwt(yw).* Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 37. *PM V*, 207.

THIRD PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - *Nḥn*

No officials from this period recorded.

FOURTH PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - W3ST

Thebes

28. ³Iw·tn²i: wr mḏw šm-w. LS no. 20476. PM I² (pt. 2), 598.
29. ³Ib²i: ²imy-r pr. Clère, *Textes*, 27 (2 μ).
30. ³Ib²i-r-in-it·f: wḥmw. LS no. 20430.
31. ³Ip²i: ²iry p-t, ḥaty-², ²imy-r niwt, t²ty. Bull, *JEA* 10(1924), 15. PM I² (pt. 1), 389.
32. ³Ipyt: sḏw. Clère, *Textes*, 30. PM II², 388.
33. ³Ipi-m-s³·f: wdpw. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XXXVII.
34. ³Ipw-ms: sš ~ n nsw. Roeder, *Naos*, no. 70040. PM II², 299.
35. ³Imny: ḥaty-². Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions à Bruxelles*, 30 (86).
36. ³Imn-m-ḥ³t: sš. Lansing, *BMMA*, 1935, fig. 10. PM I² (pt. 2), 621.
37. ³Imn-m-ḥ³t-snb: šmsw hyt, wr mḏw šm-w. Bruyère, *Deir el Médineh* (1929), fig. 49. PM I² (pt. 2), 688.
38. ³Imn-ḥtp: sḏw, šmsw. Davies, *Five Theban*

Tombs, pl. XXXII.

39. ³In-³it.f: ³imy-r ḥnrt n r 3 wr. Fischer, *JNES* 19(1960), fig. 1. *PM I²* (pt. 2), 810.
40. ³In-³it.f: ³imy-r šnṛ. Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. XXVI.
41. ³In-³it.f: ³iry p-t, ḥ3ty-ṛ, sd3wty b'ity, smr w-ty, ³imy-r ḥmw-nṯr. Steindorff, *ZÄS* 33 (1895), 81 (2). *PM I²* (pt. 2), 598.
42. ³In-³it.f: ³iry p-t, ḥ3ty-ṛ, sd3wty b'ity, smr w-ty, ³imy-r ḥmw-nṯr, ḥ3ty-ṛ m pr Mntw. Clère, *Textes*, 44-45 (31). *PM I²* (pt. 2), 596-597.
43. ³In-³it.f-³ikr: ³imy-r šnṛw. Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. VII.
44. ³In-³it.f-³ikr: ³iry p-t, ḥ3ty-ṛ, sd3wty b'ity, smr w-ty, ḥry-tp s-ḥw nb, ³iry Nhn, ḥm-nṯr M3-t, ³imy-³is, ³imy-r n'iw, t3yty, t3ty, ³imy-r ḥwt 3t 6, sdy nsw. Davies, *Antefoker*, pls. V-VII, XIV, XVII, XX, XXVII. *PM I²* (pt. 2), 121-123.
45. ³Imni: ḥ3ty-ṛ. Barns, *Ramesseum Papyri*, pl. I, l. 2.
46. ³Ikr: sš. Clère, *Textes*, 27 (27 1).
47. ³Ikr: sd3wty b'ity, smr w-ty, ³imy-r pr šnṛ. Bosticco, *Le Stele Egizane dall'Antico al Nuovo regno*, fig. 6.
48. ³Idy: wr mdw šmṛw. Berlin, *Aegyptische*

*Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen
I, 178.*

49. ḥb-k3w : 'imy-r pr . Clère, *Textes*, 48 (33).
50. W3ḥ : 'imy-r st . Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt I*, 166.
51. Bw-3w : $\text{sd3wty b'ity, smr w'ty, 'imy-r pr, 'imy-r šnwt, 'imy-r prwy-ḥd, 'imy-r ipt nbt Šm-w T3-mḥw}$. Lacau, *Sarcophages*, no. 28027.
52. Bb'i : s3b, t3yty . British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts VI*, 24. *PM II*², 397.
53. Mnw-ddw : ḥsw . Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. XXVII.
54. Mn-nḥt : $\text{'iry p't, ḥ3ty-ḥ, sd3wty b'ity, 'imy-r šnwt}$. Borchardt, *Statuen*, no. 533.
55. Mnw-ḥtp : $\text{'imy-r pr, 'imy-r mr}$. Steindorff, *Grabfunde Berlin I*, 2, 34. *PM I*² (pt. 2), 622.
56. Mnṭw-ḥtp : $\text{ḥ3ty-ḥ n Mnṭw, s3 ns w ḥk}$.
Pellegrini, *Rec. Trav.* 20 (1898), 97 (31). *PM I*² (pt. 2), 787.
57. Mnṭw-ḥtp : $\text{sd3wty b'ity, 'it-nṭr}$. Legrain, *ASAE* 10 (1909), 258-259. *PM II*², 283.
58. Mnṭw-ḥtp : $\text{sd3wty b'ity, smr w'ty}$. Legrain, *Statues I*, pl. XXXIV. *PM II*², 143.
59. Msi : sd3w . Clère, *Textes*, 35 (27 F § § 1,2). *PM II*², 389.

60. *Mkt-r*: *smr w-ty, 'imy-r sd3wt(yw)*. Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 67. *PM I*² (pt. 1), 359-364.
61. *Mtw*: *sd3wt y b'ity, smr w-ty, 'imy-r sd3wt(yw)*. Roeder, *Naos*, no. 70040. *PM II*², 299.
62. *Nb-skwt*: *sd3wt y b'ity, 'imy-r pr wr*. Legrain, *Statues I*, pl. XXIV. *PM II*², 143.
63. *Nfrw*: *sd3wt y b'ity, smr w-ty, shd pr 3, sš sp3t*. Clère, *Textes*, 1 (1). *PM I*² (pt. 2), 800.
64. *Nni-snb*: *'imy-r pr*. Capart, *Recueil des monuments égyptiens*, pls. XVIII-XXI. *PM I*² (pt. 2), 836.
65. *Nht*: *sd3w*. Clère, *Textes*, 42 (28C). *PM II*², 398.
66. *Nsw-mntw*: *wr mdw šm*. Capart, *Recueil des monuments égyptiens*, pls. XIX-XXI. *PM I*² (pt. 2), 836.
67. *Hrw-nfr*: *'imy-r T3-mhw*. James, *Hekanakhte Papers*, no. III 46, pl. 8A vs 3.
68. *Hrw-nfr*: *h3ty-r, sd3wt y b'ity, s3 nsw smsw, 'imy-r mšr wr*. Griffith, *PSBA* 14 (1892), 41-42. *PM I*² (pt. 2), 657.
69. *Hpw*: *'imy-r pr*. Davies, *Antefoker*, pl. XXVI.
70. *Hnw*: *sd3w*. *LS* no. 20011.
71. *Hnnw*: *'iry prt, sd3wt y b'ity, smr w-ty, hry-tp nsw, 'imy-r pr 3, 'imy-r cb whmt šwt nšmt, rh nsw m3r, 'imy-r kbhw p3t hnnt*.

- Hayes, *JEA* 35 (1949), 43-49. *PM I²* (pt. 1), 388-389.
72. *Hr-ḥtp*: *sd3wty b'ity, smr w'ity, šmsw*. Lacau, *Sarcophages*, no. 28023.
73. *Htpⁱ*: *wdpw*. Clère, *Textes*, 27 (27K).
74. *Hnmw-ḥtp*: *ḥk3 ḥwt*. James, *Ḥekanakhte Papers*, no. V, 53, pl. 11A l. 40.
75. *Hty*: *sd3wty b'ity, smr w'ity*. Winlock, *BMMA* 1923, 12-19. *PM I²* (pt. 1), 386-387.
76. *Hty*: *sd3wty b'ity, smr w'ity, 'imy-r mr, sd3wty ntr*. Gardiner, *JEA* 4 (1917), pls. VIII-IX. *PM I²* (pt. 2), 617.
77. *Hty-ḥnh*: *s3w*. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XXXV.
78. *S-n-wsrt*: *wdpw*. Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. IX.
79. *S-n-wsrt*: *šmsw*. Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. VI.
80. *S3-'in-ḥrt*: *'imy-r ḥnwty*. Winlock, *BMMA* 1921, 32. *PM I²* (pt. 2), 667.
81. *Sbk-ḥ3*: *ḥry-tp nsu, 'imy-r ḥnw*. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*, 54. *PM I²* (pt. 2), 807.
82. *Sbk-nḥt*: *'iry prt, ḥ3ty-ḥ, sd3wty b'ity, smr w'ity, rḥ nsu, 'imy-r pr*. Borchardt, *Statuen*, no. 390. *PM I²* (pt. 2), 784.
83. *Sbk-rḥ*: *'imy-r hntyw-š*. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pl. XXXI. *PM I²* (pt. 1), 216.

84. *Snb·f*: 'iry p^ˆt, ḥ3ty-^ˆ, sḏ3wty b^ˆity, smr w^ˆty, 'imy-r sḏ3wt(yw). Bosticco, *Le Stele Egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno*, fig. 30, a and b.
85. *Tbw*: sḏ3wty b^ˆity, 'imy-r pr. LS no. 20005.
86. *D3gi*: 'iry p^ˆt, 'imy-r n^ˆiwt, t3yty, s3b, t3ty, ḥ3ty-^ˆ, sḏ3wty b^ˆity, smr w^ˆty, 'imy-r prwy-ḥḏ, 'imy-r prwy-nbw. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, pls. XXX, XXXII, XXXIV, XXXVI, XXXVIII. *PM I*² (pt. 1), 216-217, *II*², 398.
87. *D3gi*: 'iry p^ˆt, ḥ3ty-^ˆ. Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions à Bruxelles*, 33 (102). *PM I*² (pt. 2), 815.
88. *D3gi*: sḏ3wty b^ˆity, smr w^ˆty, rḥ nsw, 'imy-r rwyt. Davies, *Five Theban Tombs*, 38-39.
89. *Ddw-sbk*: 'iry p^ˆt, ḥ3ty-^ˆ, rḥ nsw, ḥry nfrw, sš. Borchardt, *Statuen*, no. 887. *PM I*² (pt. 2), 784.
90. *Dfi*: 'imy-r sšw, 'imy-r pr. Lacau, *Sarcophages*, no. 28022.

Tôd

91. *Sḥtp-^ˆib-r^ˆ-rnḥ*: 'iry p^ˆt, ḥ3ty-^ˆ, sḏ3wty b^ˆity, 'imy-r sḏ3wt(yw). Berlin, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen I*, 208-209. *PM V*, 169.

Gebelein

92. ^ʾIti: sḏwty b^ʾity, smr w^ʾty, sḏwty n^ʾtr.
LS no. 20001. PM V, 164.
93. S-n-mn^ʾtw: ḥsty-^ʾ, sḏwty b^ʾity, smr w^ʾty.
Berlin, *Aegyptische Inscripten aus den
Königlichen Museen I*, 236. PM V, 162.
94. Ddw: ^ʾiry p^ʾt. Pellegrini, *Rec. Trav.* 20
(1898), 87 (12). PM V, 163.

Qamûla

95. Kzy: ^ʾimy-r nww ḥst, ^ʾimy-r smyt ^ʾimntt.
Anthes, *ZÄS* 65 (1930), 108. PM V, 119.

FIFTH PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - *NTRWY*

Qift (Coptos)

96. ^ʾImny: ^ʾimy-r pr-nbw. Moret, *Catalogue du Musée Guimet* (1909), 32, pl. IV. *PM V*, 129.

Naqâda

97. Ḥp3: ^ʾimy-r šn^ˆ. *LS* no. 20510. *PM V*, 119.
98. Šm3i: sḏ3wty b^ˆity, smr w^ˆty, ^ʾimy-r pr šn^ˆw. *LS* no. 20501. *PM V*, 119.

SIXTH PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - ^ʾIK

Dendera

99. ^ʾIn-^ˆit.f: sḏ3wty b^ˆity, smr w^ˆty, ^ʾimy-r pr šn^ˆw. Petrie, *Denderah*, pls. XIc, XII. *PM V*, 113.
100. ^ʾIn-^ˆit.f-^ˆikr: sḏ3wty b^ˆity, smr w^ˆty, ḥry-tp nsw. Petrie, *Denderah*, 21. *PM V*, 113.
101. Mrr: ^ʾiry p^ˆt, ḥ3ty-^ˆ, sḏ3wty b^ˆity, smr w^ˆty, ^ʾimy-r ḥmw-n^ˆtr. Petrie, *Denderah*, pl. XII. *PM V*, 114.

SEVENTH PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - B3T

No officials from this period recorded

EIGHTH PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - T3-WR

Nag^h el-Deir

102. ^ʾIbw: ^ʾiry p^ht, ḥ³ty-^h, smr w^hty, ^ʾimy-r
nmty. Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles*, 20.
PM V, 27.
103. ^ʾIn-^ʾit-f: ḥrp. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner II*,
A³ 39.
104. ^ʾIn-ḥrt-^hnh: sš. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner*
I, 20, 1.4.
105. ^ʾIn-ḥrt-^hnh: ^ʾimy-r tst. Simpson, *Papyrus*
Reisner II, C 10.
106. ^ʾIn-ḥrt-^hnhw: kdw. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner*
II, Fr 2, vs 1.4.
107. ^ʾIn-ḥrt-ḥtp: ^ʾimy-r pr. Simpson, *Papyrus*
Reisner I, 23, II, K 4.
108. ^ʾIkk^ʾi: sš. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I*,
10, 1.70.
109. ^ʾIt-f-sn: tsw. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I*,

7, 1.23.

110. ʿnḥkw : ʿimy-r pr. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner* II, G 3.
111. Wḥmy : sš n pr-ḥd. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner* II, K 7, Fr 5.
112. Byt : ḥrp. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner* I, 5, 1.74.
113. Mmw : ṭsw. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner* I, 22, 1.3.
114. Mntw-wsr : ʿimy-r pr. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner* II, G 3.
115. Mntw-wsr-ʿ3 : ʿimy-r pr. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner* I, 22, 1.27.
116. Mntw-wsr-ḥry-ʿib : ʿimy-r pr. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner* I, 23, 1.25.
117. Mntw-ḥtp : s3w, s3b. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner* II, E 6.
118. M-s3-f-ʿ3 : ʿimy-r pr. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner* I, 23, 1.24.
119. Mkn : sd3w. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner* I, 20.
120. Nḥt : ḥrp. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner* I, 8, 1.19.
121. Nḥti : ʿimy-r ṭst. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner* II, J 25.

122. *Nḥt^ḥi*: *ḥrp.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I*,
10, 1.74.
123. *Nḥt^ḥi*: *tsw.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I*, 18,
1. 2.
124. *Nsw-mntw*: *ḥrp.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner II*,
C 15.
125. *Rn-^ḥikr*: *tsw.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I*,
18, 1.18.
126. *Ḥw-kr*: *tst.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner II*,
C 16.
127. *Ḥpw*: *sš.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner II*, C 27.
128. *Ḥpp^ḥi*: *ḥrp.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I*, 4,
1.34.
129. *Ḥpp^ḥi*: *tst.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner II*,
J 27.
130. *Ḥdnwy*: *^ḥimy-r pr.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner*
II, A² 16.
131. *Ḥdnwy*: *^ḥimy-r tst.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner*
II, A⁴ 8.
132. *Ḥdnwy*: *sš.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner II*, C 6.
133. *Ḥwy*: *^ḥimy-r šnt.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner*
II, K¹ 5.
134. *S₃-^ḥin-ḥrt*: *^ḥimy-r ḥnwt^ḥy n ḥnrt.* Simpson,
Papyrus Reisner I, 20, 1.11.
135. *S₃-^ḥin-ḥrt*: *ḥrp.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I*,

8, 1.32.

136. *S3-²in-ḥrt: sš.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I*,
6, 1.168.
137. *S3-²in-ḥrt: tsw.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner II*,
Fr 3, J 27.
138. *S3-spḏw: ²imy-r ḥnwty.* Simpson, *Papyrus
Reisner II*, B 2.
139. *Sbk-nḥt: ²imy-r pr.* Simpson, *Papyrus
Reisner II*, A² 1.
140. *Sbk-nḥt: sš.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I*,
6, 1.165.
141. *Sbk-nḥt: tsw.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner
II*, Fr 6, vs. 1.5.
142. *Sbk-ḥtp: ²imy-r tṣt.* Simpson, *Papyrus
Reisner II*, C 9.
143. *Sfḥy: sš.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I*,
2, 1.4.
144. *Sn-²cnḥw: ²imy-r pr.* Simpson, *Papyrus
Reisner II*, D 2.
145. *Sn-²cnḥw: ḥrp.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner
I*, 4, 1.19.
146. *Snbw: ²imy-r tṣt.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner
II*, C 11.
147. *Snb.f: s3w, s3b.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner
II*, E 6.

148. *Ddw*: ^ʾ*imy-r pr.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner II*, G 3.

149. *Ddw*: *ḥrp.* Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I*, 4, 1.6.

Nagr el-Meshâyikh

150. *Tni*: *sḏꜣwty b'ity, smr wꜣty.* Bouriant, *Rec. Trav.* 9 (1887), 89 (62). *PM V*, 29.

NINETH PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - MNW

Akhmim

151. ^ʾ*Iww*: *sḏꜣwty b'ity, smr wꜣty.* Lacau, *Sarcophages*, no. 28003. *PM V*, 23.

152. ^ʾ*In-ʾit·f*: *ʾiry prt, ḥꜣty-ꜣ, ʾimy-r ḥmw-ntr ḥry-tp ꜣꜣ n Mnw, ʾimy-r ḥmwṯ ḥnrwt.* *LS* no. 20024. *PM V*, 20.

153. *Hrd*: *ḥꜣty-ꜣ, sḏꜣwty b'ity, smr wꜣty.* British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts III*, 32. *PM V*, 22.

154. *Sꜣ-nhwt*: *sḏꜣwty b'ity, ḥꜣty-ꜣ, smr wꜣty, ʾimy-r špsw.* Lacau, *Sarcophages*, no. 28007. *PM V*, 23.

155. *Šps'pw-mnw*: *sḏꜣwty b'ity, smr wꜣty, ʾimy-r mšꜣ.* Lacau, *Sarcophages*, 28012. *PM V*, 23.

156. Kri^{2} : $\text{ḥ}^{\text{2}}\text{ṣty}-\text{r}$, $\text{sḏ}^{\text{2}}\text{ṣwty } \text{b}^{\text{2}}\text{ity}$, $\text{smr } \text{w}^{\text{2}}\text{rty}$, $\text{'imy}-\text{r}$
 šnt . Lacau, *Sarcophages*, no. 28009.
PM V, 23.
157. Tti^{2} : $\text{'iry } \text{prt}$, $\text{sḏ}^{\text{2}}\text{ṣwty } \text{b}^{\text{2}}\text{ity}$, $\text{smr } \text{w}^{\text{2}}\text{rty}$, ḥrp
 Mnw , $\text{'imy}-\text{r } \text{ḥmw}-\text{ntr}$, $\text{ḥry}-\text{tp } \text{r}^{\text{3}} \text{ n Mnw}$.
 Lacau, *Sarcophages*, no. 28004. *PM V*,
 23.
158. Tti^{2} : $\text{sḏ}^{\text{2}}\text{ṣwty } \text{b}^{\text{2}}\text{ity}$, $\text{smr } \text{w}^{\text{2}}\text{rty}$. Lacau,
Sarcophages, no. 28014. *PM V*, 23.
159. $\text{Tti}^{\text{2}}-\text{i}^{\text{2}}\text{kr}$: $\text{sḏ}^{\text{2}}\text{ṣwty } \text{b}^{\text{2}}\text{ity}$, $\text{smr } \text{w}^{\text{2}}\text{rty}$. Lacau,
Sarcophages, no. 28020. *PM V*, 24.

El-Hawâwîsh

160. 'Iy : $\text{'imy}-\text{r } \text{pr}$. Sethe, *Urkunden I*, 264-265.
PM V, 20.
161. rnhw : $\text{'imy}-\text{r } \text{n}^{\text{2}}\text{wt } \text{m}^{\text{3}}\text{rt}$. Schiaparelli,
Chemmis, 87-88. *PM V*, 20.
162. Gḥs^{3} : $\text{smr } \text{w}^{\text{2}}\text{rty}$, $\text{'imy}-\text{r } \text{wpwt}$. Newberry, *LAAA*
 4 (1912), 102-103. *PM V*, 18.
163. ----: $\text{ḥry}-\text{tp } \text{r}^{\text{3}} \text{ n Mnw}$. Newberry, *LAAA* 4
 (1912), 115. *PM V*, 19.

TENTH PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - W3DT

Qâw el-Kebîr

164. ^ʾIbw: ^ʾimy-r pr. Petrie, *Antaeopolis*,
pls. V (4), XVII. PM V, 14.
165. ^ʾIbw: ḥ3ty-ṛ. Steckeweh, *Fürstengräber*
von Qâw, pl. XIV (o). PM V, 11.
166. W3ḥ-k3: ^ʾiry prt, ḥ3ty-ṛ, ^ʾimy-r ḥmw-ntr.
Evers, *Staat aus dem Stein I*, 29.
PM V, 9.
167. Sbk-ḥtp: ḥ3ty-ṛ. Steckeweh, *Fürstengräber*
von Qâw, 9. PM V, 11.

ELEVENTH PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - Š3Y

No officials from this period recorded.

TWELFTH PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - DW-FT

El-Atawla

168. *Sbk-nḥt*: 'imy-r pr. Maspero, *ASAE* 3
(1902), 95. *PM IV*, 247.

THIRTEENTH PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - NDFT-ḤNTT

Asyut

169. 'It-f-²ibi: 'imy-r st. Kamal, *ASAE* 16
(1916), 113. *PM IV*, 267.
170. *Mrr*: 'imy-r pr. Kamal, *ASAE* 16 (1916),
109. *PM IV*, 269.
171. *Msḥt*: 'iry prt, ḥsty-r, sḏwty bity, smr
wty, 'imy-r ḥmw-ntr n Wp-wswt, 'imy-r
ḥmw-ntr n 'Inpw. Lacau, *Sarcophages*,
nos. 28118, 28119.
172. *Nḥti*: sḏwty bity, 'imy-r sḏwt(yw).
Chassinat, *Assiout*, pls. XVI, XXI.
PM IV, 266.
173. *Hp-df3i*: 'imy-r sḏwt(yw), 'imy-r k3w, 'imy-r
rbw, 'imy-r hwt-ntr. Kamal, *Tables*
d'offrandes, no. 23042. *PM IV*, 268.

174. *Hp-df3i*: *i*ry p^rt, *h*sty-^r, *s*d³wty *b*i²ty, *s*mr
w^rty, *r*h *n*sw *m*3^r, *i*my-*r* Šm^rw, *i*my-*r*
*h*mw-*n*tr *n* *W*p-*w*3wt *n* *S*3wt, *h*rp *n*sy^t *m*
p^rwy, *r*d-*m*r *D*p, *h*ry-*t*p ^r3 *n* *N*dft.
Reisner, *JEA* 5 (1918), 79-98. Griffith,
Siût and Dêr Rîfeh, pls. I-X. *PM IV*,
261-262.
175. *Hp-df3i*: *s*d³w. Kamal, *ASAE*, 16 (1916), 67.
PM IV, 268.

Deir Durunka

176. *Hp-df3i-^rnh*: *s*d³w. Kamal, *ASAE* 16 (1916),
101. *PM IV*, 269.

FOURTEENTH PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - *N*dft-*P*HTT

Meir

177. *^rnty*: *i*my-*r* p^r. Reisner, *Models of Ships*,
no. 4847. *PM IV*, 258.
178. *W*h-*h*tp: *i*my-*r* mš^r. Clédat, *BIFAO* 2 (1902),
42 (9). *PM IV*, 257.
179. *W*h-*h*tp: *i*ry p^rt, *h*sty-^r, *s*d³wty *b*i²ty, *s*mr
w^rty, *i*my-*r* *h*mw-*n*tr *n* *H*t-*h*r *n*bt *K*is,
*s*š *m*d³t-*n*tr, *h*ry-*t*p ^r3 *n* *N*dft, *r*h *n*sw
*m*3^r. Blackman, *Meir II*, 8, 11. *PM IV*,
250.

180. *Wḥ-ḥtp: ḥꜣty-ꜣ*. Blackman, *Meir I*, pl. V.
PM IV, 249.
181. *Mrw: ʾimy-r sdꜣwt(yw)*. Kamal, *ASAE* 12
(1912), 115. *PM IV*, 256.
182. *Nḥt: ʾimy-r sdꜣwt(yw)*. Borchardt, *Statuen*,
nos. 433-436. *PM IV*, 256.
183. *Ḥꜣ-ʾist·f: ʾimy-r pr*. Borchardt, *Statuen*,
no. 786. *PM IV*, 257.
184. *Ḥpʾi: ʾimy-r pr*. Kamal, *ASAE* 14 (1914), 83-
85. *PM IV*, 256.
185. *Ḥnn: ʾimy-r pr*. Kamal, *ASAE* 14 (1914), 55.
186. *Ḥnni: smr wꜣty, ḥry-tp nsw, sš ꜣ n nsw*.
Kamal, *ASAE* 13 (1914), 177. *PM IV*, 256.
187. *Ḥnmw: ʾimy-r pr*. Clédat, *BIFAO* 2 (1912), 42
(11).
188. *Ḥnmw-ḥtp: ʾimy-r ḥnt*. Kamal, *ASAE* 12 (1912),
97-98. *PM IV*, 257.
189. *Ḥnmw-ḥtp: sš ꜣ nsw*. Kamal, *ASAE* 14 (1914),
56.
190. *Snbi: ʾiry pꜣt, ḥꜣty-ꜣ, ʾimy-r ḥmw-nꜣr*.
Blackman, *Meir VI*, pls. VI-VII. *PM IV*,
251.
192. *Snbi: ʾiry pꜣt, ḥꜣty-ꜣ, ʾimy-r ḥmw-nꜣr,*
sdꜣwtꜣ bꜣty,, smr wꜣty. Blackman, *Meir*

I, 18-34. *PM IV*, 249-250.

193. *Snbi*: *sš r n nsw*. Kamal, *ASAE* 12 (1912), 119-122. *PM IV*, 256.
194. *Snfr*: *'imy-r pr wr*. Lacau, *Sarcophages*, nos. 28037-28028. *PM IV*, 256.
195. *K3y*: *sd3wty b'ity, smr wrty, 'imy-r sšw*. Kamal, *ASAE* 11 (1911), 19-22. *PM IV*, 249.
196. *Itw*: *'imy-r pr*. Kamal, *ASAE* 14 (1914), 47-48. *PM IV*, 256.

FIFTEENTH PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - *WNT*

Deir el-Bersha

197. *'Imn-m-ḥ3t*: *ḥ3ty-r, ḥrp nsyt, 'imy-r ḥmw-ntr*. Lacau, *Sarcophages*, nos. 28091-28092. *PM IV*, 184.
198. *Mry*: *'imy-r pr*. Daressy, *ASAE* 1 (1900), 18. *PM IV*, 185.
199. *Nfri*: *'imy-r pr*. Lacau, *Sarcophages*, nos. 28087-28088. *PM IV*, 184.
200. *Nḥri*: *ḥ3ty-r, ḥrp nsyt, 'imy-r ḥmw-ntr*. Griffith, *El Bersheh II*, pl. XIX. *PM IV*, 182.

201. *Nhr̄i*: *ḥꜣty-ꜣ, sdꜣwty b̄ity, smr wr̄ty.*
Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, no. 23046.
PM IV, 187.
202. *Sp*: *sš ꜣ n nsu.* Griffith, *El Bersheh II*,
27. *PM IV*, 181.
203. *Sp̄i*; *imy-r pr.* Boreux, *Guide-catalogue*
sommaire ... Louvre, pl. IX. *PM IV*,
185.
204. *Sp̄i*: *imy-r mšꜣ.* Lacau, *Sarcophages*, nos.
28083-28084. *PM IV*, 183-184.
205. *Kꜣy*: *sdꜣwty b̄ity.* Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*,
no. 23069. *PM IV*, 187.
206. *Dḥwty-m-...:* *ḥꜣty-ꜣ, ḥrp nsyt, imy-r ḥmw-*
ntr, hry-tp ꜣ n Wnt, imy-r n̄iwt, tꜣty.
Griffith, *El Bersheh II*, 27-28. *PM IV*,
181.
207. *Dḥwty-nḥt*: *iry prt, ḥꜣty-ꜣ, ḥrp nsyt, wr*
5 m pr Dḥwty nb Ḥmnw, hry-tp ꜣ n Wnt,
sdꜣwty b̄ity, smr wr̄ty, tꜣty, ḥꜣt Šmꜣw,
rḥ nsu, imy-r n̄iwt. Griffith, *El*
Bersheh II, pls. V-IX. *PM IV*, 177-179.
208. *Dḥwty-nḥt*: *ḥꜣty-ꜣ, ḥrp nsyt.* Lacau,
Sarcophages, no. 28099. *PM IV*, 185.
209. *Dḥwty-nḥt*: *ḥꜣty-ꜣ, ḥrp nsyt, imy-r ḥmw-*
ntr, wr 5. Lacau, *Sarcophages*, nos.
28123, 28125. *PM IV*, 185.
210. *Dḥwty-ḥtp*: *sš ꜣ n nsu.* Kamal, *ASAE* 3 (1902),
278-280. *PM IV*, 185.

Hatnub

211. ^ʾI^ʾib: *sd₃w*. Anthes, *Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, no. 40.
212. ^ʾImn-m-*ḥ*3t: ^ʾiry p^ˆt, *ḥ*3ty-^ˆr, *sd₃wty* b^ʾity, *smr w^ˆty*, ^ʾimy-r *ḥmw-n_{tr}*. Anthes, *Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, no. 49. *PM IV*, 238.
213. ^ˆḥ3-n^ḥt: *ḥ*3ty-^ˆr, *ḥrp nsyt*, ^ʾimy-r *ḥmw-n_{tr}*, *ḥry-tp ˆ3 n Wnt*, *sd₃wty* b^ʾity, *smr w^ˆty*, ^ʾimy-r *smyt ʾimntt*, *t₃ty*. Griffith, *El Bersheh II*, pl. XIII, Valloggia, *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 126. *PM IV*, 238.
214. *Sbk-ḥtp*: *smr w^ˆty*, ^ʾimy-r *sd₃w(yw)*. Posner, *JEA* 54 (1968), 67-70, pls. VIII-IX. *PM IV*, 238.
215. *K₃-n^ḥt*: *sd₃w*. Anthes, *Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, no. 36. *PM IV*, 238.
216. *K₃-ḥtp*: *sd₃w*. Anthes, *Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, no. 31.
217. *D_ḥwty-n^ḥt*: *ḥ*3ty-^ˆr, *ḥrp nsyt*, ^ʾimy-r *ḥmw-n_{tr}*. Anthes, *Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, no. 31. *PM IV*, 238.
218. *D_ḥwty-ḥtp*: *ḥ*3ty-^ˆr. Anthes, *Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, no. 32. *PM IV*, 238.

