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The American University in Cairo  
School of Humanities and Social Science

PURE ONES:  
THE *W<sup>c</sup>B* AND *W<sup>c</sup>BT* FROM THE OLD KINGDOM TO THE END OF THE  
MIDDLE KINGDOM

A Thesis Submitted to

The Department of Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology, and Egyptology

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the degree of Master of Arts

by Amy M. Wilson

(under the supervision of Dr. Mariam Ayad)

December 2014

The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Science (HUSS)

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has been approved by

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DEDICATION

For the Living



Lillian P. Wilson  
Margaret G. Wilson  
Donna M. Ferris

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## ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the development of the *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title from the Old Kingdom to the end of the Middle Kingdom. During the Old Kingdom, 59% of title-holders are linked to the royal mortuary cult, many of whom were promoted to the upper-ranking office of *hm-ntr*. Of all of the known title-holders of the Old Kingdom, 46% were promoted to *hm-ntr*. Although some *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* continue to be linked to the royal mortuary cult in the Middle Kingdom, the majority of title-holders are now linked to the cult of a deity. Few *w<sup>s</sup>b*-priests were promoted to (or served within) other priestly grades, e.g. *hm-ntr*, *hm-k3*, *hry-hbt*, or *s(t)m*-priest. There is, however, a remarkable increase (4%) in the number of female title-holders during the Middle Kingdom. An investigation into issues of heredity and transfer of office revealed that the most common filial relationships for all historical periods were father-and-son and brother-and-brother. The information compiled within this study provides insight into the role of the *w<sup>s</sup>b* in cult and society from the Old Kingdom to the end of the Middle Kingdom. A chronological index, containing the names and title-strings of 524 men and women that held this title from the 3rd Dynasty to the 13th Dynasty concludes this study.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The title  (*w<sup>6</sup>b*) or "pure one" is one of the most ubiquitous religious titles of the dynastic period. While previous studies have tended to focus on the upper-ranking titles of the priestly hierarchy, little attention has been given to lower-ranking titles, such as *w<sup>6</sup>b*. This thesis aims to examine what part the *w<sup>6</sup>b.w* played in both cult and society from the Old Kingdom until the end of the Middle Kingdom. To that end, 524 instances of the title, held by men and women from the Old Kingdom until the end of the Middle Kingdom, were compiled and organized into a chronological index. This diachronic compilation of the title hopes to present the development and variation of the *w<sup>6</sup>b*-title over this period of time. The index of all known title-holders and their title-strings, presented in this study, will hopefully serve as a useful reference to other scholars.

### Literature Review

The priesthood in ancient Egypt has been the subject of several studies that range from the general overview by Sauneron<sup>1</sup> to more focused investigations of the priesthood (or a specific title therein) during a narrow historical period. Few studies have focused on the priesthood in the Old Kingdom in preference of later periods that have significantly more textual material. Studies that focus on the Old Kingdom are limited to that on the female "god's servants of Hathor" (*hmt-ntr n Hwt-hr*) by Galvin<sup>2</sup> and the "one who sees the Great One" (*m3-wr/wr-m3.w*) by Moursi.<sup>3</sup>

Studies that focus on the New Kingdom include the High Priests of Amun until the 21st Dynasty by Lefébvre,<sup>4</sup> from the 21st to 23rd Dynasties by Kruchten,<sup>5</sup> and until the end of the 25th Dynasty by Kees.<sup>6</sup> Onstine's study on "chantresses" (*šm<sup>6</sup>yt*)<sup>7</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup> Serge Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Lorton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2000).

<sup>2</sup> Marianne Galvin, "The Priestesses of Hathor in the Old Kingdom and the 1st Intermediate Period" (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1981).

<sup>3</sup> Mohamed Moursi, *Die Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes von der Frühzeit Ägyptens bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1972).

<sup>4</sup> Gustave Lefébvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'à la XXIe dynastie* (Paris: Librairie orientale P. Geuthner, 1929).

<sup>5</sup> Kruchten, Jean-Marie, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXIIIes dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon* (Leuven: Département orientalistiek, 1989).

<sup>6</sup> Hermann Kees, *Die Hohenpriester des Amun von Karnak von Herihor bis zum Ende der Äthiopenzeit* (Leiden: Brill, 1964).

<sup>7</sup> Suzanne Onstine, *The Role of the Chantress (šm<sup>6</sup>yt) in Ancient Egypt* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005).

Ayad's examination of the God's Wife of Amun<sup>8</sup> focuses on women. Leclant examined various priests of the 25th Dynasty.<sup>9</sup> An additional study on the eponymous priests of the Ptolemaic Period was done by Clarysse.<sup>10</sup>

## Methodology

Various works were consulted during the preparation of this thesis. *W<sup>c</sup>b*-titles from the Old Kingdom were collected from the index initially compiled by Murray<sup>11</sup> and later expanded by Jones.<sup>12</sup> Contemporary references to *w<sup>c</sup>b.w* were found within the Abusir Papyri, which include the archives of the mortuary complexes of Neferirkare-Kakai<sup>13</sup> and Neferefre.<sup>14</sup> Additional title-holders were found in Harvey's catalog of wooden statues from the Old Kingdom.<sup>15</sup>

*W<sup>c</sup>b*-titles from the First Intermediate Period were gleaned from the indices of Murray,<sup>16</sup> Jones,<sup>17</sup> and Ward.<sup>18</sup> The dating of First Intermediate Period monuments by Daoud<sup>19</sup> was also useful in identifying title holders of this period. Those mentioned within the Hatnub graffiti were recorded by Anthes,<sup>20</sup> which were later re-examined by Shaw.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Mariam Ayad, *God's Wife, God's Servant: The God's Wife of Amun (c. 740-525 BC)* (London: Routledge, 2009).

<sup>9</sup> Jean Leclant, *Enquêtes sur les sacerdoces et les sanctuaires égyptiens à l'époque dite 'éthiopienne' (XXVe dynastie)* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1954).

<sup>10</sup> Willy Clarysse, *The Eponymous Priests of Ptolemaic Egypt (P.L. Bat. 24): chronological lists of the priests of Alexandria and Ptolemais with a study of the demotic transcriptions of their names* (Leiden: Brill, 1983).

<sup>11</sup> Margaret Murray, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom* (London: Kegan Paul, 2004).

<sup>12</sup> Dilwyn Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000).

<sup>13</sup> Paule Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï (Les papyrus d'Abousir): traduction et commentaire I-II* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1976).

<sup>14</sup> Paule Posener-Kriéger et. al., *Abusir X: the pyramid complex of Raneferef: the papyrus archive* (Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, 2006).

<sup>15</sup> Julia Harvey, *Wooden Statues of the Old Kingdom* (Leiden: Brill, 2001).

<sup>16</sup> Murray, *Index*.

<sup>17</sup> Jones, *Index*.

<sup>18</sup> William Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom* (Beirut: American University in Beirut, 1982).

<sup>19</sup> Khaled Daoud, *Corpus of Inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period from the Memphite Necropolis: Translation, Commentary, Analyses* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2005).

<sup>20</sup> Rudolf Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub nach den Aufnahmen Georg Möllers* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1928).

<sup>21</sup> Ian Shaw, *Hatnub: Quarrying Travertine in Ancient Egypt* (London: EES, 2010), Appendix 5.



*W<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-titles from the Middle Kingdom were collected from the index compiled by Ward<sup>22</sup> and the supplement made by Fischer.<sup>23</sup> Contemporary references to *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b.w* were found within the Lahun Papyri. The bulk of this material comes from the UCL archive, which was originally published by Griffith<sup>24</sup> and was most recently re-examined by Collier and Quirke.<sup>25</sup> Additional material comes from the Berlin archive, published by Lüddeckens.<sup>26</sup> Borchardt published one additional article pertaining to this corpus.<sup>27</sup> Mendoza's catalog of bronze statues was also consulted, although no additional title-holders from the Middle Kingdom were identified using her catalog.<sup>28</sup>

This thesis is not intended to be an exhaustive list of all *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-titles and their title-holders. It is possible for other titles and title-holders to have existed, but had failed to be preserved within the archaeological and textual record; others may have yet to be discovered. Although the material from the Old and Middle Kingdoms is much more plentiful than that of the First Intermediate Period, the representation of any historical period should not be assumed to be complete. Remote archaeological sites have yet to be thoroughly investigated and published and surely others have yet to be discovered. Other information will be lost forever due to the continuous destruction of archaeological sites within Egypt.

## Overview

Chapter 2 examines the meaning of ritual purity in ancient Egypt in order to contextualize the meaning of the title *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b*, or "pure one." The prerequisites for the title-holders are discussed, a reconstruction of the purification process is presented, and the

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<sup>22</sup> Ward, *Index*.

<sup>23</sup> Henry George Fischer, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom: a Supplement to Wm. Ward's Index* (New York: MMA, 1985).

<sup>24</sup> Francis Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob (Principally of the Middle Kingdom): The Petrie Papyri I-II* (London: B. Quaritch, 1898).

<sup>25</sup> Mark Collier and Stephen Quirke, eds., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Letters* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2002); Mark Collier and Stephen Quirke, eds., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical, and Medical* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004); Mark Collier and Stephen Quirke, eds., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2006).

<sup>26</sup> Erich Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Handschriften I* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1971).

<sup>27</sup> Ludwig Borchardt, "Der zweite Papyrusfund von Kahun und die zeitlich Festlegung des mittleren Reiches der ägyptischen Geschichte," *ZÄS* 37 (1899): 89-122.

<sup>28</sup> Barbara Mendoza, *Everlasting servants of the gods: bronze priests of ancient Egypt from the Middle Kingdom to the Graeco-Roman period* (Ann Arbor: U.M.I. Dissertation Services, 2006), 97-114.

purificatory agents used in this process are briefly outlined. The tenable locations of the purification process are also mentioned.



Chapter 3 explores the status of the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* within the temple hierarchy in relation to the *ḥm-ntr*, or "god's servant." The potential for the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*'s promotion to other priestly ranks is also mentioned. The duties of the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w* are also discussed, as based upon surviving textual and iconographic evidence from the Old through Middle Kingdoms.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6, present each *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-title as they occur throughout the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period, and Middle Kingdom, respectively. In each chapter, the titles are presented according to type, e.g. the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-titles associated with the royal family, funerary practice, with a deity, etc. A summary of the widely-attested *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* and *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt* is provided in Chapters 4 and 6, as discussion of each these title-holders is unnecessary. For specialized *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-titles, each title-holder is individually discussed and familial relations are mentioned when known. A record of every known title-holder may be found within Appendices A, B, and C, which include each individual's full title-string as well as bibliographical references for each individual. At the end of each of these chapters there is a summary highlighting the overall trends of each historical period, with special attention given to the promotions of the title-holders, the heredity of the title, and gender (when applicable).

Hierarchical *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-titles, e.g. the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3* or "great pure one," are discussed as they occur in the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period, and Middle Kingdom, in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, respectively. Further discussion of the hierarchical *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-titles is made within the concluding chapter in order to determine which divine cults maintained a hierarchical differentiation of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w*, or "pure ones." The titles of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b wr* or "grand pure one," *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b bsi* or "pure one who has been initiated," and the subsidiary title of *ʿq* or "enterer," are also discussed as they appear in the Middle Kingdom.

The conclusion, Chapter 7, presents an overview of the geographical distribution of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-titles by period, a discussion of hierarchical and subsidiary *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-titles, the promotions of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w* to higher offices within and beyond the priestly hierarchy, the gender of the title-holders, as well as heredity and transfer of office. All of this collective information will hopefully illustrate what it meant to be a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*, or "pure one," in ancient Egypt.

## CHAPTER 2: *wʿb* AND THE DEFINITION OF RITUAL PURITY

The noun that forms the title *wʿb* or "pure one" is derived from the adjective *wʿb* "pure" and the verb *wʿb* "to purify."<sup>29</sup> As early as the 3rd Dynasty, the title is rendered as ,<sup>30</sup> which depicts a vessel pouring liquid over a kneeling man whose arms are raised in adoration.<sup>31</sup> From the First Intermediate Period until the end of the Middle Kingdom, the title is rendered as ,<sup>32</sup> which depicts a vessel pouring liquid over a phonetic complement (*b*) that has replaced the figure of the kneeling man with raised arms. The implication of ritual purity is clear from both the title's orthography as well as its literal translation. The word's usage also meant "to perform priestly service" in the Pyramid Texts (PT)<sup>33</sup> and Coffin Texts (CT).<sup>34</sup> The association of ritual purity and priestly service was so firmly embedded within Egyptian language and culture that it was preserved in Coptic as ΟΥΟΠ for "priest."<sup>35</sup> A Greek loanword was not used for priest.

This chapter seeks to explore the meaning of ritual purity - i.e. how ritual purification occurred, what agents were used in the purification process, and where purification occurred - as the basis from which to understand the *wʿb.w*, or "pure ones." An understanding of the concept of ritual purity is essential to understand the performative role of the title-holder within sacred space.

The most basic concepts of purity and impurity are intrinsic to human nature. For example, Douglas' landmark study investigates the binary opposition between purity-sacred-order versus pollution-profane-chaos and the rationale for this division.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Wb.* I, 280-285; *Wb.* IV, 66.

<sup>30</sup> Alan Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar* (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1957), 442 [A6]; Jochem Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.-3. Dynastie* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1994), 422.

<sup>31</sup> Analogous to [A4] and [A30]. Refer to: Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 442 [A4], 445 [A30].

<sup>32</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 458 [D60].

<sup>33</sup> Specifically in reference to caring for the divine image: PT spell 477 §969-970, in: Kurt Sethe, *Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrucken und Photographien des Berliner Museums II* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1910), 42-43; Raymond Faulkner, trans., *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 164-165.

<sup>34</sup> As found in the following spells: CT spell 533, in: Adriaan de Buck, *The Egyptian Coffin Texts VI* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956), 131f; Raymond Faulkner, trans., *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts II* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, Ltd, 1973), 155-156. CT spell 542, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts VI*, 137j; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts II*, 159. CT spell 837, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts VII*, 39k; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts III*, 23-25, n. 27. CT spell 1099, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts VII*, 393b, Faulkner, *Coffin Texts III*, 154-156.

<sup>35</sup> Wolfhart Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1977), 267; Walter Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939), 487-488.

<sup>36</sup> Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: an Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge, 2002).

Although her study does not include any examples specifically drawn from ancient Egypt, it is still a useful means for understanding this most basic dichotomy.

Further specifications of what constitutes "purity" are culturally specific and by their very nature cannot be generalized. Understanding the ancient Egyptian concept of purity is further problematic due to the subjectivity of the modern observer.<sup>37</sup> Nevertheless, the topic may be approached within its own theoretical framework.<sup>38</sup>

Scholars have been reticent to formulate a definition of ritual purity from ancient Egyptian sources due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence.<sup>39</sup> Grieshammer notes that purity is required for both people and property and is a prerequisite for entry into sacred space.<sup>40</sup> Gee follows Grieshammer by defining purity as "those things required to enter sacred space."<sup>41</sup> Dieleman presents the most extensive definition, for which "purity could be defined as the physical and mental condition required to enter a sacred place, either a temple, tomb, palace or any spot where ritual is conducted for the occasion."<sup>42</sup> Meeks further observes that purity determines the effectiveness of ritual performance,<sup>43</sup> while Bonnet observes that purity is a transient state that must be continually restored by ritual performance;<sup>44</sup> thereby resulting in a perpetual cycle in which purity and ritual performance continually reinforce each other.

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<sup>37</sup> Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. Gayatri Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

<sup>38</sup> For a more rigorous theoretical approach to the study of ancient concepts and the problems associated with them, see Ritner's discussion of religion, magic and heka, in: Robert Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1993), 236-249.

<sup>39</sup> "There are many sources, but very few are substantial, normative, and explicit at the same time." For further commentary, see: Joachim Quack, "Conceptions of Purity in Ancient Egyptian Religion," in *Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Ancient Judaism*, ed. Christian Frevel and Christophe Nihan (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 115.


<sup>40</sup> "Reinheit wird von Personen und Sachen gefordert. Reinheit ist Vorbedingung für den Eintritt in einen heiligen, d.h. hervorgehobenen und ausgezeichneten Ort oder Stand." Reinhard Grieshammer, "Reinheit, kultische," in *LÄ V*, 212.

<sup>41</sup> John Gee, "The Requirements of Ritual Purity in Ancient Egypt" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1998), 5.

<sup>42</sup> Jacco Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites: the London-Leiden Magical Manuscripts and Translation in Egyptian Ritual (100-300 CE)* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 211-212.

<sup>43</sup> Dimitri Meeks, "Pureté et Impureté. L'Ancien Orient. Pureté et purification en Égypte," in *Supplément au Dictionnaire de la Bible IX*, ed. Henri Cazelles and André Feuillet (Paris: Letouzey & Ané, 1975), 446-449.

<sup>44</sup> "Denn die Reinheit ist natürlich kein fester Besitz; sie muß immer wieder hergestellt werden. Darum gehen jeder rituellen Handlung Reinigungen voraus." Hans Bonnet, "Reinheit," in *Reallexikon der Ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1952), 632.

Following Eliade's theory,<sup>45</sup> in which the sacred may be defined in contrast to the profane, the meaning of purity may likewise be defined in opposition to what was regarded as an "abomination,"<sup>46</sup> or  (*bwt*) in Egyptian. The concept of *bwt* encompasses a broad spectrum ranging from social evils, including crime (e.g. murder, theft, etc.), violation of ethical norms (e.g. partiality), and religious offenses (e.g. being impure in a sacred space), as well as a variety of things, including specific food products, animals, peoples, regions, etc.<sup>47</sup> Purity may thus be defined as the absence of the above.<sup>48</sup> The adjective *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* was used to indicate a new and unblemished state, e.g. a blank sheet of papyrus,<sup>49</sup> or a stone without any visible inclusions.<sup>50</sup> The "Declaration of Innocence"<sup>51</sup> of the Book of the Dead (BD) Chapter 125,<sup>52</sup> uttered by the deceased prior to entry into the Hall of Justice, is exemplary of the concept of ethical purity, for which the deceased had not committed any social wrongs.

Based upon the above evidence, this author proposes that ritual purity in ancient Egypt was two-fold: purity of mind and purity of body. Purity of mind was achieved through abstaining from all practices considered *bwt*, which was later affirmed by the utterance of an oath. Purity of body was likewise achieved through avoidance of the impure, followed by a proscribed series of steps to remove any lingering impurities, each of which are described in further detail below.

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<sup>45</sup> Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: the Nature of Religion*, trans. Willard Trask (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1959), 10.

<sup>46</sup> *Wb.* I, 453-454.

<sup>47</sup> Paul Frandsen, "Sin, Pollution, and Purity: Egypt," in *Religions of the Ancient World: A Guide*, ed. Sarah Johnston (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2004), 498; Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 212; Pierre Montet, "Le fruit défendu," *Kêmi* 11 (1950): 85-116; Paul Frandsen, "On the Origin of the Notion of Evil in Ancient Egypt," *GM* 179 (2000): 9-34; Mpay Kemboly, *The Question of Evil in Ancient Egypt* (London: Golden House Publications, 2010), 32-35.

<sup>48</sup> "*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* révèle surtout une absence." Meeks, "Pureté et Impureté," 432.

<sup>49</sup> Meeks, "Pureté et Impureté," 432; Yvan Koenig, "L'eau et la Magie," in *Les problèmes institutionnels de l'eau en Égypte ancienne et dans l'antiquité méditerranéenne*, ed. Bernadette Menu (Paris: IFAO, 1994), 244.

<sup>50</sup> James Harris, *Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Materials* (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), 77; Shaw, *Hatnub*, 14.

<sup>51</sup> Also known as the "Negative Confession."

<sup>52</sup> Raymond Faulkner, trans. *The Egyptian Book of the Dead: The Book of Going Forth by Day, being the Papyrus of Ani (royal scribe of the divine offerings), written and illustrated c. 1250 B.C.E., by scribes and artists unknown, including the balance of chapters of the books of the dead known as the Theban Recension, compiled from ancient texts, dating back to the roots of Egyptian civilization* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1994), 115-116.

## 2.I. The Purification Process

According to Blackman, ritual purification was accomplished through the following procedures: preliminary purification, bathing, cleansing the mouth, washing the feet, cleaning of nails, shaving (both face and head), depilation, as well as washing and censing prior to entry to the temple.<sup>53</sup> Grieshammer only mentions washing, shaving, and donning white robes.<sup>54</sup> Most recently, Gee has reconstructed a "ritual paradigm," which consists of the following ethical and physical procedures: making an oath, washing, censing, anointing, and investiture (to which additional steps may be added or repeated depending upon the ritual in question).<sup>55</sup> The core of this paradigm is based on the rituals mentioned in the Pyramid Texts,<sup>56</sup> Coffin Texts,<sup>57</sup> and BD 145,<sup>58</sup> as well as various texts from the Late Period.<sup>59</sup> Although the officiants of the rituals contained within the mortuary texts are deceased, Grieshammer has convincingly argued that BD 125 is derived from the initiation texts reserved for priests entering the temple,<sup>60</sup> and that by analogy, the deceased is being initiated into the afterlife.<sup>61</sup> Other scholars have likewise argued for the overlapping use of mortuary texts by living officiants.<sup>62</sup>

Ritual purification was the most essential requirement for the *w<sup>b</sup>.w*, or "pure ones," as indicated by their title. The earliest texts that form the basis of Gee's paradigm are contemporary to the temporal framework of this study, which is the reason his paradigm is followed here. Additional components of the purification process, such as

<sup>53</sup> Emphasis was also placed upon washing hands, trimming nails, depilation, shaving, and dressing in clean clothes (although not necessarily in that order); for males, circumcision was also a prerequisite. Refer to: Aylward Blackman, "Purification (Egyptian)," in *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* X, ed. James Hastings et al. (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1956), 476-477, 480-481.

<sup>54</sup> Grieshammer, "Reinheit," 212.

<sup>55</sup> Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 285-288, Table 7.3.

<sup>56</sup> Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* I-II; James Allen, trans., *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*.

<sup>57</sup> de Buck, *Coffin Texts* I-VII; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I-III.

<sup>58</sup> Thomas Allen, trans., *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in their Own Terms* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1974), 125-128.

<sup>59</sup> Including the Opening of the Mouth, the Book of Breathing, etc. For a complete list, see: Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," Tables 7.1-3.

<sup>60</sup> Reinhard Grieshammer, "Zum 'Sitz im Leben' des negativen Sündenbekenntnisses," in *XVIII. Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 1. bis 5. Oktober 1972 in Lübeck* (Wiesbaden: Steiner, 1974), 19-25.

<sup>61</sup> Jan Assmann, *Death and Salvation in Ancient Egypt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 352-355.


<sup>62</sup> For the Pyramid Texts, refer to: Brigitte Altenmüller-Kesting, "Reinigungsriten im ägyptischen Kult," (PhD diss., Universität Hamburg, 1968). For the Coffin Texts, refer to: Walter Federn, "The 'Transformations' in the Coffin Texts: A New Approach," *JNES* 19/4 (1960): 241-257; Mordechai Gilula, "Hirtengeschichte 17-22 = CT VII 36m-r," *GM* 29 (1978): 21-22. For the Amduat, Book of Caverns, and Book of Gates, refer to: Edward Wente, "Mysticism in Pharaonic Egypt?," *JNES* 41/3 (1982): 161-179.

those mentioned by Blackman<sup>63</sup> and Quack,<sup>64</sup> are well-documented during the Late Period but not during the earlier historical periods relevant to this study. The purification process is outlined below in accordance with Gee's paradigm, and supplementary information from Late Period sources is included in footnotes.

### 2.1.1. Making an Oath

Based on his thematic analysis of the "Declaration of Innocence" in BD 125, Gee has identified the following themes on which individuals make oaths to proclaim their ethical purity: not doing evil, not stealing, not speaking evil, no disobedience, no harassment, no neglect, and no sexual misconduct.<sup>65</sup> Many of these statements are followed by the affirmation, *ink w<sup>6</sup>b.kwi*, or "I am pure."<sup>66</sup> The oath, therefore, constitutes an integral part of the purification process and precedes the act of physical purification that follows.

### 2.1.2. Washing

The hieroglyphic representation of  (*w<sup>6</sup>b*), "to be pure," depicts a vessel pouring liquid over a kneeling man with arms raised in adoration. Ritner notes that washing is a "technique of 'removal'" of impurity, and by extension, what is evil.<sup>67</sup> Such an idea is conveyed in CT 335:

<p><i>dr(i) iw.i</i>  <i>hsf.n itw.i</i>  <i>shr isft irt.i</i>  <i>w<sup>6</sup>b.n.i m sš.wy ipw wr.wy ʿ3.wy</i>  <i>nty m Nni-nsw</i></p>	<p>I expelled my wrongdoing,          I dispelled my evils,          I removed the falsehood which I made,          For I have bathed in these grand, great pools          that are in <i>Nni-nsw</i>.<sup>68</sup></p>
--	---

The same spell is later preserved as BD 17.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>63</sup> Blackman, "Purification," 480.

<sup>64</sup> Quack, "Conceptions of Purity," 122-128, 144-152.

<sup>65</sup> Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 172-209.

<sup>66</sup> Allen, *Book of the Dead*, 97; Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, 115-116. Gee likens the "Negative Confession" of BD 125 to the *sdf3-try.t*, or "negative promissory oath." Refer to: Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 288.

<sup>67</sup> Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 102, n. 496; Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 291.

<sup>68</sup> CT spell 335, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts IV*, 209-214; *Urk.* V, 22-23; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts I*, 260, 263 (with gloss).

<sup>69</sup> BD spell 17, in: Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, 101-102, pl. 7-10.

Washing could take place in any variety of locations, real or mythical: the Nile,<sup>70</sup> sacred lakes (e.g. the Lake of Natron and the Lake of Justice,<sup>71</sup> Lake of Nun,<sup>72</sup> Lake of *Htp*,<sup>73</sup> Lake of the Jackal,<sup>74</sup> Lotus Lake,<sup>75</sup> Lake of Shu,<sup>76</sup> Lake of Cool Water,<sup>77</sup> Lake of the Netherworld,<sup>78</sup> Lake of the *Dw3t*-dwellers,<sup>79</sup> as well as other unnamed lakes),<sup>80</sup> the sacred lake of a temple,<sup>81</sup> in a basin,<sup>82</sup> or in a designated structure.<sup>83</sup>

Aside from immersion within a body of water, washing is also accomplished by pouring water from containers, as illustrated by the hieroglyph above. The earliest-known lustration-vessel that may have been used for such a purpose dates to the reign of Den, which takes the form of an  $\overset{\circ}{\text{T}}$  (*nh*) whose top is partially enclosed by the arms of an inverted  $\cup$  (*k3*), as shown in Fig. 1, below.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>70</sup> Meeks, "Pureté et Impureté," 434-435.

<sup>71</sup> CT spell 335, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* IV, 213e, 216/217c; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 260, 263.

<sup>72</sup> CT spell 279, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* IV, 26a; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 210.

<sup>73</sup> CT spell 255, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* III, 360f; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 196. CT spell 362, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* V, 17i; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* II, 4.

<sup>74</sup> CT spell 33, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* I, 129b; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 22. CT spell 551, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* VI, 150a; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* II, 163.

<sup>75</sup> CT spell 44, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* I, 187g; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 36. CT spell 48, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* I, 212; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 44.

<sup>76</sup> CT spell 660, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* VI, 285p; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* II, 231.

<sup>77</sup> CT spell 61, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* I, 256g; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 56. CT spell 345, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* IV, 374b; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 280. CT spell 346, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* IV, 377b; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 281. CT spell 725, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* VI, 355n; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* II, 276. CT spell 754, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* VI, 383m; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* II, 288. CT spell 761, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* VI, 391g; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* II, 293.

<sup>78</sup> CT spell 551, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* VI, 149g; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* II, 163. CT spell 587, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* VI, 208i; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* II, 190. CT spell 891, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* VII, 101n; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* III, 53.

<sup>79</sup> CT spell 33, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* I, 130b; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 22.

<sup>80</sup> e.g. the celestial waters in CT spell 293, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* IV, 45; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 218.

<sup>81</sup> e.g. that performed by the God's Wife of Amun, as shown within Hatshepsut's *Chapelle Rouge*. Refer to: Ayad, *God's Wife*, 121, fig. 3.2; Franck Burgos and François Larché, *La Chapelle Rouge: Le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout I* (Paris: Éditions Recherches sur les Civilisations, 2006), 216 [Block No. 21].

<sup>82</sup> For an overview, see: Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 25-29.

<sup>83</sup> e.g. the Mansion of the White Bull (CT spell 37, in: Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 27), or the great tomb-plateau (CT spell 296, in: Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 220).

<sup>84</sup> Henry George Fischer, "Some Emblematic Uses of Hieroglyphs with Particular Reference to an Archaic Ritual Vessel", in *Ancient Egypt in the Metropolitan Museum Journal Volumes 1-11 (1968-1976): Articles*, ed. Cyril Aldred et al. (New York: MMA, 1977), 31-41.





**Figure 1: Ritual Vessel, MMA 19.2.16**

CT 293 refers to water being poured from *nmst*-jars by priests representing members of the Ennead:

<p>[...] <i>w<sup>b</sup>.n.k m fdt.w ipt nmst ʿ3b w<sup>b</sup>t Psgt im.sn</i></p>	<p>[...] Purification water from the four pleasant <i>nmst</i>-jars belong to you, with which the Ennead were purified.<sup>85</sup></p>
--	--

Purification scenes from the New Kingdom typically include a pair of gods (often Horus and Thoth or Horus and Seth) pouring water over the king from *hs*-vases.<sup>86</sup> The act of washing performed by priests is further documented within a number of Late Period sources.<sup>87</sup>

<sup>85</sup> CT spell 74, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* I, 311; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 70.

<sup>86</sup> Altenmüller-Kesting, "Reinigungsriten im ägyptischen Kult," 90-111; Alan Gardiner, "The Baptism of Pharaoh," *JEA* 36 (1950): 3-12; Alan Gardiner, "Addendum to 'The Baptism of Pharaoh,'" *JEA* 37 (1951): 3-12; Aylward Blackman, "Some Notes on the Ancient Egyptian Practice of Washing the Dead", *JEA* 5 (1918): 117-124; Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 19-25.

<sup>87</sup> *P. Wien* 27 10/1-2, in: Wilhelm Spiegelberg, "Ein Bruchstück des Bestattungsrituals der Apisstiere (Demot. Pap. Wien Nr. 27)," *ZÄS* 56 (1920): 7; Herodotus, II. 37.3; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* XI.1, 23.

In addition to washing the body, cleansing the mouth is also of utmost importance. According to Late Period texts, cleansing the mouth was made in preparation to utter the name of the deity;<sup>88</sup> failure for a priest to do so could form grounds for an accusation.<sup>89</sup>

### 2.1.3. Censing

Following the introductory libation spell of the Pyramid Texts,<sup>90</sup> and following the offering of cold water in the Coffin Texts,<sup>91</sup> is the act of censing, which formed an essential part of the purification process. In contrast to water and ointment (§2.1.4 below) being used as a means of removal of what is undesirable, incense was likely used as a means to add what is desirable, e.g. a pleasant smell. When coupled together, washing and censing symbolized the revivification of the physical body.<sup>92</sup> According to a Late Period text, censing was considered a requirement to open the doors of heaven.<sup>93</sup>

### 2.1.4. Anointing

Following the mouth-opening meal of the Pyramid Texts,<sup>94</sup> and directly following censing in the Coffin Texts,<sup>95</sup> is the act of anointing with various unguents (which may later be repeated in the same ritual).<sup>96</sup> As with washing, anointing was considered a means of removal of what was bad or evil, as stated within PT 637:

[...] *h3 N iw.n(i) hr.k dd.ti*  
*imh(i) tw m md.t*  
*prt m irt Hr.w*  
*imh(i) tw im.s*  
*ts.s n.k qs.k*

[...] O this N, I have come to you risen  
 I filled you with the oil  
 That comes forth from the eye of Horus.  
 I filled you with it.  
 It raises your bones for you,

<sup>88</sup> P. Boulaq 6 11/7-12/4, in: Yvan Koenig, *Le Papyrus Boulaq 6: Transcription, Traduction et Commentaire* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1981), 115-121, pls. XI-XIIa.

<sup>89</sup> P. Turin 1887 1/9-10, in: Alan Gardiner, ed., *Ramesside Administrative Documents* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), 75.

<sup>90</sup> PT spell 25 §17-18, in: Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* I, 10-12; Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 4-5; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 19.

<sup>91</sup> CT spell 936, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* VII, 137-138; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* III, 70-71.

<sup>92</sup> Aylward Blackman, "The Significance of Incense and Libations in Funerary and Temple Ritual," *ZÄS* 50 (1912): 75.

<sup>93</sup> Louis Zabkar, "A Hymn to Incense in the Temple of Arsenuphis at Philae," in *Studies in Pharaonic Religion and Society in Honour of J. Gwyn Griffiths*, ed. Alan Lloyd (London: EES, 1992), 236-237, 239.

<sup>94</sup> PT spells 72-78 §50-54, in: Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* I, 28-30; Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 17-19.

<sup>95</sup> CT spell 936, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* VII, 138; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* III, 71.

<sup>96</sup> For a complete list of unguents and the order in which they were used within each text, see: Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 307, Table 7.5.

*dmḡ.s n.k ʿt.k*  
*s3q.s n.k iwḡ.k*  
*sḡh.s ḡdt.k ḡwt ir t3 [...]*

It reassembles your limbs for you,  
 It pulls together your flesh for you,  
 It loosens your evil sweat to the earth [...].<sup>97</sup>


Alternatively, the act of anointing may also be considered a means of healing.<sup>98</sup> In both the Pyramid Texts<sup>99</sup> and Coffin Texts,<sup>100</sup> the act of anointing precedes the deceased's transformation into an *3ḡ*, or glorified dead.

### 2.1.5. Investiture

The Offering Ritual of the Pyramid Texts contains a presentation of linen,<sup>101</sup> which is later preserved within the Coffin Texts as a presentation of clothing, incense, and the fire for burning the incense.<sup>102</sup> These spells likely symbolize the garments that are to be donned by the deceased king at the end of this ritual. Elsewhere within the Coffin Texts, investiture takes place directly after bathing, as in CT 44:

*[...] h3 Wsir N pn*  
*h3.k wʿb.k ḡnʿ Rʿ*  
*m-ḡnw š sšn.t*  
*wnḡ.k wʿb.w [tp] ibw*  
*ḡnʿ ʿnhḡ.w] m t3yt.f*

[...] Go down, this Osiris N,  
 Go down [and] purify yourself with Re  
 within Lotus Lake;  
 Don the pure (i.e. priestly) garment [upon] the refuge  
 with the one who lives in his shroud.<sup>103</sup>

In this case, the noun  (*wʿb.w*) refers to the garment the deceased will wear after purification (*wʿb*) within Lotus Lake.<sup>104</sup> Faulkner translates the word as "clean garment,"<sup>105</sup> although this word may in fact refer to the specific type of garment worn by a *wʿb*, and is therefore a priestly vestment. The term occurs only one other time within the Coffin Texts, in CT 61, which makes direct reference to the god Ptah.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>97</sup> PT spell 637 §1800-1801, in: Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* II, 438-440; Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 263-264.

<sup>98</sup> Fayza Haikal, personal communication to author, October 16, 2013.

<sup>99</sup> PT spell 77 §52-53, in: Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* I, 29-30; Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 18.

<sup>100</sup> CT spell 897, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts*, 106; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* III, 55-56.

<sup>101</sup> PT spell 81 §56-57, in: Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* I, 31-32; Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 19; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 22.

<sup>102</sup> CT spell 936, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* VII, 138; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* III, 71.

<sup>103</sup> CT spell 44, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* I, 187g-188a; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 35-38. The divine epithet *ʿnhḡ.w] m t3yt.f* may refer to Ptah, Sokar, or Osiris; it is not included in Leitz's *Lexikon*.

<sup>104</sup> See n. 75, above.

<sup>105</sup> Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 38, n. 29.

<sup>106</sup> de Buck, *Coffin Texts* I, 258f; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 56-57.





Within CT 44, above, investiture takes place *tp ibw*, or "upon (or "on top of") the refuge."<sup>107</sup> Within the story of Sinuhe,<sup>108</sup> investiture takes place within the *pr dw3t*, or "House of the Morning."<sup>109</sup> In both cases, investiture takes place within a designated structure.

Sauneron postulates that linen is the preferred material for priestly garments as clothes made from living animals could pollute the wearer and are therefore impure.<sup>110</sup> In addition to linen garments, priests were also required to wear white sandals during their time of service.<sup>111</sup> The priestly dress code is also mentioned in a number of Late Period texts,<sup>112</sup> where those who did not observe the dress-code were subject to a significant fine.<sup>113</sup>

## 2.II. Agents of Purification

Various agents of purification were employed within the process outlined above. Each of these substances, and their context within the various offering rituals, are outlined below.

### 2.II.1. Water

Each of the hieroglyphic representations , , and  for (*w<sup>6</sup>b*), "to be pure," contain a vessel from which water flows.<sup>114</sup>  (*mw*), or "water," was presumably the most commonly-used purifying agent in ancient Egypt, and the act of drinking water may

<sup>107</sup> Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 38, n. 29.

<sup>108</sup> Sinuhe 282-293, in: Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* I (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 232-233.

<sup>109</sup> Aylward Blackman, "The House of the Morning," *JEA* 5 (1918): 148-165.

<sup>110</sup> Sauneron, *Priests*, 35-42.

<sup>111</sup> *P. Petersburg*, 1116A, recto line 64, in Vladimir Golénischeff, *Les Papyrus hiératiques No No 1115, 1116A et 1116B de l'Ermitage Impérial à St. Petersburg* (St. Petersburg: Manufacture des papiers de l'état, 1913), pl. xi; Alan Gardiner, "New Literary Works from Ancient Egypt," *JEA* 1 (1914): 27 §15 [64].

<sup>112</sup> Herodotus, II: 37.2-3; *P. Wien* 27 10/1-2, in: Spiegelberg, "Bestattungsrituals der Apisstiere," 7; Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* XI, 23-24, 29; Walter Otto, *Priester und tempel im hellenistischen Ägypten* II (Leipzig: B.G. Teubner, 1905-1908), 78, 256.

<sup>113</sup> BGU 5 1210, 181-188, in: Jacco Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 209-210.


<sup>114</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 442 [A6], 448 [D60], and 463 [F17]. For variations used during the archaic period, see: Kahl, *Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.-3. Dynastie*, 905.

also have been thought to purify oneself internally.<sup>115</sup> The Offering Ritual of the Pyramid Texts begins with a libation, which may be found at the end of PT 23:

<i>Wsir iṭ.n.k msḏḏ.w N nb.w</i>	Osiris, you have seized all those who hate N,
<i>md.w n rn.f ḏw</i>	And speak against his name badly.
<i>ḏḥwti is iṭi sw n Wsir</i>	Thoth, go, seize him to Osiris
<i>in md.w m rn n N ḏw</i>	Bring [the one who speaks] evil words against the name of N
<i>d.n.k sw m drt.k</i>	You put him in your hand.
<i>ḏd md.w 4 m sfḥ.k im.f</i>	Recite four times: Do not release him!
<i>s3 m.k sfḥ.k im.f</i>	Beware, lest you release him!
<i>s3ṯ</i>	Make libation. <sup>116</sup>

The same opening spell is preserved in the Coffin Texts.<sup>117</sup> Libation symbolized the inundation, and by extension, rejuvenation of the cosmos.<sup>118</sup> Water continues to be a symbol of rebirth and rejuvenation throughout the Late Period.<sup>119</sup>

### 2.II.2. Incense

 (*sntr*), or "incense," is so inherently associated with purification that the substance's usage as a verb meant "to purify" as well as "to divinize."<sup>120</sup> It is used to purify people,<sup>121</sup> animals,<sup>122</sup> offerings,<sup>123</sup> as well as the fire that is used to burn enemies.<sup>124</sup> Following a libation spell, the second step for purification in the Offering Ritual of the Pyramid Texts is censuring, which is focused on the face of the recipient, as in PT 25:

<sup>115</sup> "The act of drinking water provided a sense of purification from the inside, thus imbuing the ritual with a heightened spiritual experience." Mu-chou Poo, "Liquids in Temple Ritual," in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Willeke Wendrich et al. (Los Angeles: UCLA, 2010), 4. For comparison between ancient and modern practice, see: Fayza Haikal, "Water of Life," in *The Realm of the Pharaohs essays in honor of Tohfa Handoussa*, ed. Zahi Hawass et al. (Le Caire: Conseil Suprême des Antiquités de l'Égypte, 2008), 283-287.

<sup>116</sup> PT spell 23 §16, in: Sethe, *Pyramidentexte I*, 8-9; Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 4; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 19.

<sup>117</sup> CT spell 936, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts VII*, 137; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts III*, 70.

<sup>118</sup> Mu-chou Poo, "Liquids in Temple Ritual," in *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, ed. Willeke Wendrich et al. (Los Angeles: UCLA, 2010), 5.

<sup>119</sup> *P. Louvre N. 3279*, XLVII-XLVIII, in: Jean-Claude Goyon, *Le Papyrus du Louvre N. 3279* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1966), 50-51, 53.

<sup>120</sup> Dimitri Meeks, "Pureté et Impureté," 436.

<sup>121</sup> As mentioned above.

<sup>122</sup> Gaballa Gaballa, *The Memphite Tomb-Chapel of Mose* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1977), 17, pls. 34-35.

<sup>123</sup> Jean-Claude Goyon, *Le Papyrus du Louvre N. 3279* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1966), 267.

<sup>124</sup> Dimitri Meeks, "Pureté et Impureté," 436-437. Ritner notes that the ritual burning of wax figures of enemies was a common temple practice, and that furnaces were attached to temples specifically for this purpose, citing one example at Tanis as well as another potential example at Bubastis. For more information, see: Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 158.

[...] *W* *sir* *N* *r* *d* *i* *n* *(i)* *n* *.k* *ir* *(t)* *Hr* *.w*  
*ḥs3t ḥr.k im.s*  
*pḏpḏ st ir Hr.w r.k*  
*Dd md.w 4 sntr ḥt*

[...] Osiris N I gave to you the Eye of Horus,  
 Your face is provided with it.  
 The odor of the Eye of Horus is diffused to you.  
 Recite 4 times: Incense [and] fire.<sup>125</sup>

Likewise the face and eyes of the recipient remain the focus of censuring in CT 936.<sup>126</sup>

### 2.II.3.a. Water and Natron

The third step of the Offering Ritual of the Pyramid Texts is cleansing the mouth with  $\text{𓆎}$  (*bd*) or "natron" (which is again repeated prior to ingestion of the offering meal), as found in PT spell 32:

*qbb.k ip n Wsir*  
*qbb.k ip n h3 N*  
*pr.w ḥr s3.k*  
*pr.w ḥr Hr*  
*iw.n(i) in(i) n.k irt Hr.w*  
*qb ib.k ḥr.s*  
*in(i) n.k sy ḥr.k ṯb.ty.k*  
*m n.k rdw pri im.k*  
*n wrḏ ib.k ḥr.s*  
*ḏd md.w 4 m prt ḥrw n.k*  
*qb bd ṯ3 2*

This your cold water has gone to Osiris,  
 This your cold water has gone to N,  
 Having come out  
 To your son, Horus.  
 I came and I brought to you the Eye of Horus,  
 So that you may be refreshed under it.  
 I bring it to you under your sandals.  
 Take to yourself the efflux that is come forth from you,  
 Your heart will not grow weary under it.  
 Recite four times invocation of offerings for you:  
 Cold water [and] 2 pellets of natron.<sup>127</sup>

This spell was performed so that the king's mouth would be as clean as "the mouth of a sucking calf on the day of its birth."<sup>128</sup> The combination of water and natron is also used for washing the dead<sup>129</sup> as well as within medical procedures.<sup>130</sup>

### 2.II.3.b. Milk

In the Coffin Texts, cleansing the mouth could also be performed with  $\text{𓆎}$  (*irtt*), or "milk," specifically the milk produced by a red cow, as we read in CT 96:

[...] *iw i<sup>c</sup>.n Wsir r.i m irtt*

Osiris washed my mouth with the milk

<sup>125</sup> PT spell 25 §17-18, in: Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* I, 10-12; Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 4-5; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 19.

<sup>126</sup> CT spell 936, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* VII, 137-138; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* III, 70-71.

<sup>127</sup> PT spell 32 §22-23, in: Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* I, 14-16; Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 6; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 19. See also: PT spells 108-109 §72, in: Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* I, 39; Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 24; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 23.

<sup>128</sup> PT spell 35 §27, in: Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* I, 19; Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 7, n. 4; Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 298.

<sup>129</sup> Blackman, "Some Notes on the Ancient Egyptian Practice of Washing the Dead", 117-124.

<sup>130</sup> Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 287.


*nt idt dšr.t*  
*pṛt m i3ḥw*  
*msst R<sup>ε</sup> r<sup>ε</sup>-nb [...]*

of the red cow  
That came forth from the sunshine  
that bears Re daily [...].<sup>131</sup>

The red cow may reference a number of goddesses some of whom were syncretized with one another, e.g. Hathor, Mehet-Weret, or Nut.<sup>132</sup> The color of the cow may be indicative of her solar association.

In addition to its cleansing properties, milk is also believed to have both protective and regenerative power.<sup>133</sup> Hence, it could be used for transcending from one state to another, as in this case, from death to resurrection. Milk is also listed as one of the pure ingredients for the ritual of setting up a bier in the Coffin Texts.<sup>134</sup>

#### 2.II.4. *Smin*

The fourth step of the Offering Ritual mentions the deceased king tasting  (*smin*), as found within PT 34:

*Smin smin wpp r.k*  
*h3 N dp.k dpt.fḥnt sh.w-ntr*  
*išš.w Hr.w smin*  
*išš.w Sth smin*  
*twt-ibb Nb.wy smin*  
*Dd md.w 4 ḥsmn [n].k m-<sup>ε</sup>b*  
*Hr.w smsw ntr.w*  
*Bd šm<sup>ε</sup> t3 5 Nḥb*

*Smin, smin* that opens your mouth,  
Oh N, you taste its taste in front of the divine booths.  
That which Horus spits out is *smin*,  
That which Seth spits out is *smin*,  
That which reconciles the Two Lords in *smin*.  
Recite 4 times: You are purified together with  
the followers of Horus.  
Upper Egyptian natron of *Nḥb*, 5 pellets.<sup>135</sup>

While the precise meaning of the word is unknown, Faulkner notes that "[...] it is something that can be spat out, and apparently a pleasant substance which can calm the quarrelling gods."<sup>136</sup> Blackman has suggested that the word be translated as "cream."<sup>137</sup> Similarly, Allen has translated the word as "condensed milk."<sup>138</sup> The word's context in

<sup>131</sup> CT spell 96, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* II, 81-83; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 96.

<sup>132</sup> Leitz does not identify the red cow as any specific goddess. Refer to: Christian Leitz, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* I (Dudley: Peeters, 2002), 640.

<sup>133</sup> Maria Münster, *Untersuchungen der Göttin Isis: Vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reich* (Berlin: B. Hessling, 1968) 65.

<sup>134</sup> CT spell 21, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* I, 61-63; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 12.

<sup>135</sup> PT spell 34 §26, in: Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* I, 18; Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 7; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 19-20.

<sup>136</sup> Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 7, PT spell 34 §26, n. 1.

<sup>137</sup> Aylward Blackman, "Some Middle Kingdom Religious Texts," *ZÄS* 47 (1910): 125.

<sup>138</sup> Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 19, n. 16.

this part of the Offering Ritual, coupled with its positive connotation, indicate that it is in fact a pure substance.

### 2.II.5. Natron

The fifth step of the Offering Ritual is the presentation of  $\overline{\text{bd}}$  (*bd*) or "natron," as found within PT 35:

<i>sntr.k sntr Hr.w</i>	Your purification is the purification of Horus,
<i>sntr.k sntr Sth</i>	Your purification is the purification of Seth,
<i>sntr.k sntr Dhwti</i>	Your purification is the purification of Thoth,
<i>sntr.k sntr ntr</i>	Your purification is the purification of the Divinity,
<i>sntr.k sntr Dd im.sn</i>	Your purification is enduring <sup>139</sup> among them;
<i>r.k r n bhs irt</i>	Your mouth is the mouth of a sucking calf
<i>hrw ms.f im</i>	[On] the day of its birth.
<i>bd ḥ3 ṯ3 5 Št-pt</i>	Lower Egyptian natron of <i>Št-pt</i> , 5 pellets. <sup>140</sup>

This spell is later preserved as CT 354, a Spell for a Bouquet.<sup>141</sup> It is especially worthwhile to note that a *w<sup>s</sup>b imy 3bd.f*, or "pure one within his month," is the custodian of natron, for which CT 61 states in passing:

<i>[...] m ist n.ṯ n ḥsmn hn in w<sup>s</sup>b imy 3bd.f</i>	[...] who brings to you a chest of natron by the pure one within his month. <sup>142</sup>
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Natron was sometimes used with incense,<sup>143</sup> likely for its purificatory properties.

### 2.II.6. Oil

The sixth step of the Offering Ritual is anointing, for which a variety of oils (and perfume) are used.<sup>144</sup> An Old Kingdom palette (BM EA6122) from Abydos<sup>145</sup> was likely

<sup>139</sup> Faulkner reads this word as the name *Dwn-ḥn.wy*. Refer to: Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 7, PT spell 35 §27, n. 2. See also: Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 5, PT spell 25 §17, n. 2. Both Gardiner and Leitz translate the name as "the wing-spreader." Refer to: Gardiner, "The Baptism of Pharaoh," 10; Leitz, *Lexikon* VII, 525-526.

<sup>140</sup> PT spell 35 §27, in: Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* I, 19; Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 7.

<sup>141</sup> CT spell 354, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* IV, 402; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 285. The spell comprises part of the following series: CT 351, CT 354, CT 353, CT 204, and CT 215. Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 293-294.

<sup>142</sup> CT spell 61, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* I, 259f; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 56.

<sup>143</sup> Alfred Lucas and John Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries* (London: Histories & Mysteries of Man, 1989), 96.

<sup>144</sup> PT spells 72-78 §50-54, in: Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* I, 28-30; Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 17-19; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 22. CT spell 936, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* VII, 138; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* III, 71.

<sup>145</sup> Matthias Rochholz, "Zu den Paletten für die Salböle," in *Wege öffnen: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag*, eds. Rolf Gundlach and Mechthild Schade-Busch (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 223-



used in this part of the Offering Ritual: The palette is divided into seven columns, each containing an oil-well naming an oil used in the ritual (Fig. 2, below). The types of oil and the order in which they are used for different rituals have been tabulated by Gee.<sup>146</sup>



Figure 2: Tablet, BM EA 6122

### 2.II.7. Additional Agents of Purification

#### 2.II.7.a. Spittle

PT 455, a purification text, describes the ritual act of spitting as a means of purification:

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231.

<sup>146</sup> Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 307, Table 7.5.

[...] m33 tn w<sup>b</sup> pn  
 n it(i) Wsir N pn  
 bd m smn m bd  
 išš pr m r Hr.w  
 isd pr m r Stš  
 w<sup>b</sup> Hr.w im.f  
 sfh dwt irt.f ir t3 im.f  
 i.ir.n Stš ir.f  
 w<sup>b</sup> Stš im.f  
 sfh dwt irt.f ir t3 im.f  
 i.ir.n Hr.w ir.f  
 w<sup>b</sup> N pn im.f  
 sfh dwt irt.f ir t3  
 irt.n Nwt.k-nw ir.k  
 m w<sup>b</sup> 3h.w.k

[...] See ye this purification  
 Of my father this Osiris N as one who is  
 Purified with *smn* [and] with natron, i.e.  
 The saliva coming forth from the mouth of Horus,  
 The spittle coming forth from the mouth of Seth,  
 With which Horus is purified,  
 With which the evil against  
 Seth is released to the earth,  
 Seth is purified with it;  
 With which the evil against  
 Horus is released to the earth,  
 This N is purified with it.  
 The evil against him is released to the earth,  
 Which *Nwt.k-nw*<sup>147</sup> did against you (*sic*),  
 With the purification of your spirits.<sup>148</sup>

On this Ritner comments: "Here, spittle not only conveys purification and healing, but further conducts corrupting evil away from the body, washing it off harmlessly onto the ground. Spitting thus constitutes a ritual washing, the basic meaning of 'purification' (w<sup>b</sup>) in Egyptian speech and practice."<sup>149</sup> Spittle also appears as a purifying agent within CT 527:

[...] w<sup>b</sup>.i w<sup>b</sup> isd pr m r R<sup>ε</sup>-Itm [...]

[...] My purification is the purification of  
 the spittle that came forth from the mouth  
 of Re-Atum [...].<sup>150</sup>

In this case, the spittle of a deity carries no corrupting evil as it has issued from the mouth of a divine and perfect being. The divine emanation is a pure substance which holds great power, as conveyed by the tale of the Secret Name of Re.<sup>151</sup>

### 2.II.7.b. Myrrh



(<sup>ε</sup>ntiw), or "myrrh" is associated with purity in CT 194, a recitation for not eating feces:

[...] w<sup>b</sup>[.i] m-m w<sup>b</sup>[.w]  
 r-gs nb.w n nhh dt  
 wš<sup>ε</sup>.w <sup>ε</sup>ntiw

My purity is among the pure ones  
 At the side of the Lords of Eternity,  
 One who chews myrrh,

<sup>147</sup> Leitz translates this name as "The hunters' hunting-ground (?)," although his translation uncertain. Refer to: Leitz, *Lexikon* III, 541.

<sup>148</sup> PT spell 455 §848-851, in: Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* I, 472-474; Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 151.

<sup>149</sup> Ritner, *The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice*, 82. I would like to thank Ariel Singer for bringing this reference to my attention.

<sup>150</sup> CT spell 527, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* VI, 119; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* II, 152.

<sup>151</sup> Robert Armour, *Gods and Myths in Ancient Egypt* (Cairo: AUC Press, 1986), 66-71.

ḥnḥ.w m m3ḥ.t  
w3ḥ.kwi  
sbi.w r im3ḥ.w

One who lives on truth.  
I am strong,  
And I have attained the provided state.<sup>152</sup>

### 2.II.7.c. Beer and Wine

In his discussion of beer, Meeks mentions "la notion d'ivresse purificatrice," or the notion of purifying intoxication,<sup>153</sup> with reference to the legend of the Destruction of Mankind.<sup>154</sup> The drunkenness that characterizes the celebrations of Hathor<sup>155</sup> may thus be considered a purificatory rite. In addition to other purifying agents, beer (*ḥnqt*) is listed as one of the ingredients for the ritual of setting up a bier in the Coffin Texts.<sup>156</sup>

Meeks also proposes that wine could have been used in certain purification rituals, especially since mulled wine (*ṣdh*) was used in the mummification process,<sup>157</sup> and as such constitutes a pure ingredient.

## 2.III. Where Purification Took Place

Both ancient Egyptian temples and tombs were an embodiment of sacred space, for which any person or thing that entered must be pure. The *wḥb.w* performed service at both of these locations, and would have had to ensure that they were in a pure state at the time of entry.

### 2.III.1. Temples

In addition to textual evidence, certain architectural features of the temple attest that purification was a requirement for entering the temple. For example, an inscription of Thutmose III on the doorpost of the temple of Amun in Heliopolis states:

wḥb ḥt nb ḥqt nbt r ḥwt ʿ3 iw wḥb

May all property and everything which enters into the great temple be pure; they are pure.<sup>158</sup>

<sup>152</sup> CT spell 194, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* III, 112h-j; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 160.

<sup>153</sup> Meeks, "Pureté et Impureté," 435.

<sup>154</sup> Miriam Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006), 197-199.

<sup>155</sup> John Darnell, "Hathor Returns to Medamud," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 22 (1995): 47-94.

<sup>156</sup> CT spell 21, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* I, 61-63; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 12.

<sup>157</sup> "Le vin, en tant que liquide, pouvait naturellement servir à des purifications plus concrètes." Meeks, "Pureté et Impureté," 435-436.

<sup>158</sup> *Urk.* IV. 831.11.

Similar inscriptions have been found in later temples, such as that upon the entrance doorjambs of Ramesses II's temple at Beit el-Wali,<sup>159</sup> several doorways throughout Ramesses III's temple at Medinet Habu,<sup>160</sup> a doorpost of a side-entrance in the eastern wall of the temple of Edfu,<sup>161</sup> a pillar in the pronaos of the temple of Esna,<sup>162</sup> on the doorjambs of the temple of Kom Ombo,<sup>163</sup> as well as upon the door in the northeast corner of the court between the first and second pylons of the temple of Isis in Philae.<sup>164</sup> The rules of access are further outlined within the Book of the Temple, which has been the subject of a number of preliminary reports by Quack.<sup>165</sup>

Architectural features which indicate the location of purification include: purification chapels (*pr-dw3t*, or "House of the Morning"),<sup>166</sup> purification scenes, and purification basins, about which Gee observes: "Purification is thus an important procedure that takes place upon arrival at the temple, and despite statements that the purification took place outside the temple proper, the purification basins, and chapels show that it may have often taken place just inside the walls."<sup>167</sup> Temples dating to the Graeco-Roman Period typically include baths near the entrance (e.g. those at the

<sup>159</sup> Herbert Ricke et al., *The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II I* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 10, pl. 4.

<sup>160</sup> The Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu V-VII* (Chicago: Oriental Institute Press, 1957-1964), V: pls. 279A, 296, 303, 310E-F; VI: pls. 383, 450C-D, 471B-C; VII: pls. 485C, 490B, 496B, 508B, 509B, 588C-D, 589A-B, 590C.

<sup>161</sup> Edfu VI: 349/4-6. In: Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 213.

<sup>162</sup> Esna III: 197/16, 18. In: Dieleman, *Priests, Tongues, and Rites*, 214.

<sup>163</sup> Adolphe Gutbub, *Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1973), 144-184.

<sup>164</sup> Hermann Junker, "Vorschriften für den Tempelkult in Philä," in *Studia biblica et orientalia. Vol. III. Oriens antiquus* (Roma: Pontificio Istituto Biblico, 1959), 151-160. For further discussion of the dietary taboos within this inscription, see: Sydney Aufrère, "Études de lexicologie et d'histoire naturelle VIII-XVII: Remarques au sujet des végétaux interdits dans le temple d'Isis à Philae," *BIFAO* 86 (1986): 1-32.

<sup>165</sup> Joachim Quack, "Das Buch vom Tempel und Verwandte Texte: Ein Vorbericht," *Archiv für Religionsgeschichte* 2 (2000): 1-20; Joachim Quack, "Le manuel du temple: Une nouvelle source sur la vie des prêtres égyptiens," *Égypte Afrique & Orient* 29 (2003): 11-18; Joachim Quack, "Organiser le culte idéal: Le Manuel du temple égyptien," *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 160 (2004): 9-25; Quack, "Conceptions of Purity," 115-158; Joachim Quack, "Les normes pour Osiris et son culte: Les indications du Manuel du Tempel sur les lieux et les prêtres," in *Les cultes d'Osiris au 1er millénaire*, ed. L. Coulon (Le Caire: IFAO, forthcoming).

<sup>166</sup> Dieter Arnold, *Wandrelied und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des neuen Reiches* (Berlin: Hessling, 1962), 71-72; Blackman, "House of the Morning," 148-165; Wolfgang Decker, "Bad," in *LÄ I*, 599; Meeks, "Pureté et Impureté," 439.

<sup>167</sup> Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 28-29.

Serapeum in Alexandria,<sup>168</sup> Karnak,<sup>169</sup> Qasr Qaroun,<sup>170</sup> and Taposiris Magna),<sup>171</sup> and later, near churches (e.g. St. Sinuthius in Coptic Cairo).<sup>172</sup> The act of washing, therefore, took place at the delineated edge of the sacred space.

### 2.III.2. Tombs

As the temple was sacred to the gods, the tomb was sacred to the *3ḥ.w*, or glorified dead. Purification was likewise a requirement to enter the tomb as demonstrated by both textual evidence as well as the presence of purification basins outside of tomb chapels.<sup>173</sup> The tomb of *Mrrwi-k3.i* (S 297) warns individuals to be pure

*mi w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.sn r ḥwt nt ntr*

As they are pure for the temple of god.<sup>174</sup>

Moreover the prerequisite of purity to enter the tomb is emphasized by the curses inscribed on Old Kingdom *mastabas*, which threaten those who may enter in an impure state, e.g. having recently engaged in sexual activity, broken dietary taboos, or have not bathed.<sup>175</sup> In this case, observing the prerequisites for purity would have occurred prior to the officiant's arrival to the necropolis or tomb, while the last prerequisite of bathing could be completed at the entrance to the tomb.

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<sup>168</sup> Barbara Tzacow, *The Topography of Ancient Alexandria: An Archaeological Map* (Warszawa: Zakład Archeologii Śródziemnomorskiej, 1993), 66-70, Map A; Mieczysław Rodziewicz, "Ancient Baths in Alexandria," in *Le bain collectif en Égypte: βαλανεία, Thermae, hammāmāt*, ed. Marie-Françoise Boussac et al. (Le Caire: IFAO, 2009), 191-202.

<sup>169</sup> Mansour Boraik, "A Roman Bath at Karnak Temples: Preliminary Report," *Cahiers de Karnak* 14 (2013): 33-46; Mansour Boraik, "Ptolemaic Baths in Front of the Temple of Karnak: A Brief Preliminary Report - November 2007," in *Le bain collectif en Égypte: βαλανεία, Thermae, hammāmāt*, ed. Marie-Françoise Boussac et al. (Le Caire: IFAO, 2009), 73-86.

<sup>170</sup> Jacques Schwartz, *Fouilles Franco-Suisses: Rapports II: Qasr-Qārūn/Dionysias 1950* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1969), Plan 1.

<sup>171</sup> Thibaud Fournet and Bérangère Redon, "Les bains souterrains de Taposiris Magna et le bain de tradition hellénique en Égypte," in *Le bain collectif en Égypte: βαλανεία, Thermae, hammāmāt*, ed. Marie-Françoise Boussac et al. (Le Caire: IFAO, 2009), 113-138.

<sup>172</sup> Basil Evetts, *The Churches and Monasteries of Egypt and Some Neighboring Countries* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2001), 110 [Fol. 33a], n. 1.

<sup>173</sup> Ann Bomann, *The Private Chapel in Ancient Egypt: A study of the chapels in the Workmen's Village at El Amarna with special reference to Deir el Medina and other sites* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1991).

<sup>174</sup> *Urk.* I, 87.14.

<sup>175</sup> For a comprehensive overview, see: Scott Morschauser, *Threat Formulae in Ancient Egypt: A Study of the History, Structure and Use of Threats and Curses in Ancient Egypt* (Baltimore: Halgo, 1991). See also: Elmar Edel, "Untersuchungen zur Phraseologie der ägyptischen Inschriften des Alten Reiches," *MDAIK* 13 (1944): 4-8.

## CHAPTER 3: INITIATION, PROMOTION, AND DUTIES

This chapter discusses the initiatory status of the *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* within the context of the priestly hierarchy. Their potential for promotion to higher levels within the priestly hierarchy is also discussed, followed by an overview of their roles and responsibilities. This chapter focuses on relevant textual and iconographic sources dating to the Old through Middle Kingdoms, with the ultimate aim of examining the performative role played by the *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* within sacred space.

### 3.I. Initiation

Van Gennep's landmark study on the rite of passage defines the function that underlies this rite: to distinguish the non-initiated from the initiated.<sup>176</sup> Despite the inherent differences of any culturally specific ceremony, the function of the rite still remains universal, and may therefore apply to cultural contexts across time and space. As such, membership into any of the priestly grades in ancient Egypt would have been marked by a rite of passage, or a ritual event marking the transition from non-member to member. According to Van Gennep, a rite of passage consists of three main phases: preliminal rites, liminal (or threshold) rites, and postliminal rites.<sup>177</sup> The preliminal and postliminal stages of initiation are reflected by the priestly grades of *w<sup>s</sup>b* and *hm-ntr*, respectively. Each title indicates a different level of initiation and corresponding access to sacred space, as demonstrated by the daily temple liturgies and temple initiation records that survive from the New Kingdom and Late Period.<sup>178</sup>

The main prerequisite for becoming a *w<sup>s</sup>b* was ritual purity, as discussed in the previous chapter. At the time of their appointment, the *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* received the training that was necessary for them to complete their duties, as described by the Ramesside priest *B3k-n-hns.w*:

*sb3[n].i r w<sup>s</sup>b m pr Imn  
m s3 hr drt it.i [...]*

I was taught to be a pure one in the House of Amun  
As a son under the hand of [his] father [...].<sup>179</sup>

<sup>176</sup> Arnold Van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (London: Routledge, 1977).


<sup>177</sup> Van Gennep, *Rites of Passage*, 21.

<sup>178</sup> John Gee, "Prophets, Initiation and the Egyptian Temple," *Journal of the Society of the Study of Egyptian Antiquities* 31 (2004): 97, ns. 1-5; 101, ns. 62-63.

<sup>179</sup> CG 42155; Kenneth Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions III* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1975), 296, 1-2; Elizabeth Frood, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2007), 43-46.

The title of *w<sup>ḫ</sup>b* represents the title-holder's preliminal status within the temple, for whom the prerequisites for admission have been met but initiation had not yet been completed. Due to their preliminal status, the *w<sup>ḫ</sup>b* were restricted to the outer areas of the temple and seem to not have had access to the inner sanctum, where the divine image is housed.<sup>180</sup>

The liminal (or threshold) rite that serves to differentiate the preliminal *w<sup>ḫ</sup>b* from the postliminal *ḥm-ntr* likely began with taking an oath, as discussed above (§2.I.1). According to Gee's hypothesis, the first "Declaration of Innocence" of BD 125 is sworn before the purification ritual, whereas the second "Declaration of Innocence" is sworn during initiation.<sup>181</sup>

The rite of initiation is conveyed by the term  (*bsi*), which is commonly translated as "introduction," "initiation," etc.<sup>182</sup> Haikal further elaborates:

The word *bsi* describes an event that takes place at a particular moment and which involves other persons in addition to the postulant: it thus evokes a 'mystery ritual' which will transmute the postulant into a superior being as a result of the revelation of special secrets, or the secret image of the god.<sup>183</sup>

This is confirmed by the biographical texts of *B3k-n-ḥns.w*, who upon serving as a *w<sup>ḫ</sup>b* for four years, was initiated into the position of *it-ntr*, or "god's father."<sup>184</sup> The extent to which arcane knowledge was gained prior, i.e. through study, or if such knowledge was revealed during the rite itself remains unknown.<sup>185</sup> The rite of initiation may have also included what Assmann has termed "initiatory examinations,"<sup>186</sup> or a test of this knowledge as expressed through equally arcane language:

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<sup>180</sup> A notable exception is the *w<sup>ḫ</sup>b* ʿ3 of Min and Thoth, who do seem to have had access to the inner sanctum; refer to: §4.I.4.A.b, §5.I.3.A.a, and §5.I.3.A.b.

<sup>181</sup> Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 218, 280-285.

<sup>182</sup> *Wb.* I, 473-474; Kruchten, *Les annales des prêtres de Karnak*, 147-204.

<sup>183</sup> Fayza Haikal, "The Impact of Religious Initiation and Restricted Knowledge on Daily Life in Ancient Egypt: an Ethno-Egyptological Perspective," in *Decorum and Experience: Essays in Ancient Culture for John Baines*, eds. Elizabeth Froid and Angela McDonald (Oxford: Griffith Institute, 2013), 136.

<sup>184</sup> CG 42155; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 296, 1-2. "The office of 'God's Father' seems to have permitted the holder access to the cult statue of the god, which may explain why Bakenkhons places particular emphasis on his initiation to this office [...]" Froid, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt*, 45, n. 15.

<sup>185</sup> For further discussion with modern examples, see: Haikal, "Religious Initiation and Restricted Knowledge," 137-138.

<sup>186</sup> Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 352-355.

In the initiatory examinations, there is a secret language, and the initiate demonstrates his mastery of it. [The initiate] knows the secret language belongs to the secret world to which it refers, and he may enter it.<sup>187</sup>

Examples of such initiatory examinations occur throughout the various mortuary texts, for which the quintessential example is the deceased's entry into the Hall of Justice in BD 125.<sup>188</sup> Once more Assmann observes:

We can understand these spells only if we know the specific rituals and myths to which they allude, and these would have been the local traditions of certain temples and festivals that granted the privilege of membership by initiation into their mysteries. Connected with every cult, there was a knowledge that was carefully guarded.<sup>189</sup>

After the initiatory oath, the ritual sequence of the purification process was most likely repeated,<sup>190</sup> this time finalized by an induction into the presence of the divine image inside of its shrine.<sup>191</sup> Such an act of initiation was essential for any *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* to become a *ḥm-ntr*, as seeing and caring for the divinity was the final component of the daily temple liturgy performed by the upper-ranking priest or priestess. A remarkably similar form of initiation is described in CT 492, in the context of the deceased's induction to the afterlife:

<i>i b3.i 3ḥ.i ḥk3.i šwyt.i</i>	O my soul, my spirit, my magic, my shade,
<i>wn.n.k ʿ3.wy pt</i>	The double-doors of the sky open for you,
<i>sn.n.k sb3.w ḥrt</i>	The gates of heaven open for you.
<i>smnt ḥkr.k r.k</i>	Affix your ornaments upon yourself,
<i>ʿq.k ḥr ntr-ʿ3 imy k3r.f</i>	So that you may enter to the great god who is in his shrine
<i>m33.n.k R<sup>c</sup> m irw.f m<sup>ʿ</sup>3 [...]</i>	And you see Re in his true form [...]. <sup>192</sup>

The title of *ḥm-ntr* represents the title-holder's postliminal status within the temple hierarchy.<sup>193</sup> Once the highest level of initiation has been completed and the person has assumed this higher title, the *ḥm-ntr* had access to the inner sanctum of the temple and

<sup>187</sup> Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 353. Contra Koenig, who suggests that purity alone provides divine access: "Par la pureté, le magicien a accès au monde des dieux et à leurs secrets [...]." Koenig, "L'eau et la Magie," 245.

<sup>188</sup> Faulkner, *Book of the Dead*, 115-116.

<sup>189</sup> Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 354.

<sup>190</sup> "Le lien entre la pureté et le contact avec les dieux est bien attesté dans le textes magiques." Koenig, "L'eau et la Magie," 245.

<sup>191</sup> Alexandre Moret, *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte: d'après les papyrus de Berlin et les textes du temple de Sêti Ier, à Abydos* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1902), pl. 1.


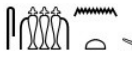
<sup>192</sup> CT spell 492, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts VI*, 71-72; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts II*, 134.


<sup>193</sup> Gee, "Prophets, Initiation and the Egyptian Temple," 97-107.



performed rituals in the presence of the divine image. The *hm.w-ntr* were *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* prior to their completed initiation.<sup>194</sup>


### 3.II. Promotions within the Priestly Hierarchy

As described above, the *w<sup>s</sup>b* had the opportunity for advancement within the priestly hierarchy. The words  (*rdi*) and  (*shnt*) are used to indicate the placement or advancement of a person to a higher office.

The term  (*rdi*) is perhaps most frequently used to refer to one's placement within an office, for which the biographical text of the priest *B3k-n-hns.w* is an example par excellence. After serving as a *w<sup>s</sup>b* for 4 years, an *it-ntr n Imn* for 12 years, a *hm-ntr 3 n Imn* for 15 years, and as a *hm-ntr 2 n Imn* for 12 years, he states:

<p>[...] <i>hsi[n].f wi si3[n].f wi</i>  <i>hr bit.i</i>  <i>rdi[n].f wi r</i>  <i>hm-ntr tpi n Imn m 27 rnpt</i></p>	<p>[...] He favored me; he recognized me  because of my character.  He appointed me to  First God's Servant of Amun for 27 years.<sup>195</sup></p>
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Due to the recognition of his character, *B3k-n-hns.w* received four priestly promotions over the course of his lifetime. However, the title-strings on the back-pillar of his block-statues (GL WAF 38 and CG 42155) only record his highest titles; it is not until one reads the complete biographical text that one finds his *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title. In this case, his *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title may have been dropped from the title-string because it was not a title he held at the end of his life, or merely because it was not deemed as important as his latter positions.

During the First Intermediate Period, the term  (*shnt*) is used to describe the advancement of *Dhwti-nht V* (2-012M). After listing his titles and various epithets, Gr. 23 describes him as *shnt n Dhwti st.f*, or "one whose position Thoth advanced."<sup>196</sup> The phrase may collectively refer to all of *Dhwti-nht V*'s titles, or it may be a specific reference to his position as *w<sup>s</sup>b '3 n Dhwti*, or "great pure one of Thoth." In the case of the latter, the phrase may refer either to his advancement to *w<sup>s</sup>b '3 n Dhwti*, or to his advancement from *w<sup>s</sup>b '3 n Dhwti* to another position, e.g. *imy-r hm.w-ntr*, which he

<sup>194</sup> Gee, "Prophets, Initiation and the Egyptian Temple," 97-107.

<sup>195</sup> GL WAF 38; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 298, 2-7; Frood, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt*, 40-42.

<sup>196</sup> Anthes, *Felseninschriften*, 52-53; Shaw, *Hatnub*, 151.

also held. In either case, *Dḥwti-nḥt* V attributed his promotion to a favor from the god Thoth.

During the Middle Kingdom, *Wp-w3.wt-ʿ3* (3-191M) does not use a verb to describe his acquisition of the title *wʿb ʿ3 n Wsir*. He merely states *wʿb.n.i r tr.i n s33*, or "I was a pure one at my time of knowledge," on his stela (Leiden V4).<sup>197</sup> He later went on to hold a number of priestly titles, including: *s(t)m*-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of opening the mouth), *ḥrp šndyt nbt r pr Mn.w* or "director of every kilt in the temple of Min," *imy-r sšrw m pr-wr* or "overseer of the cloth/linen of the shrine of Upper Egypt," *ḥm-ntr* of Maat, and *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr* or "overseer of the god's servants."

The remainder of the title-holders discussed in this thesis have been identified as *wʿb.w* on the basis of their title-string. According to Baer, an individual's title-string represents "the accumulation of a lifetime."<sup>198</sup> In many cases the title of *wʿb* was held in addition to other priestly titles, e.g. *ḥm-ntr*, *ḥm-k3*, *ḥry-ḥbt*, or *s(t)m*, as in each of the cases described above. Strudwick, in contrast, believes that the title-string represents a selection of titles held by the individual at the time in which their tomb or monument was decorated.<sup>199</sup> If this is the case, lower-ranking titles such as *wʿb* would be dropped from a title-string upon acquisition of any upper-ranking title such as *ḥm-ntr*, as observed in the case of *B3k-n-ḥns.w*. However, this is not the case for the Old Kingdom: Of the 212 individuals surveyed from this period, 98 (46%) hold dual titles of *wʿb* and *ḥm-ntr* in the same title-string (see discussion, §4.II); fewer hold hold dual titles of *wʿb* and *ḥm-ntr* over subsequent periods (§5.II and §6.II). Helck observed the same pattern in the title-strings, remarking that a lower-ranking *wʿb*-title does not honor an upper-ranking *ḥm-ntr*.<sup>200</sup> Therefore, the concurrence of *wʿb* and *ḥm-ntr* within the same title-string are most likely

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<sup>197</sup> P. Boeser, *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden II* (Haag: M. Nijhoff, 1909), 3 [5], pl. 4.

<sup>198</sup> Klaus 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), 35.

<sup>199</sup> Nigel Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom* (London: KPI, 1985), 172. Using the monuments of *Šd.ii-ptḥ* called *Šdw* (2-005M) as an example, Strudwick demonstrates that the *wʿb*-title was among the titles received at the time of the title-holder's promotion to an administrative position. *Šd.ii-ptḥ* called *Šdw* held no other priestly titles. Refer to: Nigel Strudwick, "Three Monuments of Old Kingdom Treasury Officials," *JEA* 71 (1985): 44-45.

<sup>200</sup> "Ein Grund über die unterschiedliche Auszeichnung läßt sich zunächst nicht feststellen, aber natürlich dürfte eine Belehnung mit dem Tempel eines wab nicht so ehrend gewesen sein wie die mit dem eines Propheten." Refer to: Wolfgang Helck, "Bemerkungen zu den Pyramidenstätten im Alten Reich," *MDAIK* 15 (1957): 95.

intended to indicate the individual's promotion within the priestly hierarchy, which is how they have been interpreted within this thesis.

### 3.III. Duties

This section examines surviving textual and iconographic evidence from the Old through Middle Kingdoms in order to better understand the performative role and responsibilities of the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w*. The sources are discussed in chronological order below.

#### 3.III.1. The Earliest Attestations

The earliest known reference to a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* occurs on two stelae, both of which were found within the same tomb in Helwan (247 H6),<sup>201</sup> which dates to the late 3rd Dynasty.<sup>202</sup> The first stela (No. 24), which was found in the ceiling of the tomb, is inscribed for *Wp* (1-018M), who holds the title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt*, or "royal pure one." He is shown sitting on a chair, extending his right hand towards the offering table in front of him, while his left hand is clenched in a fist against his chest. He wears a short wig in which the hair is neatly arranged into small squares. He wears a long garment fastened at the left shoulder with a fringe and the length of the garment extends just below his knees. The words for unguent (*ḥ3tt*), incense (*sntr*), and wine (*irp*) fill the upper space between his name and title and the offering list located at the far right. Below there is a group of signs representing a basin<sup>203</sup> and ewer<sup>204</sup> over a forearm with water,<sup>205</sup> all of which combine to represent the act of washing.<sup>206</sup> The sign-combination is followed by a plucked goose,<sup>207</sup> a conical loaf of bread,<sup>208</sup> and the sign for 1,000.<sup>209</sup>

The second stela (No. 25), which was found in the east wall of the tomb, is inscribed for *Nfr-stš* (1-019M), who also holds the title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt*, or "royal pure one." He is shown sitting on a chair, extending his right hand towards the offering table in front

<sup>201</sup> Zaky Saad, *Ceiling Stelae in Second Dynasty Tombs from the Excavation at Helwan* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1957), 48-53 [24-25], figs. 33-34, pls. 29-30.

<sup>202</sup> Winifred Barta, *Die Altaegyptische Opferliste: von der Fruehzeit bis zur Griechisch-Roemischen Epoche* (Berlin: B. Hessling, 1963), 32.

<sup>203</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 528 [W5].

<sup>204</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 528 [W10a].

<sup>205</sup> Nicolas Grimal et al., *Hieroglyphica: Sign List - Liste des Signes - Zeichenliste*, 1 D-3 [D212a].

<sup>206</sup> Kahl, *Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.-3. Dynastie*, 905 [3369].

<sup>207</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 473 [G54].

<sup>208</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 531 [X2].

<sup>209</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 480 [M12].

of him, while most of his left arm is concealed by the garment that he is wearing; his left hand emerges from the garment clenched in a fist against his chest. The garment is tied in a bow at the left shoulder and extends to the lower-calf. He wears a short wig in which the hair is neatly arranged into small squares. The words for two different types of perfume (*hknw* and *ib3*) and incense (*sntr*) fill the upper space between his name and title and the offering list located at the far right. Below there is a group of signs representing an ewer,<sup>210</sup> basin,<sup>211</sup> and a forearm with water,<sup>212</sup> all of which combine to represent the act of washing.<sup>213</sup> The sign-combination is followed by a plucked goose,<sup>214</sup> the word for alabaster vase (*šs*) with the sign for 1,000,<sup>215</sup> and the word for cloth (*mnht*) with the sign for 1,000.<sup>216</sup>

It is worth noting that the two stelae shown above are the only ones recovered containing the hieroglyphic sign combination for washing<sup>217</sup> from the entire cemetery in Helwan. Although Saad simply remarks that "washing the hands before meals was a habit always practised by the Ancient Egyptians,"<sup>218</sup> it cannot be a coincidence that the only two stelae containing this hieroglyphic sign combination belong to *w<sup>b</sup> nswt*, making the association between the title and the act of purification clear.

### 3.III.2. The Old Kingdom

An early reference to the performance of *w<sup>b</sup>*-service may be found upon the "duty table"<sup>219</sup> within the rock-cut mastaba of *Ni-k3-<sup>h</sup>nh* in Tihna el-Gebel (No. 1/13), which dates to the reign of Userkaf.<sup>220</sup> The tomb-owner, *Ni-k3-<sup>h</sup>nh*, holds the title of *imy-r hm.w-ntr* or "overseer of god's servants." Although he does not explicitly hold the title of *w<sup>b</sup>*, he states:

<sup>210</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 528 [W10a].

<sup>211</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 528 [W5].

<sup>212</sup> Grimal et al., *Hieroglyphica*, 1 D-3 [D212a].

<sup>213</sup> Kahl, *Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.-3. Dynastie*, 906 [3368].

<sup>214</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 473 [G54].

<sup>215</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 480 [M12].

<sup>216</sup> Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 480 [M12].

<sup>217</sup> Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift*, 906 [3368].

<sup>218</sup> Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, 52.

<sup>219</sup> *Urk.* I, 24-27.

<sup>220</sup> *PM* IV, 131; George Fraser, "The Early Tombs at Tehneh," *ASAE* 3 (1902): 122-130; Galvin, "Priestesses of Hathor," 199-201; Robyn Gillam, "Priestesses of Hathor: Their Function, Decline, and Disappearance," *JARCE* 32 (1995): 212-213.

*in Hm n Wsr-k3.f wḏ  
wᶜb n Ht-hr nbt R-int  
ir ḥ(w)t nb ᶜqt.s r ḥwt-ntr  
ink is wᶜb hr ḥ(w)t nb*

His Majesty Userkaf commanded  
wᶜb-service for Hathor, Lady of R-int,  
As everything that enters into the temple,  
I am one who is pure over everything.<sup>221</sup>

*Ni-k3-ᶜnh*'s wife, nine sons, and two men whose filiation is not specified are likewise appointed to perform wᶜb-service for Hathor within his tomb-chapel. Here it is stated:

*ir.f wḏt-mdw n msw.f  
r wᶜb n Ht-hr nbt R-int*

He commanded of his children  
to perform wᶜb-service for Hathor, Lady of R-int.<sup>222</sup>

The "duty table" designates a fixed monthly wᶜb-service for each individual, as well as a fixed annual income for each person upon completion of their service. *Ni-k3-ᶜnh*'s wife, *Hkn.w-ḥd.t*, holds the titles of *rḥt nswt* or "royal acquaintance" and *nbt im3ḥw* or "provided one." Their nine sons are collectively referred to as *ḥm.w-ntr* or "god's servants" in the text above, and the two men whose filiation is not specified each hold the title of *ḥm-k3*, or "k3-servant." None of these individuals hold the title of wᶜb, although they have been appointed to perform wᶜb-service. Wᶜb-service most likely entailed performing purification for the divine image located within the innermost sanctum,<sup>223</sup> which only would have been accessible to the holder(s) of an upper-ranking title, e.g. *ḥm-ntr*. *Hkn.w-ḥd.t*, however, does not hold any such title and may be considered an exceptional example. Nevertheless, all individuals received equal compensation for their service, regardless of gender or title.

The greatest source of information on the role and responsibilities of the wᶜb.w during the Old Kingdom are the Abusir Papyri, which include the archives of the mortuary complexes of Neferirkare-Kakai<sup>224</sup> and Neferefre.<sup>225</sup> References to wᶜb.w in the archives of Neferirkare-Kakai are rather sparse, while references to the wᶜb.w within the archives of Neferefre are far more plentiful by comparison.

The most commonly found theme in the papyri is the king's commands (wḏ)<sup>226</sup> regarding access to the *pṛt-hrw* or "offerings," as found on fragments 18A, 19B, 20A,

<sup>221</sup> *Urk. I*, 26.25.

<sup>222</sup> *Urk. I*, 24.8.

<sup>223</sup> Sauneron, *The Priests of Ancient Egypt*, 76-89.

<sup>224</sup> Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakai I-II*.

<sup>225</sup> Posener-Kriéger et. al., *Abusir X*.

<sup>226</sup> For more information on this particular genre of documents, refer to: Harold Hays, "wḏ: The Context of Command in the Old Kingdom," *GM* 176 (2000): 63-76.

21F, 21G, 22D, 22K, and 22L.<sup>227</sup> 18A is perhaps the most complete of these fragments, which grants permission to the *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b.w* and *hnty.w-š* to participate in offering rituals to receive a share of the offerings. The phrase, *mi w<sup>ʿ</sup>b hnty-š* or "as a pure one [and] land tenant" occurs frequently throughout these fragments, and implies that the *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b.w* and *hnty.w-š* were of relatively equal rank within the temple hierarchy;<sup>228</sup> the *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b.w* performed a ritual role with the *hm.w-ntr*, whereas the *hnty.w-š* performed an administrative role.<sup>229</sup> Posener-Kriéger et al. conclude that "[...] the land tenants and the *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-priests took their shares in offerings presented beyond the intimate part of the temple,"<sup>230</sup> i.e. at the outer part(s) of the temple, although the location of offering distribution is never specifically stated in any of the papyri. Regardless, the fragments collectively demonstrate that the distribution of food offerings was controlled by the state administration, as demonstrated by the king's decree (*wḏ*) that regards the distribution of these goods.

Doxey states that female non-title-holders also performed *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-service, for which they received the same compensation as their male title-holding counterparts.<sup>231</sup> This claim, however, could not be substantiated.<sup>232</sup>

The second most commonly found theme in the papyri is reference to the monthly service of the *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b.w* and *hnty.w-š*, as found within fragments 21H and 25B.<sup>233</sup> Both of these fragments contain the phrase, *imy.w 3bd (n) w<sup>ʿ</sup>b.w hnty.w-š*, or "who are in monthly service (of) pure ones [and] land tenants," which specifies that the service of the title-holders lasted for one month within the context of the *phyle* system. The relationship to the *phyle* system is clarified by fragment 25B, which is addressed to the director of a *phyle* on duty and concerns all *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b.w* on monthly service.

<sup>227</sup> Additional king's commands that do not specify access to the *pwt-hrw* due to their fragmentary nature include papyrus fragments 19F, 20D, and 21J. For all, refer to: Posener-Kriéger et. al., *Abusir X*, 234-236, 238-239, pls. 18-22.

<sup>228</sup> Posener-Kriéger et. al. goes so far as to state that "[...] most of the king's commands concerning access of *hnty-š*, *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-priests, and *hm-ntr*-priests to *pwt-hrw* offerings indirectly attest to a practically equal social standing between these three categories of temple officials." Refer to: Posener-Kriéger et. al., *Abusir X*, 372.

<sup>229</sup> Massimiliano Nuzzolo, "The V Dynasty Sun Temples Personnel: An Overview of Titles and Cult Practise Through the Epigraphic Evidence," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 39 (2010): 289-312.

<sup>230</sup> Posener-Kriéger et. al., *Abusir X*, 365.

<sup>231</sup> Denise Doxey, "Priesthood," *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* III, ed. Donald Redford (Cairo: AUC Press, 2001), 69.

<sup>232</sup> Denise Doxey, personal communication to author, November 22, 2013.

<sup>233</sup> Posener-Kriéger et. al., *Abusir X*, 238, 241, pl. 21, 25.

Fragment 44A specifies the duties of each *phyle* affiliated with the pyramid complex.<sup>234</sup> The document begins with a list of personnel by *phyle*, division, and title; names are not included. The *phyle imy-nfr.t*, division *i*-north and division *i*-south each contain one *shd w<sup>6</sup>b.w*, or "inspector of pure ones." The *phyle imy-nfr.t*, division *h<sup>6</sup>*-north contains two *w<sup>6</sup>b.w*, whereas division *h<sup>6</sup>*-south does not specify any *w<sup>6</sup>b.w*. The different areas of the pyramid complex are then listed, along with the title of the person responsible for its sealing. Among those responsible for the sealing of the *phr*,<sup>235</sup> or the ceremonial circular passage around the pyramid,<sup>236</sup> is a *w<sup>6</sup>b pr-<sup>6</sup>3* or "pure one of the Great House" from the *phyle imy-nfr.t*, division *h<sup>6</sup>*. Among those responsible for sealing the *rwt*, or a gate that was probably connected to the ceremonial way around the pyramid,<sup>237</sup> is another *w<sup>6</sup>b pr-<sup>6</sup>3*, from the *phyle st*, division *ib*. Although the *w<sup>6</sup>b*-titles are identical, the precise area within which the title-holders serve depends upon the *phyle* and division with which they are affiliated.

Fragments 45-46 contain a protocol regarding the control of sealings within the mortuary temple as the *phyle* underwent their monthly rotation.<sup>238</sup> The hierarchy of officials within the *phyle* remains unclear. For example, the *phyle imy-wr 2* consisted of the title-holders in the following order: one *imy-ht hm.w-ntr*, one *w<sup>6</sup>b*, one member with no title, two *hnty.w-š*, and two additional members with no title. The *w<sup>6</sup>b*, *Ih3* (1-003M), is the only *w<sup>6</sup>b* included within this document. However, none of the rooms within the temple list a *w<sup>6</sup>b* as responsible for its sealing, and it is therefore unknown within which part of the temple *Ih3* served. Fragment 46D,<sup>239</sup> separate from fragments 45-46, lists a *w<sup>6</sup>b* in association with the *rry[t]*, or entrance area;<sup>240</sup> the name of the title-holder is not

<sup>234</sup> Posener-Kriéger et. al., *Abusir X*, 260-262, pl. 44.

<sup>235</sup> Abbreviation of *phr h3 hr*. Refer to: Paule Posener-Kriéger, "News from Abusir," in *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, ed. Stephen Quirke (London: BM Press, 1997), 21. The phrase *phr h3* was used idiomatically in Old Egyptian meaning "to serve ceremonially," as discussed in: Hans Goedicke, "An Old Kingdom Word," in *Festschrift Elmar Edel (Ägypten und Altes Testament I)*, ed. Manfred Görg (Bamberg: Offsetdruckerei Kurt Urlaub, 1979), 142-151.

<sup>236</sup> "In our text 44A, the term *phr* means a way around Raneferef's tomb during which might have been performed some ceremonies additional to the checking of sealings." Posener-Kriéger et. al., *Abusir X*, 261, n. 142.

<sup>237</sup> "The context seems to indicate quite clearly that this gate was not inside but outside the temple and somehow linked with the way around the pyramid: the control of the gate and putting a seal on it followed the control of the pyramid and the circular way around it." Posener-Kriéger et. al., *Abusir X*, 262, n. 143.

<sup>238</sup> Posener-Kriéger et. al., *Abusir X*, 262-264, pls. 45-46.

<sup>239</sup> Posener-Kriéger et. al., *Abusir X*, 264, pl. 46.

<sup>240</sup> Patricia Spencer, *Studies in the lexicography of Ancient Egyptian buildings and their parts* (Boston Spa: Britain Thesis Service, 1990), 43-54.

preserved upon this fragment. The *ʿrr[y]t* is again mentioned in fragment 87F,<sup>241</sup> with which at least two *wʿb.w* are associated: *Rnsi* (1-008I) and *Hw-wi* (1-009M); the title belonging to a third name is not preserved.

Fragments 6C and 6E refer to the nocturnal duty of the *wʿb.w*.<sup>242</sup> Fragment 6C contains a list of officiants, which includes one *imy-ḥt ḥm.w-ntr*, one *wʿb*, and one *ḥry-ḥbt*, although the *wʿb*, *Ni-sw-ḥnw* (1-005M), may have sent a *ḏt*-servant in his place. The service takes place *tp ḥwt*, or on the roof of the temple, and most likely "consisted of observing the night sky, the movement of stars, performing prescribed rituals and, last but not least, setting the precise time for the commencement of the morning ritual."<sup>243</sup> Fragment 6E merely includes the date of nocturnal duty for a *wʿb* whose name is not mentioned.

The *wʿb.w* may also have been involved in musical performance within the mortuary temple, as attested by the title *[shḏ] wʿb.w sb3iw Ḥḏt Ntry-[b3.w]-Nfr.f-rʿ*, or "[inspector] of pure ones [and] flautist of the White Crown [and] (the pyramid) 'Divine-are-the-B3s-of-Neferefre,'" which appears only once within the archive of Neferefre, in fragment 18E.<sup>244</sup> Posener-Kriéger et al. interpret the king's decree (*wḏ*) as pertaining to the cult of the goddess Nekhbet, for whom musical performances may have occurred within the hypostyle hall of Neferefre's mortuary temple.<sup>245</sup> Whether or not all *wʿb.w* had access to the hypostyle hall, or if this area was reserved only for the *[shḏ] wʿb.w sb3iw Ḥḏt Ntry-[b3.w]-Nfr.f-rʿ*, remains unclear.

In their conclusions concerning the personnel of Neferefre's mortuary temple, Posener-Kriéger et al. state: "[...] in rituals relating to the cult of statues, *ḥm-ntr*-priests performed the fumigation whereas the land tenants and *wʿb*-priests unveiled and dressed the statues."<sup>246</sup> However no reference to any particular papyrus fragment is provided by the authors, and no evidence in support of this conclusion could be found elsewhere in their publication. Based on the contents of the fragments discussed above, the *wʿb.w* were

<sup>241</sup> Posener-Kriéger et al., *Abusir* X, 313, pl. 87.

<sup>242</sup> Posener-Kriéger et al., *Abusir* X, 214-215, pl. 6.

<sup>243</sup> Posener-Kriéger et al., *Abusir* X, 214.

<sup>244</sup> Posener-Kriéger et al., *Abusir* X, 234-235, pl. 18.

<sup>245</sup> Posener-Kriéger et al., *Abusir* X, 235.

<sup>246</sup> Posener-Kriéger et al., *Abusir* X, 365.



active in the outer parts of the temple complex, and do not appear to have had access to the inner sanctum, where the divine images were housed.

The temple decrees<sup>247</sup> of Pepi II do not specifically mention the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w*, although they do reference the *ḥm.w-ntr*. Junker proposes that any *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-service for the temple was performed by other priests, such as the *ḥm-ntr*, at this time.<sup>248</sup> Such an interpretation is also consistent with the "duty table" of *Ni-k3-ḥnh*, mentioned above.

### 3.III.3. The First Intermediate Period

The primary source of material that references the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w* during the First Intermediate Period comes from the graffiti in Hatnub that was inscribed for the hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna).<sup>249</sup> Four members of this family held the title *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥ3 n Dḥwti* or "great pure one of Thoth," the main deity of this area. Graffito no. 17 provides some detail of the various rituals performed by the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥ3 n Dḥwti*, which include: opening [the face], renewing the clay sealing, sprinkling water for Thoth, offering incense for Thoth, slaughtering birds for the *k3* of Thoth, fetching *ibr*- and *ḥknw*-oil, making burnt offerings for the *k3* of Thoth.<sup>250</sup> This inscription suggests that the upper-ranking *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥ3* did in fact have access to the inner sanctum of the temple, which may also be due in part to the title-holder's status of *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr* and provincial ruler.

A secondary source of material comes from the decorated tombs of the nomarchs themselves. The tomb (No. 5) of the title-holder *Iḥ3-nḥt* I (2-011M) shows himself receiving an olive branch from two *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w* under the accompanying inscription: *b3q n Ḥwt-ntr m-ḥ w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w in ḥ3ty-ḥ hrp nsty imy-r ḥm.w-ntr w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥ3 n Dḥwti Iḥ3-nḥt [I]*, or "[receiving?] an olive branch for the temple from the pure ones by the hereditary prince/nobleman, director/controller of the two thrones, overseer of the god's servants,

<sup>247</sup> For the offerings in front of his statues in Abydos: *Urk. I*, 278-280; for the sanctuary of Min at Coptos: *Urk. I*, 280-283 and 284-288.

<sup>248</sup> "Vielleicht, daß hier der Gesamtdienst, die Reinigungszeremonien eingeschlossen, von den anderen Priestern, vor allem den *ḥm-ntr*, übernommen wurde." Hermann Junker, *Giza VI* (Wien: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1943), 13.

<sup>249</sup> Grajetzki describes this line of hereditary rulers as originating with *Iḥ3-nḥt* I (2-011M). Refer to: Wolfram Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of ancient Egypt: history, archaeology and society* (London: Duckworth, 2006), 109-111. For a family tree, see: Peter Robinson, "'As For Them who Know Them, They Shall Find Their Paths': Speculations on Ritual Landscapes in the 'Book of the Two Ways,'" in *Mysterious Lands*, ed. David O'Connor and Stephen Quirke (London: UCL Press, 2003), 143, fig. 8.3; Harco Willems, *Chests of life: a study of the typology and conceptual development of Middle Kingdom standard class coffins* (Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux, 1988), 71.

<sup>250</sup> Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 38-41, graffito no. 17, pl. 16; Shaw, *Hatnub*, 148-149.

the great pure one of Thoth, *Ih3-nht* I."<sup>251</sup> While the significance of the olive branch remains uncertain, it is worthwhile to note that the *w<sup>sb</sup>.w* were the ones who had come to complete this task.

The tomb of *Dhwti-htp* (No. 2) shows the depiction of a colossal statue being dragged by four registers of men, the third of which is preceded by the caption: *s3.w n w<sup>sb</sup>.w Wnt*, or "phyle of pure ones of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna)."<sup>252</sup> The register contains 43 men; the last man pours water to facilitate the movement of the statue. The captions preceding the other registers identify the men as *d3m.w n Imnt* or "troops of the West," *d3m.w n h3tyw* or "troops of warriors/cultivators," and *d3m.w n I3bt*, or "troops of the East." The *w<sup>sb</sup>.w* are the only priestly title-holders participating in this activity.

#### 3.III.4. The Middle Kingdom

The Lahun Papyri<sup>253</sup> comprise the greatest source of information on the lives and activities of the *w<sup>sb</sup>.w* during the Middle Kingdom. Although these references provide significant insights into other aspects of the title, e.g. the transfer of office (further discussed in Chapter 7), less information survives detailing their responsibilities within the temple itself.

The most commonly found theme within the papyri is the transportation of goods by *w<sup>sb</sup>.w*, as mentioned within the accounts papyri UC 32173 and UC 32194.<sup>254</sup> According to UC 32173, one *htmw* (and?) one *w<sup>sb</sup>* brought a commodity to a place; no further details are preserved due to the fragmentary nature of the document. UC 32194, a list of produce brought on certain days by officials of the town and/or temple, provides slightly more information. Here, two *w<sup>sb</sup>.w nswt*, or "royal pure ones," bring produce on the 10th and 20th day of the month, respectively. The destination of the produce is not specified within the document, and the name of only one of the title-holders is preserved: *Mikt* (3-146M). Nevertheless, both *w<sup>sb</sup>* and *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt* are responsible for bringing items to

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<sup>251</sup> Percy Newberry, *El Bersheh I* (London: EEF, 1893), pl. 17.

<sup>252</sup> Newberry, *El Bersheh I*, pl. 15.

<sup>253</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Letters*; Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical, and Medical*; Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*; Borchardt, "Der zweite Papyrusfund von Kahun," 89-122; Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Handschriften I*.

<sup>254</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 90-91, 100-101.

a certain location, a duty important enough to warrant a written record, and in the latter case, to be coordinated into a schedule between various priestly title-holders.

Related to the transportation of goods is a record of supplies for three Sobek cult temples (UC 32147G).<sup>255</sup> The fragment contains a name-list of *w<sup>s</sup>b.w*, of which only the first name, *Mikt* (3-145M), a *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt* or "royal pure one," is preserved.<sup>256</sup> Below the names of the *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* is the inscription *inw hwt-ntr nt Sbk nb Ddw [...] Sbk nb Grg.b3f [...] Snb nb r-shwy [...]*, or "deliveries of the temples of Sobek Lord of Djedu [...], Sobek Lord of Geregbaf [...], Sobek Lord of Resehwy [...]," which suggests that the *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* who comprised this list were responsible for bringing supplies to or from each of the aforementioned cult temples.

Reference to the payment of a *w<sup>s</sup>b* is found in a name-list (UC 32281A).<sup>257</sup> A surplus is given to *Nht* (3-097M); the precise amount of the surplus is not preserved. The fragment is broken under the name of *Nht*, so no other names within the list survive. Another fragment (P. 10.214)<sup>258</sup> records the income of an unnamed *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt* as "22 [...] 10 [...] 1 [...]" which may refer to measurements of bread, beer, and flour, respectively.

A papyrus fragment (unnumbered)<sup>259</sup> containing a list of lower-ranking priests may make reference to the *phyle* system, as it mentions two *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt imy 3bd.f*, or "royal pure one(s) within his month." The document suggests that the *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt* worked on a monthly rotation, analogous to the system employed by the cult of Neferefre during the Old Kingdom.

Another topic found in the papyri pertains to statuary, as found in the accounts papyrus UC 32143B.<sup>260</sup> The document contains a list of statues followed by the names and titles of temple staff. The purpose of the document may be an order for statues to be made for the named individuals, or perhaps is a list of temple staff required to perform service for these statues. The names and titles of temple staff include three *w<sup>s</sup>b.w nswt* or "royal pure ones": *It* (3-144M), *S-n-wsr.t* (3-149M), and *Sn.t* (3-151F); other titles that are mentioned are *ibh* or "libationer" and *šm<sup>s</sup>w (n) Hwt-hr* or "singer of Hathor."

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<sup>255</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 258-259.

<sup>256</sup> It is unknown as to whether or not this is the same *Mikt* mentioned in UC 32194 above, as the name occurs on two separate fragments that could not otherwise be correlated.

<sup>257</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 136-137.

<sup>258</sup> Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Handschriften I*, 112 [260].

<sup>259</sup> Borchardt, "Der zweite Papyrusfund von Kahun," 89-122.

<sup>260</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 250-251.

A *w<sup>ʿb</sup>* could summon another individual to work, as demonstrated by a roll-call of work-crews (UC 32170).<sup>261</sup> The text contains four columns: a checkmark consisting of a black or red dash (indicating presence or absence),<sup>262</sup> name and filiation, a second name (in red), followed by the name and title of an official. *Imn.ii* (3-277M), a *w<sup>ʿb</sup> ḥry s3* or "pure one who provides the back support service in the procession,"<sup>263</sup> is named within the fourth column, which indicates that he is an official who summoned another person for work, and is not a worker himself. Such a contract of labor was most likely for a debt that was owed to him.


### 3.IV. Summary

The title of *w<sup>ʿb</sup>* reflects the individual's preliminal status in the temple, by which they were restricted to the outermost areas. During the Old Kingdom, their duties including sealing the *pḥr*, or ceremonial circular passage around the pyramid, as well as the *rwt*, or gate that was connected to this passageway. They also performed nightly duty on the roof of the temple, which likely consisted of observing the stars. Iconographic evidence from the First Intermediate Period shows that the *w<sup>ʿb</sup>.w* were also engaged in non-ritual tasks, such as moving a colossal statue from Hatnub quarry. A number of records from the Middle Kingdom also show that the *w<sup>ʿb</sup>.w* were responsible for bringing provisions to the temple from the outside.

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<sup>261</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 44-45.


<sup>262</sup> According to Ezzamel, a black dot indicates the workman's presence whereas a red dot indicates absence, but does not provide further explanation. Refer to: Mahmoud Ezzamel, *Accounting and Order* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 277.

<sup>263</sup> Rendered as: . This title is further discussed in: §6.I.5.D.1.

## CHAPTER 4: *W<sup>s</sup>B*-TITLES IN THE OLD KINGDOM

This chapter presents the various *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles of the Old Kingdom, and is divided into the three following broad sections: the *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title (§4.I.1), *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles affiliated with the royal family (§4.I.2), funerary *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles (§4.I.3), and *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles associated with a deity (§4.I.4). Each individual title-holder is identified by number and any one of the following letters: "I," "F," or "M," which identify the title-holder's gender as "Indeterminable," "Female," or "Male." The number assigned to each title-holder corresponds to their number in the Old Kingdom Index (Appendix A), which includes each individual's full title-string as well as bibliographical references.

### 4.I.1 *W<sup>s</sup>b* and *w<sup>s</sup>bt*

Aside from being "the most general term for priest,"<sup>264</sup> the word  (*w<sup>s</sup>b*), or "pure one,"<sup>265</sup> comprised a title in its own right. During the Old Kingdom, the title of *w<sup>s</sup>b* was most commonly associated with the king's mortuary cult, as demonstrated by the prevalence of the titles *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt* and *w<sup>s</sup>b n [King's Name]*; see §4.I.2, below. The title is rarely associated with a deity until the Middle Kingdom,<sup>266</sup> in contrast to the title of *hm-ntr*, which by its very nature, is linked with a deity from its earliest attestation.<sup>267</sup> The titles *w<sup>s</sup>b* and *hm-ntr* appear together within the royal mortuary cults of the Old Kingdom, and later within cults of deities during the Middle Kingdom onwards. According to Junker,<sup>268</sup> the *w<sup>s</sup>b* performed purification rites and ensured the purity of offerings, as per PT 21-197.<sup>269</sup>

Sixteen title-holders have been identified from the Old Kingdom, one of whom was a woman who held the title of *w<sup>s</sup>bt*: *Ihi* (1-017F),<sup>270</sup> whose name and titles are preserved upon a false door (CG 1449)<sup>271</sup> of unknown provenance, which dates to the 6th

<sup>264</sup> Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 53\*.

<sup>265</sup> Jones, *Index*, 368 [1360]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII.

<sup>266</sup> Hans Goedicke, "Die Laufbahn des *Mtn*" *MDIK* 21 (1966): 8; Ward, *Index*, 79-83; Fischer, *Supplement*, 24-25; Naguib Kanawati, *Akhmim in the Old Kingdom* (Sydney: The Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1992), 238, n. 1478.

<sup>267</sup> Hermann Junker, *Giza VI* (Wien: Hölder-Pichler-Tempsky, 1943), 13.

<sup>268</sup> Junker, *Giza VI*, 13.

<sup>269</sup> PT spells 21-197 §12-113, in: Sethe, *Pyramidentexte* I, 7-66; Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 3-36; Allen, *Pyramid Texts*, 19-29.

<sup>270</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 44 [20].


<sup>271</sup> Ludwig Borchardt, *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches* I (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1937), 133-135.

Dynasty or later.<sup>272</sup> The false door belongs to her husband, *Id.ii* (1-121M),<sup>273</sup> who held the title of *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt*, or "royal pure one" and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup>* or "god's servant of Re." He holds two additional titles: *rh nswt* or "royal acquaintance" and *hry-sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret." Their children are identified by name without title; the same is true for *Id.ii*'s brother, who is also included upon the false door. *Ihi* is the only female title-holder identified from the Old Kingdom.

#### 4.1.2. *W<sup>sb</sup>*-Titles Affiliated with the Royal Family

This section examines the *w<sup>sb</sup>*-titles that are affiliated with the royal family, i.e. *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt*, *w<sup>sb</sup> mwt-nswt*, and *w<sup>sb</sup> ms.w-nswt*. The section also includes the ubiquitous *w<sup>sb</sup> n [King's Name]*, for which there are several variations that are illustrated in Table 4.1.2.B. The title *w<sup>sb</sup> pr-<sup>s</sup>3* is presented as a subsection to *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt pr-<sup>s</sup>3*, under which the title may have been organized.

##### 4.1.2.A. *W<sup>sb</sup> nswt*

The title  (*w<sup>sb</sup> nswt*),<sup>274</sup> or "pure one of the king,"<sup>275</sup> has been subject to a range of interpretations by various scholars. Erman and Grapow state that the title refers to one in the service of the living and/or deceased king, and that the title-holder may have acted as bather and physician to the king.<sup>276</sup> Ghalioungui has similarly classified the title as a "medical auxiliary."<sup>277</sup> However, such an interpretation is unlikely, as most *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt* do not hold medical titles in their title-strings (see Appendix A).

Junker specifies that the title-holder is more likely connected to the royal mortuary cult,<sup>278</sup> as demonstrated by the title *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt n 3ht(y)-Hwfw* or "royal pure one of the (the pyramid) 'The-Horizon-of-Khufu,'" discussed in §IV.2, below.

<sup>272</sup> Yvonne Lemke, "Die nichtköniglichen Priesterinnen des Alten Reiches (4. – 6. Dynastie)" (PhD diss. Universität Würzburg, 2008), 197. I would like to thank Dr. Lisa Sabbahy for bringing this reference to my attention.

<sup>273</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 54 [3].

<sup>274</sup> Transcription of *nswt* follows Allen. Refer to: James Allen, *Middle Egyptian: an Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 463.

<sup>275</sup> Jones, *Index*, 373 [1382]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII; *PM* III.2, R333.

<sup>276</sup> *Wb.* I, 283 [5].

<sup>277</sup> Paul Ghalioungui, *The Physicians of Pharaonic Egypt* (Cairo: Al-Ahram Center for Scientific Translations, 1983), 14.

<sup>278</sup> "Die Verbindung von *w<sup>sb</sup>* mit dem Namen des Königs statt mit dem allgemeinen *njswt* bezieht sich wohl immer auf den Dienst bei dem verstorbenen Herrscher." Junker, *Giza VI*, 14 [1].

Alternatively, Goedicke argues that the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt* is a "pure one" who acts on behalf of the king as a royal agent.<sup>279</sup> His assertion that the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* and *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt* were not participants of the royal mortuary cult is erroneous, given the number of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-titles that are linked to a specific pyramid complex, e.g. §II.1-VI.4, below. Rather, his statement seems to be a misunderstanding of the opposing functions of the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* and *ḥm-ntr*,<sup>280</sup> which are known to have coexisted in both royal mortuary cults and divine cults.

Depending upon the specific title, the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt* may be connected to any of the following institutions: the palace,<sup>281</sup> robing room,<sup>282</sup> *mrt*-temple,<sup>283</sup> pyramid complex,<sup>284</sup> and in one particular case, with a deity.<sup>285</sup>

The earliest attested *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-title is *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt*. The title appears on two late 3rd Dynasty stelae, each of which belong to *Wp* (1-018M)<sup>286</sup> and *Nfr-stš* (1-019M),<sup>287</sup> both of which were found within the same tomb in Helwan (247 H6).<sup>288</sup> Each man held the sole title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt*. The title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt* is the most commonly held *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-title of the Old Kingdom, held by no less than 125 individuals who are accounted for in this thesis (Appendix A: 1-018M - 1-141I; 1-179M).

#### 4.1.2.A.a. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt (n) pr-ḥ3*

<sup>279</sup> "*W<sup>ḥ</sup>b-nswt* ist daher, wie ähnlich zusammengesetzte Titel, als Bezeichnung eines königlichen Agenten zu verstehen, wobei dieser nicht für einen bestimmten Herrscher, sondern für die Institution des Königtums handelt." Goedicke, "Die Laufbahn des *Mtn*," 9; Hans Goedicke, *Die Stellung des Königs im Alten Reich* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1960), 17-37.

<sup>280</sup> "Der königliche Totenkult wird von *ḥm-ntr* "Göttesdienern" durchgeführt und nur für diese sind mit Königsnamen zusammengesetzte Bezeichnungen nachgewiesen. Ihre Funktion ist somit völlig anders gelagert als die der *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* oder *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b-nswt*, bei denen eine institutionelle und keine individuelle Bindung besteht." Goedicke, "Die Laufbahn des *Mtn*," 9, n. 5.

<sup>281</sup> As demonstrated by the title, *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt (n) pr-ḥ3*, or "royal pure one of the Great House," in: Jones, *Index*, 374 [1385].

<sup>282</sup> As demonstrated by the title, *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt db3t*, or "royal pure one of the robing room," in: Jones, *Index*, 374-375 [1388].

<sup>283</sup> As demonstrated by the title, *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt (m) mrt(t) Wsr-k3.f*, or "royal pure one of the *mrt*-temple of Userkaf," in: Jones, *Index*, 374 [1386].


<sup>284</sup> As demonstrated by the title *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt n 3ḥt(y)-Ḥwfw*, or "royal pure one of the (the pyramid) 'Horizon of Khufu,'" in: Jones, *Index*, 374 [1383].

<sup>285</sup> As demonstrated by the title *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt Šhm.t*, or "royal pure one of Sekhmet," in: Jones, *Index*, 374 [1387].

<sup>286</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 77 [16].

<sup>287</sup> Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>288</sup> Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, 48-53, pls. 29-30.


The title  (*w<sup>sb</sup> nswt (n) pr-<sup>3</sup>*), or "royal pure one of the Great House,"<sup>289</sup> is directly connected to the palace. Three title-holders are known, each of whom are discussed below.


The name and title of *Sd-htp* (1-142M)<sup>290</sup> are preserved upon a limestone statuette that was found within the serdab of his mastaba at Giza (G 8662),<sup>291</sup> which dates to the early reign of Djedkare Isesi.<sup>292</sup> His sole title is *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt pr-<sup>3</sup>*.

The name and titles of *Hnm.w-htp(.w)* (1-143M)<sup>293</sup> are preserved upon an offering table (CG 1306)<sup>294</sup> from his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 1/B 11),<sup>295</sup> which dates to the 4th Dynasty. His only other title is *ib3*, or "dancer."

The name and titles of *Rrmw* (1-144M)<sup>296</sup> are preserved upon a seated statue of himself with his son *K3(.i)-hr-st.f* (1-150M) and daughter shown on either side of his seat (39-1-17/Toledo 49.5), a limestone standing pair statue of himself with his wife (39-1-16/Toledo 49.4), as well as a limestone triad of two men (one of whom is *Rrmw*) and a small boy (39-1-18/JE 72138). All three statues were found in the serdab of the title-holder's tomb in Giza (G 2099), which dates to the late 5th Dynasty.<sup>297</sup> *Rrmw*'s son, *K3(.i)-hr-st.f* (1-150M), held the title *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt Shm.t*, or "royal pure one of Sekhmet," and is discussed in §4.I.2.c below. Based upon this example, it may be possible that the title of *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt* was hereditary, despite the difference in the father's affiliation with the palace and the son's affiliation with a deity.

#### 4.I.2.A.a.i. *W<sup>sb</sup> pr-<sup>3</sup>*

The title  (*w<sup>sb</sup> pr-<sup>3</sup>*), or "pure one of the Great House,"<sup>298</sup> is directly connected to the palace and may be of lower-rank than the *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt (n) pr-<sup>3</sup>*, discussed

<sup>289</sup> Alternatively rendered as . Jones, *Index*, 374 [1385]; *PM* III.2, R334; *Wb.* I, 283.

<sup>290</sup> Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>291</sup> Selim Hassan, *Giza III* (Cairo: Government Press, 1941), 108-114.

<sup>292</sup> Naguib Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: Evidence on its Economic Decline* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1977), 119 [317].

<sup>293</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 276 [6].

<sup>294</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 5.

<sup>295</sup> Auguste Mariette, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire* (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1976), 102-103.

<sup>296</sup> Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>297</sup> Ann Roth, *A Cemetery of Palace Attendants: Including G 2084-2099, G 2230+2231, and G 2240* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1995), 150-154.

<sup>298</sup> Jones, *Index*, 371 [1372].




above. According to Junker, the *w<sup>sb</sup> pr-<sup>3</sup>* performed the duties of a doctor.<sup>299</sup> However, there is not enough remaining evidence with which to confirm Junker's interpretation. Rather, Fragment 44A of archive of the mortuary complex of Neferefre, specifies that a *w<sup>sb</sup> pr-<sup>3</sup>* is responsible for sealing the *phr*, or ceremonial circular passage around the pyramid, as well as the *rwt*, or gate that was connected to this passageway.<sup>300</sup> Two named title-holders are known, both of whom are discussed below. The title is also preserved on two sealing fragments from Abusir (1-146I and 1-147I).<sup>301</sup>

The name and titles of *M<sup>3</sup>.t-pth* (1-145M)<sup>302</sup> are preserved on a false door that is *in situ* in the Menkaure Quarry Cemetery (MQ 134), which dates to the reign of Menkaure or later.<sup>303</sup> In addition to being a *w<sup>sb</sup> pr-<sup>3</sup>*, *M<sup>3</sup>.t-pth* also held the title of *imy-r b<sup>3</sup> pr-<sup>3</sup>* or "overseer of unguent(?) of the Great House," which may be linked to his status as *w<sup>sb</sup> pr-<sup>3</sup>*. He was initiated (or promoted) to *hm-ntr* of Menkaure.

The name and titles of *Htp-3h.ti* (1-148M)<sup>304</sup> are preserved upon his wooden statue (JE 93170/SR 18276) that was found within his unnumbered tomb in Saqqara, which dates to the reign of Unas.<sup>305</sup> It is also worthwhile to note that *Htp-3h.ti* is also an *imy-r w<sup>sb</sup>.w Shm.t*, or "overseer of the pure ones of Sekhmet."

#### 4.1.2.A.b. *W<sup>sb</sup> nswt db3t*

The title  (*w<sup>sb</sup> nswt db3t*), or "royal pure one of the robing room,"<sup>306</sup> is another title that is associated with the palace as per the location of the *db3t*, or "robing room."<sup>307</sup> Both Hassan and Fischer agree on the translation of the word as "Royal Palace," although they disagree regarding the division of titles within the title-string, which is complicated by lacunae.<sup>308</sup> Only one such title-holder is known, *Mmi* (1-

<sup>299</sup> Junker, *Giza VI*, 13.

<sup>300</sup> Posener-Kriéger et. al., *Abusir X*, 260-262, pl. 44.

<sup>301</sup> Miroslav Verner, *Abusir III* (Praha: Universitas Carolina Pragensis Academia, 1995), 100 [285/A/78] and 114 [386/A/78-e].

<sup>302</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 144 [26].

<sup>303</sup> Louis West, "West Diary, vol. VI, p. 19: January 16, 1913": <http://www.gizapyramids.org/view/diaries/asitem/PeopleDiaries@4726/>.

<sup>304</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 257 [26].

<sup>305</sup> Harvey, *Wooden Statues*, 142-143 [A15].


<sup>306</sup> Jones, *Index*, 374-375 [1388]; *PM III.2*, V336.

<sup>307</sup> Hermann Kees, "ⲗ und ⲗⲓⲛⲓ," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 36 (1914): 1-16.

<sup>308</sup> "Hassan reads the word correctly, (i.e. *db3t*), but links it (mistakenly, I think) with the following title *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt*." Henry George Fischer, *Varia Nova* (New York: MMA, 1996), 215, n. 286-287. Contra: Selim

149M),<sup>309</sup> whose name and titles are preserved within his mastaba within the Khafre Cemetery (No. 7),<sup>310</sup> which dates to the 5th Dynasty or later.<sup>311</sup> In addition to being a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt db3t, Mmi* also held the titles of *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance," *shḏ ḥm.w-ntr Ḥwt-ḥr* or "inspector of the god's servants of Hathor," and *shḏ ḥs.w* or "inspector of singers," the last of which may also be associated with a temple.<sup>312</sup>

#### 4.1.2.A.c. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt Shm.t*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt Shm.t*), or "royal pure one of Sekhmet,"<sup>313</sup> refers to *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt* specifically dedicated to the goddess Sekhmet. If the readings by Fischer and Jones are correct,<sup>314</sup> then the title is exceptional because this is the only time in which the title *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt* is linked with a deity. The title is fitting, considering Sekhmet's role as the protectress of the sun-god, as well as his heir and agent, the king.<sup>315</sup> In contrast, Roth reads the hieroglyphs as: *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt, smr ḥtr.w*, or "pure one of the king, companion of the *ḥtr.w*."<sup>316</sup>

Only one title-holder is known, *K3(.i)-ḥr-st.f* (1-150M),<sup>317</sup> whose name and titles are preserved upon a seated statue (39-1-17/Toledo 49.5) of his father, *Rrmw* (1-144M), on which he and his sister are shown on either side of their father's seat. The statue was found in the serdab of his father's tomb in Giza (G 2099), which dates to the 5th Dynasty.<sup>318</sup> In addition to being a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt Shm.t*, *K3(.i)-ḥr-st.f* was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) *ḥm-ntr* of Khufu, and held the title of *ḥnty-š*, or "land tenant." Because *K3(.i)-ḥr-st.f*'s father, *Rrmw*, held the title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt pr-ḥ3*, or "royal pure one in the Great House," it is possible that his *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt* title was inherited.

Hassan, *Giza VII* (Cairo: Government Press, 1953), 45 [4], fig. 38.

<sup>309</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 149 [18].

<sup>310</sup> Hassan, *Giza VII*, 45-48.

<sup>311</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 78 [176]; *PM III.2*, 238.

<sup>312</sup> Galvin, "Priestesses of Hathor," 109 [321M].