SIXTEENTH PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - M3HD

Beni Hasan

219. ʒntf: smr wꜣty. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pl. VII. PM IV, 161.
220. ʒIwy: ʒimy-r pr. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pl. VIII.
221. ʒIpꜣ: ʒimy-r pr. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pl. VIII. PM IV, 162.
222. ʒIpꜣ: ḥkꜣ ḥwt, smr wꜣty. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pl. VIII. PM IV, 162.
223. ʒIpꜣ: sdꜣwty nꜣr. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XX.
224. ʒIp-nb: ʒimy-r pr. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, 17, pl. XIII.
225. ʒIfn: ʒimy-r pr dꜣdꜣt. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XVII.
226. ʒImny: ʒimy-r st. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, 17, pl. XIX.
227. ʒImn-m-ḥꜣt: ʒiry pꜣt, ḥꜣty-ꜣ, sdꜣwty bꜣty, smr wꜣty,, rḥ nsw mꜣꜣ, ḥry-tp ꜣꜣ n Mꜣḥd, ḥrp nsyt, ʒimy-r sꜣwy n shmḥ-ib, ʒimy-r ꜣb whmt, ʒimy-r ḥmw-nꜣr n Hnmw nb Hrwr, ʒimy-ꜣs, ʒiry Nḥn, ḥry-tp Nḥb, ʒimy-r mꜣꜣ wr. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, 11-12, pls. VII-IX. PM IV, 141.

228. ³In-²it·f: wdpw. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*,
15, pl. XVIII.
229. ³In-²it·f: ³imy-r st. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*
I, 17, pl. XIX.
230. ³Ikry: hk₃hwt. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, 16,
pl. XVIII.
231. Wsr-nht: -h₃wty. Garstang, *Burial Customs*,
pl. VII. *PM IV*, 162.
232. Wsr-ht: -h₃wty. Garstang, *Burial Customs*,
pl. VII. *PM IV*, 162.
233. Wsr-ht²i: ³imy-r pr. Garstang, *Burial Cus-*
toms, pl. VII.
234. Wt-n-²inpw: sd₃wty ntr. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*
I, pl. XIII.
235. B₃kt: ³imy-r prwy-h_d. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*
I, pl. XX.
236. B₃kt: h₃ty-³, sd₃wty b²ity, rh₃ nsw, hry-tp
-₃ n M₃h_d, ³imy-²is, ³iry Nhn, hry-tp Nhb.
Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, pls. XXXV-
XXXVI. *PM IV*, 150, 160-161.
237. B₃kt: sd₃wty b²ity, smr w²ty, rh₃ nsw m₃,
hry-tp -₃ n M₃h_d m²i kd·f, ³imy-²is, ³iry
Nhn, hry-tp Nhb. Newberry, *Beni Hasan*
II, pls. IV-VII. *PM IV*, 150-154.
238. B₃kt: sš -₃ n nsw. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*,
pl. XIII.
239. M₃: ³imy-r w. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pls.

VIII-IX. *PM IV*, 162.

240. *Mntw-ḥtp: wḥmw.* Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*,
pl. XIII.
241. *Mt·f-ḥtp: ḥimy-r mrw.* Newberry, *Beni
Hasan I*, pl. XIII.
242. *Nb-ḥit·f: wdpw.* Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*,
pl. XVII.
243. *Nfr: ḥimy-r nw.* Garstang, *Burial Customs*,
pl. VII.
244. *Nfry: ḥimy-r w.* Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*,
pl. XIII.
245. *Nfry: šwnw wr.* Garstang, *Burial Customs*,
pl. VII. *PM IV*, 161.
246. *Nnksw: wdpw.* Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl.
XVII.
247. *Nḥri: ḥiry pꜣt, ḥꜣty-ꜣ, ḥꜣꜣ nḥwt mꜣꜣt, ḥimy-r
nḥwt.* Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, 42.
248. *Nḥt: ḥimy-r pr.* Garstang, *Burial Customs*,
pl. VIII.
249. *Nḥt: ḥimy-r nw.* Garstang, *Burial Customs*,
pl. VII.
250. *Nḥt: ḥimy-r st.* Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl.
XVII.
251. *Nḥt: ḥimy-r st.* Garstang, *Burial Customs*,
pl. VII.

252. *Nḥt*: ḥꜣwtj. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pl. VII.
253. *Nḥt*: sš. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.
254. *Nḥti*: 'imy-r st. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XX.
255. *Nḥti*: ḥꜣty-ꜣ, ḥry-tp ꜣꜣ n Mꜣḥd, 'imy-r ḥꜣswt 'imntt. Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, 26. PM IV, 159.
256. *Nḥti-ꜣnh*: 'imy-r ḥwt-ntr. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pl. VIII.
257. *Ntr-ꜣnh*: 'imy-r rwy. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.
258. *Ntr-nḥt*: 'imy-r šnw. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pl. VIII.
259. *Ntr-nḥt*: 'iry pꜣt, ḥꜣty-ꜣ, sdꜣwtj b'ity, smr wꜣty, 'imy-r ḥꜣst 'izbtt, 'imy-r ḥmw-ntr n Hr ḥw rḥyt. Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, 27-29, pl. XXIV. PM IV, 159.
260. *Ntr-ḥtp*: 'imy-r pr. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pl. VII. PM IV, 161.
261. *Rmw-sn-ti*: ḥꜣty-ꜣ, sdꜣwtj b'ity, smr wꜣty, rh nsw, ḥry-tp ꜣꜣ n Mꜣḥd, 'imy-'is, 'iry Nḥn, ḥry-tp Nḥb. Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, 30-31. PM IV, 159.
262. *Ht-ꜣnh*: wḥꜣw. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIX.
263. *Ht-ꜣnh*: šmsw. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.

264. *Htw: wdpw. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XVII.*
265. *Htw: s3w. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XIII.*
266. *Hmy: s3w. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XVII.*
267. *Hnnw: wdpw. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XVII.*
268. *Hnnwⁱ: ⁱimy-r pr. Garstang, Burial Customs, pl. VIII.*
269. *Hr-htw: sd3wt^y bⁱty. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XIII.*
270. *Hr-htp: ⁱimy-r s 5. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XIII.*
271. *Htwy: ⁱimy-r sd3wt(yw). Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XIII.*
272. *Htp: wdpw. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XVII.*
273. *Htp: šwnw wr. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XIX.*
274. *Htp: šmsw. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XIX.*
275. *H3: s3w. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XIII.*
276. *Hwⁱ-rnh: sš. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XIII.*
277. *Hnmw: ⁱimy-r r^hnwt^y. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XIX.*

278. Hnmw: $\dot{i}my-r\ sd_3wt(yw)$. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.
279. Hnmw: $w\dot{d}pw$. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XVIII.
280. Hnmw: $s\check{s}$. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.
281. Hnmw: $s\check{s} \curvearrow n\ nsw$. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.
282. Hnmw: $s\dot{d}_3w$. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.
283. Hnmw: $\check{y}msw$. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.
284. Hnmw- $\curvearrow 3$: s_3w . Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.
285. Hnmw- $m-h_3t$: $s\check{s}$. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.
286. Hnmw- $n\dot{h}t$: $\dot{i}my-r\ st$. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XVII.
287. Hnmw- $n\dot{h}t$: $s\check{s} \curvearrow n\ nsw$. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.
288. Hnmw- $n\dot{h}t\dot{i}$: $\dot{i}my-r\ st$. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XX.
289. Hnmw- $n\dot{h}t\dot{i}$: $\dot{h}k_3\ \dot{h}wt$. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pl. VIII. *PM IV*, 162.
290. Hnmw- $\dot{h}tp$: $\dot{i}my-r\ \curvearrow hnwty$. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.

291. *Hnmw-ḥtp: 'imy-r pr šnꜣ. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XVII.*
292. *Hnmw-ḥtp: 'imy-r st. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XII.*
293. *Hnmw-ḥtp: 'imy-r šnꜣw. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XX.*
294. *Hnmw-ḥtp: 'iry pꜣt, sdꜣwtj b'ity, smr wꜣty, rḥ nsw mꜣꜣ, ḥry-tp ꜣ3 n Mꜣḥd, ḥꜣty-ꜣ n Mnꜣt Ḥwfw, 'imy-'is, 'iry Nḥn, ḥry-tp Nḥb, 'imy-r ḥmw-nꜣr. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, 81. PM IV, 140. 149, 151.*
295. *Hnmw-ḥtp: ḥꜣwtj. Garstang, Burial Customs, pl. VII.*
296. *Hnmw-ḥtp: wdpw. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XVII.*
297. *Hnmw-ḥtp: wdpw. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XVII.*
298. *Hnmw-ḥtp: sš. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XVIII.*
299. *Hnmw-ḥtp: sš. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XIII. PM IV, 142.*
300. *Hnmw-ḥtp: sdꜣw. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, pl. XX.*
301. *Hnmw-ḥtp: sdꜣwtj b'ity, smr wꜣty, rḥ nsw mꜣꜣ m Šmꜣw, 'imy-r mšꜣ. Newberry, Beni Hasan I, 14.*
302. *Hnmw-ḥtpi: 'imy-r pr. Garstang, Burial Cus-*

- toms, pl. VII.
303. Hnmw-scnh: šwnw wr, 'imy-r pr. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.
304. Hnmw-dd: 'imy-r hwt. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.
305. Hty: hsty-[^], sdwti bity, smr wty, rh nsw m[^], hry-tp [^] M^hd mi kd.f, 'imy-r m[^] m st nbt st[^], 'imy-ⁱs, 'iry Nhn, hry-tp Nhb. Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*, pls. X-XIX. *PM IV*, 154-159.
306. Š-sbk: šmsw. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.
307. Kki: 'imy-r pr, hry-tp i[^]wt hnt. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pl. VIII.
308. T[^]zy: smr wty, 'imy-r pr. Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pl. VII. *PM IV*, 163.
309. T[^]wi: 'imy-r sdwt(yw). Garstang, *Burial Customs*, pl. VII.
310. Dgw: 'imy-r pr. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.
311. ----: hsty-[^], sdwti bity, 'imy-r m[^] wr n M^hd. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, 13.
312. ----: wdpw n [^]t mw. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIX.
313. ----: 'imy-r tst. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII.

SEVENTEENTH PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - ^ḥINPW

No officials from this period recorded.

EIGHTEENTH PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - ḤNTY

No officials from this period recorded.

NINETEENTH PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - W3BWY

No officials from this period recorded.

TWENTIETH PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - NḤRT-ḤNTT

Kahûn (el-Lahun)

314. ^ḥIn-^ḥit.f-^ḥikr: ^ḥiry prt, sḏwty bity, ^ḥimy-r
pr wr. Petrie, *Illahun*, pl. XII. PM
IV, 112.

315. Hty: šmsw. Petrie, *Lahun II*, pl. XLVII.
PM IV, 112.

Hawâra

316. ᵀIw-nfr: ᵀimy-r st. Petrie, *Labyrinth*, pl.
XXXI. PM IV, 102.

TWENTY-FIRST PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - NRT-PHTT

Lisht

317. ᵀIn-it-f-ikr: ᵀiry prt, ḥsty-r, ḥry-tp n t3
r dr-f, sš nsw n sm3yt. Hayes, *Scepter*
I, 208-209.
318. ᵀ3w: ᵀimy-r pr. Lansing, *BMMA* 1933, fig. 28.
PM IV, 85.
319. Mntw-ḥtp: ᵀiry prt, ḥsty-r, ᵀimy-r šnt. Mace,
BMMA 1921, fig. 15. PM IV, 81.
320. Nḥt: ᵀimy-r pr wr. Borchardt, *Statuen*, no.
409. PM IV, 79.
321. Rḥw-r-dr-sn: ᵀiry prt, ḥsty-r, sd3wti bity,
smr wty, ḥrp šndwt nbt, ᵀimy-r prwy-ḥd,
ᵀimy-r prwy-nbw, ᵀimy-r sd3wt(yw). Hayes,
Scepter I, fig. 221. PM IV, 79.
322. Hnmw-nfr: ᵀimy-r ḥnwty, ᵀimy-r ḥw. Hayes,
Scepter I, 213.

323. *Hty*: ^ʾ*imy-r st.* Lansing, *BMMA* 1920, 4, 6.
PM IV, 83.
324. *S-n- wsrt*: ^ʾ*imy-r pr.* Hayes, *Scepter I*,
207. *PM IV*, 85.
325. *Smn-nḥt*: *ḥry-tp ʾ3 n smrw*, ^ʾ*imy-r pr wr.*
Hayes, *Scepter I*, fig. 109.
326. *Snb*: ^ʾ*imy-r pr.* Hayes, *Scepter I*, 210.
327. *Sn-mri*: ^ʾ*iry prt, ḥsty-r, sd3wty bity, smr*
wty. Hayes, *Scepter I*, 177.
328. *K3y*: ^ʾ*imy-r pr.* Lansing, *BMMA* 1933, fig.
29. *PM IV*, 85.

El-Girza and el-Riqqa

329. ^ʾ*In-ʾit.f*: ^ʾ*imy-r rwyt.* Engelbach, *Riqqeh*
and Memphis VI, pl. XXXIV-XXXVI. *PM*
IV, 86.

TWENTY-SECOND PROVINCE OF UPPER EGYPT - *MTNWT*

No officials from this period recorded.

FIRST PROVINCE OF LOWER EGYPT - MN-NFR

Dahshûr

330. Snb: 'iry p-t, ḥ3ty-ꜣ, sd3wty b'ity, smr w-ty, 'imy-r sd3wt(yw). Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'ancien empire*, 583. PM III, 239.

Memphis

331. 'Imny: 'imy-r n'wt, t3yty, t3ty. Petrie, *Memphis I*, pl. V. PM III, 219.
332. W3ḥ-k3: ḥ3ty-ꜣ, 'imy-r ḥmw-ntr. Petrie, *Memphis I*, pl. IV. PM III, 219.

Saqqâra

333. 'Ip'i: sd3wty b'ity, smr w-ty, 'imy-r ḥrpw. Quibell, *Saqqara*, 5. PM III, 126.
334. 'In-'it.f: smr w-ty, 'imy-r gs pr. Berlin, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen I*, 156. PM III, 187.
335. ḥnh-nb.f: ḥ3ty-ꜣ, smr w-ty. Maspero, *Trois années de fouilles*, 208. PM III, 181.
336. Mntw-ḥtp: 'iry p-t, ḥ3ty-ꜣ, sd3wty b'ity, smr w-ty, rh nsu, 'imy-r 3ḥwt. Borchardt, *Statuen*, no. 526. PM III, 199.

337. *Htp*: 'iry p^ˆt, h^ˆty-^ˆ, s^ˆd^ˆwt^ˆy b^ˆity, smr w^ˆty, r^ˆh nsw m^ˆty, 'imy-^ˆis, 'imy-r s^ˆšwy n s^ˆhm^ˆ-^ˆib, hm-n^ˆtr h^ˆdt nt Šm^ˆw T^ˆty-m^ˆhw, 'iry N^ˆhn, h^ˆry-tp N^ˆhb, 'imy-r s^ˆd^ˆwt(yw), s^ˆh^ˆd hmw-n^ˆtr mr dd-st-T^ˆti-s^ˆty-r^ˆ. Firth, *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, 273-278. *PM III*, 134.
338. *Hnty-h^ˆty-m-s^ˆty-f-snb*: 'iry p^ˆt, s^ˆd^ˆwt^ˆy b^ˆity, smr w^ˆty, 'imy-r s^ˆd^ˆwt(yw). Borchardt, *Statuen*, no. 408. *PM III*, 199.

Abûsîr

339. *Mrrî*: s^ˆd^ˆwt^ˆy b^ˆity, smr w^ˆty, mty m s^ˆty.
Schäfer, *Priestergräber vom Totentempel des Ne-user-rê*, 99. *PM III*, 81.

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340. *Šh-^ˆitw*: 'imy-r dpwt. *LS* no. 20675. *PM V*, 263.
341. *'I^ˆty*: 'imy-r pr. *LS* no. 20641. *PM V*, 265.
342. *'I^ˆty*: s^ˆh^ˆd šmw. *LS* no. 20687. *PM V*, 265.
343. *'I^ˆy*: 'imy-r pr. *LS* no. 20650.
344. *'Ii-^ˆib-r.f*: s^ˆš kdt. *LS* no. 20309. *PM V*, 268.

345. $\text{'}Ii-nh$: $\text{sd}^{\text{z}}\text{w}$. *LS* no. 20473.
346. 'Ii-m-htp : 'imy-r pr . *LS* no. 20580.
347. 'Ii-hr-nft : $\text{'imy-r sd}^{\text{z}}\text{wt}(yw)$, $\text{sd}^{\text{z}}\text{wt}y \text{b}^{\text{z}}\text{ity}$,
 $\text{smr w}^{\text{r}}\text{ty}$. *LS* no. 20310. *PM V*, 265.
348. 'Ii-hr-nfrt : $\text{'imy-r sd}^{\text{z}}\text{wt}(yw)$. *LS* no. 20038.
PM V, 265.
349. 'Iwy : $\text{sh}^{\text{d}} \text{šmsw}$. *LS* no. 20198. *PM V*, 265.
350. 'Iw.f-r-nh : 'iry-rt n nh . *LS* no. 20149. *PM*
V, 265.
351. 'Iw.f-snb : $\text{šmsw pr r}^{\text{z}}$. *LS* no. 20235. *PM V*,
265.
352. 'Iw-n.f : $\text{wr mdw šm}^{\text{r}}\text{w}$. *LS* no. 20340. *PM V*,
265.
353. 'Iwnn^{z} : 'imy-r st . Petrie, *Tombs of the*
Courtiers, pl. XXVI. *PM V*, 55.
354. 'Iw-snb : $\text{'imy-r hnwt}y \text{n k}^{\text{z}}\text{p}$. *LS* no. 20693.
PM V, 265.
355. 'Iw-snb : sš . *LS* no. 20184.
356. 'Iw-snb : šmsw . *LS* no. 20551.
357. 'Ib : $\text{'imy-r} \text{ht}$, $\text{sd}^{\text{z}}\text{wt}y \text{b}^{\text{z}}\text{ity}$. *LS* no. 20614.
358. 'Ib : 'imy-r hw . British Museum, *Hieroglyph-*
ic Texts VI, 26.
359. 'Ibi : 'imy-r pr . *LS* no. 20525. *PM V*, 265.

360. ^ʾIby: ^ʾimy-r ḥnwty n ḥt ḥnk. LS no. 20149.
PM V, 265.
361. ^ʾIb-^ʾiḥ: ^ʾiry pḥt, ḥṣty-ḥ, idnw n ^ʾimy-r
sdṣwt(yw). LS no. 20086. PM V, 57.
362. ^ʾIb-^ʾiḥ: sš, sdṣwt nṯr n ^ʾImn. LS no.
20677. PM V, 266.
363. ^ʾIb-^ʾiḥ: šmsw. LS no. 20677. PM V, 266.
364. ^ʾIbw: ^ʾimy-r pr. LS no. 20298. PM V, 265.
365. ^ʾIbw: ^ʾimy-r pr. LS no. 20584. PM V, 265.
366. ^ʾIbw: ^ʾimy-r sṣtyw. LS no. 20588. PM V,
265.
367. ^ʾIbw: sš n ḥnt. LS no. 20023. PM V, 263.
368. ^ʾIbw: sš dṣdṣt. LS no. 20023. PM V, 263.
369. ^ʾIbt: gnwty. LS no. 20722.
370. ^ʾIp^ʾi: ^ʾimy-r sdṣwt(yw). LS no. 20729.
371. ^ʾIp^ʾi: ^ʾiry pḥt, ḥṣty-ḥ, ^ʾimy-r rwyt. LS
no. 20288. PM V, 265.
372. ^ʾIpy: šmsw hyt. LS no. 20610.
373. ^ʾIpw-šr^ʾi: ^ʾimy-r st. Mariette, *Catalogue
général des monuments d'Abydos*, 751.
PM V, 265.
374. ^ʾIpp^ʾi: ^ʾimy-r w n ḥrryt. LS no. 20229.
375. ^ʾIpp^ʾi: ^ʾimy-r pr. LS no. 20710.

376. ³Ipp³i: ³imy-r pr. LS no. 20655.
377. ³Ipp³i: ḥsty-³r. LS no. 20045.
378. ³Ipty: ³imy-r prwy-ḥd -nbw, ³idnw n ³imy-r pr wr, ³imy-r sšwy n šhmḥ-³ib. LS no. 20053. PM V, 265.
379. ³Imny: ³imy-r pr. LS no. 20655. PM V, 263.
380. ³Imny: ³imy-r pr. LS no. 20428. PM V, 263.
381. ³Imny: ³imy-r pr. LS no. 20135.
382. ³Imny: ³imy-r niwt, tsty. Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, no. 23027. PM V, 60.
383. ³Imny: ³imy-r nbw. LS no. 20594. PM V, 263.
384. ³Imny: ³iry p³t, ḥsty-³r, sd³wty b³ity, smr w³ty, ³imy-r mš³-wr, s³ḥ smr, wr wrw. LS no. 20546. PM V, 263.
385. ³Imny: ³iry p³t, ḥsty-³r, sd³wty b³ity, smr w³ty, ³imy-r pr wr. LS no. 20562.
386. ³Imny: šwnw wr. LS no. 20023. PM V, 263.
387. ³Imny: šḥd šḥtyw. Frankfort, *JEA* 14 (1928), pl. XXI. PM V, 64.
388. ³Imny: sd³w pḥ³ib. LS no. 20266.
389. ³Imny: sd³wty b³ity, ³imy-pr. Petrie, *Abydos II*, pl. XXIX.
390. ³Imny: gnwty. LS no. 20722.

391. ^ʾImny: *tꜣty*, ^ʾ*imy-r nꜣwt*. Petrie, *Abydos II*, pl. XXVI.
392. ^ʾImny-snb: ^ʾ*imy-r pr*. LS no. 20655.
393. ^ʾImny-snb: *sš ꜣ n nsw*. LS no. 20045.
394. ^ʾImny-snb: *sꜣꜣwtꜣ bꜣty*, *smr wrty*, ^ʾ*imy-r sꜣꜣwt(yw)*. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers*, pl. XXVIII. PM V, 56.
395. ^ʾImn-ꜣ3: ^ʾ*imy-r pr*. Borchardt, *Statuen*, no. 462. PM V, 51-52.
396. ^ʾImn-m-ḥꜣt: ^ʾ*imy-r pr*. Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, no. 23017.
397. ^ʾImn-m-ḥꜣt: ^ʾ*imy-r šnꜣw*. Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, no. 23019.
398. ^ʾImn-m-ḥꜣt: ^ʾ*imy-r šnꜣw*. LS no. 20040. PM V, 60.
399. ^ʾImn-m-ḥꜣt: ^ʾ*iry pꜣt*, *ḥꜣty-ꜣ*, *sš nꜣr*, *ḥꜣp šndwt*, *ḥꜣp Ḥr*, *ḥꜣp tsw*, *shꜣ ḥmw-nꜣr n Imn nb nswt tꜣwy*, ^ʾ*it-nꜣr*, ^ʾ*imy-r ḥmw-nꜣr*. LS no. 20359. PM V, 263.
400. ^ʾImn-m-ḥꜣt: *ḥꜣty-ꜣ*. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers*, pl. XXIII, XXV.
401. ^ʾImn-m-ḥꜣt: *sš spꜣt*. LS no. 20285.
402. ^ʾImn-m-ḥꜣt-snb: ^ʾ*iry pꜣt*, *ḥꜣty-ꜣ*, *smr wrty n mrwt*, *smr wrty ꜣ3*, *sꜣꜣwtꜣ bꜣty*, ^ʾ*imy-r pr wr*. LS no. 20100. PM V, 57.
403. ^ʾImn-m-ḥꜣt-snb: *wꜣpw n ꜣt dꜣr*. LS no. 20350.

PM V, 263.

404. ^ʾImn-m-ḥr.f: ^ʾimy-r pr. LS no. 20395.
405. ^ʾImn-rn.f: ^ʾimy-r w n šnr. LS no. 20545.
406. ^ʾImn-ḥtp: ḥsty-ḥ, sdꜣwtj ntr. LS no. 20724.
407. ^ʾImn-ḥtp: sdꜣwtj bity, smr wty. Petrie, Abydos I, 51 (1). PM V, 76.
408. ^ʾIn-^ʾit.f: ^ʾimy-r pr. LS no. 20542. PM V, 264.
409. ^ʾIn-^ʾit.f: ^ʾimy-r pr. Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, no. 23017.
410. ^ʾIn-^ʾit.f: ^ʾimy-r pr. Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos II*, fig. 27.
411. ^ʾIn-^ʾit.f: ^ʾimy-r pr ḥsb ihw. Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos*, 590. PM V, 264.
412. ^ʾIn-it.f: ^ʾimy-r kꜣw. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers*, pl. XXIV. PM V, 55.
413. ^ʾIn-^ʾit.f: ^ʾiry p-t, sdꜣwtj bity, smr wty, ^ʾimy-r ḥb wḥmt šwt nšmt, ^ʾimy-r sšwy, ^ʾimy-r pr, ^ʾimy-r šnwty. Gayet, *Stèles de la XII^e dynastie*, C 167, C168. LS no. 20542. PM V, 98.
414. ^ʾIn-^ʾit.f: wdpw. LS no. 20566.
415. ^ʾIn-^ʾit.f: nby. LS no. 20285. PM V, 264.
416. ^ʾIn-^ʾit.f: ḥsty-ḥ, ^ʾimy-r ḥmw-ntr. LS no.

20064. PM V, 263.

417. $\text{In-}^{\text{it}}\text{-f}$: sš. LS no. 20451. PM V, 264.
418. $\text{In-}^{\text{it}}\text{-f}$: šmsw. LS no. 20551.
419. $\text{In-}^{\text{it}}\text{-f}$: šmsw. LS no. 20516. PM V, 264.
420. $\text{In-}^{\text{it}}\text{-f}$: šmsw ḥk3. LS no. 20083. PM V, 264.
421. $\text{In-}^{\text{it}}\text{-f}$: tsw. LS no. 20473.
422. $\text{In-}^{\text{it}}\text{-f-ikr}$: imy-r pr. Borchardt, *Statuen*, no. 63.
423. $\text{In-}^{\text{it}}\text{-f-ikr}$: sš ḡwt m Ts-wr 3bdw. Piehl, *Inscriptions hieroglyphiques*, pls. XXI²-XXIII. PM V, 101.
424. $\text{In-k}^{\text{3}}\text{-f}$: šmsw. LS no. 20194.
425. Irr: iry p^{t} , ḡsty- r , rh nsw m3 r . LS no. 20750.
426. Irr: ḡsty- r . LS no. 20750. PM V, 265.
427. Irr: ḡry n knbt. LS no. 20734. PM V, 265.
428. Ikw-ddw : rh nsw, imy-r pr. Fischer, *JNES* 16 (1957), 227-228. PM V, 97.
429. Ikr: imy-r pr. LS no. 20135.
430. Ikr: imy-r dpwt. LS no. 20023. PM V, 263.
431. Ikr-šri : imy-r pr. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts I*, 56. PM V, 95.

432. ^ʾItw: ^ʾimy-r sd₃wt(yw). Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, no. 23027.
433. ^ʾIt·f-rḥw: ^ʾimy-r ḥnwty. *LS* no. 20456.
434. ^ʾIt·f-sn: ^ʾidnw n ^ʾimy-r sd₃wt(yw). *LS* no. 20085. *PM V*, 265.
435. ḥb-k₃w: ^ʾimy-r ḥbw. Gayet, *Stèles de la XII^e dynastie*, L IV, C 15. *PM V*, 98.
436. ḥb-k₃w: ^ʾimy-r mšḥ. *LS* no. 20090.
437. ḥb-k₃w: wḥmw. *LS* no. 20090.
438. ḥb-k₃w-nḥn: smr wḥty, rḥ nsw. *LS* no. 20105. *PM V*, 263.
439. ḥnḥ: ^ʾimy-r ḥnwty. *LS* no. 20276.
440. ḥnḥ: ^ʾimy-r sd₃wt(yw). *LS* no. 20143. *PM V*, 263.
441. ḥnḥ: wḥmw n ḥrryt. *LS* no. 20242.
442. ḥnḥy: ^ʾimy-r pr. *LS* no. 20655.
443. ḥnḥw: ^ʾimy-r pr. *LS* no. 20051.
444. ḥnḥw: ^ʾimy-s₃ n ^ʾimy-r sd₃wt(yw). *LS* no. 20441.
445. ḥnḥw: wr mdw šmḥw. *LS* no. 20724.
446. ḥnḥw: gnwty. *LS* no. 20722.
447. ḥnh·f: sd₃wty b^ʾity, ^ʾimy-r sd₃wt(yw), ^ʾimy-^ʾis. *LS* no. 20023. *PM V*, 263.

448. ʿnh-rn : ʾimy-r ʿhnwty . *LS* no. 20033. *PM V*, 263.
449. ʿnty-m-hzt : $\text{šwnw wr, ḥrp Srḥt, sš smʾyt}$.
LS no. 20088. *PM V*, 57.
450. ʿti-mw : šmsw . *LS* no. 20395.
451. Wṣḥ-kṣ : ʾimy-r pr . *LS* no. 20580. *PM V*, 269.
452. Wṣḥ-kṣ : ʾimy-r šnʿw . *LS* no. 20043. *PM V*, 269.
453. Wṣḥ-kṣ : $\text{ʾimy-r kḏw, ʾir n Wṣḏt}$. *LS* no. 20200.
PM V, 269.
454. Wṣḥw : ʾimy-r pr . *LS* no. 20027. *PM V*, 269.
455. Wp-wṣwt-ḥtp : ḥsty-ʿ . *LS* no. 20724.
456. Wpt-ʾimny : $\text{ʾiry pʿt, ḥsty-ʿ, sdṣwty bʾity, ʾimy-r pr wr}$. *LS* no. 20266.
457. Wr-nb-kmwy : $\text{rḥ nsu, ʾimy-r ḥsw}$. *LS* no. 20089, 20703. *PM V*, 57.
458. Wsr : ʾimy-r mšʿ . British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts II*, 36.
459. Wsr : wdpw . *LS* no. 20038.
460. Wsr-n-ʿnkt : wr mḏw šmʿw . Borchardt, *Statuen*, no. 465. *PM V*, 51.
461. Bbʾi : ʾiry ʿt . *LS* no. 20441.
462. Bbʾi : šmsw . *LS* no. 20441.

463. *Bttw*: 'imy-pr. *LS* no. 20655.
464. *P3-n-mw-mt*: imy-r k3t, ḥk3 ḥwt, smr w[~]ty.
Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos*, 548. *PM V*, 267.
465. *Ppī*: 'imy-r T3-mḥw. Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos III*, pl. XIII (4). *PM V*, 66.
466. *Ppī*: 'iry ṛt, wdpw. *LS* no. 20718.
467. *Ppī*: 'iry p_̄dt. *LS* no. 20610.
468. *Ppw*: sš. *LS* no. 20184.
469. *Psš*: 'imy-r pr. *LS* no. 20216. *PM V*, 267.
470. *Pth*: šmsw. *LS* no. 20610.
471. *Pth-ṛ3*: 'imy-r st. *LS* no. 20038. *PM V*, 265.
472. *Pth-ṛ3*: 'imy-r ḳdw. *LS* no. 20523. *PM V*, 267.
473. *Pth-wnn.f*: 'imy-r pr. *LS* no. 20054. *PM V*, 269.
474. *Pth-wr*: s_̄d3wt_y b[~]ity, 'imy-r s_̄d3wt(yw). *LS* no. 20061.
475. *Pth-k3w*: 'imy-r ḳdw. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts II*, 35.
476. *Mnw-nḥt*: 'iry ṛt, wdpw. *LS* no. 20030.
477. *Mntw-ṛ3*: wr m_̄dw šm[~]w. *LS* no. 20677. *PM V*, 266.