<sup>313</sup> Jones, *Index*, 374 [1387].

<sup>314</sup> Henry George Fischer, *Varia* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976), 99, n. 14. Reproduced within: Jones, *Index*, 374 [1387].


<sup>315</sup> Janet Johnson, "Sekhmet et la protection du monde by Philippe Germond [review]," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 104 (1984): 361-362.

<sup>316</sup> Roth does not propose a translation of the word *ḥtr.w*. See: Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 150-154.

<sup>317</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 340 [17].

<sup>318</sup> Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 150-154.

#### 4.I.2.A.d. *W<sup>6</sup>b mwt-nswt*

The title  (*w<sup>6</sup>b mwt-nswt*), or "pure one of the king's mother,"<sup>319</sup> refers to her mortuary cult, for which the *w<sup>6</sup>b*-title appears during the reign of Niuserre.<sup>320</sup> The *w<sup>6</sup>b.w* of the royal mortuary cult were often promoted to *hm.w-ntr* of the royal mortuary cult (see below §4.II). Helck makes the same association between the *w<sup>6</sup>b.w mwt-nswt* and the *hm.w-ntr* of the king's mortuary cult,<sup>321</sup> although this is not always the case as two of the five named title-holders were not promoted to *hm-ntr*. The title is also attested on two seal fragments from Abusir (1-152I and 1-153I).<sup>322</sup>

The name and titles of *Mr-hwfw* (1-048M)<sup>323</sup> are preserved within his tomb in Giza (No. 6),<sup>324</sup> which dates to the 5th Dynasty or later.<sup>325</sup> *Mr-hwfw* holds two *w<sup>6</sup>b*-titles: *w<sup>6</sup>b nswt* or "royal pure one," and *shd w<sup>6</sup>b.w mwt-nswt* or "inspector of the pure ones of the king's mother." He was promoted to *hm-ntr* in the cults of Khafre and Menkaure. *Mr-hwfw*'s other titles include: *imy-r id.w n hwt 3t* or "overseer of young men of the Great Estate," *rh nswt* or "royal acquaintance," and *imy-r st* or "overseer of a department."

The name and titles of *Ni-m3<sup>6</sup>.t-r<sup>6</sup>* (1-070M)<sup>326</sup> are preserved in his unnumbered mastaba in Giza,<sup>327</sup> which dates to the reign of Niuserre or later.<sup>328</sup> *Ni-m3<sup>6</sup>.t-r<sup>6</sup>* was a *w<sup>6</sup>b nswt* or "royal pure one," and served as a *w<sup>6</sup>b* in the pyramid complex of Niuserre and was promoted to *hm-ntr* in the sun-temple of Niuserre. His title of *imy-r w<sup>6</sup>b.w mwt-nswt* is most likely in reference to *mwt-nswt H<sup>6</sup>-mrr-nbty*, who is named in the text for the reversion of offerings recovered from his tomb.<sup>329</sup> *Ni-m3<sup>6</sup>.t-r<sup>6</sup>* holds a variety of other titles that are affiliated with the palace: *imy-r hst pr-3* or "overseer of the singing of the Great House," *hrp tis(t) bity* or "director of the *tist*-companions (?) of the King of Lower

<sup>319</sup> Jones, *Index*, 371-372 [1375]; *PM* III.2, Y879.

<sup>320</sup> Helck, "Pyramidenstätten," 105.

<sup>321</sup> "Allerdings beginnt bereits unter *Nj-wsr-R<sup>6</sup>* sich durchzusetzen, daß die Totenpriester bei der Königsmutter nun wie die beim König als *w<sup>6</sup>b* und am Ende der 6. Dynastie dann auch als 'Propheten' bezeichnet werden." Helck, "Pyramidenstätten," 105.

<sup>322</sup> Verner, *Abusir* III, 125 [10/A/85-b] and 127 [11/A/85-c]; Patrizia Piacentini, *Les scribes dans la société égyptienne de l'Ancien Empire* (Paris: Cybele, 2002), 360-361.

<sup>323</sup> Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>324</sup> Ahmed Fakhry, *Sept Tombeaux à l'Est de la Grande Pyramide de Guizeh* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1935), 19-25.

<sup>325</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 82 [199]; *PM* III.1, 213-214.

<sup>326</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 172 [16].

<sup>327</sup> Hassan, *Giza* II, 211-225.

<sup>328</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 86 [227].

<sup>329</sup> Michel Baud, "La tombe de la reine-mère [khâ-merer-Nebtj] Ire," *BIFAO* 95 (1995): 12.

Egypt," *imy-r šhmḥ-ib nb nfr m ḥnw št3.w pr-ᶜ3* or "overseer of all goodly entertainment in the residence and of the secret apartments of the Great House,"<sup>330</sup> *stp-s3 ḥr(y?)-tp st nswt* or "bodyguard under the throne of the king (?)," *ḥry-sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *[imy-r] nb m ḥnw swt pr-ᶜ3* or "[overseer of] all that is in the interior places of the Great House," *smr pr* or "companion of the house," and *imy ib n nb.frᶜ-nb* or "he who is in the heart of his lord every day."

The name and titles of *Itti* (1-151M)<sup>331</sup> are preserved in his tomb in Giza (LG 68), which dates from the early 5th to 6th Dynasty.<sup>332</sup> *Itti* was a *wᶜb mwt-nswt* and was later promoted to *šḥd wᶜb.w mwt-nswt* or "inspector of the pure ones of the king's mother." He was also an *imy-r ḥm.w-k3* or "inspector of *k3*-servants" and *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance." Kaplony<sup>333</sup> believes that *Itti* may be the same man found on a relief (Strassburg VI-10),<sup>334</sup> based upon an alternative reading of his titles. However, the man in question is a *šḥd wᶜb.w (n) 3ḥt(y)-Ḥwfw* and *imy-ḥt ḥm.w-k3 mwt-nswt Ḥnti(.t)-k3.w.s*, not a *šḥd wᶜb.w mwt-nswt* and *imy-r ḥm.w-k3*.

The name and titles of *Ii-mrii* (1-154M)<sup>335</sup> are preserved on a limestone drum lintel (UPM E13527)<sup>336</sup> that was inscribed for him and his wife, dedicated by their son *Rwḏ* (1-016M). The limestone drum lintel was found in *Ii-mry*'s tomb in Giza (G 3098), which most likely dates to the 6th Dynasty due to the tomb's relationship to the other tombs within the cemetery.<sup>337</sup> *Ii-mrii*'s only other title is *rḥ nswt*, or "royal acquaintance."

*Ii-mrii*'s son *Rwḏ* (1-016M)<sup>338</sup> holds the titles of *wᶜb* and *wᶜb mwt-nswt*, and was promoted to *ḥm-ntr* in the cults of Khufu, Khafre, and Djedefre. He also holds a number of other titles: *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance, *s3b ḥry-wḏb* or "juridicial master of reversion-offerings," *imy-ḥt s3w-prw* or "under-supervisor of police," and *s3b (imy-ḥt)*

<sup>330</sup> Jones offers two possible translations of this title: "overseer of all goodly entertainment in the residence and of the secrets of the Great House" and/or "overseer of all goodly entertainment in the secret apartments of the Great House." This author favors the latter translation. Refer to: Jones, *Index*, 233 [860].

<sup>331</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 52 [16].

<sup>332</sup> Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 85 [45].

<sup>333</sup> Peter Kaplony, *Die Rollsiegel des Alten Reichs* II (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1981), 4.

<sup>334</sup> Heinrich Schäfer, *Priestergräber und andere grabfunde vom ende des alten reiches bis zur griechischen zeit vom totentempel des Ne-user-ré* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908), 9-10, fig. 6.

<sup>335</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 9 [16].


<sup>336</sup> Alan Rowe, "Inscriptions and Sculpture," in *The Minor Cemetery at Giza*, ed. Clarence Fisher (Philadelphia: University Museum, 1924), 145 [19].

<sup>337</sup> Baud, "La tombe de la reine-mère [khâ-merer-Nebtj] Ire," 13.

<sup>338</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 221 [12].

*s3w-prw* or "juridicial (under-supervisor) of police." *Ii-mrii* shares both of his titles with his son: *w<sup>6</sup>b mwt-nswt* and *rh nswt*, both of which could be hereditary. *Rwd*'s name and titles are also preserved upon a limestone offering stone (32-4-49) that was later found re-used in G 1683B (1-154M).<sup>339</sup> Here he is only identified as *w<sup>6</sup>b mwt nswt* and *s3b hry-wdb*.

#### 4.1.2.A.e. *W<sup>6</sup>b ms.w-nswt*

The title  (*w<sup>6</sup>b ms.w-nswt*), or "pure one of the king's children,"<sup>340</sup> refers to the mortuary cult of the king's children, analogous to the *w<sup>6</sup>b nswt* and *w<sup>6</sup>b mwt-nswt*, above. There is only one known title-holder, *Sp-n* (1-079M),<sup>341</sup> whose name and titles are preserved in the mastaba of *Nfr-ihii*,<sup>342</sup> which dates to the late 5th Dynasty or later.<sup>343</sup> *Sp-n* holds dual *w<sup>6</sup>b*-titles: *w<sup>6</sup>b nswt* or "royal pure one" and *w<sup>6</sup>b ms.w-nswt*. He also holds the titles *rh nswt* or "royal acquaintance," *hq3 Hwt-Hwfw* or "chief of the estate of Khufu," *hrp hrp.w n Hwt 3t* or "director of the directors of the Great Estate," and *imy-r pr.w ms.w-nswt* or "overseer of the houses of the royal children."

#### 4.1.2.B. *W<sup>6</sup>b n [King's Name]*

The second most common *w<sup>6</sup>b*-title of the Old Kingdom is the *w<sup>6</sup>b n [King's Name]*, which links a *w<sup>6</sup>b* to a specific king, either by direct reference to the king's name,

<sup>339</sup> George Reisner, "A History of the Giza Necropolis III, Unpublished 1942 Manuscript, Appendix K: Cemetery G 1600, page 051": <http://www.gizapyramids.org/view/unpublisheddocs/asitem/PeopleUnPubDocs@549/>.

<sup>340</sup> Baud comments "La graphie est pourtant étrange à plusieurs égards [...]," and although the title is rendered in the masculine dual, Fischer states that the masculine plural is most likely intended. Jones suggests that the title refers to the collective gender, "since normally one would expect *nswt* to precede *msw*, or, as is customary, occupy a position above the *ms*-sign which is here occupied by the female figure. The position of the 't' after GEG M23 would also suggest the reading *w<sup>6</sup>b-nswt msw*." Refer to: Michel Baud, *Famille royale et pouvoir sous l'ancien empire égyptien I* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1999), 347; Raymond Faulkner, *The Plural and Dual in Old Egyptian* (Bruxelles: Fondation Égyptologique Reine Élisabeth, 1929), 58; Jones, *Index*, 372-373 [1378]. Kaplony compares the ligature of the *w<sup>6</sup>b ms.w-nswt* with that found upon a cylinder-seal of a *w<sup>6</sup>b nswt* (1-0241). Refer to: Kaplony, *Rollsiegel II*, 78, pl. 26 [58, Khafre]. For an overview of other titles pertaining to the king's children, see: Stephan Seidlmayer and Martin Ziermann, "Eine Friesinschrift von einem Mastaba-Grab des Alten Reiches aus Elephantine," *MDAIK* 48 (1992): 169. See also: *PM III.2*, Y880.

<sup>341</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 296 [2].

<sup>342</sup> The tomb-owner's filiation with the title-holder is unclear. Abdel-Moneim Abu-Bakr, *Excavations at Giza 1949-1950* (Cairo: Government Press, 1953), 31-37.

<sup>343</sup> Helck, "Pyramidenstädten," 105.

pyramid complex, sun-temple, or as in one particular case, *mrt*-temple.<sup>344</sup> For ease of reference, Table 4.I.2.B. illustrates the types of *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-title(s) that are associated with each king, which are numbered according to dynasty (Roman numerals) and reign (Arabic numerals). Each of the *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-titles associated with a king are discussed in chronological order in the following sub-sections.

The *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b n [king's name]* is a direct reference to the deceased king's name, but it does not specify a cult place, e.g. pyramid complex, sun-temple, or *mrt*-temple. This title may have been used in one or more of these locations, wherever service may have been performed in honor of the named king. The earliest-known king's name with which a *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-title is affiliated is Peribsen, the first king of the 2nd Dynasty (§II.1); the title-holder, however, lived during the 4th Dynasty. The next known *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-titles associated with a king's name reference Djedefre and Khafre, kings of the mid-4th Dynasty (§IV.3-4). The last known *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-titles linked to a king's name refer to Userkaf and Sahure, kings of the early 5th Dynasty (§V.1-2). It is also worthwhile to note that certain individuals could serve as *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b* for multiple kings, e.g. *Tp-m-ḥ* (1-157M), who served as a *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b* of Sneferu, Khafre, Menkaure, Userkaf, and Sahure.

The earliest pyramid complex with which a *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-title is linked is with the Red Pyramid (*H<sup>ʿ</sup>-Snfrw*) of Sneferu in Dahshur (§IV.1). *W<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-titles continued to be linked to pyramid complexes consistently through that of Teti, the first king of the 6th Dynasty (§VI.1). An exceptional case is the *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b nswt* for the Great Pyramid of Khufu in Giza (§IV.2). There are no known *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-titles linked to the cult places of Shepseskaf, who had a sarcophagus-shaped structure, and Shepseskare, whose pyramid was never completed. Although no pyramid is known for Djedefre, he still may have had a *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-title linked to his name (§IV.3), as mentioned above.

The title *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b šnty (200)*, or "pure one of the *šnty (200)*," appears for the first time in association with the pyramid of Unas, the last king of the 5th Dynasty (§V.9). Although there is no known *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b šnty (200)* associated with the pyramid of Teti, the title is linked to every other pyramid until the end of the 6th Dynasty. The establishment of this

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<sup>344</sup> The *mrt*-temple is a shrine affiliated with Hathor within the king's mortuary complex, in which the sacred marriage of the king with his queen (i.e. the goddess Hathor) took place. For further explanation, see: Andrzej Ćwiek, "Relief Decoration in the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Old Kingdom: Studies in the Development, Scene Content and Iconography" (PhD Diss., Warsaw University, 2003), 33, n. 111; Winifred Barta, "Zur Lokalisierung und Bedeutung der *mrt*-Bauten," *ZÄS* 110 (1983): 98-104.





































new *w<sup>6</sup>b*-title may have been linked to the discontinuation of the sun-temples and to the *hnty.w-š* overtaking the duties for the living king.<sup>345</sup>

The only *w<sup>6</sup>b*-titles linked to sun-temples are those of *Nhn-R<sup>6</sup>*, the sun-temple of Userkaf; *Šht-[R<sup>6</sup>]*, the sun-temple of Sahure, and *Šsp-ib-R<sup>6</sup>*, the sun-temple of Niuserre. These sun-temples belong to the kings of the early- and mid-5th Dynasty (§V.1-2, §V.6). Each of these titles are discussed in a sub-section under *W<sup>6</sup>b R<sup>6</sup>* (§4.I.3.E.1).

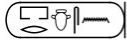
Only one known *w<sup>6</sup>b*-title is linked to a *mrt*-temple, which is the *w<sup>6</sup>b nswt (m) mrt(t) Wsr-k3.f* or "royal pure one of the *mrt*-temple of Userkaf," for which the reading is ambiguous (§V.1c).

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<sup>345</sup> Nuzzolo, "The V Dynasty Sun Temples Personnel," 293-294, n. 24; 302, fig. 1; 304-307.

Table 4.I.2.B: <i>W<sup>s</sup>b n [King's Name] of the Old Kingdom</i>		
Legend:		
 : <i>W<sup>s</sup>b</i> ;  : Pyramid;  : Sun-Temple;  : <i>W<sup>s</sup>b-nswt (n) mrt-temple</i> ;  : <i>W<sup>s</sup>b-nswt</i> ;  : <i>W<sup>s</sup>b 200</i> ; X: No known associated <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> -title		
<i>Dynasty II</i>		
II.1	Seth Peribsen Perenmaat	
<i>Dynasty IV</i>		
IV.1	Horus Nebmaat Sneferu	
IV.2	Horus Medjedu Khufu	
IV.3	Horus Kheper Djedefre	 (?)
IV.4	Horus Userib Khafre	 , 
IV.5	Horus Kakhet Menkaure	
IV.6	Horus Shepseskhet Shepseskaf	X
<i>Dynasty V</i>		
V.1	Horus Irimaat Userkaf	 ,  ,  ,  (?)
V.2	Horus Nebkhau Sahure	 ,  , 
V.3	Neferirkare Kakai	 , 
V.4	Shepseskare Isi	X
V.5	Horus Neferkhau Neferefre	
V.6	Niuserre Ini	 , 
V.7	Menkauhor Ikauhor	
V.8	Djedkare Isesi	
V.9	Horus Wadjetawy Unas	 , 
<i>Dynasty VI</i>		
VI.1	Horus Sehetepawy Teti	
VI.2	Nefersahor/Meryre Pepi I	 , 
VI.3	Merenre Nemtyemsaf I	 , 
VI.4	Neferkare Pepi II	 , 

### II.1. *W<sup>s</sup>b n Pr-ib-sn*

The title  ( *w<sup>s</sup>b n Pr-ib-sn*), or "pure one of Peribsen,"<sup>346</sup> refers to the mortuary cult of Peribsen,<sup>347</sup> and is attested by only one known title-holder, *In-k3.f* (1-156M),<sup>348</sup> who lived during the 4th Dynasty. *In-k3.f*'s name and title are preserved upon a

<sup>346</sup> Jones, *Index*, 371 [1373]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII. For a discussion of the grammatical composition of the title, see: Henry George Fischer, "Graphic Transposition of the Indirect Genitive," *JARCE* 3 (1964): 123 [B1], and William Ward, "Old Kingdom *sš ʿnsw n hft-hr*, 'Personal Scribe of Royal Records', and Middle Kingdom *sš ʿn nsw n hft-hr*, 'Scribe of the Royal Tablet of the Court'" *Orientalia* 51 (1982): 383, n. 9. For rendering of the king's name, see: Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischer Königsnamen* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1999), 45 [E2\*].


<sup>347</sup> Junker, *Giza VI*, 14 [1].

<sup>348</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 36 [1].



false-door (CG 1384) from Saqqara that belongs to his father.<sup>349</sup> His father, *Šri*, holds the related title *imy-r w<sup>b</sup>.w Pr-ib-sn*, or "overseer of the pure ones of Peribsen," to which is added the epithet, *m hr(t)-ntr m hwt Snd m swt.f nb*, "in the necropolis in the temple of *Snd*, in all his places."<sup>350</sup> From his title it is evident that the mortuary cult of Peribsen was attached to the mortuary cult of Sened, both of whom were kings of the 2nd Dynasty, and whose reigns predate the title-holders' lifetimes.<sup>351</sup>

#### IV.1. *W<sup>b</sup> H<sup>c</sup>-Snfrw*

The title  (*w<sup>b</sup> H<sup>c</sup>-Snfrw*), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Sneferu-appears-in-splendor,'"<sup>352</sup> refers to the Red Pyramid complex in Dahshur.<sup>353</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh* (1-157M),<sup>354</sup> whose name and titles are preserved on a false-door (CG 1564)<sup>355</sup> from his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 76/D 11),<sup>356</sup> which dates to the mid-5th Dynasty.<sup>357</sup> *Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh* served as a *w<sup>b</sup>* of several pyramid complexes that predated his lifetime, including those of Sneferu, Khafre (§IV.4), Menkaure (§IV.5), Userkaf (§V.1), and Sahure (§V.2).<sup>358</sup> Likewise, he held several *hm-ntr* titles, wherein he served as a *hm-ntr* in the sun-temple of Userkaf, was a *hm-ntr* of Khufu, as well as a *hm-ntr* of Menkaure in the *h*-palace of the residence. He also served as a *hm-ntr* of the goddesses Hathor, Maat, Seshat, and Wadjet "the Water Pourer" cobra goddess. *Tp-m-<sup>c</sup>nh* was also a mortuary priest, as per his titles of *htm(w)-ntr pr-<sup>c</sup>3* or "god's sealer of the Great House" and *sh(y-ntr) Inpw* or "one who belongs to the divine booth of Anubis." Other priestly titles include: *iry wndt-ntr* or "custodian of the divine image," *htm(w) md3t-ntr pr-<sup>c</sup>3* or "sealer of the god's books of the Great House," and *shd htm(ty)w pr md3t-ntr* or

<sup>349</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 42-44; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 92-93 [B3]; Alexandre Moret, "Fragments du Mastaba de Shery: Prêtre des Rois Peribsen et Send," *Monument et Mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 25 (1921-1922): 280, fig. 1, pl. 21.

<sup>350</sup> Kaiser, "Zur Nennung von Sened und Peribsen in Sakkara B3," *GM* 122 (1991): 49; Dietrich Wildung, *Die Rolle ägyptischer König im Bewußtsein ihrer Nachwelt* (Berlin: B. Hessling, 1969), 47.

<sup>351</sup> Kaiser, "Zur Nennung von Sened und Peribsen," 49.

<sup>352</sup> Jones, *Index*, 377 [1398]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII; *PM* III.2, T888; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 53 [P1].

<sup>353</sup> *LÄ* V, 5, n. 14; Karola Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen nach Texten des Alten Reiches* (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1978), 184-185.

<sup>354</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 380 [2].

<sup>355</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 28-30.

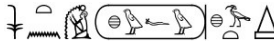
<sup>356</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 196-201.


<sup>357</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 151 [559]; Wildung, *Die Rolle*, 105 [g].

<sup>358</sup> Helck, "Pyramidenstätten," 96 [2].

"inspector of sealers of the archive of the god (i.e. the king)." His non-priestly titles include: *hry sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *iry sšr.w pr-ʿ3* or "keeper of the linen of the Great House," *iry ht pr-ʿ3* or "custodian of property of the Great House," *imy-r hr(yw) sd3t* or "overseer of sealbearers," *hrp iry.w md3t nb.w* or "director of all archivists/book-keepers," *s3b smsw h3yt* or "juridical elder of the court/audience hall," *[n(y)?] ʿ.w (nw) nswt pr-ʿ3* or "[one who belongs to] the royal documents/portfolio of the Great House" (a phrase used in conjunction with other titles, possibly indicating that the appointment was bestowed upon the incumbent 'by royal decree'), and *iry md3t* or "keeper of documents."

#### IV.2. *Wʿb nswt n 3ht-Hwfw*

The title  (*wʿb nswt n 3ht-Hwfw*), or "royal pure one of the (the pyramid) 'The-Horizon-of-Khufu,'"<sup>359</sup> refers to the Great Pyramid of Giza.<sup>360</sup> The title is exceptional in that it is the only time that the title *wʿb nswt* is explicitly linked with a mortuary cult via the name of a pyramid complex.<sup>361</sup> The pyramid complex functioned as its own administrative unit,<sup>362</sup> which remained in operation until the end of the Old Kingdom.<sup>363</sup>

The earliest-known title-holder is *Nfr.i* (1-158M),<sup>364</sup> whose name and titles are preserved within his unnumbered mastaba in Saqqara,<sup>365</sup> which dates to the 4th Dynasty.<sup>366</sup> *Nfr.i* holds dual *wʿb*-titles of *wʿb nswt n 3ht-Hwfw* and *wʿb nswt*, or "royal pure one." He was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-ntr* of the goddess Wadjet, and was an *imy-r n*  or "overseer of the [snake play]."<sup>367</sup> His other titles include: *imy-r gs-pr ir.w is* or "overseer of the troop-house of tomb makers," *iry ht pr-ʿ3*

<sup>359</sup> Jones, *Index*, 374 [1383]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII; *PM* III.2, T337; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 53 [P].

<sup>360</sup> Henri Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques* I (Le Caire: IFAO, 1925), 6; Pierre Montet, *Géographie de l'Égypte ancienne* I (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1957), 42; *LÄ* V, 5, n. 15; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 12-14.

<sup>361</sup> Junker, *Giza VI*, 14 [1].

<sup>362</sup> Goedicke, "Die Laufbahn des *Mtn*," 9, n. 8.

<sup>363</sup> Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 13, n. 66.

<sup>364</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 203 [11].

<sup>365</sup> Abu-Bakr, *Excavations at Giza 1949-1950*, 39-46.


<sup>366</sup> For the date of the tomb, see discussions in: Nadine Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées d'Ancien Empire: Le Problème de la Datation* (Bruxelles: Connaissance de l'Égypte Ancienne, 1989), 97-98; and Nicole Alexanian, *Dahschur II* (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1999), p. 76. n 309.

<sup>367</sup> Abu-Bakr, *Excavations at Giza 1949-1950*, 39 [16].

or "custodian of property of the Great House," *m3(3t) Hr* or "one who beholds/seer of Horus," *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance," *ḥq3 ḥwt* or "estate manager/property administrator," *ḥq3 ḥwt ʿ3* or "chief/manager of a great estate/district," *ḥrp ʿpr.w* or "director of the crew," *ḥrp ʿpr.w (nw) nfr.w* or "director of a crew/section of recruits," *s3b ḥry sqr* or "juridicial official in charge of the offering/offerer(?)," *shd (n) wi3/dpt* or "inspector of the boat," and *shd pr-ʿ3* or "inspector the Great House."

The only other known title-holder *Q3.ii* (1-159M),<sup>368</sup> whose name and titles are preserved within his tomb (L 69) in Giza, which dates to the 5th or 6th Dynasty.<sup>369</sup> He holds two titles (and two epithets), both of which are associated with the mortuary cult of Khufu: *wʿb nswt n 3ḥt(y) (-Ḥwfw)* and *smsw h(3)yt n (3ḥt(y)-) Ḥwfw*, or "elder of the (judicial) court of (the pyramid 'The-Horizon-of-) Khufu.'" *Q3.ii*'s titles are a further indication that the royal mortuary cult remained in effect long after the king's death.

#### IV.3. *Wʿb Dd.f-rʿ*

The title  (*wʿb Dd.f-rʿ*), or "pure one of Djedefre,"<sup>370</sup> refers to the mortuary cult of Djedefre. The title is problematic, as the sole attestation of the title has been superimposed over a portion of an individual's name.<sup>371</sup> The title is preserved upon a false door of *Ni-k3.w-Rʿ-Dd.f* (Louvre E. 16263)<sup>372</sup> from his mastaba in Abu Rawash (F 15),<sup>373</sup> which is of controversial date.<sup>374</sup> The excavator, Bisson de la Roque, originally read the title-holder's name as *K3.w* joined by the titles *s3 nswt*, *wʿb Dd.f-rʿ*, or "king's son, pure one of Djedefre,"<sup>375</sup> Kanawati followed Bisson de la Roque's reading.<sup>376</sup> However, Fischer has since pointed out that the title of *wʿb* is superimposed over the

<sup>368</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 332 [24].

<sup>369</sup> Richard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien* II (Genève: Éditions de Belles Lettres, 1975), 34b; *PM* III.2, 211.

<sup>370</sup> Jones, *Index*, 379 [1405]. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 53 [E1].

<sup>371</sup> Henry George Fischer, "Three Old Kingdom Palimpsests in the Louvre," *ZÄS* 86 (1961): 29-31, fig. 4.


<sup>372</sup> Christiane Ziegler, *Catalogue des stèles, peintures et reliefs égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire et de la Première Période Intermédiaire: vers 2686-2040 avant J.-C.* (Paris: Réunion des musées nationaux, 1990), 154-156.

<sup>373</sup> Fernand Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les Fouilles d'Abou-Roasch (1922-1923)* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1924), 29, pl. XI.


<sup>374</sup> For dating to the reign of Djedefre or later, see: Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 154. For dating to the reign of Menkaure, see: Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 121 [332]. For dating to the late 5th Dynasty or later, see: *PM* III.2, 5.

<sup>375</sup> Bisson de la Roque, *Rapport sur les Fouilles d'Abou-Roasch (1922-1923)*, 29.


<sup>376</sup> Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 121 [332].

signs  (*nn*), which comprise the first part of the name, *Ni-k3.w-R<sup>c</sup>-Dd.f*; both Porter and Moss<sup>377</sup> as well as Ziegler<sup>378</sup> follow Fischer's reading. Because *w<sup>b</sup>* does not appear to be an original component of the *Ni-k3.w-R<sup>c</sup>-Dd.f*'s title-string, it is not further included here.

#### IV.4.a. *W<sup>b</sup> H<sup>c</sup>.f-r<sup>c</sup>*

The title  (*w<sup>b</sup> H<sup>c</sup>.f-r<sup>c</sup>*), or "pure one of Khafre,"<sup>379</sup> refers to the mortuary cult of Khafre. Only one title-holder is known, *K3-dw3* (1-059M),<sup>380</sup> whose name and titles are preserved within his mastaba in Giza (G 8472),<sup>381</sup> which dates around the reign of Niuserre.<sup>382</sup> *K3-dw3*'s full title is *hm-ntr w<sup>b</sup> H<sup>c</sup>.f-r<sup>c</sup>*, or "god's servant [and] pure one of Khafre." He also holds the title of *w<sup>b</sup> nswt* or "royal pure one" and was promoted to *shd w<sup>b</sup>.w* or "inspector of pure ones." *K3-dw3* was later promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-ntr* of three separate names of Khafre (*Hr-wsr-ib*, *Nb.ty-wsr-m*, and *H<sup>c</sup>.f-r<sup>c</sup>*), and holds the title *h3it ny H<sup>c</sup>.f-r<sup>c</sup> wr*, or "elder of the portal/forecourt of (the pyramid) 'Great-is-Khafre.'" *K3-dw3* was also a *hm-k3*, or "k3-servant." He holds a number of other titles, including: *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance," *imy-r pr* or "overseer of the house (steward)," *smsw h3it* or "the eldest of the audience hall," and *ḥry sst3* or "one who is privy to the secret."

#### IV.4.b. *W<sup>b</sup> Wr-H<sup>c</sup>.f-r<sup>c</sup>*

The title  (*w<sup>b</sup> Wr-H<sup>c</sup>.f-r<sup>c</sup>*), or "pure one of the (the pyramid) 'Great-is-Khafre,'"<sup>383</sup> refers to the second pyramid of Giza.<sup>384</sup> Two title-holders are known, both of whom are discussed below.

<sup>377</sup> *PM* III.1, 5.

<sup>378</sup> As *Ni-k3.w-Dd.f-r<sup>c</sup>*. See: Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 154-156.

<sup>379</sup> Neither Jones nor Murray account for this title. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 55 [E1].

<sup>380</sup> For closest parallel, see: Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 341 [6].

<sup>381</sup> Hassan, *Giza* VI.3, 93-110.

<sup>382</sup> For dating before the reign of Niuserre, see: Wildung, *Die Rolle*, 200. For dating after the reign of Niuserre, see: Baer, *Rank and Title*, 150 [550].

<sup>383</sup> Jones, *Index*, 370 [1369]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII; *PM* III.2, T883; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 55 [P1].

<sup>384</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* I, 199; Henri Gauthier, *Livre des rois d'Égypte: recueil de titres et protocoles royaux, noms propres de rois, reines, princes et princesses, noms de pyramides et de temples solaires, suivi d'un index alphabétique* I (Le Caire: IFAO, 1907), 86; Montet, *Géographie* I, 42; *LÄ* V, 5, n. 17; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 70-72.

The name and titles of *Tp-m-ꜥnh* (1-157M)<sup>385</sup> are preserved on a false-door (CG 1564)<sup>386</sup> from his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 76/D 11),<sup>387</sup> which dates to the mid-5th Dynasty.<sup>388</sup> *Tp-m-ꜥnh* served as a *wꜥb* of several pyramid complexes that predated his lifetime, including those of Sneferu (§IV.1), Khafre, Menkaure (§IV.5), Userkaf (§V.1), and Sahure (§V.2).<sup>389</sup> Likewise, he held several *hm-ntr* titles, wherein he served as a *hm-ntr* in the sun-temple of Userkaf, was a *hm-ntr* of Khufu, as well as a *hm-ntr* of Menkaure in the 'h-palace of the residence. He also served as a *hm-ntr* of the goddesses Hathor, Maat, Seshat, and Wadjet "the Water Pourer" cobra goddess. *Tp-m-ꜥnh* was also a mortuary priest, as per his titles of *htm(w)-ntr pr-ꜥ3* or "god's sealer of the Great House" and *sh(y-ntr) Inpw* or "one who belongs to the divine booth of Anubis." Other priestly titles include: *iry wndt-ntr* or "custodian of the divine image," *htm(w) md3t-ntr pr-ꜥ3* or "sealer of the god's books of the Great House," and *shd htmt(tyw) pr md3t-ntr* or "inspector of sealers of the archive of the god (i.e. the king)." His non-priestly titles include: *hry sꜥt3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *iry sꜥr.w pr-ꜥ3* or "keeper of the linen of the Great House," *iry ht pr-ꜥ3* or "custodian of property of the Great House," *imy-r hr(yw) sd3t* or "overseer of sealbearers," *hrp iry.w md3t nb.w* or "director of all archivists/book-keepers," *s3b smsw h3yt* or "juridicial elder of the court/audience hall," *[n(y)?] ꜥ.w (nw) nswt pr-ꜥ3* or "[one who belongs to] the royal documents/portfolio of the Great House" (a phrase used in conjunction with other titles, possibly indicating that the appointment was bestowed upon the incumbent 'by royal decree'), and *iry md3t* or "keeper of documents."

The name and titles of *Itti* (1-160M)<sup>390</sup> are preserved upon the chapel entrance drum lintel and door jamb of his mastaba in Giza (G 7391), as well as a fragmentary seated statue (Turin S. 1876); both the mastaba and statue date to the late 5th Dynasty.<sup>391</sup> His sole priestly title is *wꜥb Wr-Hꜥ.f-rꜥ*. *Itti's* other titles include: *rh nswt* or "royal acquaintance," *shd pr-ꜥ3* or "inspector of the Great House," *imy-r pr-ꜥ3* or "steward of the

<sup>385</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 380 [2].

<sup>386</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 28-30.

<sup>387</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 196-201.

<sup>388</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 151 [559]; Wildung, *Die Rolle*, 105 [g].


<sup>389</sup> Helck, "Pyramidenstätten," 96 [2].

<sup>390</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 52 [16].

<sup>391</sup> Silvio Curto, *Gli scavi italiani a el-Ghiza* (Roma: Centro per le Anichità e la Storia dell'Arte del Vicino Oriente, 1963), 34-39, 42-46.

Great House," and *imy-r k3t nt nswt* or "overseer of the king's works." It is also worthwhile to note that *Itti's* relative, *H<sup>ς</sup>.f-r<sup>ς</sup>-<sup>ς</sup>nh*, served as a *shd w<sup>ς</sup>b.w Wr-H<sup>ς</sup>.f-r<sup>ς</sup>* or "inspector of pure ones of the (the pyramid) 'Great-is-Khafre,'"<sup>392</sup> which indicates that members of the same family could be affiliated with the mortuary cult of the same king.

#### IV.5. *W<sup>ς</sup>b Ntry-Mn-k3.w-r<sup>ς</sup>*

The title  (*w<sup>ς</sup>b Ntry-Mn-k3.w-r<sup>ς</sup>*), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Divine-is-Menkaure,'"<sup>393</sup> refers to the third pyramid of Giza.<sup>394</sup> Only one title-holder is known,<sup>395</sup> *Tp-m-<sup>ς</sup>nh* (1-157M),<sup>396</sup> whose name and titles are preserved on a false-door (CG 1564)<sup>397</sup> from his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 76/D 11),<sup>398</sup> which dates to the mid-5th Dynasty.<sup>399</sup> *Tp-m-<sup>ς</sup>nh* served as a *w<sup>ς</sup>b* of several pyramid complexes that predated his lifetime, including those of Sneferu (§IV.1), Khafre (§IV.4), Menkaure, Userkaf (§V.1), and Sahure (§V.2).<sup>400</sup> Likewise, he held several *hm-ntr* titles, wherein he served as a *hm-ntr* in the sun-temple of Userkaf, was a *hm-ntr* of Khufu, as well as a *hm-ntr* of Menkaure in the 'h-palace of the residence. He also served as a *hm-ntr* of the goddesses Hathor, Maat, Seshat, and Wadjet "the Water Pourer" cobra goddess. *Tp-m-<sup>ς</sup>nh* was also a mortuary priest, as per his titles of *htm(w)-ntr pr-<sup>ς</sup>3* or "god's sealer of the Great House" and *sh(y-ntr) Inpw* or "one who belongs to the divine booth of Anubis." Other priestly titles include: *iry wndt-ntr* or "custodian of the divine image," *htm(w) md3t-ntr pr-<sup>ς</sup>3* or "sealer of the god's books of the Great House," and *shd htmt(tyw) pr md3t-ntr* or "inspector of sealers of the archive of the god (i.e. the king)." His non-priestly titles include: *hry sst3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *iry sšr.w pr-<sup>ς</sup>3* or "keeper of the linen of the Great House," *iry ht pr-<sup>ς</sup>3* or "custodian of property of the Great House," *imy-r*

<sup>392</sup> Juan Moreno García, "A New Old Kingdom Inscription from Giza (CGC 57163), and the Problem of *sn-dt* in Pharaonic Third Millennium Society," *JEA* 93 (2007): 122; Yvonne Harpur, "Two Old Kingdom Tombs at Giza," *JEA* 67 (1981): 24-35; Wildung, *Die Rolle*, 201, n. 3.

<sup>393</sup> Jones, *Index*, 375 [1390]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII; *PM* III.2, T885; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 55 [P].

<sup>394</sup> *LÄ* V, 5, n. 18.

<sup>395</sup> Contra Hawass, "No *w<sup>ς</sup>bw* of the pyramid of Menkaure seem to have existed." See: Zahi Hawass, "The Programs of the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Fourth Dynasty," in *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, ed. David O'Connor and David Silverman (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 241.

<sup>396</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 380 [2].

<sup>397</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 28-30.


<sup>398</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 196-201.

<sup>399</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 151 [559]; Wildung, *Die Rolle*, 105 [g].


<sup>400</sup> Helck, "Pyramidenstätten," 96 [2].

*hr(yw) sd3t* or "overseer of sealbearers," *hrp iry.w md3t nb.w* or "director of all archivists/book-keepers," *s3b smsw h3yt* or "juridicial elder of the court/audience hall," [*n(y)?*] <sup>ε</sup>.w (*nw*) *nswt pr-ε3* or "[one who belongs to] the royal documents/portfolio of the Great House" (a phrase used in conjunction with other titles, possibly indicating that the appointment was bestowed upon the incumbent 'by royal decree'), and *iry md3t* or "keeper of documents."

#### V.1.a. *W<sup>ε</sup>b Wsr-k3.f*

The title  (*w<sup>ε</sup>b Wsr-k3.f*), or "pure one of Userkaf,"<sup>401</sup> refers to the mortuary cult of Userkaf. Only one title-holder is known, *Nfr* (1-161M),<sup>402</sup> whose name and titles are preserved upon an offering table (UC 19658)<sup>403</sup> most likely from Saqqara or Abusir, and dates to the reign of Userkaf or later as per the title. *Nfr* serves as a *w<sup>ε</sup>b* of Userkaf and was subsequently promoted to *hm-ntr* of Re in the sun-temple of Userkaf. *Nfr*'s other titles include: *hry sst3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *hnty-š (n) pr-ε3* or "land-tenant of the Great House," and *h<sup>ε</sup>qw* or "barber."

#### V.1.b. *W<sup>ε</sup>b W<sup>ε</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f*

The title  (*w<sup>ε</sup>b W<sup>ε</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f*), or "pure one of (Userkaf's pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf,'"<sup>404</sup> refers to the king's pyramid in Saqqara.<sup>405</sup> Six named title-holders are known, each of whom are discussed below. The title is also attested on three cylinder seals from Abusir (1-163I, 1-164I, and 1-165I).<sup>406</sup>

The name and titles of *Ffi* (1-162M)<sup>407</sup> are preserved upon an offering basin (CG 1359)<sup>408</sup> from his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 2/B 10),<sup>409</sup> which dates after the reign of

<sup>401</sup> Jones, *Index*, 370 [1370]. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 57 [E1].

<sup>402</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 194 [1].

<sup>403</sup> Harry Stewart, *Egyptian stelae, reliefs and paintings from the Petrie collection* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1976), 35-36 [151], pl. 37.1. Please note that "Stewart wrongly attributes *Wsr-k3.f* to the preceding *hry sst3* and translates, 'overseer of secrets of Userkaf.'" Refer to: Jones, *Index*, 370 [1370].

<sup>404</sup> Alternatively rendered as . Jones, *Index*, 369 [1366]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII; PM III.2, T889; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 57 [P].

<sup>405</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* I, 185; Montet, *Géographie* I, 42; LÄ V, 5, n. 20; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 61-62.

<sup>406</sup> Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, 193-197, pl. 61 [25, 26, 27, Sahure]; Piacentini, *Scribes*, 350 [E.As.15].

<sup>407</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 142 [8].

<sup>408</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 27.

<sup>409</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 99-101.

Userkaf.<sup>410</sup> *Ffi* served as a *w<sup>sb</sup>* in the pyramid complex of Userkaf and was promoted to *hm-ntr* in the sun-temple of Userkaf. He was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-ntr* of Sokar and Ptah, and held other high ranking titles including *imy-r hmwt(yw) n(t) hkr.w nswt* or "overseer of the craftsmen of the king's ornaments/royal regalia" and *imy-r hmwt(yw)* or "overseer of craftsmen," both of which may be associated with the cult of Ptah, the patron god of craftsmen. *Ffi* also held two titles pertaining to food supplies that may be associated with the administration of the pyramid complex,<sup>411</sup> i.e. *imy-r šnwt*, or "overseer of the granary," and *imy-r šnwwt nswt*, or "overseer of the royal granary."

The name and titles of *Tp-m-<sup>snh</sup>* (1-157M)<sup>412</sup> are preserved on a false-door (CG 1564)<sup>413</sup> from his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 76/D 11),<sup>414</sup> which dates to the mid-5th Dynasty.<sup>415</sup> *Tp-m-<sup>snh</sup>* served as a *w<sup>sb</sup>* of several pyramid complexes that predated his lifetime, including those of Sneferu (§IV.1), Khafre (§IV.4), Menkaure (§IV.5), Userkaf, and Sahure (§V.2).<sup>416</sup> Likewise, he held several *hm-ntr* titles, wherein he served as a *hm-ntr* in the sun-temple of Userkaf, was a *hm-ntr* of Khufu, as well as a *hm-ntr* of Menkaure in the *h*-palace of the residence. He also served as a *hm-ntr* of the goddesses Hathor, Maat, Seshat, and Wadjet "the Water Pourer" cobra goddess. *Tp-m-<sup>snh</sup>* was also a mortuary priest, as per his titles of *htm(w)-ntr pr-<sup>3</sup>* or "god's sealer of the Great House" and *sh(y-ntr) Inpw* or "one who belongs to the divine booth of Anubis." Other priestly titles include: *iry wndt-ntr* or "custodian of the divine image," *htm(w) md3t-ntr pr-<sup>3</sup>* or "sealer of the god's books of the Great House," and *shd htmt(tyw) pr md3t-ntr* or "inspector of sealers of the archive of the god (i.e. the king)." His non-priestly titles include: *hry sst3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *iry sšr.w pr-<sup>3</sup>* or "keeper of the linen of the Great House," *iry ht pr-<sup>3</sup>* or "custodian of property of the Great House," *imy-r hr(yw) sd3t* or "overseer of sealbearers," *hrp iry.w md3t nb.w* or "director of all archivists/book-keepers," *s3b smsw h3yt* or "juridicial elder of the court/audience hall,"

<sup>410</sup> For dating to after the reign of Userkaf, see: Strudwick, *Administration*, 60-61 [10]. For dating to the 5th Dynasty or later, see: Baer, *Rank and Title*, 56 [35B].

<sup>411</sup> Helck, "Pyramidenstädten," 98, n. 6.

<sup>412</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 380 [2].

<sup>413</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 28-30.

<sup>414</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 196-201.

<sup>415</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 151 [559]; Wildung, *Die Rolle*, 105 [g].

<sup>416</sup> Helck, "Pyramidenstädten," 96 [2].



[*n(y)?*] <sup>ε</sup>.*w* (*nw*) *nswt pr-ε3* or "[one who belongs to] the royal documents/portfolio of the Great House" (a phrase used in conjunction with other titles, possibly indicating that the appointment was bestowed upon the incumbent 'by royal decree'), and *iry md3t* or "keeper of documents." He is the father of *Hm-mn(.w)* (1-166M), who shares a number of his father's titles, which are listed below.

The name and titles of *Hm-mn(.w)* (1-166M)<sup>417</sup> are preserved upon various stelae (CG 1415, 1417, 1556, and 1564) that were found within the mastaba of his father, of *Tp-m-εnh* (1-157M), which is located in Saqqara (No. 76/D 11)<sup>418</sup> and dates to the mid-5th Dynasty.<sup>419</sup> *Hm-mn(.w)* shares many of his father's priestly titles, including: *w<sup>ε</sup>b W<sup>ε</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f*, *hm-ntr* in the sun-temple of Userkaf, *hm-ntr* of the goddesses Hathor and Seshat, *hry sst3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *htm(w)-ntr pr-ε3* or "god's sealer of the Great House," and *htm(w) md3t-ntr pr-ε3* or "sealer of the god's books of the Great House." Some titles are similar to that of his father, but are not completely identical, e.g. *hm-ntr* of Menkaure and *hm εh*, *iwn smsw Inpw shy(-ntr)*, or "senior pillar of Anubis who belongs to the (divine booth)." The number of priestly titles shared between father and son suggest that these titles are hereditary. The only titles that *Hm-Mn(.w)* does not share with his father are *htm(w)-ntr* or "god's sealer" and *hm-ntr Wsr-k3.f* or "god's servant of Userkaf." Unlike *Tp-m-εnh*, *Hm-mn(.w)* does not share any titles that are affiliated with Sahure, which suggests that he may have predeceased his father.<sup>420</sup>

The name and titles of *Špss-r<sup>ε</sup>* (1-167M)<sup>421</sup> are preserved on the statue of *Ni-εnh-r<sup>ε</sup>* (CG 55) from Saqqara, which dates to the 5th Dynasty.<sup>422</sup> He served as a *w<sup>ε</sup>b* in the pyramid complex of Userkaf, and was promoted to *imy-ht n w<sup>ε</sup>b.w W<sup>ε</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f*, or "under-supervisor of the pure ones of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf.'" *Špss-r<sup>ε</sup>* was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-ntr* of Neferirkare, as well as a *hm-ntr* of Re and Hathor in the sun-temples of Neferirkare and Userkaf. Within the latter, he held the administrative title of *sš ε(w) n(w) nswt m htm(t) nb(t) ntt m Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup>*

<sup>417</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 239 [21].

<sup>418</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 196-201.

<sup>419</sup> See discussion in: Ann McFarlane, *The God Min to the End of the Old Kingdom* (Sydney: The Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1995), 59.

<sup>420</sup> McFarlane, *The God Min*, 59.

<sup>421</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 326 [21].

<sup>422</sup> Ludwig Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten* I (Berlin: Reichsdruckerei, 1911), 48-49, pl. 14; Piacentini, *Scribes* I, 507 [E.Sa.76.1f].

*nht Hwt-hr*, or "King's letter scribe in every treasury (which are) in *Nhn-R*<sup>423</sup> (and the) *nht*-sanctuary of Hathor." *Špss-r*<sup>424</sup> held one other title: *ir(w)-šn nswt*, or "maker of the king's hair."

The name and titles of *K3(.i)-hp* (1-168M)<sup>423</sup> are preserved on a false door of unknown provenance (Berlin 11469),<sup>424</sup> which dates to the 5th Dynasty or later.<sup>425</sup> *K3(.i)-hp* served as a *w<sup>b</sup>* in the pyramid complex of Userkaf and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-ntr* of Re in the sun-temple of Userkaf. He also holds the titles of: *hnty-š pr-ʿ3* or "land tenant of the Great House," *ir(w) ʿnt pr-ʿ3* or "manicurist of the Great House," and *hry sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret."

The name and titles of *Dw3-r*<sup>426</sup> are preserved on an offering basin (CG 1375)<sup>427</sup> from his unnumbered tomb in Dahshur, which dates to the mid-5th Dynasty.<sup>428</sup> His name and titles are also preserved upon two statues that were found within the Valley Temple of Sneferu in Dahshur.<sup>429</sup> *Dw3-r*<sup>429</sup> held two lower-ranking titles within the pyramid complex of Userkaf: *hnty-š* or "land-tenant," and *w<sup>b</sup>*. He was promoted to *hrp w<sup>b</sup>.w*, or "director of pure ones." *Dw3-r*<sup>429</sup> held upper-ranking titles within the pyramid complex of Sneferu: *imy-r H<sup>s</sup>-Snfrw* or "overseer of (the pyramid) 'Sneferu-Appears-in-Splendor,'" *imy-r H<sup>s</sup>.wy-Snfrw* or "overseer of (the two pyramids) 'Sneferu-Appears-in-Glory,'" and *hm-ntr* of Sneferu. He was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-ntr* in the sun-temple of Userkaf. He also holds a number of non-priestly titles, including: *imy-r k3t nt nswt* or "overseer of the king's works," *imy-r Imntt* or "overseer of the West Nome (L.E. 3)," *imy-r nswtyw* or "overseer of the king's people," *imy-r Hwt-ih(w)t* or "overseer of *Hwt-ih(w)t* (capital of the West Nome (L.E. 3), precise location unknown)," *hnty-š* or "land tenant," *imy[-r] pr[-ʿ3]* or "steward of the Great House," *smr* or "companion," *wr 10 šm<sup>s</sup>* or "greatest/great one of the 10 of Upper Egypt," *rh nswt* or "royal acquaintance," *imy-r s3.w šm<sup>s</sup>* or "overseer of the *phyles* of Upper Egypt," *ʿd-mr*

<sup>423</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 340 [16].

<sup>424</sup> Heinrich Schäfer, *Aegyptische Inschriften* I (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1913), 44-45.

<sup>425</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 147 [540B].

<sup>426</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 398 [19].


<sup>427</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 34.

<sup>428</sup> For mid-5th Dynasty or earlier, see: Strudwick, *Administration*, 163 [162]. For mid-5th Dynasty or later, see: Baer, *Rank and Title*, 155 [581].

<sup>429</sup> Ahmed Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur* II (Cairo: General Organization for Govt. Print. Offices, 1961), 10-11; Ahmed Fakhry, "The Excavation of Sneferu's Monuments at Dahshur: Second Preliminary Report," *ASAE* 52 (1952): 589.

*Hr-sb3w-hnty-pt* or "administrator of (the royal 'domain') 'Star-of-Horus-Foremost of Heaven' (reign of Djoser)," *hry-sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *hry-sšt3 n nb.f* or "secretary of his lord (i.e. the king)," and *hq3 hwt ʿ3t* or "chief/manager of a great estate/district."

V.1.c. *W<sup>sb</sup> nswt (m) mrt(t) Wsr-k3.f*

The title  (*w<sup>sb</sup> nswt (m) mrt(t) Wsr-k3.f*), or "royal pure one of the *mrt*-temple of Userkaf,"<sup>430</sup> is affiliated with the *mrt*-temple of Userkaf.<sup>431</sup> Only one such title-holder is known, *Pth-htp(.w)* (1-170M),<sup>432</sup> as per a transcription from his mastaba (D 51) by Mariette.<sup>433</sup> If the transcription is correct, then the title is exceptional in that it is the only time in which the *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt* is linked with a *mrt*-temple. In other transcriptions, however, the title is either completely unaccounted for<sup>434</sup> or misinterpreted.<sup>435</sup>

Aside from *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt (m) mrt(t) Wsr-k3.f*, *Pth-htp(.w)* holds two other titles that are affiliated with Userkaf: *hm-ntr Wsr-k3.f* or "god's servant of Userkaf," and *hm-ntr R<sup>ε</sup> [m] Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup>* or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) *Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup>*." He is also a *hm-ntr* of the goddess Hathor. He also holds the title of *rh nswt*, or "royal acquaintance."

<sup>430</sup> Jones, *Index*, 374 [1386]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XIX. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 57 [E1].

<sup>431</sup> For a discussion the *mrt*-temple and its inclusion in priestly titles, see: Winifred Barta, "Zur Lokalisierung und Bedeutung der *mrt*-Bauten," *ZÄS* 110 (1983): 99 [2a]. See also: Čwiek, "Relief Decoration in the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Old Kingdom," 33, n. 111.


<sup>432</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 141 [5].

<sup>433</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 314.

<sup>434</sup> Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten*, 113, abb. 156; Jacques Pirenne, *Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l'Ancienne Égypte* II (Bruxelles: La Fondation Égyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1934), 461-462 [28].

<sup>435</sup> Based upon an inscription indicating that Hathor had a place of worship within the *mrt*-temple of Userkaf, Allam links *Pth-htp*'s title, *hm-ntr Hwt-Hr* with the *mrt(t) Wsr-k3.f*, completely bypassing the *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt*-component of the title. Refer to: Schafik Allam, *Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches)* (Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1963), 9, n. 4. For a critique of his interpretation, refer to: Marianne Galvin, "Priestesses of Hathor," 33.

V.2.a. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b S3ḥw-r<sup>ḥ</sup>*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b S3ḥw-r<sup>ḥ</sup>*), or "pure one of Sahure,"<sup>436</sup> refers to the mortuary cult of Sahure. Only one title-holder is known, *K3(.i)-m-sn.w* (1-171M),<sup>437</sup> whose name and titles are preserved upon the inner and outer lintels and drum of his chapel in Saqqara,<sup>438</sup> which dates to the late 5th to early 6th Dynasty.<sup>439</sup> *K3(.i)-m-sn.w* served as a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* of Sahure and as a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* within the pyramid complex of Niuserre. He was promoted to a *ḥm-ntr* of Neferirkare, a *ḥm-ntr* of both Hathor and Re in the sun-temple of Neferirkare, as well as a *ḥm-ntr* in the pyramid complex of Niuserre. *K3(.i)-m-sn.w*'s service as both *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* and *ḥm-ntr* within the pyramid complex of Niuserre is unique, as a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*'s promotion to *ḥm-ntr* usually occurs within a sun-temple (see discussion, §4.II). *K3(.i)-m-sn.w* also held two titles pertaining to food supplies that may be associated with the administration of the pyramid complex,<sup>440</sup> i.e. *imy-r šnwt*, or "overseer of the granary," *imy-r b<sup>ḥ</sup>t nb[t] nt nswt* or "overseer of [all] the abundance of the king," and *ḥry-tp šnwt* or "employee/agent/servant of the granary." He also held the title *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance." It is also worthwhile to note that *K3(.i)-m-sn.w*'s father, *S.ḥtp.w* (1-173M), served as a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b Ḥ<sup>ḥ</sup>-b3-S3ḥw-r<sup>ḥ</sup>*, or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'" (see below). As *K3(.i)-m-sn.w* is the only known holder of the title *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b S3ḥw-r<sup>ḥ</sup>*, it is possible that the title is an abbreviated form of the longer composition *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b Ḥ<sup>ḥ</sup>-b3-S3ḥw-r<sup>ḥ</sup>* that is held by his father. Whether or not this is the case, the father and son were nevertheless *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w* of the same king.

<sup>436</sup> Jones, *Index*, 377 [1399]; *PM* III.2, W893. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 57 [E].


<sup>437</sup> For closest parallel, see: Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 339 [23].

<sup>438</sup> Cecil Firth and Battiscombe Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid Cemeteries* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1926), 157-158, pl. 63; *Urk.* I, 175 [2].

<sup>439</sup> For the late 5th Dynasty, see: Strudwick, *Administration*, 149 [144]. For the reign of Niuserre to the early 6th Dynasty, see: Baer, *Rank and Title*, 143 [528].

<sup>440</sup> Helck, "Pyramidenstädten," 98, n. 6.

V.2.b.  $W^{\epsilon}b H^{\epsilon}b3-S3h\dot{w}-r^{\epsilon}$

The title  ( $W^{\epsilon}b H^{\epsilon}b3-S3h\dot{w}-r^{\epsilon}$ ), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor,'"<sup>441</sup> refers to the king's pyramid in Abusir.<sup>442</sup> Six title-holders are known.

The name and titles of  $Tp-m-^{\epsilon}nh$  (1-157M)<sup>443</sup> are preserved on a false-door (CG 1564)<sup>444</sup> from his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 76/D 11),<sup>445</sup> which dates to the mid-5th Dynasty.<sup>446</sup>  $Tp-m-^{\epsilon}nh$  served as a  $w^{\epsilon}b$  of several pyramid complexes that predated his lifetime, including those of Sneferu (§IV.1), Khafre (§IV.4), Menkaure (§IV.5), Userkaf (§V.1), and Sahure.<sup>447</sup> Likewise, he held several  $hm-n\dot{t}r$  titles, wherein he served as a  $hm-n\dot{t}r$  in the sun-temple of Userkaf, was a  $hm-n\dot{t}r$  of Khufu, as well as a  $hm-n\dot{t}r$  of Menkaure in the  $^{\epsilon}h$ -palace of the residence. He also served as a  $hm-n\dot{t}r$  of the goddesses Hathor, Maat, Seshat, and Wadjet "the Water Purer" cobra goddess.  $Tp-m-^{\epsilon}nh$  was also a mortuary priest, as per his titles of  $htm(w)-n\dot{t}r pr-^{\epsilon}3$  or "god's sealer of the Great House" and  $sh(y-n\dot{t}r) Inpw$  or "one who belongs to the divine booth of Anubis." Other priestly titles include:  $iry wnd\dot{t}-n\dot{t}r$  or "custodian of the divine image,"  $htm(w) md3t-n\dot{t}r pr-^{\epsilon}3$  or "sealer of the god's books of the Great House," and  $sh\dot{d} htm(tyw) pr md3t-n\dot{t}r$  or "inspector of sealers of the archive of the god (i.e. the king)." His non-priestly titles include:  $hry s\dot{s}t3$  or "one who is privy to the secret,"  $iry s\dot{s}r.w pr-^{\epsilon}3$  or "keeper of the linen of the Great House,"  $iry ht pr-^{\epsilon}3$  or "custodian of property of the Great House,"  $imy-r hr(yw) sd3t$  or "overseer of sealbearers,"  $hrp iry.w md3t nb.w$  or "director of all archivists/book-keepers,"  $s3b smsw h3yt$  or "juridicial elder of the court/audience hall,"  $[n(y)?]^{\epsilon}.w (nw) nswt pr-^{\epsilon}3$  or "[one who belongs to] the royal documents/portfolio of the Great House" (a phrase used in conjunction with other titles, possibly indicating that the appointment was bestowed upon the incumbent 'by royal decree'), and  $iry md3t$  or "keeper of documents." He is the father of  $Hm-mn.w$  (1-166M), discussed above.

<sup>441</sup> Jones, *Index*, 376-377 [1397]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XIX; *PM* III.2, T887; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 57 [P].

<sup>442</sup> *LÄ* V, 5, n. 21.

<sup>443</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 380 [2].

<sup>444</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 28-30.

<sup>445</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 196-201.

<sup>446</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 151 [559]; Wildung, *Die Rolle*, 105 [g].

<sup>447</sup> Helck, "Pyramidenstätten," 96 [2].

The name and titles of *N-hft-k3(.i)* (1-172M)<sup>448</sup> are preserved on a false door (CG 1484)<sup>449</sup> from his mastaba in Saqqara (D47),<sup>450</sup> which dates to the reign of Niuserre or earlier.<sup>451</sup> *N-hft-k3(.i)* served as a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* within the pyramid complex of Sahure and as a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* within the sun-temple of Userkaf; an exception to the pattern wherein title-holders serve as a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* of a pyramid and are then promoted to *ḥm-ntr* of a sun-temple. He was promoted to *shḏ w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w n W<sup>ḥ</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f*, or "inspector of pure ones of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf,'" and was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) *ḥm-ntr* of Horus-Anubis, although the location is not specified by the title. *N-hft-k3(.i)* also held the title of *ḥry wḏb(w) (m) Ḥwt-<sup>ḥ</sup>nḥ* of "one who is in charge of the reversions (of offerings) in the House of Life." He holds a number of non-priestly titles, including: *smr* or "companion," *ḥrp ḥ* or "director of the ḥ-palace," *ḥry sst3 n pr-dw3t* or "privy to the secret of the House of the Morning," *ḏ-mr Ḥr-sb3w-ḥnty-pt* or "administrator of (the royal 'domain') 'Star-of-Horus-Foremost of Heaven' (reign of Djoser)," *[ḥnty-š] pr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3* or "[land-tenant] of the Great House," *imy-r sšr-nswt* or "overseer of royal cloth/linen," *imy-r ḥkrw-nswt* or "overseer of the king's regalia," *ḥry w3wt* or "master/controller/superior of the ways," and *imy-r sqb(b)w pr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3* or "overseer of the cool chambers of the Great House."