478. *Mntw-wsr*: ^ʾ*imy-r pr*. Williams, *BMAA* 1913, 10. *PM V*, 102.
479. *Mntw-ḥtp*: ^ʾ*imy-r ḥnwty*. *LS* no. 20697. *PM V*, 58.
480. *Mntw-ḥtp*: ^ʾ*imy-r pr n šnw*. Frankfort, *JEA* 14 (1928), pls. XXI (2), XXII (3). *PM V*, 64.
481. *Mntw-ḥtp*: ^ʾ*imy-r mr*. Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos II*, pl. XXIII (4).
482. *Mntw-ḥtp*: ^ʾ*imy-r sd3wt(yw)*. Lepsius, *Denkmäler II*, 176-177.
483. *Mntw-ḥtp*: ^ʾ*iry pṛt, t3ty, s3b, tsyty, ʾiry Nḥn, sd3wti bity, ḥ3ty-ṛ, ʾimy-r sd3wt(yw), ʾimy-r k3t nbt nt nsu, ḥm-nṛ M3ṛt, smr wṛty, ʾimy-r sšwy n šḥmḥ-ib, ʾimy-r prwy-ḥd*. *LS* no. 20539. *PM V*, 45.
484. *Mntw-ḥtp*: *ḥ3ty-ṛ*. Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, no. 23014. *PM V*, 60.
485. *Mntw-ḥtp*: *sš n mšṛ*. Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, no. 23048. *PM V*, 60.
486. *Mrī*: ^ʾ*imy-s3 n ʾimy-r sd3wt(yw)*. *LS* no. 20441.
487. *Mrī*: *sd3w hry-ṛ*. Gayet, *Stèles de la XII^e dynastie*, C 3, pl. IV, V. *PM V*, 98.
488. *Mry*: *šmsw*. *LS* no. 20117.
489. *Mrī-ksy*: *smr wṛty*. Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos*, 551. *PM V*, 266.

490. *Mr-ꜥnh*: šmsw. LS no. 20551. PM V, 266.
491. *Mrw*: ḥr šms n ḥꜣty-ꜥ. LS no. 20631.
492. *Mrw*: sḏꜣwtꜣ bꜣty, smr wꜣty, ꜣimy-r sḏꜣwt(yw).
Brugsch, *Thesaurus I*, 231-232. PM V, 103.
493. *Mr·f*: šmsw. LS no. 20198.
494. *Mr-nfr*: šmsw. LS no. 20069.
495. *Ni-tp-dꜣ·tw*: šmsw. LS no. 20330.
496. *Nb-ꜥnh*: šmsw pr ꜣꜣ. LS no. 20627. PM V,
266.
497. *Nbi*: ꜣiry ꜣt, wḏpw. LS no. 20718.
498. *Nb-nꜣi-sw-mnꜣw*: šmsw. LS no. 20610.
499. *Nb-ḥḥḥ*: šmsw. LS no. 20542.
500. *Nb-sw*: sš n mšꜥ. LS no. 20677. PM V, 266.
501. *Nb-kꜣw*: ꜣimy-r sḏꜣwt(yw). LS no. 20561.
502. *Nbt·f*: ꜣimy-r kꜣt nbt nt nsw. LS no. 20425.
PM V, 266.
503. *Nfr*: šmsw hyt. LS no. 20395. PM V, 267.
504. *Nfrꜣiw*: ꜣimy-r w. LS no. 20142. PM V, 267.
505. *Nfrwy-ḥtp*: ḥꜣty-ꜥ n Drty. LS no. 20649.
506. *Nfrw-ḥtp*: šmsw. LS no. 20145. PM V, 267.
507. *Nfr-ḥr*: wḏpw. LS no. 20190. PM V, 266.

508. *Nfr-ḥtp: s3b šḥd sšw. LS no. 20084. PM V, 266.*
509. *Nfr-tm: sš n ḥnt. LS no. 20023. PM V, 263.*
510. *Nmty·wy-ḥtp: ʾimy-r sd3wt(yw). LS no. 20206. PM V, 264.*
511. *Nmty-ḥtp: ʾimy-r 3ḥt. LS no. 20227. PM V, 264.*
512. *Nn: ʾimy-r mr. Speelers, Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes à Bruxelles, 32 (95). PM V, 100.*
513. *Nni: ʾimy-r pr. LS no. 20135. PM V, 266.*
514. *Nn-rn·f: sd3w. LS no. 20524. PM V, 267.*
515. *Nh3i: ʾimy-r mšr. LS no. 20650. PM V, 267.*
516. *Nḥi: ʾimy-r w. LS no. 20229.*
517. *Nḥi: ʾiry r-t n ʾimy-r pr. LS no. 20302.*
518. *Nḥi: wr mdw šmrw. LS no. 20677. PM V, 266.*
519. *Nḥi: wr mdw šmrw. LS no. 20145. PM V, 267.*
520. *Nḥri: ʾiry p-r-t. LS no. 20045. PM V, 267.*
521. *Nḥri: wdpw. LS no. 20045.*
522. *Nḥt: ʾimy-r pr. LS no. 20482. PM V, 266.*
523. *Nḥt: ʾimy-r mšr. LS no. 20750.*
524. *Nḥt: ʾimy-r nbyw. LS no. 20515. PM V, 266.*

525. *Nḥt*: ^ʾ*imy-r sd3wt(yw)*. *LS* no. 20161.
526. *Nḥt*: ^ʾ*imy-r šnt*. *LS* no. 20161.
527. *Nḥt*: ^ʾ*imy-r T3-mḥw*. Garstang, *El Arabah*, pls. III, XV. *PM* V, 66.
528. *Nḥt*: ^ʾ*iry ṛt*. Borchardt, *Statuen*, no. 477.
529. *Nḥt*: ^ʾ*fty*. *LS* no. 20161.
530. *Nḥt*: *sš kdt*. *LS* no. 20526. *PM* V, 57.
531. *Nḥt*: *tsw*. *LS* no. 20473.
532. *Nḥti*: ^ʾ*imy-r pr*. *LS* no. 20161.
533. *Nḥti*: ^ʾ*imy-r rwyt*. *LS* no. 20296.
534. *Nḥti*: ^ʾ*imy-r sd3wt(yw)*. *LS* no. 20090.
535. *Nḥti*: ^ʾ*iry pṛt, ḥ3ty-ṛ*. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts III*, 36. *PM* V, 96.
536. *Nḥti*: *sš ṛ n nsu*. *LS* no. 20457. *PM* V, 267.
537. *Nḥti*: *šmsw*. *LS* no. 20242.
538. *Nḥti-ikr*: ^ʾ*iry pṛt, ḥ3ty-ṛ, imy-r s3b, imy-r ihw, sš, imy-r ṛb nb n ḥk3*. Müller, *MDAIK* 4 (1933), 187.
539. *Nḥt-ṛnh*: *ḥ3ty-ṛ*. *LS* no. 20161.
540. *Nsw-mntw*: ^ʾ*iry pṛt, ḥ3ty-ṛ*. *LS* no. 20532. *PM* V, 57.
541. *Ntr-m-š*: *sd3wtu bity, imy-r sd3wt(yw), imy-*

- ʾis. LS no. 20614.
542. Rr-n-ptḥ: ʾimy-r pr. LS no. 20655.
543. Rr-nfr: sd3wt(y) bʾity, ʾimy-r sd3wt(yw), šmsw
nsw. LS no. 20616. PM V, 268.
544. Rn-ikr: šmsw n ḥk3. LS no. 20323. PM V,
268.
545. Rn.f-rs: wr mḏw šmꜣw. LS no. 20037. PM V,
268.
546. Rn.f-snb: ʾimy-r pr. Petrie, *Tombs of the
Courtiers*, pl. XXIX.
547. Rn.f-snb: ḥry-pr, wḥmw, šmsw. LS no.
20018. PM V, 268.
548. Rn.f-snb: sš. LS no. 20184..
549. Rn.f-snb: šmsw. LS no. 20119.
550. Rn.f-snb: gnwt(y). LS no. 20722.
551. Rn-snb: ʾimy-r st. LS no. 20117. PM V, 268.
552. Rn-snb: ʾiry rt n šnꜣ. LS no. 20598.
553. Rn-snb: wr mḏw šmꜣw. LS no. 20612. PM V,
268.
554. Rn-snb: wḏpw ꜣkw. LS no. 20147.
555. Rn-snb: sš n ḥnt. LS no. 20023. PM V, 263.
556. Rn-snb: šmsw. LS no. 20229. PM V, 268.

557. *Rsw*: ḥꜣty-ꜣ, ḥꜣmy-r mšꜣ. *LS* no. 20048. *PM* V, 268.
558. *Rdi-sbk*: ḥꜣty-ꜣ. Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, no. 23014.
559. *Hw-tꜣ*: ḥꜣry ꜣt. *LS* no. 20066.
560. *Hppy*: šmsw. *LS* no. 20566.
561. *Hnnw*: ḥꜣmy-r mḏwt. *LS* no. 20112. *PM* V, 264.
562. *Hnnw*: ḥꜣmy-r ḥꜣwt. *LS* no. 20086.
563. *Hnnw*: sḏꜣw. Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes à Bruxelles*, 31 (91). *PM* V, 62.
564. *Hnnw*: šmsw ꜣrryt. *LS* no. 20086.
565. *Hnnt*: ḥꜣmy-r pr. *LS* no. 20580. *PM* V, 264.
566. *Hr*: ḥꜣmy-r pr. *LS* no. 20029. *PM* V, 264.
567. *Hr*: ḥꜣry ꜣt. *LS* no. 20107. *PM* V, 265.
568. *Hr*: ḥꜣry ꜣt, ḥꜣty-ꜣ, sḏꜣwtꜣ bꜣty, smr wꜣty, ḥꜣmy-r pr. *LS* no. 20473. *PM* V, 265.
569. *Hr*: wḏꜣw n ꜣt ḥꜣwf. *LS* no. 20085. *PM* V, 265.
570. *Hr*: sḏꜣw n šmsw. *LS* no. 20076. *PM* V, 265.
571. *Hr-m-sꜣ·f*: ḥꜣmy-r ꜣḥt. *LS* no. 20242. *PM* V, 264.
572. *Hr-m-sꜣ·f*: ḥꜣmy-r pr. *LS* no. 20052. *PM* V, 57.

573. *Hr-m-s3-f: sd3w n šmsw. LS no. 20607. PM V, 264.*
574. *Hr-nfr-ḥtp: sš, sd3wtj ntr. LS no. 20724.*
575. *Hr-rsi: wdpw. Frankfort, JEA 14 (1928), pl. XII (1). PM V, 64.*
576. *Hsb-m-snb-f: 'imy-r pr. LS no. 20045.*
577. *Htp: 'iry pḏt. British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts VI, 26.*
578. *Htp: sš snwt, 'imy-r pr. LS no. 20423. PM V, 264.*
579. *Htpwy: 'imy-r pr. LS no. 20580. PM V, 269.*
580. *Hw: 'imy-r mrt. LS no. 20441.*
581. *Hwy: sš n ḥnt. LS no. 20023. PM V, 263.*
582. *Hwi-n-ḥr: 'imy-r ḳdw. British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts II, 35.*
583. *Hnms: 'iry -t, wdpw. LS no. 20718.*
584. *Hnsw-snb-i: wr mḏw šm-w. LS no. 20213.*
585. *Hnty-m-s3-f: 'imy-r st. Kamal, Tables d'offrandes, no. 23060. PM V, 60.*
586. *Hnt-ḥty-ḥtp: 'iry p-t, ḥ3ty-ḳ. British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts III, 36.*
587. *Hr-³iby: 'imy-r sd3wt(yw). LS no. 20310.*
588. *Hnmw: 'imy-r šn-ḳ. LS no. 20238.*

589. *Hnmw-ꜥ3*: *s3 ḥ3ty-ꜥ*. *LS* no. 20161.
590. *Hnmw-nḥt*: *ꜥimy-r pr*. *LS* no. 20482.
591. *Hnmw-nḥt*: *ꜥimy-r pr*. *LS* no. 20161.
592. *Hnmw-nḥt*: *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*. *LS* no. 20161.
593. *Hnmw-nḥt*: *ḥry sšt3 nt W3dyt, ꜥimy-ꜥis m wꜥw, ꜥimy-r mrḥt nbt n pr nsu*. *LS* no. 20518.
PM V, 53.
594. *Hnmw-ḥtp*: *ꜥimy-r pr*. *LS* no. 20092. *PM V*,
266.
595. *Hnmw-ḥtp*: *ꜥimy-r sd3wt(yw)*. *LS* no. 20161.
596. *S-n-wsrt*: *ꜥimy-r pr d3.f, wḥmw*. Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, no. 23027.
597. *S-n-wsrt*: *ꜥimy-r ḥnt*. Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*, no. 23027.
598. *S-n-wsrt*: *ꜥimy-r k3w, šmsw*. *LS* no. 20428.
599. *S-n-wsrt*: *wḥmw n t3ty*. *LS* no. 20102.
600. *S-n-wsrt*: *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*. *LS* no. 20750.
601. *S3-ꜥimn*: *wr mḏw šmꜥw*. *LS* no. 20188.
602. *S3-ꜥimn*: *sš sp3t n niwt rsyt*. *LS* no. 20557.
PM V, 267.
603. *S3-ꜥin-ḥrt*: *ꜥimy-r pr ḥbsw*. Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos III*, pl. XIII (2). *PM V*, 62.
604. *S3-ꜥin-ḥrt*: *ꜥiry pꜥt, ḥ3ty-ꜥ, sd3wty bꜥity, ꜥimy-*

r gs pr. LS no. 20086. PM V, 57.

605. *S3-³in-ḥrt: sd₃w ḥr-³, ³imy-r sd₃wt(yw).*
British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts II*,
4. *PM V, 95.*
606. *S3-w₃d-ḥ₃t: ³imy-r pr. LS no. 20051. PM V,*
269.
607. *S3-w₃d_t: sš. LS no. 20184. PM V, 269.*
608. *S3-wp-w₃wt: wr m_dw šm³w. LS no. 20168.*
609. *S3-ptḥ: sd₃w. LS no. 20524.*
610. *S3-mntw: ³iry p³t, ḥ₃ty-³, ³imy-r n³wt, t₃ty.*
LS no. 20102. PM V, 269.
611. *S3-r³: ³imy-r st, wdpw. LS no. 20030.*
612. *S3-ḥ³i: ³iry ³t, wdpw. LS no. 20608. PM V,*
269.
613. *S3-ḥpy: sd₃w. LS no. 20470. PM V, 269.*
614. *S3-ḥt-ḥr: ³iry ³t. LS no. 20659. PM V, 264.*
615. *S3-ḥnsw: ³imy-r ₃ḥt. LS no. 20242. PM V,*
269.
616. *S3-ḥnt-ḥty: ³iry ³t. LS no. 20065. PM V,*
269.
617. *S3-sbk: ³imy-r pr. LS no. 20655.*
618. *S3-sbk: ³imy-s₃ n ³imy-r sd₃wt(yw). LS no.*
20441.

619. S3-sbk: šmsw. LS no. 20441.
620. S3-sbk-šrⁱ: ⁱimy-s3 n ⁱimy-r sd3wt(yw). LS no. 20441.
621. S3-tp-k3w: ⁱimy-s3 n ⁱimy-r sd3wt(yw). LS no. 20441.
622. S3-dwiⁱ: sd3w. LS 20524.
623. Sbkⁱ: ⁱimy-r mš^r, hry sšt3 n hrty-ntr.
Speigelberg, *Aegyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine II*, pl. III (4). PM V, 102.
624. Sbk-m-s3.f: ⁱimy-r sd3wt(yw). LS no. 20473.
625. Sbk-nht: ⁱimy-r pr. LS no. 20729.
626. Sbk-nht: ⁱimy-r st. LS no. 20473.
627. Sbk-nht: ⁱimy-r šn^r. LS no. 20296.
628. Sbk-nht: s3b, shd sšw. LS no. 20084. PM V, 266.
629. Sbk-nht: sš. LS no. 20720. PM V, 268.
630. Sbk-^hr-hb: ⁱiry ct, wdpw. LS no. 20718.
631. Sbk-^htp: ⁱimy-r pr. LS no. 20474.
632. Sbk-^htp: ⁱimy-r sd3wt(yw). LS no. 20268.
633. Sbk-^htp: ⁱimy-r sd3wt(yw). LS no. 20342.
PM V, 268.
634. Sbk-^htp: ⁱiry ct, wdpw. LS no. 20718.
635. Sbk-^htp: w^rrtw^r3 n niwt. LS no. 20086.

PM V, 57.

636. *Sbk-ḥtp: wr mḏw Šmꜥw.* Peet, *Cemeteries of Abydos III*, pl. XIV. PM V, 63.
637. *Sbk-ḥtp: wr mḏw Šmꜥw.* LS no. 20277. PM V, 268.
638. *Sbk-ḥtp: sš n ḥnrt wr.* LS no. 20145.
639. *Sbk-ḥtpw: ḥimy-r T3-mḥw.* LS no. 20592. PM V, 268.
640. *Sbk-rdi: ḥsty-ꜥ.* LS no. 20532. PM V, 57.
641. *Smꜣyt: sš ꜥ n nsu.* LS no. 20282.
642. *Sn-ꜥnh: ḥsty-ꜥ, ḥimy-r ḥmw-ntr.* Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers*, pls. XXIII, XXV. PM V, 56.
643. *Snw-ꜥnh: ḥiry ꜥt.* LS no. 20171. PM V, 268.
644. *Snw-ꜥnh: wḏpw n ꜥt ꜥkw.* LS no. 20266.
645. *Snb: ḥimy-r ꜥḥt.* LS no. 20571.
646. *Snb: ḥimy-r pr.* LS no. 20710. PM V, 269.
647. *Snb: ḥimy-r šnꜥ.* LS no. 20174.
648. *Snb: ḥiry ꜥt, wḏpw.* LS no. 20718. PM V, 268.
649. *Snb: ḥiry ꜥt ḥiwf.* LS no. 20023. PM V, 263.
650. *Snb: wr mḏw Šmꜥw.* LS no. 20724.
651. *Snb: wr mḏw Šmꜥw.* LS no. 20093. PM V, 269.

652. *Snb*: *wdpw n t hkt. LS no. 20266.*
653. *Snb*: *šmsw hyt. LS no. 20734.*
654. *Snb*: *šmsw hyt. LS no. 20610.*
655. *Snb*: *šmsw rryt. LS no. 20734.*
656. *Snbⁱ*: *ᶓimy-r pr n šnw. LS no. 20678. PM V, 268.*
657. *Snbⁱ*: *ᶓiry p^t, hsty-^r, sd³wty bⁱty, smr w^tty, ᶓimy-r sd³wt(yw). LS no. 20614. PM V, 268.*
658. *Snb·f*: *sš n mš^r. LS no. 20198.*
659. *Snb·f*: *šmsw. LS no. 20282. PM V, 268.*
660. *Snb·f-nh·f*: *hsty-^r n 3bdw. LS no. 20724.*
661. *Snb-sw-m-^r*: *ᶓimy-r sd³wt(yw). LS no. 20718. PM V, 268.*
662. *Snb·ty·fy*: *ᶓimy-r T³-mhw. LS no. 20135. PM V, 267.*
663. *Snb·ty·fy*: *hsty-^r, sd³wty n^r. LS no. 20724.*
664. *Snb·ty·fy*: *hry knbt. LS no. 20073. PM V, 268.*
665. *Snb·ty·fy*: *šmsw. LS no. 20734.*
666. *Snfrw*: *ᶓiry t. LS no. 20066.*
667. *Snfrw-h^tp*: *ᶓimy-r w. LS no. 20051. PM V, 269.*

668. *Sn-mri*: *sdzw*. Frankfort, *JEA* 14 (1928), pl. XXII.
669. *Sn-rdi*: *sdzwti bity*. *LS* no. 20722.
670. *Sn-rdw*: *wr mdw šmw*. *LS* no. 20250. *PM V*, 268.
671. *Sr*: *sdzw n t iwfi*. *LS* no. 20023. *PM V*, 263.
672. *Shtp-ib*: *šmsw, imy-r kzw*. *LS* no. 20045.
673. *Shtp-ib*: *tsw n šš kdt*. *LS* no. 20309. *PM V*, 268.
674. *Shtp-ib-r*: *imy-r pr*. *LS* no. 20641.
675. *Shtp-ib-r*: *imy-r pr n st*. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers*, pl. XXVI. *PM V*, 55.
676. *Shtp-ib-r*: *imy-r mšr*. Mariette, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos*, 656. *PM V*, 268.
677. *Shtp-ib-r*: *sdzw*. *LS* no. 20670. *PM V*, 268.
678. *Ššnw*: *imy-r mšr*. *LS* no. 20048. *PM V*, 268.
679. *Sdm-iw-snb*: *šmsw*. *LS* no. 20302.
680. *Skr*: *imy-r šnr*. *LS* no. 20296.
681. *Sn*: *imy-r gnwti*. Faulkner, *JEA* 38 (1952), 1.
682. *Šnw*: *wḥmw*. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers*, pl. XXVII. *PM V*, 55.
683. *Štš*: *imy-r w*. *LS* no. 20495.

684. Šdw: ^ḳimy-r ḥmwt. LS no. 20108. PM V, 268.
685. K3: ^ḳimy-r pr. LS no. 20135.
686. K3y: sd3w. Berlin, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen I*, 166. PM V, 97.
687. K3ms: ḥ3ty-^ḳ, ^ḳimy-r ḥwt-n^ḳtr. LS no. 20335. PM V, 265.
688. Ky: wḥmw. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts II*, 14. PM V, 96.
689. Kmn: ^ḳiry ḳt n pr-ḥ^ḳd. LS no. 20758. PM V, 266.
690. Km^ḳi: sš n pr-ḥ^ḳd. LS no. 20027.
691. Kms: wdpw. LS no. 20602. PM V, 266.
692. Kms: ḥ3ty-^ḳ. LS no. 20266. PM V, 265.
693. Kms-snb: wdpw. LS no. 20571.
694. Krw: ^ḳimy-r pr. LS no. 20054. PM V, 269.
695. Tt^ḳi: ^ḳiry ḳt, wdpw. LS no. 20030.
696. Tt^ḳi: sš n ḥnt. LS no. 20286. PM V, 269.
697. Tt^ḳi: sš n ḥnt. LS no. 20023. PM V, 263.
698. T^ḳni: w^ḳrw ḳ3 n n^ḳiwt. LS no. 20054. PM V, 269.
699. D dw: ^ḳimy-r mš^ḳ. LS no. 20049.

700. *D dw*: ^ˊ*imy-r* *ḳdw*. *LS* no. 20130.
701. *D dw-ikw*: ^ˊ*imy-r* *pr*. Schäfer, *ZÄS* 42 (1905),
124-127. *PM V*, 97.
702. *D dw-nšmt*: ^ˊ*imy-r* *st*, *rḥ nsw mšr*. *LS* no. 20052.
PM V, 57.
703. *D dw-sbk*: ^ˊ*imy-r* *ḥnwty*. *LS* no. 20026. *PM*
V, 56.
704. *D dw-sbk*: ^ˊ*imy-r* *pr*. Kamal, *Tables d'offrandes*,
no. 23025. *PM V*, 95.
705. *D dw-sbk*: ^ˊ*iry* *prt*, *ḥsty-ḥ*, *sḏwty bity*, *smr*
wty, ^ˊ*imy-r šnt*. Kamal, *Tables d'*
offrandes, no. 23035. *PM V*, 52.
706. *D ʒf*: ^ˊ*imy-r* *pr*. *LS* no. 20027.
707. *D ḥwty*: *šmsw n* ^ˊ*imy-r* *st*. *LS* no. 20065. *PM V*,
269.
708. ----: *wr mḏw šmḥw*. *LS* no. 20168. *PM V*,
269.

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709. ²Ib-²i²: sš n d3d3t. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 13 (51).
710. ²Imny: t3ty, ²imy-r ²niwt. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 41. *PM V*, 248.
711. ²Imn-m-h3t: sš n d3d3t. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 13 (51).
712. ²Imn-m-h3t: šmsw. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 10 (22).
713. ²Imn-m-h3t-snb: h3ty-². De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 26 (183).
714. ²Imrw: sš wr n t3ty. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 26 (189). *PM V*, 248.
715. ²bnn: tsw n hft-hr. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 13 (51).
716. ²n²hw: w²hmw. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 26 (188). *PM V*, 248.
717. Wsr: ²imy-r ²snt. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 14 (62). *PM V*, 247.

718. *Mnṭw-wsr*: ṽiry pṛt, ḥṣty-ṛ, rḥ nsw mṣṛ, wr mḏw Ṣmṛw. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 22 (144). *PM V*, 247.
719. *Mnṭw-ḥtp*: Ṣmsw. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 9 (14). *PM V*, 247.
720. *Mrry*: ḥṣty-ṛ, rḥ nsw (?). De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 37 (151). *PM V*, 248.
721. *Mḥy*: sḏṣwty bṽity, ṽimy-r ṣḥt. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 13 (59).
722. *Nbwy*: sṣ n pr-ḥḏ. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 13 (55).
723. *Rs-snb*: sṣ n ḥnrṛt wr. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 13 (51).
724. *Hmṣw*: wr mḏw Ṣmṛw. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 10 (22).
725. *Hkkw*: ṽiry pṛt, ḥṣty-ṛ, wr mḏw Ṣmṛw. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 16 (76). *PM V*, 247.
726. *Hkkw-sḏḏi*: ṛnh n nṽwt. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 16 (76).
727. *S-n-wsrt*: Ṣmsw. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 17 (84). *PM V*, 246-247.
728. *S-n-wsrt-ṛnh*: sḏṣwty bṽity, sṣ ṛ n nsw ḥft-ḥr. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 13 (51).
729. *S-n-wsrt-snb*: wḥmw. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 13 (55). *PM V*, 247.
730. *Sbk*: ḥry-pr. De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 10 (22).

731. *Snb·f: ḥnh n ḥiwt.* De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 15 (64).
732. *Snb·f: ḥwty n w.* De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 13 (51).
733. *Sry: ḥimy-r ḥnt.* De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 26 (183). *PM V*, 247.
734. *Tḥi: ḥimy-r ḥnwti n pr-ḥd.* De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 11, (44). *PM V*, 247.

Sehēl

735. *ḥIn-ḥit·f: ḥimy-r ḥnwti wr, ḥrp k3p.* Habachi, *JEA* 39 (1953), 51.
736. *Ḥk3-ḥib-ḥnh: ḥ3ty-ḥ, ḥimy-r ḥmw-ntr.* Habachi, *JEA* 39 (1953), 51.
737. *Sbk-ḥ3: ḥmsw.* Habachi, *JEA* 39(1953), 51.

Konosso

738. *ḥIn-ḥit·f: ḥmsw.* De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 72 (40). *PM V*, 255.
739. *S-n-wsrt-ḥnh: sd3wty ḥity, sḥ ḥ n nsw n ḥft-ḥr.* De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 74 (56). *PM V*, 255.
740. *S-n-wsrt-snb: wr mḏw ḥmḥw.* De Morgan, *Catalogue I*, 72 (46).

Wadi el-Hudi

741. ^ʾIn-^ʾit.f: ^ʾimy-r ḥw, ^ʾimy-r pr, sḏw. Fakhry, *The Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries*, no. 1.
742. ^ʾIn-^ʾit.f: sḏw, ^ʾimy-r mšr. Fakhry, *The Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries*, no. 7.
743. Wn: sḏw, ḥr-r ^ʾimy-r sḏwt(yw). Fakhry, *The Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries*, no. 8.
744. Mntw-nsw: šmsw. Fakhry, *The Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries*, no. 9.
745. Mntw-ḥtp: wr mḏw šmrw. Fakhry, *The Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries*, no. 14.
746. Nḥt-rnḥ: ḥsty-r, ^ʾimy-r ḥmw-ntr. Fakhry, *The Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries*, no. 29.
747. Nsw-mntw: šmsw. Fakhry, *The inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries*, no. 85.
748. Hḥpy: ^ʾimy-r ḥnwty. Fakhry, *The Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries*, no. 51.
749. Hnnw: wr mḏw šmrw. Rowe, *ASAE* 39 (1939), 187-194. *PM VII*, 319.
750. Hnnw: šmsw. Fakhry, *The Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries*, no. 91. *PM VII*, 319.
751. Hr: sḏwt(y) bity, smr wty, ^ʾimy-r šnwty, ^ʾimy-r sšwy, ^ʾimy-r ḥb wḥmt šwt nšmt, ^ʾimy-r pr. Rowe, *ASAE* 39 (1939), 187-194. *PM VII*, 319.

752. ----: ^ʾimy-r mnf3t. Fakhry, *The Inscriptions of the Amethyst Quarries*, no. 6.

Gnauī Sheyma

753. Hnmw-ms: wḥmw. Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, pl. 109 (c). *PM VII*, 6.
754. S^ʾnh: ^ʾimy-r pr. Roeder, *Debod bis Bab Kalabsche*, pl. 109 (d,f,h). *PM VII*, 6.

Gerf Husein

755. Bmbw: sš ʾ n nsu. Roeder, *Tempel von Dakke*, 370-371. *PM VII*, 37.
756. Nb-ms: sš n pr-ḥd. Roeder, *Tempel von Dakke*, 371-372. *PM VII*, 37.

Medīq district

757. ^ʾIn-ʾit. f: ^ʾimy-r ʾ3w. Weigall, *Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, pl. L (8). *PM VII*, 52.
758. Hty: ^ʾimy-r st. Weigall, *Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, pl. L (25). *PM VII*, 52.
759. Dg^ʾi: ^ʾimy-r ḥnwty. Weigall, *Antiquities of Lower Egypt*, pl. L (21). *PM VII*, 52.
760. Snb: sš. Weigall, *Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, pl. L (16). *PM VII*, 52.

Gebel Umm Simbela

761. *S3-sbk-^ˆnhw*: *sḏswty bity*. Firth, *Survey of Nubia 1910-1911*, pl. 12 (f). *PM VII*, 52.

Wadi el-Arab

762. ^ˆ*In-it-f*: ^ˆ*imy-r 3w*. van der Walle, *Chronique d'Egypt* No. 44 (Juillet 1947), fig. 12.

^ˆAmada

763. ^ˆ*Imny*: *wr mḏw šm^ˆw*. Weigall, *Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, pl. LIII (2). *PM VII*, 75.
764. ^ˆ*nh*: ^ˆ*imy-r wrwt*. Weigall, *Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, pl. LIII (3). *PM VII*, 75.

Diorite Quarries N.W. of Abu Simbel

765. *Ḥnnw*: *wr mḏw šm^ˆw*. Rowe, *ASAE* 39 (1939), 187-194. *PM VII*, 274.

Abu Simbel

766. *Sbk-ḥtp*: *sš n pr-ḥḏ*. Weigall, *Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, pl. LXVII (13). *PM VII*, 117.

Buhen

767. *Mntw-ḥtp*: 'iry pꜣt, ḥꜣty-ꜣ, sdꜣwty b'ity, smr wꜣty, 'imy-r mšꜣ, ḥꜣ-mr Dp, 'imy-r nfrw. Bosticco, *Le Stele Egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno*, 31, fig. 296. *PM VII*, 141.
768. *Nfrw*: 'imy-r ḥꜣw. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts IV*, 4. *PM VII*, 141.
769. *D dw-in-it.f*: 'iry pꜣt, ḥꜣty-ꜣ, sdꜣwty b'ity, smr wꜣty, 'imy-r mnft, imy-r hwnw nfrw, 'imy-r mšꜣ wr. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts IV*, 2-3. *PM VII*, 130.

Abd el-Qâdir

770. *'In-it.f*: šmsw. Arkell, *JEA* 36 (1950), 25 (2). *PM VII*, 140.
771. *Ḥtpi*: sꜣw tsmw. Arkell, *JEA* 36 (1950), 30 (2). *PM VII*, 140.
772. *Ḥmi*: sꜣw tsmw. Arkell, *JEA* 36 (1950), 31 (19). *PM VII*, 140.
773. *Snb*: sš. Arkell, *JEA* 36 (1950), 30 (5). *PM VII*, 145.

Semna West

774. *'Imny*: sdꜣw, 'imy-r šnꜣ. Dunham, *Semna, Kumma*, 168 (RIK 126). *PM VII*, 145.
775. *'Imny*: sdꜣwty b'ity. Reisner, *Sudan Notes*

and Records XII pt.2, 157. PM VII, 145.

776. *Bbw.sn: 'imy-r šmsw. Reisner, Sudan Notes and Records XII pt.2, 157. PM VII, 145.*
777. *Pyi: ḥ3ty-ṛ n Šḥm, ḥm-nṯr. Dunham, Semna, Kumma, 47, fig. 3.*
778. *Mntw-m-ḥ3t: 'iry pṛt, ḥ3ty-ṛ, sd3wty b'ity, smr wṛty, 'imy-r mšṛ. Dunham, Semna, Kumma, 59, pl. 90.*
779. *Hpw: šmsw. Dunham, Semna, Kumma, 142, pl. 97 (A).*
780. *S-n-wsrt: sd3wty b'ity, 'imy-r 3ḥwt. Dunham, Semna, Kumma, 132, pl. 3 (D).*
781. *Kms: šmsw. Dunham, Semna, Kumma, 153, pl. 100 (A).*

Kumma - Semna East

782. *'Iw-snb: sd3w. Dunham, Semna, Kumma, 154, pl. 100 (C).*
783. *S-n-wsrt-snb: 'iry pṛt, ḥ3ty-ṛ, ḥm-nṯr M3ṛt, 'imy-r šnt. Dunham, Semna, Kumma, 156, pl. 100 (C). PM VII, 155.*

Kerma

784. *'Ii-mry: sš wr n ṛb wḥmt šwt. Reisner, Harvard African Studies VI, 529.*
785. *'Imny: sd3wty b'ity, ḥry d3d3 ṛ3, 'imy-r dbṛt.*

Reisner, *Harvard African Studies VI*,
524-525. *PM VII*, 177.

786. *Ḥp-dfꜣi*: 'iry pꜣt, ḥꜣty-ꜣ, ḥry-tp ꜣꜣ n Šmꜣw,
smr wꜣty, 'imy-r gs-pr n nsw. Reisner,
Harvard African Studies I-III, fig. 343
(31). *PM VII*, 177-178. (See our no. 174)
787. *Sbk-nḥt*: 'iry pꜣt, ḥꜣty-ꜣ n Nḥn. Reisner,
Harvard African Studies VI, 523, fig. 344.
PM VII, 178.
788. *Snꜣ-ib*: wr mꜣw Šmꜣw. Reisner, *Harvard*
African Studies VI, pl. 32, 525, fig. 344
(49). *PM VII*, 177. 15
789. *Kn*: 'imy-r sdꜣwt(yw). Reisner, *Harvard Afri-*
can Studies V, 138, *VI*, pl. 34 (4). *PM*
VII, 177.

WADI HAMMÂMÂT

790. 'Ip'i: rḥ nsw, 'imy-r hmwttyw gnwttyw, ḥry ḥryw
m ꜣꜣt nb, hmw ꜣꜣtt nb. Couyat, Montet,
Les inscriptions du Ouâdi Hammâmât, no.
40.
791. 'Ip'i: 'imy-r hmwttyw gnwttyw. Goyon, *Nouvelles*
inscriptions, no. 54.
792. 'Imny: wḥmw. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions*,
no. 61.

793. ^ʔImn-m-ḥ3t: ^ʔiry p^ˆt, ḥ3ty-^ˆr, ^ʔimy-r n^ˆiwt, t3ty, ^ʔimy-r srw nb, ^ʔimy-r ḥt nb m t3 pn r dr.f. Couyat, Montet, *Les inscriptions du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, no. 110. PM VII, 331.
794. ^ʔImn-m-ḥ3t: wr mdw Šm^ˆw. Couyat, Montet, *Les inscriptions du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, no. 87. PM VII, 331.
795. ^ʔIn-^ˆit.f: ^ʔiry p^ˆt, ḥ3ty-^ˆr, sd3wty b^ˆity, smr w^ˆty, imy-r ḥmw-ntr. Couyat, Montet, *Les inscriptions du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, no. 199. PM VII, 331.
796. ^ʔIn-^ˆit.f: ^ʔimy-r šn^ˆw. Couyat, Montet, *Les inscriptions du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, no. 205.
797. ^ʔIn-^ˆit.f: s3w tsw. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions*, no. 58.
798. ^ʔIn-^ˆit.f^ˆ: ^ʔimy-r pr. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions*, no. 67.
799. ^ʔIs^ˆi: ḥ3ty-^ˆr n Gbtyw (?). Couyat, Montet, *Les inscriptions du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, no. 87.
800. Bb^ˆi: ^ʔimy-r ^ˆ3w. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions*, no. 60.
801. Mntw-m-ḥ3t: ^ʔimy-r pr. Couyat, Montet, *Les inscriptions du Ouâdi Hammâmât*, no. 109.
802. Mntw-m-ḥ3t: ^ʔimy-r pr. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions*, no. 78.
803. Mntw-ḥtp: ^ʔimy-r hnw. Goyon, *Nouvelles in-*

scriptions, no. 56.

804. *Mntw-ḥtp*: *sdꜣwtj bꜣty, smr wꜣty, imy-r mšꜣ,*
ḥkꜣ ḥwt. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions,*
no. 53.
805. *Nsw-mntw*: *ꜣimy-r ḥmwt.* Goyon, *Nouvelles in-*
scriptions, no. 59.
806. *Nsw-mntw*: *rḥ nsw mꜣꜣ, ꜣimy-r ḥnwty, ꜣimy-r*
n prwy-ḥd, ꜣimy-r pr n dꜣdꜣt. Goyon,
Nouvelles inscriptions, no. 61.
807. *Ḥnw*: *sdꜣwtj bꜣty, smr wꜣty, ꜣimy-r šnwt, ꜣimy-*
r prwy-ḥd, ꜣimy-r pr wr 6, imy-r ḥb wḥmt.
Couyat, Montet, *Les inscriptions du Ouâdi*
Hammâmât, no. 114. *PM VII, 331.*
808. *Ḥkꜣ-ꜣib*: *ꜣimy-r mšꜣ, ꜣimy-r kꜣt m tꜣ m dr.f.*
Couyat, Montet, *Les inscriptions du*
Ouâdi Hammâmât, no. 123. *PM VII, 331.*
809. *Ḥwy*: *ḥꜣty-ꜣ.* Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions,*
no. 66.
810. *Sꜣnh*: *ꜣimy-r mšꜣ ḥr ḥꜣswt, ꜣimy-r pr ḥr Kmt,*
ꜣimy-r msnw ḥr ꜣitrw. Couyat, Montet, *Les*
inscriptions du Ouâdi Hammâmât, no. 1.
PM VII, 331.
811. *Sꜣnh-ptḥ*: *ꜣimy-r mšꜣ, ꜣimy-r ḥmwt, ꜣimy-r kꜣt*
nbt nt nsw. Goyon, *Nouvelles inscrip-*
tions, no. 61.
812. *Sbk-nḥt*: *ꜣimy-r sš mdt n ḥft-ḥr, šmsw ḥꜣyt.*
Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions,* no. 52.
813. *Dꜣr*: *ꜣimy-r ḥmw-ntr, ꜣimy-r nw, rḥ nsw.*

Goyon, *Nouvelles inscriptions*, no. 55.

SINAI

Rud el-Air

814. *S-n-wsrt*: *ʿ3w*. Cerny, Gardiner, Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, no. 510, pl. XCIV.

Serabît el-Khâdim

815. *ʿImn-m-h3t*: *ʿimy-r ʿhnwty, hrp nfrw, sd3wty ntr*. Cerny, Gardiner, Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, no. 141, pl. LII. *PM VII*, 365.
816. *ʿnh-rn*: *ʿiry ʿt*. Cerny, Gardiner, Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, no. 141, pl. LII.
817. *Pth-ʿnh*: *hrp ʿh*. Cerny, Gardiner, Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, no. 170, pl. LV.
818. *Hr-m-s3.f*: *sd3wty ntr*. Cerny, Gardiner, Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, no. 408, pl. LXXXVI. *PM VII*, 347.
819. *Hwi-sbk*: *ʿimy-r ʿhnwty wr*. Cerny, Gardiner, Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, no. 65, pl. XX.
820. *Hnt-ht*: *ʿimy-r ʿhnwty*. Speleers, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes à Bruxelles*, 16 (70). *PM VII*, 359.

821. *Hty-snb*: 'imy-r ḥnwty. Cerny, Gardiner, Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, no. 411, pl. LXXXVI. *PM VII*, 354.
822. *Snbw*: šmsw, 'iry ḥt. Cerny, Gardiner, Peet, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, no. 170, pl. LV.

PALESTINE AND SYRIA

823. 'Imn-m-ḥzt: 'imy-r pr. Rowe, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs*, pl. XXVI (54). *PM VII*, 375.
824. *Nsw-mntw*: 'iry prt, ḥsty-ḥ, sdzwti bity, smr wty, 'imy-r mšḥ. Gayet, *Stèles de la XII^e dynastie*, C 1. *PM VII*, 382.

UNPROVENANCED MATERIAL

825. 'Iw·f-r-snb: šmsw, wdpw. *LS* no. 20035.
826. 'Ib: sš, 'imy-r ḥnwty n tsty. Borchardt, *Statuen*, no. 406.
827. 'Ib-'iḥ: ḥnḥ n niwt. *LS* no. 20349.

828. $\text{'}Ib-'\text{i}\text{r}$: $wr m\text{d}w \check{S}m\text{r}w$. *LS* no. 20661.
829. $\text{'}Ib-'\text{i}\text{r}$: $h\text{z}ty-\text{r}$, $\text{'i}my-\text{r}$ $h\text{m}w-\text{n}\text{tr}$ $n \check{S}d\text{ty}$. *LS* no. 20404.
830. $\text{'Imn}-w\text{s}r$: $\text{'i}my-\text{r}$ $\check{S}m\text{r}w$. Simpson, *JEA* 51 (1965), 63-68.
831. $\text{'Imn}-m-h\text{z}t$: $\text{'i}my-\text{r}$ $\text{r}h\text{n}w\text{ty}$. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts II*, 36.
832. $\text{'Imn}-m-h\text{z}t$: $\text{'i}my-\text{r}$ $w\text{r}t dpwt$. *LS* no. 20407.
833. $\text{'Imn}-m-h\text{z}t$: $\text{'i}ry p\text{r}t$, $h\text{z}ty-\text{r}$, $\text{'i}my-\text{r}$ $m\check{s}\text{r}$. *LS* no. 20471.
834. $\text{'Imn}-m-h\text{z}t$: $r\check{h} n\text{s}w m\text{z}\text{r}$, $\text{'i}my-\text{r}$ $\text{r}h\text{n}w\text{ty}$. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts V*, 5.
835. 'Imny : $\text{'i}my-\text{r}$ $m\check{s}\text{r}$ wr . British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts II*, 33.
836. 'Imny : $\text{'i}my-\text{r}$ st . *LS* no. 20437.
837. $\text{'In-'\text{i}t}\cdot f$: $\text{'i}my-\text{r}$ $\text{r}h\text{n}w\text{ty}$. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts II*, 22.
838. $\text{'In-'\text{i}t}\cdot f$: $\text{'i}my-\text{r}$ pr . James, *The Heḳanakhte Papers*, no. XIV, pl. 23.
839. $\text{'In-'\text{i}t}\cdot f$: $\text{'i}my-\text{r}$ $h\text{s}b k\text{z}w$. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts II*, 22.
840. $\text{'In-'\text{i}t}\cdot f$: $h\text{z}ty-\text{r}$, $\text{'i}my-\text{r}$ $h\text{m}w-\text{n}\text{tr}$. Bosticco, *Le Stele Egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno*, fig. 23.
841. $\text{'In-'\text{i}t}\cdot f$: $\check{S}m\text{s}w$. *LS* no. 20137.

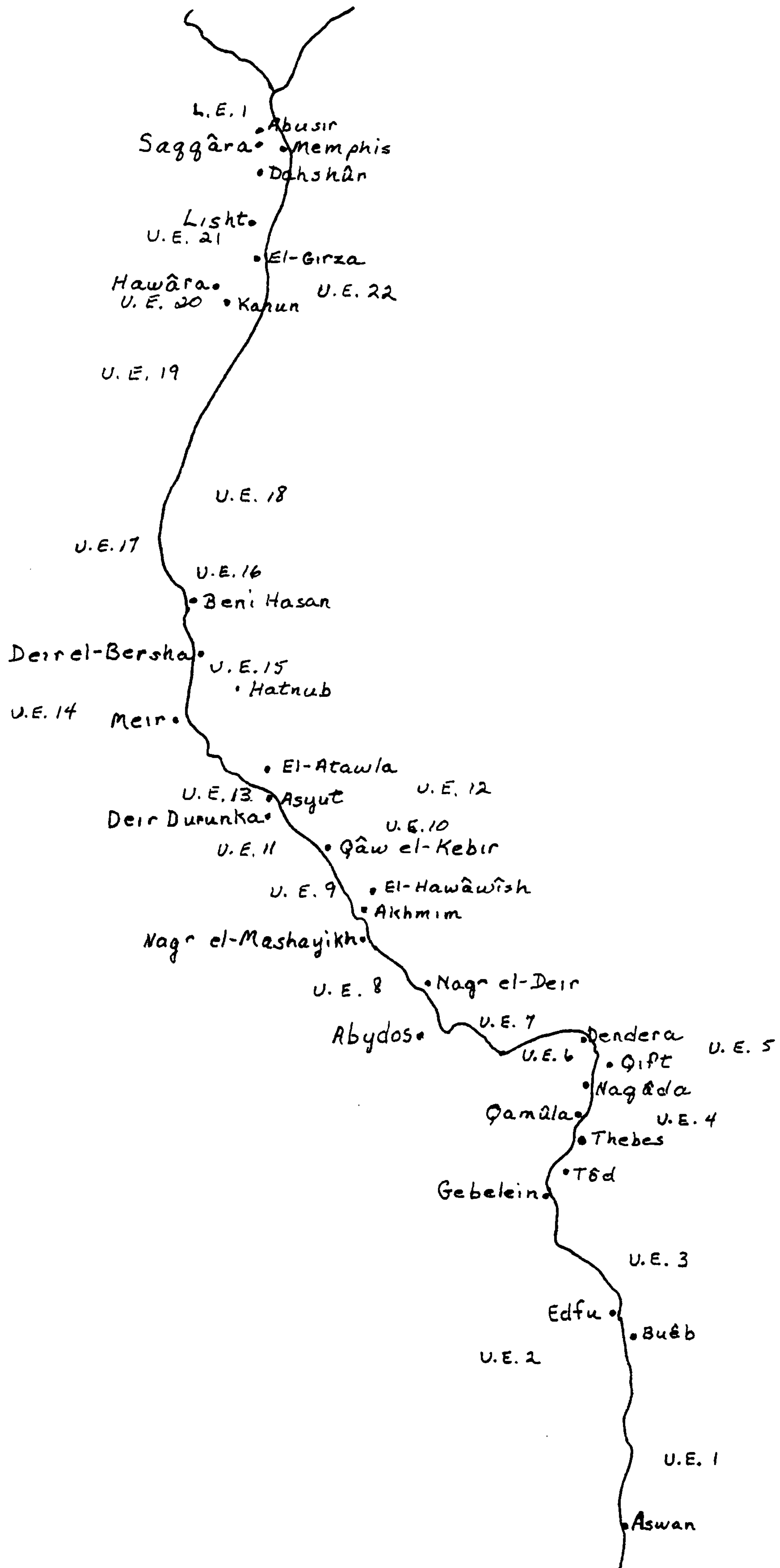
842. Inpw-m-ḥ3t : $\check{y}msw$. *LS* no. 20372.
843. $W3ḥ-k3$: imy-r mr . *LS* no. 20431.
844. $W3ḥ-k3$: imy-r st . *LS* no. 20431.
845. $W3ḥ-k3$: $wḥmw$. Steckeweh, *Fürstengräber von Qâw*, pl. 18.
846. $W3ḥ-k3-snb$: iry ḥbsw . *LS* no. 20431.
847. $Wsr-ḥnḥ$: $sḏ3w$. *LS* no. 20645.
848. $Bb\check{i}$: $shḏ \check{y}msw$. *LS* no. 20583.
849. $Bb\check{i}$: $\check{y}msw$. *LS* no. 20424.
850. $Mntw-ḥ3$: $\text{iry prt, ḥ3ty-ḥ, wḥmw, rh nsu m3ḥ}$.
British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts V*, 4.
851. $Mntw-m-ḥ3t$: $wr mḏw \check{y}mḥw$. *LS* no. 20327.
852. $Mntw-ḥtp$: $ḥk3$. *LS* no. 20230.
853. $Mntw-sw$: $ḥ3ty-ḥ$. James, *The Ḥekanakhte Papers*, pl. 27.
854. $Mr\check{i}-snb-f$: $t3w n \text{imy-r sḏ3wt(yw)}$. *LS* no. 20396.
855. Mrr : $smr wḥty, wḏpw, \text{imy-r sftw}$. Cerny, *JEA* 47 (1961), 5-9.
856. $Nfr-wn-hr$: $sḏ3wt y bity, \text{imy-r gs-pr}$.
Borchardt, *Statuen*, no. 426.
857. $Nfr-m3ḥt$: $s3b ḥḏ-mr$. Vienna stela no. 5895.

858. *Nfr-ḥtp*: šmsw. *LS* no. 20424.
859. *Nsw-mntw*: ḥimy-r pr n pr-ḥd. *LS* no. 20761.
860. *Nsw-mntw*: wr mdw šmꜣw. *LS* no. 20230.
861. *Nshꜣ*: ḥimy-r mšꜣ. James, *The Hekanakhte Papers*, pl. 24.
862. *Rꜣ-ḥtp*: ḥiry ꜣt. *LS* no. 20431.
863. *Rn·f-rs*: ḥimy-r t̄bw. *LS* no. 20322.
864. *Rn-snb*: sš n wḥmw. *LS* no. 20695.
865. *Rn·s-rs*: wr mdw šmꜣw. *LS* no. 20743.
866. *Hppꜣ*: ḥimy-r ꜣhnwty. *LS* no. 20396.
867. *Hnw-ꜣnh*: ḥimy-r pr. Borchardt, *Statuen*, no. 1257.
868. *Hr-ḥtp*: ḥiry prt, ḥꜣty-ꜣ, ḥry-tp ꜣꜣ n ?, ḥimy-r ḥmw-ntr. Borchardt, *Statuen*, no. 404.
869. *Htp*: smr wꜣty, sdꜣw. *LS* no. 20506.
870. *Hr-kꜣ*: šmsw ꜣrryt. *LS* no. 20660.
871. *Hty*: šmsw. *LS* no. 20388.
872. *S-n-wsrt*: ḥimy-r pr. *LS* no. 20431.
873. *S-n-wsrt*: šmsw. British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts II*, 33.
874. *Sꜣ-mntw*: šmsw. *LS* no. 20663.

875. *S3-ḥwt-ḥr: 'imy-r sd3wt(yw)*. British Museum,
Hieroglyphic Texts II, 33.
876. *Sbk-ʿ3: sš. LS no. 20431.*
877. *Sbk-m-s3-f: wr mḏw šmʿw. LS no. 20673.*
878. *Sbk-ḥtp: 'imy-r ḥmwt*. James, *The Heḳanakhte
Papers*, pl. 23.
879. *Sn: sd3wti b'ity, smr wʿty, 'imy-r pr šnʿw.*
LS 20010.
880. *Sny: smr wʿty, shḏ n pr-ḥḏ, 'imy-r šnwt. LS*
no. 20013.
881. *Snb: 'iry ʿt n ʿḥ. LS no. 20075.*
882. *Snb: wr mḏw šmʿw. LS no. 20328.*
883. *Snbⁱ: 'iry pʿt, ḥ3ty-ʿ, sd3wti b'ity, 'imy-r*
sd3wt(yw), 'idnw n šmʿw. LS no. 20396.
884. *Snb-²its: wr mḏw šmʿw. LS no. 20486.*
885. *Snb.f: 'iry ʿt pr wʿb. Vienna stela no. 133.*
886. *Snb.f: ḥry n tm. LS no. 30035.*
887. *Snb-sw-mʿ: 'iry pʿt, ḥ3ty-ʿ, sd3wti b'ity, 'imy-*
r pr wr. LS no. 20075.
888. *Snb.k-ḥb: wr mḏw šmʿw. LS no. 20743.*
889. *Sr: wr mḏw šmʿw. LS no. 20743.*
890. *Km.tw: 'imy-r ʿḥnwty. LS no. 20075.*

891. *Tiri*: *'iry p^ˆt, ḥ₃ty-^ˆ, 'imy-r Šm^ˆw. Kamal, Tables d'offrandes, no. 23033.*
892. *Dd*: *s_dwt_y b^ˆity, smr w^ˆty. LS no. 20513.*
893. *Ddw*: *'imy-r pr. LS no. 20664.*
894. *Ddw-sbk*: *wr m_dw Šm^ˆw. LS no. 20743.*
895. *---nfr*: *'iry p^ˆt, ḥ₃ty-^ˆ, s_dwt_y b^ˆity (?), Šmsw. Borchardt, Statuen, no. 431.*

MAP OF SITES FROM THE PROSOPOGRAPHY



SOME TITLES ASSOCIATED WITH
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT IN
THE EARLY MIDDLE KINGDOM

The twenty-three titles examined in this chapter have been chosen because they represent those most commonly belonging to officials who hold the highest local positions in the Egyptian provinces during the early Middle Kingdom. Titles which could possibly be dismissed as epithets have been ignored, as have religious titles, with the exception of *imy-r hmw-ntr*, which appears to have been held by provincial governors by virtue of their civil position.¹ A group of titles which would seem to belong to the central government, *t3yty*, *t3ty*, and *imy-r niwt*, have been included to allow us to study the governors of Bersha, who claimed the titles of the vizier during the period under consideration here.² We have also included *wr mdw šmꜣw*, which is almost certainly a court title as it was in the Old Kingdom,³ but seems to refer to some sort of government for, if not in, the provinces of Upper Egypt. And finally, as a 'control' group, we have included four titles found on the staff of a provincial governor but not

held by the governor himself. These titles, $\text{'}imy-r}$
 $s\bar{d}3wt(yw)$, $s\bar{d}3w$, $s\check{s} \sim n nsw$, and $w\check{h}mw$,⁴ will, hope-
 fully, give us results which will be significantly
 different from the governors' titles and reveal some-
 thing of the nature of the governors' office.⁵

In trying to determine the exact meaning and
 function during the early Middle Kingdom of the titles
 under discussion, an attempt has been made not to
 draw extensively upon definitions and descriptions
 from other periods of ancient Egyptian history. We
 have included background information on these
 titles and their function in the Old Kingdom and the
 First Intermediate Period which, naturally, can be
 seen in an evolutionary position in respect to our
 period of study. However, we must remember that
 this evolution was interrupted by the changes of the
 First Intermediate Period. While it does not seem
 to have been as active a period for the appearance
 of new provincial titles as, for instance, the Sixth
 Dynasty, there is evidence to suggest that during
 the First Intermediate Period at least some Old King-
 dom titles were redefined.⁶ We must, therefore, use
 Old Kingdom parallels with proper caution. When we
 are dealing with information and definitions from
 Egyptian history after the Middle Kingdom, or even in
 some cases from the late Middle Kingdom, even more
 caution must be used. Material from these periods
 is almost useless for the purpose of illuminating
 the situation in the late Eleventh and early Twelfth

Dynasty, since any attempt to project backward in time introduces a marked element of historical distortion. For this reason, a conscious decision has been made not to introduce any material from an era later than the Middle Kingdom in this study.⁷ The primary objective of this chapter will be to consider the titles in question in relation to other, contemporary, titles rather than to trace their evolution throughout Egyptian history or to conduct a linguistic evaluation of their elements. This method will undoubtedly produce its own form of distortion, but the new perspective it offers will, we hope, justify the experiment.

None of the titles under discussion in this chapter will be referred to as 'honorific'.⁸ This term is a possible source of confusion when used in the context of ancient Egyptian titles because, especially in American usage, it carries the implication of a separation between social and political life. This would appear to be no more valid, at least during the early Middle Kingdom, than a division between the secular and the religious aspects of life. All of the available evidence tends to label as a totally unEgyptian concept the idea that an individual could occupy a socially superior position without being actually or potentially able to command a greater degree of power within the governmental framework. Since both social position and relative degree of administrative power rested on the individual's

personal relationship with the king, they can not be logically separated. We will use the term 'rank title' to designate those titles which seem to confer on their bearers a certain level of administrative authority without any specific duties or responsibilities of which we are aware.⁹

As was mentioned in the introductory chapter, the ideal method of determining the function of each title would be to have enough biographical information on each official in this study to define the titles by their use. Unfortunately, this is not possible, given the evidence available to us at present. A linguistic examination of the constituent elements of any given title is not particularly useful for historical purposes. A 'magnate of the tens of Upper Egypt'¹⁰ can fill a wide range of administrative posts and still remain within the descriptive boundaries provided by that translation. Since all we have to work from is, in most cases, the skeletal outline of a man's titles, our results will be less detailed and exact than we would wish. Still, it should be possible to come to some conclusions from the titles themselves and their patterns of occurrence. To this end, we have charted our chosen titles in respect to their frequency of occurrence within the Prosopography of Middle Kingdom officials, both in gross numbers and as a percentage of the total number of officials in our survey. Those titles which occur relatively

more often are common to a much broader range of official activity than those which are found only infrequently. One might suspect also that they are more closely related to 'rank' than to any specific duties, and, as we will see, this appears to be the case, at least in some instances. Titles which are found only rarely should probably be regarded as involving a specific set of duties and responsibilities rather than any broad powers.

In addition to studying its relationship to the entire sample of Middle Kingdom officials from the Prosopography, we have taken each of the twenty-three titles individually and analysed its relationship to the other twenty-two. This has again been charted as a gross number and a percentage, not this time of the entire Prosopography but merely of those within it who hold the title under primary consideration.¹¹ This second analysis will hopefully reveal something of how various titles are grouped and help to indicate the range of duties for any given official. It seems quite probable that the larger number of titles held by higher officials indicates the wider scope of their duties and responsibilities compared with lower-level officials who hold only one or two titles. It should prove to be true that important titles are rarely held alone, while titles of less importance, and perhaps more substance, quite often appear as an individual's only title.¹² These questions will be dealt with in detail under the heading

of each separate title.

Ḥ3TY-ꜣ

The most common title among our early Middle Kingdom officials was Ḥ3TY-ꜣ. Our list in Chapter two contains one hundred and thirty-four individuals who held this title, which translates into fifteen percent of the total number. Faulkner gives the translation 'local prince, nomarch, mayor'.¹³ 'Mayor' presumably refers to an historical period somewhat later than the one discussed here.¹⁴ And the translation 'nomarch' is certainly not accurate for the early Middle Kingdom. While the individuals who appear to hold the highest office in the provincial governments of this period¹⁵ are nearly all Ḥ3TYW-ꜣ, there is no reason whatever to suppose that all the officials who were Ḥ3TYW-ꜣ headed a provincial administration. In fact, their sheer number, both in gross terms and as a percentage, makes this extremely unlikely. 'Local prince' would probably best suit our evidence. However, we must guard against the view that these officials functioned as 'independent barons'¹⁶ during the period under discussion here. The designation 'count' or even 'lord' would probably be the most desirable from our point of view.

There seems to be little doubt that Ḥ3TY-ꜣ functioned as a rank title in the late Old Kingdom

and, at least in some areas, into the First Intermediate Period.¹⁷ And the large number of such individuals in our sample as well as the wide distribution of other titles with which it occurs, leads us to believe that its function was basically the same in our period. We would not, however, be wrong in assuming that one of the reasons for its wide-spread occurrence might be a 'cheapening' of its value beginning in the late Old Kingdom.

Titles found in conjunction with *ḥ3ty-ꜣ* include all but two of those under consideration in this chapter. Our evidence does not include any record of a *ḥ3ty-ꜣ* who is also either a *sd3w* or a *sšꜣ n nsw*. Both of these titles are found alone in the large majority of instances and neither is held by officials in the higher-level administrative posts. Since all other titles, including several of those which do not belong normally to important officials, are held by individuals who are also *ḥ3ty-ꜣ*, such officials must have been engaged in a wide number of positions at a variety of levels within the Egyptian administration. Of course, the *ḥ3tyw-ꜣ* are not evenly distributed among these positions. Certain titles are much more likely to occur with *ḥ3ty-ꜣ* than others. The largest correspondence with another title, fifty-six percent, is with *ꜥꜣꜣꜣ ꜣꜣꜣꜣ*. This figure, while certainly large enough to be significant, does not justify any semi-automatic pairing of the two titles.¹⁸

Other titles which are coupled with *ḥꜣty-ꜣ* with relative frequency are *sdꜣwtꜣ bꜣty*, which is held by forty-three percent of the *ḥꜣtyw-ꜣ*, and *smr wꜣty*, which accounts for thirty-seven percent of the total. These three titles, *ꜣry pꜣt*, *sdꜣwtꜣ bꜣty*, and *smr wꜣty*, are, as we shall see, the next most common after *ḥꜣty-ꜣ* and probably function in a similar way as rank titles rather than designating specific duties.¹⁹ As far as the more theoretically functional titles are concerned, all but one of the officials who hold the title *ḥry-tp ꜣ* during this period are also *ḥꜣtyw-ꜣ*. And nine of the thirteen viziers who are listed hold the title *ḥꜣty-ꜣ*.

Clearly, although wide-spread, *ḥꜣty-ꜣ* was an important title within the Egyptian administration of this period, and, even though it probably indicated rank rather than function, we should make the attempt to determine exactly how it was used. The individuals who held the title must have formed a group which was clear, at least to the Egyptian mind. If we could establish who they were and how they differed from the rest of the Egyptian population we could see the title at work. It is most tempting to see *ḥꜣty-ꜣ* as merely an indicator of the socio-political status of certain Egyptian families. We would then have something like an hereditary 'official class'. Unfortunately, our evidence will not totally support that view. While quite often *ḥꜣty-ꜣ* seems to be hereditary, it was certainly not automatically

inherited,²⁰ and was held, in at least some cases, important officials who do not claim it for their fathers.²¹ So we know that, at least in a few instances, the title was appointive. We have no way of determining, regretably, if those individuals who seem to have inherited this title, because their fathers also held it, were actually given the title by virtue of their birth or on the basis of some other criterion. We can say that *ḥ3ty-r* was not always conferred at birth but we can not be sure that it was not wholly appointive. However one became a *ḥ3ty-r*, what appears likely is that the pool of officials who held this title formed the reservoir from which the king drew his most important government appointments. Simply being *ḥ3ty-r* does not appear to have qualified an official for the highest offices, but it would seem to have been extremely rare during the early Middle Kingdom for an individual to occupy these positions without that title. The wide range of lower-level titles held by *ḥstyw-r* resulted, no doubt, from the dispersion of the title during the First Intermediate Period. As we will see, the Egyptians introduced a method of dividing the category *Ḥ3ty-r* into higher and lower levels.