The name and titles of *Sn.nw-<sup>ḥ</sup>nḥ(.w)* (1-053M)<sup>452</sup> are preserved on blocks (CG 1554)<sup>453</sup> from his mastaba in Saqqara (D 52),<sup>454</sup> which date to the reign of Sahure or later.<sup>455</sup> His name and titles are also preserved on a fragment of a false door (Berlin 7728),<sup>456</sup> as well as a table for sacred oils (CG 1337);<sup>457</sup> compare to §2.II.6. *Sn.nw-<sup>ḥ</sup>nḥ(.w)* held the title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt* or "royal pure one." He also served as a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* of the pyramid of Sahure and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *ḥm-ntr* of Re in the sun-temple of Userkaf, as well as *ḥm-ntr* of Userkaf and the god Re (which is most likely an abbreviation of the full title, *ḥm-ntr R<sup>ḥ</sup> m Nḥn-R<sup>ḥ</sup>*). In addition to his priestly titles, he also

<sup>448</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 168 [21].

<sup>449</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 177-181.

<sup>450</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 304-309.

<sup>451</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 95 [282].

<sup>452</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 310 [23].

<sup>453</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler*, 14-15, pl. 59.

<sup>454</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 316-321.

<sup>455</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 125-126 [452].

<sup>456</sup> Schäfer, *Aegyptische Inschriften* I, 40.

<sup>457</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 18, pl. 6.

holds several administrative titles, including: *imy-r sš.w iry(w) i<sup>h</sup>/sprw* or "overseer of the scribes who are in *i<sup>h</sup>/sprw*," *s3b imy-r sš.w* or "juridicial overseer of scribes/overseer of scribes of the judiciary," *s3b sš* or "juridicial scribe," *sš wsht* or "scribe of the broad hall," *shd sš.w* or "inspector of scribes," *shd sš.w wsht* or "inspector of scribes of the *wsht*-hall," and *s3b d-mr* or "juridicial *d-mr* official."

The name and titles of *S.htp.w* (1-173M)<sup>458</sup> are preserved within the chapel of the tomb of his son *K3(.i)-m-sn.w* (1-171M) in Saqqara,<sup>459</sup> which possibly dates to the reign of Djedkare.<sup>460</sup> In addition to being a *w<sup>b</sup>* of the pyramid of Sahure, he was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-ntr* of Re in the sun-temple of Neferirkare and *hm-ntr* of Neferirkare. *S.htp.w* also held three titles pertaining to food supplies that may be associated with the administration of the pyramid complex,<sup>461</sup> i.e. *imy-r šnwt* or "overseer of the granary," *imy-r šnwtj* or "overseer of the two granaries," and *imy-r swt htpwt d3w* or "overseer of the departments of offerings and provisions;" the first of which was also held by his son, *K3(.i)-m-sn.w*.

The name and titles of *K3(.i)-m-nfr.t* (1-061M)<sup>462</sup> are preserved upon the walls of his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 57/D 23),<sup>463</sup> which dates to the reign of Niuserre or later.<sup>464</sup> *K3(.i)-m-nfr.t* held the title of *w<sup>b</sup> nswt*, or "royal pure one," and served as a *w<sup>b</sup>* in the pyramids of both Sahure and Niuserre, and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-ntr* in the sun-temples of Userkaf, Neferirkare, and Niuserre; he was also a *hm-ntr* of Khafre, Neferirkare, Sahure, and the goddess, Maat. He also holds several administrative titles, including: *imy-r sš.w mrt* or "overseer of the (document) scribes of the *mrt*-people," *hrp sš.w* or "director of scribes," *hrp sš.w iry(w) i<sup>h</sup>/sprw* or "director of scribes connected with the *i<sup>h</sup>*," *hrp sš.w wsht* or "director of scribes of the *wsht*-hall," *hrp sš.w m wsht 3t* or "director of scribes of the great *wsht*-hall," *s3b imy-r sš.w* or "juridicial overseer of scribes/overseer of scribes of the judiciary," *s3b imy-r sš.w m d3d3t wrt* or "juridicial overseer of scribes of the Great Council," *s3b shd sš.w* or

<sup>458</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 318 [18].

<sup>459</sup> Firth and Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 165-166, pl. 63.

<sup>460</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 128 [462]; Strudwick, *Administration*, 134 [122].

<sup>461</sup> Helck, "Pyramidenstädten," 98, n. 6.

<sup>462</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 339 [20].


<sup>463</sup> William Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: MFA, 1992); Mariette, *Mastabas*, 242-249.

<sup>464</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 142 [523].

"judicial inspector of scribes," *sš iry(yw) i<sup>š</sup>h /spr(w) iwn knmwt* or "scribe of those concerned with the *i<sup>š</sup>h* pillar of Kenmet," *imy-r wsht* or "overseer of the *wsht*-hall," *wr 10 šm<sup>š</sup>w* or "greatest/great one of the 10 of Upper Egypt," *wḏ wḏ<sup>š</sup>-mdw n hr(yw)-wḏb(w)* or "arbitrator/giver of judgments to those in charge of reversions (of offerings)," *mdw rhyt* or "staff of the *rhyt*-people," *n(y)-nst-ḥntt* or "(one who belongs to) the foremost seat," *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance," *hry-wḏb(w) m ḥwt-<sup>š</sup>nḥ* or "master of the reversion (of offerings) in the House of Life," *hry-sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *hry-sšt3 n wḏ<sup>š</sup>-mdw* or "privy to the secret of judgment/ determining cases," *hry-sšt3 n ḥwt-wrt* or "privy to the secret of the Great Court," *hry-sšt3 (n) nb.f* or "secretary of his lord (i.e. the king)," *hrp wsht* or "director of the broad hall," *hry-tp nswt* or "king's liegeman/royal chamberlain," and *s3b ḏ-mr* or "judicial *ḏ-mr* official."

The name and titles of *Nfr-k3(.i)* (1-174M)<sup>465</sup> are preserved on a false door (Brooklyn 37.33E) presumably from Saqqara, which dates to the 5th Dynasty.<sup>466</sup> In addition to his priestly title of *w<sup>š</sup>b H<sup>š</sup>-b3-S3ḥw-r<sup>š</sup>*, he also holds the administrative titles of *imy-r sš.w (n) ḥprw*, or "overseer of scribes of the crews," and *sš*, or "scribe." He also holds the title of *rḥ nswt*, or "royal acquaintance."

### V.3.a. *W<sup>š</sup>b B3-Nfr-ir-k3-r<sup>š</sup>*

The title  (*w<sup>š</sup>b B3-Nfr-ir-k3-r<sup>š</sup>*) or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Neferirkare' / 'Neferirkare-is-a-B3,'"<sup>467</sup> refers to Neferirkare's pyramid in Abusir.<sup>468</sup> Two title-holders are known.

The name and titles of *Htp-ḥr-3ḥ.t.i* (1-175M)<sup>469</sup> are preserved upon a false door<sup>470</sup> from his mastaba in Saqqara (D 60),<sup>471</sup> which dates to the reign of Neferirkare or later.<sup>472</sup>

<sup>465</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 200 [18].

<sup>466</sup> Thomas James, *Corpus of hieroglyphic inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum* I (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1974), 15[41] and pl. 21 [41A].

<sup>467</sup> Jones, *Index*, 370 [1371]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XIX; *PM* III.2, T881; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 57 [P]. On the translation of the title, see: Hans Goedicke, "Two Mining Records from the Wadi Hammamat," *RdE* 41 (1990): 72, n. 35.

<sup>468</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* II, 1; Montet, *Géographie* I, 42; *LÄ* V, 5, n. 22; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 74-75.

<sup>469</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 258 [24].

<sup>470</sup> Herta Mohr, *The mastaba of Hetep-her-akhti: study on an Egyptian tomb chapel in the Museum of Antiquities*, Leiden (Leiden: Brill, 1943), 87.

<sup>471</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 340-348.


<sup>472</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 108 [357].



*Htp-hr-3h.t.i* served as a *w<sup>b</sup>* in the pyramid complex of Neferirkare and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-ntr* in the sun-temple of Niuserre. He also served as a *hm-ntr* of the goddess Maat. He also held a number of non-priestly titles, many of which were juridicial, including: *s3b r Nhn* or "juridicial official and mouth of Nekhen," *smsw h(3)yt* or "elder of the (judicial) court," *hry-sšt3 n hwt-wrt* or "privy to the secret of the Great Court," and *hry-sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret."

The name and titles of *K3(.i)-pw-ptḥ* (1-176M)<sup>473</sup> are preserved upon a false door (CG 1563) from Saqqara,<sup>474</sup> which dates to the late 5th Dynasty.<sup>475</sup> *K3(.i)-pw-ptḥ* held the title of *w<sup>b</sup> nswt* or "royal pure one," and served as a *w<sup>b</sup>* in pyramid complexes of both Neferirkare and Niuserre. He was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-ntr* in a sun-temple of Neferirkare and the pyramid complex of Djedkare Isesi, and also served as a *hm-ntr* of the goddess Maat. *K3(.i)-pw-ptḥ* held a number of diverse titles, including: *wr 10 šm<sup>s</sup>* or "greatest/great one of the 10 of Upper Egypt," *s3b ʿd-mr* or "juridicial ʿd-mr official," *hry-sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *imy-r sš.w* or "overseer of scribes," *n(y)-ns.t-hntt* or "(one who belongs to) the foremost seat," *imy-r sp3wt šm<sup>s</sup>* or "overseer of the southern provinces of Upper Egypt (i.e. Nomes 1-7)," *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance," and *imy-r ht ms.w nswt sp3wt šm<sup>s</sup>* or "overseer of the property of the royal children in the nomes of Upper Egypt (i.e. Nomes 1-7)."

### V.3.b. *W<sup>b</sup> (n) B3-K3k3i*

The title  (*w<sup>b</sup> (n) B3-K3k3i*), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Kakai-is-the-B3,'"<sup>476</sup> is an alternative title referring to Neferirkare's pyramid in Abusir.<sup>477</sup> Only one named title-holder is known: *Id.w* (1-177M),<sup>478</sup> whose name and titles are preserved in a graffito in his tomb in Abusir.<sup>479</sup> It is worthwhile to note that *Id.w*'s titles affiliate him

<sup>473</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 339 [11].

<sup>474</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 26-28.

<sup>475</sup> For during the reign of Djedkare-Isesi, see: Piacentini, *Scribes* I, 480. For between the reign of Djedkare-Isesi to Unas, see: Baud, *Famille Royale* II, 587-588 [231].

<sup>476</sup> Jones, *Index*, 368 [1361]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XIX; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 57 [P].


<sup>477</sup> Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 76-77.

<sup>478</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 54 [10].

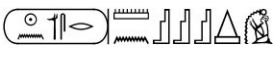
<sup>479</sup> Miroslav Verner, "Die Königsmutter Chentkaus von Abusir und einige Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der 5. Dynastie," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 8 (1980): 259; Miroslav Verner, "Excavations at Abusir: Season 1978-1979 - Preliminary Report," *ZÄS* 107 (1980): 165-166; Miroslav Verner, *Forgotten Pharaohs, Lost Pyramids: Abusir* (Praha: Academia Škodaexport, 1994), 86-87. Cf. Baud, who transcribes the title as *w<sup>b</sup> B3-Nfr-ir-k3-R<sup>s</sup>* rather than *w<sup>b</sup> (n) B3-K3k3i*: Baud, *Famille Royale* II, 420 [28].

with the institutions of the king's mother, Khentkaus (as *shd hm.w-k3 mwt nswt-bity nswt-bity Hnt-k3.w.s* or "inspector of the *k3*-servants of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt's mother (acting as) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Khentkaus"), as well as the royal children (as *sš ms.w nswt* or "scribe of the royal children"). He holds other administrative titles, including: *s3b* or "judge," *sš [...] hwt-ʿ3t* or "scribe [...] of the great estate," and *rh nswt* or "royal acquaintance."

#### V.5. *Wʿb Ntry-b3.w-Nfr.f-rʿ*

The title  (*wʿb Ntry-b3.w-Nfr.f-rʿ*), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Divine-are-the-B3s-of-Neferefre,'"<sup>480</sup> refers to the king's pyramid in Abusir. The only known occurrence of this title is on a cylinder seal from Abusir/Abu Ghurob (1-178I);<sup>481</sup> otherwise no named title-holders are known.

#### V.6. *Wʿb Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-rʿ*

The title  (*wʿb Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-rʿ*), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre,'"<sup>482</sup> refers to the king's pyramid in Abusir.<sup>483</sup> Six title-holders are known.

The name and titles of *K3(.i)-m-nfr.t* (1-061M)<sup>484</sup> are preserved upon the walls of his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 57/D 23),<sup>485</sup> which dates to the reign of Niuserre or later.<sup>486</sup> *K3(.i)-m-nfr.t* held the title of *wʿb nswt*, or "royal pure one," and served as a *wʿb* in the pyramids of both Sahure and Niuserre, and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-ntr* in the sun-temples of Userkaf, Neferirkare, and Niuserre; he was also a *hm-ntr* of Khafre, Neferirkare, Sahure, and the goddess, Maat. He also holds several administrative titles, including: *imy-r sš.w mrt* or "overseer of the (document) scribes of the *mrt*-people," *hrp sš.w* or "director of scribes," *hrp sš.w iry(w) iʿh/sprw* or "director of scribes connected with the *iʿh*," *hrp sš.w wsht* or "director of scribes of the *wsht*-hall,"

<sup>480</sup> Jones, *Index*, 375 [1389]; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 59 [P].

<sup>481</sup> A. Berlin 20382; Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, 284, pl. 81 [3].

<sup>482</sup> Jones, *Index*, 372 [1376]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XIX; *PM* III.2, T886; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 59 [P].

<sup>483</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* III, 40; Montet, *Géographie* I, 42; *LÄ* V, 5, n. 24; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 96-98.

<sup>484</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 339 [20].

<sup>485</sup> Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret*; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 242-249.

<sup>486</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 142 [523].

*hrp sš.w m wsht* '3t or "director of scribes of the great *wsht*-hall," *s3b imy-r sš.w* or "juridicial overseer of scribes/overseer of scribes of the judiciary," *s3b imy-r sš.w m d3d3t wrt* or "juridicial overseer of scribes of the Great Council," *s3b šhd sš.w* or "juridicial inspector of scribes," *sš iry(yw) iḥ /spr(w) iwn knmwt* or "scribe of those concerned with the *iḥ* pillar of Kenmet," *imy-r wsht* or "overseer of the *wsht*-hall," *wr 10 šmᶜw* or "greatest/great one of the 10 of Upper Egypt," *wḏ wḏᶜ-mdw n hr(yw)-wḏb(w)* or "arbitrator/giver of judgments to those in charge of reversions (of offerings)," *mdw rhyt* or "staff of the *rhyt*-people," *n(y)-nst-ḥntt* or "(one who belongs to) the foremost seat," *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance," *hry-wḏb(w) m ḥwt-ᶜnh* or "master of the reversion (of offerings) in the House of Life," *hry-sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *hry-sšt3 n wḏᶜ-mdw* or "privy to the secret of judgment/ determining cases," *hry-sšt3 n ḥwt-wrt* or "privy to the secret of the Great Court," *hry-sšt3 (n) nb.f* or "secretary of his lord (i.e. the king)," *hrp wsht* or "director of the broad hall," *hry-tp nswt* or "king's liegeman/royal chamberlain," and *s3b ᶜd-mr* or "juridicial ᶜd-mr official."

The names and titles of *Hnm.w-ḥtp(.w)* (1-179M)<sup>487</sup> and *Ni-ᶜnh-ḥnm.w* (1-180M)<sup>488</sup> are preserved in their mastaba-tomb located near the causeway of Unas in Saqqara, which dates either to the reign of Niuserre or Menkauhor.<sup>489</sup> Both title-holders served as *wᶜb* in the pyramid complex of Niuserre and were promoted to (or simultaneously were) *ḥm-ntr* in the sun-temple of Niuserre. The title-strings of both men are similar although not exactly identical. The titles they hold in common include: *ir(w) ᶜnt nswt* or "manicurist of the king," *šhd iry.w ᶜnt nswt pr-ᶜ3* or "inspector of the manicurists of the king (in) the Great House," *mḥnk nswt* or "intimate of the king," *mḥnk nswt mrrw nb.f* or "intimate of the king whom his lord loves," *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance," *imy-r ir.w-ᶜnt pr-ᶜ3* or "overseer of the manicurists of the Great House," *mḥnk nswt m k3t irt ᶜnwt* or "intimate of the king of the works of manicuring/care of hands and nails," and *hry-sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret." *Hnm.w-ḥtp(.w)* holds a number of titles that *Ni-ᶜnh-ḥnm.w* does not, which include *mḥnk nswt m irw ᶜnwt* or "intimate of the king in (the practice of) manicuring," *hry-sšt3 mrr(w) nb.f* or "secretary whom his lord loves," *wᶜb nswt* or "royal pure one," *hry-sšt3 n ntr.f* or "privy to the

<sup>487</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 276 [6].

<sup>488</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 171 [21].

<sup>489</sup> Ahmed Moussa and Hartwig Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchchnum und Chnumhotep* (Mainz am Rhein: Philip von Zabern, 1977), 25-45.

secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king)," and *mrrw nb.f* or "beloved of his lord." Moussa and Altenmüller postulate that the inclusion of *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt* in *Hnm.w-htp(.w)*'s title-string was to indicate his slightly lower rank than that of *Ni-<sup>h</sup>nh-hnm.w*.<sup>490</sup> It is more likely, however, that *Hnm.w-htp(.w)*'s initial *w<sup>sb</sup>*-title was *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt*, which was intended to indicate his affiliation with the royal mortuary cult prior to gaining the title *w<sup>sb</sup> Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>h</sup>*, which both men later share. Both men were also promoted to (or became) *hm-ntr* in the sun-temple of Niuserre, which is of equal and higher status than their *w<sup>sb</sup>*-title(s).

The name and titles of *K3(.i)-pw-ptḥ* (1-176M)<sup>491</sup> are preserved on a false door (CG 1563) from Saqqara,<sup>492</sup> which dates to the late 5th Dynasty.<sup>493</sup> *K3(.i)-pw-ptḥ* held the title of *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt* or "royal pure one," and served as a *w<sup>sb</sup>* in pyramid complexes of both Neferirkare and Niuserre. He was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-ntr* in a sun-temple of Neferirkare and the pyramid complex of Djedkare Isesi, and also served as a *hm-ntr* of the goddess Maat. *K3(.i)-pw-ptḥ* held a number of diverse titles, including: *wr 10 šm<sup>h</sup>* or "greatest/great one of the 10 of Upper Egypt," *ḏ-mr n s3b* or "juridicial *ḏ-mr* official," *hry-sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *imy-r sš.w* or "overseer of scribes," *n(y)-ns.t-hntt* or "(one who belongs to) the foremost seat," *imy-r sp3wt šm<sup>h</sup>* or "overseer of the southern provinces of Upper Egypt (i.e. Nomes 1-7)," *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance," and *imy-r ht ms.w nswt* or "overseer of the property of the royal children."

The name and titles of *Ni-m3<sup>h</sup>.t-r<sup>h</sup>* (1-070M)<sup>494</sup> are preserved in his unnumbered mastaba-tomb in Giza,<sup>495</sup> which dates to the reign of Niuserre or later.<sup>496</sup> *Ni-m3<sup>h</sup>.t-r<sup>h</sup>* was a *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt* or "royal pure one," a *w<sup>sb</sup>* in the pyramid complex of Niuserre, and was promoted to *imy-r w<sup>sb</sup>.w mwt-nswt* or "overseer of the pure ones of the king's mother," which is most likely in reference to *mwt-nswt H<sup>h</sup>-mrr-nbty*, who is named within the text for the reversion of offerings within his tomb.<sup>497</sup> He was also promoted to (or at the same

<sup>490</sup> "Da der Titel *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt* einen verhältnismäßig niederen Rang angibt - er wird z.B. von den beiden Söhnen des Nianchnum und Chnumhotep getragen - ist anzunehmen, daß durch diesen Titel die geringfügig niedrigere Rangstellung des Chnumhotep ausgedrückt werden soll." Moussa and Altenmüller, *Das Grab des Nianchnum und Chnumhotep*, 29.

<sup>491</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 339 [11].

<sup>492</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 25-28.

<sup>493</sup> For during the reign of Djedkare-Isesi, see: Piacentini, *Scribes* I, 480. For between the reign of Djedkare-Isesi to Unas, see: Baud, *Famille Royale* II, 587-588 [231].

<sup>494</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 172 [16].

<sup>495</sup> Hassan, *Giza* II, 211-225. An additional reference to the same individual may be found in: Ahmed Kamal, "Rapport sur les Fouilles du Comte de Galarza," *ASAE* 10 (1910): 121.


<sup>496</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 86 [227].

<sup>497</sup> Baud, "La tombe de la reine-mère [khâ-merer-Nebtj] Ire," 12.

time served as) *hm-ntr* in the sun-temple of Niuserre. *Ni-m3<sup>ε</sup>.t-r<sup>ε</sup>* holds a variety of other titles that are affiliated with the palace: *imy-r hst pr-<sup>ε</sup>3* or "overseer of the singing of the Great House," *hrp tis(t) bity* or "director of the *tist*-companions (?) of the King of Lower Egypt," *imy-r shmh-ib nb nfr m hnw-št3w pr-<sup>ε</sup>3* or "overseer of all goodly entertainment in the residence and of the secrets of the Great House," *stp-s3 hr(y?)-tp st nswt* or "bodyguard under the throne of the king (?)," *hry-sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *[imy-r] nb m hnw swt pr-<sup>ε</sup>3* or "[overseer of] all the interior places of the great house," *smr pr* or "companion of the house," and *imy ib n nb.fr<sup>ε</sup>-nb* or "he who is in the heart of his lord every day."

The name and titles of *K3(.i)-m-sn.w* (1-171M)<sup>498</sup> are preserved on the inner and outer lintels and drum of his chapel in Saqqara,<sup>499</sup> which date from the late 5th to early 6th Dynasty.<sup>500</sup> *K3(.i)-m-sn.w* served as a *w<sup>ε</sup>b* of Sahure and as a *w<sup>ε</sup>b* within the pyramid complex of Niuserre. He was promoted to (or at the same time served as) a *hm-ntr* of Neferirkare, a *hm-ntr* of both Hathor and Re in the sun-temple of Neferirkare, as well as a *hm-ntr* in the pyramid complex of Niuserre. *K3(.i)-m-sn.w*'s service as both *w<sup>ε</sup>b* and *hm-ntr* in the pyramid complex of Niuserre is unique, as a *w<sup>ε</sup>b*'s promotion to *hm-ntr* usually occurs within a sun-temple (see discussion, §4.II). *K3(.i)-m-sn.w* also held two titles pertaining to food supplies that may be associated with the administration of the pyramid complex,<sup>501</sup> i.e. *imy-r šnwt*, or "overseer of the granary," *imy-r b<sup>ε</sup>ht nb[t] nt nswt* or "overseer of [all] the abundance of the king," and *hry-tp šnwt* or "employee/agent/servant of the granary." He also held the title *r<sup>ε</sup>h nswt* or "royal acquaintance."

#### V.7. *W<sup>ε</sup>b Ntry-swt-Mn-k3w-hr*

The title  (*w<sup>ε</sup>b Ntry-swt-Mn-k3w-hr*), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Divine-are-the-Places-of-Menkauhor,'"<sup>502</sup> refers to the king's pyramid of unknown location, which is most likely in Saqqara.<sup>503</sup> Only one title-holder is known,

<sup>498</sup> For closest parallel, see: Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 339 [23].

<sup>499</sup> Firth and Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 157-158, pl. 63; *Urk.* I, 175 [16].

<sup>500</sup> For the late 5th Dynasty, see: Strudwick, *Administration*, 149 [144]. For the reign of Niuserre to the early 6th Dynasty, see: Baer, *Rank and Title*, 143 [528].


<sup>501</sup> Helck, "Pyramidenstädten," 98, n. 6.

<sup>502</sup> Jones, *Index*, 375 [1391]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XIX; *PM* III.2, T884; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 59 [P1].

<sup>503</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* III, 109; Montet, *Géographie* II, 200; *LÄ* V, 5, n. 25; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 130-131.

*Snfrw-nfr* (1-181M),<sup>504</sup> whose name and titles are preserved within his mastaba in Saqqara (E 6),<sup>505</sup> which dates to the late 5th Dynasty or later.<sup>506</sup> *Snfrw-nfr* served as a *w<sup>6</sup>b* of Menkauhor's pyramid complex and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-ntr* in the pyramid complex of his successor, Djedkare-Isesi. His other titles pertain to singing, which include: *imy-r ʿt* or "overseer of singers" and *imy-r šhmḥ ib nb n nswt* or "overseer of all royal amusements."

#### V.8. *W<sup>6</sup>b Nfr-Issi*

The title  (*w<sup>6</sup>b Nfr-Issi*), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-is-Isesi,'"<sup>507</sup> refers to the king's pyramid in Saqqara.<sup>508</sup> Although a number of prominent families held high offices over several generations throughout his reign,<sup>509</sup> only one holder of this title is known: *S.mnh-wi-ptḥ* called *Itwš* (1-182M).<sup>510</sup> *S.mnh-wi-ptḥ* called *Itwš*'s name and titles are partially preserved within his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 14/D 43),<sup>511</sup> which dates to the reign of Djedkare.<sup>512</sup> *S.mnh-wi-ptḥ* called *Itwš*'s *w<sup>6</sup>b*-title is his sole priestly title; most of his other titles pertain to metal-working:<sup>513</sup> *bḏty pr-ʿ3 n(y) mrwt* or "favorite metal-worker of the Great House," *hryp drp.w nswt* or "director of royal offerings," *hkrt nswt* or "royal ornament," *imy-r nb sšt3.w* or "overseer of all secrets," *imy-r w<sup>6</sup>bt* or "overseer of the *w<sup>6</sup>bt*-chamber/mortuary workshop," *imy-r pr.wy-nb.w* or "overseer of the two houses of gold," *[?] st ḏ3w [?]* or "[?] necklace-stringer [of *ḏ3w*?]," *imy-r hwt-nbw* or "overseer of the mansion of gold (sculptors' workshop)," *hry sšt3 n nswt [m] pr-ʿ3* or "secretary of the king in the Great House," *[st?] bt ḏ3w[?]* or "[necklace-stringer? of] *bt ḏ3w* [?]," *bḏty pr-ʿ3* or "metal-worker of the Great House," *[...] n m sšt3.fnb* or "[...] in all his secrets."

<sup>504</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 315 [20].

<sup>505</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 394-395; Junker, *Giza VII*, 34-36.

<sup>506</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 124 [446].

<sup>507</sup> Jones, *Index*, 373 [1379]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XIX; *PM* III.2, T882; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 61 [P].

<sup>508</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* III, 87; *LÄ* V, 5, n. 26; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 110-111.

<sup>509</sup> Wolfgang Helck, *Geschichte des Alten Ägypten* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 69.


<sup>510</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 307 [16].

<sup>511</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 296-297; *Urk.* I, 192 [3].

<sup>512</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 122-123 [436].

<sup>513</sup> Erika Schott, "Die Titel der Metallarbeiter," *GM* 4 (1973): 29.

V.9.a. *W<sup>b</sup> Nfr-swt-Wnis*

The title  (*w<sup>b</sup> Nfr-swt-Wnis*), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas,'"<sup>514</sup> refers to the king's pyramid in Saqqara.<sup>515</sup> Only one named title-holder is known: *Tsmw* (1-183M),<sup>516</sup> whose name and titles are preserved upon two fragments of a broken lintel within the mastaba of *Hm.t-r<sup>s</sup>* called *Hmi* in Saqqara,<sup>517</sup> which dates to the reign of Unas or later, as per this title. *Tsmw*'s *w<sup>b</sup>*-title is his sole priestly title. His other titles are: *shd pr-<sup>s</sup>3* or "inspector of the Great House," *imy-ht pr-<sup>s</sup>3* or "under-supervisor of the Great House," and *imy-r wp(w)t* or "overseer of commissions/apportionments." The title is also attested on a cylinder-seal of unknown provenance (1-184I).<sup>518</sup>

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<sup>514</sup> Jones, *Index*, 373 [1380]; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 61 [P1]. Edel alternatively reads the title as: *w<sup>b</sup> hnty.w-š nw Nfr-swt-Wnis*, or "pure land-tenants of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas.'" Refer to: Elmar Edel, "Zum Verständnis der Inschrift des *Jzj* aus Saqqara," *ZÄS* 106 (1979): 107, fig. 1.


<sup>515</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* III, 91; Montet, *Géographie* I, 43; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 113-114.

<sup>516</sup> Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>517</sup> Hassan, *Excavations at Saqqara 1931-1932* III (Cairo: Department of Antiquities, 1941), 9, fig. 4, pl. 5.

<sup>518</sup> Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, 327-328, pl. 88 [23].

V.9.b. *w<sup>b</sup> šnty (200) Nfr-swt-Wnis*

The title  (*w<sup>b</sup> šnty (200) Nfr-swt-Wnis*), or "pure one of the *šnty* (200) of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas,'"<sup>519</sup> refers to the pyramid of Unas in Saqqara.<sup>520</sup> This is the first time in which a *w<sup>b</sup> šnty (200)* is linked to a pyramid complex. Baud observes that the new title indicates a new designation of priest,<sup>521</sup> which Fischer remarks "does not seem to be a very lofty title;"<sup>522</sup> for further discussion see §4.1.3.A.<sup>523</sup> Only one such title-holder is known, *K3-tp* (1-185I),<sup>524</sup> who lived during the late 6th Dynasty.<sup>525</sup> *K3-tp* holds only two other titles: *imy-r Nfr-isw.t-Wnis* or "overseer of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas'" and *imy-r hnty.w-š* or "overseer of the land tenants," the latter of which may also be in reference to the pyramid complex of Unas.

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<sup>519</sup> Neither Jones nor Murray account for this title. The rendering given here is based upon the information found in: Helck, "Pyramidenstädten," 104. The name of the pyramid follows that of: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 61 [P1].

<sup>520</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* III, 91; Montet, *Géographie* I, 43; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 113-114.

<sup>521</sup> Baud, *Famille Royale* I, 25.

<sup>522</sup> Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 3.


<sup>523</sup> The reading of *wty* follows that proposed by Goedicke. Refer to: Hans Goedicke, "Gods and Priests by the Hundreds?," in *Wege öffnen: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Mechthild Schade-Busch (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1996), 73-79.

<sup>524</sup> Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>525</sup> Unfortunately, no other information is included in the sole publication referencing this title-holder. Refer to: Helck, "Pyramidenstädten," 104.



*VI.1. W<sup>b</sup> Dd-swt-Tti*

The title  (*w<sup>6</sup>b Dd-swt-Tti*), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti,'" <sup>526</sup> refers to the king's pyramid in Saqqara. <sup>527</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *Hs.i* (1-186M), <sup>528</sup> whose name and titles are preserved within his unnumbered mastaba in Saqqara, which dates to the end of the reign of Teti. <sup>529</sup> *Hs.i* held various ranks within the pyramid of Teti: *hnty-š* or "land-tenant," *w<sup>6</sup>b, imy-ht hm.w-ntr* or "under-supervisor of the god's servants," and *shd hm.w-ntr* or "inspector of the god's servants." Interestingly, he is not named as a *hm-ntr* of the pyramid, although he did hold the titles of *hm-ntr* of the goddesses Maat and Heqat likely elsewhere. *Hs.i* holds several administrative and juridicial titles in addition to his titles associated with the pyramid of Teti, which include: *imy-ib n nswt* or "confidant of the king," *imy-r is n pr hry.w-wdb* or "overseer of the bureau of those in charge of reversion offerings," *imy-r is (n) mrt* or "overseer of the bureau of the *mrt*-people," *imy-r is n hry-htmt* or "overseer of the bureau of the registry," *imy-r wp(w)t (m prwy)* or "overseer of apportionments (in the two houses)," *imy-r wp(w)t htpt-ntr (m prwy)* or "overseer of the division(s)/apportionment(s) of divine offerings in the two houses," *imy-r wp(w)t htpt-ntr m T3-mhw Šm<sup>6</sup>w drw* or "overseer of apportionments in the entire North and South," *imy-r wp(w)t htpt-ntr m t3 r dr.f* or "overseer of apportionments of the god's offering in the entire land," *imy-r wd<sup>6</sup>-mdw (nb št3) n hwt-wrt 6* or "overseer of determining (all secret) cases in the six great courts," *imy-r n pr hry.w-wdb.w* or "overseer of the house/department of those in charge of reversions (of offerings)," *imy-r n hr(y)-htmt* or "overseer of the registry," *imy-r hwt-wrt* or "overseer of the great court/Hall of Justice," *imy-r sdmt nbt* or "overseer of all that is judged," *mty n s3* or "regulator of a *phyle*," *mdw Rhyt* or "staff of the *Rhyt*-people," *hry-sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *hry-sšt3 n wd<sup>6</sup>-mdw* or "privy to the secret of judgment/determining cases," *hry-sšt3 n wd<sup>6</sup> nbt* or "privy to the secrets of all commands," *hry-sšt3 n wd(t)-mdw nbt (št3t)* or "privy to the secrets of all (secret) proclamations/decrees," *hry-sšt3 n nswt m swt.f nbt* or "privy to the secrets of the king in all his cult-places," *hrp sš.w* or "director of scribes," *hry-tp nswt* or "king's liegeman/royal

<sup>526</sup> Jones, *Index*, 375 [1392]; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 63 [P].

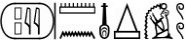
<sup>527</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* VI, 137; Montet, *Géographie* I, 43; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 273-274.

<sup>528</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 254 [28].

<sup>529</sup> Naguib Kanawati and Mahmoud Abder-Raziq, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara* V (Warminster: Aris and Philips, 1999).

chamberlain," *s3b imy-r sš.w* or "juridicial overseer of scribes," *s3b ʿd-mr* or "juridicial ʿd-mr official," *s3b sš* or "juridicial scribe," *s3b šḥd sš.w* or "juridicial inspector of scribes," *sš ʿ.w (nw) nswt ḥft ḥr* or "scribe of royal records in the presence," and *sš (n) s3* or "scribe of the *phyle*."

## VI.2. *Wʿb šnty (200) Mn-nfr-Ppy*

The title  (*wʿb šnty (200) Mn-nfr-Ppy*), or "pure one of the *šnty* (200) of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-Bauty-of-Pepi,'" <sup>530</sup> refers to the pyramid of Pepi I in Saqqara. <sup>531</sup> Only one such title-holder is known, *Hnti-k3* called *Iḥḥi* (1-187M), <sup>532</sup> whose name and titles are preserved within his tomb in Saqqara, <sup>533</sup> which dates from the late reign of Teti to the early- to mid-reign of Pepi I. <sup>534</sup> *Hnti-k3* called *Iḥḥi* held various ranks within the pyramid of Pepi I: *wʿb šnty (200)*, *šḥd ḥm.w-ntr*, and *sš n s3*. Within the pyramid of Teti, he held the titles of: *imy-ḥt ḥm.w-ntr* and *šḥd ḥm.w-ntr*. He also held the title of *s[ḥd] ḥm.w-ntr ḥwt-k3-3ḥ[t]* or "inspector of the god's servants of the *K3*-Chapel/funerary temple of the Horizon/tomb(?)." *Hnti-k3* called *Iḥḥi* held a number of other priestly titles, most of which are funerary: *s(t)m*-priest or the chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth, *ḥry ḥbt* or lector priest, *ḥry ḥbt ḥry-tp* or chief lector priest, *ḥry-ḥbt m3ʿ* or true lector priest, *wt(y) Inpw* or embalmer of Anubis, *ḥts(?) Inpw* or the *ḥts(?)* of Anubis (precise reading unknown), *sm3 Inpw* or *sm3*-priest (stolist) of Anubis, and *ḥm-ntr* of Thoth. He held a wealth of other titles, which include: *iry pʿt* or "hereditary prince/nobleman," *ḥ3ty-ʿ* or "count," *smr wʿty* or "sole companion," *t3yty s3b t3ty* or "one of the curtain (chief justice and vizier)," *ḥrp šndt nbt* or "director of every kilt," *ḥry sšt3 nswt m swt.f nbt* or "privy to the secret of the king in all his cult-places," *ḥry wr.w* or "controller/master of the Great Ones," *imy-r swt špswt (nt) pr-ʿ3* or "overseer of the august places of the Great House," *imy-r pr-nswt* or "overseer of the king's domain," *[ḥry sšt3] n wd(t)-mdw nbt* or "[privy to the secret] of all proclamations/decrees," *imy-r iʿw-r nswt* or "overseer of the king's repast," *im3-ʿ* or "gracious of arm," *ḥrp ns.ty* or "director

<sup>530</sup> Neither Jones nor Murray account for this title. For the name of the pyramid, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 63 [P].

<sup>531</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* III, 38; Montet, *Géographie* I, 29; Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 122; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 93-95.


<sup>532</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 273 [6].

<sup>533</sup> Thomas James, *The mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi* (London: EES, 1953); Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 1-6.

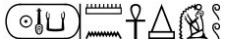
<sup>534</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 125-126 [109].

of the two thrones," *hrp h3ts km* or "director of the black pot/jar," *sš md3t-ntr* or "scribe of the god's book," *shd pr-nswt* or "inspector of the king's domain," *imy-r sšr* or "overseer of cloth/linen distribution," *hry sšt3 n mdw-ntr* or "privy to the secret of the god's word(s)," *shd db3t* or "inspector of the robing room," *imy-r htmty* or "overseer of the sealed goods/treasury," *hry sšt3 n pr-dw3t* or "privy to the secret of the House of the Morning," *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nswt* or "overseer of all works of the king," *imy-r šnwty* or "overseer of the two granaries," *imy-ib n nswt m swt.f nbt* or "one who is in the heart of the king in all his places," *imy-ib n nswt m t3wy.f* or "one who is in the heart of the king in his two lands," *imy-r hnty.w-š pr-š3* or "overseer of the land-tenants of the Great House," *imy-r šwy pr-š3* or "overseer of the two weaving shops/sheds of the Great House," *imy-r iswy (n) hkr.w nswt* or "overseer of the two bureaux of the royal regalia/king's ornament," *imy-r prwy-nbw* or "overseer of the two houses of gold," *imy-r prwy hđ* or "overseer of the two houses of silver," *imy-r sšwy* or "overseer of the two bird pools/fowling pools," *imy-r niwt (mr)* or "overseer of the pyramid town," *hry-tp nswt (n) pr-š3* or "king's liegeman of the Great House," *imy-r sš.w š.w (nw) nswt* or "overseer of scribes of the royal documents," *wr idt* or "great of censuring," *htm(ty)-bity* or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt," *hry sšt3 n m33t wš* or "privy to the secret of seeing alone/of that to which (only) one sees," *t3ty s3b t3ty m3š* or "true chief justice and vizier," *imy-r hnty.w-š* or "overseer of land-tenants," *imy-r sšw* or "overseer of the fowling pool/pond," *imy-r pr-nswt nb stp-s3* or "overseer of the every royal domain/estate and *stp-s3(?)*," *h3ty-š m3š* or "true count," and *smr wšty m3š* or "true sole companion."

### VI.3. *W<sup>sb</sup> šnty (200) H<sup>c</sup>-nfr-Mr-n-r<sup>c</sup>*

The title  (*w<sup>sb</sup> šnty (200) H<sup>c</sup>-nfr-Mr-n-r<sup>c</sup>*), or "pure one of the *šnty* (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Merenre-Appears-in-Splendor,'"<sup>535</sup> refers to the pyramid of Merenre in Saqqara.<sup>536</sup> Only one such title-holder is known, *I3rt(.i)* (1-188M),<sup>537</sup> whose name and titles are preserved on an architrave (CG 1634),<sup>538</sup> false door (CG 1355),<sup>539</sup> and offering table (CG 1523),<sup>540</sup> all of which are from Saqqara, and date to the reign of Merenre or later.<sup>541</sup> *I3rt(.i)*'s *w<sup>sb</sup>*-title is only included upon the architrave, in which there is a partial-lacuna immediately before the title which Grdseloff reconstructs as *w<sup>sb</sup> šnty (200) H<sup>c</sup>-nfr-Mr-n-r<sup>c</sup>* based upon the presence of *H<sup>c</sup>-nfr-[...]*.<sup>542</sup> *I3rt(.i)* served as a *w<sup>sb</sup>* and as a *hry-ḥbt*, or lector priest. He also held a number of administrative titles, which include: *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty* or "sole companion," *imy-r ḥnty.w-š pr-ḫ3* or "overseer of the land tenants of the Great House," *imy-r ipt* or "overseer of the census(?)/cattle-count(?)," *sš gs-dpt* or "scribe of protection," *imy-r ḥnty.w-š* or "overseer of land tenants," *ḥ3ty-ḫ* or "count," *hry sšt3 n nswt m swt.f nbt* or "privy to secret of the king in all his cult-places," *ḥtm(ty)-bity* or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt," and *šps nswt* or "noble of the king."

### VI.4. *W<sup>sb</sup> šnty (200) Mn-ḥnḫ-Nfr-k3-r<sup>c</sup>*

The title  (*w<sup>sb</sup> šnty (200) Mn-ḥnḫ-Nfr-k3-r<sup>c</sup>*), or "pure one of the *šnty* (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-life-of-Neferkare-Abides,'"<sup>543</sup> refers to the pyramid of Pepi II in Saqqara.<sup>544</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *Dr-snd* called *Nfr-k3-r<sup>c</sup>-ḥnḫ* (1-189M),<sup>545</sup> whose name and titles are preserved within his tomb in Saqqara (N. VI),<sup>546</sup>

<sup>535</sup> Neither Jones nor Murray account for this title. For the name of the pyramid, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 63 [P].

<sup>536</sup> Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 182.

<sup>537</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 7 [1].

<sup>538</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 101-102.

<sup>539</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 25.

<sup>540</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 224.

<sup>541</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 53 [15].

<sup>542</sup> Bernard Grdseloff, "Deux Inscriptions Juridiques de l'Ancien Empire," *ASAE* 42 (1943): 29, fig. 1.

<sup>543</sup> Neither Jones nor Murray account for this title. For the name of the pyramid, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 65 [P].


<sup>544</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* III, 36; Montet, *Géographie* I, 44; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 91.



<sup>545</sup> Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>546</sup> Gustave Jéquier, *Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II* (Le Caire: Service des antiquités de l'Égypte, 1983), 109-117.

which dates to the reign of Pepi II.<sup>547</sup> His sole priestly title was *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty (200) Mn-ḥnh-Nfr-k3-r<sup>ḥ</sup>*. *Dr-snd* called *Nfr-k3-r<sup>ḥ</sup>-ḥnh*'s other titles include: *ḥtm(ty)-bity* or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt," *smr w<sup>ḥ</sup>ty* or "sole companion," *imy-r sqbbwy* or "overseer of the two cool rooms," *ḥry-tp d3t* or "supervisor of linen/the wardrobe," *šps nswt* or "noble of the king," and *imy-r r nswt* or "overseer of the king's speech."

#### 4.1.3.A. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty (200)*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty (200)*) or "pure one of the *šnty (200)*,"<sup>548</sup> has been subject to a range of interpretations by various scholars. The literal (and conventional) translation of the title suggests an obscure group of 200 members.<sup>549</sup> The title is most likely connected to the royal mortuary cult, as demonstrated by its consistent linkage to the pyramid complexes from the end of the 5th Dynasty onward, as discussed above (§V.9, VI.2-4).<sup>550</sup> The title also occurs in connection to the palace<sup>551</sup> and to a *phyle*.<sup>552</sup>

Other scholars have rejected the numerical reading of *šnty (200)* in favor of other interpretations: Davies has proposed that the title refers to a rope god,<sup>553</sup> following the pattern of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n [Deity]*. Goedicke, in contrast, reads the title as *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b wty*, or "embalmer of the pure one," in which the coil of material,  (*wt*), means "to embalm;" hence the dual form of  (*wty*) meaning "embalmer."<sup>554</sup> Goedicke goes on to further argue that the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-component of the title refers to Horus, i.e. the deceased king, as the "pure one."<sup>555</sup>

Seven title-holders are known, each of whom are discussed below.

<sup>547</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 156 [587].

<sup>548</sup> Jones, *Index*, 378 [1401]; Ward, *Index*, 83 [688]; *Wb*. I, 283.

<sup>549</sup> Jones, *Index*, 378 [1401]; Baud, *Famille Royale* I, 28.

<sup>550</sup> As demonstrated by the titles: *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty (200) Nfr-swt-Wnis* or "pure one of the *šnty (200)* of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas,'" *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty (200) Mn-nfr-Ppy* or "pure one of the *šnty (200)* of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-Beauty-of-Pepi,'" *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty (200) Ḥ<sup>ḥ</sup>-nfr-Mr-n-r<sup>ḥ</sup>* or "pure one of the *šnty (200)* of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Merenre-Appears-in-Splendor,'" *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty (200) Mn-ḥnh-Nfr-k3-r<sup>ḥ</sup>* or "pure one of the *šnty (200)* of (the pyramid) 'The-life-of-Neferkare-Abides.'" See also: Junker, *Giza VI*, 15 [2].

<sup>551</sup> As demonstrated by the title, *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty (200) n pr-ḥ3*, or "pure one of the *šnty (200)* of the Great House," in: Jones, *Index*, 378-379 [1402]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII.

<sup>552</sup> As demonstrated by the title, *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty (200) n s3*, or "pure one of the *šnty (200)* of the phyle," in: Jones, *Index*, 378-379 [1402].

<sup>553</sup> Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi II* (London: EES, 1902), 2, n. 1; Norman de Garis Davies, *Five Theban tombs: (being those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemawäy and Tati)* (London: EEF, 1913), p. 32 (26).

<sup>554</sup> Goedicke, "Gods and Priests by the Hundreds?," 73-79.

<sup>555</sup> Goedicke, "Gods and Priests by the Hundreds?," 77.

The name and titles of *Wsr* (1-204M)<sup>556</sup> are preserved on two pillars (CG 1550-1551) from Saqqara, which date to the 6th Dynasty.<sup>557</sup> His sole priestly title is *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty* (200). His other titles are: *smr w<sup>ḥ</sup>ty* or "sole companion," *hry-tp nswt* or "king's liegeman/royal chamberlain," *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance," and *imy-r sr.w* or "overseer of the *sr.w*-officials."

The name and titles of *Ggi* (1-205M)<sup>558</sup> are preserved on a false door (CG 1455) from Saqqara, which dates to the 6th Dynasty.<sup>559</sup> *Ggi* served as a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty* (200), and was promoted to *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n In-ḥr.t* or "overseer of the god's servants of Onuris (god of Thinis)," and *shd ḥm.w-ntr H<sup>ḥ</sup>-nfr-Mr-n-r<sup>ḥ</sup>* or "inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-Bauty-of-Merenre,'" although he did not hold the title of *ḥm-ntr* himself. He also held the titles of *hry ḥbt* or lector priest and *mniw kmt* or "herdsman of (sacred) black cattle." *Ggi* also held a number of non-priestly titles, which include: *ḥ3ty-<sup>ḥ</sup>* or "count," *ḥtm(ty)-bity* or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt," *smr w<sup>ḥ</sup>ty* or "sole companion," *imy-r ḥnty.w-š pr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3* or "overseer of land tenants of the Great House," *sš n s3* or "scribe of a *phyle*," *imy-r wp(w)t* or "overseer of commissions/apportionments," and *hry-tp <sup>ḥ</sup>3 Nḥn* or "great overlord of the 3rd Upper Egyptian Nome (Hierakonpolis)."

The name and titles of *Iḥii* (1-206M)<sup>560</sup> are preserved within the tomb of *Mrrw-k3(.i)* (LS 10), which dates to the reign of Pepi I or later.<sup>561</sup> *Iḥii* holds only two titles: *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty* (200) and *sš pr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3*, or "scribe of the Great House."

The name and titles of *Issi-ḥ<sup>ḥ</sup>-[...]* (1-207M)<sup>562</sup> are preserved upon a fragment of a false door (CG 1438)<sup>563</sup> from a mastaba in Saqqara (H 10),<sup>564</sup> which dates to the reign of Pepi I or later, as per his other titles. *Issi-ḥ<sup>ḥ</sup>-[...]* served as a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty* (200) and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *ḥm-ntr* of the *mrt*-temple of Pepi I. He also held the titles of *imy-r wp(w)t Mn-nfr-Mry-r<sup>ḥ</sup>* or "overseer of commissions/apportionments of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-Bauty-of-Merenre,'" *imy-r wp(w)t* or "overseer of commissions/apportionments" (which may be an abbreviation of the former

<sup>556</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 85 [6].

<sup>557</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* II, 8-9.

<sup>558</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 352 [22].

<sup>559</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 142-143.

<sup>560</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 44 [22].

<sup>561</sup> Georges Daressy, *Le Mastaba de Mera* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1898), 567.

<sup>562</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 45 [24].

<sup>563</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 120.

<sup>564</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 456.

title), *smr w<sup>ty</sup>* or "sole companion," *šḥd pr* ʿ3 or "inspector of the Great House," and *ḥry sšt3 n pr-dw3t* or "privy to the secret of the House of Morning."

The name and titles of *Iw.f-n-ptḥ* (1-208M)<sup>565</sup> are preserved in his unnumbered mastaba in Giza,<sup>566</sup> which dates to the reign of Pepi I or later.<sup>567</sup> *Iw.f-n-ptḥ* holds the sole priestly title of *w<sup>sb</sup> šnty* (200) in addition to a number of administrative titles, which include: *ḥnty-š Mn-nfr-Ppy* or "land tenant of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides,'" *imy-r st ḥnty.w-š pr-ʿ3* or "overseer of the department of land tenants of the Great House," *mdḥ whrwt ʿ3t* or "carpenter of the great shipyard," *imy-r is n [...] š pr-ʿ3* or "overseer of the bureau of [...] of the Great House," *šps nswt* or "noble of the king," and *smr pr* or "companion of the house."

The name and titles of *ʿnh-ni-nb.f* (1-209M)<sup>568</sup> are preserved in his tomb in Saqqara,<sup>569</sup> which dates to the reign of Pepi II.<sup>570</sup> *ʿnh-ni-nb.f* held two priestly titles: *w<sup>sb</sup> šnty* (200) and *ḥry-ḥbt*, or lector priest. He also held the following titles: *smr w<sup>ty</sup>* or "sole companion," *šps nswt* or "noble of the king," *smr pr* or "companion of the house," *imy-r st* or "overseer of a storehouse/department," *smr w<sup>ty</sup>* or "sole companion," and *imy-r wp(w)t* or "overseer of commissions/apportionments."

The name and titles of *D<sup>ʿ</sup>.w* called *Šm3i* (1-210M)<sup>571</sup> are preserved in his unnumbered tomb in Deir el-Gebrawi,<sup>572</sup> which dates to the reign of Pepi II or later.<sup>573</sup> *D<sup>ʿ</sup>.w* called *Šm3i* held various titles associated with the pyramid of Pepi II: *ḥnty-š*, *imy-ḥt ḥm.w-ntr*, and *šḥd ḥm.w-ntr*; his title of *w<sup>sb</sup> šnty* (200) may in fact be in reference to this pyramid. He also held a number of other priestly titles, which include: *mdw Ḥp* or "herdsman of Apis," *ḥrp šḥt Ḥr* or "director of the net of Horus," *ḥry-ḥbt [ḥry-tp]* or chief lector priest, *imy-r wp(w)t ḥtp(w)t-ntr m prwy* or "overseer of the division(s)/apportionments of divine offerings in the two houses," and *s(t)m*-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth). *D<sup>ʿ</sup>.w* called *Šm3i* also held a number of provincial titles, which include: *iry-p<sup>ʿ</sup>t* or "hereditary prince/nobleman," *r3 P nb* or "mouth of every Pe-

<sup>565</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 15 [27].

<sup>566</sup> Junker, *Giza VII*, 24-28.

<sup>567</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 72 [149].

<sup>568</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 64 [26].

<sup>569</sup> Gustave Jéquier, "Tombes Particuliers de l'Époque de Pepi II," *ASAE* 35 (1935): 134.

<sup>570</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 64 [98].

<sup>571</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 405 [26].


<sup>572</sup> Davies, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi* II, 1-13.

<sup>573</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 157 [592].



ite/Butite," *Nḥny* or "one of Nekhen," *ḥry-tp Nḥb* or "overlord of el-Kab," *ḥtm(ty)-bity* or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt," *ḥry-tp ʿ3 n T3-wr* or "great overlord of the Grand Land (U.E. 8, or the area of This and Abydos)," *ḥwty-ʿ3t* or "one who belongs to the Great Estate," *imy-r Šmʿw* or "overseer of Upper Egypt," *ḥq3 ḥwt* or "estate manager/property administrator," *smr wʿty* or "sole companion," *ḥry-tp ʿ3 (n) 3tft* or "great overlord of the Viper Mountain Nome (U.E. 12, the *Cerastes* nome)," *imy-r šnwty* or "overseer of the two granaries," *imy-r prwy-ḥd* or "overseer of the two treasuries," *imy-r sšwy* or "overseer of the two bird pools/fowling pools," *ḥrp šndt nbt* or "director of every kilt," *[ḥry] s[št3 n sdm]t wʿ* or "secretary of that which one alone judges," and *iry ʿ3 r Šmʿ* or "one who is in the door to the south." He was posthumously granted the title of *ḥ3ty-ʿ* or "count."<sup>574</sup>

#### 4.1.3.B. *Wʿb šnty (200) pr-ʿ3*

The title  (*wʿb šnty (200) pr-ʿ3*), or "pure one of the *šnty* (200) of the Great House,"<sup>575</sup> is linked to the palace.<sup>576</sup> Fischer suggests that this title is merely a variant rendering of the title *wʿb šnty (200)*;<sup>577</sup> here it is treated as a separate title. Only one title-holder is known, *N(i)-ʿnh-Ppi* (1-211M),<sup>578</sup> whose name and titles are preserved within the tomb of *Mrrwi-k3.i* (LS 10), which dates to the reign of Pepi I or later.<sup>579</sup> *N(i)-ʿnh-Ppi* holds two titles: *wʿb šnty (200) pr-ʿ3* and *šps nswt*, or "noble of the king."

Another potential title-holder is *Wsr* (1-204M),<sup>580</sup> as there is a lacuna before the title *wʿb šnty (200)*, where a *pr-ʿ3* could have been (CG 1551).<sup>581</sup> However he is not included in this particular sub-section due to this uncertainty, but rather as a *wʿb šnty (200)*, above.

<sup>574</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 157 [592].

<sup>575</sup> Jones, *Index*, 378-379 [1402]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII.

<sup>576</sup> Junker, *Giza VI*, 15 [2].

<sup>577</sup> Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 3, n. 15.


<sup>578</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 171 [9].

<sup>579</sup> Daressy, *Le Mastaba de Mera*, 567.

<sup>580</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 85 [6].

<sup>581</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler II*, 9.


#### 4.1.3.C. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty (200) n s3*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty (200) n s3*), or "pure embalmer of the *phyle*,"<sup>582</sup> is linked to the *phyle* system.<sup>583</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *Hns.w* called *Htp* (1-212M),<sup>584</sup> whose names and titles are preserved on a doorjamb belonging to *Ppy-nht*, which was found in fill discarded west of the Ramesses Portal Temple in Abydos.<sup>585</sup> The doorjamb dates to the 6th Dynasty. *Hns.w* called *Htp* holds dual funerary titles: *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty (200) n s3* and *w<sup>ḥ</sup> m md(?) m w<sup>ḥ</sup>bt* or "one in 10 in the workshop/mortuary workshop." He also holds dual juridicial titles: *smsw (n) h(3)yt* or "elder of the (judicial) court" and *nht-hrw hwt-wrt* or "tallyman of the lawcourt."

#### 4.1.4. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-Titles Affiliated with a Deity

This section examines the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-titles that are affiliated with or to a deity, e.g. *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b W3dt*, *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b Nmty*, etc. The upper-ranking title *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3* is discussed at the beginning of this section, which includes subsections dedicated to *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b (n) Pth* and *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b Mn.w*, as each of these titles appears to have been hierarchically organized under the direction of a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3*. The section also includes *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b R<sup>ḥ</sup>*, for which the title-holder served the god most commonly within a sun-temple of a specific king, e.g. *Nhn-R<sup>ḥ</sup>*, the sun-temple of Userkaf, or *Šht-[R<sup>ḥ</sup>]*, the sun-temple of Sahure. The title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n [Deity]* later becomes prevalent during the Middle Kingdom, as shown in §6.I.3.

##### 4.1.4.A.a. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 Pth*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 Pth*), or "great pure one of Ptah,"<sup>586</sup> is the head of the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w* within the cult of Ptah.<sup>587</sup> With regard to this hierarchical title, Fischer states, "once the rank of 'great *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-priest' was established, it must have conveyed a considerable

<sup>582</sup> Jones, *Index*, 378-379 [1402].

<sup>583</sup> Ann Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom: the Evolution of a System of Social Organization* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1991).

<sup>584</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 270 [16].

<sup>585</sup> William Simpson, *Inscribed Material From the Pennsylvania-Yale Excavations at Abydos* (New Haven: The Peabody Museum of Natural History of Yale University, 1995), 5-7.


<sup>586</sup> Jones, *Index*, 369 [1363]. For a comment on the grammatical composition of the title, see: McFarlane, *The God Min*, 296, n. 1605. Title not included in: Barbara Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des Alten Reiches im Spiegel der Privatgräber der IV. und V. Dynastie* (Frieberg: Universitätsverlag, 1981).

<sup>587</sup> *LÄ* VI, 388-389, n. 37; Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 54\*; Henry George Fischer, "A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar," *JARCE* 3 (1964): 28.

degree of importance when it referred to a cult so central and well-established as that of Ptah.<sup>588</sup> Yet despite the title-holders' implied upper rank within the priesthood, they do not hold any other distinctively high titles, e.g. (*wr hrp hmwt*) or "master of craftsmen," which was commonly held by the high priests of Ptah of Memphis.<sup>589</sup> The title of *w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3* is linked to the titles *shd* and *šps nswt*.

Only one title-holder is known from the Old Kingdom, *Irt-ptḥ* called *Iri* (1-190M),<sup>590</sup> whose name and titles are preserved on a false-door (E 14318) presumably from Saqqara, which dates to the 6th Dynasty.<sup>591</sup> *Irt-ptḥ* called *Iri* held various ranks within the cult of Ptah: *w<sup>b</sup> (n) Pth*, *w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3 Pth*, and *sš hmt-ntr m hwt Pth* or "scribe of the god's treasure in the temple of Ptah." He also held a number of other priestly titles that ranked above *w<sup>b</sup>*: *it-ntr* or "god's father," *s<sup>h</sup> ʿ3(?) m hnw Skr* or "great noble/spirit in the barque of Sokar,"<sup>592</sup> *shd s(t)m.w* or "inspector of *s(t)m*-priests (chief celebrants in the rite of Opening the Mouth)," and *sš htp.t-ntr* or "scribe of the god's offerings (responsible for keeping the register of offerings to the temple)." *Irt-ptḥ* called *Iri* held only two additional titles: *šps nswt* or "noble of the king" and *smr-pr* or "companion of the house."

#### 4.1.4.A.a.i. *W<sup>b</sup> (n) Pth*


The title  (*w<sup>b</sup> (n) Pth*), or "pure one of Ptah,"<sup>593</sup> is a lower-ranking title within the cult of Ptah.<sup>594</sup> As Ptah is the patron of craftsmen, his *w<sup>b</sup>.w* were associated with overseeing craftsmen.<sup>595</sup> Even the most diverse functions associated with this god gave rise to a specialized title, e.g. *st (n) Pth*, or "libationer of Ptah,"<sup>596</sup> and perhaps it is for this reason that the hierarchy within the cult of Ptah is so well-defined. Five title-holders are known, three of whom contain the god's name in their names.