SD3WTY B'ITY

After *ḥ3ty-r* the next most common title among the officials of our Prosopography was *sd3wty b'ity*.

These officials represent thirteen percent of the total, or one hundred and seventeen individuals. Faulkner translates this title as 'seal-bearer of the King of Lower Egypt',²² a much more useful definition than 'treasurer' with its overtones of specific functions. *Sḏ3wty b'ity* is nearly as wide-ranging as *ḥ3ty-ꜣ*. It occurs with nineteen of the other twenty-two titles. Only *wr mḏw šmꜣw*, *wḥmw*, and *sḏ3w* are never held by those who are *sḏ3wtyw b'ity*. Like *ḥ3ty-ꜣ* it seems to have been held by a broad spectrum of different officials. It would seem likely that we have here another title which implies a certain level of power rather than a specific set of duties.

While it is impossible, at present, to determine exactly what measure of authority the title *sḏ3wty b'ity* conferred, its meaning implies a function directly representing the king, in some manner. Presumably, at one time, at least, these officials had in their possession an actual royal seal, which gave them the power to endorse a limited range of actions 'in the king's name'.²⁴ This explanation might help to explain why so many Egyptian mining and quarrying expeditions contained individuals who held the title *sḏ3wty b'ity*, and perhaps were originally needed to authorize certain activities without the expenditure of time and energy required to refer them back to the king in Egypt for approval.

There is a very high correlation between the

titles *sd3wty b'ity* and *smr wrty*.²⁵ Quite obviously, the Egyptians felt that this combination, while not essential, was, in many instances, complimentary. We shall examine the matter in greater depth in our discussion of *smr wrty*. *Sd3wty b'ity* was a title which belonged to the important officials of the early Middle Kingdom. Two-thirds of the officials who held the title of *hry-tp 3* during this period were also *sd3wtyw b'ity*, and over a third of the viziers. But it was not as common among the highest levels of the administration as *h3ty-r*. And only half of the men who held the title *sd3wty b'ity* were also *h3tyw-r*. This title was, in fact, becoming more common among at least one group during the period under discussion here. The earlier provincial governors in our study, who lived under Dynasty Eleven, held it in only a few cases. In the Twelfth Dynasty, all the known provincial governors were *sd3wtyw b'ity*.²⁶ This development could be a reflection of the more independent stance of the Eleventh Dynasty governors *vis-a-vis* the monarchy, or it might merely represent a shift in fashion in the Twelfth Dynasty titularies. We can not rule out the possibility that the universal inclusion of this particular title in those of the Twelfth Dynasty governors was meant to emphasize their closer relationship to the throne.

SMR WṚTY

There are ninety-nine *smrw wṛty* in our listing of officials, eleven percent of the total number. Like the two preceding titles, this would seem, by the frequency of its occurrence and the number of different titles with which it appears, to be a rank title rather than a specific one. The title is translated as 'sole friend'²⁷ and quite probably did indicate, at one time, a personal relationship of some sort between the individual who held it and the king.²⁸ By the late Eleventh Dynasty this would appear to no longer have been the case.

As we have already mentioned, this title often forms a 'pair' with *sd̄3wty b'ity*. It is, however, more common to find *sd̄3wty b'ity* without *smr wṛty* than the reverse. Only seventy-one percent of the *sd̄3wtyw b'ity* are *smrw wṛty*, while eighty-three percent of the *smrw wṛty* are *sd̄3wtyw b'ity*. *Smr wṛty* is found, paired with *sd̄3wty b'ity*, widely among provincial governors of this period.²⁹ And yet, it is uncommon among viziers, just the officials who might be presumed to have had a personal relationship with the king.³⁰ Perhaps the *sd̄3wty b'ity*, *smr wṛty* pair is so much more common among provincial officials than among the highest officials at court simply because the spatial distance of the former from the capital required a stronger statement of their relationship to the Crown.

IRY P^rT

Iry p^rt signified, according to Sir Alan Gardiner, the 'right of inheritance'.³¹ With seventy-seven individuals, comprising nine per cent of our total sample, it is fourth in order of frequency among those titles included in our discussion. There seems to be little doubt that this was a very high-ranking title in the Old Kingdom, quite possibly related to the royal family.³² The most interesting feature of the title, from our point of view, is that it is practically never found without *ḥ3ty-ꜣ*. Seventy-five of the seventy-seven men who hold the title *iry p^rt* are also *ḥ3tyw-ꜣ*. Judging by this pattern, the most attractive proposition would seem to be to regard *iry p^rt* as designating some specific, and, by implication, more important form of *ḥ3ty-ꜣ*. Following Gardiner, we then might say that the title *iry p^rt* designates the hereditary *ḥ3tyw-ꜣ* as opposed to those who were merely appointed to the rank, a problem we have already touched on. This solution, attractive though it may be, simply does not fit with the evidence we have available, however. For example, *Hnmw-ḥtp* I of Beni Hasan, who does not claim anyone who is *ḥ3ty-ꜣ* among his ancestry, is nonetheless clearly an *iry p^rt ḥ3ty-ꜣ*. If this particular combination does serve to distinguish a higher rank within the *ḥ3tyw-ꜣ* as we have every reason to suppose, the qualifications

would seem to be based on something other than heredity.

In general the use of the title *iry pꜣt* among high-level officials in our sample increases from the Eleventh Dynasty to the Twelfth. By the early Twelfth Dynasty all of the provincial governors and a number, but not all, of the viziers held this title. This could well represent an attempt to offset the wide-spread use of the title *ḥꜣty-ꜣ*. It could indicate a more important level of official in the provincial administration. Or it may only be the result of a standardization among the titularies of provincial governors. On the basis of available information we are unable to make a definite choice in this matter.

Among the twenty-three titles we have chosen for examination, these four, *ḥꜣty-ꜣ*, *sdꜣwty bꜣty*, *smꜣ wꜣty*, and *iry pꜣt*, quite clearly form a group with several important features in common. All, from our evidence, would normally be held by individuals in the highest ranks of the provincial administrative structure, especially in the Twelfth Dynasty. However, any such official would, in addition to these titles, have one or more other titles. There is no case of any important official who bears *only* these titles. As we have seen these four titles almost certainly indicated a relative position in the admin-

istrative hierarchy rather than any specific niche in it. It would therefore be necessary for officials to hold other titles which more closely detailed their duties and responsibilities. The least common of these four rank titles is found nearly twice as often as the next title in our order of frequency. This is explained, naturally, by the wide range of officials who would be considered of high rank in their respective positions. Interesting as such titles are they can furnish only the broadest outline of the way the provincial government operated at any given time. They show us which officials were the most important but provide no detail on their duties or on the organization of the various provincial administrations. To discover what we can of the specifics of provincial government, we have to look at the less common, but more specific, titles held by provincial officials.

²IMY-R SD3WT(YW)

The ²imy-r sd3wt(yw), or 'overseer of treasurers'³³ accounts for five percent of the officials in our study, or forty-seven individuals. The officials here are, of course, like the sd3wt²y b²ity, not 'treasurers' but 'sealbearers'. Presumably, these men too are involved with the exercise of delegated power. The authority in this case, however, can not be that of the king. It would seem logical to suppose that

the title *'imy-r sḏwt(yw)* designates second-level officials deriving their authority from those who receive their authority directly from the Throne. This assumption would seem to be partially confirmed by the fact that those we know to have held higher-level positions in the provincial administration did not hold this title, but it is often found among those who serve them.³⁴ Nearly half of the officials who hold this title have no other titles. This fact alone would lead us to suspect that these are not, in general, officials of importance, since one of the characteristics of higher-level administrators seems to be that they hold a number of different titles.

The fifty-one percent of the *'imyw-r sḏwt(yw)* who do have additional titles comprise just twenty-four individuals. Of these, twenty-one are *sḏwt(yw) bity*. What appears at first to be a conflation of first and second level officials may well provide additional evidence for Helck's view that during the Middle Kingdom this office was incorporated into the royal court from that of the provincial governor.³⁵ The addition of the higher-level title, *sḏwt(yw) bity*, could then be seen as a reflection of their newly enhanced status. It is distressing, therefore, that we have no explanation at present for the observation that only thirteen of these *'imyw-r sḏwt(yw)*, *sḏwt(yw) bity* are also *smrw wty*. If this particular group of officials had become members of the royal court, one would expect *smr wty* with

its ties to both *sdꜣwtj bꜣty* and the royal presence to be almost universal among them. This would appear to provide additional evidence for our theory that this particular 'court' title was more apt to be found among officials who were not at the court during the early Middle Kingdom.

WR MDW ŠMꜣW

The title *wr mꜣw Šmꜣw*, with forty-five examples, also accounts for five percent of our total number of officials. As we mentioned earlier, it was included among the titles studied here because it seems to imply a relationship between its bearers and the provincial government. 'Magnate of the Tens of Upper Egypt'³⁶ appears as a title in the Old Kingdom. Its function during that period is still disputed.³⁷ What does seem evident is that, in nearly every case, it was a title held by members of the royal court and not provincial administrators.³⁸

Helck maintains that in the Middle Kingdom, especially, this was a functional rather than a rank title.³⁹ Our evidence definitely supports this idea. Of the forty-five officials in question, forty had no other title than *wr mꜣw Šmꜣw*.⁴⁰ As we have seen previously, rank titles almost never appear without other titles. A normal rank title would also tend to occur with a large variety of other titles. *Wr mꜣw Šmꜣw* is found with only three, *iry pꜣt*, *ḥꜣty-ꜣ*

and *rh nsw*,⁴¹ at least two of which have been shown to be rank titles themselves. It seems then that during the Middle Kingdom we would be safe to assume that these officials exercised a definite function in the government. There is no evidence, however, that the position this title describes was physically located in the provinces.⁴² In fact, what information we have places these officials firmly as a part of the court proper.⁴³ The title itself implies a group function and in the late Middle Kingdom these individuals apparently formed a judicial council attached to the office of the vizier.⁴⁴ Their function during our period may have been similar, but we do not yet have enough evidence on which to base a firm conclusion.

²*IMY-R HMW-NTR*

The function of the ²*imy-r hmw-ntr* is clearer. He is the 'overseer of prophets'⁴⁵ who stood at the head of the priesthood of the local god in 'every provincial town'.⁴⁶ Our Prosopography contains thirty-five of these individuals, who make up only four percent of the total number of early Middle Kingdom officials. All of the men who hold this title have, in addition, other titles. Nearly all of them, ninety-seven percent, were *h3ty-r*. This, plus the fact that the title does not appear alone, is good evidence for the suspicion that we are

considering a title of some importance. The degree of importance apparently varied from one individual to the next, however. For instance, although nearly all the $\text{'}imyw-r \text{ } \text{ } hmw-n\text{tr}$ were $\text{ } h\text{st}yw-\text{r}$, only fifty-six percent of them were $\text{ } iryw \text{ } p\text{r}t$. If, as we suspect, the combination of $\text{ } iryw \text{ } p\text{r}t$ and $\text{ } h\text{st}y-\text{r}$ signifies a rank superior to $\text{ } h\text{st}y-\text{r}$ alone, we have $\text{'}imyw-r \text{ } \text{ } hmw-n\text{tr}$ on at least two levels of authority.

$\text{'}Imy-r \text{ } \text{ } hmw-n\text{tr}$ was included in this study because it is held by all the provincial governors from the Twelfth Dynasty for whom we have material. This does not seem to have been the case in regard to the governors from the Eleventh Dynasty. The trend toward uniting the office of $\text{'}imy-r \text{ } \text{ } hmw-n\text{tr}$ with that of the provincial governor goes back to the Sixth Dynasty⁴⁷ and was apparently completed at the beginning of Dynasty Twelve. This was presumably part of the process of drawing together the various facets of the provincial administration under one royal representative in the person of the governor. In the areas where provincial governors are not found, or are present only during certain periods, we still find officials who are $\text{'}imy-r \text{ } \text{ } hmw-n\text{tr}$.⁴⁸ In such cases, we have no way of determining, from the present evidence, whether or not the $\text{'}imy-r \text{ } \text{ } hmw-n\text{tr}$ exercised temporal power in their absence.⁴⁹ For the present, we must assume that this was solely a religious office exercised by a local official in the place of the king, and which would be held by the king's

primary local representative, the provincial governor, if there were one present. The major obstacle to a view of the ^ḥ*imy-r ḥmw-ntr* as an important royal representative in his own right is that, of the thirty-five examples in our listing, only sixteen were *sd3wt(yw) bity smrw w-ty*.⁵⁰ As we have seen, these are the titles we would expect important officials in the provinces to hold. It seems quite likely, then, that the office of ^ḥ*imy-r ḥmw-ntr* was an important one at only a few sites. In other places it was not itself a high-level position but was associated with important rank titles by virtue of its assumption by provincial governors at this period.

SD3W

Four percent of our sample hold the title *sd3w*. These people would, of course, logically be seen as the junior officials over whom the ^ḥ*imy-r sd3wt(yw)* exercised control. The title's translation, 'seal-bearer',⁵¹ is uninformative.⁵² *sd3w* is found alone in over three-quarters of our examples, twenty-six out of thirty-four individuals. Although it occurs once in conjunction with *smr w-ty*, we have no evidence to suggest that those who hold this title were ever important officials. The material in our Prosopography points out a major difficulty inherent to the idea of *sd3w* as a third-level title under

$\text{'}i\text{my-r } s\text{d}\text{3wt}(yw)$. This is, of course, the relative numbers involved. In our list of early Middle Kingdom officials we find forty-seven men who hold the title $\text{'i}\text{my-r } s\text{d}\text{3wt}(yw)$ and only thirty-four who hold the title $s\text{d}\text{3w}$. Since it is logical to assume that each individual in a supervisory position would have one or more lower officials working under him, the problem is clear. In the natural course of events, administrative structures tend to narrow as they move up, and if the $\text{'i}\text{my-r } s\text{d}\text{3wt}(yw)$ was actually engaged in the supervision of the $s\text{d}\text{3ww}$, one would expect to find less, not more, of the former. In Tomb 2 at Beni Hasan, the proportions which remain are much more reasonable.⁵³ One $\text{'i}\text{my-r } s\text{d}\text{3wt}(yw)$ is depicted with two $s\text{d}\text{3ww}$. Unfortunately, this ratio does not carry across the entire range of our material. Could it be that the $s\text{d}\text{3ww}$ were officials of such a minor level that they left significantly fewer memorials than their superiors? It is, perhaps, more likely that the title, like so many others, had become devalued. We know that a number of officials who held the title $\text{'i}\text{my-r } s\text{d}\text{3wt}(yw)$ had taken the title $s\text{d}\text{3wty } b\text{'ity}$ as well. Could this have been an attempt to distinguish themselves from the people who should have been classed as $s\text{d}\text{3ww}$ but had taken on the title $\text{'i}\text{my-r } s\text{d}\text{3wt}(yw)$? Hopefully, at some later date, we will have available the information which will allow us to make these determinations.

³IMY-R MŠ[^]

The title ³imy-r mš[^], usually translated as 'general' or 'foreman',⁵⁴ would appear to be fairly straightforward in its operation. The two alternative translations, far from being a source of confusion, simply reflect the dual nature of Egyptian expeditionary groups with which these individuals were involved. There can be little doubt that, during the period under review, this was an expeditionary title.⁵⁵

³Imy-r mš[^] is not a particularly common title during the early Middle Kingdom. We have only thirty examples, which make up three percent of our total number of officials. Our understanding of the way in which this title was used is not helped by the fact that there seems to be no close association between it and any of the other titles under consideration. Not quite half of the ³imyw-r mš[^], forty percent, are *sd3wtyw bity*. An almost equal number have no additional titles at all. Only thirty-seven percent are also *h3tyw-[^]*. And only seven of the thirty ³imyw-r mš[^] hold the title *iry p[^]t*. We can, however, make several statements on the basis of this evidence. During the early Middle Kingdom this title was only rarely held by officials we know to have been of the highest rank. Both instances where the title is exercised by provincial governors come from the same site, Beni Hasan.⁵⁶

The lack of other titles and, especially, of

rank titles would class this as a second-level post at best. As we have pointed out, it seems to have been a title descriptive of an actual, though not specifically defined, function in the conduct of Egyptian mining and quarrying work, and, when necessary in the waging of war. Because there was no standing army in Egypt during our period,⁵⁷ the rendition of this title as 'general' is most probably misleading. There would have been no opportunity for an individual in this position to build up a power base and take on additional importance. It is quite likely that the majority of those who held this title during our period were lower-level officials who held no other titles of importance and were actually engaged in conducting the everyday business of Egyptian desert commerce. In the case of major expeditions, of either a military or civilian nature, it seems probable that a higher-ranking official exercised the title of *imy-r mšr* along with his other titles.⁵⁸ So, what we have here would seem to be a case of a title which, while not particularly important in its own right, could, on occasion, be exercised by an important official.

R_H NSW

R_h nsw, 'king's acquaintance'⁵⁹ seems to have evolved during the Old Kingdom from a functional title,

'iry ḥt nsw 'he who is concerned with the king's property'⁶⁰ to a rank title with a meaning which had altered even for the ancient Egyptians. Gardiner felt that it was applied to 'relatives of Pharaoh who were not actually children of his'⁶¹ and while this might have been true in the Old Kingdom there is no evidence to support such a view during the early Middle Kingdom. We have twenty-eight people with the title *rḥ nsw* in our Prosopography. Over sixty percent of them are *ḥstyw-ꜣ*, but only forty-six percent are *iryw ꜣrt*. Contrary to what might be expected from their relative frequency in our sample a slightly higher proportion are *smrw wꜣty* than are *sdꜣwttyw bꜣty*. Both these titles appear with *rḥ nsw* in over fifty percent of our examples. There is little doubt, therefore, that *rḥ nsw* was still a title of some importance during this period.

It was definitely a title held by some, though not all, provincial governors in the early Middle Kingdom.⁶² They, in fact, seem to be the officials most likely to hold it. It appears that *rḥ nsw* was being replaced as a title for other types of officials. Why the provincial governors, as a group, seem to have retained it is a problem for which there is, as yet, no definite solution. It may well be that it served, like *sdꜣwttyw bꜣty* and *smr wꜣty*, to emphasize the close relationship between the king and this particular group of officials.

ḥry-tp r3

The title used to designate provincial governors in the early Middle Kingdom was *ḥry-tp r3*, used in conjunction with the name of the province they governed. Our records contain eighteen 'great overlords'⁶³ of various provinces. The title first appeared in the Sixth Dynasty to denote an official who stood at the head of all the administrative departments of a specific geographical area.⁶⁴ Nearly all of these individuals, ninety-four percent, held the title *ḥ3ty-r*, and the majority of these, fifty-six percent, were also *iryw prt*. A significant number of our governors, seventy-two percent, were *smrw wꜣty*, and sixty-six percent were *sd3wtyw bꜣty*.⁶⁵ Of the six *ḥryw-tp r3w* who can be definitely dated early in Dynasty Twelve, all exercise the titles, *ꜣiryw prt*, *ḥ3ty-r*, *sd3wtyw bꜣty* and *smr wꜣty*. Our evidence indicates that the tendency over this period was to acquire any of these high rank titles which might be lacking at a given site. There is no doubt that we are dealing here with officials of the highest rank.

A significant majority, sixty-one percent, of the men who were *ḥryw-tp r3w*, including all of the Twelfth Dynasty examples, also bear the title of *ꜣimy-r ḥmw-nꜣr*. This title undoubtedly reflected the governors leadership role in the religious life of the region, and, as such, is a title one would normally expect an Egyptian official of this scope to hold.

Other titles which belong to Egyptian governors of this period seem to vary quite widely according to location. We have already mentioned the appearance of the title $\text{'}imy-r m\check{s}r$ at Beni Hasan. The governors of $M\check{s}h\check{d}$ were also unique in holding the titles 'iry Nhn and hry-tp Nhb .⁶⁶ It is only at Asyut that we find the title -d-mr Dp .⁶⁷ And at Bersha we have three hryw-tp r3w who are also called t3ty .⁶⁸ Two of the three are, in addition, 'imyw-r niwt . Since there is no doubt that other officials were also designated as t3ty at the same time as these provincial governors,⁶⁹ we do not need to see in them a combination of prime minister and provincial administrator. Just what, if any, their actual relationship to the central government was during this period is still open to question.⁷⁰ Finally, we have five provincial governors who are called hrp nsyt . Both of our earlier examples come from the same site, Bersha. In the Twelfth Dynasty, however, the geographic distribution of this title increases, and we have examples from Beni Hasan and Asyut as well. The one fact clearly pointed up by this evidence is that there was no single set of titles common to all provincial governors during the early Middle Kingdom. This provides a strong indication that the duties and responsibilities of each individual governor varied, at times widely, from one province to the next.

sš r n nsw

The 'king's record scribe',⁷¹ *sš r n nsw*, seems, by virtue of his title, to have occupied a specific position in the provincial administrative structure. We have information on sixteen of these officials in the late Eleventh-early Twelfth Dynasties. Of these, twelve, exactly seventy-five percent, held no other titles. That fact alone leads us to suspect that what we have is a functional title of only lower level rank under most circumstances. It must have been advantageous to the king to have his own set of records, separate most probably from those of the governor, concerned with the various royal possessions in any given region. In the court of Beni Hasan, there were, at one period, two individuals with this title,⁷² so it is quite possible that the number of king's scribes resident in any area was dependent, at least to some extent, on the local workload. The only rank titles held by the *sšw r n nsw* of our sample are *sd3wty bity* and *smr wty*, perhaps significantly, those which imply a relationship to the king. So under rare circumstances, we must assume that those who held this titles could become men of some importance. There seems to be little doubt that this office belonged exclusively to the royal administration. Where such individuals are physically located at a provincial site they can be claimed as a part of the local administrative structure only in

the sense that they formed one of the checks on its operation.

WHMW

Another functional title of lower-level officials who can belong either to the central or the provincial administration is *wḥmw*. Faulkner translates this title as 'herald, reporter'⁷³ and one supposes that his function was related to the daily flow of traffic through the governmental network. In some circumstances, presumably, the *wḥmw* could become a relatively important official.⁷⁴ However, during the period under discussion here, this would appear, generally, not to have been the case. Of the fifteen individuals from our Prosopography who held this title, twelve had no additional titles. The *Mntw-ꜣ* who is also *ꜣiry pꜣt*, *ḥꜣty-ꜣ*, *rḥ nsw*⁷⁵ may well have been a person of some importance, but, like all who held this title, if he can not be placed in a provincial context we must assume him to have been a part of the royal court.

TꜣTY

We have taken up the title *tꜣty* here, even though it most certainly belonged to the central rather than the provincial governmental structure, because of its

inclusion among the titles of the provincial governors of Bersha. Faulkner gives the commonly used translation 'vizier'⁷⁶ for this title, although it could as easily and perhaps more clearly be rendered as 'chief minister'.⁷⁷ Because our concern is the provincial administration, we will not engage in any detailed discussion of the title as it applies to individuals other than those directly involved in the government of the provinces. Our list, which contains *t3tyw* from the central government as well as provincial ones, includes thirteen men who are called *t3ty* in the early Middle Kingdom. The title most commonly associated with *t3ty* in our sample, occurring in eighty-five percent of our examples, is *i³my-r niwt*. Both *h3ty-r* and *iry p³t* are, as we might suspect, also present in the majority of instances. The other rank titles are more rare. Only thirty-eight percent of the *t3tyw* are called *sd3wty b³ity* or *smr w³ty*. It is perhaps possible that the title of *t3ty* was considered to give sufficient emphasis to the relationship between this official and the royal authority. During our period, only thirty-one percent of the *t3tyw* held the designation of *t3yty*.⁷⁸ This can not, then, be considered to be a 'normal' title for the vizier in the early Middle Kingdom.

As has been mentioned before, three of the *t3tyw* from our list are also *hryw-tp r3w*. These individuals

account for the appearance of such titles as *imy-*
r hmw-ntr and *hrp nsyt* with *tsty*. Neither of these
titles occurs when the vizier is not a *hry-tp* 3.
The precise position of these *tstyw hryw-tpsw* with-
in the administration of Upper Egypt is a major prob-
lem for which no satisfactory solution is available
at present. This is especially true since we have
good reason to suspect that several of the viziers
were in office at the same time.⁷⁹ It is extremely
tempting to agree with Helck's position that, at
least from the Sixth Dynasty into our period, *tsty*
was used, in some instances, as a rank title rather
than a functional one.⁸⁰ The basic problem with
this view, as it now stands, is that there seems to
be no completely objective way to determine which
tsty signified rank alone and which rank plus power.
Since our definition of *tsty* as a functional title
comes from a later period,⁸¹ it is also possible that
during our period the function of the title was
different enough from its later usage to allow for
a division or duplication of power which would have
been impossible at another time. This is not a
particularly satisfying theory but, at least, it is
consistent with the evidence and would dispose of the
multiple vizier problem. The true state of affairs
could only be determined if we had a detailed know-
ledge of the activities of all the *tstyw* which would
allow us to see how each actually used his title.

^ˊIMY-R ^ˊNIWT

As we have already seen, ^ˊimy-r ^ˊniwt was the most common title of the vizier in the early Middle Kingdom. Eleven of the thirteen ^ˊimyw-r ^ˊniwt are also tstyw. So the basic pattern of other titles which appear with it are the same as we have charted for the viziers. The most important consideration with this title is the identity of the city or town which this individual governed. There seem to be two different schools of thought on the matter. One, expressed by Gardiner, is that this was the pyramid city of the king and was related to the vizier's position in the capital.⁸²

The other theory concerning the origin of this title links it to the ^ˊniwt m3wt, the 'new towns' of the expanding provincial areas.⁸³ Obviously, from our point of view, this second idea should be investigated. The 'new towns', which were presumably royal preserves,⁸⁴ were the business of the provincial governors during the Old Kingdom when they held the title ^ˊimy-r ^ˊniwt m3wt.⁸⁵ If these were the towns in question it might explain why the title ^ˊimy-r ^ˊniwt figures in the titulary of Nhr^ˊi recorded at Beni Hasan.⁸⁶ Nhr^ˊi was also hk3 ^ˊniwt m3wt but he was not tsty. Was this simply the same function stated in two different ways or were the ^ˊniwt m3wt meant to contrast with the ^ˊniwt of the other title. If the

nīwt m3wt are the locations referred to in the title *īmy-r nīwt* we are forced either to assume that the qualifying *m3wt* was omitted from the title *īmy-r nīwt*, while still being included in the title *ḥk3 nīwt m3wt*, or that through long usage the *m3wt* in the former title had come to be 'understood'. Since in the particular case of *Nḥri*, his connection with *M3ḥd* was by marriage, and he himself seems to have been more closely connected to the court, it would perhaps be more sensible to see him as both 'ruler of the new towns' and 'governor of the pyramid city'. Unfortunately, he is also one of the two *īmyw-r nīwt* who is not also vizier.⁸⁷ And if the Residence was the city in question, in his case we would expect the vizier to have had the actual governance of it. The same problem of multiple office holders which causes difficulty in our understanding of the title *t3ty* applies to *īmy-r nīwt* if this were the case. If the city in question were the Residence, we should expect there to be only one at any given time. And yet, there were quite clearly more than one *īmy-r nīwt* in office at the same time. If it were a question of the *nīwt m3wt*, which were some sort of royal estates, there should have been enough distinct locations to allow each *īmy-r nīwt* his own separate sphere of operation. The final solution may lie at some point between the two views, or, more likely, may be found to be in an area we have not yet investigated.

HRP NSYT

Another difficult title which is held by at least some of the provincial governors during the early Middle Kingdom is *hrp nsyt*, 'controller of the two thrones'.⁸⁸ It is not a common title, being held, during this period by only ten officials, who comprise barely one percent of our sample. The exact function of this title, like so many others, remains unclear. Gardiner has placed it in the palace hierarchy of the Old Kingdom as an official concerned in some manner with the royal dining arrangements.⁸⁹ Helck agrees, and sees it as functioning as a mid-level rank title for independent servants of the palace.⁹⁰ According to Helck's view, the title was taken over by the viziers in the middle of the Fifth Dynasty.⁹¹ By the late Eleventh Dynasty, however, it is, as we have seen, not a title of the vizier. Instead, it is found among the titles of the provincial administrators. The explanation for this transference from the central to the provincial administration may well lie at Bersha. Eight of the ten *hrp nsyt* in our Prosopography come from that site.⁹² Three of these men, including the latest, are also *t3ty*. Of the other five, one is listed as merely *h3ty-r*, *hrp nsyt*. And the remaining four are called *h3ty-r*, *hrp nsyt*, *imy-r hmw-ntr*.⁹³ It is quite likely that the titles of the vizier, with the ex-

ception of *t3yty*, were taken over by the governors of Bersha early in the First Intermediate Period. It is certain the the title *hrp nsyt* was established at the site, even among those who did not claim the other titles of vizier, during the Eleventh Dynasty. Because of this it should be examined in its own right as a provincial title and not dismissed as belonging to the central administration. This is even more true when we realize that in Dynasty Twelve *hrp nsyt* appears in other provincial titularies from both Asyut and Beni Hasan.⁹⁴ It would seem that whatever its prior associations had been, during the early Middle Kingdom, it became a title for the provincial governors and not the vizier.⁹⁵ Since this title is not held by all the provincial governors who are known from this period,⁹⁶ it might be possible to discover something of its meaning, given enough information, by determining what the officials in the three provinces where it was found in the Twelfth Dynasty had in common. All of them are called *'iry pꜣt*, *ḥ3ty-ꜣ*, *sd3wty b'ity*, *smr wꜣty*, *rḥ nsu*, *'imy-r ḥmw-nꜥr* and *ḥry-tp ꜣ3*. So, unfortunately, are at least two of the three governors from the Twelfth Dynasty who are *not hrp nsyt*. The distinction on which the possession of this title rest is simply not apparent to us from the available evidence. It may well have lay in biographical data to which we, at present have no access.

SD3WTY NTR

The *sd3wty ntr* is another official who is found only rarely in the period under discussion. We have evidence for only ten in our entire listing of officials. Nor was it a title held, in the early Middle Kingdom, by the provincial governors. Three of our *sd3wtyw ntr* have no other titles at all. And of the remaining seven, only two are *h3tyw-r*, leading us to conclude that the *sd3wty ntr* was, at this time, not generally an important official. The god of the title, under whose authority the official exercised his power, is often seen as the king.⁹⁷ However, two of our ten are *sd3wtyw b'ity* as well as *sd3wtyw ntr*, which should lead us to suspect that, in the early Middle Kingdom at least, this was probably not the case. It is quite possible that, during this period, this was actually a rare religious title rather than part of the civil administration.⁹⁸ The two *sd3wtyw ntr* from Tomb 2 at Beni Hasan could have been depicted there in either a civil or religious capacity.

'IRY NHN

Nine of the officials listed in our study were *'iryw Nhn*.¹⁰⁰ While this can not be considered anything but a rare title, it does not necessarily seem to have been becoming more rare during the period it-

self. Four of our nine officials date to the Twelfth Dynasty.¹⁰¹ This title is often paired with *hry-tp Nhb* in much the same way as *iry prt* with *h3ty-r* or *sd3wty bity* with *smr wty*. Seven of the nine *iryw Nhn* also hold the title *hry-tp Nhb*. All of the *iryw Nhn* also hold the titles *h3ty-r*, *sd3wty bity* and *smr wty* and over half are named as *iry prt*. Clearly, this was a title held only by important officials. Two of these individuals were *t3ty*.¹⁰² And, most important for our purposes, six were *hryw-tp r3w*.¹⁰³ This particular observation becomes even more significant when we note that all six are from the same province, *M3hd*. Although the title is a very old one,¹⁰⁴ and may possibly have had a judicial function during the Old Kingdom,¹⁰⁵ there is no evidence that it had any functional nature during the early Middle Kingdom. However, if it were merely a rank title we would need to explain why it was concentrated in the geographical area of one Upper Egyptian province. The fact that it occurs so rarely is also evidence against regarding it as a simple rank title. Do we assume that it granted a superior position to the governors at Beni Hasan? And since both *t3ty* and *hry-tp r3* are found with *iry Nhn* under other circumstances, why do the governors at Bersha, who hold both of these titles not also claim to be *iry Nhn*? The pattern of the distribution of this title suggests that it did have some special significance, either as a unique and very exclusive rank title or as a specific

functional title. The title is linked by the use of the name *Nhn* to the southernmost area of Egypt and it is at least possible that some special relationship with this area was implied.

HR Y -TP NHB

Perhaps a clue to the meaning of *iry Nhn* can be gained from the pattern of its occurrence with *hry-tp Nhb*. This title, which would appear to refer to someone 'having authority over Nekheb',¹⁰⁶ or El Kab, is linked to *iry Nhn* both geographically and temporally. Both seem to date from early in the Old Kingdom although *hry-tp Nhb* may not be quite as old.¹⁰⁷ Although two of the officials in our Prosopography are *iryw Nhn* without being *hry-tp Nhb*, all seven of our *hryw-tp Nhb* are also *iry Nhn*. It is undoubtedly significant that the two *iryw Nhn* who are not also *hryw-tp Nhb* are the two men who hold the title of *t3ty*. If this is a rank title what makes it inappropriate for the vizier? If it was a rank title in the Old Kingdom,¹⁰⁸ how was its meaning changed? And why was its use among provincial governors in the early Middle Kingdom restricted to *M3hd*? Is all of this perhaps related to the fact that these officials are the only governors in our records who are also *imy-r msc*? If the governors of *M3hd* did have some special relationship to the southern provinces, perhaps in their expeditionary function, we have, as yet, no

concrete evidence to explain it.

³IMY-R SŠWY (N SḤMH-³IB)

There are six examples among the officials of our Prosopography of the title ³imy-r sšwy (n sḤmh-³ib), at least five of which date to the Twelfth Dynasty.¹⁰⁹ As 'overseer of the two marshes'¹¹⁰ it appears that this official had a definite function to perform. The dual nature of the title and its pairing with the high rank titles, *iry pꜣt*, *ḥꜣty-r*, *sdꜣwty bꜣty* and *smr wꜣty* in four of the six examples and *sd wty bity* with *smr wꜣty* alone in the fifth, leads us to suspect that the ³imy-r sšwy was, in general, an important royal official rather than a member of any local administration. This title was, in fact, held on at least one occasion held by as important a royal official as a vizier.¹¹¹ It concerns us here because it belonged to ³Imn-m-ḥꜣt, a Twelfth Dynasty governor at Beni Hasan and number 227 in our Prosopography. If Loret is correct,¹¹² and this official functioned as a combination of conservation officer and tax agent, keeping the marsh lands in good condition and collecting duty on their use by others, we might expect to find him at work in the provinces for at least a part of his time. However, as a royal official, we would expect him to be normally present at court. Of the six ³imyw-r sšwy five have the sort of titles we expect to see among the officers of the

court and are not connected in any way that we can now see with the provincial administration. The fact that we have a provincial governor with this title simply underlines his position as a *royal* official.

)
IMY-R ḥB WḥMT (šWT NšMT)

A title which may, perhaps be related to the preceeding one is ^jimy-r ḥb wḥmt (šwt nšmt), 'overseer of horn, hoof, feather and scale'.¹¹³ Loret saw this as basically another revenue position concerned with the tax reports on the various kinds of livestock.¹¹⁴ If this were the full extent of its meaning we would have to note that it was remarkably rare during our period. We have only five individuals who hold it in our entire sample, surely not enough to manage the livestock taxes for this whole period. Since three of the five officials are dated to the Twelfth Dynasty we can not assume that the title was falling out of use during the early Middle Kingdom.¹¹⁵ It appears, like ^jimy-r sšwy, to have been a rarely-used but functional title. In fact, the same person holds both titles in several instances. All three of the individuals who date to the Twelfth Dynasty hold ^jimy-r sšwy along with ^jimy-r ḥb wḥmt (šwt nšmt). This fact is too significant to ignore and may well indicate a trend in the early Twelfth Dynasty. We have only one example from the Twelfth Dynasty where these two titles are not paired, an ^jimy-r sšwy from Sakkara

named *Htp* who is not also *'imy-r ḥb whmt (šwt nšmt)*.¹¹⁶ As is the case with *'imy-r sšwy*, *'imy-r ḥb whmt (šwt nšmt)* seems to have been primarily a court title. The only provincial example we have is, again, *'Imn-m-ḥst* at Beni Hasan. These two titles and their distribution in the Twelfth Dynasty point up sharply the problem of assigning titles to central versus provincial administration during our period. It seems that provincial governors could be given a wide range of titles depending on the situation in each province and the relationship between each individual governor and the Throne.

T3YTY

In the Old Kingdom, the title for the vizier was *t3yty s3b t3ty*.¹¹⁷ *T3yty* is an epithet of Osiris, translated variously as 'the shrouded one',¹¹⁸ 'He of the curtain',¹¹⁹ or 'He of the gateway or archway'.¹²⁰ Gardiner felt it signified the judicial aspect of the vizier.¹²¹ However that may be, it is significant for our purposes because, while four of our five *t3ytyw* are *t3tyw*, less than one-third of those who are called *t3ty* are also called *t3yty*. If Helck is correct in his contention that in some instances during our period *t3ty* was not a functional title, perhaps we can use the occurrence of *t3yty* to distinguish between the functional viziers and those who only claim the rank. There is, for instance, no

evidence of a *t3yty* among the governors of Bersha who claim to be both *tsty* and *imy-r niwt*. This is at least a possible method of resolving this problem and depends, at present, on a fuller knowledge of the function of *t3yty* in the central government.

rd-mr Dp

The final title we will consider here is *rd-mr Dp*. This was a title of provincial administration as early as the Fourth Dynasty.¹²² In the Old Kingdom, however, it seems to have been almost exclusively confined to the administration of Lower Egypt.¹²³ As early as the beginning of Dynasty Five, *rd-mr Dp* had, apparently, lost its specific relationship with the Delta city *Dp*,¹²⁴ and been applied to other parts of Lower Egypt. Although this was, at one time a common title we have only two officials from the early Middle Kingdom who are *rd-mr Dp*.¹²⁵ One of these, *Hp-df3'i* of Asyut, was a provincial governor in the thirteenth of the Upper Egyptian provinces. The other, *Mntw-htp*, is known to us from Buhen in the Sudan. Neither is overtly connected with the Delta. Both examples are dated to the Twelfth Dynasty. We have no explanation for the revival of a title which is not in use during the late Eleventh Dynasty and its application to only two officials of the early Twelfth Dynasty whose only visible connec-

tion is their interest in Nubia.

Having had a look at each of these titles separately we can now, hopefully, use this information along with biographical evidence and our general knowledge of the Egyptian culture to piece together the broad outlines of the provincial administration as it operated in the early Middle Kingdom.

1. See W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reichs*. (Glückstadt, Augustin, 1954), 127, where he dates the pairing of this religious title with the 'secular' one, *ḥry-tp* ʿ3, to the Sixth Dynasty. In areas where there was no *ḥry-tp* ʿ3, presumably the *ʿimy-r ḥmw-ntr* exercised temporal power as well, as proposed in H. Fischer, *Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome, Dynasties VI-XI*. (Rome, Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1964), 60.
2. In the Prosopography numbers 206, 207, and 213.
3. This title is discussed, briefly but inconclusively in K. Baer, *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1960), 274, more extensively in Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 97-99, and in Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 18-19, where he postulates that they were the vestiges of the old local nobility. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 66, seems to have an individual from Naqâda during the First Intermediate Period who held this title and yet worked for the local government.
4. These common administrative titles can belong to individuals involved in the conduct of the central administration as easily as to provincial officials. In the majority of cases, we have no way of determining to which governmental unit a given official belonged. So, for purposes of this study, we will assume that the duties and responsibilities of these positions were the same wherever they were held.
5. For a complete list of the titles to be dis-

cussed here, in order of their frequency of occurrence, see Appendix I.

6. Note, for example, the explosive increase in the use of *ḥꜣty-r* by provincial officials everywhere it seems but at Dendera. H. Fischer, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban Dominion*. (Locust Valley, N.Y., Augustin, 1968), 69.
7. Any loss of clarification which might result being more than counterbalanced by the exclusion of extraneous and misleading information.
8. Defined, in American usage, by *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary* (1969), as 'belonging to or constituting a class of grammatical forms used in speaking to or about a *social superior*'. (italics mine).
9. But no attempt will be made here to establish a strict ranking structure among the titles under discussion. Of course, as will soon become obvious, some titles quite clearly convey a higher level of authority than others, but an arbitrary ranking, out of context, is not our goal.
10. R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*. (Oxford, Griffith Institute, 1962), 64.
11. This information is contained, in full, in Appendix II.
12. See Appendix II. All ten of the titles which do not occur alone are found among the titularies of the highest officials. The titles which

most often occur without any others are, in fact, the four we introduced as a control group.

13. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 162.
14. There appears to be no evidence in our sample to support Helck's contention that *ḥꜣty-ꜣ* was used to designate a royal official attached to a specific city during the early Twelfth Dynasty. (Helck, *Verwaltung*, 210-211). Of the 134 *ḥꜣtyw-ꜣ* in our Prosopography only six have titles which link them to specific locations.
15. See Appendix IV.
16. A.H. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica*. 2 vols. (London, Oxford University Press, 1947), I, 31*.
17. Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur Provinzialverwaltung*, 144 and Fischer, *Dendera*, 71.
18. As Helck seems to suggest for the end of Dynasty six in *Verwaltung*, 202.
19. All four seem to have functioned as such in the late Old Kingdom, see Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 60, and Helck, *Beamtentitlen*, 118.
20. For example, the title belongs only to the eldest of *Sꜣ-rnpwt*'s sons at Aswan. A.H. Gardiner, 'Inscriptions from the Tomb of Si-renpowet I, Prince of Elephantine', *ZÄS* 45 (1908), 123-140.
21. For instance, *Hmnw-ḥtp* I of Beni Hasan, who does not mention his father and lists his mother

without any titles.


22. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 258.
23. For *sdꜣwtꜣ bꜣty* as a ranking title during the Sixth Dynasty see Helck, *Beamtentitlen*, 92-93, and Fischer, *Dendera*, 72.
24. J.A. Wilson, *The Burden of Egypt*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1951), 79.
25. Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 116 for the use of this pair of titles as a rank indicator for provincial administrators in Dynasty Six.
26. See Appendix IV.
27. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 229.
28. As Gardiner has suggested in *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I*, 20*.
29. While one might suspect that the *sdꜣwtꜣ bꜣty smr wꜣty* pair might function as rank titles replacing *rhꜣ nsw*, at least at Beni Hasan there are provincial governors who hold all three.
30. Helck, *Beamtentitlen*, 111-112, and 118, points out that in the Old Kingdom it was a title of the vizier, which was discarded as it lost its importance due to its adoption by men of lesser rank.
31. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I*, 18*.
32. Helck discusses its royal connections in *Beamtentitlen*, 55-56, and Gardiner points out

that as late as Ramesside times it was a title for the Crown Prince (*Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I*, 14^{*} .).

33. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 258.
34. For example, *Hmnw* from the tomb of *Imn-m-ḥ3t* at Beni Hasan. (See Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. XIII).
35. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 77-79.
36. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 64.
37. Opinions range from Baer (*Rank and Title*, 274) who feels it had no practical function, to Fischer (*Coptite Nome*, 66) who seems to have found one of these officials actually engaged in provincial government.
38. Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 97-99.
39. Helck, *Beamtentitlen*, 19, although he draws a good deal of his information from the late Middle Kingdom.
40. In contrast to the situation in the late Old Kingdom, when it was part of a group of titles including *ḥry-tp nswt* and *s3b ḥd-mr*. (Baer, *Rank and Title*, 274.).
41. See Appendix I for the percentages.
42. See the Index of Titles and the Prosopography for the geographical distribution of this title.
43. H.E. Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle*

Kingdom in Thebes. (New York, MacMillan, 1947)
for the court material from the Wadi Shatt el-
Rigâl.

44. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 52-53.
45. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 169.
46. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I*, 30*.
47. Helck, *Beamtentitlen*, 127.
48. Fischer, *Dendera*, 19-20 and 177, shows a pattern whereby the title exists as a separate entity at that site until Dynasty Six, when it is assumed by local governors. After the disappearance of the title of governor during Dynasty Eleven this title continues at the site.
49. Helck's theory that a province where a large amount of temple land was located might be governed by an *imy-r hmw-ntr* (*Beamtentitlen*, 125-126) is interesting but not proven.
50. Those who held these titles were either provincial governors or located at important religious sites such as Dendera. (Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 13).
51. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 258.
52. Helck suggests this is a general word for 'official' in the late First Intermediate Period (*Verwaltung*, 84), but there is no evidence to support such a view during the period under consideration here.

53. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*.
54. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 18-19.
55. Gardiner's translation (*Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I*, 25^{*}) 'overseer of a (military) expedition' is probably the most exact rendition, since, as Helck points out (*Beamtentitlen*, 99) the number of people involved would normally be less than the modern term 'general' would imply.
56. See our numbers 227, and 305.
57. Faulkner's vision of a number of private armies which owed allegiance to individual governors ('Egyptian Military Organization' *JEA* 39 (1953), 32-47, 36-37) is not 'supported by our evidence. Only the governors of *M3hd* are ^{'imy-r mšr}, and even there we have every reason to suspect that the troops involved were royal levies.
58. See, for example, in addition to the governors at Beni Hasan, *Mntw-ḥtp* at Buhen, our number 767.
59. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 152.
60. Fischer's discussion from *Dendera*, 10-11. Also see Helck, *Beamtentitlen*, 26-28, and Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 80, 85-86, and 89.
61. A.H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*. (London, Oxford University Press, 1969), 105. 
62. See our numbers 174 (Asyut), 179 (Meir), 207 (Bersha), 227, 236, 237, 261, 294, and 305 (Beni Hasan). The only governor from the Twelfth

Dynasty in our study who does not hold this title is *S3-rnpwt* of Aswan.


63. Fischer's translation from *Coptite Nome*, 60.
64. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 281, and Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 111-113, discuss its possible significance.
65. For a breakdown of these officials by location and dynasty see Appendix IV.
66. Which are always held as a pair there.
67. See our number 174.
68. Our numbers 206, 207 and 213 (whose inscription is from Hatnub but whose title is *hry-tp 3 n Wnt*).
69. For a study of the viziers of this period see M. Valloggia, 'Les Viziers des XI^e et XII^e Dynasties' *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 123-134.
70. According to Helck, *Verwaltung*, 18, these individuals held the titles of the viziers but did not exercise their powers. While this may well be the case in the early Middle Kingdom, we will have to wait for a much more detailed picture of the actual duties and powers of such men to confirm it.
71. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 36.
72. Our numbers 238 and 281.
73. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 67.

74. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I*, 22*.
75. Our number 850.
76. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 303.
77. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I*, 19*.
78. A significant change from the Old Kingdom, when the pairing of these two titles seems to have been almost automatic. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 17-19, and Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 129.
79. For example, *Dḥwtj-nḥt* of Bersha must have been a contemporary of *Mntw-ḥtp* whom we know from Abydos, and of *Ḳn-Ḳt-f-Ḳr* who is mentioned in tombs at both Thebes and Lisht. See our numbers 207, 483, and 44.
80. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 18.
81. Dynasty Eighteen, the tomb of Rek-mire at Thebes.
82. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I*, 24*.
83. Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 70.
84. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 91.
85. Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 70.
86. Our number 247.
87. *Ḳty* was a title which was important enough to certainly have been included by his son if he had actually held it.

88. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 196.
89. A.H. Gardiner, 'The Mansion of Life and the Master of the King's Largess', *JEA* 24 (1938), 83-91, 84-85.
90. Helck, *Beamtentitlen*, 33.
91. *Ibid.*
92. Our numbers 197, 200, 206, 207, 208, 209, and, from Hatnub, 213 and 217.
93. Which has caused Helck to consider *hrp nsyt* as a priestly title at Bersha during the Middle Kingdom although he admits it has no Old Kingdom precedent, (*Beamtentitlen*, 57).
94. The three Twelfth Dynasty governors who are *hrp nsyt* are *Dhwtj-nht* at Bersha (207), ²*Imn-m-h3t* at Beni Hasan (227)- and *Hp-df3i* at Asyut (174).
95. Note that while *hrp nsyt* is held by provincial governors who do not claim to be vizier, it is not recorded for any vizier who is not also a provincial governor.
96. It is not, for instance, held by *S3-rnpwt* at Aswan (7), *Wq-htp* at Meir (179) or *Hmnw-htp*, ²*Imn-m-h3t*'s predecessor at Beni Hasan (294).
97. Helck, *Beamtentitlen*, 93, presumably giving rise to Faulkner's rendition of this title as 'representative of the king' (*Concise Dictionary*, 258.).
98. During the Old Kingdom *sd3wty ntr* seems to

have functioned as an expeditionary title (Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 189), but our evidence indicates that this was not the case in our period.

99. Our numbers 223 and 234.
100. Translated as 'one related to Nḥn' in Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 25 and 138.
101. Our numbers 44, 227, 294, and 337.
102. *Mntw-ḥtp* from Abydos (483) and *Ḳn-Ḳt.f-Ḳr* from the Theban tomb of his wife (44).
103. Our numbers 227, 236, 237, 261, 294, and 305.
104. Going back to the Thinite period, Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 38, and Helck, *Verwaltung*, 56-57.
105. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 57.
106. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 174 and 138.
107. Fischer, *Dendera*, 74, translates this title as 'overlord of El Kab' and point to it as an earlier stage of the title *ḥry-tp* ʿ3, before its full evolution in Dynasty Six.
108. As Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 115, believes.
109. Our numbers 227, 337, 413, 483, and 751.
110. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 246.

111. *Mntw-ḥtp* our number 483.
112. V. Loret, 'Le Titre ', *Rec. Trav.* 38 (1916), 61-68, 67-68.
113. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 40.
114. Loret, *Rec. Trav.* 38 (1916), 66-67.
115. Our numbers 227, 413, and 751.
116. Number 337.
117. Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 129, and Helck, *Verwaltung*, 17.
118. Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 293.
119. Fischer, *Coptite Nome*, 36.
120. Helck, *Beamtentitlen*, 56.
121. Gardiner, *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I*, 19*.
122. Fischer, *Dendera*, 9-10.
123. Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 46-47.
124. Helck, *Beamtentitlen*, 90.
125. Our numbers 174 and 767.

STRUCTURE AND OPERATION OF THE
PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT DURING
THE EARLY MIDDLE KINGDOM

Any examination of the Egyptian provincial government should begin with an examination of the Egyptian provinces.¹ These territorial divisions, called *nomes* by the Greeks and *sp3wt* by the Egyptians, were a feature of the Egyptian administration from the Old Kingdom into the Classical period. At one time, it was thought that these districts represented the remains of predynastic city-states which had retained their territorial integrity as provinces after the unification of the country.² This view was founded, in large part, on the interpretation of the various provincial symbols or 'standards' which serve to designate each individual province. Only rarely, as in the case of the first province of Upper Egypt, are the provinces designated by an identifiable territorial name, in that instance, *T3-sty*. In most cases, the provinces are named by a sign or group of signs whose precise reference to the province in question is not yet fully understood. Because these

signs often bear a close resemblance to the standards shown on painted predynastic pottery from the Gerzean period, and identified as clan totems, the historic provincial standards were once described as tribal symbols, and the provinces as the survivals of predynastic tribal areas. However, there are several problems raised in connection with this theory. While we have a fairly large number of different clan signs from predynastic pottery, it is impossible, in most cases, to match them exactly with the provincial standards of the historic period. An even more telling argument against this particular view is the simple fact that there is good evidence that not all of the forty-two 'classical' provinces of Egypt were present in the early history of the country. In fact, the earliest date which can be assigned to most of the provinces is the Fourth Dynasty.³ While this evidence does not mean that the predynastic theory is completely wrong, there most certainly must have been a number of other factors in operation, and it should not be accepted as it stands.

A somewhat similar view of provincial origins was expressed by Steindorff.⁴ He saw the early provinces as religious, not political, entities. The provincial standards, in this version, designated the god of the province's most important city, who had become, by this means, the god of the province itself.⁵ Our inability to match up many of these standards with known gods and capitals from the his-

toric period is, presumably, due to one or more shifts in the capital during the early phases of the country's development. Unfortunately, this theory, while it does acknowledge the problem of the historic expansion of the provincial system, does not incorporate an explanation for it.

A third, quite different theory is put forward by Helck in *Die ägyptischen Gaue*.⁶ He rejects the prhistoric survival theory, arguing that an extensive social and political reorganization must have accompanied the unification of Egypt. Such an upheaval would have resulted in the destruction or dislocation of predynastic loyalties. Helck visualizes the provinces we know as being formed gradually around various local centres for the collection of taxes. Presumably, this view would allow for later additions and subdivisions to facilitate administrative efficiency. The provincial standards are explained as the emblems of those centres around which the province was originally formed, and which are not necessarily the same as the historic capitals of the provinces.

Whatever its genesis, by the Fourth Dynasty a definite provincial structure existed in Egypt, and, by the Fifth Dynasty, all twenty-two of the provinces of Upper Egypt were already in evidence.⁷ With the provinces apperared officials whose titles indicated that their duties were provincial in nature, although they themselves seemed often to have remained at

court.⁸ Early in the Sixth Dynasty, however, a major change in provincial administration apparently took place and a new provincial official, the *ḥry-tp ꜣ3*, appeared first in the extreme south and, gradually, throughout Upper Egypt.⁹ This official, instead of being responsible for only one or two aspects of the local administration, gathered together all the strands of the local government into his own hands. As has been pointed out many times before, such an event could occur only as part of the overall weakening of central control which eventually brought about the end of the Old Kingdom.¹⁰

During the First Intermediate Period, the provincial officials provided one of the strongest defenses against total chaos. They continued to hold office during the civil wars between the princes of Heracleopolis and Thebes becoming involved on one side or the other at various times for reasons of their own. While it would seem to have been natural for the Theban princes of the Eleventh Dynasty to remove from office those provincial governors who had aided their opponents, there is no evidence that they even attempted to alter the basic structure of the provincial government. In the late Eleventh Dynasty we still find officials who are *ḥryw-tp ꜣsw* and, presumably, still the bearers of a broad range of administrative responsibilities within their own territory.

We know from the 'white chapel' at Karnak that

there were at least thirty-four provinces in Egypt during the reign of Senusert I.¹¹ The simplest view of the provincial administration of this period would be to assume that each province had its own governor, heading its local administration and responsible to the king. However, as a glance at our Appendix III will show, this was almost certainly not the case. While we have evidence of at least some officials from a majority of the provinces listed, we have governors from only a few. Our listing of officials in Chapter two contains governors from only six different provinces. They are One, Nine, Thirteen, Fourteen, Fifteen and Sixteen. The largest number of 'contemporary' governors in our study is five, from the early Twelfth Dynasty.¹² Of course, it is quite likely that we do not have evidence of every official who actually existed in this period. Still, the fact remains that there are simply not enough governors to match the number of provinces, even if we assume a reasonable number of individuals who were omitted from our listing due to chance and our incomplete information. Quite obviously, during the early Middle Kingdom there were some provinces in Upper Egypt which did not have governors. We could assume that in the absence of a *ḥry-tp* 3, his duties would be performed by another official in residence in the province, an *imy-r ḥmw-ntr* for instance,¹³ but there is no firm evidence to support this view. We know the *imy-r*

ḥmw-ntr was quite often the most important official in a given province in the absence of a *ḥry-tp* ʿ3.¹⁴ But we have no proof that he functioned in the same wide-ranging manner. It makes much more sense to assume that the various functions of the *ḥry-tp* ʿ3 in these provinces had been divided up among a number of lesser royal officials, as had apparently been the case earlier in the Old Kingdom.¹⁵ So it appears that, during our period, the provincial government of Egypt was not, in fact, based on the provinces, many of which, to a greater or lesser extent, must have been administered directly by officials attached to various central government branches.

The fact remains, however, that in some instances we do have officials of great importance resident in certain provinces, who refer to themselves as provincial governors. We can, of course, explain these individuals with the old 'feudal' theory of Middle Kingdom government.¹⁶ This hypothesis, which was popular around the turn of the present century, attempted to find parallels between the socio-political situation in Egypt at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom and that of Europe in the Middle Ages. The dangers of this sort of approach to history can be easily appreciated. The cultures and circumstances to be paralleled are so radically different there can be, at best, only a superficial resemblance. The provincial situation in the early Middle Kingdom may, perhaps, appear to resemble that of, say,

medieval England *on the surface*, but the factors which are actually at work historically, the underlying content of the two systems, is radically different. Any comparison tends only to confuse the issue rather than to illuminate it. In order to understand the true state of affairs during the period under discussion here, we must examine each of the provincial governors for whom we have evidence separately, and attempt to determine, as closely as possible, his position in the Egyptian administration of his day.

We have late Eleventh Dynasty governors from only three sites, in provinces Nine, Fifteen and Sixteen, a total of ten individuals.¹⁷ The relative concentration of these individuals in so few sites may well be a result of the recent unification of the country and the resultant removal from office of Heracleopolitan sympathizers. The pharaohs of the Eleventh Dynasty, having gone through a difficult struggle, would presumably have been most reluctant to continue in office any individual whose loyalty was subject to the slightest doubt. In the Ninth Province we have three men who seem to have held the position of *ḥry-tp ʿ3 n Mnw* during the late Eleventh Dynasty.¹⁸ One of them, whose name is now lost, is known to us only from a broken inscription, and may have had additional titles which are now lost. The other two, *Ṛti* and *Ṛn-ṛt·f*, have a number of titles in common. Both are *ṛry p-t*, *ḥ3ty-ʿ*, and *ṛmy-r ḥmw-nṛ*. In addition, *Ṛti* is also *sḏ3wty bṛty* and *smr*

w^ḥty. Neither holds a 'court' title which can be specifically identified as such, and none of the three seem, by their titles, to have been a major force in the central government. There is no evidence at present that this particular governorship continued into the Twelfth Dynasty.

From the Fifteenth Province we have two Eleventh Dynasty governors, ḥ₃-nḥt from Hatnub and Dḥwty-m-(...) from Bersha.¹⁹ Neither of these officials is an ^ḥiry p^ḥt. However, both are ḥ₃ty-^ḥ and ^ḥimy-r ḥmw-n^ḥr. Only ḥ₃-nḥt is s^ḏḥwty b^ḥity, smr w^ḥty. In addition, there are several titles from these sites which do not appear in the Ninth Province. Both of these ḥryw-tp ḥ₃w n Wnt are ḥrp nsyt, a title which, as we have seen, has strong 'court' associations.²⁰ And both are also t₃ty, a title which refers back to the central administration, even if, as well may be the case, it was not truly functional. Finally, Dḥwty-m-(...) is also ^ḥimy-r n^ḥwt, a common accompaniment of t₃ty. So it would seem that, in contrast to the governors of Mnw, those of Wnt, if we judge by their titles, were more important and more closely tied to the royal court.

The third site from which we have governors of Eleventh Dynasty date is Beni Hasan. There are four men at that place who held the title of ḥry-tp ḥ₃ n M₃ḥ^ḏ.²¹ Like the governors of Wnt, and unlike those of Mnw, these governors of M₃ḥ^ḏ were ḥ₃ty-^ḥ but not ^ḥiry p^ḥt. One of the four²² held only one additional

title, $\dot{i}my-r \text{ ḥ}3swt \dot{i}mntt$, an apparent reference to police duties in the neighbouring desert, and a functional title with no particular 'court' ties. The other three held a number of titles in common. All are $sḏ3wty \text{ ḃ}ity$, $smr \text{ w}ty$, $rḥ \text{ nsu}$, $\dot{i}my-\dot{i}s$, $\dot{i}ry \text{ Nḥn}$, and $\text{ḥ}ry-tp \text{ Nḥb}$. None of the governors from $M3ḥḏ$ in the Eleventh Dynasty is an $\dot{i}my-r \text{ ḥ}mw-ntr$. The titles which are unique to Eeni Hasan, $rḥ \text{ nsu}$, $\dot{i}my-\dot{i}s$, $\dot{i}ry \text{ Nḥn}$, and $\text{ḥ}ry-tp \text{ Nḥb}$, form a group of quite possibly archaic, and almost certainly no longer functional, titles associated in the Old Kingdom with the royal court and not the provinces. They are similar in design to the 'court' titles found at Bersha which we also assume to have been non-functional in a practical sense. What is so interesting, from our point of view, is not that these provincial officials held titles which seem to connect them to the central administration, but that certain titles seem to be held only at specific sites with no observable overlap. What we can observe here is, most likely, the end result of the regional autonomy of the First Intermediate Period, when certain rank titles from the Old Kingdom court were taken over by lesser officials and became 'traditional' at specific provincial sites. It would be interesting to discover why a specific title had become attached to a given site rather than to any other, but that, unfortunately, falls outside the scope of this study. The lack of such 'court' titles at Akhmim is also interesting, as we

have to speculate why the governors of this particular site were so modest about their position. Finally, the fact that the Eleventh Dynasty governors of Beni Hasan were not $\dot{i}myw-r \dot{h}mw-ntr$ is a trifle disturbing. We know that $\dot{i}my-r \dot{h}mw-ntr$ and $\dot{h}ry-tp$ 3 were routinely linked from the Sixth Dynasty onward.²³ Did the lack of such a linkage at Beni Hasan indicate a split between the civil and religious administrations in that province at this period? This situation, if it were true, would certainly have affected the provincial governor's power base and, presumably, have been highly undesirable from his viewpoint.