<sup>588</sup> Fischer, "A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar," 29.

<sup>589</sup> Fischer, "A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar," 28-29; Kanawati, *Akhmim*, 238.

<sup>590</sup> Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>591</sup> Fischer, "A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar," 25-29, pl. XV.

<sup>592</sup> Rendered as: . Fischer translates the title as "noble great (of years?) in the bark of Sokar." Refer to: Fischer, "A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar," 25, 27-28 [4].

<sup>593</sup> Alternatively rendered as . Jones, *Index*, 371 [1374]; *LÄ* VI, 397; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII; Henry George Fischer, "Some Old Kingdom Names Reconsidered," *Orientalia* 60 (1991): 289-311.

<sup>594</sup> Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 126-127, 147.

<sup>595</sup> Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 126-127, 147.

<sup>596</sup> Baud, *Famille Royale* II, 623.

The name and titles of Špss-ptḥ I (1-191M)<sup>597</sup> are preserved upon a false door (BM 32/682)<sup>598</sup> from his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 48/C 1),<sup>599</sup> which dates to the reign of Niuserre.<sup>600</sup> Špss-ptḥ I was a high priest of Ptah of Memphis,<sup>601</sup> and accordingly held a variety of priestly titles, which include: *w<sup>ᶜ</sup>b* of Ptah, *ḥm-ntr* of Ptah and Sokar, *ḥrp s(t)m.w* or "director of *s(t)m*-priests (chief celebrants in the rite of Opening the Mouth)," *imy-r pr Skr* or "overseer of the temple of Sokar," *imy-r w<sup>ᶜ</sup>bt* or "overseer of the *w<sup>ᶜ</sup>bt*-chamber/mortuary workshop," *ḥm-ntr M3<sup>ᶜ</sup>t m swt (i)ptn n ḥry-b3q.f* or "god's servant of Maat in these (cult) places of him who is under his olive tree,"<sup>602</sup> *ḥm-ntr R<sup>ᶜ</sup> m 3ḥt-R<sup>ᶜ</sup>* or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) *3ḥt-R<sup>ᶜ</sup>*," *ḥm-ntr R<sup>ᶜ</sup> m Nḥn-R<sup>ᶜ</sup>* or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) *Nḥn-R<sup>ᶜ</sup>*," *ḥm-ntr R<sup>ᶜ</sup> m St-ib-R<sup>ᶜ</sup>* or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) *St-ib-R<sup>ᶜ</sup>*," *ḥm-ntr R<sup>ᶜ</sup> m Šsp-ib-R<sup>ᶜ</sup>* or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) *Šsp-ib-R<sup>ᶜ</sup>*," *ḥm-ntr Ḥwt-ḥr m swt nb(w)t* or "god's servant of Hathor in all places/everywhere," *ḥm-ntr Ḥr(.w) m ḥnt-wr* or "god's servant of Horus in *ḥnt-wr*,"<sup>603</sup> *ḥm-ntr Ḥr(.w) Ḥnty-mdf* or "god's servant of Horus *Ḥnty-mdf* (one of the titles of the high priest of Ptah at Memphis),"<sup>604</sup> *ḥm-ntr Ḥnty-i3t.f* or "god's servant of *Ḥnty-i3wt.f* (alias of Ptah),"<sup>605</sup> *ḥm-ntr Ḥnty-Ḥntt* or "god's servant of *Ḥnty-Ḥntt*," *ḥm-ntr Skr m swt.f nbt* or "god's servant of Sokar in all his places (sanctuaries)," *ḥm-ntr Dd-špss* or "god's servant of *Dd-špss* (alias of Ptah),"<sup>606</sup> and *i3w n Ḥwt Pth* or "elder of the Mansion of Ptah." His other titles primarily pertain to overseeing craftsmen,<sup>607</sup> which include: *wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt* or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen," *wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt m prwy* or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the Two Houses," *wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt n r<sup>ᶜ</sup> ḥb* or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the day of the festival," *mḥnk nswt* or "intimate of the king," *ḥrp*

<sup>597</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 326 [19].

<sup>598</sup> British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum* I (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), pl. 10-13.

<sup>599</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 110-114; *PM* III.2, 464.

<sup>600</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 75-76 [164].

<sup>601</sup> Charles Maystre, *Les Grands Prêtres de Ptah de Memphis* (Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1992), 226-231 [3-4].

<sup>602</sup> Maj Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah* (Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup, 1946), 148.

<sup>603</sup> Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 175-176 [10].

<sup>604</sup> Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 174-175 [9].

<sup>605</sup> Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 173-174 [8].

<sup>606</sup> Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 157. Contra: Hans Goedicke, "A Deification of a Private Person in the Old Kingdom," *JEA* 41 (1955): 31-33.

<sup>607</sup> Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 126-127; Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 51-52.

*ḥmwt(yw) nbt* or "director of all craftsmen," *ḥry sšt3 n ntr.f* or "privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king)," *n imy-ib n nb.f* or "one who belongs to the heart/favorite of his lord," *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nswt* or "overseer of all the works of the king," *ḥry sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *ḥrp ḥwt thnt* or "director of the mansion of faience," and *imy-r s(w)t-df3w* or "overseer of the department(s) of offerings."

The name and titles of Špss-ptḥ II (1-192M)<sup>608</sup> are preserved within his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 50/ C 9),<sup>609</sup> which dates to the mid-5th Dynasty. Špss-ptḥ II was a high priest of Ptah of Memphis,<sup>610</sup> and accordingly held a variety of priestly titles, which include: *w'ḥ* of Ptah, *ḥm-ntr* of Ptah and Sokar, *ḥrp s(t)m.w* or "director of *s(t)m*-priests (chief celebrants in the rite of Opening the Mouth)," *imy-r pr Skr* or "overseer of the temple of Sokar," and *imy-r w'bt* or "overseer of the *w'bt*-chamber/mortuary workshop." His other titles primarily pertain to overseeing craftsmen,<sup>611</sup> which include: *wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt* or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen," *wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt m prwy* or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the Two Houses," *wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt n r' ḥb* or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the day of the festival," *mḥnk nswt* or "intimate of the king," *ḥrp ḥmwt(yw) nbt* or "director of all craftsmen," *ḥry sšt3 n ntr.f* or "privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king)," and *n imy-ib n nb.f* or "one who belongs to the heart/favorite of his lord."

The name and titles of *S3b.w* called *Ibb.i* (1-193M)<sup>612</sup> are preserved within his mastaba that he shares with Špss-ptḥ IV (1-194M) in Saqqara (Nos. 37-38 [E 1, 2 and H 3]),<sup>613</sup> which dates from the mid- to late-reign of Teti.<sup>614</sup> *S3b.w* called *Ibb.i* was a high priest of Ptah of Memphis,<sup>615</sup> and accordingly held a number of priestly titles, which include: *w'ḥ (n) Ptḥ* or "pure one of Ptah," *ḥm-ntr Ptḥ* or "god's servant of Ptah," *ḥm-ntr Skr* or "god's servant of Sokar," *ḥrp s(t)m.w* or "director of *s(t)m*-priests (chief celebrants in the rite of Opening the Mouth)," *imy-r pr Skr* or "overseer of the temple of Sokar," *imy-r w'bt* or "overseer of the *w'bt*-chamber/mortuary workshop," *imy-r ḥwt Skr m swt*

<sup>608</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 326 [19].

<sup>609</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 129-130.

<sup>610</sup> Maystre, *Les Grands Prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 231 [5].

<sup>611</sup> Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 126-127.

<sup>612</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 299 [17].

<sup>613</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 373-388.

<sup>614</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 130 [116].

<sup>615</sup> Maystre, *Les Grands Prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 236-244 [16-20].

*nb(w)t* or "overseer of the temple(s)/cult-place(s)/sanctuaries of Sokar in all places/wheresoever," *imy-ht hm.w-ntr Nfr-swt-Wnis* or "under-supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas,'" *imy-ht hm.w-ntr Dd-swt-Tti* or "under-supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti,'" *hm-ntr M3t m swt (i)ptn n hry-b3qf* or "god's servant of Maat in these (cult) places [and] him who is under his olive tree,"<sup>616</sup> *hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m 3ht-R<sup>s</sup>* or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) *3ht-R<sup>s</sup>*," *hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>s</sup>* or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) *Nhn-R<sup>s</sup>*," *hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m St-ib-R<sup>s</sup>* or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) *St-ib-R<sup>s</sup>*," *hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup>* or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) *Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup>*," *hm-ntr Hwt-hr m swt nb(w)t* or "god's servant of Hathor in all places/everywhere," *hm-ntr Hr(.w) m hnt-wr* or "god's servant of Horus in *hnt-wr*,"<sup>617</sup> *hm-ntr Hr(.w) Hnty-mdf* or "god's servant of *Hnty-mdf* (one of the titles of the high priest of Ptah at Memphis),"<sup>618</sup> *hm-ntr Hnty-i3t.f* or "god's servant of *Hnty-i3t.f* (alias of Ptah),"<sup>619</sup> *hm-ntr Hnty-Tnnt* or "god's servant of *Hnty-Tnnt*," *hm-ntr Skr m swt.f nbt* or "god's servant of Sokar in all his places (sanctuaries)," *hm-ntr Dd-špss* or "god's servant of *Dd-špss* (alias of Ptah)."<sup>620</sup> His other titles primarily pertain to overseeing craftsmen,<sup>621</sup> which include: *wr hrp.w hmwt* or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen," *wr hrp.w hmwt m pr.wy* or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the Two Houses," *wr hrp hmwt m pr.wy n r<sup>s</sup> hb* or "greatest of the directors of the craftsmen in the Two Houses who belongs to the day of the festival," *wr hrp.w hmwt n r<sup>s</sup> hb* or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the day of the festival," *mhnk nswt* or "intimate of the king," *hrp hmwt(yw) nbt* or "director of all craftsmen," *hry sšt3 n ntr.f* or "privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king)," *n imy-ib n nb.f* or "one who belongs to the heart/favorite of his lord," *imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nswt* or "overseer of all the works of the king," *wr hrp.w hmwt db3t(y?)* or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen of the *db3t(y?)*," *hry sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *hry sšt3 n nswt m swt.f nbt* or "privy to the secret of the king in all his cult-places," *hry sšt3 n*

<sup>616</sup> Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 148.

<sup>617</sup> Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 175-176 [10].

<sup>618</sup> Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 174-175 [9].

<sup>619</sup> Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 173-174 [8].

<sup>620</sup> Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 157. Contra: Goedicke, "A Deification of a Private Person in the Old Kingdom," 31-33.

<sup>621</sup> Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 126-127; Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 51-52.

*k3t nbt* or "privy to the secret of all works," *hrp mhnk.w nswt* or "director of the *mhnk.w* of the king," *sš qd št3 n wdt-mdw* or "scribe of the secret documents of the decrees," and *šps nswt* or "noble of the king." *S3b.w* called *Ibb.i* is probably the father of *Špss-ptḥ* IV, below.<sup>622</sup>

The name and titles of *Špss-ptḥ* IV (1-095M)<sup>623</sup> are preserved within his mastaba that he shares with *S3b.w* called *Ibb.i* (1-094M) in Saqqara (Nos. 37-38 [E 1, 2 and H 3]),<sup>624</sup> which dates from the mid- to late-reign of Teti.<sup>625</sup> *Špss-ptḥ* IV is a high priest of Ptah of Memphis,<sup>626</sup> and held a variety of priestly titles, which include: *wšb* of Ptah, *ḥm-ntr* of Ptah and Sokar, *ḥm-ntr* of the pyramids of Unas and Teti, *hrp s(t)m.w* or "director of *s(t)m*-priests (chief celebrants in the rite of Opening the Mouth)," *imy-r pr Skr* or "overseer of the temple of Sokar," and *imy-r wšbt* or "overseer of the *wšbt*-chamber/mortuary workshop." His other titles primarily pertain to overseeing craftsmen,<sup>627</sup> which include: *wr hrp.w ḥmwt* or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen," *wr hrp.w ḥmwt m prwy* or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the Two Houses," *wr hrp.w ḥmwt n rš ḥb* or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the day of the festival," *mhnk nswt* or "intimate of the king," *hrp ḥmwt(yw) nbt* or "director of all craftsmen," *hry sšt3 n ntr.f* or "privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king)," and *n imy-ib n nb.f* or "one who belongs to the heart/favorite of his lord." *Špss-ptḥ* IV is probably the son of *S3b.w* called *Ibb.i*, above.<sup>628</sup>

The name and titles of *Irt-ptḥ* called *Iri* (1-190M),<sup>629</sup> are preserved on a false-door (E 14318) presumably from Saqqara, which dates to the 6th Dynasty.<sup>630</sup> *Irt-ptḥ* called *Iri* held various ranks within the cult of Ptah: *wšb (n) Ptḥ*, *wšb š3 Ptḥ*, and *sš ḥtmt-ntr m ḥwt Ptḥ* or "scribe of the god's treasure in the temple of Ptah." He also held a number of other priestly titles that ranked above *wšb*: *it-ntr* or "god's father," *sš ḥ š3(?) m ḥnw Skr* or "great

<sup>622</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 130 [116].

<sup>623</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 326 [19].

<sup>624</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 373-388; Emmanuel de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques copiées en Égypte pendant la mission scientifique* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1877-1879), 92.

<sup>625</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 130 [116].

<sup>626</sup> Maystre, *Les Grands Prêtres de Ptah de Memphis*, 244-247 [21-25].

<sup>627</sup> Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 126-127.

<sup>628</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 130 [116].


<sup>629</sup> Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.


<sup>630</sup> Fischer, "A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar," 25-29, pl. XV.

noble/spirit in the barque of Sokar,"<sup>631</sup> *shd s(t)m.w* or "inspector of *s(t)m*-priests (chief celebrants in the rite of Opening the Mouth)," and *sš htp.t-ntr* or "scribe of the god's offerings (responsible for keeping the register of offerings to the temple)." *Irt-ptḥ* called *Iri* held only two additional titles: *Šps nswt* or "noble of the king" and *smr-pr* or "companion of the house."

The title-strings for this particular group are highly consistent, which suggests that the personnel within the cult of Ptah systematically acquired a proscribed set of titles pertaining to both cult and craftsmanship. It is also worthwhile to note that four of the five title-holders share the title *mḥnk nswt*, or "intimate of the king," which Hassan observes is "nearly always given to the director of some art or craft and is one of the titles of the high priest of Ptah."<sup>632</sup> It does, however, remain unknown as to why the four high priests of Ptah retain the lower-ranking title *wᶜb (n) Ptḥ*, but do not include the upper-ranking title *wᶜb ʿ3 Ptḥ* within their title-strings. The sole holder of the title *wᶜb ʿ3 Ptḥ*, *Irt-Ptḥ* called *Iri* (1-190M), was not a high priest of Ptah of Memphis.

#### 4.1.4.A.b. *Wᶜb ʿ3 n Mn.w*

The title  (*wᶜb ʿ3 n Mn.w*), or "great pure one of Min,"<sup>633</sup> is an upper-ranking title within the priestly hierarchy of the cult of Min.<sup>634</sup> Only three titles are attested within the the priestly hierarchy of Min during the Old Kingdom: *wᶜb ʿ3 n Mn.w*, *imy-ḥt Mn.w* or "under-supervisor of Min," and *sm3 Mn.w* or *sm3*-priest (stolist) of Min; the title of *ḥm-ntr* is not attested.<sup>635</sup> Although Gauthier<sup>636</sup> and McFarlane<sup>637</sup> claim that the

<sup>631</sup> Rendered as: . Fischer translates the title as "noble great (of years?) in the bark of Sokar." Refer to: Fischer, "A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar," 25, 27-28 [4].

<sup>632</sup> Hassan, *Giza* II, 7, n. 1.

<sup>633</sup> Jones, *Index*, 369 [1364]. For a discussion of the grammatical composition of the title, see: Ward, "Old Kingdom *sš ʿ nsw n ḥft-ḥr*, 'Personal Scribe of Royal Records', and Middle Kingdom *sš ʿn nsw n ḥft-ḥr*, 'Scribe of the Royal Tablet of the Court,'" 383. Title not included in: Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*.

<sup>634</sup> *LÄ* VI, 388-389, n. 37; Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 54\*; McFarlane, *The God Min*, 296-297.

<sup>635</sup> "*Ḥm-ntr*-Propheten des Min scheinen nicht belegt zu sein." Refer to: Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 104.

<sup>636</sup> "Le prêtre *wᶜb* avait donc accès au saint des saints, où trônait la statue divine, et il entraînait en communication directe avec le dieu. Il oignait d'huile (ou de fard) cette statue, l'habillait (ou l'ornait), la portait sur l'épaule aux jours de fête où elle était promenée en procession, et la hissait jusqu'à son reposoir." Henri Gauthier, *Le Personnel du Dieu Min* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1931), 32.


<sup>637</sup> "The *wᶜb* in Min's cult may have been concerned with the maintenance of the god's sanctuary, its statue, sacred books and offerings, as well as with the transportation of the god in festival processions." McFarlane, *The God Min*, 296.



*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* of Min had access to the divine sanctuary and performed the daily cult ritual for the god, such access was likely restricted to the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3*. Only one title-holder is known from the Old Kingdom, *Hss.ii* (1-195M),<sup>638</sup> whose name and titles are preserved on a false door (CG 1407)<sup>639</sup> of unknown provenance, which dates to the reign of Pepi I or later.<sup>640</sup> *Hss.ii* held the title of *ḥnty-š* of the pyramid of Pepi I, which suggests that he resided at the capital of Memphis prior to joining the cult of Min, which was centered in Koptos (modern Qift).<sup>641</sup> *Hss.ii* held two upper-ranking titles within this cult: *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 n Mn.w* or "great pure one of Min" and *šḥd pr-Mn.w* or "inspector of the temple of Min;" he also held the title of *ḥry-ḥbt* or lector priest. His only other title was *šps nswt*, or "noble of the king."

Lefébvre suggests that the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* and *ḥry-ḥbt* were of equal rank within the priestly hierarchy, and Gauthier suggests that by analogy, the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3* and *ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp* were of equally upper-rank.<sup>642</sup> While each of these assessments may be true for later periods, this is not the case during the Old Kingdom. The only known *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3* that holds a lector-title is *Hss.ii* (1-195M), who holds the title of *ḥry-ḥbt* rather than *ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp*; the aforementioned *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 (n) Pth* do not hold any lector-titles. A correlation between *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3* and *ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp* does not occur until the Middle Kingdom, as discussed in §6.II.

#### 4.I.4.B. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b W3d.t*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b W3d.t*), or "pure one of Wadjet,"<sup>643</sup> is attested on a cylinder seal (1-196I) from Abusir/Abu Gurob that dates to the reign of Djedkare.<sup>644</sup> Kaplony notes that the title *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* may have been complemented by the title *ḥm-ntr*, as the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-title appears to have comprised part of a longer inscription.<sup>645</sup> No named title-holders are known from the Old Kingdom.

<sup>638</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 255 [17].

<sup>639</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 69-70.

<sup>640</sup> For dating to the reign of Pepi I and later, see: Baer, *Rank and Title*, 107 [349A]. For dating to the First Intermediate Period, see: Helck, "Pyramidenstätten," 103.

<sup>641</sup> McFarlane, *The God Min*, 67; Kanawati, *Akhmim*, 237-238.

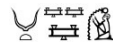
<sup>642</sup> Gauthier, *Le Personnel du Dieu Min*, 33-34.

<sup>643</sup> Jones, *Index*, 369 [1365].


<sup>644</sup> A Berlin 16575; Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, 325, pl. 89 [Djedkare, 20].

<sup>645</sup> A Berlin 16575; Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, 325.

#### 4.I.4.C. *W<sup>s</sup>b Wp-w3.wt*

Despite references to the title in numerous publications (wherein it is cited as the sole example of a female *w<sup>s</sup>b(t)* title-holder),<sup>646</sup> the Old Kingdom attestation of the title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b Wp-w3.wt*), or "pure one of Wepwawet," is erroneous. Rather, the title in question is a misreading of the following inscription (which contains an epithet of Neith):<sup>647</sup> *hm-ntr Nt wpt w3.wt m swt.s nb(t) w<sup>s</sup>b(t)*, or "god's servant of Neith, who opens the way from all her pure places."<sup>648</sup> No other examples are known from the Old Kingdom, and as such the title does not appear until the Middle Kingdom (§6.I.3.B.5).

#### 4.I.4.D. *W<sup>s</sup>b Nmty*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b Nmty*), or "pure one of Nemty,"<sup>649</sup> refers to the god of the Viper Mountain Nome (U.E. 12), or "the wanderer,"<sup>650</sup> whose name may be alternatively read as *nty* or "the clawed one."<sup>651</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *Tnti* (1-197M),<sup>652</sup> whose name and titles are preserved within his mastaba at Saqqara (B1),<sup>653</sup> which dates to the late 5th Dynasty.<sup>654</sup> *Tnti* served as a *w<sup>s</sup>b* of Nemty and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-ntr* of Khufu and *hm-ntr Hnm.w hnty Hr-wr m swt.f nbwt* or "god's servant of Khnum foremost of Hur in all his (cult-) places (sanctuaries)." He also held the priestly title of *htm(w)-ntr wi3* or "god's sealer of the barque." *Tnti* held a number of other various titles, some of which are military: *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance," *nfr-idw* or "recruit," *hrp pr.w* or "director of the crew," *šps* or "noble," *wrš<sup>c</sup> r mš<sup>c</sup>* or "watcher/attendant to the army," *imy-r wp(w)t* or "overseer of commissions/apportionments," *wr ḥ* or "great one of the ḥ-Palace," *htm(w)* or "sealer," *smsw is(t)* or

<sup>646</sup> Aylward Blackman, "On The Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy", *JEA* 7 (1921): 24; Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 73\*; Jones, *Index*, 370 [1368]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII; Pirenne, *Institutions* II, 489 [88].

<sup>647</sup> *Wb.* I, 283 (13); Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, 100b; Mariette, *Mastabas*, 162 [C 26].

<sup>648</sup> *LÄ* IV, 1103-1104, n. 10; Jones, *Index*, 370 [1368].

<sup>649</sup> Jones, *Index*, 373 [1381]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII.

<sup>650</sup> Also compare to the biune god of the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome, *Nmtywy*, or the "Two Wanderers." Refer to: Олег Берлев, "'Сокол, Плывущий В Ладье', Иероглиф И Ёг," *Вестник древней истории* I (1969): 3-30.

<sup>651</sup> Contra: Берлев, "'Сокол, Плывущий В Ладье', Иероглиф И Ёг," 3-30. See: Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 468 [G7\*/\*\*]; *LÄ* II, 397 [9].


<sup>652</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 392 [10].

<sup>653</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 87-89.

<sup>654</sup> For dating to the late 5th Dynasty, see: Miroslav Barta, "The Title Inspector of the Palace during the Egyptian Old Kingdom," *Archiv Orientální* 67 (1999): 17-20. For dating to the mid-4th Dynasty or later, see: Baer, *Rank and Title*, 153 [569].

"elder of the *is(t)*-chamber," *hrp ḥ* or "director of the ḥ-Palace," and *hrp š nswt* or "director of the royal canal/pool."

#### 4.1.4.E. *Wḥb Rḥ*

The title  (*wḥb Rḥ*), or "pure one of Re,"<sup>655</sup> pertains to the king's sun-temple,<sup>656</sup> as per the title-strings that contain this title in addition to *wḥb Rḥ n* [Sun-Temple] that are discussed in the following sub-sections.

The name and titles of *Tii* (1-198M)<sup>657</sup> are preserved upon a false door (CG 1380)<sup>658</sup> found within the mastaba of *Hm-rḥ* in Saqqara (No. 6/C 15),<sup>659</sup> which dates to the reign of Sahure or later.<sup>660</sup> *Tii*'s title of *wḥb Rḥ* is most likely in reference to the sun-temple of Sahure, as he also holds the title *wḥb Rḥ m Shṯ-[Rḥ]*. *Tii* holds no other priestly titles. He holds two additional titles, both of which pertain to fishing and fowling: *ḥd-mr wḥ.w 3pd.w* or "overseer of fishers/fowlers," *imy-r sš* or "overseer of the bird pool/fowling pool."

The name and titles of *N-ḥft-k3(.i)* (1-172M)<sup>661</sup> are preserved on a false-door (CG 1484)<sup>662</sup> from his tomb in Saqqara (D 47),<sup>663</sup> which dates to the reign of Niuserre or earlier.<sup>664</sup> *N-ḥft-k3(.i)*'s title of *wḥb Rḥ* is most likely in reference to the sun-temple of Userkaf, as he also holds the title *wḥb Rḥ m Nḥn-Rḥ*. He served as a *wḥb* within the sun-temple of Userkaf and as a *wḥb* within pyramid complex of Sahure; an exception to the pattern wherein title-holders serve as a *wḥb* of a pyramid and are then promoted to (or at the same time serve as) *ḥm-nṯr* of a sun-temple. He was promoted to *shḏ wḥ.w n Wḥb-swt-Wsr-k3.f*, or "inspector of pure ones of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf,'" and was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) *ḥm-nṯr* of Horus-Anubis, although a location is not specified by the title. *N-ḥft-k3(.i)* also held the title of *ḥry wḏb(w) (m) Ḥwt-ḥnh* of "one who is in charge of the reversions (of offerings) in the

<sup>655</sup> Alternatively rendered as . Jones, *Index*, 379 [1404]; *Wb.* I, 282.

<sup>656</sup> Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 152-172.

<sup>657</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 389 [30].

<sup>658</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 37-41.

<sup>659</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 137-142.

<sup>660</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 152 [565].

<sup>661</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 168 [21].

<sup>662</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 177-181; de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 83.

<sup>663</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 304-309.

<sup>664</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 95 [282].

House of Life." He holds a number of non-priestly titles, including: *smr* or "companion," *hry p h* or "director of the *h*-palace," *hry sst3 n pr-dw3t* or "privy to the secret of the House of the Morning," *d-mr Hr-sb3w-hnty-pt* or "administrator of (the royal 'domain') 'Star-of-Horus-Foremost of Heaven' (reign of Djoser)," *[hnty-s] pr-3* or "[land-tenant] of the Great House," *imy-r sšr-nswt* or "overseer of royal cloth/linen," *imy-r hkrw-nswt* or "overseer of the king's regalia," *hry w3wt* or "master/controller/superior of the ways," and *imy-r sqb(b)w pr-3* or "overseer of the cool chambers of the Great House."

The name and titles of *Sn.nw* (1-199M)<sup>665</sup> are preserved upon a granite seated statue (MFA 06.1879), which was found under a fallen architrave at the entrance to a chapel (G 2034) near his mastaba (G 2032) in Giza, which may date as early as the 5th Dynasty.<sup>666</sup> *Sn.nw*'s title-string does not reference any specific sun-temple, so it remains unknown as to within which particular one he served. *W<sup>b</sup> R<sup>s</sup>* is his sole priestly title. His other titles are: *h<sub>1</sub>tm(w) šspt nswt* or "sealer of the royal *šspt*-cloth," *r<sub>1</sub>h nswt n pr-3* or "royal acquaintance of the Great House," and *hry-pr n db3t*, or "major-domo of the robing room."

#### 4.1.4.E.a. *W<sup>b</sup> R<sup>s</sup> n [Sun-Temple]*

A consistent pattern found within the title-strings thus far is that a title-holder often serves as a priest at both sanctuaries of the king, most commonly as a *w<sup>b</sup>* of the pyramid complex before being promoted to (or at the same time serving as) *hm-ntr* of the sun-temple. Nuzzolo suggests that "the *hm-ntr* and *w<sup>b</sup>* titles may have been complementary during the 5th Dynasty, each of them pointing to a specific aspect of the king's nature: his divinity expressed through the *hm-ntr* title serving his name, and his purity expressed through the *w<sup>b</sup> nswt* title."<sup>667</sup> The title of *w<sup>b</sup>* of the sun-temple is relatively uncommon, except for the following examples from the sun-temples of Userkaf, Sahure, and Niuserre.<sup>668</sup> The title of *w<sup>b</sup>* is not directly linked to any other sun-temples.


<sup>665</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 310 [21].

<sup>666</sup> Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 214. Previously, Fischer dated the monument to the 6th Dynasty. Refer to: Henry George Fischer, "Varia Aegyptiaca," *JARCE* 2 (1963): 25-26.


<sup>667</sup> Nuzzolo, "The V Dynasty Sun Temples Personnel," 293.

<sup>668</sup> Werner Kaiser, "Zu den Sonnenheiligtümern der 5. Dynastie," *MDAIK* 14 (1956): 105, n. 5; Goedicke, "Die Laufbahn des *Mtn*," 8, n. 5.

4.I.4.E.a.i. *W<sup>s</sup>b R<sup>s</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>s</sup>*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b R<sup>s</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>s</sup>*), or "pure one of Re in (the sun-temple) *Nhn-R<sup>s</sup>*,"<sup>669</sup> refers to the sun-temple of Userkaf.<sup>670</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *N-hft-k3(.i)* (1-172M),<sup>671</sup> whose name and titles are preserved on a false-door (CG 1484)<sup>672</sup> from his tomb in Saqqara (D 47),<sup>673</sup> which dates to the reign of Niuserre or earlier.<sup>674</sup> *N-hft-k3(.i)* served as a *w<sup>s</sup>b* within the the sun-temple of Userkaf and as a *w<sup>s</sup>b* within pyramid complex of Sahure; an exception to the pattern wherein title-holders serve as a *w<sup>s</sup>b* of a pyramid and are promoted to (or at the same time serve as) *hm-ntr* of a sun-temple. He was promoted to *shd w<sup>s</sup>b.w n W<sup>s</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f*, or "inspector of pure ones of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf,'" and was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-ntr* of Horus-Anubis, although a location is not specified by the title. *N-hft-k3(.i)* also held the title of *hry wdb(w) (m) Hwt-<sup>s</sup>nh* of "one who is in charge of the reversions (of offerings) in the House of Life." He holds a number of non-priestly titles, including: *smr* or "companion," *hrp <sup>s</sup>h* or "director of the <sup>s</sup>h-palace," *hry sst3 n pr-dw3t* or "privy to the secret of the House of the Morning," *d-mr Hr-sb3w-hnty-pt* or "administrator of (the royal 'domain') 'Star-of-Horus-Foremost of Heaven' (reign of Djoser)," *[hnty-s] pr-<sup>s</sup>3* or "[land-tenant] of the Great House," *imy-r s<sup>s</sup>r-nswt* or "overseer of royal cloth/linen," *imy-r hkrw-nswt* or "overseer of the king's regalia," *hry w3wt* or "master/controller/superior of the ways," and *imy-r sqb(b)w pr-<sup>s</sup>3* or "overseer of the cool chambers of the Great House."

The title is also attested on a cylinder seal from Abusir (1-163I), which dates to the reign of Sahure or later.<sup>675</sup> The cylinder seal collectively refers to a *w<sup>s</sup>b* and *hm-ntr* of the sun-temple of Userkaf; such a phenomenon only occurs on one other cylinder seal (1-200I) in reference to the sun-temple of Niuserre (§4.I.3.E.a.iii, below).<sup>676</sup>

<sup>669</sup> Alternatively rendered as . Jones, *Index*, 375 [1393]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII; *PM* III.2, U892. Title not included in: Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*.

<sup>670</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* III, 100; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 122-126.

<sup>671</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 168 [21].

<sup>672</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 177-181; de Rougé, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques*, 83.


<sup>673</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 304-309.

<sup>674</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 95 [282].

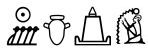
<sup>675</sup> Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, 193, pl. 61 [Sahure 25].

<sup>676</sup> Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, 314-315, pl. 86 [7].

4.I.4.E.a.ii.  $W^{\zeta}b R^{\zeta} m Sht-[R^{\zeta}]$

The title  ( $w^{\zeta}b R^{\zeta} m Sht-[R^{\zeta}]$ ), or "pure one of Re in (the sun-temple)  $Sht-[R^{\zeta}]$ ,"<sup>677</sup> refers to the sun-temple of Sahure.<sup>678</sup> Only two priests are known to have served in this sun-temple:  $\underline{Tii}$  (1-198M),<sup>679</sup> who held the rank of  $w^{\zeta}b$ , and  $\zeta tm3$ , who held the rank of  $hm-ntr$ .<sup>680</sup>  $\underline{Tii}$ 's name and titles are preserved upon a false door (CG 1380)<sup>681</sup> found within the mastaba of  $Hm-R^{\zeta}$  in Saqqara (No. 6/C 15),<sup>682</sup> which dates to the reign of Sahure or later.<sup>683</sup>  $\underline{Tii}$  holds dual  $w^{\zeta}b$ -titles:  $w^{\zeta}b R^{\zeta}$  and  $w^{\zeta}b R^{\zeta} m Sht-[R^{\zeta}]$ ; he holds no other priestly titles. His other titles pertain to fishing and fowling:  $\zeta d-mr wh^{\zeta}.w 3pd.w$  or "overseer of fishers/fowlers,"  $imy-r s\check{s}$  or "overseer of the bird pool/fowling pool."

4.I.4.E.a.iii.  $W^{\zeta}b [R^{\zeta} m] \check{S}sp-ib-R^{\zeta}$

The title  ( $w^{\zeta}b [R^{\zeta} m] \check{S}sp-ib-R^{\zeta}$ ), or "pure one [of Re] in (the sun-temple)  $\check{S}sp-ib-R^{\zeta}$ ,"<sup>684</sup> refers to the sun-temple of Niuserre.<sup>685</sup> The title is attested on a cylinder-seal (1-200I) from Abu Ghurob (Inv. No. 3792).<sup>686</sup> The cylinder seal collectively refers to a  $w^{\zeta}b$  and  $hm-ntr$  of the same sun-temple; such a phenomenon only occurs on one other cylinder seal (1-163I) in reference to the sun-temple of Userkaf (§4.I.3.E.a.i, above).<sup>687</sup>

<sup>677</sup> Jones, *Index*, 376 [1394]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII; Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 152-154, 168; *PM* III.2, U891.

<sup>678</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* V, 55; Montet, *Géographie* I, 46; Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 125; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 214-216.

<sup>679</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 389 [30].

<sup>680</sup> Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 215.

<sup>681</sup> Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 37-41.

<sup>682</sup> Mariette, *Mastabas*, 137-142.

<sup>683</sup> Baer, *Rank and Title*, 152 [565].


<sup>684</sup> Neither Jones, Murray, nor Begelsbacher-Fischer account for this title.

<sup>685</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* V, 144; Montet, *Géographie* I, 42; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 232-234.

<sup>686</sup> Inv. No. 3792; Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, 314-315, pl. 86 [Djedkare 7].

<sup>687</sup> Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, 193, pl. 61 [25].

#### 4.I.4.F. *W<sup>s</sup>b Shm.t*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b Shm.t*), or "pure one of Sekhmet,"<sup>688</sup> may be considered both a priestly as well as a medical title.<sup>689</sup> As the bringer of pestilence, Sekhmet also had the power to heal the sick, the power of which may have extended to the *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* that served her.<sup>690</sup> The inclusion of the title within P. Ebers implies a medical connotation to the title-holder, although they are only described as taking the pulse.<sup>691</sup> In some cases, the title occurs with *swnw*, or "physician,"<sup>692</sup> which continued well into the 18th Dynasty.<sup>693</sup> On occasion, the *swnw w<sup>s</sup>b* acted as "veterinary priests,"<sup>694</sup> overseeing butchery and ensuring that the animal is fit for human and divine consumption.<sup>695</sup> Based upon a later example, Lefévre proposes that the *w<sup>s</sup>b.w Shm.t* in particular may have also cared for living animals as veterinarians.<sup>696</sup> Three title-holders are known.

The name and titles of *Ipsḥ* (1-201M)<sup>697</sup> are preserved on a statue from Giza, which dates to the reign of Khufu or later.<sup>698</sup> *Ipsḥ* held dual *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles of *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt* and *w<sup>s</sup>b Shm.t*, and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *ḥm-ntr* of Khufu. He held no other titles.

The name and titles of *Wnn-nfr(.w)* (1-202M)<sup>699</sup> are preserved within the mastaba of *Pth-ḥtp(.w)* I in Saqqara (D 62), wherein he is presiding over a butchery scene.<sup>700</sup> In addition to being a *w<sup>s</sup>b Shm.t*, he held the upper-ranking medical title of *shḏ swnw*, or "inspector of physicians."

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<sup>688</sup> Alternatively rendered as . Jones, *Index*, 377-378 [1400]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII.

<sup>689</sup> Heinz Engelmann and Jochen Hallof, "Der Sachmetpriester, ein früher Repräsentant der Hygiene und des Seuchenschutzes," *Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur* 23 (1966): 103-146; Frans Jonckheere, "A la recherche du Chirurgien Égyptien," *CdE* 51 (1951): 28-45; Goedicke, "Die Laufbahn des *Mtn*," 8.

<sup>690</sup> Gustave Lefévre, *Essai sur la médecine égyptienne de l'époque pharaonique* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1956), 25. Contra Philippe Germond, who suggests that the *w<sup>s</sup>b.w Shm.t* worked in cooperation with physicians. See: Janet Johnson, "Sekhmet et la protection du monde by Philippe Germond [review]," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 104 (1984): 361-362.

<sup>691</sup> Marshall Clagett, "Les Pretres-Ouab De Sekhmet Et Les Conjurateurs De Serket by Frédérique von Känel [review]," *Isis* 76 (1985): 628-629.

<sup>692</sup> Ghalioungui, *The Physicians of Pharaonic Egypt*, 9; Lefévre, *Médecine Égyptienne*, 25.

<sup>693</sup> Pierre Montet, "Les scènes de boucherie dans les tombes de l'Ancien Empire," *BIFAO* 7 (1910): 49, n. 3.

<sup>694</sup> Emile Chassinat, "Note sur le titre ,

<sup>695</sup> Salima Ikram, *Choice Cuts: Meat Production in Ancient Egypt* (Leuven: Peeters, 1995), 110.

<sup>696</sup> Lefévre, *Médecine Égyptienne*, 25.

<sup>697</sup> Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>698</sup> Mohamed Moursi, "Die Statuengruppe des *Ipsḥ* und *Hnwt.sn*," in *Gedenkschrift für Winfried Barta*, ed. Dieter Kessler and Regine Schulz (Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, 1995), 287-291.

<sup>699</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 79 [19].

<sup>700</sup> Margaret Murray, *Saqqara Mastabas I* (London: Histories and Mysteries of Man, 1989), pl. 11.

An unnamed title-holder (1-203M) is depicted within the mastaba of *Shm-<sup>ḥ</sup>nh-ptḥ* (No. 20/D 41) in Saqqara,<sup>701</sup> where he is shown holding the foreleg of a bull in a slaughtering scene. He is identified solely by the title, *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b Shm.t*.

Although Lefébvre<sup>702</sup> cites a certain *Ir-n-3ḥ.t(i)* (1-011M)<sup>703</sup> as a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b Shm.t* (with the presumption that the name of *Shm.t* was intentionally omitted from the title),<sup>704</sup> *Ir-n-3ḥ.t(i)*'s titles are in fact: *imy-r pr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3 w<sup>ḥ</sup>b swnw* or "overseer of the Great House, pure one, physician."<sup>705</sup> The titles may also be read continuously, as "overseer of the pure ones [and] physicians of the Great House;" Leibovitch translates the combination of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b swnw* as "medecins purificateurs"<sup>706</sup> or "purifying physicians" of the palace. Because Sekhmet is not included in *Ir-n-3ḥ.t(i)*'s title-string, he is not included here as a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b Shm.t*.

Similarly, Begelsbacher-Fischer assumes that a certain *Ni-<sup>ḥ</sup>nh-shm.t*<sup>707</sup> is a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b Shm.t* on the basis of his name, which invokes the "departmental goddess,"<sup>708</sup> although he does not carry the title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* per se; Jonckheere also cites *Ni-<sup>ḥ</sup>nh-shm.t* as a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b Shm.t*.<sup>709</sup> As such *Ni-<sup>ḥ</sup>nh-shm.t* is not included here as a title-holder.

Baud believes that the title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b Shm.t*, like other medical titles, was hereditary.<sup>710</sup> However, there does not appear to be any genealogical link between the known title-holders of the Old Kingdom.

#### 4.II. Summary

The earliest attested *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-title is *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt*, or "royal pure one," which occurs during the late 3rd Dynasty. Afterward, the title *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt* proliferates for the remainder of the Old Kingdom. Of the 212 known title-holders of the Old Kingdom, 125 (59%) hold a

<sup>701</sup> William Simpson, *The Offering Chapel of Sekhem-Ankh-Ptah in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1976), 4, pl. C VI-VIII.

<sup>702</sup> Alternatively read as *Ir(w)-n-3ḥt(y)* by: R. Charles, "Dr. Frans Jonckheere. Les Médecins de l'Égypte Pharaonique (Compte Rendu)," *RdE* 13 (1961): 143-144.

<sup>703</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 39 [24].

<sup>704</sup> Gustave Lefébvre, "Prêtres de Sekhmet," *Archiv Orientalni* 20 (1952): 57-64; Lefébvre, *Médecine Égyptienne*, 25.

<sup>705</sup> R. Paget and A. Pirie, *The Tomb of Ptah-hetep* (London: Quaritch, 1898), pl. 36.

<sup>706</sup> Joseph Leibovitch, "Une Scène de Sacrifice Rituel Chez les Anciens Égyptiens," *JNES* 12 (1953): 59.

<sup>707</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 172 [3].

<sup>708</sup> Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 252.

<sup>709</sup> Jonckheere, "Chirurgien Égyptien," 32.

<sup>710</sup> Baud, *Famille Royale* II, 268.



title affiliated with the mortuary cult of the royal family, whether it be of the king (*w<sup>s</sup>b-nswt*), king's mother (*w<sup>s</sup>b mwt-nswt*), or king's children (*w<sup>s</sup>b ms.w-nswt*).

The earliest known *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title affiliated with a specific king is in reference to Peribsen, a king of the 2nd Dynasty. The title-holder himself lived during the 4th Dynasty, which indicates that the mortuary cult of Peribsen continued long after his death. The next *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title affiliated with a king does not occur until Sneferu, for which the title is in reference to the Red Pyramid complex at Dahshur. The *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title associated with the king's pyramid remains consistent for the remainder of the 4th Dynasty. Only one exception occurs, for which the *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title associated with Khufu's pyramid at Giza is in fact a *w<sup>s</sup>b-nswt*.

At the onset of the 5th Dynasty, *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles are affiliated with various complexes of the same king, e.g. the pyramid, sun-temple, and *mrt*-temple, etc. of Userkaf and Sahure. The *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles associated with the pyramid complex of Neferirkare interchangeably invoke the king's prenomen and nomen, although they in fact refer to the same monument; no *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles are associated with any other monuments of this king. The *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles once again exclusively refer to the king's pyramid complex until the reign of Unas, for whom there is both a *w<sup>s</sup>b* of his pyramid complex in addition to a *w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200)* of his pyramid complex. The title *w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200)* continues to be used in association with the king's pyramid complex for the duration of the 6th Dynasty, with the exception of Teti, for whom no *w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200)*-title is known.

Overall the *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles of the Old Kingdom show a trend in which the title-holder served as a *w<sup>s</sup>b* prior to being promoted to (or at the same time served as) a *hm-ntr*. Of the 212 known *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* of the Old Kingdom, 98 (46%) became (or were also) *hm-ntr*. Of the 98 *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* that became *hm-ntr*, 66 (67%) held the title of *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt*. Of these, a distinct pattern emerges: 61 of 66 (92%) *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt* became the *hm-ntr* of a deceased king; only 5 *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt* became another type of *hm-ntr*-title (three became *hm-ntr* of Re, one became *hm-ntr* of Wadjet, and one held the generic title of *hm-ntr* with no further specification). Nine (14%) held the funerary title of *hm-k3*, or "k3-servant." This pattern reinforces the interpretation that the title *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt* is affiliated with the royal mortuary cult.

Another pattern emerges in which the *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* affiliated with the royal mortuary cult (i.e. *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt* and/or *w<sup>s</sup>b* of a pyramid) were promoted to (or simultaneously held the

title of) *hm-ntr* of a sun-temple. Of the 98 *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* that became (or were also) *hm-ntr*, 27 (27.5%) became *hm-ntr* of a sun-temple. Of these, 10 (38%) were *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt* and 18 (69%) were *w<sup>s</sup>b* of a pyramid; overlap in percentages is due to title-holders who hold dual titles of *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt* and *w<sup>s</sup>b* of a pyramid. The only two *hm-ntr* of a sun-temple that did not derive from the royal mortuary cult were *Špss-ptḥ* (1-191M) and *S3b.w* called *Ibb.i* (1-194M), both of whom were *w<sup>s</sup>b* of Ptah.

Of the 98 *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* that became (or were also) *hm-ntr*, only six (6%) derive from the cult of a deity: Four *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* of Ptah, one *w<sup>s</sup>b* of Nemty, and one *w<sup>s</sup>b* of Sekhmet. All of the *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* of Ptah were promoted to *hm.w-ntr* of Ptah and Sokar; *Špss-ptḥ* (1-191M) held several *hm-ntr* titles in sun-temples, while *S3b.w* called *Ibb.i* (1-194M) had several additional *hm-ntr* titles in both the pyramid complexes and sun-temples. The *w<sup>s</sup>b* of Nemty, *Tnti* (1-198M), became (or was also) a *hm-ntr* of Khnum and of Khufu. The *w<sup>s</sup>b* of Sekhmet, *Ipsḥ* (1-202M), became (or was also) a *hm-ntr* of Khufu. The last two examples indicate that cross-over from serving as a *w<sup>s</sup>b* of a deity to a *hm-ntr* of the royal mortuary cult was possible. Whether or not this was a frequent occurrence cannot be determined based upon the small sample size.

A small group of cylinder seals (1-163I, 1-164I, 1-165I, 1-179I, and 1-201I) are also worthy of mention. Each of these seals contain dual *w<sup>s</sup>b*- and *hm-ntr*-titles, but do not name a title-holder. It is possible that these seals could be used collectively by any *w<sup>s</sup>b* or *hm-ntr* within their specific cult location, e.g. the pyramid and sun-temple of Userkaf (1-163I, 1-164I, and 1-165I), or the pyramid and sun-temple of Niuserre (1-201I); 1-179I does not specify a cult location.

Each of the 98 *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* that became (or were also) *hm.w-ntr* are shown in Table 4.II.1, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix A.

<b>Table 4.II.1: <i>W<sup>s</sup>b.w</i> with <i>Hm-ntr</i>-Titles During the Old Kingdom</b>		
<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> -title	<i>hm-ntr</i> -title
<i>Iḥ3 (1-003M)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	<i>hm-ntr</i> ; god's servant.
<i>K3(.i)-ni- nswt (1-010M)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	<i>hm-ntr pr-ḥ3</i> ; god's servant of the Great House.

Table 4.II.1: <i>W<sup>s</sup>b.w</i> with <i>Hm-ntr</i> -Titles During the Old Kingdom		
Name (No.)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> -title	<i>hm-ntr</i> -title
<i>Hii-hwfw</i> (1-012M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	<i>hm-ntr</i> ; god's servant.
<i>H3g.i</i> (1-013M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	<i>hm-ntr bikwy-nbw</i> ; god's servant of the Two Horuses of Gold (Khufu).
<i>Rwd I</i> (1-016M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b mwt nswt</i> , <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ; pure one of the king's mother, pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> , <i>hm-ntr H<sup>s</sup>.f-r<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Ddfr<sup>s</sup></i> ; god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of Khafre, god's servant of Djedefre.
<i>K3(.i)-m- qd(.i)</i> 1-020M	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Snfrw</i> , <i>hm-ntr [...].t</i> ; god's servant of Sneferu, god's servant of [...].t.
<i>K3(.i)- rs(.w)</i> (1-021M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Snfrw</i> ; god's servant of Sneferu.
<i>Pth- h<sup>t</sup>p(.w)</i> (1-022M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.
<i>Hmt-nw</i> (1-023M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.
<i>Ni-sw-qd</i> (1-026M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> , <i>hm-ntr Hr Mddw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of the Horus Medjedu (Khufu).
<i><sup>s</sup>nh-w<sup>d</sup>.s</i> (1-028M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Mn-k3w-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; god's servant of Menkaure.
<i>Nfr-ir.t-n.f</i> (1-035M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwt-hr</i> , <i>hm-ntr S3hw-R<sup>s</sup></i> ; god's servant of Hathor, god's servant of Sahure.
<i>H<sup>t</sup>p-dw3</i> (1-039M)	<i>sh<sup>d</sup> w<sup>s</sup>b.w nswt</i> ; inspector of the royal pure ones.	<i>hm-ntr M3<sup>s</sup>.t</i> , <i>hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m St-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Hr-3hty</i> , <i>hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Wsrw</i> ; god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , god's servant of Horakhty, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , god's servant of <i>Wsrw</i> .
<i>H<sup>s</sup>i-b3.w- pth</i> (1-040M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr S3hw-r<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Nfr-ir-k3-r<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr [R<sup>s</sup>] m St-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Nfr.f-r<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Ny-wsr-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; god's servant of Sahure, god's servant of Neferirkare, god's servant (of Re) in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , god's servant of Neferefre, god's servant of Niuserre.

**Table 4.II.1: *W<sup>s</sup>b.w* with *Hm-ntr*-Titles During the Old Kingdom**

<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b-title</i>	<i>hm-ntr-title</i>
<i>Shm-k3(.i)</i> (1-042M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwt-Hr m St-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Ni-wsr-r<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr M3<sup>s</sup>.t</i> , <i>hm-ntr Sd</i> ; god's servant of Hathor in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , god's servant of Niuserre, god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Sed.
<i>D3-š</i> (1-045M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr mwt nswt</i> ; god's servant of the king's mother.
<i>Mr-hwfw</i> (1-048M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr H<sup>s</sup>.f-r<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Mn-k3w-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; god's servant of Khafre, god's servant of Menkaure.
<i>Nfr-hr-n-pth : Ffi</i> (1-047M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr H<sup>s</sup>.f-r<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Mn-k3w-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; god's servant of Khafre, god's servant of Menkaure.
<i>Rnp.t-nfr.t</i> (1-049M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr mwt-nswt</i> ; god's servant of the king's mother (Khentkaus [I]?).
<i>Sn.nw-<sup>s</sup>nh(.w)</i> (1-053M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> , <i>w<sup>s</sup>b H<sup>s</sup>-b3-S3hw-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; pure one of the king, pure one of the pyramid 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'.	<i>hm-ntr Wsr-k3.f</i> , <i>hm-ntr Nhn-R<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup></i> ; god's servant of Userkaf, god's servant of (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>s</sup></i> , god's servant of Re.
<i>Nfr-msdr-hwfw</i> (1-054M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr (Hwfw)</i> ; god's servant (of Khufu).
<i>Ni-sw-rdi</i> (1-056M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hr Mddw</i> ; god's servant of the Horus Medjedu (Khufu).
<i>K3-dw3</i> (1-059M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> , <i>shd w<sup>s</sup>b.w</i> ; royal pure one, inspector of pure ones.	<i>hm k3</i> , <i>hm-ntr H<sup>s</sup>.f-r<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Hr-wsr-ib</i> , <i>hm-ntr Nbti-wsr-m</i> , <i>hm-ntr w<sup>s</sup>b H<sup>s</sup>.f-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; <i>k3</i> -servant, god's servant of Khafre, god's servant of <i>Hr-wsr-ib</i> (Khafre), god's servant of <i>Nbti-wsr-m</i> (Khafre), god's servant and pure one of Khafre.
<i><sup>s</sup>nh(.i)-m-<sup>s</sup>-k3(.i)</i> (1-060M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr M3<sup>s</sup>.t</i> , <i>hm-ntr S3hw-r<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Mn-swt-Ny-wsr-r<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>s</sup> [St-ib-nb.f r<sup>s</sup>-nb]</i> , <i>hm-ntr Hqt</i> ; god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Sahure, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>s</sup> [St-ib-nb.f r<sup>s</sup>-nb]</i> , god's servant of Heqat.

**Table 4.II.1: *W<sup>sb</sup>.w* with *Hm-ntr*-Titles During the Old Kingdom**

Name (No.)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup>-title</i>	<i>hm-ntr-title</i>
<i>K3(.i)-m-nfr.t</i> (1-061M)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> Mn-swt Ni-wsr-r<sup>ꜥ</sup>, w<sup>sb</sup> nswt, w<sup>sb</sup> H<sup>ꜥ</sup>-b3-S3hw-r<sup>ꜥ</sup></i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', pure one of the king, pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'.	<i>hm-ntr B3-Nfr-ir-k3-r<sup>ꜥ</sup>, hm-ntr M3<sup>ꜥ</sup>.t, hm-ntr M3<sup>ꜥ</sup>t nbt 'nh, hm-ntr Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>ꜥ</sup>, hm-ntr Nfr-ir-k3-r<sup>ꜥ</sup>, hm-ntr R<sup>ꜥ</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>ꜥ</sup>, hm-ntr R<sup>ꜥ</sup> m St-ib-R<sup>ꜥ</sup>, hm-ntr H<sup>ꜥ</sup>.f-r<sup>ꜥ</sup>, hm-ntr S3hw-r<sup>ꜥ</sup>, hm-ntr Šsp-ib-R<sup>ꜥ</sup></i> ; god's servant of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Neferirkare' / 'Neferirkare-is-a-B3', god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Maat mistress of life, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', god's servant of Neferirkare, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>ꜥ</sup></i> , god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>ꜥ</sup></i> , god's servant of Khafre, god's servant of Sahure, god's servant of (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>ꜥ</sup></i> .
<i>Nfr</i> (1-063M)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr H<sup>ꜥ</sup>.f-r<sup>ꜥ</sup></i> ; god's servant of Khafre.
<i>Nht-k3.i</i> (1-064M)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr S3hw-r<sup>ꜥ</sup></i> ; god's servant of Sahure.
<i>Htp-ni-ptḥ</i> (1-065M)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.
<i>Sd3w(g)</i> (1-068M)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr S3hw-r<sup>ꜥ</sup>, hm-ntr R<sup>ꜥ</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>ꜥ</sup>, hm-ntr H<sup>ꜥ</sup>-b3-S3hw-r<sup>ꜥ</sup></i> ; god's servant of Sahure, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>ꜥ</sup></i> , god's servant of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'.
<i>Pn-mrw</i> (1-069M)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Mn-k3w-r<sup>ꜥ</sup>, imy-r hm.w-k3</i> ; god's servant of Menkaure, overseer of <i>k3</i> -servants.
<i>Ni-m3<sup>ꜥ</sup>.t-r<sup>ꜥ</sup></i> (1-070M)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>ꜥ</sup>, imy-r w<sup>sb</sup> mwt-nswt, w<sup>sb</sup> nswt</i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', overseer of the pure ones of the king's mother, royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr R<sup>ꜥ</sup> m Šsp-ib-R<sup>ꜥ</sup></i> ; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>ꜥ</sup></i> .
<i>Ni-k3.w-ptḥ</i> (1-071M)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.

Table 4.II.1: <i>W<sup>s</sup>b.w</i> with <i>Hm-ntr</i> -Titles During the Old Kingdom		
Name (No.)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> -title	<i>hm-ntr</i> -title
<i>Dd.f-hwfw</i> (1-073M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hr(.w)-Mddw</i> , <i>hm-ntr Bikwy-nbw</i> ; god's servant of the Horus <i>Mddw</i> (Horus name of Khufu), god's servant of the Two Falcons of Gold (Golden Falcon name of Khufu).
<i>Sbk-htp(.w)</i> (1-075M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> , <i>hm-ntr Hr(.w)-Mddw</i> , <i>hm-ntr Bikwy-nbw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of the Horus <i>Mddw</i> (Horus name of Khufu), god's servant of the Two Falcons of Gold (Golden Falcon name of Khufu).
<i>Ni-sw-qd</i> (1-077M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.
<i>Nfr-qd</i> (1-078M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> , <i>hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> ; god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> .
<i>Phn-ptḥ</i> (1-083M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.
<i>Nfr</i> [I] (1-085M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hr(.w)-Mddw</i> , <i>hm-ntr Mdd-r-nbty</i> , <i>imy-r hm.w-k3</i> ; god's servant of the Horus <i>Mddw</i> (Horus Name of Khufu), god's servant of <i>Mdd-r-nbty</i> (Nepty Name of Khufu), overseer of <i>k3</i> -servants.
<i>Šhm-k3(.i)</i> (1-086M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> , god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , god's servant of Khufu.
<i>ḥnh-špss-k3.f : Ss-k3-r<sup>s</sup></i> (1-090M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr H<sup>s</sup>.f-r<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>imy-r hm.w-k3</i> , <i>šḥd hm.w-k3</i> ; god's servant of Khafre, overseer of <i>k3</i> -servants, inspector of <i>k3</i> -servants.
<i>I3sn</i> (1-091M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> , <i>šḥd w<sup>s</sup>b.w</i> ; royal pure one, inspector of pure ones.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.
<i>ḥnh.tifi</i> (1-092M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.
<i>Iw.f-n.i-ptḥ</i> (1-094M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr [...]</i> , <i>šḥd hm.w-k3</i> ; god's servant of [...], inspector of <i>k3</i> -servants.
<i>Šnw</i> (1-097M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> , <i>šḥd w<sup>s</sup>b.w nswt</i> ; royal pure one, inspector of the royal pure ones.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.

<b>Table 4.II.1: <i>W<sup>s</sup>b.w</i> with <i>Hm-ntr</i>-Titles During the Old Kingdom</b>		
<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b-title</i>	<i>hm-ntr-title</i>
<i>K3.w (1-100M)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw, shd hm.w-k3</i> ; god's servant of Khufu, inspector of <i>k3</i> -servants.
<i>Mnw (1-107M)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw, hm-ntr Hr(.w)-Mddw, hm-ntr bikwy-nbw, hm-ntr Mdd-r-nbty</i> ; god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of the Horus <i>Mddw</i> (Horus Name of Khufu), god's servant of the Two Falcons of Gold (Golden Falcon name of Khufu), god's servant of <i>Mdd-r-nbty</i> (Nebty Name of Khufu).
<i>Mr-<sup>s</sup>nh.f (1-108M)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.
<i>Mrw-k3 (1-109M)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.
<i>Ni-msti (1-110M)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr, imy-ht hm.w-k3</i> ; god's servant, under-supervisor of <i>k3</i> -servants.
<i>Hwfw-snb(.w) (1-112M)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hr(.w)-Mddw, hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of the Horus <i>Mddw</i> (Horus name of Khufu), god's servant of Khufu.
<i>Hnw (1-113M)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Mn-k3w-r<sup>s</sup>, shd hm.w-k3</i> ; god's servant of Menkaure, inspector of <i>k3</i> -servants.
<i>Shm-<sup>s</sup>nh-pt (1-115M)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>imy-ht hm.w-k3 n sb3t(yw) nswt, hm-ntr Mn-k3w-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; under-supervisor of <i>k3</i> -servants of the royal instructors, god's servant of Menkaure.
<i>Ni-sw-<sup>s</sup>gd (1-116M)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.
<i>D3g (1-118M)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hnm.w-Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khnum-Khufu.
<i>K3(.i)-h(w)i.f (1-119M)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.
<i>Id.ii (1-121M)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup></i> ; god's servant of Re.
<i>Dnh-sk (1-123M)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hr(.w)-Mddw</i> ; god's servant of the Horus <i>Mddw</i> (Horus Name of Khufu).

Table 4.II.1: <i>W<sup>s</sup>b.w</i> with <i>Hm-ntr</i> -Titles During the Old Kingdom		
Name (No.)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> -title	<i>hm-ntr</i> -title
<i>ḥnh-nb.f</i> (1-124M)	<i>imy-r w<sup>s</sup>b.w ḥ3styw Ntry-Mn-k3w-r<sup>s</sup>, w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; overseer of pure ones and foreign conscripts of (the pyramid) 'Divine-is-Menkaure', royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Mn-k3w-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; god's servant of Menkaure.
<i>Iwn.i</i> (1-125M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.
<i>Ir.w-k3-r<sup>s</sup></i> (1-127M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw, hm-ntr Hr(.w)-Mddw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of the Horus <i>Mddw</i> (Horus Name of Khufu).
<i>Ni-ḥnh-hwfw</i> (1-130M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hr(.w)-Mddw</i> ; god's servant of the Horus <i>Mddw</i> (Horus Name of Khufu).
<i>Q3r</i> (1-136M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw, hm-ntr Hwt-hr</i> ; god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of Hathor.
<i>Tti</i> (1-140M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.
<i>M3<sup>s</sup>.t-ptḥ</i> (1-145M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b pr-ḥ3</i> ; pure one of the Great House.	<i>hm-ntr Mn-k3w-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; god's servant of Menkaure.
<i>K3(.i)-hr-st.f</i> (1-150M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt Shm.t</i> ; royal pure one of Sekhmet.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.
<i>Šri</i> (N/A)	<i>imy-r w<sup>s</sup>b.w Pr-ib-sn m hr(t)-ntr m hwt Snd m swt.f nb</i> ; overseer of the pure ones of Peribsen in the necropolis in the temple of Sened in all his places.	<i>imy-r hm.w-k3 n Snd, hm-ntr Snd m (m rwt ist), imy-r hm.w-k3 n Snd m hr(t)-ntr</i> ; overseer of the <i>k3</i> -servants of Sened (in the necropolis), god's servant of Sened (in the 'portal'), overseer of the <i>k3</i> -servants of Sened in the necropolis.



**Table 4.II.1: *W<sup>s</sup>b.w* with *Hm-ntr*-Titles During the Old Kingdom**

Name (No.)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> -title	<i>hm-ntr</i> -title
<i>Tp-m-<sup>s</sup>nh</i> II (1-157M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b H<sup>s</sup>-b3-S3hw-r<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>w<sup>s</sup>b H<sup>s</sup>-Snfrw</i> , <i>w<sup>s</sup>b Ntry-Mn-k3.w-r<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>w<sup>s</sup>b Wr-H<sup>s</sup>f-r<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>w<sup>s</sup>b W<sup>s</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f</i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor', pure one of (the pyramid) 'Sneferu-Appears-in-Splendor', pure one of (the pyramid) 'Divine-is-Menkaure', pure one of (the pyramid) 'Great-is-Khafre', pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.	<i>hm-ntr M3<sup>s</sup>.t</i> , <i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> , <i>hm-ntr W3dt/Qbhwt</i> , <i>hm-ntr Ss3t</i> , <i>hm-ntr [R<sup>s</sup> m] Nhn-R<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr, hm-ntr Hr(.w) (m) Nhn-R<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Hwt-hr</i> , <i>hm-ntr Mn-k3.w-r<sup>s</sup> (m?) <sup>s</sup>h-hnw</i> ; god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of Wadjet/"The Water Pourer" cobra goddess, god's servant of Seshat, god's servant [of Re] in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>s</sup></i> , god's servant, god's servant of Horus (in the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>s</sup></i> , god's servant of Hathor, god's servant of Menkaure in the <sup>s</sup> h-palace(?) of the residence.
<i>Nfr.i</i> (1-158M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> , <i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt n 3ht(y)-Hwfw</i> ; royal pure one, pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-Horizon-is-Khufu'.	<i>hm-ntr W3dt</i> ; god's servant of Wadjet.
<i>Nfr</i> (1-161M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b Wsr-k3.f</i> ; pure one of Userkaf.	<i>hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>s</sup></i> ; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>s</sup></i> .
<i>Ffi</i> (1-162M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b n W<sup>s</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f</i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.	<i>hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Pth</i> , <i>hm-ntr Skr</i> ; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>s</sup></i> , god's servant of Ptah, god's servant of Sokar.
Unknown (1-163I)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b R<sup>s</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>w<sup>s</sup>b [hm-ntr] W<sup>s</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f</i> , <i>w<sup>s</sup>b hm-ntr W<sup>s</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f</i> ; pure one of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>s</sup></i> , pure one [and god's servant] of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', pure one [and] god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.	<i>hm-ntr Wsr-k3.f</i> , <i>w<sup>s</sup>b [hm-ntr] W<sup>s</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f</i> , <i>w<sup>s</sup>b hm-ntr W<sup>s</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f</i> ; god's servant of Userkaf, pure one [and god's servant] of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', pure one [and] god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.
Unknown (1-164I)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b W<sup>s</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f</i> , [ <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ] <i>nswt</i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', royal [pure one].	<i>hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>s</sup></i> , [...] <i>hm-ntr [Hr Ir-m3<sup>s</sup>.t] (?)</i> ; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>s</sup></i> , [...] god's servant of the Horus <i>Ir-m3<sup>s</sup>.t</i> (Horus name of Userkaf).
Unknown (1-165I)	[ <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ] <i>nswt</i> , <i>w<sup>s</sup>b W<sup>s</sup>b-swt-Wsrk3.f</i> ; royal [pure one], pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.	<i>hm-ntr [Wsrk3.f]</i> , <i>hm-ntr Hr-ir-m3<sup>s</sup>.t</i> [...]; god's servant [of Userkaf], god's servant of the Horus <i>Ir-m3<sup>s</sup>.t</i> (Horus name of Userkaf) [...].

**Table 4.II.1: *W<sup>sb</sup>.w* with *Hm-ntr*-Titles During the Old Kingdom**

Name (No.)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup>-title</i>	<i>hm-ntr-title</i>
<i>Hm-Mn.w</i> (1-166M)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> W<sup>sb</sup>-swt-Wsr-k3.f</i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.	<i>hm-ntr Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Hr(.w) (m) Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Wsr-k3.f</i> , <i>hm-ntr Hwt-hr</i> , <i>hm-ntr Sš3t</i> , <i>hm-ntr Mn-k3.w-r<sup>ε</sup> m hnw</i> ; god's servant of (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup></i> , god's servant of Horus in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup></i> , god's servant of Userkaf, god's servant of Hathor, god's servant of Seshat, god's servant of Menkaure in the residence.
<i>Špss-r<sup>ε</sup></i> (1-167M)	<i>imy-ht n w<sup>sb</sup>.w W<sup>sb</sup>-swt-Wsr-k3.f</i> , <i>w<sup>sb</sup> W<sup>sb</sup>-swt-Wsr-k3.f</i> ; under-supervisor of the pure ones of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.	<i>hm-ntr Nfr-ir-k3-r<sup>ε</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr R<sup>ε</sup> Hwt-hr m St-ib-R<sup>ε</sup> Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup></i> ; god's servant of Neferirkare, god's servant of Re [and] Hathor in (the sun-temples) <i>St-ib-R<sup>ε</sup></i> [and] <i>Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup></i> .
<i>K3(.i)-hp</i> (1-168M)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> n W<sup>sb</sup>-swt-Wsr-k3.f</i> ; pure one of (Userkaf's pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.	<i>hm-ntr R<sup>ε</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup></i> ; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup></i> , pure one of (Userkaf's pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.
<i>Dw3-r<sup>ε</sup></i> (1-169M)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> n W<sup>sb</sup>-swt-Wsr-k3.f</i> , <i>hrp w<sup>sb</sup>.w</i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', director of the pure ones.	<i>hm-ntr R<sup>ε</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Snfrw</i> ; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup></i> , god's servant of Sneferu.
<i>Pth-htp(.w)</i> (1-170M)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> nswt (m) mrt(t) Wsr-k3.f</i> ; royal pure one of the <i>mrt</i> -temple of Userkaf.	<i>hm-ntr R<sup>ε</sup> [m] Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Hwt-hr</i> , <i>hm-ntr Wsr-k3.f</i> ; god's servant of Re (in the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup></i> , god's servant of Hathor, god's servant of Userkaf.
<i>K3(.i)-m-snw</i> (1-171M)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> S3hw-r<sup>ε</sup></i> , <i>w<sup>sb</sup> Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>ε</sup></i> ; pure one of Sahure, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.	<i>hm-ntr R<sup>ε</sup> m St-ib-R<sup>ε</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Nfr-ir-k3-r<sup>ε</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>ε</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr R<sup>ε</sup> Hwt-hr m St-ib-R<sup>ε</sup></i> ; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>ε</sup></i> , god's servant of Neferirkare, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', god's servant of Re [and] Hathor in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>ε</sup></i> .

**Table 4.II.1: *W<sup>o</sup>b.w* with *Hm-ntr*-Titles During the Old Kingdom**

Name (No.)	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b</i> -title	<i>hm-ntr</i> -title
<i>N-ḥft-k3(i)</i> (1-172M)	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b R<sup>o</sup> m Nḥn-R<sup>o</sup>, šḥd w<sup>o</sup>b.w n W<sup>o</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f, w<sup>o</sup>b Ḥ<sup>o</sup>-b3-S3ḥw-r<sup>o</sup>; , pure one of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nḥn-R<sup>o</sup></i>, inspector of pure ones of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'.</i>	<i>hm-ntr Ḥr Inpw ḥnty pr šmswt</i> ; god's servant of Horus-Anubis who presides over the suite.
<i>S.ḥtp.w</i> (1-173M)	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b Ḥ<sup>o</sup>-b3-S3ḥw-r<sup>o</sup></i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'.	<i>hm-ntr R<sup>o</sup> m St-ib-R<sup>o</sup>, hm-ntr Nfr-ir-k3-r<sup>o</sup></i> ; god's servant or Re in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>o</sup></i> , god's servant of Neferirkare.
<i>Ḥtp-hr-3ḥ.t.i</i> (1-175M)	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b B3-Nfr-ir-k3-r<sup>o</sup></i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Neferirkare' / 'Neferirkare-is-a-B3'.	<i>hm-ntr M3<sup>o</sup>.t, hm-ntr R<sup>o</sup> m Sšp-ib-R<sup>o</sup></i> ; god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Sšp-ib-R<sup>o</sup></i> .
<i>K3(i)-pw-ptḥ</i> (1-176M)	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b B3-Nfr-ir-k3-R<sup>o</sup>, w<sup>o</sup>b nswt, w<sup>o</sup>b Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>o</sup></i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Neferirkare' / 'Neferirkare-is-a-B3,' royal pure one, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.	<i>hm-ntr M3<sup>o</sup>.t, hm-ntr R<sup>o</sup> Ḥwt-ḥr m St-ib-R<sup>o</sup>, hm-ntr Nfr-Dd-k3-r<sup>o</sup></i> ; god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Re [and] Hathor in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>o</sup></i> , god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-is-Isesi'.
Unknown (1-178I)	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	<i>hm-ntr</i> ; god's servant.
<i>Ḥnm.w-ḥtp(.w)</i> (1-179M)	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b nswt, w<sup>o</sup>b Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>o</sup></i> ; royal pure one, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.	<i>hm-ntr R<sup>o</sup> m Šsp-ib-R<sup>o</sup></i> ; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>o</sup></i> .
<i>Ni-<sup>o</sup>nḥ-ḥnm.w</i> (1-180M)	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>o</sup></i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.	<i>hm-ntr R<sup>o</sup> m Šsp-ib-R<sup>o</sup></i> ; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>o</sup></i> .
<i>Snfrw-nfr</i> (1-181M)	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b Ntry-swt-Mn-k3w-ḥr</i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Divine-are-the-Places-of-Menkauhor'.	<i>hm-ntr Nfr-Dd-k3-r<sup>o</sup></i> ; god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-is-Djedkare'.
<i>Ḥs.i</i> (1-186M)	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b Dd-swt-Tti</i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti'.	<i>imy-ḥt hm.w-ntr Dd-swt-Tti, hm-ntr M3<sup>o</sup>.t, hm-ntr Ḥqt, šḥd hm.w-ntr Dd-swt-Tti</i> ; under-supervisor of god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Heqat, inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti'.

**Table 4.II.1: *W<sup>sb</sup>.w* with *Hm-ntr*-Titles During the Old Kingdom**

<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i>w<sup>sb</sup>-title</i>	<i>hm-ntr-title</i>
<i>Hnti-k3 : Ihhi (1-187M)</i>	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> šnty (200) Mn-nfr-Ppy</i> ; pure one of the <i>šnty (200)</i> of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides'.	<i>shd hm.w-ntr Mn-nfr-Ppy, shd hm.w-ntr Dd-swt-Tti, imy-ht hm.w-ntr Dd-swt-Tti, hm-ntr pr Dhwtj, s[hq] hm.w-ntr hwt-k3-3h[t]</i> ; inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides', inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', under-supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', god's servant of the house of Thoth, inspector of the god's servants of the K3-Chapel/funerary temple of the Horizon/tomb(?).
<i>Špss-ptḥ I (1-191M)</i>	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> Pth</i> ; pure one of Ptah.	<i>hm-ntr Pth, hm-ntr Skr, hm-ntr M3<sup>t</sup> m swt (i)ptn n hry-b3qf, hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m 3ht-R<sup>s</sup>, hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>s</sup>, hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m St-ib-R<sup>s</sup>, hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup>, hm-ntr Hwt-hr m swt nb(w)t, hm-ntr Hr(.w) m hnt-wr, hm-ntr Hr(.w) Hnty-mdf, hm-ntr Hnty-i3t.f, hm-ntr Hnty-Tnnt, hm-ntr Skr m swt.f nbt, hm-ntr Dd-špss</i> ; god's servant of Ptah, god's servant of Sokar, god's servant of Maat in these (cult) places, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>3ht-R<sup>s</sup></i> , god's servant f Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn- R<sup>s</sup></i> , god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , god's servant of Hathor in all places/everywhere, god's servant of Horus in <i>hnt-wr</i> , god's servant of <i>Hnty-mdf</i> (one of the titles of the high priest of Ptah at Memphis), god's servant of <i>Hnty-i3wt.f</i> (alias of Ptah), god's servant of <i>Hnty-Tnnt</i> , god's servant of Sokar in all his places (sanctuaries), god's servant of <i>Dd-špss</i> .
<i>Špss-ptḥ II (1-192M)</i>	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> Pth</i> ; pure one of Ptah.	<i>hm-ntr Pth, hm-ntr Skr</i> ; god's servant of Ptah, god's servant of Sokar.

**Table 4.II.1: *W<sup>sb</sup>.w* with *Hm-ntr*-Titles During the Old Kingdom**

Name (No.)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup></i> -title	<i>hm-ntr</i> -title
<i>S3b.w</i> : <i>Ibb.i</i> (1-193M)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> Pth</i> ; pure one of Ptah.	<i>hm-ntr Pth</i> , <i>hm-ntr Skr</i> , <i>imy-ht hm.w-ntr Nfr-swt-Wnis</i> , <i>imy-ht hm.w-ntr Dd-swt-Tti</i> , <i>hm-ntr M3<sup>t</sup> m swt (i)ptn n hry-b3qf</i> , <i>hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m 3ht-R<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m St-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Hwt-hr m swt nb(w)t</i> , <i>hm-ntr Hr(.w) m hnt-wr</i> , <i>hm-ntr Hr(.w) Hnty-mdf</i> , <i>hm-ntr Hnty-i3t.f</i> , <i>hm-ntr Hnty-Tnnt</i> , <i>hm-ntr Skr m swt.f nbt</i> , <i>hm-ntr Dd-špss</i> ; god's servant of Ptah, god's servant of Sokar, under-supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas', under-supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', god's servant of Maat in these (cult) places, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>3ht-R<sup>s</sup></i> , god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>s</sup></i> , god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , god's servant of Hathor in all places/everywhere, god's servant of Horus in <i>hnt-wr</i> , god's servant of <i>Hnty-mdf</i> (one of the titles of the high priest of Ptah at Memphis), god's servant of <i>Hnty-i3wt.f</i> (alias of Ptah), god's servant of <i>Hnty-Tnnt</i> , god's servant of Sokar in all his places (sanctuaries), god's servant of <i>Dd-špss</i> .
<i>Špss-pth</i> IV (1-194M)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> Pth</i> ; pure one of Ptah.	<i>hm-ntr Pth</i> , <i>hm-ntr Skr</i> , <i>hm-ntr Dd-swt-Tti m nht</i> , <i>hm ntr Nfr-swt-Wnis</i> ; god's servant of Ptah, god's servant of Sokar, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas'.
<i>Tnti</i> (1-197M)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> Nmty</i> ; pure one of Nemty.	<i>hm-ntr Hnm.w hnty Hr-wr m swt.f nbwt</i> , <i>w<sup>sb</sup> Nmty</i> , <i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khnum foremost of Hur in all his (cult-)places (sanctuaries), god's servant of Khufu.

<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b-title</i>	<i>hm-ntr-title</i>
Unknown (1-200I)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b hm-ntr [R<sup>s</sup> m] Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup>, hm-n]tr w<sup>s</sup>[b] Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>s</sup>; pure one [and] god's servant [of Re in] (the sun-temple) Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup>, god's [servant and] pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b hm-ntr [R<sup>s</sup> m] Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup>, [hm-n]tr w<sup>s</sup>[b] Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>s</sup>; pure one [and] god's servant [of Re in] (the sun-temple) Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup>, god's [servant and] pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.</i>
Ipsḥ (1-201M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt, w<sup>s</sup>b Šhm.t</i> ; royal pure one, pure one of Sekhmet.	<i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.
Issi-ḥ3- [...] (1-207M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200)</i> ; pure one of the <i>šnty (200)</i> .	<i>hm-ntr mrt Mry-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; god's servant of the <i>mrt</i> -temple of Pepi I.

The number of *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* who served in other priestly offices (e.g. *hry-ḥbt*, *s(t)m*, etc.) are by comparison quite low. Of the 212 known *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* of the Old Kingdom, six (3%) became (or were also) *hry-ḥbt*, or lector priests. Of the six *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* that held the title of *hry-ḥbt*, five (83%) were *w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200)*; the sole exception (17%) was a *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Mn.w*. Each of the six *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* that held lector-titles are shown in Table 4.II.2, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix A.

<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b-title</i>	<i>hry ḥbt-title</i>
<i>Hnti-k3 : Ihḥi</i> (1-187M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200) Mn-nfr-Ppy</i> ; pure one of the <i>šnty (200)</i> of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides'.	<i>hry ḥbt, hry ḥbt hry-tp, hry-ḥb m3<sup>s</sup></i> ; lector priest, chief lector priest, true lector priest.
<i>I3rt(i)</i> (1-188M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200) H<sup>s</sup>-nfr-Mr-n-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; pure one of the <i>šnty (200)</i> of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Merenre-Appears-in-Splendor'.	<i>hry-ḥbt</i> ; lector priest.
<i>Hss.ii</i> (1-195M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Mn.w</i> ; great pure one of Min.	<i>hry-ḥbt</i> ; lector priest.
<i>Gg.i</i> (1-205M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200)</i> ; pure one of the <i>šnty (200)</i> .	<i>hry ḥbt</i> ; lector priest.
<i>ʿnh-ni-nb.f</i> (1-209M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200)</i> ; pure one of the <i>šnty (200)</i> .	<i>hry-ḥbt</i> ; lector priest.

<b>Table 4.II.2: <i>W<sup>b</sup>.w</i> with Lector-Titles During the Old Kingdom</b>		
<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>-title</i>	<i>hry hbt-title</i>
<i>D<sup>o</sup>.w : Šm3.i (1-210M)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> šnty (200)</i> ; pure one of the <i>šnty (200)</i> .	<i>hry-hbt [hry-tp]</i> ; [chief] lector priest.

The number of *w<sup>b</sup>.w* that became (or were also) *s(t)m*-priests is similarly low: Of the 212 known *w<sup>b</sup>.w* of the Old Kingdom, 7 (3%) became *s(t)m*-priests, or the chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth. Of the seven *w<sup>b</sup>.w* that served as *s(t)m*-priests, five (71%) were *w<sup>b</sup>* of Ptah (including one *w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3 Pth*), while two (28.5%) were *w<sup>b</sup> šnty (200)*. Each of the seven *w<sup>b</sup>.w* that held *s(t)m*-titles are shown in Table 4.II.3, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix A.

<b>Table 4.II.3: <i>W<sup>b</sup>.w</i> with <i>S(t)m</i>-Titles During the Old Kingdom</b>		
<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>-title</i>	<i>s(t)m-title</i>
<i>Hnti-k3 : Ihhi (1-187M)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> šnty (200) Mn-nfr-Ppy</i> ; pure one of the <i>šnty (200)</i> of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides'.	<i>s(t)m</i> ; <i>s(t)m</i> -priest.
<i>Irt-Pth : Iri (1-190M)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3 Pth</i> ; great pure one of Ptah.	<i>shd s(t)m.w</i> ; inspector of <i>s(t)m</i> -priests.
<i>Špss-ptḥ I (1-191M)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> Pth</i> ; pure one of Ptah.	<i>hrp s(t)m.w</i> ; director of <i>s(t)m</i> -priests.
<i>Špss-ptḥ II (1-192M)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> Pth</i> ; pure one of Ptah.	<i>hrp s(t)m.w</i> ; director of <i>s(t)m</i> -priests.
<i>S3b.w : Ibb.i (1-193M)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> Pth</i> ; pure one of Ptah.	<i>hrp s(t)m.w</i> ; director of <i>s(t)m</i> -priests.
<i>Špss-ptḥ IV (1-194M)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> Pth</i> ; pure one of Ptah.	<i>hrp s(t)m.w</i> ; director of <i>s(t)m</i> -priests.
<i>D<sup>o</sup>.w : Šm3.i (1-210M)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> šnty (200)</i> ; pure one of the <i>šnty (200)</i> .	<i>s(t)m</i> ; <i>s(t)m</i> -priest.

Of the 212 known *w<sup>b</sup>.w* of the Old Kingdom, 32 (15%) held scribal titles. The *w<sup>b</sup>.w* that hold scribal titles are shown in Table 4.II.4, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix A.

Table 4.II.4: <i>W<sup>b</sup>.w</i> with Scribal-Titles During the Old Kingdom		
Name (No.)	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> -title	<i>sš</i> -title
<i>Ibii</i> (1-031M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>imy-r sš.w</i> ; overseer of scribes.
<i>Nfr-ir.t-n.f</i> (1-035M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>s3b imy-r sš.w</i> ; juridicial overseer of scribes.
<i>Nfr-n-Hwfw</i> (1-036M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>sš ʿ.w</i> ; scribe of interpreters.
<i>Hp-dw3</i> (1-039M)	<i>shḏ w<sup>b</sup>.w nswt</i> , inspector of the royal pure ones,	<i>imy-r sš.w, shḏ sš.w, s3b imy-r sš, s3b shḏ sš.w</i> ; overseer of scribes, inspector of scribes, juridicial overseer of scribes, juridicial inspector of scribes.
<i>Shm-k3(.i)-nds</i> (1-043M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>s3b shḏ sš.w</i> ; juridicial inspector of scribes.
<i>Sn.nw-ʿnh(.w)</i> (1-053M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt, w<sup>b</sup> H<sup>ʿ</sup>-b3-S3hw-r<sup>ʿ</sup></i> ; royal pure one, pure one of the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'.	<i>imy-r sš.w iry(w) i<sup>ʿ</sup>h/sprw, s3b imy-r sš.w, s3b sš, sš wsht, shḏ sš.w, shḏ sš.w wsht</i> ; overseer of the scribes who are in <i>i<sup>ʿ</sup>h /sprw</i> , juridicial overseer of scribes/overseer of scribes of the judiciary, juridicial scribe, scribe of the broad hall, inspector of scribes, inspector of scribes of the <i>wsht</i> -hall.
<i>K3(.i)-pw-nswt : K3.i</i> (1-055M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>sš ʿ nswt, s3b sš ʿpr.w</i> ; royal document scribe, juridicial scribe of the crews.
<i>ʿnh(.i)-m-ʿ-k3(.i)</i> (1-060M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>hṛp sš.w nt i<sup>ʿ</sup>h/sprw</i> ; director of scribes connected with the <i>i<sup>ʿ</sup>h</i> .



Table 4.II.4: <i>W<sup>b</sup>.w</i> with Scribal-Titles During the Old Kingdom		
Name (No.)	<i>w<sup>b</sup>-title</i>	<i>sš-title</i>
<i>K3(.i)-m-nfr.t</i> (1-061M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> Mn-swt Ni-wsr-r<sup>š</sup>, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, w<sup>b</sup> H<sup>š</sup>-b3-S3hw-r<sup>š</sup></i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', royal pure one, pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor',	<i>imy-r sš.w mrt, hrp sš.w, hrp sš.w iry(w) i<sup>š</sup>h/sprw, hrp sš.w wsht, hrp sš.w m wsht <sup>š</sup>3t, s3b imy-r sš.w, s3b imy-r sš.w m d3d3t wrt, s3b šd sš.w, sš iry(yw) i<sup>š</sup>h /spr(w) iwn knmwt,</i> ; overseer of the (document) scribes of the <i>mrt</i> -people, director of scribes, director of scribes connected with the <i>i<sup>š</sup>h</i> , director of scribes of the <i>wsht</i> -hall, director of scribes of the great <i>wsht</i> -hall, juridicial overseer of scribes/overseer of scribes of the judiciary, juridicial overseer of scribes of the Great Council, juridicial inspector of scribes, scribe of those concerned with the <i>i<sup>š</sup>h</i> pillar of Kenmet.
<i>Nht-k3.i</i> (1-064M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>šd sš.w šnwt, šd sš.w <sup>š</sup>.w (nw) nswt šnwt</i> ; inspector of scribes of the granary, inspector of the scribes of the royal documents of the granary.
<i>Ni-sw-qd</i> (1-077M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>sš</i> ; scribe.
<i>Štwi</i> (1-087M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>šd sš.w šnwt</i> ; inspector of scribes of the granary.
<i>Ii-mrii</i> (1-103M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>šd sš.w <sup>š</sup>.w (nw) nswt pr-šd, šd sš.w (n) sš nswt</i> ; inspector of scribes of the royal documents of the treasury, inspector of scribes of the royal linen.
<i>Ni-sw-rdi</i> (1-111M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>sš</i> ; scribe.
<i>K3(.i)-m-<sup>š</sup>nh</i> (1-117M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>sš pr-šd</i> ; scribe of the treasury.
<i><sup>š</sup>nh-nb.f</i> (1-124M)	<i>imy-r w<sup>b</sup>.w h3styw Ntry-Mn-k3w-r<sup>š</sup>, w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; overseer of pure ones and foreign conscripts of (the pyramid) 'Divine-is-Menkaure', royal pure one.	<i>sš whrt nswt</i> ; scribe of the royal dockyard.
<i>Tti</i> (1-140M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	<i>sš</i> ; scribe.
Unknown (1-153I)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> mwt [nswt]</i> ; pure one of the [king's] mother.	<i>sš, s3b sš</i> ; scribe, juridicial scribe.

<b>Table 4.II.4: <i>W<sup>b</sup>.w</i> with Scribal-Titles During the Old Kingdom</b>		
<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>-title</i>	<i>sš-title</i>
Unknown (1-165I)	<i>[w<sup>b</sup>-] nswt, w<sup>b</sup> W<sup>b</sup>-swt-Wsrk3.f;</i> [pure one] of the king, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the- Places-of- Userkaf'.	<i>sš nswt</i> ; royal scribe.
<i>Špss-r<sup>š</sup></i> (1-167M)	<i>imy-ḥt n w<sup>b</sup>.w W<sup>b</sup>-swt-Wsr-k3.f, w<sup>b</sup> W<sup>b</sup>-swt-Wsr- k3.f;</i> , under- supervisor of the pure ones of (the pyramid) 'Pure- are-the-Places-of- Userkaf', pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the- Places-of- Userkaf'.	<i>sš <sup>š</sup>(w) n(w) nswt m ḥtm(t) nb(t) ntt m Nḥn-R<sup>š</sup> nht Ḥwt-ḥr</i> ; king's letter scribe in every treasury (which are) in (the sun-temple) <i>Nḥn-R<sup>š</sup></i> (and the) <i>nht</i> -sanctuary of Hathor.
<i>Nfr-k3.i</i> (1-174M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> Ḥ<sup>š</sup>-b3-S3ḥw- r<sup>š</sup></i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of- Sahure-Appears- in-Splendor'.	<i>imy-r sš.w (n) <sup>š</sup>pr.w, sš</i> ; overseer of scribes of the crews, scribe.
<i>K3(.i)-pw-ptḥ</i> (1-176M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> B3-Nfr-ir-k3- r<sup>š</sup>, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, w<sup>b</sup> Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>š</sup></i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3- of-Neferirkare' / 'Neferirkare-is-a- B3,' royal pure one, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the- Places-of- Niuserre'.	<i>imy-r sš.w</i> ; overseer of scribes.
<i>Id.w</i> (1-177M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> (n) B3-K3k3i</i> ; pure one (of the pyramid) 'Kakai- is-the-Soul'.	<i>sš ms.w nswt, sš [...] ḥwt-<sup>š</sup>3t</i> ; scribe of the royal children, scribe [of the] great estate.

Table 4.II.4: <i>W<sup>b</sup>.w</i> with Scribal-Titles During the Old Kingdom		
<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>-title</i>	<i>sš-title</i>
Unknown (1-178I)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ḥry-sšt3 Ntry-b3.w-Nfr.f-r<sup>c</sup></i> ; pure one [and] privy to the secret of (the pyramid) 'Divine-are-the-B3s-of-Neferefre'.	<i>sš-ntr</i> ; scribe of the divine books.
Unknown (1-184I)	<i>imy-ḥt w<sup>b</sup>.w, w<sup>b</sup>-Nfr-iswt-Wnis</i> ; under-supervisor of the pure ones, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas'.	<i>sš pr-md3t ntr, m33 sš.w št3.w</i> ; scribe of the house of documents/archives/scriptorium of the god (i.e. the king), beholder of the secret writing.
<i>Ḥs.i</i> (1-186M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> Dd-swt-Tti</i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti'.	<i>ḥrp sš.w, s3b imy-r sš.w, s3b sš, s3b šḥd sš.w, sš<sup>c</sup>.w (nw) nswt ḥft hr, sš (n) s3</i> ; director of scribes, juridicial overseer of scribes, juridicial scribe, juridicial inspector of scribes, scribe of royal records in the presence, scribe of the <i>phyle</i> .
<i>Ḥnti-k3 : Iḥhi</i> (1-187M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> šnty (200) Mn-nfr-Ppy</i> ; pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides'.	<i>sš md3t-ntr, sš n s3 Mn-nfr-Ppy, imy-r sš.w<sup>c</sup>.w (nw) nswt</i> ; scribe of the god's book, scribe of the <i>phyle</i> of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides', overseer of scribes of the royal documents.
<i>I3rt(i)</i> (1-188M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> šnty (200) Ḥ<sup>c</sup>-nfr-Mr-n-r<sup>c</sup></i> ; pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Merenre-Appears-in-Splendor'.	<i>sš gs-dpt</i> ; scribe of protection.
<i>Irt-Pth : Iri</i> (1-190M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> '3 Pth</i> ; great pure one of Ptah.	<i>sš ḥtmt-ntr m ḥwt Pth, sš ḥtp.t-ntr</i> ; scribe of the god's treasure in the temple of Ptah, scribe of the god's offerings (responsible for keeping the register of offerings to the temple).
<i>S3b.w : Ibb.i</i> (1-193M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> Pth</i> ; pure one of Ptah.	<i>sš qd št3 n wdt-mdw</i> ; scribe of the secret documents of the decrees.
<i>Gg.i</i> (1-205M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> šnty (200)</i> ; pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200).	<i>sš n s3</i> ; scribe of a <i>phyle</i> .

Table 4.II.4: <i>W<sup>s</sup>b.w</i> with Scribal-Titles During the Old Kingdom		
Name (No.)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> -title	<i>sš</i> -title
<i>Ihii</i> (1-206M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b šnty</i> (200); pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200).	<i>sš pr-š3</i> ; scribe of the Great House.

During the 6th Dynasty, the title *w<sup>s</sup>b š3* appears to be linked with two other titles: *shđ* or "inspector" and *šps nswt*, or "noble of the king." *Irt-pth* called *Iri* (1-190MM), held the titles of *w<sup>s</sup>b š3* and *shđ s(t)m.w*, while *Hss.ii* (1-195M), held the titles of *w<sup>s</sup>b š3 n Mn.w* and *shđ pr Mn.w*; both also held the non-priestly title of *šps nswt*, or "noble of the king."

Nine filial relationships have been identified in which one or more family members share a *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title. Of these, seven (78%) are shared between father and son(s). Of the *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles shared by father and son(s), three (43%) are an identical *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title, i.e.: *Shm-k3(i)* (*w<sup>s</sup>b nswt*, 1-042M) and *Shm-k3(i)-nds* (*w<sup>s</sup>b nswt*, 1-043M), *Ii-mrii* (*w<sup>s</sup>b mwt nswt*, 1-153M) and *Rwd I/II* (*w<sup>s</sup>b mwt nswt*, 1-016M/1-055M), *Tp-m-<sup>s</sup>nh* (*w<sup>s</sup>b W<sup>s</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f*, 1-157M) and *Hm-Mn(.w)* (*w<sup>s</sup>b W<sup>s</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f*, 1-166M), and *S3b.w* called *Ibb.i* (*w<sup>s</sup>b Pth*, 1-193M) and *Špss-ptħ* IV (*w<sup>s</sup>b Pth*, 1-194M). The remaining four (57%) *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles shared by father and son(s), are not identical, i.e.: *Rrmw* (1-044M) with *Ni-sw-qd* (1-077M) and *K3(i)-hr-st.f* (1-150M), *S.h<sup>t</sup>p.w* (1-173M) with *K3(i)-m-snw* (1-171M), and *Šri* (N/A) with *In-k3.j* (1-156M). Some similarities may be observed within these pairs, e.g. all being a variety of *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt*, or the father and son being affiliated with the mortuary cult of the same king.

Two (22%) of the nine filial relationships are of brothers, i.e.: *Ni-sw-qd* (1-077M) and *K3(i)-hr-st.f* (1-150M), and *Hnm.w-htp(.w)* (1-179M) and *Ni-<sup>s</sup>nh-hnm.w* (1-180M). The first pair, *Ni-sw-qd* and *K3(i)-hr-st.f* do not share identical titles, although both are variants of *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt*. The second pair, *Hnm.w-htp(.w)* and *Ni-<sup>s</sup>nh-hnm.w*, share the identical title of *w<sup>s</sup>b Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>s</sup>*.

In only one case (11%) are *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles shared by a husband and wife: *Id.ii* (1-121M) and *Ihi* (1-017F). *Id.ii* holds the title of *w<sup>s</sup>b-nswt*, while *Ihi* holds the title of *w<sup>s</sup>b*.




It is possible that more filial relationships exist in which *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles were shared, but filiation is not certain. Table 4.II.5 illustrates the filial relationships in which one or more family members share a *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title.

<b>Table 4.II.5: Heredity of <i>W<sup>s</sup>b</i>-Titles During the Old Kingdom</b>	
<i>Father</i>	<i>Son</i>
<i>Shm-k3(.i)</i> (1-042M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> : royal pure one	<i>Shm-k3(.i)-nds</i> (1-043M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> : royal pure one
<i>Rrmw</i> (1-044M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt pr-<sup>s</sup>3</i> : royal pure one of the Great House	<i>Ni-sw-<i>qd</i></i> (1-077M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> : royal pure one
	<i>K3(.i)-hr-st.f</i> (1-150M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt Shm.t</i> : royal pure one of Sekhmet
<i>Ii-mrii</i> (1-153M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b mwt nswt</i> : pure one of the king's mother	<i>Rwd I/II</i> (1-016M/1-055M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b mwt nswt</i> : pure one of the king's mother <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one
<i>Tp-m-<sup>s</sup>nh</i> (1-157M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b H<sup>s</sup>-b3-S3hw-r<sup>s</sup></i> : pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor' <i>w<sup>s</sup>b H<sup>s</sup>-Snfrw</i> : pure one of (the pyramid) 'Sneferu-Appears-in-Splendor' <i>w<sup>s</sup>b Ntry-Mn-k3.w-r<sup>s</sup></i> : pure one of (the pyramid) 'Divine-is-Menkaure' <i>w<sup>s</sup>b Wr-H<sup>s</sup>f-r<sup>s</sup></i> : pure one of (the pyramid) 'Great-is-Khafre' <i>w<sup>s</sup>b W<sup>s</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f</i> : pure one of (Userkaf's pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'	<i>Hm-mn(.w)</i> (1-166M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b W<sup>s</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f</i> : pure one of (Userkaf's pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'
<i>S.htp.w</i> (1-173M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b H<sup>s</sup>-b3-S3hw-r<sup>s</sup></i> : pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'	<i>K3(.i)-m-snw</i> (1-171M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b S3hw-r<sup>s</sup></i> : pure one of Sahure, <i>w<sup>s</sup>b Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>s</sup></i> : pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'
<i>S3b.w : Ibb.i</i> (1-193M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b Pth</i> : pure one of Ptah	<i>Spss-pth IV</i> (1-194M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b Pth</i> : pure one of Ptah
<i>Šry</i> (N/A) <i>imy-r w<sup>s</sup>b.w Pr-ib-sn</i> : overseer of the pure ones of Peribsen	<i>In-k3.f</i> (1-156M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b Pr-ib-sn</i> : pure one of Peribsen
<i>Brother</i>	<i>Brother</i>
<i>Ni-sw-<i>qd</i></i> (1-077M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> : royal pure one	<i>K3(.i)-hr-st.f</i> (1-150M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt Shm.t</i> : royal pure one of Sekhmet
<i>Hnm.w-<i>htp</i>(.w)</i> (1-179M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> : royal pure one <i>w<sup>s</sup>b Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>s</sup></i> : pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'	<i>Ni-<sup>s</sup>nh-<i>hnm</i>.w</i> (1-180M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>s</sup></i> : pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'
<i>Husband</i>	<i>Wife</i>
<i>Id.ii</i> (1-121M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> : royal pure one	<i>Ihi</i> (1-017F) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one

## CHAPTER 5: *W<sup>s</sup>B*-TITLES IN THE FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

This chapter presents the *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles attested during the First Intermediate Period, beginning with *w<sup>s</sup>b* (§5.I.1), the *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles affiliated with the royal family (§5.I.2), and the *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles affiliated with a deity (§5.I.3). The number assigned to each title-holder corresponds to their number in the First Intermediate Period Index (Appendix B), which includes each individual's full title-string as well as bibliographical references.

### 5.I.1. *W<sup>s</sup>b*


The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b*), or "pure one," is attested from the 5th Dynasty onwards, as discussed in §4.I.1. By the First Intermediate Period, the title is rendered as:  and . Both spellings may appear on the same monument, for example, the Meir coffin (CG 28068)<sup>711</sup> belonging to *Ii-n.i* (2-001M).<sup>712</sup> In addition to several epithets, *Ii-n.i* holds two *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles: *w<sup>s</sup>b* and *stp s3 hr(y) w<sup>s</sup>b.w*, or "councillor, supervisor of the pure ones."

Only one other title-holder is known from this period, *Rn.w* (2-002M),<sup>713</sup> whose name and title are preserved within a graffito in Hatnub (Gr. 27),<sup>714</sup> which dates to the time of Nomarch *Nhr.i* I.<sup>715</sup> *Rn.w*'s sole title is *w<sup>s</sup>b*. His son, *Hnm(.w)-htp* (2-0015M), holds the title of *w<sup>s</sup>b n Dhwti*, or "pure one of Thoth."

### 5.I.2. *W<sup>s</sup>b*-Titles Affiliated with the Royal Family

This section examines the titles *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt* and *w<sup>s</sup>b n [King's Name]*. Each of these title-holders is affiliated with the royal mortuary cult in Memphis, for which priestly service continued into the First Intermediate Period.

#### 5.I.2.A. *W<sup>s</sup>b nswt*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b nswt*), or "royal pure one,"<sup>716</sup> was attested from the 2nd Dynasty onwards, and was the most popular *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title of the Old Kingdom. Only one title-

<sup>711</sup> A cartonnage mask belonging to *Ii-n.i* also survives (CG 28073), although it does not contain any of his titles. Refer to: Pierre Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au nouvel empire* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1904-1906), 162-163, 165-166.

<sup>712</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 9 [25].

<sup>713</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 224 [5].

<sup>714</sup> Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 62-63, pl. 28; Shaw, *Hatnub*, 154 [27].

<sup>715</sup> Shaw, *Hatnub*, Appendix 5.

<sup>716</sup> Jones, *Index*, 373 [1382]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII; *PM* III.2, R333; *Wb.* I, 283.

holder is known from the First Intermediate Period,<sup>717</sup> *[I]m[i]-st-k[3.i]* (2-003M),<sup>718</sup> whose name and titles are preserved upon a false door (Leipzig 3136) and standing pair statue (Cairo JE 43960) from his tomb in Giza (G 4351).<sup>719</sup> *[I]m[i]-st-k[3.i]* held the title of *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt* and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-ntr* of Khufu. His other titles include: *s3b d-mr pr-<sup>3</sup>* or "judge and administrator of the Great House" and *imy-r prwy-<sup>h</sup>3.w* or "overseer of the two Houses of Weapons."

#### 5.1.2.B. *W<sup>sb</sup> n [King's Name]*

The titular formula *w<sup>sb</sup> n [King's Name]* was the second most common *w<sup>sb</sup>*-title of the Old Kingdom and was attested from the 4th Dynasty onwards. The title frequently occurs in reference to the king's pyramid complex, and infrequently in reference to his sun-temple or *mrt*-temple; all variants were discussed within the previous chapter (§4.1.2.e). By the First Intermediate Period, however, only one variant of this title remains, which is in reference to the pyramid complex of Pepi II.

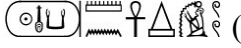
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<sup>717</sup> For dating to the 6th Dynasty or later, see: Baer, *Rank and Title*, 56-57 [36]. For dating to the First Intermediate Period, see: *PM* III.1, 126.

<sup>718</sup> Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>719</sup> *PM* III.1, 126.

5.I.2.B.a. *W<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200)Mn-<sup>s</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-r<sup>s</sup>*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200) Mn-<sup>s</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-r<sup>s</sup>*), or "pure one of the *šnty* (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-life-of-Neferkare-Abides,'" <sup>720</sup> refers to the pyramid of Pepi II in Saqqara. <sup>721</sup> Three title-holders are known from this period: *Iri* (2-004I), *Šd.ii-ptḥ* called *Šdw* (2-005M), and one individual whose name is unknown (2-006I). While the title references Pepi II (for which the earliest possible date would be his reign), the three known title-holders are buried within the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, which suggests that their internment took place after the reign of Pepi II and during the early First Intermediate Period. <sup>722</sup> For this reason they are included within this chapter.

The names and titles of *Iri* (2-004I) <sup>723</sup> and the unknown individual (2-006I) are both preserved on architrave block fragments found in Saqqara, both of which date to the early First Intermediate Period. <sup>724</sup> Unfortunately neither fragment is published, and therefore the complete title-strings of each of these individuals could not be included within this thesis. <sup>725</sup>

The name and titles of *Šd.ii-ptḥ* called *Šdw* (2-005M) <sup>726</sup> are preserved on a false door (present location unknown) <sup>727</sup> and an architrave block (RC 1737), <sup>728</sup> both of which originate from Saqqara and date to the First Intermediate Period. <sup>729</sup> The false door contains the following three titles: *šḥḍ pr-nswt* or "inspector of the royal domain," *šḥḍ ḏb3t* or "inspector of the robing room," and *šḥḍ pr-<sup>s</sup>3* or "inspector of the Great House." The architrave block contains both of *Šd.ii-ptḥ* called *Šdw*'s priestly titles: *w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200) [Mn-<sup>s</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-r<sup>s</sup> Ppy]* and *imy-r wp(w)t [ḥtp(w)t-ntr] Mn-<sup>s</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-r<sup>s</sup> Ppy* or "overseer of distribution of divine offerings of (the pyramid), 'The-Life-of-Neferkare-

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<sup>720</sup> Neither Jones nor Murray account for this title. For the name of the pyramid, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 65 [P].

<sup>721</sup> Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques* III, 36; Montet, *Géographie* I, 44; Zibelius, *Siedlungen*, 91.

<sup>722</sup> For this reasoning, Daoud includes *Šd.ii-ptḥ* called *Šdw* within his *Corpus*. See: Daoud, *Corpus of Inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period from the Memphite Necropolis*, 65. For more information regarding the date of *Šd.ii-ptḥ* called *Šdw*'s monuments, see: Nigel Strudwick, "Three Monuments of Old Kingdom Treasury Officials," *JEA* 71 (1985): 44-45; Strudwick, *Administration*, 142 [134].

<sup>723</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 41 [1].

<sup>724</sup> Daoud, *Corpus of Inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period from the Memphite Necropolis*, 65.

<sup>725</sup> *PM* III.2, 569 (*Iri*) and 570 (unknown).

<sup>726</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 331 [17].

<sup>727</sup> *PM* III.2, 545.

<sup>728</sup> Strudwick, "Three Monuments of Old Kingdom Treasury Officials," 44-45.

<sup>729</sup> Strudwick, *Administration*, 141-142 [134].




Abides." In addition to his titles of *shd db3t* and *shd pr-ʿ3*, the architrave block also includes three other high-ranking administrative titles: *mty n s3* or "regulator of a *phyle*," *imy-r prwy-hd* or "overseer of the two treasuries," and *imy-r is.wy hkr nswt* or "overseer of the two bureaux of the royal regalia/king's ornament." The architrave block most likely reflects a promotion that took place later in his career and after the false door was completed.<sup>730</sup>

### 5.I.3. *Wʿb*-Titles Affiliated with a Deity

This section examines the *wʿb*-titles that are affiliated with a deity, beginning with the upper-ranking title *wʿb ʿ3*, followed by the *wʿb ʿ3 n Mn.w* and *wʿb ʿ3 n Dhwti*, under which the *wʿb (n) Mn.w* and *wʿb n Dhwti* appears to have been hierarchically organized. This section also includes the *wʿb (n) Shm.t*, which is continue to be attested at this time.

#### 5.I.3.A. *Wʿb ʿ3*

The title  (*wʿb ʿ3*), or "great pure one,"<sup>731</sup> is a hierarchical *wʿb*-title that does not specify a cult.<sup>732</sup> During the Old Kingdom, the title was attached to the cults of deities, i.e. the *wʿb ʿ3 n Pth* and *wʿb ʿ3 n Mn.w*, as discussed in the previous chapter (§4.I.3.A.a-b). The earliest-known holder of the title *wʿb ʿ3* that does not specify a particular deity dates to the First Intermediate Period. Two title-holders are known from this period.

The name and titles of *Wsr* (2-007M)<sup>733</sup> are preserved upon a false door from Saqqara,<sup>734</sup> which dates to the 10th dynasty.<sup>735</sup> *Wsr* held two titles: *wʿb ʿ3* and *shd hm.w-ntr*, or "inspector of god's servants." As with his *wʿb*-title, the *shd*-title does not reference a particular deity. The remainder of his title-string consists of epithets invoking *Dd-Špss*

<sup>730</sup> Strudwick, "Three Monuments of Old Kingdom Treasury Officials," 45.

<sup>731</sup> Jones, *Index*, 369 [1362]; *PM* III.2, R130; *Wb*. I, 282-283.

<sup>732</sup> *LÄ* VI, 388-389, n. 37; Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 54\*.

<sup>733</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 85 [6].




<sup>734</sup> Firth and Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara*, pl. 70 [1].

<sup>735</sup> Fischer, "A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar," 29.

(alias of Ptah),<sup>736</sup> as well as the gods Osiris and Anubis. Daoud proposes that the invocation of *Dd-Špss* within *Wsr*'s title-string links him to the cult of Ptah.<sup>737</sup>

The name and titles of *Tti-ḥr-mnḥt* (2-008M)<sup>738</sup> are preserved upon a fragment of a double false door (Gl. 118) from Saqqara,<sup>739</sup> which dates to late 10th Dynasty.<sup>740</sup> *Tti-ḥr-mnḥt* holds two priestly titles: *wʿb ʿ3* and *shy-ntr*, or "one who belongs to the divine booth," the latter of which was attested since the late 3rd Dynasty.<sup>741</sup> He also holds the title of *ḥtm(ty)(-bity)* or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt." He does not hold a *shd*-title.

### 5.1.3.A.a. *Wʿb ʿ3 n Mn.w*

The title  (*wʿb ʿ3 n Mn.w*), or "great pure one of Min,"<sup>742</sup> is the head of the *wʿb.w* of Min.<sup>743</sup> During the Old Kingdom, the title is rendered as: , as attested by the sole known title-holder, *Hss.ii* (1-095M). During the First Intermediate Period, the title is rendered as: , as attested by the only known title-holder, *In-it.f* (2-009M),<sup>744</sup> whose name and titles are preserved upon a stela possibly from Koptos (modern Qift) (BM 325 [1247]; Fig. 3),<sup>745</sup> which dates to the First Intermediate Period.<sup>746</sup> *In-it.f*'s sole title is *wʿb ʿ3 n Mn.w*. During the Old Kingdom, the title *wʿb ʿ3* seemed to be linked with the title *šps nswt*, or "noble of the king;" here it is worthwhile to note that this title is absent *In-it.f*'s titulary. It is additionally worthwhile to note that his brother, *Mn.w-nḥt(.w)* (2-010M), holds the subordinate title of *wʿb (n) Mn.w*, or "pure one of Min," discussed below.

<sup>736</sup> Sandman Holmberg, *The God Ptah*, 157. Contra: Goedicke, "A Deification of a Private Person in the Old Kingdom," 31-33.

<sup>737</sup> Daoud also notes that "the lack of occurrences of *wʿb ʿ3* in association with any royal cult would also suggest that *Wsr* was serving a god rather than a king." See: Daoud, *Corpus of Inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period from the Memphite Necropolis*, 19, n. 193.

<sup>738</sup> Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>739</sup> James Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara, 1906-1907* (Le Caire: IFAO, 1908), pl. VII (3).

<sup>740</sup> Fischer, "A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar," 29, n. 41; Daoud, *Corpus of Inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period from the Memphite Necropolis*, 162.

<sup>741</sup> For a discussion of how the title is rendered in this particular example, see: Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 48, n. 33.

<sup>742</sup> Jones, *Index*, 369 [1364]. For a discussion of the grammatical composition of the title, see: Ward, "Old Kingdom *sš ʿnsw n ḥft-ḥr*, 'Personal Scribe of Royal Records', and Middle Kingdom *sš ʿn nsw n ḥft-ḥr*, 'Scribe of the Royal Tablet of the Court,'" 383.

<sup>743</sup> *LÄ* VI, 388-389, n. 37; Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 54\*; McFarlane, *The God Min*, 296-297.

<sup>744</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 34 [1].

<sup>745</sup> British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts* III, pl. IX.

<sup>746</sup> Cf. Gauthier, who dates the stela to the end of the Middle Kingdom: Gauthier, *Le Personnel du Dieu Min*, 32.

5.1.3.A.a.i. *W<sup>s</sup>b (n) Mn.w*

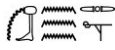
The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b (n) Mn.w*), or "pure one of Min," is first attested in the First Intermediate Period, although it presumably existed during the Old Kingdom due to the existence of the upper-ranking title *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Mn.w*, or "great pure one of Min." Only one title-holder is known, *Mn.w-nḥt(.w)* (2-010M), whose name evokes the name of the god whom he served. *Mn.w-nḥt(.w)*'s name and titles are preserved upon a stela (BM 325 [1247], Fig. 3) possibly from Koptos (modern Qift), which he dedicated to his brother, *In-it.f* (2-009M), the *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Mn.w*, or "great pure one of Min," mentioned above.<sup>747</sup>



Figure 3: Stela, BM 325 [1247]


Stela BM 325 [1247] displays two family members that belong to the cult of Min: *In-it.f* the *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Mn.w* (2-009M) and his brother *Mn.w-nḥt(.w)* the *w<sup>s</sup>b (n) Mn.w* (2-010M). In the first register, *In-it.f*, the deceased brother to whom the stela is dedicated, is


<sup>747</sup> British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts* III, pl. IX.

represented seated on a chair, smelling a flower in his left hand. His hair or wig falls to his shoulders. He wears a broad collar and a long kilt that extends to his mid-calf. His chair is flat with a low back, and its legs take the form of animal feet. The offering table in front of him is generously piled with offerings. Seated on the other side of the table is *Mn.w-nht(.w)*, who dedicates the stela to his brother. *Mn.w-nht(.w)* is represented seated on a chair, extending his right hand toward the offering table in front of him, while his left hand is grasping a scroll in his lap. His hair is cut short. He wears a broad collar and a long kilt that extends to his mid-calf. His chair is flat with a low back, and its legs take the form of animal feet. In the next register, four women are shown, each of whom holds the title *nbt pr*, or "mistress of the house." In the last register, two more brothers are shown, but neither holds a title other than *sn.f* or "his brother." At last *Mn.w-nht(.w)* is shown again, this time sharing an offering table with a woman identified as *snt.f*, or "his sister," who is depicted at the smallest scale of all the individuals in the bottom register.

The hierarchy of family members and their titles is quite clear on this stela. Of a total of four brothers, only two hold *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles, both of whom hold a higher status than the brothers who hold no title at all. The difference in rank of the two title-holding brothers is worthy of consideration. It is possible that *In-it.f*, who holds the highest title, is the eldest brother of the family. It is also possible that there could only be one of *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Mn.w* at a time, for which reason *Mn.w-nht(.w)* could not hold the same title during his brother's tenure, and it is for this reason that the stela identifies him by the lower-ranking title, *w<sup>s</sup>b (n) Mn.w*. Whether or not *Mn.w-nht(.w)* assumed the higher title upon his brother's death is unknown.

### 5.1.3.A.b. *W<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Dḥwti*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Dḥwti*), or "great pure one of Thoth,"<sup>748</sup> appears for the first time within the titularies of the hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna)<sup>749</sup> from the late First Intermediate Period to early Middle Kingdom. Each of these title-holders are included in this chapter in an effort not to break

<sup>748</sup> Alternatively rendered as . The earliest attestation of the title is erroneously attributed to the Middle Kingdom in: Ward, *Index*, 81 [662]. Contra: Shaw, *Hatnub*, Appendix 5.

<sup>749</sup> Grajetzki describes this line of hereditary rulers as originating with *Iḥ3-nht* I (2-011M). Refer to: Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*, 109-111. For a family tree, see: Robinson, "As For Them who Know Them, They Shall Find Their Paths," 143, fig. 8.3; Willems, *Chests of Life*, 71.

their continuous lineage across chapters. The titles of both the upper-ranking *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥ3 n Dḥwti* and lower-ranking *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Dḥwti* appear at this time, although the title *ḥm(t)-ntr (n) Dḥwti* or "god's servant of Thoth," had already been attested since the 4th Dynasty.<sup>750</sup> The main sources of information about this family of title-holders come from their tombs in el-Bersheh and from graffiti in Hatnub. Four nomarchs held this title.

The name and titles of *Iḥ3-nḥt* I (2-011M)<sup>751</sup> are preserved in his tomb (No. 5) in el-Bersheh, which dates to the 11th Dynasty.<sup>752</sup> *Iḥ3-nḥt* holds the dual priestly titles of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥ3 n Dḥwti*, and *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr*, or "overseer of the god's servants;" he also holds the epithets *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥwy mh.f ḥ3w* or "pure of hands when he fills the bowl,"<sup>753</sup> *twr ḥwy* or "clean of hands,"<sup>754</sup> and *mr[r] Dḥwti nb Ḥmnw* or "beloved of Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis." The rest of his title-string reflect his status as nomarch: *ḥ3ty-ḥ* or "hereditary prince/nobleman," *hrp ns.ty* or "director/controller of the two thrones," *ḥry-tp ḥ3 n Wnt* or "great overlord/chief of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna)," *mrrw ntr.w.s nb.w* or "beloved of all her gods," *ḥtm(ty)-bity* or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt," *smr w<sup>ḥ</sup>ty* or "sole companion," *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance," *imy-r Imntt* or "overseer of the Western Desert," *t3yty s3b t3ty* or "he of the curtain chief justice and vizier," *ḥry-tp Ḥwt-nbw* or "chief of Hatnub," *wr m i3t.f* or "great in his office," *ḥ3 m s<sup>ḥ</sup>.f* or "great in his rank," *ḥnty st m pr nswt* or "foremost of seat in the palace," *ḥ3 rn m t3wy Ḥr(.w)* or "great of name in the Two Lands of Horus," *imy-r [...]* or "overseer of [...]," *sb3 Ḥr ḥnty pt* or "student of Horus foremost of the sky," *mry nswt* or "beloved of the king," and *mrrw.f* or "his beloved."

The name and titles of *Dḥwti-nḥt* V (2-012M) appear in three separate graffiti (Gr. 17,<sup>755</sup> Gr. 23,<sup>756</sup> and Gr. 26<sup>757</sup>) in Hatnub, all of which date from the time of Nomarch *Nḥr.i* I<sup>758</sup> to the reign of Amenemhat I.<sup>759</sup> *Dḥwti-nḥt* V holds the dual priestly titles of: *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*

<sup>750</sup> Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 190-197.

<sup>751</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 44 [11].

<sup>752</sup> Newberry, *El Bersheh* II, 30-35, pl. 17.

<sup>753</sup> Denise Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: a social and historical analysis* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 66-67, Table 11. Contra the reading of Newberry, *El Bersheh* II, 32-33, pl. 13 [20].

<sup>754</sup> Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 66-67, Table 11.

<sup>755</sup> Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 38-41, graffito no. 17, pl. 16; Shaw, *Hatnub*, 148-149.

<sup>756</sup> Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 52-53, graffito no. 23, pl. 20; Shaw, *Hatnub*, 151.

<sup>757</sup> Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 59-62, graffito no. 26, pl. 28; Shaw, *Hatnub*, 153.

<sup>758</sup> Shaw, *Hatnub*, Appendix 5.

<sup>759</sup> Robinson, "As For Them who Know Them, They Shall Find Their Paths," 143, fig. 8.3; Willems, *Chests of Life*, 71.

ʿ3 n *Dḥwti* and *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr*, or "overseer of the god's servants;" he also holds the epithets of *wʿb ʿwy drp.f ntr* or "pure of hands when he offers to the god," *wʿb ʿḥw m st dsrt* or "one who purifies the braziers in the sacred place," and *twr ʿwy* or "clean of hands."<sup>760</sup> His other titles include: *[ḥtm(ty)-]bity* or "[sealer of the] King of Lower Egypt" and *smr wʿty* or "sole companion." Graffito no. 17 provides insight into the rituals performed for Thoth by *Dḥwti-nḥt* V, which include: opening [the face], renewing the clay sealing, sprinkling water for Thoth, offering incense for Thoth, slaughtering birds for the *k3* of Thoth, fetching *ibr-* and *ḥknw*-oil, making burnt offerings for the *k3* of Thoth.<sup>761</sup> Graffito no. 17 also identifies *Dḥwti-nḥt* V as the son of the hereditary ruler of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna), *Nḥr.i* I, while Gr. 23 and 26 identify him as the son of *Dḥwti-ḥtp*, his mother. *Dḥwti-nḥt* V is the uncle of *Nḥr.i* II (2-013M) and grand-uncle of *Dḥwti-nḥt* VI (2-014M), with whom he shares his priestly titles.

The name and titles of *Nḥr.i* II (2-013M) are preserved within his tomb (No. 7) in el-Bersheh, which dates to the reign of Senusret I.<sup>762</sup> Because of his lineage within the hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna), he is included in this chapter. *Nḥr.i* II holds the dual priestly titles of: *wʿb ʿ3 n Dḥwti* and *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr*, or "overseer of the god's servants." His remaining titles identify him as a hereditary ruler of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna): *ḥ3ty-ʿ* or "hereditary prince/nobleman," *ḥrp ns.ty* or "controller of the two thrones," and *wr [...]* or "great [...]." He is the nephew of *Dḥwti-nḥt* V (2-012M) and father of *Dḥwti-nḥt* VI (2-014M), with whom he shares his priestly titles.

The name and titles of *Dḥwti-nḥt* VI (2-014)<sup>763</sup> are preserved upon his coffin (CG 28123)<sup>764</sup> from his tomb (No. 1) in el-Bersheh, which dates between the reigns of Senusret I and Amenemhat II.<sup>765</sup> Because of his lineage within the hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna), he is included in this chapter. *Dḥwti-nḥt* VI holds the dual priestly titles of: *wʿb ʿ3 n Dḥwti* and *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr*, or "overseer of the

<sup>760</sup> Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 66-67, Table 11.