In the early Twelfth Dynasty the situation in the provinces is somewhat different. This is perhaps to be expected as a result of the change of dynasty. If there were the slightest doubt concerning Amenemhat I's right to the throne, it would be logical for him to be certain that such provincial officials as he had were of unquestioned loyalty. In fact, if we are to believe the biography of $\underline{H}nmw-\dot{h}tp$ II of Beni Hasan,²⁴ Amenemhat undertook a reorganization of the provincial administration which included, at least in some areas, the redefinition of the borders of provinces, in addition to the appointment of his own candidates as provincial governors. While the specific details of this 'revolution' may well apply only to $M3\dot{h}d$, all of our evidence supports the idea that some basic changes were made in the provincial government at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty. We

have Twelfth Dynasty governors from five sites. The office of governor seems to have been discontinued at Akhmim, for whatever reason. There are, however, governors from Aswan (*T3-sty*), Asyut (*Nḏft-ḥntt*), and Meir (*Nḏft-pḥtt*) in addition to those from Bersha and Beni Hasan.²⁵ There is a definite geographic pattern to the distribution of these officials. We have one from the southern border, in the First Province, and the others at four sites in Middle Egypt, representing the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Sixteenth Provinces. If we assume that Thebes functioned as a secondary capital during this period, the gap which includes the area from the Second Province through to the Twelfth, can be explained as the Theban sphere of influence, where second-level officials, resident in the provinces, reported directly to superiors in the central administration at Thebes, rather than to governors in the provinces themselves. North of the Sixteenth Province, these secondary officials would presumably report to superiors at the court in *Iḫ-t3wy*. From this geographical evidence alone, it would seem that one of the provincial governor's basic duties in the early Twelfth Dynasty was to provide an official presence in those areas farthest from the seats of royal power.²⁶

The *ḥry-tp ʿ3 n T3-sty* under Senusert I was an official named *S3-rnpwt*. His tomb inscriptions do not, unfortunately, give us enough genealogical information to determine what his family connections

were or exactly where the family originated. There would seem, however, no reason to suppose that he was not a native of the region he governed. In addition to his office as *ḥry-tp ʿ3*, he was also *ʿimy-r ḥmw-nṯr* of the two most important regional deities, *Stt* and *Hnmw*. And he was *ʿiry pꜣt, ḥsty-ʿ, sdꜣwty bꜣty*, and *smr wꜣty*. While he held the title of *ʿiry Nḥn*, he was not, as we might suppose, *ḥry-tp Nḥb*. Other titles reflect his unique position on the southern frontier, *ʿimy-r ʿꜣw*, and *ʿimy-r ʿḥꜣw wr m pr nsw*. If Martin-Pardey's theory that there were two distinct administrations co-existing at Aswan during the Old Kingdom, one, headed by the *ʿimy-r ʿꜣw*, in charge of foreign affairs, and the other, under the *ḥry-tp ʿ3*, controlling local administration,²⁷ is correct then we have a decidedly different situation at this site in the Middle Kingdom where one official holds both groups of titles.

If *Sꜣ-rnpwt*'s tomb inscriptions are somewhat too reticent about his family connections for our purposes, they certainly are most insistent about his relationship to his king. In his recitation of the many royal favours he has received,²⁸ *Sꜣ-rnpwt* reminds us more of the Fifth Dynasty officials than of the independent provincial governors of the First Intermediate Period. There is little doubt, from the tone of these inscriptions, that *Sꜣ-rnpwt* considered himself a *royal* official, entrusted with a specific position by his king. A part of the responsibilities

of that position was the governance of a specific geographic area. But there was more to *S3-rnpwt*'s office than simply the administration of a single province. From his seat at Aswan, he was responsible also for what we would today refer to as 'Nubian affairs', in particular taxes and trade.²⁹ The expansion of Egyptian influence in Nubia was a major interest of the kings of the early Twelfth Dynasty, and it must have seemed imperative to them that a trusted and powerful official be stationed at the southern border to watch over the situation in that region. It does not appear that *S3-rnpwt*, himself, was charged with extending the Egyptian sphere of influence by force of arms. If he had been engaged in one of the Nubian campaigns we should expect some mention of that fact in his tomb, and there is none. He does tell us that the king stopped at Elephantine on his way south 'to overthrow vile Kush',³⁰ but there is no indication at all that *S3-rnpwt* accompanied the expedition. *S3-rnpwt*'s contribution to the conquest of Nubia would seem to have been the maintenance of stability in the region of the southern border, a job which simply could not have been entrusted to an official resident in *Iṯ-t3wy* or even Thebes. So, while there is every reason to believe that *S3-rnpwt* actually functioned as a provincial governor, his duties seem to have exceeded those which would be covered by a strict definition of that term, and to have been, perhaps primarily,

involved with the foreign affairs of the country as a whole.

Moving north along the river we next encounter a provincial governor from the Twelfth Dynasty at Asyut in the Thirteenth Province. This is the famous *Hp-df3i* who seems also to have had some, as yet unexplained, connection with Kerma in the Sudan.³¹ At this time, however, we will consider him only as the governor of the Thirteenth Province, a title he most definitely held at that site. In addition to his title of *hry-tp r3 n Ndft*, *Hp-df3i* was also *'iry p-t*, *h3ty-r*, *sd3wty b'ity*, *smr w-ty*, and *'imy-r hmw-ntr* of the local god, *Wp-w3wt*. Unlike *S3-rnpwt*, *Hp-df3i* was *rh nsu*. And he held the 'court' title *hrp nsyt* found in the preceding dynasty only at Bersha. Among his other titles there are two archaic rank titles from the Old Kingdom, *rd-mr Dp* and *'imy-r Šm-w*. He is the only governor from the early Middle Kingdom to hold either of these titles, which seem to have fallen from use everywhere else during the First Intermediate Period. Exactly why he claims them and what they signified at this site is difficult to understand.

Hp-df3i's tomb at Asyut is famous for a series of legal contracts which concern various funerary benefits which he hoped to enjoy from the priests of *Wp-w3wt*.³² Since he made these contracts in his office of *'imy-r hmw-ntr*, not governor, they are not as informative as we might wish in some aspects. Still, they do raise at least one interesting point.

Reisner perhaps confused the issue, slightly, by translating *ḥ3ty-ꜣ* as 'nomarch'. As we have seen, the *ḥ3ty-ꜣ* of this period, while certainly an important official, was not, by definition, the provincial governor. It would seem from the *Ḥp-ḏf3i* contracts that this title did, however, confer a tangible benefit on its holders. The contracts speak of offering shares due to the *ḥ3ty-ꜣ*³³ and of the estate of the *ḥ3ty-ꜣ*.³⁴ This last seems to be treated in a different manner from *Ḥp-ḏf3i*'s 'paternal estate'. Only produce from the *ḥ3ty-ꜣ*'s estate is mentioned in the contracts, while actual tracts of land from the 'paternal estate' change hands.³⁵ Unfortunately, we can not be sure whether *Ḥp-ḏf3i* was unable to transfer title in the *ḥ3ty-ꜣ*'s estate, or was merely unwilling to do so. It is interesting to note, however, the confirmation given by these contracts to the existence of actual substance belonging to what we would consider to be a rank title. As we mentioned before, these titles must surely have conferred more than an empty honour. It seems that at least a portion of their value was economic. It is a pity, for our purposes, that the tomb of *Ḥp-ḏf3i* contains so little biographical information on his secular functions. We would be interested to know if he, like *S3-rnpwt*, was engaged in duties beyond the governance of his province.

The Fourteenth Province was governed by *Wḥ-ḥtp* of Meir³⁶ in the early Twelfth Dynasty. Like the

other governors of this period, in addition to *ḥry-tp ʿ3*, he was also *ʿiry pʿt*, *ḥ3ty-ʿ*, *sd3wty bʿity*, *smr wʿty*, and *ʿimy-r ḥmw-ntr* of the local god, in this case *Ht-ḥr*, *nbt Kis*. Like *Ḥp-df3i*, his neighbour to the south, he was a *rḥ nsw*. We have no specific information on his duties in office. However, it is at least possible that this province and the preceding one were considered as 'border' areas in some respects. As both Montet and Helck observe,³⁷ the boundary between the areas administered by the southern vizier and his northern counterpart ran between the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Provinces. What actual significance this fact might have had during our period, or why it should have influenced the posting of provincial governors here can not be explained in our present state of knowledge.

At Bersha we find *Dḥwty-nḥt* as *ḥry-tp ʿ3 n Wnt*.³⁸ He is also *ʿiry pʿt*, *ḥ3ty-ʿ*, *sd3wty bʿity*, *smr wʿty*, and *ʿimy-r ḥmw-ntr* (*n Dḥwty nb Ḥmnw*). Like the Twelfth Dynasty governors at Asyut and Meir, and unlike his Eleventh Dynasty predecessors at Bersha, *Dḥwty-nḥt* was a *rḥ nsw*. Like the Eleventh Dynasty governors of the Fifteenth Province, he held the 'court' titles of *ḥrp nsyt*, *t3ty*, and *ʿimy-r nʿwt*. We have no way of knowing, at present, if *Dḥwty-nḥt* actually exercised power in his office of vizier. As we pointed out in our discussion of the title *t3ty*, there are a number of officials from this period who claim to hold the

title of *tꜣty*. If, in all instances, it is a functional title we will have to revise our understanding of the meaning of the term to take this into account. The fact that *tꜣty* continues to be held by the governors of Bersha into the Twelfth Dynasty, after the re-establishment of a strong and unified central government may force us to try to re-evaluate our assessment of the duties which were exercised in this office. Or it may be simply an extreme example of the tenacity of local customs in ancient Egypt.

The last site from which we have evidence for provincial governors in the Twelfth Dynasty is Beni Hasan. *Hnmw-ḥtp* I³⁹ served under Amenemhat I, and *Imn-m-ḥꜣt*⁴⁰ under Senusert I. *Hnmw-ḥtp* held the titles we have come to see as usual for the governors of this period, *ḥry-tp* ʿ3, *ʿiry p-t*, *ḥꜣty-ḥ*, *sdꜣwtj bʿity*, *smr w-ty*, and *ʿimy-r ḥmw-ntr*. He was also *rh nsw*. In addition to these offices he held several others not found in other provinces. He was *ʿimy-ʿis*, *ʿiry Nḥn* (found only at Aswan), and *ḥry-tp Nḥb*. The exact function of these titles in this particular province is, at present, unclear. *Hnmw-ḥtp* was also called *ḥꜣty-ḥ n Mn-t Ḥwfw*, a specific title relating to a site in his province. In the Eleventh Dynasty, *Mn-t Ḥwfw* seems to have been an important base for control of the adjoining desert regions, including the area as far away as the Wadi Hammâmât. It is highly likely that this particular title expressed *Hnmw-ḥtp*'s position as police commander of the area.

Hnmw-ḥtp was followed in office by ^ḳ*Imn-m-ḥ3t*, who does not seem to be a close relation.⁴¹ There is no question, however, that ^ḳ*Imn-m-ḥ3t*'s family ties were in the Sixteenth Province. His father, whose name is, unfortunately, not known, held office as ^ḳ*imy-r mšr wr n M3ḥd*.⁴² The ^ḳ*imy-r mšr* title may well have been hereditary in ^ḳ*Imn-m-ḥ3t*'s family since we can trace it over at least three generations from ^ḳ*Imn-m-ḥ3t*'s father, through ^ḳ*Imn-m-ḥ3t* himself, and finally to his son, Hnmw-ḥtp, who apparently held it as well.⁴³ As we have already seen this title is not among those common to provincial governors of this period. Among ^ḳ*Imn-m-ḥ3t*'s more conventional titles are *ḥry-tp r3*, ^ḳ*iry p-t*, *ḥ3ty-r*, *sḏ3wty b'ity*, *smr w'ty* and ^ḳ*imy-r ḥmw-ntr*. We have already mentioned that he was ^ḳ*imy-r mšr wr*. And like all the Twelfth Dynasty governors, except *S3-rnpwt*, he was *rḥ nsw*. Among his 'court' titles, he could number ^ḳ*iry Nḥn*, *ḥrp nsyt*, *ḥry-tp Nḥb*, and ^ḳ*imy-'is*. And finally, he held two titles which do not belong to any other of our early Middle Kingdom governors, even his predecessor at Beni Hasan, Hnmw-ḥtp. ^ḳ*Imn-m-ḥ3t* was ^ḳ*imy-r sšwy n šḥmh-'ib*, and ^ḳ*imy-r r'b wḥmt*. These were rare titles at this period and all of our other examples belong to officials who had no visible connection with the provinces. While ^ḳ*Imn-m-ḥ3t*'s biography gives us an illustration of his use of the title of ^ḳ*imy-r mšr*, we have no clue as to how he exercised

the offices of *'imy-r sšwy n šhmḥ-ib*, or *'imy-r ḥb whmt*.

We are, in general, fortunate in the amount of biographical information available from Beni Hasan. In his own tomb (no. 14), *Hnmw-ḥtp*'s biographical inscription is badly broken. Almost all we can determine with any certainty is that Amenemhat I appointed him *ḥ3ty-ḥ n Mnḥt Hwfw* for services rendered,⁴⁴ presumably, during the establishment of the new dynasty. However, another *Hnmw-ḥtp*, his grandson, gives us a much more detailed picture of his grandfather's life in the family history from his own tomb.⁴⁵ According to this second *Hnmw-ḥtp*, Amenemhat I made his grandfather *'iry pḥt, ḥ3ty-ḥ, and 'imy-r ḥ3st iḥbtt n Mnḥt Hwfw*.⁴⁶ We are also told that the king redefined the boundaries of the province of *M3ḥd* at this time and 'divided the river'. This raises an interesting point. It would seem that it was only at some later time that Amenemhat I appointed *Hnmw-ḥtp ḥry-tp ḥ3 n M3ḥd*. So, for a short time at least, the Sixteenth Province must have consisted of two sections administered, one presumes, by different individuals.⁴⁷ The most obvious reason for this action would be to curtail the power and influence of the governor of *M3ḥd* at that time, probably *Hty*,⁴⁸ who, we might assume, was felt to be not entirely sympathetic to the new regime. By stationing a trusted officer within the province itself and carving out a power base for him, which we must assume included a police power

in the office of *ḥ3ty-ꜣ n Mnꜣt Ḥwfw*, Amenemhat I could avoid the confrontation which would be caused by the removal of an official of importance whose loyalty was subject to suspicion and yet neutralize him as a disruptive force. So, while a major reorganization of the province did take place in *M3ḥḏ* at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, there is no reason to assume that what was described in *Ḥnmw-ḥtp* II's tomb was part of a general redefinition of the boundaries of all the Egyptian provinces or that the particular state of affairs described for *M3ḥḏ* continued beyond the term of *Ḥnmw-ḥtp* I.⁴⁹ The extensive alterations Amenemhat I made to the Sixteenth Province can easily be seen as a specific answer to a purely local problem.

We have already noted that *Ḥnmw-ḥtp* I was succeeded by an individual from outside his immediate family. The tomb of *Ḥmn-m-ḥ3t* at Beni Hasan (no. 2) is the source of much of our information concerning this entire period. It contains an interesting biographical inscription chiefly concerned with three expeditions in which he was involved on the king's behalf.⁵⁰ The first expedition, a military invasion of Nubia, seems to have taken place before his appointment as governor of the province, since he gives his titles as only *s3 ḥ3ty-ꜣ*, *sḏ3wty bḥty*, and *ḥmy-r mšꜣ wr n M3ḥḏ*.⁵¹ It may well have been that his performance on this occasion helped to earn him the later appointment. However that may be, it would seem that by the

time of the second expedition, to the mining country in the company of the king's son [']*Imny*, [']*Imn-m-ḥ3t* was already governor of *Mḥd*, since he felt it unnecessary to specify his titles. The third expedition, this time to Coptos in the company of the vizier, was again concerned with mining interests. We would be mistaken to assume, on the basis of this evidence, that the governors of *M ḥd* were primarily engaged in leading or taking part in royal expeditions of any nature. In a period which must have exceeded a quarter of a century, since the inscription is dated to [']*Imn-m-ḥ3t*'s twenty-fifth year, only three expeditions are recorded. We are led to believe that they are mentioned simply *because* they were events out of the ordinary. Still, this inscription does highlight the fact that during this period the king could, and sometimes did, use provincial governors in capacities which, one would assume, could have been filled by members of the royal court, and which have no relationship to local government. We can not be sure if the royal bulls mentioned in lines 16 and 17, were placed in [']*Imn-m-ḥ3t*'s care in his capacity as *ḥry-tp* ʿ3, or if they were, perhaps, the result of his appointment as [']*imy-r* ʿb *wḥmt*.

Having divided the governors from our period into those of the late Eleventh Dynasty and those of the early Twelfth Dynasty, certain differences between the two groups appear. The earlier group, on the average, holds fewer titles than the later.⁵² In

the Twelfth Dynasty, a number of titles seem to form a basic component for the provincial governors as a class,⁵³ with additional titles appearing at specific sites or being held by certain individuals. Among our Eleventh Dynasty governors, only the two from Akhmim (of eleven) are *'iryw p[^]t*, while by the Twelfth Dynasty all six of the governors hold that title. This suggests a standardization among these officials. And standards are almost invariably imposed from above. In the late Eleventh Dynasty examples, while we most certainly find evidence of far fewer provincial governors than were attested during the earlier part of the dynasty, we do not yet see the conformity of titles that results from a basic reorganization of the system. We also find among the earlier governors far fewer of the 'court' titles which seem to be associated with the palace and its officials.⁵⁴ Our best explanation for the observed changes in the titles of the provincial governors between the Eleventh and Twelfth Dynasties is to postulate a reorganization of the entire structure of provincial government under the first kings of Dynasty Twelve. It may well not have been an extremely rapid change. Indeed, the evidence from Beni Hasan, mentioned above, suggests that there, at least, the change in administration took several years. The final object of this policy seems to have been the replacement of the last vestiges of the 'old' independent-style governors with men who were basically

great royal officials stationed in the provinces. Both their titles and the biographical information available to us emphasize the provincial governor's ties with the Throne during the Twelfth Dynasty. All this evidence leads to the conclusion that the 'feudal' elements of the Twelfth Dynasty provincial administration were not only overstated but practically non-existent.

The Twelfth Dynasty kings exercised their control over their provincial governors in exactly the same manner as they controlled other high officials, by their power of appointment. It is only with some difficulty that we can attempt to follow the genealogical tables of the provincial governors drawn up early in this century. If we look at Beni Hasan, for example, where our evidence is the most abundant,⁵⁵ we can see that while succession makes reasonable sense based on heredity until the end of the Eleventh Dynasty, it falls apart completely at the beginning of Dynasty Twelve. We have Hnmw-ḥtp I, who, while probably a native of the region, has no known connection with the preceding governors. This can be explained by the change of dynasty. However, if this were merely a change in family brought about by the new dynasty, we would naturally expect Hnmw-ḥtp's son to succeed him. The next governor is, of course, ^ḥImn-m-ḥ3t, who was most certainly *not* Hnmw-ḥtp I's son and perhaps not even a close relation. And ^ḥImn-m-ḥ3t is followed in office, not by his son, but by

Hnmw-ḥtp II, who seems to be *Hnmw-ḥtp* I's grandson, and therefore no relation to ^ᵛ*Imn-m-ḥ3t*. The only way in which this state of affairs makes sense from an hereditary standpoint is if the rule of inheritance in Egypt was through the female line with alternate generations being 'skipped'.⁵⁶ This is a possible, but extremely complicated, system, and we have no other evidence that it ever existed anywhere else in Egypt. We are, therefore, compelled to accept the assertion that the provincial governors of the Twelfth Dynasty at Beni Hasan, and presumably at other sites as well, gained office by royal appointment. By limiting the office of provincial governor to men of his own choosing, the king could maintain a strong central control of the government while stationing certain individuals in what were, perhaps, perceived as 'key' areas of the country. Both ^ᵛ*Imn-m-ḥ3t* and *Hnmw-ḥtp* II would then have held office on the basis, primarily of the king's favour and not of family connections.

If the provincial governors of the early Twelfth Dynasty were, in fact, merely royal officials and not 'independent barons', we must explain several pieces of evidence which have been used in the past to prove the opposite. The first problem is the double-dated inscriptions of the Twelfth Dynasty governors. ^ᵛ*Imn-m-ḥ3t*'s biographical inscription at Beni Hasan is dated to year 43 of Senusert I, which is also given as year 25 of ^ᵛ*Imn-m-ḥ3t* himself. Certainly inscrip-

tions which are dated to the years in office of officials rather than, or in addition to, the regnal years of kings were a sign of official independence when they first appeared in Egypt. However, during the First Intermediate Period, provincial governors commonly dated events to their own term of office to the exclusion of any king.⁵⁷ The fact that the governors of the Twelfth Dynasty re-introduced the dating of inscriptions by royal regnal years, in addition to their own, is, in fact, far more important as a sign of their renewed dependence on the king than that they continued a former tradition.

³*Imn-m-h3t*'s tomb at Beni Hasan also contains the the most complete example of what is sometimes referred to as the 'nomarch's court'. The large number of lower officials who handled the day-to-day business of the various provincial departments were surely present in all the provinces. In those areas where a governor was not in residence, one assumes that they reported directly back to a royal official in the capital. When the central authority was not strong enough to command the loyalty of the provincial governors, these officials undoubtedly did function as a court in miniature. But the key here is the relative strength of the central administration, not the presence or absence of lower officials responsible to the provincial governor. The governor of an Egyptian province in the early Twelfth Dynasty was not merely another royal official. He was a man of

great importance in the administrative structure of the entire country. The analogy which should be made here is not between the provincial governor and the king but between the provincial governor and the vizier, who also had his own 'court'. If we assume that the provincial governor of this period occupied an extremely high position in the government, as all our evidence suggests, this particular comparison may also help to explain the presence in some areas of several of the titles of the vizier.

1. For a discussion of the Egyptian provincial structure, its extent and evolution, see G. Steindorff, 'Die ägyptische Gaue und ihre politische Entwicklung', *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 25 (1909), 863-892, Montet, *Géographie*, and, most recently, Helck, *Gaue*.
2. J.H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1906), 30-31 and K. Sethe, *Urgeschichte und älteste Religion der Ägypter*. (Leipzig, Deutsche Morgenlandische Gesellschaft, 1930), 34.
3. Helck, *Gaue*, 2-5, gives various provincial lists beginning with the those known from the reign of Snefru.
4. Steindorff, 'Die ägyptische Gaue', 869-870.
5. Steindorff, 'Die ägyptische Gaue', 871.
6. Helck, *Gaue*, 49.
7. Helck, *Gaue*, 2-5.
8. $\text{Ḥ}k_3$ and $\text{ḥ}d\text{-mr}$ of various provincial locations. Helck, *Gaue*, 51-52.
9. Baer, *Rank and Title*, 281.
10. Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 113.
11. Including all twenty-two of the provinces of Upper Egypt.

12. From the First, Thirteenth, Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Provinces of Upper Egypt.
13. Helck, *Verwaltung*, 200, where he suggests that the vizier and the *'imy-r Šm-w* may also have acted as provincial administrators.
14. For example, in the Sixth Province. See Fischer, *Dendera*, 177.
15. Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 147, and Fischer, *Dendera*, 177.
16. See, for example, Breasted, *History of Egypt*, 155, and Gardiner's statement that the *ḥsty-* of the Middle Kingdom 'were more in the nature of independent barons', in *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica I*, 31*.
17. See Appendix IV.
18. Our numbers 152, 157, and 163.
19. Our numbers 213 and 206.
20. See Chapter III, page 139.
21. Numbers 236, 237, 255, and 261.
22. *Nḥti*, our number 255.
23. Helck, *Beamtentitlen*, 125.
24. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I* (tomb 13).
25. Our numbers 7 (Aswan), 174 (Asyut), 179 (Meir), 207 (Bersha) and 294 (Beni Hasan).

26. It could be argued, on the basis of geography, that only in those areas farthest from the court could the provincial governors maintain a degree of independence. However, as we shall see, these men were, in fact, royal officials, and not 'independent barons'.
27. Martin-Pardey, *Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung*, 199.
28. See, for instance, Gardiner, *ZÄS* 45 (1908), 123-142, for a translation, particularly of lines 8-14.
29. Line 5.
30. An inscription on a column from the forecourt of the tomb, Gardiner, *ZÄS* 45 (1908), 133.
31. G.A. Reisner, 'Excavations at Kerma, Parts IV and V', *Harvard African Studies* 6 (1933), 34, no. 27 reports a statue which seems to be of this official which was excavated at Kerma. On the statue, *Hp-df3i* is referred to as *hry-tp r3 n Šmꜣw* whereas at Asyut he is *hry-tp r3 n Ndfꜣt*. Reisner's contention that *Hp-df3i* was an Egyptian viceroy at Kerma remains unproven. The tomb where the statue was found can hardly have been his. As the contemporary story of Sinuhe indicates, an Egyptian official would scarcely adopt 'native' burial customs, quite apart from any other consideration. And the body of an important official would certainly have been returned to Egypt for proper burial.
32. Tomb I from F.L. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh*. (London, Trubner, 1889). Translated in G.A. Reisner, 'The Tomb of Hep-

- zefa, Nomarch of Siût', *JEA* 5 (1918), 79-98.
33. Reisner, *JEA* 5 (1918), 82 (Contract I), 84 (Contract IV).
34. Reisner, *JEA* 5 (1918), 83 (Contract II), 86-87 (Contract VIII).
35. Reisner, *JEA* 5 (1918), 86 (Contract VII), 87 (Contract IX).
36. Our number 179.
37. Montet, *Géographie*, vol. 2, 145, and Helck, *Gaue*, 102-103.
38. Our number 207.
39. Number 294.
40. Number 227.
41. It would perhaps be unwise to assume that they were not related in some way. However, since neither mentions the other, we have no means for determining the degree of relationship involved.
42. Our number 311.
43. Number 301.
44. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, 84.
45. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, tomb 13.
46. *Hnmw-ḥtp* I does not himself claim the title of *'imy-r ḥ3st 'ibtt* in his own tomb, but we assume the idea is inherent in the title *ḥ3ty-ꜣ n Mnꜣt*

Hwfw.

47. There seems no reason, however, to assume that this was a permanent state of affairs, as does W. Schenkel, *Frühmittelägyptische Studien*. (Bonn, 1962), 78-83.
48. Number 305.
49. Helck, *Gaue*, 56.
50. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. VIII.
51. Newberry, *Beni Hasan I*, pl. VIII, l. 7-8.
52. The Eleventh Dynasty governors in our list average 5.3 titles each while those of the early Twelfth Dynasty average 10.2 titles each.
53. These are *'iry p[^]t*, *ḥ3ty-[^]*, *sd3wty b[^]ity*, *smr w[^]ty*, and *'imy-r ḥmw-n[^]tr* which are held by all the Twelfth Dynasty *ḥryw-tp 3w* for whom we have evidence in the Prosopography. In addition, five out of six are *rḥ nsw* (the exception being *S3-rnpwt* at Aswan).
54. For example, *ḥrp nsyt* or *'iry Nḥn*.
55. Newberry, *Beni Hasan II*.
56. Direct inheritance through the female line would not explain the facts we have mentioned. Under that system, the province would have passed from *Hnmw-ḥtp I* through his daughter to his grandson, *Hnmw-ḥtp II*. This would not account for the term of *'Imn-m-ḥ3t*. To include him, we would have to assume that, on the death of *Hnmw-ḥtp I*, the

province passed to his sister's son (presumably ²*Imn-m-ḥꜣt*) and upon his death, back to the son of *Hnmw-ḥtp*'s daughter. We have, of course, absolutely no evidence to suggest that ²*Imn-m-ḥꜣt* was *Hnmw-ḥtp* I's nephew.

57. See, for example, the inscriptions from Hatnub.

CONCLUSIONS

Having looked carefully at some aspects of the provincial government of the early Middle Kingdom, it would seem, perhaps, that we have raised more questions than we have answered. There are several conclusions to be drawn from the material in this study, however. As we mentioned in the introduction to this work, the very idea of a provincial administration as a semi-independent force separate from the central government represents, if not a projection of modern thought-patterns, then, a vestige of an earlier age in Egyptian history. In fact, it would be more precise to refer to provincial governments since two distinct systems seem to have been in use during this period. In the majority of provinces, local officials reported back to superiors in the royal administration, presumably in residence at one of the capitals, *It-t3wy* or Thebes. In certain provinces, however, the system of provincial governors which had evolved under the Old Kingdom continued in use. The number of these officials, who had enjoyed a virtually in-

dependent position during the First Intermediate Period, seems to have been severely reduced by the late Eleventh Dynasty, due, perhaps, to the unification of the country under the Theban princes and the subsequent removal of those whom they considered a threat to their power.

There is a large amount of evidence to suggest that the system under which the provincial governors who remained held office was revised at the beginning of the Twelfth Dynasty, in order to restore the authority of the central government. The governors were transformed from hereditary, semi-independent local officials into high-ranking members of the central government, responsible, in at least some cases, for duties above and beyond those associated with the government of an individual province. This is shown by a definite standardization of their titles, particularly those we refer to as 'rank' titles, which indicate a relative position in the administrative hierarchy rather than a specific set of duties.

In the early Twelfth Dynasty, the provincial governors formed not so much a class as a group of individual officials, each appointed by the king and responsible to him, and each used in different ways. For instance, *S3-rnpwt* of Aswan seems to have had charge of the 'office of Nubian affairs' at the southern border, while ³*Imn-m-h3t* of Beni Hasan used his 'military' experience on at least two important mining expeditions. Both of these officials served

under Senusert I. By this time the re-organization of the provincial administration seems to have been well advanced. Under Amenemhat I, we would assume that the primary duty of such officials would have been simply to ensure the loyalty of their areas to the Crown. Once the provincial governors were firmly integrated with the central administration the kings of the Twelfth Dynasty could begin their expansion into Nubia. The system set up by Amenemhat I seems to have functioned extremely well in the reign of his successor and remained in force until a new set of administrative reforms were introduced in the reign of Senusert III.

APPENDIX ONE - FREQUENCY OF TITLES

This Appendix lists the titles from Chapter 3 in order of their frequency of occurrence in the Prosopography found in Chapter 2, from most to least common. The number following each title indicates the actual number of individuals who hold it.

<i>ḥꜣty-ꜣ</i>	(134)
<i>sḏꜣwty bꜣty</i>	(117)
<i>smr wꜣty</i>	(99)
<i>ꜣiry pꜣt</i>	(77)
<i>ꜣimy-r sḏꜣwt(yw)</i>	(47)
<i>wr mḏw šmꜣw</i>	(45)
<i>ꜣimy-r ḥmw-nꜣr</i>	(35)
<i>sḏꜣw</i>	(34)
<i>ꜣimy-r mšꜣ</i>	(30)
<i>rḥ nsw</i>	(28)
<i>ḥry-tp ꜣꜣ n X</i>	(18)
<i>sšꜣ ꜣ n nsw</i>	(16)
<i>wḥmw</i>	(15)
<i>tꜣty</i>	(13)
<i>ꜣimy-r nꜣwt</i>	(13)
<i>ḥrp nsyt</i>	(10)
<i>sḏꜣwty nꜣr</i>	(10)
<i>ꜣiry Nḥn</i>	(9)
<i>ḥry-tp Nḥb</i>	(7)
<i>ꜣimy-r sšwy</i>	(6)
<i>ꜣimy-r ꜣb wḥmt (šwt nšmt)</i>	(5)
<i>tꜣyty</i>	(5)
<i>ꜣḏ-mr Dp</i>	(2)

APPENDIX TWO - RELATIONSHIPS OF TITLES

This Appendix concerns the relationships among the various titles under discussion in Chapter Three. The tables are to be read as follows: top line - the individual title (for example, *ḥꜣty-ꜣ*), followed by the total number of officials from the Prosopography who hold it (134), and finally that number expressed as a percentage of the total number of officials in our listing (15%). Under this heading, are listed, separately, all the other titles with which we are concerned, followed by a number which indicates the number of individuals who hold this title in addition to the main title, and a percentage which indicates the frequency with which the two titles are held concurrently.