<sup>761</sup> Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 38-41, graffito no. 17, pl. 16; Shaw, *Hatnub*, 148-149.

<sup>762</sup> Newberry, *El Bersheh* II, 37, pls. 18-19; Robinson, "As For Them who Know Them, They Shall Find Their Paths," 143, fig. 8.3; Willems, *Chests of Life*, 71.

<sup>763</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 408 [7].


<sup>764</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages*, 136-142.

<sup>765</sup> Newberry, *El Bersheh* II, 17-26; Robinson, "As For Them who Know Them, They Shall Find Their Paths," 143, fig. 8.3; Willems, *Chests of Life*, 71.

god's servants." His remaining titles identify him as a hereditary ruler of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15): *h3ty-<sup>ε</sup>* or "hereditary prince/nobleman" and *hrp nsty* or "controller of the two thrones." All of his titles are identical to those held by his father, *Nhr.i* II (2-013M); he also shares his priestly titles with his great-uncle, *Dḥwti-nḥt* V (2-012M). Curiously, his *w<sup>ε</sup>b*-title is included upon his coffin, but is not inscribed upon the walls of his tomb.

Although Robinson references "the *wab*-priest of the Eleventh Dynasty called Kay"<sup>766</sup> whose descendants became the hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna), Kay's title could not be confirmed.<sup>767</sup> It is possible that he held the title *w<sup>ε</sup>b ʿ3 n Dḥwti*, which is consistently held for (at least) three generations of his lineage, shown above.

#### 5.I.3.A.b.i. *W<sup>ε</sup>b n Dḥwti*

The title  (*w<sup>ε</sup>b n Dḥwti*), or "pure one of Thoth,"<sup>768</sup> appears for the first time in Hatnub (Gr. 27)<sup>769</sup> during the time of Nomarch *Nhr.i* I.<sup>770</sup> Although the titleholder *Hnm.w-ḥtp(.w)* (2-015M)<sup>771</sup> does not come from the line of governors who hold the upper-ranking title of *w<sup>ε</sup>b ʿ3 n Dḥwti*, he does hold the titles of: *nds n hnw* or "citizen of the residence" and *rḥ nn h3ty-<sup>ε</sup>* or "one who is known by the hereditary prince/nobleman." *Hnm.w-ḥtp(.w)*'s sole priestly title is *w<sup>ε</sup>b n Dḥwti*. The graffito also identifies him as the son of the *w<sup>ε</sup>b*, *Rn.w* (2-002M), above.

The *w<sup>ε</sup>b.w* in the cult of Thoth in the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna) appear to be comprised of the hereditary rulers who hold the upper-ranking title of *w<sup>ε</sup>b ʿ3 n Dḥwti* and of (at least) one individual who held the lower-ranking title of *w<sup>ε</sup>b n Dḥwti* who were known to (and possibly chosen by) the governing family.

<sup>766</sup> Robinson, "As For Them who Know Them, They Shall Find Their Paths," 139. I would like to thank Nicholas Brown for bringing this reference to my attention.

<sup>767</sup> Peter Robinson, personal communication to author, June 15, 2014. "Of Kay we know only the name from genealogies, without titles, and there are no monuments or inscriptions attributable to him [...]."

Newberry, *El Bersheh* II, 11.

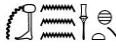



<sup>768</sup> Ward, *Index*, 83 [689].

<sup>769</sup> Anthes, *Die Felsenschriften von Hatnub*, 62-63, graffito no. 27, pl. 28; Shaw, *Hatnub*, 154.

<sup>770</sup> Shaw, *Hatnub*, Appendix 5.

<sup>771</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 276 [6].

### 5.I.3.B. *W<sup>sb</sup> (n) Shm.t*

The title  (*w<sup>sb</sup> (n) Shm.t*), or "pure one of Sekhmet"<sup>772</sup> may be considered both a priestly and medical title, as discussed above (§4.I.4.F). During the Old Kingdom, the title is written:  or . By the First Intermediate Period, the title is rendered as . Three title-holders are known from this time.

The name and titles of *Hr-š.f-nht(.w)* (2-016M)<sup>773</sup> are preserved by a graffito in Hatnub (Gr. 15),<sup>774</sup> which dates to year 4 of Nomarch *Nhri* I.<sup>775</sup> *Hr-š.f-nht(.w)* served as a *w<sup>sb</sup> (n) Shm.t* and was promoted to *imy-r w<sup>sb</sup>.w Shm.t*, or "overseer of the pure ones of Sekhmet." He also held the upper-ranking *imy-r hk3.w*, or "overseer of magicians." In addition to his priestly titles, he was a *wr swnw n nswt*, or "great physician of the king."

The name and titles of *Ih3-nht* (2-017M)<sup>776</sup> are contained in the same graffito in Hatnub (Gr. 15)<sup>777</sup> that mentions *Hry-š.f-nht(.w)* (2-015M), above. *Ih3-nht*'s sole priestly title is *w<sup>sb</sup> (n) Shm.t*, with which his other titles may be related: *sš šrryt* or "scribe of the *šrryt*," *qni* or "brave one," and *hmwwt n wnw* or "one who is skilled in his profession." His scribal title is especially worthy of note, as the *šrryt* refers to the entrance area of the temple<sup>778</sup> to which the *w<sup>sb</sup>.w* were known to have access, according to the earlier Abusir Papyri (Fragments 46D and 87F).<sup>779</sup> It is also likely that *Ih3-nht*, being a scribe, is the one who inscribed Graffito no. 15.

The name and titles of *Nht* (2-018M)<sup>780</sup> are preserved by another graffito in Hatnub (Gr. 21),<sup>781</sup> which dates to year 6 of Nomarch *Nhri* I.<sup>782</sup> *Nht* holds two titles: *w<sup>sb</sup> (n) Shm.t* and *sš šrryt*, or "scribe of the *šrryt*." The inscription identifies him as the son of *Ih3-nht*. Based upon these shared titles, it is tempting to conclude that *Nht* of Graffito no. 21 is the son of *Ih3-nht* (2-016M) of Graffito no. 15, above.

<sup>772</sup> Ward, *Index*, 83 [686].

<sup>773</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 253 [1].

<sup>774</sup> Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 34, graffito no. 15, pl. 19; Shaw, *Hatnub*, 147.

<sup>775</sup> Shaw, *Hatnub*, Appendix 5.

<sup>776</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 44 [11].

<sup>777</sup> Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 34, graffito no. 15, pl. 19; Shaw, *Hatnub*, 147.

<sup>778</sup> Spencer, *Studies in the lexicography of Ancient Egyptian buildings and their parts*, 43-54.

<sup>779</sup> Posener-Kriéger et. al., *Abusir* X, 264, pl. 46; 313, pl. 87.

<sup>780</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 209 [16].

<sup>781</sup> Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 47, graffito no. 21, pl. 20; 150.

<sup>782</sup> Shaw, *Hatnub*, Appendix 5.



## 5.II. Summary

Due to the problematic nature of identifying material from the First Intermediate Period, only 18 title-holders are included in this chapter. The number and variety of *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles known from the First Intermediate Period pale in comparison to those attested from the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

Remnants of the royal mortuary cult within Memphis are visible through the attestation of the titles *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt* and *w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200) [Mn-<sup>s</sup>nḥ-Nfr-k3-r<sup>s</sup> Ppy]*, the latter of which is linked to the pyramid of Pepi II. No other *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles appear to fill the void in the functions of the royal mortuary cult until the Middle Kingdom.

The title *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3* initially occurs in the late 6th Dynasty, at which time the title occurs with *šḥd* and *šps nswt* in the same title-string, as is the case of *Irt-Pth* called *Iri* (1-190M) and *Hss.ii* (1-195M). The pattern partly continues into the 10th Dynasty with *Wsr* (2-007M), who holds the titles *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3* and *šḥd ḥm.w-ntr*, although he does not hold the title *šps nswt*. The pattern, however, seems to have been broken by the latter part of the same dynasty, as *Tti-ḥr-mnḥt* (2-008M) does not hold the titles of *šḥd* nor *šps nswt* with the title of *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3*. *In-it.f* (2-009M) does not hold any title other than *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Mn.w*. The title *šps nswt* is absent from all of the title-holders' title-strings contained in this chapter, suggesting that it was not at all used during the First Intermediate Period.

The hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna), *Iḥ3-nḥt* I (2-011M), *Dḥwti-nḥt* V (2-012M), *Nḥr.i* II (2-013M), and *Dḥwti-nḥt* VI (2-014) display a different pattern with the title *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Dḥwti*, wherein it is consistently paired with the title *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr*. The transition between the linkage of the title with *šḥd* to *imy-r* is most likely due to provincial difference, and does not necessarily indicate a diminishment in the rank of the *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3*.

The trend of a title-holder serving as a *w<sup>s</sup>b* prior to being promoted to (or at the same time serving as) *ḥm-ntr* continues into the First Intermediate Period. Of the 18 known *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* of the First Intermediate Period, six (33%) became (or were also) *ḥm-ntr*. Of these, only one (17%) held the title of *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt*; this individual went on to serve as a *ḥm-ntr* of Khufu, which falls within the overall trend of the Old Kingdom. The remaining five (83%) held the upper-ranking title of *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Dḥwti*, with which the title may have been held in tandem and may not necessarily reflect a promotion *per se*. Each of the six

$w^{\text{b.w}}$  that became (or were also)  $hm.w-ntr$  are shown in Table 5.II.1, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix B.

<b>Table 5.II.1: <math>W^{\text{b.w}}</math> with <math>Hm-ntr</math>-Titles During the First Intermediate Period</b>		
<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i><math>w^{\text{b}}</math>-title</i>	<i><math>hm-ntr</math>-title</i>
<i>[I]m[i]-st- k[3.i] (2-003M)</i>	$w^{\text{b}}$ <i>nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	$hm-ntr$ <i>Hwfw</i> ; god's servant of Khufu.
<i>Wsr (2-007M)</i>	$w^{\text{b}}$ $\text{'3}$ ; great pure one.	<i>shd</i> $hm.w-ntr$ ; inspector of god's servants.
<i>Ih3-nht I (2-011M)</i>	$w^{\text{b}}$ $\text{'wy r htp.f}$ , $w^{\text{b}}$ $\text{'3 n Dhwti}$ ; pure of hands for his satisfaction, great pure one of Thoth.	<i>imy-r</i> $hm.w-ntr$ ; overseer of the god's servants.
<i>Dhwti-nht V (2-012M)</i>	$w^{\text{b}}$ $\text{'3 n Dhwti}$ ; great pure one of Thoth.	<i>imy-r</i> $hm.w-ntr$ ; overseer of the god's servants.
<i>Nhr.i II (2-013M)</i>	$w^{\text{b}}$ $\text{'3 n Dhwti}$ ; great pure one of Thoth.	<i>imy-r</i> $hm.w-ntr$ ; overseer of the god's servants.
<i>Dhwti-nht VI (2-014M)</i>	$w^{\text{b}}$ $\text{'3 n Dhwti}$ ; great pure one of Thoth.	<i>imy-r</i> $hm.w-ntr$ ; overseer of the god's servants.

None of the known  $w^{\text{b.w}}$  of this period served within any other priestly rank, e.g.  $hm-k3$ ,  $hry hbt$ , or  $s(t)m$ -priest.

Of the 18 known  $w^{\text{b.w}}$  of the First Intermediate Period, two (11%) held scribal titles: *Ih3-nht* (2-017M), and his son, *Nht* (2-018M). Both men held the identical titles of  $w^{\text{b}}$  (*n*) *Shm.t* and  $s\check{s}$   $\text{'rryt}$ , or "scribe of the  $\text{'rryt}$ ." Two of the three known  $w^{\text{b.w}}$  *Shm.t* of this period held scribal titles (67%). The  $w^{\text{b.w}}$  who held scribal-titles are shown in Table 5.II.2, below.

<b>Table 5.II.2: : <math>W^{\text{b.w}}</math> with Scribal-Titles During the First Intermediate Period</b>		
<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i><math>w^{\text{b}}</math>-title</i>	<i><math>s\check{s}</math>-title</i>
<i>Ih3-nht (2-017M)</i>	$w^{\text{b}}$ ( <i>n</i> ) <i>Shm.t</i> ; pure one of Sekhmet.	$s\check{s}$ $\text{'rryt}$ ; scribe of the $\text{'rryt}$ .
<i>Nht (2-018M)</i>	$w^{\text{b}}$ ( <i>n</i> ) <i>Shm.t</i> ; pure one of Sekhmet.	$s\check{s}$ $\text{'rryt}$ ; scribe of the $\text{'rryt}$ .

Six filial relationships have been identified in which one or more family members share a *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title. Of these, three (50%) are shared between father and son. Of the *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles shared by father and son(s), two (67%) are an identical *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title, i.e.: *Nhr.i* II (*w<sup>s</sup>b* *ʿ3 n Dḥwti*, 2-013M) and *Dḥwti-nḥt* VI (*w<sup>s</sup>b* *ʿ3 n Dḥwti*, 2-014M), *Iḥ3-nḥt* (*w<sup>s</sup>b* (*n*) *Shm.t*, 2-017M) and *Nḥt* (*w<sup>s</sup>b* (*n*) *Shm.t*, 2-018M). The remaining case of *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles shared by father and son(s), are not identical (33%), i.e.: *Rn.w* (2-002M) and *Hnm(.w)-ḥtp* (2-015M).

Two (33%) of the six filial relationships are avuncular. The first is between uncle *Dḥwti-nḥt* V (2-012M) and nephew *Nhr.i* II (2-013M). The second is between great-uncle *Dḥwti-nḥt* V (2-012M) and grand-nephew *Dḥwti-nḥt* VI (2-014M). In this lineage, the title *w<sup>s</sup>b* *ʿ3 n Dḥwti* was transferred from uncle to nephew as the former did not have any children. The title was then transferred from father to son, which has thus resulted in the uncle, nephew, and grand-nephew having identical priestly titles.

One (17%) of the six filial relationships are between brothers, i.e.: *In-it.f* (2-009M) and *Mn.w-nḥt* (2-010M). *In-it.f* held the upper-ranking title of *w<sup>s</sup>b* *ʿ3 n Mn.w* and predeceased his brother, *Mn.w-nḥt*, who held the lower-ranking title of *w<sup>s</sup>b* *n Mn.w*; it is possible that *In-it.f* was the elder brother of *Mn.w-nḥt*. Although their titles are not identical, both brothers served within the cult of Min.

It is possible that more filial relationships exist in which *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles were shared, but filiation is not certain. Table 5.II.3 illustrates the filial relationships in which one or more family members share a *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title.


<b>Table 5.II.3: Heredity of <i>W<sup>s</sup>b</i>-Titles During the First Intermediate Period</b>	
<i>Father</i>	<i>Son</i>
<i>Rn.w</i> (2-002M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one	<i>Hnm(.w)-ḥtp</i> (2-015M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> <i>n Dḥwti</i> : pure one of Thoth
<i>Nhr.i</i> II (2-013M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> <i>ʿ3 n Dḥwti</i> : great pure one of Thoth	<i>Dḥwti-nḥt</i> VI (2-014M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> <i>ʿ3 n Dḥwti</i> : great pure one of Thoth
<i>Iḥ3-nḥt</i> (2-017M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ( <i>n</i> ) <i>Shm.t</i> : pure one of Sekhmet	<i>Nḥt</i> (2-018M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ( <i>n</i> ) <i>Shm.t</i> : pure one of Sekhmet
<i>Uncle</i>	<i>Nephew</i>
<i>Dḥwti-nḥt</i> V (2-012M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> <i>ʿ3 n Dḥwti</i> : great pure one of Thoth	<i>Nhr.i</i> II (2-013M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> <i>ʿ3 n Dḥwti</i> : great pure one of Thoth
<i>Great Uncle</i>	<i>Grand Nephew</i>


<b>Table 5.II.3: Heredity of <i>W<sup>s</sup>b</i>-Titles During the First Intermediate Period</b>	
<i>Dḥwti-nḥt</i> V (2-012M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ʿ3 <i>n Dḥwti</i> : great pure one of Thoth <i>(Elder?) Brother</i>	<i>Dḥwti-nḥt</i> VI (2-014M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ʿ3 <i>n Dḥwti</i> : great pure one of Thoth <i>(Younger?) Brother</i>
<i>In-it.f</i> (2-009M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ʿ3 <i>n Mn.w</i> : great pure one of Min	<i>Mn.w-nḥt</i> (2-010M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b n Mn.w</i> : pure one of Min

## CHAPTER 6: *W<sup>6</sup>B*-TITLES IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

This chapter presents the *w<sup>6</sup>b*-titles attested during the Middle Kingdom, beginning with *w<sup>6</sup>b* (§6.I.1), the *w<sup>6</sup>b*-titles affiliated with the royal family (§6.I.2), funerary *w<sup>6</sup>b*-titles (§6.I.3), the hierarchical and non-hierarchical *w<sup>6</sup>b*-titles affiliated with a deity, divine epithet, or cult center (§6.I.4), processional *w<sup>6</sup>b*-titles, which are affiliated with carrying the divine image during festivals (§6.I.5), and a *w<sup>6</sup>b*-title that refers to a temple (§6.I.6). The number assigned to each title-holder corresponds to their number in the Middle Kingdom Index (Appendix C), which includes each individual's full title-string as well as bibliographical references.

### 6.I.1. *W<sup>6</sup>b* and *w<sup>6</sup>bt*

The title  (*w<sup>6</sup>b*), or "pure one," continues to be rendered in the same form introduced during the First Intermediate Period. This most basic form of the title, which does not specify any particular cultic affiliation, becomes the most prevalent during the Middle Kingdom, being held by at least 134 known individuals (Appendix C: 3-001M - 3-134F).

By the late Middle Kingdom, the title of *w<sup>6</sup>b* is occasionally found in tandem with the subsidiary title  (*q*), or "enterer,"<sup>783</sup> which underscores the title-holder's right of entry into sacred space.<sup>784</sup> Presumably, the title of *w<sup>6</sup>b* was held by someone who had already fulfilled the requirements to enter the outermost limits of sacred space (§2.II, p. 14), and so it is possible that the supplementary title of *q* grants the title-holder access to a different area within the delineated sacred space, or perhaps slightly further access therein. This title appears to have been held exclusively by males.<sup>785</sup> Although female *qyt* have been identified as offering bearers, none of them have been found to hold a *w<sup>6</sup>b*-title.<sup>786</sup> Because *q* is not a *w<sup>6</sup>b*-title, it is here identified as a subsidiary title. It is not

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<sup>783</sup> *Wb.* I, 283; Ward, *Index*, 77 [628].

<sup>784</sup> Georges Daressy, "Rapport sur les fouilles à Sa el-Hagar," *ASAE* 17 (1917): 239.

<sup>785</sup> Ward observes that "the *qyt*, on the other hand, is found only among household servants and offering bearers and nothing suggests that these women were associated with temples. It is probably that these servants were allowed to enter the private family quarters just as the *q* was allowed into the home of a deity." Refer to: William Ward, *Essays on feminine titles of the Middle Kingdom and related subjects* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1986), 5-6.


<sup>786</sup> Danijela Stefanović, *The Non-Royal Regular Feminine Titles of the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period: Dossiers* (London: Golden House Publications, 2009), 41-43.

indicative of a hierarchical *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-title, such as the *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b ʿ3*, which is often held in addition to other upper-ranking titles within the priestly hierarchy; see §6.I.4.

### 6.I.2. *W<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-Titles Affiliated with the Royal Family

This section examines the *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-titles that are affiliated with the royal family, i.e. *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b nswt* and *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b n ḥq3*. It also includes the *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b n [King's Name]*, for which all known Middle Kingdom variations are illustrated in Table 6.I.2.C.

#### 6.I.2.A. *W<sup>ʿ</sup>b nswt*

The title  (*w<sup>ʿ</sup>b nswt*), or "royal pure one,"<sup>787</sup> recurs in the Middle Kingdom, but is held by significantly fewer people than had been originally attested during the Old Kingdom. Fifteen named title-holders are known from this time. Unless otherwise stated, *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b nswt* is the sole title of each person. The title also occurs on five papyrus fragments from Lahun, on which no names are preserved (3-137I,<sup>788</sup> 3-142I,<sup>789</sup> 3-143I,<sup>790</sup> 3-153I,<sup>791</sup> and 3-154I<sup>792</sup>).

The name and title of *Iw-snb* (3-135M)<sup>793</sup> are preserved on a scarab (UC 11358) from Lahun, which typologically dates to the 11th Dynasty or later.<sup>794</sup>

The name and title of *Snb.j* (3-136M)<sup>795</sup> are preserved on an obsidian scarab (UC 26118) from Koptos (modern Qift),<sup>796</sup> which typologically dates to the 11th Dynasty or later.<sup>797</sup>

<sup>787</sup> Ward, *Index*, 81 [671]; *Wb.* I, 283.

<sup>788</sup> This papyrus fragment is a list of priests in the Lahun Papyri, wherein the title is qualified as *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b nswt imy 3bd.j*, or "royal pure one within his month," which suggests that the title-holders may have operated on the monthly rotation of service also known as the *phyle* system. Refer to: Borchardt, "Der zweite Papyrusfund von Kahun," 94.

<sup>789</sup> P. 10.209b is a letter concerning the family members of a certain *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b nswt* whose name has been lost. The names of the sender and the recipient are likewise not preserved. Refer to: Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Handschriften* I, 109 [252].

<sup>790</sup> P. 10.214 contains a table of officials' income of bread, beer, flour, etc., wherein the title *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b nswt* is included. Refer to: Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Handschriften* I, 109 [252].

<sup>791</sup> UC 32114E *vso* is part of a table with abbreviations of titles, for which the interpretation remains uncertain. Refer to: Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 218-219.

<sup>792</sup> UC 32149E is a very small fragment of an accounts papyrus. Refer to: Mark Collier and Stephen Quirke, eds., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 262-263.

<sup>793</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 15 [22].

<sup>794</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 12 [76], pl. 15 [27].

<sup>795</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 314 [5].

<sup>796</sup> William Petrie, *Koptos* (London: B. Quaritch, 1896), 24, pl. 24 [5].

<sup>797</sup> Martin, *Egyptian administrative and private-name seals*, 121 [1569], pl. 15 [5].

The name and title of *In-it.f* (3-138M)<sup>798</sup> are preserved on a papyrus fragment (P. 10.406a-h, m-o) from Lahun, which dates from the reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III.<sup>799</sup> The fragment contains a list of supplies, wherein *In-it.f* is mentioned with the sole title of *w<sup>b</sup> nswt*.

The name and title of *It* (3-139M)<sup>800</sup> are preserved on a papyrus fragment (P. 10.201a) from Lahun, which dates from the reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III.<sup>801</sup> The fragment contains a priest list, in which *It* is mentioned.

The name and title of *Nfr.t* (3-140F)<sup>802</sup> are preserved on a papyrus fragment (P. 10.237a+b) from Lahun, which dates from the reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III.<sup>803</sup> The fragment contains a list of fabric and metal objects which are being brought to the *pr h<sub>d</sub>* of the temple, wherein *Nfr.t* is mentioned.

The name and title of *Sn[.t]* (3-141F)<sup>804</sup> are preserved on a papyrus fragment (P. 10.094) from Lahun, which dates from the reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III.<sup>805</sup> The fragment contains the daily entries for food, e.g. of bread, beer, leeks, etc., as well as the entries of the serving priestess, who in this case is *Sn[.t]*.

The name and titles of *It* (3-144M),<sup>806</sup> *S-n-wsr.t* (3-149M),<sup>807</sup> and *Sn.t* (3-151F)<sup>808</sup> are preserved upon a papyrus fragment (UC 32143B) from Lahun, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>809</sup> The fragment contains a list of statues followed by the names and titles of temple staff, among which *It*, *S-n-wsr.t*, and *Sn.t* are mentioned. In each case, the title is broken between two lines.

The name and titles of *Mikt* (3-145M)<sup>810</sup> are preserved on a papyrus fragment (UC 32147G) from Lahun, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>811</sup> The fragment includes a record of supplies of three Sobek cult temples (Djedu, Geregbaf, and Resehwy) in the

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<sup>798</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 34 [5].

<sup>799</sup> Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Handschriften* I, 237 [603].

<sup>800</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 49 [7].

<sup>801</sup> Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Handschriften* I, 103 [239].

<sup>802</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 201 [10].

<sup>803</sup> Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Handschriften* I, 129 [305].

<sup>804</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 296 [21].

<sup>805</sup> Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Handschriften* I, 44 [80].

<sup>806</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 49 [7].

<sup>807</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 279 [1].

<sup>808</sup> Name not included in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

<sup>809</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 250-251.

<sup>810</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 146 [19].

<sup>811</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 258-259.

Fayoum, wherein *Mikt*'s name is mentioned. *Mikt* held dual titles of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt* and *wty*, or "embalmer." Based upon the provenance of the fragment, as well as a shared title, it is possible that *Mikt* (3-145M) and *Mikt* (3-146M, below) are the same individual.


The name and titles of *Mikt* (3-146M)<sup>812</sup> and *[...].f* (3-152I) are preserved on a papyrus fragment (UC 32194) from Lahun, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>813</sup> The fragment contains a list of produce (*ḥq.w*) brought on certain days by officials of the town and/or temple, for which *Mikt* was responsible for bringing provisions after Month 1 of Summer, Day 10, while *[...].f* was later responsible for bringing provisions on Day 20.

The name and title of *S3-spd.w-y-n-ḥb* (3-147M)<sup>814</sup> are preserved on a stela (E. 16012) from Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>815</sup>

The name and title of *Sbi.s* (3-148M)<sup>816</sup> are preserved on a rectangular stela (CG 20520) from Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>817</sup>

The name and titles of *Snb* (3-150M) are preserved on a stela (Nr. 91) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>818</sup>

#### 6.I.2.B. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b n ḥq3*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n ḥq3*), or "pure one of the ruler,"<sup>819</sup> appears for the first time during the Middle Kingdom, and may be a variant of the title *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt*, discussed above. The only known title-holder is *Hwi[...]* (3-155M),<sup>820</sup> whose name and title are preserved on a scarab (Fitzwilliam E.Sc.200) of unknown provenance, which typologically dates to the 12th Dynasty or later.<sup>821</sup> *Hwi[...]*'s sole title is *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n ḥq3*.

<sup>812</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 146 [19].

<sup>813</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 100-101.

<sup>814</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 284 [15].

<sup>815</sup> Philippus Miller, "A Family Stela in the University Museum, Philadelphia," *JEA* 23 (1937): pl. 1.

<sup>816</sup> Name not included in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

<sup>817</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* II, 116-122.

<sup>818</sup> Ernst Bergmann, "Inchriftliche Denkmäler der Sammlung Ägyptischer Alterthümer des Österreichischen Kaiserhauses," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 9 (1887): 61 [5].

<sup>819</sup> Ward, *Index*, 82 [680].

<sup>820</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 265 [26].

<sup>821</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 93 [1189], pl. 19 [16].



### 6.I.2.C. *w<sup>f</sup>b n [King's Name]*

The titular formula *w<sup>f</sup>b n [King's Name]*, which serves to link the title-holder to a specific king by directly referring to a king's name or mortuary complex, continues throughout the Middle Kingdom. One new variation of this titular formula appears during the reign of Sankhkare Mentuhotep III in reference to his shrine (§XIb.2). For ease of reference, Table 6.I.2.C illustrates the types of *w<sup>f</sup>b*-title(s) that are associated with each king, which are numbered according to dynasty (Roman numerals) and reign (Arabic numerals). Each of the *w<sup>f</sup>b*-titles associated with a king are discussed in chronological order in the following sub-sections.

The *w<sup>f</sup>b n [King's Name]* is a direct reference to the deceased king, but does not specify a mortuary complex. This title may have been used in one or more cult locations, wherever service may have been performed in honor of the named king. The oldest king's name with which a *w<sup>f</sup>b*-title is affiliated at this time is with Sneferu, the first king of the 4th Dynasty (§IV.1); the title-holder, however, lived during the Middle Kingdom. The earliest *w<sup>f</sup>b*-titles that are associated with a king's name during the Middle Kingdom reference Mentuhotep II and Mentuhotep III (§XIb.1-2). The next known *w<sup>f</sup>b*-title associated with a king's name references Amenemhat I, the founder of the 12th Dynasty (§XII.1).

The first mortuary complex with which a *w<sup>f</sup>b*-title is linked during the Middle Kingdom is with the mortuary complex (*3h-swt-Imn*) of Mentuhotep II in Deir el-Bahari (§XIb.1).<sup>822</sup> The next *w<sup>f</sup>b*-title linked to a cult place is that of a shrine of Mentuhotep III (§XIb.1).<sup>823</sup> No other known *w<sup>f</sup>b*-titles are linked to mortuary complexes until that of Senusret III and Amenemhat III, the fifth and sixth kings of the 12th Dynasty, respectively. The *w<sup>f</sup>b*-title linked to Senusret III refers to his mortuary complex (*W3h-s(w)t-H<sup>f</sup>k3w-r<sup>f</sup>*) in Abydos (§XII.5),<sup>824</sup> while the *w<sup>f</sup>b*-title linked to Amenemhat III may refer to the Black Pyramid in Dahshur (§XII.6).<sup>825</sup>

<sup>822</sup> Herbert Winlock, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom in Thebes* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), 77-90.

<sup>823</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 43 [37].

<sup>824</sup> Josef Wegner, "Excavations at the Town of Enduring-are-the-Places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abydos. A Preliminary Report on the 1994 and 1997 Seasons," *JARCE* 35 (1998): 1-44.















<sup>825</sup> The *w<sup>f</sup>b*-title refers to , which Ward associates with the pyramid of Amenemhat II. Refer to: Ward, *Index*, 79 [641a]. However, the name of Amenemhat II's pyramid is , which does not match the title here. This author proposes that the title refers to the pyramid of Amenemhat III, whose name

Table 6.I.2.C: <i>W<sup>s</sup>b n [King's Name] of the Middle Kingdom</i>		
Legend:  : <i>W<sup>s</sup>b</i> ;  : Shrine;  : Pyramid; X: No associated <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> -title		
<i>Dynasty 4</i>		
IV.1	Horus Nebmaat Sneferu	
<i>Dynasty 11b</i>		
XIb.1	Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II	 , 
XIb.2	Sankhkare Mentuhotep III	 ,  (?)
XIb.3	Nebtawyre Mentuhotep IV	X
<i>Dynasty 12</i>		
XII.1	Sehetepibre Amenemhat I	
XII.2	Kheperkare Senusret I	X
XII.3	Nubkhaure Amenemhat II	X
XII.4	Khakheperre Senusret II	X
XII.5	Khakaure Senusret III	
XII.6	Nimaatre Amenemhat III	 (?)
XII.7	Maekherure Amenemhat IV	X
XII.8	Sobkkare Sobekneferu	X
<i>Dynasty 13</i>		
No <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> -titles known.		

#### IV.1. *W<sup>s</sup>b [Snfrw]*

The title  ( *w<sup>s</sup>b [Snfrw]* ), or "pure one [of Sneferu]," refers to the mortuary cult of Sneferu.<sup>826</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *S3-ḥwt-ḥr* (3-116M),<sup>827</sup> whose name and titles are preserved on his statue that was found within the open court of the Valley Temple of Sneferu in Dahshur.<sup>828</sup> Although Sneferu's mortuary cult was established in the 4th Dynasty, the statue is attributed to the Middle Kingdom,<sup>829</sup> which suggests that the cult of Sneferu either had a remarkable longevity or was revived during the Middle Kingdom. *S3-ḥwt-ḥr*'s titulary is exclusively comprised of *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles of various rank: *w<sup>s</sup>b*, *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3*, and *w<sup>s</sup>b [Snfrw]*. His father, *Mn.w-snfrw* (3-089M) held the sole title of *w<sup>s</sup>b*.

is not otherwise known.


<sup>826</sup> Ward notes: "The king's name is not preserved, but this can only be Sneferu due to the find-spot." See: Ward, *Index*, 83 [683]. For all renderings of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 53 [1].

<sup>827</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 283 [20].

<sup>828</sup> Ahmed Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur* II (Cairo: General Organization for Govt. Print. Offices, 1961), 17-18 [3], fig. 293.

<sup>829</sup> Ward, *Index*, 83 [683].

XIb.1.A. *w<sup>b</sup> n Nb-hpt-r<sup>s</sup> m3<sup>s</sup> hrw*

The title  (*w<sup>b</sup> n Nb-hpt-r<sup>s</sup> m3<sup>s</sup> hrw*), or "pure one of Nebhepetre, true of voice,"<sup>830</sup> refers to mortuary cult of Mentuhotep II. All known attestations of this title appear in graffiti near the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari; the title is not attested elsewhere. The title occurs 13 times, but only 10 title-holders are named: *Iibb* (3-156M),<sup>831</sup> *Iibb* (3-157M),<sup>832</sup> *Iwii-n-p[š?]* (3-158M),<sup>833</sup> *Intf.w* (3-159M),<sup>834</sup> *ʿ3m* (1-160M),<sup>835</sup> *Šd-pth* (1-161M),<sup>836</sup> *Mrii-snb[...]* (3-162M),<sup>837</sup> *Nf-iw* (3-163M),<sup>838</sup> *Šw-imn[...]* (3-164M),<sup>839</sup> and *[...]mn* (3-165I).<sup>840</sup> The remaining three attestations do not include the name of the title-holder (e.g. 3-166I<sup>841</sup> and 3-168I),<sup>842</sup> although one inscription does identify the title-holder (3-167M) as the son of a certain *w<sup>b</sup>*, *Mrii-snb* (3-037M).<sup>843</sup> The graffiti collectively dates to the 12th Dynasty.

Approximately two-thirds (67%) of the graffiti in this area were made by *w<sup>b</sup>.w*.<sup>844</sup> Of the *w<sup>b</sup>.w* of Mentuhotep II, *w<sup>b</sup> n Nb-hpt-r<sup>s</sup>* is the sole title of each title-holder (see Appendix 3). Three attestations are especially worthy of attention as they contain genealogies linking one title-holder to another; i.e. *Intf.w* (3-159M) is identified as the parent of *Iibb* (3-157M), both of whom hold the title *w<sup>b</sup> n Nb-hpt-r<sup>s</sup>*; *Iwii-n-p[š?]* (3-158M) is identified as the son of *In[-it].f* (3-232M) and grandson of *R[n].f-snb(.w)* (3-

<sup>830</sup> Fischer, *Supplement*, 15 [669a]. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 79 [T6].

<sup>831</sup> Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti (Inschriften und Zeichnungen) aus der thebanischen Nekropolis, herausgegeben und bearbeitet* (Heidelberg, C. Winter, 1921), 77 [924b]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 40 [6]. Name not included in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

<sup>832</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 77 [924c, e]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 40 [7]. Name not included in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

<sup>833</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 80 [967]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 41 [12]. Name not included in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

<sup>834</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 77 [924c, e]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 40 [7]. Name not included in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

<sup>835</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 78 [931]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 41 [8]; Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 59 [2].

<sup>836</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 78 [934]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 41 [9]; Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 330 [22].

<sup>837</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 80 [961b]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 41 [10]. Name not included in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

<sup>838</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 78 [930b]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 41 [11]. Name transposed; compare to: Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 13 [20].

<sup>839</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 41 [14]. Name not included in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

<sup>840</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 77 [922]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 41 [13].

<sup>841</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 79 [949]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 41 [22].



<sup>842</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 41 [33].

<sup>843</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 41 [24].

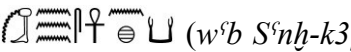
<sup>844</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 77-90.


236M), the latter two of whom are both *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b (n) Imn*;<sup>845</sup> and one unnamed individual (3-167M) is identified as the son of *Mrii-snb* (3-037M), who holds the title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*. Winlock proposes that the graffiti was made by *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w* who were annually sent up to the cliffs to watch for the bark of Amun for the Feast of the Valley.<sup>846</sup>

*XIb.1.B. W<sup>ḥ</sup>b Mnt.w n 3ḥ-swt-Imn*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b Mnt.w n 3ḥ-swt-Imn*), or "pure one of Montu, of (the pyramid) 'Glorious-are-the-Places-of-Amun,'"<sup>847</sup> refers to Mentuhotep II's pyramidal mortuary complex in Deir el-Bahari; note the usage of the -determinative. Only one title-holder is known, *Ni-sw* (3-169M),<sup>848</sup> whose name and title are preserved in a graffito near the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, which Winlock proposes was made by *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w* whom had been sent up to the cliffs to watch for the bark of Amun for the Feast of the Valley.<sup>849</sup> The graffito dates to the 12th Dynasty.<sup>850</sup> *Ni-sw* holds the dual titles of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b Mnt.w n 3ḥ-swt-Imn* and *imy st-ḥ*, or "helper/functionary."

*XIb.2.A. W<sup>ḥ</sup>b S<sup>ḥ</sup>nh-k3[-r<sup>ḥ</sup>]*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b S<sup>ḥ</sup>nh-k3[-r<sup>ḥ</sup>]*), or "pure one of Sankhka[re],"<sup>851</sup> refers to Mentuhotep III. All known attestations of the title appear in graffiti near the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari; the title is not attested elsewhere. The title occurs eight times, but only four title-holders are named: *Imn.ii* (3-170M),<sup>852</sup> *Rn(i)-snb(w)* (3-171M),<sup>853</sup> *S3-s-n-wsr.t* (3-172M),<sup>854</sup> and *S-n-wsr.t* (3-173M).<sup>855</sup> The remaining four

<sup>845</sup> The feminine  or "t" is indicated consistently within the genealogical inscription. However, Spiegelberg marks each occurrence as [*sic*], which is later copied by Winlock. Refer to: Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 80 [967]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 41 [12].

<sup>846</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 77-90.

<sup>847</sup> Fischer, *Supplement*, 14 [641bis]; von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 79 [P].

<sup>848</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 173 [12].

<sup>849</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 77-90.

<sup>850</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 79 [948]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 40 [2].

<sup>851</sup> Fischer, *Supplement*, 15 [681a]. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 81 [T1], without cartouche.

<sup>852</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 78 [932]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 43 [36]; Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 31 [13].

<sup>853</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 79 [944]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 43 [38]; Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 222 [26].


<sup>854</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 77 [920b], 81 [975]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 42 [34]. Name not included in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

<sup>855</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 43 [35]; Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 279 [1].


attestations do not specify the name of the title-holder (3-174I,<sup>856</sup> 3-175I,<sup>857</sup> 3-176I,<sup>858</sup> and 3-177I).<sup>859</sup> The graffiti collectively dates to the 12th Dynasty.

Each title-holder holds the title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b S<sup>ḥ</sup>nḥ-k3[-r<sup>ḥ</sup>]*, which in two cases is complemented by the name *Mnt.w-ḥtp*, or Mentuhotep III. Only one unnamed title-holder (3-174I) holds a second priestly title of *ḥry-ḥbt*, or lector priest. Winlock proposes that the graffiti was made by *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w* who were annually sent up to the cliffs to watch for the bark of Amun for the Feast of the Valley.<sup>860</sup>

#### *XIb.2.B. W<sup>ḥ</sup>b šḥ S<sup>ḥ</sup>nḥ-k3-r<sup>ḥ</sup> m<sup>ḥ</sup>3 ḥrw*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šḥ S<sup>ḥ</sup>nḥ-k3-r<sup>ḥ</sup> m<sup>ḥ</sup>3 ḥrw*), or "pure one of the shrine of Sankhkare, true of voice,"<sup>861</sup> most likely refers to the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep III, located on Thoth Hill.<sup>862</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *Imn.ii* (3-178M),<sup>863</sup> whose name and title are preserved by a graffito near the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, which dates to the 12th Dynasty.<sup>864</sup> *Imn.ii*'s sole title is *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šḥ S<sup>ḥ</sup>nḥ-k3-r<sup>ḥ</sup> m<sup>ḥ</sup>3 ḥrw*. Winlock proposes that the graffiti were made by *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w* who had been sent up to the cliffs to watch for the bark of Amun for the Feast of the Valley.<sup>865</sup>

#### *XII.1. W<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Šḥtp-ib-r<sup>ḥ</sup>*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Šḥtp-ib-r<sup>ḥ</sup>*), or "pure one of Sehetepibre,"<sup>866</sup> refers to Amenemhat I. Two attestations of the title are known, both of which are held by a certain *Gb.w*,<sup>867</sup> which may in fact refer to one individual title-holder (3-179M+3-180M). The


<sup>856</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 43 [43].

<sup>857</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 43 [44].

<sup>858</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 81 [972]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 43 [45].

<sup>859</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 78 [928g]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 43 [46].

<sup>860</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 77-90.

<sup>861</sup> The extraneous  is almost certainly a scribal error. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 81 [T1]. This title is not included within Ward's *Index* or Fischer's *Supplement*.

<sup>862</sup> Győző Vörös, "The Ancient Nest of Horus above Thebes: Hungarian Excavations on Thoth Hill at the Temple of King Sankhkare Montuhotep III (1995-1998)," in *Egyptology at the dawn of the twenty-first century: proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*, ed. Zahi Hawass (Cairo: AUC Press, 2003), 547-556.

<sup>863</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 31 [13].

<sup>864</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 43 [37].


<sup>865</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 77-90.

<sup>866</sup> Ward, *Index*, 83 [684]. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 83 [T2].


<sup>867</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 350 [16].

name and titles of *Gb.w* are preserved upon two scarabs (MMA 30.8.648 and an unnumbered example within the Michaelides Collection) of unknown provenance, both of which date from the 12th to 13th Dynasties.<sup>868</sup> The sole title contained upon both scarabs is *w<sup>6</sup>b n Shṯp-ib-r<sup>6</sup>*.

*XII.5. W<sup>6</sup>b W3ḥ-s(w)t-H<sup>6</sup>k3w-r<sup>6</sup>-m-3bdw*

The title  (*w<sup>6</sup>b W3ḥ-s(w)t-H<sup>6</sup>k3w-r<sup>6</sup>-m-3bdw*), or "pure one of 'Enduring-are-the-Places-of-Khakaure' in Abydos,"<sup>869</sup> refers to the mortuary temple complex of Senusret III in south Abydos. Only one title-holder is known, *Nḥr.i* (1-181M),<sup>870</sup> whose name and title are preserved on a scarab sealing (7598 [48-1-2]) found within Building A of the town of Wah Sut, which dates to the reign of Senusret III.<sup>871</sup> *Nḥr.i*'s sole title is *w<sup>6</sup>b W3ḥ-s(w)t-H<sup>6</sup>k3w-r<sup>6</sup>-m-3bdw*. Wegner notes that "the association of a wab/purification priest with the *W3ḥ-s(w)t-H<sup>6</sup>k3w-r<sup>6</sup>-m3<sup>6</sup>-ḥrw-m-3bdw* marks it as a cult foundation dedicated to that pharaoh."<sup>872</sup>

*XII.6. W<sup>6</sup>b m Shm-Imn.ii*

The title  (*w<sup>6</sup>b m Shm-Imn.ii*), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Mighty-is-Ameny,'"<sup>873</sup> may refer to the Black Pyramid, or the pyramid of Amenemhat III in Dahshur.<sup>874</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *S3-nr* (3-182M),<sup>875</sup> whose name and titles are preserved upon a stela (BM EA839) of unknown provenance, which dates to the 12th Dynasty.<sup>876</sup> *S3-nr*'s sole priestly title is *w<sup>6</sup>b m Shm-Imn.ii*.

<sup>868</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 131 [1712-1713], pl. 37 [25].


<sup>869</sup> This title is not included within Ward's *Index* or Fischer's *Supplement*. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 85 [T3].

<sup>870</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 208 [23].

<sup>871</sup> Wegner, "Excavations at the Town of Enduring-are-the-Places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abydos," 1-44.

<sup>872</sup> Wegner, "Excavations at the Town of Enduring-are-the-Places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abydos," 42.

<sup>873</sup> Ward, *Index*, 79 [641a]. The king's name is not rendered as such in: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 85 [3].

<sup>874</sup> Ward associates the title with the pyramid of Amenemhat II (see note above). However, the name of Amenemhat II's pyramid is , which does not match the title here. This author proposes that the title refers to the pyramid of Amenemhat III, whose name is not otherwise known.


<sup>875</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 283 [1].

<sup>876</sup> British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts* II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1912), pl. 7.

### 6.I.3. Funerary *W<sup>s</sup>b*-Titles

This section examines funerary *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles, which have increased in number since earlier periods. Although the title *w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200)* was consistently linked to the pyramid complexes from the end of the 5th Dynasty, the title is no longer explicitly linked to the royal mortuary cult in the Middle Kingdom. Several other funerary *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles also appear at this time, which include: *w<sup>s</sup>b ḥr.t*, *w<sup>s</sup>b n b3.w ḥrt-ntr*, *w<sup>s</sup>b n šḥ-ntr*, and *w<sup>s</sup>b n k3*. The diversification of funerary *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles in the Middle Kingdom suggests a shift in the affiliation of the title-holder from the royal mortuary cult to that of private individuals. Each of the titles are discussed in their respective subsections below.


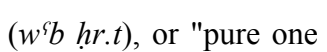
#### 6.I.3.A. *W<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200)*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200)*), or "pure one of the *šnty (200)*," is most likely affiliated with the royal mortuary cult, as per §4.I.3.A-C. Only one title-holder is known: *D3g.i (3-291M)*,<sup>877</sup> whose name and titles are preserved in his tomb in Thebes, which dates to the early 12th Dynasty.<sup>878</sup> *D3g.i* holds a number of priestly titles, which include: *w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200)*, *s(t)m*-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth), [...] *ḥs3t* or "[...] Hesat," *ḥm-ntr*, and *ḥm-ntr* of Horus. *D3g.i*'s other titles suggest that he enjoyed a relatively high status as: *iry p<sup>t</sup>* or "hereditary prince/nobleman," *ḥ3ty-<sup>ḥ</sup>* or "count," *ḥrp šndyt nbt* or "director of every kilt," and *imy-r [...]* or "overseer of [...]."



<sup>877</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 396 [4].

<sup>878</sup> The surviving decoration within the tomb of *D3g.i* is highly fragmentary, for which Davies has reconstructed much of his title-string. Refer to: Norman de Garis Davies, *Five Theban Tombs: (Being Those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemawäy and Tati)* (London: EEF, 1913), 28-39, pls. 31-37.

### 6.1.3.B. *W<sup>b</sup> hr.t*


The title  /  (*w<sup>b</sup> hr.t*), or "pure one of the tomb,"<sup>879</sup> is a funerary *w<sup>b</sup>*-title associated with a tomb. The dual renderings of the word *hr.t* in the title suggest two different types of tomb due to the two different determinatives. Five title-holders are known. Unless otherwise stated, *w<sup>b</sup> hr.t* is their sole title.

The name and title<sup>880</sup> of *Tti* (3-293M)<sup>881</sup> are preserved upon a block statue (Baltimore 22.163) of unknown provenance,<sup>882</sup> which dates to the reign of Senusret III.<sup>883</sup>

The name and title<sup>884</sup> of *Rdi-ni-ptḥ* (3-284M)<sup>885</sup> are preserved upon a block statue (Brooklyn 39.602) of unknown provenance, which dates to the 12th Dynasty.<sup>886</sup> Based on this inscription, Vernus initially argued that the *w<sup>b</sup>*-title does not refer to a tomb or necropolis, but rather to an elevated place or object possibly associated with the god Ptah, as per his alternative reading of the title and the title-holder's name. He later retracted this interpretation upon consideration of further evidence from the New Kingdom.<sup>887</sup> The title  most likely refers to a different type of tomb (*hr.t*) than the title , which is used within a rock-cut tomb-chapel at Meir; in this regard it is especially unfortunate that the provenance of this statue is not known.

The name and title<sup>888</sup> of *Ppy* (3-294M)<sup>889</sup> are preserved on the lower part of his statue from Saqqara,<sup>890</sup> which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>891</sup> The statue is unique: *Ppy*


<sup>879</sup> Ward, *Index*, 82 [679]. Blackman translates the second rendering of the title as "*w<sup>b</sup>*-priest of the Grotto-chapel." Refer to: Aylward Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir III* (London: EEF, 1915), 5. For further commentary, see: Pascal Vernus, "Encore une fois le titre *w<sup>b</sup> hr.t*," *Kêmi* 21 (1971): 7-9.

<sup>880</sup> Rendered as .

<sup>881</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 384 [4].

<sup>882</sup> George Steindorff, *Catalogue of the Egyptian sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery* (Baltimore: The Trustees, 1946), 49 [49], pl. 12 [91].


<sup>883</sup> Vernus, "Encore une fois le titre *w<sup>b</sup> hr.t*," 7, n. 5; Jacques Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie III* (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1952), 243.

<sup>884</sup> Rendered as .

<sup>885</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 228 [3].

<sup>886</sup> Thomas James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1974), 59-60 [139] and pl. 40 [139].

<sup>887</sup> Pascal Vernus, "Un fragment de bas-relief trouvé a Tanis," *Kêmi* 19 (1969): 93-101; Vernus, "Encore une fois le titre *w<sup>b</sup> hr.t*," 7-9.

<sup>888</sup> Rendered as .

<sup>889</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 131 [18].

<sup>890</sup> Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 73, pl. 11.


<sup>891</sup> Vernus, "Encore une fois le titre *w<sup>b</sup> hr.t*," 7.



sits with his legs folded under him at an angle. His hands rest on the top of his thighs, with his right hand placed over his left hand. Quibell observed that this statue "can be paralleled in the figures of women depicted on a small scale at their husbands' feet."<sup>892</sup>

The titles<sup>893</sup> of two unnamed individuals (3-285M and 3-286M) are preserved within the rock-cut tomb-chapel (No. 4) of *Wh.w-htp(.w)* III in Meir, which dates to the 12th Dynasty.<sup>894</sup> The pair of *w<sup>s</sup>b.w hr.t* are shown carrying low tables laden with food, following a pair of *hm.w-k3*, or "k3-servants," who carry a basin and other vessels probably containing beverages.


### 6.I.3.C. *W<sup>s</sup>b n b3.w hr.t-ntr*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b n b3.w hr.t-ntr*) or "pure one of the *b3.w* of the necropolis,"<sup>895</sup> is a funerary *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title. Two title-holders are known; their sole title is *w<sup>s</sup>b n hr.t-ntr*.


The name and title of *n<sup>s</sup>h.w* (3-287M)<sup>896</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20050) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>897</sup>

The name and title of *n.ti-htp(.w)* (3-288M)<sup>898</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20034) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>899</sup>

### 6.I.3.D. *W<sup>s</sup>b n sh-ntr*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b n sh-ntr*), or "pure one of the Divine Booth,"<sup>900</sup> is a funerary *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title referring to a divine booth or shrine.<sup>901</sup> An example of this type of title occurs in reference to Mentuhotep III (§XIb.2.B), above. Two title-holders are known, *W<sup>s</sup>[...]w<sup>s</sup>[...]* (3-289I) and *Nht* (3-290M),<sup>902</sup> both of whose names and titles are preserved

<sup>892</sup> Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 73, pl. 11.

<sup>893</sup> Rendered as .

<sup>894</sup> Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* III, pl. 24.

<sup>895</sup> Ward translates the title as "priest of the stonemasons." Refer to: Ward, *Index*, 83 [681].

<sup>896</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 68 [6].

<sup>897</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 59-60.

<sup>898</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 70 [2].

<sup>899</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 42-43.


<sup>900</sup> Fischer, *Supplement*, 16 [683a].

<sup>901</sup> Fischer notes, "the last sign more probably represents *sh* rather than *hb* 'festival,' but the choice is uncertain, since writing tend to be interchanged both in the Old and Middle Kingdom." Refer to: Fischer, *Supplement*, 16.

<sup>902</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 209 [16].

by a graffito located between Mahatta and Aswan, the precise location of which was not further specified by de Morgan.<sup>903</sup> The graffito dates to the Middle Kingdom, and both individuals hold the sole title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n sh-ntr*.

#### 6.1.3.E. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b n k3*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n k3*), or "pure one of the *k3*,"<sup>904</sup> is a funerary *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-title that may have functioned in conjunction with the widely attested *hm-k3*, or "*k3*-servant." The title does not appear until the Middle Kingdom, and is attested by only one known titleholder, *Mn.w-ḥtp.w* (3-292M),<sup>905</sup> whose name and title are preserved on a stela (Turin 94) of unknown provenance.<sup>906</sup> *Mn.w-ḥtp.w*'s sole title is *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n k3*.

#### 6.1.4. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-titles Affiliated with a Deity, Divine Epithet, or Cult Center

This section examines the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-titles that are affiliated with a deity, divine epithet, or cult center. Hierarchical *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-titles, or the presence of an upper-ranking *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* *ʿ3* that is distinguished from a lower-ranking *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*, initially appear within the cults of Ptah and Min during the Old Kingdom. By the Middle Kingdom, a number of other *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-titles appear that suggest further hierarchical refinements among the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w*. These titles include: *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b wr* or "grand pure one," *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b bsi* or "pure one who has been initiated," as well as the subsidiary title of *ʿq* or "enterer."

The use of *ʿ3* and *wr* to qualify a priestly title also occurs with the title of *hry-ḥbt*, or lector priest. As with the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* *ʿ3*, the usage of *hry-ḥbt* *ʿ3* occurs in association with a deity, i.e. *hry-ḥbt ʿ3 n B3st.t*, or "great lector priest of Bastet."<sup>907</sup> The title also occurs in reference to a specific place, i.e. *hry-ḥbt ʿ3 pr-nfr* or "great lector priest of the funerary workshop."<sup>908</sup> The title *hry-ḥbt wr*, in contrast, does not appear linked to a deity, although it does occur in reference to a specific place, i.e. *hry-ḥbt wr n db3t* or "grand lector priest

<sup>903</sup> Jacques de Morgan, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique. Ire série, Haute Égypte* (Vienne: Adolphe Holzhausen, 1894), 38 [161].

<sup>904</sup> Title not included in Ward's *Index*.

<sup>905</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 152 [9].

<sup>906</sup> Gaston Maspero, "Rapport à M. Jules Ferry, ministre de l'instruction publique sur une mission en Italie," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 3 (1882): 122 [15]; Hans-Wolfgang Müller, "Die Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches, ihre Genesis, ihre Darstellungen und ihre Komposition," *MDAIK* 4 (1933), pl. 34 [2].

<sup>907</sup> Ward, *Index*, 140 [1206].

<sup>908</sup> Ward, *Index*, 140 [1207].

of the robing room."<sup>909</sup> It is therefore probable that the designation of  $\text{'}\text{3}$  or  $wr$  reflects where the title-holder is working, especially with  $\text{'}\text{3}$  most often being linked to a divine cult. A difference in rank between the  $\text{'}\text{3}$  and  $wr$  is not implied; indeed, Ward translates both the words  $\text{'}\text{3}$  and  $wr$  synonymously as "chief."<sup>910</sup> Both  $w^{\text{'}}b \text{'}\text{3}$  and  $w^{\text{'}}b wr$  likely oversaw lower-ranking  $w^{\text{'}}b.w$ .

The title  $w^{\text{'}}b bsi$ , or "pure one who has been initiated," indicates that the title-holder has undergone a form of initiation that serves to further distinguish them from the rest of the  $w^{\text{'}}b.w$ , but not the complete form of initiation that was reserved for the upper-ranking  $hm-ntr$ , as discussed in Chapter 3. Such a partial initiation may have enabled the title-holder to complete ritual tasks that were not possible for one who was merely  $w^{\text{'}}b$ .

The subsidiary title of  $\text{'}q$ , or "enterer," sometimes accompanies the title of  $w^{\text{'}}b$ , as discussed above in §6.I.1. Because  $\text{'}q$  is not explicitly a  $w^{\text{'}}b$ -title, it is here designated as a subsidiary title. The title underscores the title-holder's right of entry into sacred space, but does not indicate an elevated rank like the  $w^{\text{'}}b \text{'}\text{3}$  or  $w^{\text{'}}b wr$ , nor having undergone a partial form of initiation, such as the  $w^{\text{'}}b bsi$ . The proposed hierarchy of  $w^{\text{'}}b$ -titles is shown in Table 6.I.4.A, below.

<b>Table 6.I.4.A: Hierarchy of <math>W^{\text{'}}b</math>-Titles in the Middle Kingdom</b>		
$w^{\text{'}}b \text{'}\text{3}$	$w^{\text{'}}b bsi$ $w^{\text{'}}b \text{'}q$ $w^{\text{'}}b$	$w^{\text{'}}b wr$

The hierarchy of  $w^{\text{'}}b$ -titles outlined above remain subordinate to other grades of the priestly hierarchy, e.g.  $hm-ntr$ , as discussed in Chapter 3.

The cults in which the  $w^{\text{'}}b.w$  are organized under an upper-ranking  $w^{\text{'}}b \text{'}\text{3}$  are shown in the left column of Table 6.I.4.B. The cults in which no upper-ranking  $w^{\text{'}}b \text{'}\text{3}$  is known are listed in the right column of Table 6.I.4.B.

<b>Table 6.I.4.B: Hierarchical vs. Non-Hierarchical <math>W^{\text{'}}b</math>-titles in the Middle Kingdom</b>	
<i>Deities</i>	
Hierarchical $w^{\text{'}}b$ -titles	Non-Hierarchical $w^{\text{'}}b$ -titles




<sup>909</sup> Ward, *Index*, 141 [1210]. For the generic form of title, refer to: Ward, *Index*, 141 [1209a].

<sup>910</sup> Ward, *Index*, 140-141.

( <i>w<sup>s</sup>b.w</i> organized under a <i>w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3</i> )	( <i>w<sup>s</sup>b.w</i> only)
§6.I.4.A. Anubis Osiris Hathor Horus Khonsu Khnum Sobek Sopdu	§6.I.4.B. Amun Onuris Atum Wadjet Wepwawet Bennu Ptah Min Montu Re-Horakhty Sekhmet Satis
<i>Divine Epithets</i>	
<i>Nbt pt</i>	<i>Nb Iwnyt</i>
<i>Cult Centers</i>	
Hatnub Thinite Nome & Abydos	Thinis Tod

The hierarchical *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles of a deity, divine epithet, or cult center, are discussed in §6.I.4.A. The upper-ranking title *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3* is discussed first, immediately followed by the respective entry-level title below. For example, the *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Inpw* is discussed in §6.I.4.A.1, followed by the *w<sup>s</sup>b (n) Inpw* in §6.I.4.A.1.a. The titles are discussed in alphabetical order by deity. The titles of *w<sup>s</sup>b wr* and *w<sup>s</sup>b bsi*, which are not explicitly linked to the cult of a deity, are discussed at the end of this section. All non-hierarchical *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles (i.e. *w<sup>s</sup>b n [Deity]*), which are not organized under an upper-ranking *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3*, are examined in §6.I.4.B. These titles are also discussed in alphabetical order by deity below.

#### 6.I.4.A. *W<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3*) or "great pure one"<sup>911</sup> does not specify a particular deity. The title was initially attested during the First Intermediate Period. At this time, the title was rendered: , as attested by the two known title-holders, *Wsr* (2-007M) and *Tti-ḥr-mnḥt* (2-008M), both of whom are discussed in the previous chapter. By the Middle Kingdom, the title is rendered as . Six title-holders are known from this time.

<sup>911</sup> Ward, *Index*, 79 [645]; *Wb.* I, 282-283.

The name and titles of *S3-hwt-hr* (3-116M)<sup>912</sup> are preserved on his statue that was found within the open court of the Valley Temple of Sneferu in Dahshur.<sup>913</sup> Although Sneferu's mortuary cult was established in the 4th Dynasty, the statue is attributed to the Middle Kingdom,<sup>914</sup> which suggests that the cult of Sneferu either had a remarkable longevity or was revived during the Middle Kingdom. *S3-hwt-hr*'s titulary is exclusively comprised of *w<sup>sb</sup>*-titles of various rank: *w<sup>sb</sup>*, *w<sup>sb</sup> ʿ3*, and *w<sup>sb</sup> [Snfrw]*. His father, *Mn.w-snfrw* (3-089M) held the sole title of *w<sup>sb</sup>*.


The name and titles of *Imn.ii* (3-183M)<sup>915</sup> are preserved on a scarab (JdE 34083) from Memphis (modern Mit Rahina), which typologically dates to the 12th Dynasty or later.<sup>916</sup> *Imn.ii* holds the dual titles of *w<sup>sb</sup> ʿ3* and *hm-k3*, or "k3-servant."