The following titles are never found without other titles:

ꜣimy-r ꜣb wḥmt (šwt nšmt)

ꜣimy-r ḥmw-ntr

ꜣimy-r sšwy

ꜣiry Nḥn

ꜣd-mr Dp

rḥ nsw

ḥry-tp Nḥb

ḥrp nsyt

tꜣyty

tꜣty

These titles are usually found alone;

wr mḏw šmꜣw

wḥmw

sš ꜣ n nsw

sḏꜣw

'IMY-R ᵀB WḤMT (ŠWT NŠMT)	5	1%
'imy-r mšᵀ	1	20%
'imy-r n'iwᵀ	0	
'imy-r ḥmw-nᵀr	1	20%
'imy-r sšwy	3	60%
'imy-r sḏwᵀ(yw)	0	
'iry pᵀt	3	60%
'iry Nḥn	1	20%
ᵀḏ-mr D p	0	
wr mḏw Šmᵀw	0	
wḥmw	0	
rḥ nsw	2	40%
ḥᵀty-ᵀ	3	60%
ḥry-tp ᵀ3 n X	1	20%
ḥry-tp Nḥb	1	20%
ḥrp nsyt	1	20%
smr wᵀty	5	100%
sš ᵀ n nsw	0	
sḏw	0	
sḏwᵀty b'ity	5	100%
sḏwᵀty nᵀr	0	
tᵀty	0	
ᵀᵀty	0	
no other titles	0	

'IMY-R MŠ	30	3%
'imy-r ḥb wḥmt (šwt nšmt)	1	3%
'imy-r niwt	0	
'imy-r ḥmw-ntr	1	3%
'imy-r sšwy	1	3%
'imy-r sdṣwt(yw)	0	
'iry p-t	7	23%
'iry Nḥn	2	7%
ḥd-mr Dp	1	3%
wr mdw Šm-w	0	
wḥmw	0	
rḥ nsw	3	10%
ḥṣty-	11	37%
ḥry-tp ḥz n X	2	7%
ḥry-tp Nḥb	2	7%
ḥrp nsyt	1	3%
smr w-ty	10	33%
sš ḥ n nsw	0	
sdṣwt ^y bity	12	40%
sdṣwt ^y ntr	0	
tṣyty	0	
tṣty	0	
no other titles	11	37%

'IMY-R NIWT	13	1%
'imy-r ḥb whmt (šwt nšmt)	0	
'imy-r mšr	0	
'imy-r ḥmw-ntr	2	15%
'imy-r sšwy	0	
'imy-r sd3wt(yw)	0	
'iry p-t	7	54%
'iry Nhn	1	8%
ḥd-mr D p	0	
wr mdw Šm-w	0	
whmw	0	
rḥ nsu	1	8%
ḥ3ty-r	8	62%
ḥry-tp ḥ3 n X	2	15%
ḥry-tp Nhb	0	
ḥrp nsyt	2	15%
smr w-ty	3	23%
sš ḥ n nsu	0	
sd3w	0	
sd3wti bity	3	23%
sd3wti ntr	0	
t3yty	3	23%
t3ty	11	85%
no other titles	1	8%

'IMY-R HMW-NTR	35	4%
'imy-r ᵀb wḥmt (šwt nšmt)	1	3%
'imy-r mšᵀ	1	3%
'imy-r n'iwᵀ	2	6%
'imy-r sšwy	1	3%
'imy-r sdᵀwt(yw)	0	
'iry pᵀt	20	57%
'iry Nḥn	2	6%
ᵀd-mr Dp	1	3%
wr mᵀdw Šmᵀw	0	
wḥmw	0	
rḥ nsw	6	17%
ḥᵀty-ᵀ	34	97%
ḥry-tp ᵀ3 n X	11	31%
ḥry-tp Nḥb	2	6%
ḥrp nsyt	9	26%
smr wᵀty	16	46%
sš ᵀ n nsw	0	
sdᵀw	0	
sdᵀwtᵀy b'ity	16	46%
sdᵀwtᵀy nᵀr	0	
tᵀty	0	
tᵀty	3	9%
no other titles	0	

'IMY-R SŠWY	6	1%
'imy-r ᵀb wḥmt (šwt nšmt)	3	50%
'imy-r mšr	1	17%
'imy-r nᵀwt	0	
'imy-r ḥmw-nᵀr	1	17%
'imy-r sḏwt(yw)	2	33%
'iry pᵀt	4	66%
'iry Nḥn	3	50%
ᵀd-mr Dp	0	
wr mḏw Šmᵀw	0	
wḥmw	0	
rḥ nsw	2	33%
ḥzty-ᵀ	4	66%
ḥry-tp ᵀ3 n X	1	17%
ḥry-tp Nḥb	2	33%
ḥrp nsyt	1	17%
smr wᵀty	5	83%
sš ᵀ n nsw	0	
sḏw	0	
sḏwtᵀy bᵀty	5	83%
sḏwtᵀy nᵀr	0	
tzyty	1	17%
tᵀty	1	17%
no other titles	0	

'IMY-R SD3WT(YW)	47	5%
'imy-r ᵀb wḥmt (šwt nšmt)	0	
'imy-r mš-	0	
'imy-r niwt	0	
'imy-r ḥmw-ntr	0	
'imy-r sšwy	2	4%
'iry p-t	9	19%
'iry Nḥn	2	4%
ᵀd-mr Dp	0	
wr mḏw šmow	0	
wḥmw	0	
rḥ nsw	1	2%
ḥ3ty-	8	17%
ḥry-tp ᵀ3 n X	0	
ḥry-tp Nḥb	1	2%
ḥrp nsyt	0	
smr w-ty	13	28%
sš ᵀ n nsw	0	
sḏ3w	1	2%
sḏ3wty bity	21	45%
sḏ3wty ntr	0	
t3yty	1	2%
t3ty	1	2%
no other titles	23	49%

'IRY PCT	77	9%
'imy-r ḥb whmt (šwt nšmt)	3	4%
'imy-r mšr	7	9%
'imy-r niwt	7	9%
'imy-r ḥmw-ntr	20	26%
'imy-r sšwy	4	5%
'imy-r sd3wt(yw)	9	12%
'iry Nḥn	5	6%
ḥd-mr Dp	2	3%
wr mdw šm-w	3	4%
whmw	1	1%
rḥ nsw	13	17%
ḥ3ty-r	75	97%
ḥry-tp ḥ3 n X	10	13%
ḥry-tp Nḥb	3	4%
ḥrp nsyt	3	4%
smr w-ty	41	53%
sš r n nsw	0	
sd3w	0	
sd3wti bity	47	61%
sd3wti ntr	0	
t3yty	3	4%
t3ty	7	9%
no other titles	1	1%

'IR Y NHN	9	1%
'imy-r ḥb whmt (šwt nšmt)	1	11%
'imy-r mšr	2	22%
'imy-r niwt	1	11%
'imy-r ḥmw-ntr	2	22%
'imy-r sšwy	3	33%
'imy-r sd3wt(yw)	2	22%
'iry pḥt	5	56%
ḥd-mr D p	0	
wr mdw šmow	0	
whmw	0	
rḥ nsw	7	78%
ḥ3ty-r	9	100%
ḥry-tp ḥ3 n X	6	67%
ḥry-tp Nhḥ	7	78%
ḥrp nsyt	1	11%
smr wḥty	9	100%
sš ḥ n nsw	0	
sd3w	0	
sd3wty bity	9	100%
sd3wty ntr	0	
t3yty	2	22%
t3ty	2	22%
no other titles	0	

<u>^D</u> -MR DP	2	1%
'imy-r ḥb wḥmt (šwt nšmt)	0	
'imy-r mšr	1	50%
'imy-r n'iw	0	
'imy-r ḥmw-ntr	1	50%
'imy-r sšwy	0	
'imy-r sd3wt(yw)	0	
'iry p-t	2	100%
'iry Nḥn	0	
wr mḏw Šm-w	0	
wḥmw	0	
rḥ nsw	1	50%
ḥ3ty-r	2	100%
ḥry-tp ḥ3 n X	1	50%
ḥry-tp Nḥb	0	
ḥrp nsyt	1	50%
smr w-ty	2	100%
sš ḥn nsw	0	
sd3w	0	
sd3wty b'ity	2	100%
sd3wty ntr	0	
t3yty	0	
t3ty	0	
no other titles	0	

WR <u>MD</u> W ŠM ^Y W	45	5%
'imy-r ṛb wḥmt (šwt nšmt)	0	
'imy-r mš ^ṛ	0	
'imy-r n'iw ^t	0	
'imy-r ḥmw-n ^t r	0	
'imy-r sšwy	0	
'imy-r s ^d ṣwt(yw)	0	
'iry p ^ṛ t	3	7%
'iry Nḥn	0	
ṛ ^d -mr Dp	0	
wḥmw	0	
rḥ nsw	1	2%
ḥṣty- ^ṛ	3	7%
ḥry-tp ṛṣ n X	0	
ḥry-tp Nḥb	0	
ḥrp nsyt	0	
smr w ^ṛ ty	0	
sš ṛ n nsw	0	
s ^d ṣw	0	
s ^d ṣwt ^y b ⁱ ty	0	
s ^d ṣwt ^y n ^t r	0	
tṣy ^t y	0	
<u>t</u> ṣty	0	
no other titles	40	89%

WḤMW	15	2%
ʾimy-r ḥb wḥmt (šwt nšmt)	0	
ʾimy-r mšr	0	
ʾimy-r nʾwt	0	
ʾimy-r ḥmw-ntr	0	
ʾimy-r sšwy	0	
ʾimy-r sdšwt(yw)	0	
ʾiry pḥt	1	7%
ʾiry Nḥn	0	
ḥd-mr Dp	0	
wr mḏw Šmḥw	0	
rḥ nsw	1	7%
ḥḫty-r	1	7%
ḥry-tp ḥḫ n X	0	
ḥry-tp Nḥb	0	
ḥrp nsyt	0	
smr wḥty	0	
sš ḥ n nsw	0	
sdšw	0	
sdšwti bḥty	0	
sdšwti ntr	0	
tḫty	0	
tḫty	0	
no other titles	12	80%

R _H NSW	28	3%
'imy-r ḥb whmt (šwt nšmt)	2	7%
'imy-r mš-	3	10%
'imy-r n'iw	1	4%
'imy-r ḥmw-ntr	6	21%
'imy-r sšwy	2	7%
'imy-r sdšwt(yw)	1	4%
'iry p-t	13	46%
'iry Nhn	7	25%
ḥd-mr Dp	1	4%
wr mdw Šm-w	1	4%
whmw	1	4%
ḥsty-	17	61%
ḥry-tp ḥ3 n X	9	32%
ḥry-tp Nhb	7	25%
ḥrp nsyt	3	10%
smr w-ty	16	57%
sš ḥ n nsu	0	
sdšw	0	
sdšwty b'ity	15	54%
sdšwty ntr	0	
tšyty	0	
tšty	1	4%
no other titles	0	

Ḥ3TY- ʿ	134	15%
ʾimy-r ʿb wḥmt (šwt nšmt)	3	2%
ʾimy-r mš ʿ	11	8%
ʾimy-r nīwt	8	6%
ʾimy-r ḥmw-ntr	34	25%
ʾimy-r sšwy	4	3%
ʾimy-r sd3wt(yw)	8	6%
ʾiry p ʿt	75	56%
ʾiry Nḥn	9	7%
ʿd-mr Dp	2	1%
wr mdw šm ʿw	3	2%
wḥmw	1	1%
rḥ nsw	17	13%
ḥry-tp ʿ3 n X	17	13%
ḥry-tp Nḥb	7	5%
ḥrp nsyt	10	7%
smr w ʿty	50	37%
sš ʿ n nsw	0	
sd3w	0	
sd3wt ^y b ^y ity	58	43%
sd3wt ^y ntr	2	1%
t3yty	3	2%
t3ty	9	7%
no other titles	26	19%

ḤRY-TP ʿ3 N X	18	2%
ʾimy-r ʿb wḥmt (šwt nšmt)	1	6%
ʾimy-r mšʿ	2	11%
ʾimy-r niwt	2	11%
ʾimy-r ḥmw-nṯr	11	61%
ʾimy-r sšwy	1	6%
ʾimy-r sdṣwt(yw)	0	
ʾiry pʿt	10	56%
ʾiry Nḥn	6	33%
ʿḏ-mr Dp	1	6%
wr mḏw Šmʿw	0	
wḥmw	0	
rḥ nsw	9	50%
ḥṣty-ʿ	17	94%
ḥry-tp Nḥb	6	33%
ḥrp nsyt	5	28%
smr wʿty	13	72%
sš ʿ n nsw	0	
sdṣw	0	
sdṣwty bʾity	12	66%
sdṣwty nṯr	0	
tṣyty	0	
ṯṣty	3	17%
no other titles	1	6%

HR Y-TP NHB	7	1%
'imy-r cb whmt (šwt nšmt)	1	14%
'imy-r mšr	2	29%
'imy-r niwt	0	
'imy-r hmw-ntr	2	29%
'imy-r sšwy	2	29%
'imy-r sdwt(yw)	1	14%
'iry p-t	3	43%
'iry Nhn	7	100%
rd-mr Dp	0	
wr mdw Šm-w	0	
whmw	0	
rḥ nsw	7	100%
ḥty-r	7	100%
ḥry-tp r3 n X	6	86%
ḥrp nsyt	1	14%
smr w-ty	7	100%
sš r n nsw	0	
sdw	0	
sdwti b'ity	7	100%
sdwti ntr	0	
t3yty	0	
t3ty	0	
no other titles	0	

HRP NSYT	10	1%
'imy-r ^b wḥmt (šwt nšmt)	1	10%
'imy-r mšr	1	10%
'imy-r n'wt	2	20%
'imy-r ḥmw-ntr	9	90%
'imy-r sšwy	1	10%
'imy-r sd3wt(yw)	0	
'iry p^t	3	30%
'iry Nḥn	1	10%
^d-mr Dp	1	10%
wr mḏw Šm^w	0	
wḥmw	0	
rḥ nsw	3	30%
ḥ3ty-r	10	100%
ḥry-tp r3 n X	5	50%
ḥry-tp Nḥb	1	10%
smr w^ty	4	40%
sš ^ n nsw	0	
sd3w	0	
sd3wt ^y b ⁱ ty	4	40%
sd3wt ^y ntr	0	
t3y ^{ty}	0	
t3ty	3	30%
no other titles	0	

SMR W ^{TY}	99	11%
'imy-r ᵀb wḥmt (šwt nšmt)	5	5%
'imy-r mšᵀ	10	10%
'imy-r nᵀwt	3	3%
'imy-r ḥmw-nᵀr	16	16%
'imy-r sšwy	5	5%
'imy-r sḏwt(yw)	13	13%
'iry pᵀt	41	41%
'iry Nḥn	9	9%
ᵀḏ-mr Dp	2	2%
wr mḏw Šmᵀw	0	
wḥmw	0	
rḥ nsw	16	16%
ḥᵀty-ᵀ	50	50%
ḥry-tp ᵀᵀ n X	13	13%
ḥry-tp Nḥb	7	7%
ḥrp nsyt	4	4%
sš ᵀ n nsw	2	2%
sḏw	1	1%
sḏwtᵀ bᵀty	83	83%
sḏwtᵀ nᵀr	2	2%
tᵀty	3	3%
tᵀty	5	5%
no other titles	2	2%

<i>sš</i> <i>^</i> <i>N</i> <i>NSW</i>	16	2%
<i>'imy-r</i> <i>^b</i> <i>wḥmt</i> (<i>šwt nšmt</i>)	0	
<i>'imy-r</i> <i>mš</i> <i>^</i>	0	
<i>'imy-r</i> <i>n'wt</i>	0	
<i>'imy-r</i> <i>ḥmw-ntr</i>	0	
<i>'imy-r</i> <i>sšwy</i>	0	
<i>'imy-r'</i> <i>sḏwt(yw)</i>	0	
<i>'iry</i> <i>p^t</i>	0	
<i>'iry</i> <i>Nḥn</i>	0	
<i>^d-mr</i> <i>Dp</i>	0	
<i>wr</i> <i>mḏw</i> <i>šm^w</i>	0	
<i>wḥmw</i>	0	
<i>rh</i> <i>nsw</i>	0	
<i>ḥ3ty-^</i>	0	
<i>ḥry-tp</i> <i>^3</i> <i>n</i> <i>X</i>	0	
<i>ḥry-tp</i> <i>Nḥb</i>	0	
<i>ḥrp</i> <i>nsyt</i>	0	
<i>smr</i> <i>w^ty</i>	2	13%
<i>sḏw</i>	0	
<i>sḏwt</i> <i>b'ity</i>	3	19%
<i>sḏwt</i> <i>ntr</i>	0	
<i>t3yty</i>	0	
<i>t3ty</i>	0	
no other titles	12	75%

<u>SD</u> 3W	34	4%
'imy-r r̄b wḥmt (šwt nšmt)	0	
'imy-r mšr	1	3%
'imy-r n'iw t	0	
'imy-r ḥmw-ntr	0	
'imy-r sšwy	0	
'imy-r sḏwt(yw)	1	3%
'iry p̄t	0	
'iry Nḥn	0	
r̄d-mr D p	0	
wr mḏw Šm̄w	0	
wḥmw	0	
rḥ nsw	0	
ḥzty-r	0	
ḥry-tp r̄z n X	0	
ḥry-tp Nḥb	0	
ḥrp nsyt	0	
smr w̄ty	1	3%
sš r̄ n nsw	0	
sḏwt̄y b'ity	0	
sḏwt̄y ntr	0	
tzyty	0	
t̄zty	0	
no other titles	26	76%

<i>SD3WTY BITY</i>	117	13%
<i>'imy-r rb whmt (šwt nšmt)</i>	5	4%
<i>'imy-r mšr</i>	12	10%
<i>'imy-r n'wt</i>	3	3%
<i>'imy-r hmw-ntr</i>	16	14%
<i>'imy-r sšwy</i>	5	4%
<i>'imy-r sd3wt(yw)</i>	21	18%
<i>'iry p'rt</i>	47	40%
<i>'iry Nhn</i>	9	8%
<i>r_d-mr Dp</i>	2	2%
<i>wr m_dw Šm'w</i>	0	
<i>w_hmw</i>	0	
<i>r_h nsw</i>	15	13%
<i>h₃ty-r</i>	58	49%
<i>hry-tp r3 n X</i>	12	10%
<i>hry-tp Nhb</i>	7	6%
<i>hrp nsyt</i>	4	3%
<i>smr w'rt</i>	83	71%
<i>sš r n nsw</i>	3	3%
<i>sd3w</i>	0	
<i>sd3wty ntr</i>	2	2%
<i>t3yty</i>	3	3%
<i>t₃ty</i>	5	4%
no other titles	6	5%

<u>SD</u> 3WTY N <u>TR</u>	10	1%
'imy-r ḥb whmt (šwt nšmt)	0	
'imy-r mšr	0	
'imy-r niwt	0	
'imy-r ḥmw-n <u>tr</u>	0	
'imy-r sšwy	0	
'imy-r s <u>d</u> 3wt(yw)	0	
'iry pḥt	0	
'iry Nḥn	0	
ḥ <u>d</u> -mr Dp	0	
wr m <u>d</u> w šmḥw	0	
whmw	0	
rḥ nsw	0	
ḥ3ty-ḥ	2	20%
ḥry-tp ḥ3 n X	0	
ḥry-tp Nḥb	0	
ḥrp nsyt	0	
smr wḥty	2	20%
sš ḥ n nsw	0	
s <u>d</u> 3w	0	
s <u>d</u> 3wt ¹ y b ¹ ity	2	20%
t3yty	0	
<u>t</u> 3ty	0	
no other titles	3	30%

T3YTY	5	1%
'imy-r ḥb whmt (šwt nšmt)	0	
'imy-r mšr	0	
'imy-r niwt	3	60%
'imy-r ḥmw-ntr	0	
'imy-r sšwy	1	20%
'imy-r sd3wt(yw)	1	20%
'iry prt	3	60%
'iry Nhn	2	40%
ḥd-mr Dp	0	
wr mdw Šmḥw	0	
whmw	0	
rḥ nsw	0	
ḥ3ty-r	3	60%
ḥry-tp ḥ3 n X	0	
ḥry-tp Nhb	0	
ḥrp nsyt	0	
smr w-ty	3	60%
sš ḥ n nsw	0	
sd3w	0	
sd3wti bi'ty	3	60%
sd3wti ntr	0	
t3ty	4	80%
no other titles	0	

<u>T3TY</u>	13	1%
'imy-r ᵀb wḥmt (šwt nšmt)	0	
'imy-r mšr	0	
'imy-r n'iwᵀ	11	85%
'imy-r ḥmw-nᵀr	3	23%
'imy-r sšwy	1	8%
'imy-r sḏwt(yw)	1	8%
'iry pᵀt	7	54%
'iry Nḥn	2	15%
ᵀḏ-mr D p	0	
wr mḏw Šmᵀw	0	
wḥmw	0	
rḥ nsw	1	8%
ḥzty-ᵀ	9	69%
ḥry-tp ᵀ3 n X	3	23%
ḥry-tp Nḥb	0	
ḥrp nsyt	3	23%
smr wᵀty	5	38%
sš ᵀ n nsw	0	
sḏw	0	
sḏwty b'ity	5	38%
sḏwty nᵀr	0	
tzyty	4	31%
no other titles	0	

APPENDIX THREE - GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

The following is a list of provinces included in this study, derived from the 'white chapel' at Karnak. A cross (+) indicates evidence of officials found in a given province. An asterisk (*) indicates a provincial governor from our period.

Upper Egypt

1)	<i>T₃-sty</i>	+	*
2)	<i>W_ts Hr</i>	+	
3)	<i>Nhn</i>		
4)	<i>W₃st</i>	+	
5)	<i>N_trwyt</i>	+	
6)	<i>ᶜIk</i>	+	
7)	<i>B₃t</i>		
8)	<i>T₃ wr</i>	+	
9)	<i>Mnw</i>	+	*
10)	<i>W₃d_t</i>	+	
11)	<i>Š₃y</i>		
12)	<i>D_w-ft</i>	+	
13)	<i>N_dft hntt</i>	+	*
14)	<i>N_dft phtt</i>	+	*
15)	<i>Wnt</i>	+	*
16)	<i>M₃h_d</i>	+	*
17)	<i>ᶜInpw</i>		
18)	<i>ᶜnty</i>		
19)	<i>W₃bwy</i>		
20)	<i>N_ᶜrt hntt</i>	+	
21)	<i>N_ᶜrt phtt</i>	+	
22)	<i>Mtnwt</i>		

Lower Egypt

1)	<i>Mn nfr</i>	+	
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APPENDIX FOUR - GOVERNORS' TITLES BY LOCATION

Our Prosopography of Middle Kingdom officials includes governors from six sites in Upper Egypt. In this Appendix each of these sites will be assigned a letter. Following a list of each of the titles discussed in Chapter Three will be listed the letter designations of each site at which that title occurs, with the numbers (in parenthesis) of the individuals from that site who hold each title. The numbers of Twelfth Dynasty governors are underlined.

- A Aswan 7.
 B Akhmim 152, 157, (163 from El-Hawâwîsh).
 C Asyut 174.
 D Meir 179.
 E Bersha 206, 207, (213 from Hatnub).
 F Beni Hasan 227, 236, 237, 255, 261, 294, 305.

³*imy-r* ḥb wḥmt (šwt nšmt) F (227).

³*imy-r* mšḥ F (227, 305).

³*imy-r* nīwt E (206. 207).

³*imy-r* ḥmw-ntr A (7), B (152, 157), C (174), D (179),
 E (206, 207, 213), F (227, 294).

³*imy-r* sšwy F (227).

³*imy-r* sdzwt(yw) ----

³*iry* pḥt A (7), B (152, 157), C (174), D (179), E (207),
 F (227, 294).

³*iry* Nḥn A (7), F (227, 236, 237, 261, 294, 305).

³*d-mr* Dp C (174).

wr mdw šmḥw ----

wḥmw ----

³*rh* nsw C (174), D (179), E (207), F (227, 236, 237,

261, 294, 305).

ḥ3ty-r A (7), B (152, 157), C (174), D (179), E (206, 207, 213), F (227, 236, 237, 255, 261, 294, 305).

ḥry-tp r3 n X A (7), B (152, 157, 163), C (174), D (179), E (206, 207, 213), F (227, 236, 237, 255, 261, 294, 305).

ḥry-tp Nḥb F (227, 236, 237, 261, 294, 305).

ḥrp nsyt C (174), E (206, 207, 213), F (227).

smr w[˙]ty A (7), B (157), C (174), D (179), E (207, 213), F (227, 236, 237, 261, 294, 305).

sš r n nsu ----

sḏ3w ----

sḏ3wty b[˙]ity A (7), B (157), C (174), D (179), E (207, 213), F (227, 236, 237, 261, 294, 305).

sḏ3wty ntr ----

t3yty ----

t3ty E (206, 207, 213).

INDEX OF TITLES

The numbers refer to individuals contained in the Prosopography of Middle Kingdom officials in Chapter Two.

³*Imy-r r̄b wḥmt (šwt nšmt)* 71, 227, 413, 751, 807.

³*Imy-r mšr* 68, 155, 178, 204, 227, 301, 305, 311, 384, 436, 458, 515, 523, 557, 623, 676, 678, 699, 742, 767, 769, 778, 804, 808, 810, 811, 824, 833, 835, 861.

³*Imy-r nšwt* 31, 44, 86, 206, 207, 247, 331, 382, 391, 562, 610, 710, 793.

³*Imy-r ḥmw-ntr* 7, 16, 41, 42, 101, 152, 157, 166, 171, 174, 179, 191, 192, 197, 200, 206, 207, 209, 212, 213, 217, 227, 259, 294, 332, 399, 416, 642, 736, 746, 795, 813, 829, 840, 868.

³*Imy-r sšwy* 227, 337, 378, 413, 483, 751.

³*Imy-r sdšwt(yw)* 21, 22, 27, 60, 61, 84, 91, 172, 173, 181, 182, 214, 271, 278, 309, 321, 330, 337, 338, 347, 348, 370, 394, 432, 440, 447, 474, 482, 483, 492, 501, 510, 525, 534, 541, 543, 587, 595, 605, 624, 632, 633, 657, 661, 789, 875, 883.

³*Iry p̄t* 7, 17, 31, 41, 42, 44, 54, 71, 82, 84, 86, 87, 89, 91, 101, 102, 152, 157, 166, 171, 174, 179, 191, 192, 207, 212, 227, 247, 259, 294, 314, 317, 319, 321, 327, 330, 336, 337, 338, 361, 371, 384, 385, 399, 402, 413, 425, 456, 483, 520, 535, 538, 540, 568, 586, 604, 610, 657, 705, 718, 725, 767, 769, 778, 783, 786, 787, 793, 795, 824, 833, 850, 868, 883, 887, 891, 895.

²Iry Nhn 44, 227, 236, 237, 261, 294, 305, 337, 483.

²Iry-ht nsw see rh nsw

[^]d-mr Dp 174, 767.

Wr mdw Šmow 23, 24, 25, 28, 37, 48, 66, 352, 445,
460, 477, 518, 519, 545, 553, 584, 601, 608, 636,
637, 650, 651, 670, 708, 718, 724, 725, 740, 745,
749, 763, 765, 788, 794, 828, 851, 860, 865, 877,
882, 884, 888, 889, 891, 894.

Whmw 30, 240, 437, 441, 547, 596, 599, 682, 688, 716,
729, 753, 792, 845, 850.

R Nhn see ²iry Nhn

Rh nsw 20, 71, 82, 88, 89, 174, 179, 207, 227, 236,
237, 261, 294, 301, 305, 336, 337, 425, 428, 438,
457, 702, 718, 790, 806, 813, 834, 850.

Hzty-o 6, 7, 16, 17, 31, 35, 41, 42, 44, 45, 54, 56,
68, 71, 82, 84, 86, 87, 89, 91, 93, 101, 102,
152, 153, 154, 156, 157, 165, 166, 167, 171, 174,
179, 180, 191, 192, 197, 200, 201, 206, 207, 208,
209, 212, 213, 217, 218, 227, 236, 237, 247, 255,
259, 261, 294, 305, 311, 314, 317, 319, 321, 327,
330, 332, 335, 336, 337, 361, 371, 377, 384, 385,
399, 400, 402, 406, 413, 416, 425, 426, 455, 456,
483, 484, 505, 535, 538, 539, 540, 557, 558, 568,
586, 592, 600, 604, 610, 640, 642, 657, 660, 663,
687, 692, 705, 713, 718, 720, 725, 736, 746, 767,
769, 777, 778, 783, 786, 787, 793, 795, 799, 809,
824, 829, 833, 840, 850, 853, 868, 883, 887, 891,
895.

Hry-tp oz n X 7, 152, 157, 163, 174, 179, 206, 207,
213, 227, 236, 237, 255, 261, 294, 305, 786, 868.

Hry-tp Nhb 227, 236, 237, 261, 294, 305, 337.

Hrp nsyt 174, 197, 200, 206, 207, 208, 209, 213, 217,
227.

Smr woty 7, 17, 18, 19, 22, 41, 42, 44, 47, 51, 58,
60, 61, 63, 71, 72, 75, 76, 82, 84, 86, 88, 92,
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192, 195, 201, 207, 212, 213, 214, 219, 222, 227,
236, 237, 259, 261, 294, 301, 305, 308, 321, 327,
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394, 402, 407, 413, 438, 464, 483, 489, 492, 568,
657, 705, 751, 767, 769, 778, 786, 795, 804, 807,
824, 855, 869, 879, 880, 892.

Sš c n nsw 19, 34, 186, 189, 193, 202, 210, 238, 281,
287, 393, 536, 641, 728, 739, 755.

Sđzw 32, 38, 59, 65, 70, 119, 175, 176, 211, 215,
216, 282, 300, 388, 487, 514, 563, 570, 573, 605,
609, 613, 622, 668, 671, 677, 686, 741, 742, 743,
774, 782, 847, 869.

Sđzwt¹y b²ity 7, 8, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22, 27, 41, 42, 44,
47, 51, 54, 57, 58, 61, 62, 63, 68, 71, 72, 75,
76, 82, 84, 85, 86, 88, 91, 92, 93, 98, 99, 100,
101, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159,
171, 172, 174, 179, 192, 195, 201, 205, 207, 212,
213, 227, 236, 237, 259, 261, 269, 294, 301, 305,
311, 314, 321, 327, 330, 333, 336, 337, 338, 339,
347, 357, 384, 385, 389, 394, 402, 407, 413, 447,
456, 474, 483, 492, 541, 543, 568, 604, 657, 669,
705, 721, 728, 739, 751, 761, 767, 769, 775, 778,
780, 785, 795, 804, 807, 824, 856, 879, 883, 887,
892, 895.

Sđzwt¹y n²tr 76, 92, 223, 234, 362, 406, 574, 663, 815,

818.

Tzyty 44, 52, 86, 331, 483.

Tzty 31, 44, 86, 206, 207, 213, 331, 382, 391, 483,
610, 710, 793.

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