The name and titles of *Ih3* (3-185M)<sup>917</sup> are preserved on a rectangular coffin (CG 28090) from Bersheh, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>918</sup> Although *Ih3* holds several epithets, *w<sup>sb</sup> ʿ3* is his sole title.

The name and titles of *Hnm.w-ʿ3* (3-186M)<sup>919</sup> and *Hnm.w-nht* (3-187M)<sup>920</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20092) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>921</sup> Both *Hnm.w-ʿ3*'s and *Hnm.w-nht*'s sole title is *w<sup>sb</sup> ʿ3*.

The name and titles of *Nn.i* (3-184M)<sup>922</sup> are preserved on a scarab of unknown provenance, which dates to the early Second Intermediate Period.<sup>923</sup> *Nn.i* holds two titles: *w<sup>sb</sup> ʿ3* and *nfr*, or "recruit."

#### 6.I.4.A.1. *W<sup>sb</sup> ʿ3 n Inpw*

The title  (*w<sup>sb</sup> ʿ3 n Inpw*), or "great pure one of Anubis,"<sup>924</sup> is the head of the *w<sup>sb</sup>.w* of Anubis. Although various *hm-ntr (n) Inpw* titles appear as early as

<sup>912</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 283 [20].

<sup>913</sup> Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur* II, 17-18 [3], fig. 293.

<sup>914</sup> Ward, *Index*, 83 [683].

<sup>915</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 31 [13].

<sup>916</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 21 [199], pl. 36 [33].

<sup>917</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 44 [6].

<sup>918</sup> Lacau, *Sarcophages antérieurs au nouvel empire*, 30-37.

<sup>919</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 275 [6].

<sup>920</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 276 [1].

<sup>921</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 112-113.


<sup>922</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 205 [9].

<sup>923</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 62 [751], pl. 41 [36].

<sup>924</sup> Ward, *Index*, 79 [647]. Although this title is included in Ward's *Index*, the title could not be verified within his citation.

the 4th Dynasty,<sup>925</sup> no *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-title is attested within the priestly hierarchy until the Middle Kingdom.

#### 6.I.4.A.1.a. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b (n) Inpw*


The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Inpw*), or "pure one of Anubis,"<sup>926</sup> is an entry-level *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-title within the cult of Anubis, as opposed to the upper-ranking *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 n Inpw*, discussed above. Three title-holders are known. Unless otherwise stated, *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Inpw* is their sole title.

The name and title of *Dd.w-sbk* (3-188M)<sup>927</sup> are preserved on a stela (Inv. Nr. 23/66) from Abydos, which dates to the 12th Dynasty.<sup>928</sup>

The name and title of *Rn(.i)-snb(w)* (3-189M)<sup>929</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20289) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>930</sup>

The name and titles of *Nḥ.i* (3-190M)<sup>931</sup> are preserved on his stela (UC 14418) of unknown provenance, which dates to the late Middle Kingdom.<sup>932</sup> *Nḥ.i*'s sole priestly title is *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b (n) Inpw*. He also holds a pair of administrative titles: *s3b iry Nḥn* or "juridical official and mouth of Nekhen" and *w<sup>ḥ</sup>ty pw m t3 pn* or "sole one of this land."

#### 6.I.4.A.2. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 n Wsir*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 n Wsir*) is the "great pure one of Osiris."<sup>933</sup> Although the title *ḥm-ntr (n) Wsir* was attested at the end of the 5th Dynasty,<sup>934</sup> no *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-titles are included within the priestly hierarchy until the Middle Kingdom. Only one title-holder is known, *Wp-w3.wt-ʿ3* (3-191M),<sup>935</sup> whose name and titles are preserved on a stela (Leiden V4) from Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>936</sup> *Wp-w3.wt-ʿ3* holds various

<sup>925</sup> Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 19-20, 27.

<sup>926</sup> Ward, *Index*, 79 [642].

<sup>927</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 402 [24].

<sup>928</sup> Werner Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin: Östlicher Stülerbau am Schloss Charlottenburg* (Berlin: Staatliche Museen, 1967), 42 [427], fig. 427.

<sup>929</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 222 [26].

<sup>930</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 303-304.

<sup>931</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 207 [15].

<sup>932</sup> Harry Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection II* (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1979), 27 [113].

<sup>933</sup> Ward, *Index*, 79 [648].

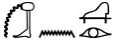
<sup>934</sup> Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 123-124.

<sup>935</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 77 [21].

<sup>936</sup> P. Boeser, *Leiden* II, 3 [5], pl. 4.

priestly titles, which include: *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 n Wsir*, *s(t)m*-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of opening the mouth), *hrp šndyt nbt r pr Mn.w* or "director of every kilt in the temple of Min," *imy-r sšrw m pr-wr* or "overseer of the cloth/linen of the shrine of Upper Egypt," *ḥm-ntr* of Maat, and *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr* or "overseer of the god's servants." Two other titles may refer to his right to access sacred space: *sr i3t tsst* or "official who unties the knot"<sup>937</sup> and *m33 in nw n pr* or "one who sees what is brought to the temple."<sup>938</sup> *Wp-w3.wt-ʿ3*'s other titles suggest that he enjoyed a relatively high status: *iry p<sup>ḥ</sup>t* or "hereditary prince/nobleman," *ḥ3ty-ḥ* or "count," *ḥtm(ty)-bity* or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt," *smr w<sup>ḥ</sup>ty* or "sole companion," *ḥnty swt m ʿt* or "foremost of seat in the estate," and *špss ḥry.s* or "respected/esteemed before it."

#### 6.I.4.A.2.a. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Wsir*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Wsir*) is the "pure one of Osiris."<sup>939</sup> Four title-holders are known.

The name and titles of *Sn(.i)-pw* (3-192M)<sup>940</sup> and *S-n-wsr.t* (3-193M)<sup>941</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20030) from the eastern slope of Middle Cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>942</sup> *Sn(.i)-pw*, for whom the stela is inscribed, holds the sole title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥm-ntr n Wsir*, or "pure one [and] god's servant of Osiris," whereas *S-n-wsr.t*, who is mentioned upon the stela, only holds the title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Wsir*.

The name and titles of *Snb-ty.fy* (3-194M)<sup>943</sup> and *Sn(.i)-pw* (3-195M)<sup>944</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20334) from the Northern Cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>945</sup> *Snb-ty.fy* and *Sn-pw*, both of whom are mentioned upon the stela, hold the sole title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Wsir*.

<sup>937</sup> This title may "refer to opening of sealed doorways, which were tied and knotted prior to the application of the seals." Refer to: Denise Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: a social and historical analysis* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 178-179.

<sup>938</sup> Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 178-179.

<sup>939</sup> Ward, *Index*, 81 [664].

<sup>940</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 308 [17].

<sup>941</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 279 [1].


<sup>942</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 38-40.

<sup>943</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 314 [23].


<sup>944</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 308 [17].

<sup>945</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 346-347.


#### 6.I.4.A.3.1. *W<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Hwt-ḥr*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Hwt-ḥr*) is the "great pure one of Hathor."<sup>946</sup> Although various *ḥm(t)-ntr (n) Hwt-ḥr* titles appear in the 4th Dynasty,<sup>947</sup> no *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles are attested within the priestly hierarchy until the Middle Kingdom. Only one title-holder is known, *Snb.i* (3-196M),<sup>948</sup> whose name and titles are preserved on a stela (CG 20780) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>949</sup> *Snb.i* holds dual priestly titles: *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Hwt-ḥr* and *s(t)m*-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of the Opening the Mouth). He also held two additional titles: *ḥq3 ḥsy.f mʿ3* or "ruler whom he truly praises" and *imy-r ḥ3tyw* or "overseer of the foremost ones."

#### 6.I.4.A.3.2. *W<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Hwt-ḥr nb[t] Tp-iḥw ḥry-ib Hnm.w-swt*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Hwt-ḥr nb[t] Tp-iḥw ḥry-ib Hnm.w-swt*), or "great pure one of Hathor, Lady of Aphroditopolis, in the midst of 'Favorite-of-Places,'"<sup>950</sup> refers to the head of the *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* of Hathor, Lady of Aphroditopolis (modern Atfih), the capital of the Knife Nome (U.E. 22).<sup>951</sup> Ward attributes the place-name *ḥry-ib Hnmw-swt*, or "Favorite-of-Places," to Senusret I's pyramid in Lisht. However, the name of Senusret I's pyramid is *ptr-t3wy*, or "Overlooking-the-Two-Lands," which does not match the toponym within this title. Only one title-holder is known, *Sbk-ḥr(.w)* (3-197M),<sup>952</sup> whose name and title are preserved upon a scarab (unnumbered) of unknown provenance, which typologically dates to the 12th Dynasty or later.<sup>953</sup> *Sbk-ḥr(.w)*'s sole title is *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Hwt-ḥr nb[t] Tp-iḥw ḥry-ib Hnm.w-swt*.

#### 6.I.4.A.3.a. *W<sup>s</sup>b n Hwt-ḥr nb[t] Iwn.t*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b n Hwt-ḥr nb[t] Iwn.t*), or "pure one of Hathor, Lady of Dendera"<sup>954</sup> is an entry-level *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title within the cult of Hathor, Lady of Dendera,

<sup>946</sup> Ward, *Index*, 80 [652].

<sup>947</sup> Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 53-78.

<sup>948</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 313 [23].

<sup>949</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* II, 409.

<sup>950</sup> Ward, *Index*, 80 [653].

<sup>951</sup> Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 119\*.

<sup>952</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 305 [3].

<sup>953</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 88 [1125], pl. 19 [9].

<sup>954</sup> Ward, *Index*, 82 [673].



the capital of the Crocodile Nome (U.E. 6).<sup>955</sup> Four title-holders are known; *w<sup>s</sup>b n Hwt-hr nb[t] Iwn.t* was their sole title.


The name and title of *Rn(.i)-snb(w)* (3-198M)<sup>956</sup> are preserved on a scarab (BM 41564) of unknown provenance, which typologically dates to the 11th Dynasty or later.<sup>957</sup>

The name and title of *W3d-sinw* (3-199M)<sup>958</sup> are preserved on a calcite fragment of unknown provenance, which dates to the reign of Senusret III.<sup>959</sup>


The name and title of *Nh.i* (3-200M)<sup>960</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20030) from the eastern slope of the middle cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>961</sup>

The name and title of *S3-hi* (3-201M)<sup>962</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20334) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>963</sup>

#### 6.I.4.A.4. *W<sup>s</sup>b '3 n Hr Bhd.tii*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b '3 n Hr Bhd.tii*), or "great pure one of Horus the Behedite,"<sup>964</sup> is the head of the *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* of Horus the Behedite, whose cult center is located in the Horus Nome (U.E. 2, Edfu). Only one title-holder is known, *Snb[...]* (3-202M), whose name and title are preserved on a stela from the tomb of Isi in Edfu, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>965</sup> *Snb[...]*'s sole title is *w<sup>s</sup>b '3 n Hr Bhd.tii*.

#### 6.I.4.A.4.a. *W<sup>s</sup>b n Hr Bhd.t*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b n Hr Bhd.t*), or "pure one of Horus the Behedite,"<sup>966</sup> is an entry-level *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title within the cult of Horus the Behedite, whose cult center is

<sup>955</sup> Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 30\*.

<sup>956</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 222 [26].

<sup>957</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 68 [831], pl. 5 [6].

<sup>958</sup> Name not included in Ranke, *Personennamen* I.

<sup>959</sup> Pascal Vernus, "Un fragment du Moyen Empire," *RdE* 25 (1973): 255-256.

<sup>960</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 207 [15].

<sup>961</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 38-40.

<sup>962</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 283 [17].

<sup>963</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 38-40.

<sup>964</sup> Ward, *Index*, 80 [654].

<sup>965</sup> Maurice Alliot, "Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé dans l'Égypte ancienne," *BIFAO* 37 (1937-1938): 108 [21].


<sup>966</sup> Ward, *Index*, 82 [675].

located in the Horus Nome (U.E. 2, Edfu). Two title-holders are known, both of whom hold *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Ḥr Bḥd.t* as their sole title.

The name and title of *Ḥwi* (3-203M)<sup>967</sup> are preserved on a stela from the tomb of *Isi* in Edfu, which dates to the reign of Sobekhotep IV.<sup>968</sup> *Ḥw(i)*'s full title is: *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥq n Ḥr Bḥd.t*, or "pure one [and] enterer of Horus the Behedite."

The name and title<sup>969</sup> of *Hr-ḥ3* (3-204M)<sup>970</sup> are preserved on a stela from the tomb of *Isi* in Edfu, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>971</sup>

#### 6.1.4.A.4.b. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b(t) n Ḥr*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b(t) n Ḥr*), or "pure one of Horus,"<sup>972</sup> an entry-level *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-title in the cult of Horus, for which no cult center is specified. Although various *ḥm-nṯr (n) Ḥr* titles (or those of the god's epithets) appear in the 4th Dynasty,<sup>973</sup> no *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-titles were included in the priestly hierarchy until the Middle Kingdom. Two title-holders are known, both of whom hold *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b(t) n Ḥr* as their sole title.

The name and title of *Snb-tyfy* (3-205M)<sup>974</sup> are preserved on a stela (BM 335 [210]) of unknown provenance, which dates to the 13th Dynasty.<sup>975</sup>

The name and title of *Pth-ḥtp(.w)* (3-206M)<sup>976</sup> are preserved on a stela from Edfu, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>977</sup> Although *Pth-ḥtp(.w)* appears to hold the feminine form of the title *w<sup>ḥ</sup>bt (n) Ḥr*, this is most certainly a scribal error, as *Pth-ḥtp(.w)* is a man.

<sup>967</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 267 [12].

<sup>968</sup> Maurice Alliot, "Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933)," *BIFAO* 10/2 (1935): 33; Maurice Alliot, "Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé dans l'Égypte ancienne," *BIFAO* 37 (1937-1938): 108 [20].

<sup>969</sup> Rendered as: .

<sup>970</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 246 [9].

<sup>971</sup> Alliot, "Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933)," 33; Alliot, "Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé dans l'Égypte ancienne," 107 [19].

<sup>972</sup> Ward, *Index*, 82 [674].

<sup>973</sup> Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 79-95.


<sup>974</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 314 [23].

<sup>975</sup> British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts* V, pl. 14.

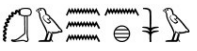

<sup>976</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 141 [5].

<sup>977</sup> Alliot, "Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933)," 30 [5].

#### 6.I.4.A.5. *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥ3 n Ḥns.w*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥ3 n Ḥns.w*), or "great pure one of Khonsu,"<sup>978</sup> is the head of the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w* of Khonsu. Only one title-holder is known: *S3-nb.t-iwn.t* (3-207M),<sup>979</sup> whose name and title are preserved on a scarab (Baltimore 42.18) of unknown provenance, which typologically dates to the 12th Dynasty or later.<sup>980</sup> *S3-nb.t-iwn.t*'s sole title is *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥ3 n Ḥns.w*.

#### 6.I.4.A.5.a. *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Ḥns.w* and *w<sup>ḥ</sup>bt nt Ḥns.w*

The titles  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Ḥns.w*) and  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>bt nt Ḥns.w*), or "pure one of Khonsu,"<sup>981</sup> is an entry-level *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-title of Khonsu. Aside from the generic *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* and *w<sup>ḥ</sup>bt*, attested from the 6th Dynasty and later, this is the only *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-title linked to the cult of a deity which reflects the gender of the title-holder (in contrast to the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Imn*, which remains in the masculine form despite the gender of the title-holder; see §6.I.4.B.1). Three title-holders are known.

The name and title of *Dd.w-nšm.t* (3-208M)<sup>982</sup> are preserved on a stela (UC 14457) of unknown provenance, which dates to the 12th Dynasty.<sup>983</sup> *Dd.w-nšm.t*'s sole title is *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Ḥns.w*.

The name and titles of *Iḥ-ms* (3-007M)<sup>984</sup> are preserved on a stela (C. 25) of unknown provenance, which dates to the 12th Dynasty.<sup>985</sup> *Iḥ-ms* holds two *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-titles, *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b* and *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b (n) Ḥns.w*. Within the lunette of the stela, he is identified as *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*, while in the text below, he is identified as a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Ḥns.w*. The name *Iḥ-ms* means "the moon is born," and by extension is a reference to the god Khonsu, who is associated with the moon. It is worthwhile to note that two other individuals are named *Iḥ-ms* (3008M and 3-009M) on the same stela, both of whom also carry the title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*.

<sup>978</sup> Ward, *Index*, 80 [655].

<sup>979</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 282 [21].

<sup>980</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 101 [1302], pl. 3 [9].

<sup>981</sup> Ward, *Index*, 82-83 [680a, 691]. Ward believes that the feminine form of the title is in fact an abbreviated form of the longer composition, *w<sup>ḥ</sup>bt nt Ḥns.w m W3st*, discussed below.

<sup>982</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 402 [22].


<sup>983</sup> Stewart, *Petrie Collection* II, 26 [109].

<sup>984</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 12 [19].

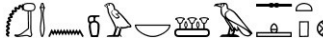
<sup>985</sup> Albert Gayet, *Musée du Louvre, stèles de la XIIIe dynastie* (Paris: F. Vieweg, 1886), pl. 26.

The name and title of *Smn.t* (3-209F)<sup>986</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20056) from the northern cemetery of Abydos,<sup>987</sup> which dates to the 13th Dynasty.<sup>988</sup> In addition to her *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-title, she is also identified as the mother of the scribe *Nfr-ḥtp*, for whom the stela is dedicated.

#### 6.I.4.A.5.b. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>bt nt Ḥns.w m W3s.t*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>bt nt Ḥns.w m W3s.t*), or "pure one of Khonsu in Thebes,"<sup>989</sup> is an entry-level feminine *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-title in the cult of Khonsu in Thebes. Only one title-holder is known: *Snb.tysy-Smn.t* (3-210F),<sup>990</sup> whose name and title are preserved upon a stela (CG 20240) from the Northern Cemetery of Abydos, which may date to the 13th Dynasty.<sup>991</sup> *Snb.tysy-Smn.t*'s sole title is *w<sup>ḥ</sup>bt nt Ḥns.w m W3s.t*.

#### 6.I.4.A.6. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 n Ḥnm.w nb Š3y-sḥtp*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 n Ḥnm.w nb Š3y-sḥtp*), or "great pure one of Khnum, Lord of Shashotep,"<sup>992</sup> is the head of the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w* of Khnum, Lord of Shashotep (modern Shutb), the capital of the Seth-animal Nome (U.E. 11). Although the title *ḥm-ntr (n) Ḥnm.w* titles appear in the 4th Dynasty,<sup>993</sup> no *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-titles are included within the priestly hierarchy until the Middle Kingdom. Only one title-holder is known: *Ḥmn.w-nḥt* (3-211M),<sup>994</sup> whose name and titles are preserved on his coffin from Rifeh, which dates to the 12th Dynasty.<sup>995</sup> *Ḥmn.w-nḥt* holds two titles: *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 n Ḥnm.w nb Š3y-sḥtp* and *s3 ḥ3ty-ʿ*, or "son of the count." It is also worthwhile to note that *Ḥmn.w-nḥt*'s name invokes Khnum, the god to whom his *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-title is dedicated.

<sup>986</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 307 [14].

<sup>987</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 66-68. Also mentioned in: Aylward Blackman, "On the Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy," *JEA* 7 (1921): 24, n. 8.

<sup>988</sup> Edith Guest, "Women's Titles in the Middle Kingdom," *Ancient Egypt* (1926): 46-47.

<sup>989</sup> Ward, *Index*, 83 [692].

<sup>990</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 314 [25], 307 [14].

<sup>991</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 262-263.


<sup>992</sup> Ward, *Index*, 80 [656].

<sup>993</sup> Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 42-49.


<sup>994</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 276 [1].

<sup>995</sup> William Petrie, *Gizeh and Rifeh* (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1907), pl. 13G.


#### 6.I.4.A.7.1. *W<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Sbk*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Sbk*) is the "great pure one of Sobek."<sup>996</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *Imn.ii* (3-212M),<sup>997</sup> whose name and titles are preserved on a scarab (BM 48724) of unknown provenance, which typologically dates to the 11th Dynasty or later.<sup>998</sup> *Imn.ii*'s sole title is *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Sbk*.

#### 6.I.4.A.7.2. *W<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Sbk nb Rh.wy*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Sbk nb Rh.wy*), or "great pure one of Sobek, Lord of *Rh.wy*,"<sup>999</sup> is the head of the *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* of Sobek, Lord of *Rh.wy*, whose cult center is located within the northwestern delta, in the vicinity of modern Alexandria.<sup>1000</sup> Only one title-holder is known, [...]*y* (3-213I), whose fragmentary name and title are preserved on a scarab (UC 11359) from Lahun, which typologically dates to the 11th Dynasty or later.<sup>1001</sup> [...]*y*'s sole title is *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Sbk nb Rh.wy*.

#### 6.I.4.A.7.3. *W<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Sbk Šd.ty*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Sbk Šd.ty*), or "great pure one of Sobek of Crocodilopolis,"<sup>1002</sup> is the head of the *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* of Sobek of Crocodilopolis (modern Medinet al-Fayoum), the capital of the Lower Laurel Nome (U.E. 21). Only one title-holder is known, *šnh.w* (3-214M),<sup>1003</sup> whose name and title are preserved on a stela (CG 20616) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1004</sup> *šnh.w*'s sole title is *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Sbk Šd.ty*.

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<sup>996</sup> Ward, *Index*, 80 [657].

<sup>997</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 31 [13].

<sup>998</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 21 [200], pl. 8 [5].

<sup>999</sup> Ward, *Index*, 80 [658].

<sup>1000</sup> Jean Yoyotte, "Le Soukhos de la Maréotide et d'autres cultes régionaux du Dieu-Crocodile d'après les cylindres du Moyen Empire," *BIFAO* 56 (1957): 82-83.


<sup>1001</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 136 [1779], pl. 9 [2].

<sup>1002</sup> Ward, *Index*, 80 [659].

<sup>1003</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 68 [6].

<sup>1004</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 255-256.

6.I.4.A.7.a. *W<sup>s</sup>b n Sbk*


The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b n Sbk*) is the "pure one of Sobek."<sup>1005</sup> Three title-holders are known, each of whom held the sole title of *w<sup>s</sup>b n Sbk*.

The name and titles of *Sw-m-<sup>s</sup>* (3-215M) are preserved on a stela (Inv. N. 7601) from Sheikh Abd el-Qurneh, which dates to the 13th Dynasty.<sup>1006</sup>

The name and titles of *Pn.w* (3-216M)<sup>1007</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20030) from the middle cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1008</sup>

The name and titles of *Rn(.i)-snb(w)* (3-217M)<sup>1009</sup> are preserved on a tomb stela (BT 8) from Latopolis, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1010</sup> His son, *Snb-mi-3w* (3-220M) holds the title of *w<sup>s</sup>b n Sbk nb Swmnw*.

6.I.4.A.7.b. *W<sup>s</sup>b n Sbk nb Swmnw*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b n Sbk nb Swmnw*), or "pure one of Sobek, Lord of Sumenu,"<sup>1011</sup> is an entry-level *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title in the cult of Sobek, Lord of Sumenu, located in the vicinity of Thebes (U.E. 4).<sup>1012</sup> Three title-holders are known, each of whom hold the sole title of *w<sup>s</sup>b n Sbk nb Swmnw*.

The name and title of *Iw.f-n.i* (3-218M)<sup>1013</sup> are preserved on a scarab (Michaelides collection, unnumbered) of unknown provenance, which typologically dates to the 12th Dynasty or later.<sup>1014</sup>

The name and title of *Wr-ni-ntr* (3-219M)<sup>1015</sup> are preserved on a stela (NME 31) from Abydos, which dates from the 12th to 13th Dynasties.<sup>1016</sup>

<sup>1005</sup> Ward, *Index*, 83 [682].

<sup>1006</sup> Sergio Bosticco, *Le stele egiziane dall'Antico al Nuovo Regno* (Roma: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, 1959), 58, pl. 60.

<sup>1007</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 133 [6].

<sup>1008</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine I*, 38-40.

<sup>1009</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 222 [26].

<sup>1010</sup> Henry Lutz, *Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1927), 9 [87].

<sup>1011</sup> Fischer, *Supplement*, 15 [682a].

<sup>1012</sup> Gardiner, *Onomastica II*, 20\*-21\*; Serge Sauneron, "Quelques monuments de Soumenou au musée de Brooklyn," *Kémi* 18 (1968): 58-59.

<sup>1013</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 14 [7].

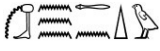
<sup>1014</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 11 [64].

<sup>1015</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 81 [10].


<sup>1016</sup> Bengt Patterson, "Ägyptische Privatstelen aus dem Mittleren Reich — neun Denkmäler in schwedischem Besitz," *Orientalia Suecana* 17 (1968): 20, fig. 6.

The name and title of *Snb-mi-3w* (3-220M)<sup>1017</sup> are preserved on a tomb stela (BT 8) from Latopolis, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1018</sup> *Snb-mi-3w*'s sole title is *w<sup>sb</sup> n Sbk nb Swmnw*. His father, *Rn-snb* (3-217M) also holds the title of *w<sup>sb</sup> n Sbk*.


#### 6.I.4.A.8. *W<sup>sb</sup> ʿ3 n Spd.w*

The title  (*w<sup>sb</sup> ʿ3 n Spd.w*) is the "great pure one of Sopdu."<sup>1019</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *Nḥ.ii* (3-222M),<sup>1020</sup> whose name and title are preserved on a stela (NME 29) from Abydos, which dates to the mid-12th Dynasty.<sup>1021</sup> *Nḥ.ii*'s sole title is *w<sup>sb</sup> ʿ3 n Spd.w*.

#### 6.I.4.A.8.a. *W<sup>sb</sup> n Spd.w*

The title  (*w<sup>sb</sup> n Spd.w*) is the "pure one of Sopdu."<sup>1022</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *Iḥii-snb(.w)* (3-223M),<sup>1023</sup> whose name and title are preserved on a papyrus fragment (UC 32293) from Lahun, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1024</sup> The fragment is a legal document pertaining to *Iḥii-snb(.w)*, who is identified solely by the title *w<sup>sb</sup> n Spd.w*. It is possible that *Iḥii-snb(.w)* (3-223M) is the same person as *Iḥii-snb(.w)* (3-270M), due to a similarity in the spelling of their fathers' names as well as the similarities in their titles, both of which invoke Sopdu.

#### 6.I.4.A.8.b. *W<sup>sb</sup> n Spd.w nb i3btt*

The title  (*w<sup>sb</sup> n Spd.w nb i3btt*) is the "pure one of Sopdu, Lord of the East."<sup>1025</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *Šf[...]* (3-224I), whose name and title are preserved in a papyrus (UC 32164) from Lahun, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1026</sup>

<sup>1017</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 313 [2].

<sup>1018</sup> Lutz, *Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California*, 9 [87].

<sup>1019</sup> Ward, *Index*, 80 [660].

<sup>1020</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 207 [19].

<sup>1021</sup> Patterson, "Ägyptische Privatstelen aus dem Mittleren Reich - neun Denkmäler in schwedischem Besitz," 16, fig. 3.

<sup>1022</sup> Title not included in Ward's *Index*.

<sup>1023</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 45 [1].

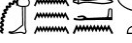
<sup>1024</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical*, 122-123.

<sup>1025</sup> Title not included in Ward's *Index*.

<sup>1026</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical*, 112-113.

The fragment is a list of members (*wḫwt*) of a household. Šff[...]’s sole title is *wḫb n Spd.w nb i3btt*.

#### 6.1.4.A.9. *Wḫb ʿ3 n nbt pt*

The title  (*wḫb ʿ3 n nbt pt*), or "great pure one of the Mistress of the Sky,"<sup>1027</sup> invokes a divine epithet which may be used to refer to most goddesses.<sup>1028</sup> In this case, the epithet most likely refers to Hathor, Lady of Cusae (U.E. 14), and is the only known location in which this *wḫb*-title occurs. The divine epithet also appears in the priestly titles of the hereditary rulers of this nome<sup>1029</sup> during the 12th Dynasty. The main source of information about this family of title-holders comes from their tombs in Meir. Only one nomarch held the upper-ranking title of *wḫb ʿ3 n nbt pt*: *Wḫ.w-ḥtp(.w)* II (3-225M),<sup>1030</sup> whose name and titles are preserved in his tomb-chapel (B. 2), which dates from the reign of Senusret I to Amenemhat II.<sup>1031</sup> *Wḫ.w-ḥtp(.w)* II holds a number of priestly titles which include: *wḫb ʿ3 n nbt pt*, *ḥm-ntr*, *s3 ir ḥr ḥ3t* or "son of one who acted (in the same capacity) formerly," *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr* or "overseer of the god's servants," *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n Ḥwt-ḥr nbt Qis* or "overseer of the god's servants of Hathor Lady of Cusae," *s(t)m*-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth), *s(t)m n nb t3wy* or *s(t)m*-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands, *ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp* or chief lector priest, *sš md3t ntr* or "scribe of the god's documents," and *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n nbt r dr* or "overseer of the god's servants of the mistress of all." The divine epithet *nbt r dr*, or "Mistress of All," is not attested before the Middle Kingdom, and may refer to Isis, Hathor, Sekhmet, among others;<sup>1032</sup> Blackman proposes that the divine epithet refers to Hathor.<sup>1033</sup> *Wḫ.w-ḥtp(.w)* II also holds the title of *ḥry sšt3 n m33t wʿ*, or "privy to the secret of seeing alone," which may reflect his right to access sacred space.<sup>1034</sup> The rest of his title-string reflects his status as nomarch: *iry pʿt* or "hereditary prince/nobleman,"

<sup>1027</sup> Ward, *Index*, 79 [650].

<sup>1028</sup> This epithet may be used to refer to: Isis, Amaunet, Anukis, Anat, Astarte, Wadjet, Bastet, Pakhet, Maat, Mut, Menhit, Mehit, Neith, Nut, Nebetuu, Nephtys, Nekhbet, Hathor, Heqet, Sothis, Sekhmet, Satis, Qadesh, Taweret, Tjenenet, etc. For a full list, see: Leitz, *Lexikon* IV, 49-50. For the context of the epithet within this tomb, see: Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* II, 2.

<sup>1029</sup> For a family tree, see: Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*, 108, fig. 23.

<sup>1030</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 84 [9].

<sup>1031</sup> Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* II, 1-27.

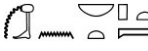
<sup>1032</sup> For a full list, see: Leitz, *Lexikon* IV, 170.

<sup>1033</sup> Blackman proposes that the divine epithet refers to Hathor. Refer to: Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* II, 3.



*ḥ3ty-ꜥ* or "count," *ḥtm(ty)-bity* or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt," *smr wꜥty* or "sole companion,"<sup>1035</sup> *ḥrp šndyt nbt* or "director of every kilt," *ḥww wꜥ n snwy.f* or "unique personality without rival," *ḥry-tp ꜥ3 n sp3t Nḏft (sic)* or "great overlord of the Lower Sycamore and Viper Nome (U.E. 14, capital Qusiya)," *rḥ nswt m3ꜥ mrw.f* or "true royal acquaintance whom he loves," *rḥ nswt ḥsy.f wn m3ꜥ* or "royal acquaintance whom he truly praises," and *ḥrp nbw* or "director of gold." *Wh.w-ḥtp(.w)* II is within the same line of governors as *Wh.w-ḥtp(.w)* IV (3-226M), although how these two individuals are related is not known.<sup>1036</sup>

#### 6.I.4.A.9.a. *Wꜥb n nbt pt*

The title  (*wꜥb n nbt pt*), or "pure one of the Mistress of the Sky," is held by a later hereditary ruler of the 14th Upper Egyptian Nome (capital Qusiya): *Wh.w-ḥtp(.w)* IV (3-226M),<sup>1037</sup> whose name and titles are preserved in his tomb-chapel (C. 1) in Meir, which dates from the reign of Senusret II to Senusret III.<sup>1038</sup> *Wh.w-ḥtp(.w)* IV holds a number of priestly titles, which include: *wꜥb n nbt pt*, *imy-r ḥm.w-ntr* or "overseer of the god's servants," *[ḥry] sšt3 šhy-ntr* or "privy to the secret of the divine booth," and *s(t)m n nbt t3wy* or *s(t)m*-priest of the Lady of the Two Lands; he also holds the epithet, *wꜥb ꜥwy* or "pure of hands."<sup>1039</sup> His remaining titles reflect his status as nomarch: *iry pꜥt* or "hereditary prince/nobleman," *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* or "count," *smr wꜥty* or "sole companion," and *ḥtm(ty)-bity* or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt." It is not known why *Wh.w-ḥtp(.w)* IV holds the lower-ranking title of *wꜥb n nbt pt* in comparison to *Wh.w-ḥtp(.w)* II's upper-ranking title of *wꜥb ꜥ3 n nbt pt*, especially since they are both members of the same lineage.<sup>1040</sup>

<sup>1034</sup> Compare to *m33 nfr.w nb.f*. Refer to: Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 178-179.

<sup>1035</sup> Likely referring to the title of *ḥm-ntr* that immediately precedes this title. Refer to: Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* II, 2.

<sup>1036</sup> *Wh.w-ḥtp(.w)* IV's "relation to his predecessors in office is not known for sure." Refer to: Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*, 109.


<sup>1037</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 84 [9].

<sup>1038</sup> Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* VI, 8-37.


<sup>1039</sup> Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 67, Table 11.

<sup>1040</sup> Compare to the hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna) in the First Intermediate Period, in which the nomarchs held the upper-ranking title of *wꜥb ꜥ3 n Dḥwti*, but those outside of the lineage held the lower-ranking title of *wꜥb n Dḥwti*.

6.I.4.A.10. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 m Ḥwt-nbw*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 m Ḥwt-nbw*) is the "great pure one of Hatnub."<sup>1041</sup> Only one such title-holder is known, *Wsr-inr* (3-227M),<sup>1042</sup> whose name and titles are preserved by a rock inscription in Shatt er-Rigal, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1043</sup> *Wsr-inr*'s titles are: *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 m Ḥwt-nb*, *gnwty m ʿḥ* or "sculptor in the ʿḥ-palace," and *imy-r gnwtyw* or "overseer of sculptors." It is possible that cult statues were manufactured in the vicinity of the quarry site, which may explain why *Wsr-inr* holds two sculptor-titles in addition to his *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-title. He, being a great pure one, would ensure that the transformation of the raw material into the divine image was not polluted in the manufacturing process. Simpson has also suggested that the toponym *Ḥwt-nbw* is an oblique reference to Hathor, as she is often identified as the patroness of the material being exploited from quarries, and at Hatnub no goddess is otherwise identified with travertine.<sup>1044</sup>

6.I.4.A.11. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 m T3-wr 3bdw*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 m T3-wr 3bdw*) is the "great pure one in the Thinite Nome/Abydos."<sup>1045</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *Rwd* (3-228M),<sup>1046</sup> whose name and titles are preserved upon a stela (CG 20514) from the perimeter of the northeast district of the northern cemetery at Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1047</sup> *Rwd* holds a number of priestly titles, which include: *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 n T3-wr 3bdw*, *imy ḥnt* or "one who is in the forecourt," *ʿ3 m t3 ḏsr* or "great one who is in the holy land," and *sšmw wbnt R<sup>ḫ</sup> dmd t3wy* or "leader of the appearances of Re, who unites the two lands." He was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) *ḥm-ntr* or "god's servant."

<sup>1041</sup> Ward, *Index*, 80 [651].

<sup>1042</sup> Name not included in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

<sup>1043</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 66, pl. 39 (I).

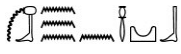
<sup>1044</sup> William Simpson, "Hatnub," *LÄ* II, 1034; Shaw, *Hatnub*, 106-107.

<sup>1045</sup> Ward, *Index*, 80 [661].

<sup>1046</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 221 [12].

<sup>1047</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 104-105.


#### 6.I.4.A.11.a. *W<sup>s</sup>b n 3bdw*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b n 3bdw*), or "pure one of Abydos,"<sup>1048</sup> is an entry-level *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title in Abydos, as compared to the upper-ranking *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 m T3-wr 3bdw*, above. Two title-holders are known.

The name and titles of *Id.i* (3-229M)<sup>1049</sup> are preserved on a stela from Abydos,<sup>1050</sup> which dates from the end of the First Intermediate Period to the early 12th Dynasty.<sup>1051</sup> *Id.i* holds the dual *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles of *w<sup>s</sup>b n 3bdw* and *w<sup>s</sup>b hry-s3 n 3bdw* or "pure one who provides the back support service in Abydos." He is also identified as the father of *Wnm.i*, a *htm(w)-ntr*, or "god's sealer."

The name and title of *S3-in-hr.t* (3-230M)<sup>1052</sup> are preserved on a stela (E. 30) from Abydos, which dates from the 12th to 13th Dynasties.<sup>1053</sup> The stela contains a conventional scene of the harvest, transport, and threshing of grains, the duties of which are performed by men with various *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles. *S3-in-hr.t* is shown reaping grain, while two other *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* carry away the grain in a large basket; the thresher is not identified by a title. *S3-in-hr.t*'s sole title is *w<sup>s</sup>b n 3bdw*.

#### 6.I.4.A.12. *W<sup>s</sup>b wr*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b wr*), or "grand pure one,"<sup>1054</sup> is not attested before the Middle Kingdom. It is an upper-ranking title which does not specify a particular deity, like the *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3*, which has been attested since the 6th Dynasty and most commonly linked to the cult of a specific deity (e.g. Ptah, Min, etc.). The use of *ʿ3* and *wr* to qualify a title also occurs with the priestly title of *hry-hbt*. As with the *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3*, the usage of *hry-hbt ʿ3* occurs in association with a deity, i.e. *hry-hbt ʿ3 n B3st.t*, or "great lector priest of Bastet."<sup>1055</sup> The title also occurs in reference to a specific place, i.e. *hry-hbt ʿ3 pr-nfr* or "great lector

<sup>1048</sup> Ward, *Index*, 78 [640].

<sup>1049</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 53 [23].

<sup>1050</sup> Peter Munro, "Die beiden Stelen des *Wnm* aus Abydos," *ZÄS* 85 (1960): pl. 4.

<sup>1051</sup> Due to this individual's inclusion in Ward's *Index*, as well as the prevalence of other *w<sup>s</sup>b hry-s3* title-holders within the Lahun Papyri dating to the Middle Kingdom (see below), *Id.i* has been included within this chapter (rather than in the previous chapter on the First Intermediate Period).

<sup>1052</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 280 [26].


<sup>1053</sup> Kenneth Kitchen, "An Unusual Stela from Abydos," *JEA* 47 (1961): 15.

<sup>1054</sup> This title is not included within Ward's *Index* or Fischer's *Supplement*.

<sup>1055</sup> Ward, *Index*, 140 [1206].

priest of the funerary workshop."<sup>1056</sup> The title *hry-ḥbt wr*, in contrast, does not appear linked to a deity, although it does occur in reference to a specific place, i.e. *hry-ḥbt wr n db3t* or "grand lector priest of the robing room."<sup>1057</sup> It is therefore probable that the designation of ʿ3 or *wr* reflects where the title-holder is working, especially with ʿ3 often being linked to a divine cult. A difference in rank between the ʿ3 and *wr* is not implied; indeed, Ward translates both the words ʿ3 and *wr* synonymously as "chief."<sup>1058</sup> The title *wʿb wr* is attested by only one known title-holder, *Pth-ḥtp(.w)* (3-231M),<sup>1059</sup> whose name and titles are preserved on a stela from the Tomb of Isi in Edfu, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1060</sup> His sole title is *wʿb wr*. The title may be unique to Edfu.

#### 6.1.4.A.13. *Wʿb bsi*

The title  (*wʿb bsi*), or "pure one who has been initiated,"<sup>1061</sup> refers to a *wʿb* who has undergone a form of initiation, perhaps a variation of that discussed in Chapter 3. Only one title-holder is known, *S3-mnt.w* (3-114M),<sup>1062</sup> whose name and titles are preserved on a stela (CG 20712) from Thebes, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1063</sup> *S3-mnt.w* holds the priestly titles of *wʿb*, ʿ*q* or "enterer," *wʿb n nb Iwnyt*, *wʿb bsi*, and *ibḥ n nswt* or "libationer of the king." His title of *wʿb bsi* suggests that he had been given a higher level of initiation than those who are merely designated as *wʿb* and ʿ*q*, but perhaps not the full form of initiation reserved for an upper-ranking *ḥm-ntr*. *S3-mnt.w* is the father of *Qm3.w.n.i* (3-119M), who also holds the title of *wʿb*.

<sup>1056</sup> Ward, *Index*, 140 [1207].

<sup>1057</sup> Ward, *Index*, 141 [1210]. For the generic form of title, refer to: Ward, *Index*, 141 [1209a].

<sup>1058</sup> Ward, *Index*, 140-141.

<sup>1059</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 141 [5].

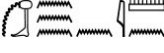
<sup>1060</sup> Alliot, "Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé dans l'Égypte ancienne," 103.

<sup>1061</sup> Ward translates the title as "priest who reveals (secrets)," while Fischer translates the title as "priest who is admitted," analogous to the title ʿ*q*, or "enterer." Refer to: Ward, *Index*, 81 [664a]; Fischer, *Supplement*, 55 [664a].

<sup>1062</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 282 [7].

<sup>1063</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* II, 337-338.

#### 6.I.4.B.1. *w<sup>s</sup>b n Imn*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b n Imn*), or "pure one of Amun,"<sup>1064</sup> is a *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title in the cult of Amun that was held by both men and women, which is not reflected by the gender of the title. Eighteen named title-holders are known. Unless otherwise stated, *w<sup>s</sup>b n Imn* is their sole title. The title is also preserved on a statue fragment (CG 972) from the Temple of Mut in Karnak, on which no name is preserved (3-248M).<sup>1065</sup>

The name and title of *Ni-ptḥ-wsr* (3-234M)<sup>1066</sup> are preserved on a stela (JE 51733) from Saqqara, which dates to the 12th Dynasty.<sup>1067</sup>

The names and titles of *In[-it].f* (3-232M),<sup>1068</sup> *Wsr-nḥt* (3-233M),<sup>1069</sup> *Nfr* (3-235M),<sup>1070</sup> *R[n].f-snb(.w)* (3-236M),<sup>1071</sup> *Rn-snbii* (3-237M),<sup>1072</sup> *Dd.i* (3-238M),<sup>1073</sup> and *Dd.w* (3-239M)<sup>1074</sup> appear in graffiti near the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, all of which have been collectively dated to the 12th Dynasty.<sup>1075</sup> Approximately two-thirds (67%) of the graffiti in this area were made by *w<sup>s</sup>b.w*.<sup>1076</sup> Winlock proposes that the graffiti was made by *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* who were annually sent up to the cliffs to watch for the bark of Amun for the Feast of the Valley.<sup>1077</sup> One inscription is especially worthy of attention as it contains a genealogy linking three title-holders to each other; i.e. *R[n].f-snb(.w)* (3-236M) is identified as the father of *In[-it].f* (3-232M), who in turn is identified as the father of *Iwii-n-p[š?]* (3-158M), a *w<sup>s</sup>b n Nb-ḥpt-r<sup>s</sup>*.<sup>1078</sup> In this

<sup>1064</sup> Ward, *Index*, 79 [641].

<sup>1065</sup> Borchardt, *Statuen und statuetten*, 9.

<sup>1066</sup> Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>1067</sup> Pascal Vernus, "Deux Inscriptions de la XIIe Dynastie Provenant de Saqqara," *RdE* 28 (1976): pl. 14.

<sup>1068</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 80 [967]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 41 [12]; Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 34 [5].

<sup>1069</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 44 [51]; name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>1070</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 81-82 [968, 981]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 40 [1]; Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 194 [1].

<sup>1071</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 80 [967]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 41 [12]. Although both authors transcribe the name as *R.f-snb*, *R[n].f-snb(.w)* is most likely intended. Refer to: Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 223 [17].

<sup>1072</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 81 [977]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 44 [52]. Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>1073</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 80 [960]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 44 [53]; Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 402 [1].

<sup>1074</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 77 [924a]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 44 [54]; Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 402 [13].

<sup>1075</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 77-90.

<sup>1076</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 77-90.

<sup>1077</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 77-90.

<sup>1078</sup> The feminine  $\text{Ⲛ}$  or "t" is indicated clearly and consistently within the genealogical inscription. However, Spiegelberg marks each occurrence as [*sic*], which is later copied by Winlock. Refer to:

inscription, *In[-it].f* is identified as the *s3t* (sic.) *mry* of *R[n].f-snb(.w)*. Although *In[-it].f* is identified as *s3.t*, the feminine  $\ominus$  (.t) suffix is absent from both the adjective *mry* as well as his *w<sup>b</sup>*-title, suggesting that the suffix is a scribal error. The same error occurs again within the following line, with the identification of *Iwii-n-p[š?]* as *s3t* (sic.). As above, the *w<sup>b</sup>*-title is not feminized, which suggests that the feminine  $\ominus$  (.t) suffix is in fact another scribal error. The feminine  $\ominus$  (.t) suffixes were originally marked as *sic* in the original transcription by Spiegelberg and the later transcription by Winlock. The names of all three of these individuals show no further indication of being feminine, and as such, have been marked as masculine ("M") within this thesis.

The name and title of *Hns.w-nfr* (3-240M)<sup>1079</sup> are preserved on a scarab (UC 11442) of unknown provenance, which typologically dates to the 12th Dynasty or later.<sup>1080</sup>

The name and title of *Imn-m-ḥ3.t* (3-241M)<sup>1081</sup> are preserved on a stela (Marseille No. 28) from Abydos, which dates to the 13th Dynasty.<sup>1082</sup>

The name and title of *Nn-nḥn* (3-242F)<sup>1083</sup> are preserved on a statue fragment (CG 887) from Thebes, which dates to the 13th Dynasty.<sup>1084</sup> In addition to her *w<sup>b</sup>*-title, *Nn-nḥn* is also identified as *s3t*, or "daughter."<sup>1085</sup>

The name and title of *Rn(.i)-snb(w)* (3-243M)<sup>1086</sup> are preserved on a stela (BM EA 1348) of unknown provenance, which may date to the reign of Wahibre Iaib.<sup>1087</sup>

The names and title of *Ibi* (3-244M)<sup>1088</sup> and *Imn-ḥtp(.w)* (3-245M)<sup>1089</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20020) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1090</sup>

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Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 80 [967]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 41 [12].

<sup>1079</sup> Name not included in Ranke, *Personennamen*.

<sup>1080</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 95 [1215], pl. 18 [16].

<sup>1081</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 28 [8].

<sup>1082</sup> Gaston Maspero, "Monuments égyptiens du musée de Marseille," *Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes* 13 (1890): 117 [28].

<sup>1083</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 205 [20].

<sup>1084</sup> Borchardt, *Statuen und statuetten*, 137-139.

<sup>1085</sup> Another woman, *W<sup>y</sup>.t* (3-133F), is identified as a *w<sup>b</sup>.t* upon the same monument. The reason as to why the feminine  $\ominus$  or "t" is absent from *Nn-nḥn*'s *w<sup>b</sup>*-title is unknown.

<sup>1086</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 222 [26].

<sup>1087</sup> British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts* IV, pl. 27.

<sup>1088</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 20 [10].

<sup>1089</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 30 [12].

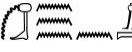
<sup>1090</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 19-20.

The name and titles of *Rn(.i)-snb(w)* (3-100M)<sup>1091</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20545) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1092</sup> *Rn(.i)-snb(w)* holds dual *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles of *w<sup>s</sup>b* and *w<sup>s</sup>b n Imn*.

The name and titles of *Hp.w* (3-246I)<sup>1093</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20695) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1094</sup> *Hp.w*'s full title is *w<sup>s</sup>b s n Imn*, or "pure of hand [for] Amun." *Hp.w* also holds the additional title of *imy[-st-]t pr*, or "helper/functionary of the house," which may refer to a temple.

The name and titles of *Snb-mi.f* (3-247M)<sup>1095</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20450) from Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1096</sup>

#### 6.1.4.B.2. *W<sup>s</sup>b n In-ḥr.t*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b n In-ḥr.t*), or "pure one of Onuris,"<sup>1097</sup> is a *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title within the cult of Onuris. Two title-holders are known: *Wnm.w* (3-249M)<sup>1098</sup> and *S[3-in-ḥr.t]* (3-250M),<sup>1099</sup> both of whose names and titles are preserved on a stela (E. 30) from Abydos, which dates from the 12th to 13th Dynasties.<sup>1100</sup> The stela shows both domestic and agricultural scenes. On the top register, *Wnm.w* is shown boiling a piece of meat on a skewer in a two-handled cauldron, while on the bottom register, *S[3-in-ḥr.t]* is shown plowing, although both his oxen and plow are now lost. Both men hold the sole title of *w<sup>s</sup>b n In-ḥr.t*, while *Wnm.w* is additionally identified as *sn.f*, or "his brother." It is additionally worthwhile to note that the name of *S[3-in-ḥr.t]* means "the son of Onuris," the god to whom his *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title is dedicated.

<sup>1091</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 222 [26].

<sup>1092</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* II, 169-171.

<sup>1093</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 238 [14, 16, 17].

<sup>1094</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* II, 322-323.

<sup>1095</sup> Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>1096</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* II, 45-46.


<sup>1097</sup> Ward, *Index*, 79 [643].

<sup>1098</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 79 [14].

<sup>1099</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 280 [26].

<sup>1100</sup> Kitchen, "An Unusual Stela from Abydos," 15.




#### 6.I.4.B.3. *W<sup>s</sup>b n Itm*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b n Itm*) or "pure one of Atum,"<sup>1101</sup> is a *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title within the cult of Atum. Two title-holders are known.


The name and titles of *Hnm.w-nht* (3-251M)<sup>1102</sup> are preserved on a stela (Inv. No. 2851) of unknown provenance, which dates to the 12th Dynasty.<sup>1103</sup> *Hnmw-nht* holds two titles: *w<sup>s</sup>b n Itm* and *iry ʿ.t*, or "hall-keeper."

The name and title of *P3-nti-ni* (3-252M)<sup>1104</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20334) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1105</sup> *P3-nti-ni*'s sole title is *w<sup>s</sup>b n Itm*.

#### 6.I.4.B.4. *W<sup>s</sup>b n W3d.t*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b n W3d.t*), or "pure one of Wadjet,"<sup>1106</sup> was initially attested during the 5th Dynasty on a cylinder seal from Abusir/Abu Gurob (1-196I);<sup>1107</sup> §4.I.4.B. During the Old Kingdom, the title is rendered as: . By the Middle Kingdom, the title is rendered as: , as attested by the two following title-holders: *Hpr-k3-rʿ* (3-253M)<sup>1108</sup> and *D33* (3-254M),<sup>1109</sup> whose names and titles are preserved upon a stela (E. 16012) from Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1110</sup> Both *Hpr-k3-rʿ*'s and *D33*'s sole title is *w<sup>s</sup>b n W3d.t*.

#### 6.I.4.B.5. *W<sup>s</sup>b n Wp-w3.wt*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b n Wp-w3.wt*), or "pure one of Wepwawet,"<sup>1111</sup> is a *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title in the cult of Wepwawet, which is not attested until the Middle Kingdom; see

<sup>1101</sup> Ward, *Index*, 79 [644].

<sup>1102</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 276 [1].

<sup>1103</sup> Alexandre Moret, *Catalogue du Musée Guimet: Galerie égyptienne* (Paris: E. Leroux, 1909), 12-13 [C6].

<sup>1104</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 114 [5].

<sup>1105</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 346-347.

<sup>1106</sup> Fischer, *Supplement*, 14 [662a].

<sup>1107</sup> Full title-string: *w<sup>s</sup>b W3dt mrr(w) nb.f*, or "pure one of Wadjet whom his lord loves." Refer to: Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, 325, pl. 89 [Djedkare, 20].

<sup>1108</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 269 [1].

<sup>1109</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 404 [12].


<sup>1110</sup> Philippus Miller, "A Family Stela in the University Museum, Philadelphia," *JEA* 23 (1937): pl. 3.

<sup>1111</sup> Ward, *Index*, 81 [663].


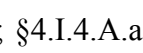
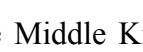
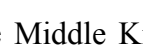


§4.I.4.C. Only one title-holder is known, *Nfr-iw* (3-255M),<sup>1112</sup> whose name and title are preserved upon a stela (CG 20142) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1113</sup>

#### 6.I.4.B.6. *W<sup>ʿ</sup>b n Bnn*

The title  (*w<sup>ʿ</sup>b n Bnn*), or "pure one of *Bnn*,"<sup>1114</sup> may refer to the bennu-bird. Only one title-holder is known, *In-bnn* (3-256M),<sup>1115</sup> whose name and titles are preserved upon a stela of unknown provenance (Louvre C 178), which dates to the 12th Dynasty.<sup>1116</sup> *In-bnn* is the son of *Hr-bnn*, whose name employs the same aberrant spelling of *bnn* as his name and *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b*-title. It is possible that the title *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b n Bnn* may be a direct reference to the mortuary cult of the title-holder's father, and by extension, is also a reference to the bennu-bird. *In-bnn*'s sole title is *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b n Bnn*.

#### 6.I.4.B.7. *W<sup>ʿ</sup>b n Pth*

The title  (*w<sup>ʿ</sup>b n Pth*), or "pure one of Ptah,"<sup>1117</sup> was initially attested by four title-holders in Memphis from the mid-5th to 6th Dynasties (1-191M, 1-192M, 1-193M, 1-194M); §4.I.4.A.a.i. During the Old Kingdom, the title is rendered as:  or . By the Middle Kingdom, the title is rendered as: , as attested by the only known title-holder from this period, *Mr-Hr(.w)* (3-257M).<sup>1118</sup> The name and title of *Mr-Hr(.w)* are preserved upon a stela (CG 20030) from the eastern slope of the middle cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1119</sup> *Mr-Hr(.w)*'s sole title is *w<sup>ʿ</sup>b n Pth*.

<sup>1112</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 194 [7].

<sup>1113</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 167-168.

<sup>1114</sup> According to Fischer, the title contains an aberrant spelling of the word *Bnw*, which is not attested elsewhere. Refer to: Fischer, *Supplement*, 14 [664bis].

<sup>1115</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 34 [19].

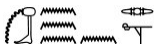
<sup>1116</sup> Gayet, *Musée du Louvre*, pl. 33.

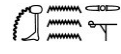

<sup>1117</sup> Ward, *Index*, 81 [665].

<sup>1118</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 161 [6].

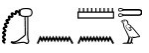
<sup>1119</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 38-40.

#### 6.I.4.B.8. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Mn.w*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Mn.w*), or "pure one of Min,"<sup>1120</sup> is not attested until the First Intermediate Period, although the title presumably existed in the Old Kingdom due to the existence of the upper-ranking title, *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 n Mn.w*, or "great pure one of Min," as discussed in §4.I.4.A.b. During the First Intermediate Period, the title is rendered as:

. By the Middle Kingdom, the title remained virtually unchanged, except for the inclusion of the genitival  (*n*), which is how the title is rendered by the only known title-holder from this time, *Nniw* (3-258M).<sup>1121</sup> The names and titles of *Nniw* are preserved upon his statue (RPM 4565) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1122</sup> *Nniw*'s sole title is *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Mn.w*.

#### 6.I.4.B.9.a. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Mnt.w*

The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Mnt.w*), or "pure one of Montu,"<sup>1123</sup> is a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-title within the cult of Montu. Three title-holders are known, each of whom hold the sole title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Mnt.w*. The title is also preserved on an accounts fragment (UC 32120D) from Lahun, on which no name is preserved (3-262I).<sup>1124</sup>

The name and titles of *Imn-m-ḥ3.t* (3-259M)<sup>1125</sup> are preserved on a stela (BM EA903) of unknown provenance, which dates to the 13th Dynasty.<sup>1126</sup>

The name and titles of *Ii* (3-260M)<sup>1127</sup> are preserved on a stela (Genf. D51) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1128</sup>

The name and titles of *S3-dd* (3-261M)<sup>1129</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20432) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1130</sup>

<sup>1120</sup> Ward, *Index*, 81 [666].

<sup>1121</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 205 [7].

<sup>1122</sup> Hans Kayser, *Die ägyptischen Altertümer im Roemer-Pelizaemus-Museum in Hildesheim: mit Schlussbemerkungen u. Literaturhinweisen* (Hildesheim: Gerstenberg, 1973), 55, fig. 38.

<sup>1123</sup> Ward, *Index*, 81 [667].

<sup>1124</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 222-223*.

<sup>1125</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 28 [8].

<sup>1126</sup> British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts* II, pl. 47.

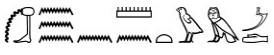
<sup>1127</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 8 [10].

<sup>1128</sup> Wilhelm Spiegelberg and Balthasar Pörtner, *Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen* III (Straßburg: Schlesier & Schweikhardt, 1979), 6-7, pl. 3.


<sup>1129</sup> Masculine equivalent of *S3.t-dd*. Refer to: Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 294 [26].

<sup>1130</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* II, 30-31.


6.I.4.B.9.b. *W<sup>s</sup>b n Mnt.w m M3dw*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b n Mnt.w m M3dw*), or "pure one of Montu in Madu,"<sup>1131</sup> is a *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title within the cult of Montu of Madu (modern Medamud), located in the vicinity of Thebes (U.E. 4).<sup>1132</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *Ib(.i)-i<sup>s</sup>(.w)* (3-263I),<sup>1133</sup> whose name and titles are preserved on a scarab (JdE 41377) from Matariya, which typologically dates to the 12th Dynasty or later.<sup>1134</sup> *Ib(.i)-i<sup>s</sup>(.w)*'s sole title is *w<sup>s</sup>b n Mnt.w m M3dw*.

6.I.4.B.10. *W<sup>s</sup>b R<sup>s</sup> Hr(.w)-3h.ti*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b R<sup>s</sup> Hr(.w)-3h.ti*), or "pure one of Re-Horakhty,"<sup>1135</sup> is a *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title within the cult of Re-Horakhty. Only one attestation of the title is known. The title is preserved within a graffito near the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, with which no name is preserved (3-264I).<sup>1136</sup> Winlock proposes the graffiti in this area was made by *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* who were annually sent up to the cliffs to watch for the bark of Amun for the Feast of the Valley.<sup>1137</sup> The inscription dates to the 12th Dynasty, and is not attested elsewhere.

6.I.4.B.10. *W<sup>s</sup>b (n) Shm.t*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b (n) Shm.t*), or "pure one of Sekhmet"<sup>1138</sup> continues to be rendered in the form introduced during the First Intermediate Period; §5.I.3.B. Four title-holders are known from this time.

The names and titles of *Nfr-tm-m-s3.f* (3-265M)<sup>1139</sup> and *Ndm.w-snb(.w)* (3-266M)<sup>1140</sup> are preserved on an unnumbered stela of unknown provenance, which dates to the reign of Amenemhat III.<sup>1141</sup> *Nfr-i3t-m-s3.f* is the father of *Ndmw-snb(.w)*, both of

<sup>1131</sup> Ward, *Index*, 81 [668].

<sup>1132</sup> Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 26\*-27\*.

<sup>1133</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 19 [4].

<sup>1134</sup> Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 14 [97], pl. 17 [13].

<sup>1135</sup> This title is not included within Ward's *Index* or Fischer's *Supplement*.

<sup>1136</sup> Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti*, 79 [946d]; Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, pl. 44 [62].

<sup>1137</sup> Winlock, *Rise and Fall*, 77-90.

<sup>1138</sup> Ward, *Index*, 83 [686].

<sup>1139</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 200 [27].

<sup>1140</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 216 [5].


<sup>1141</sup> Frans Jonckheere, *Les médecins de l'Égypte pharaonique: essai de prosopographie* (Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique reine Elisabeth, 1958), fig. 16.

whom share the sole title of *imy-r w<sup>sb</sup>.w Shm.t*, or "overseer of the pure ones of Sekhmet."

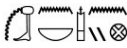
The name and titles of *Snb* (3-267M)<sup>1142</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20391) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1143</sup> *Snb*'s sole title is *w<sup>sb</sup> n Shm.t*.

The name and titles of *Sn-<sup>ss</sup>* (3-268M)<sup>1144</sup> are preserved on a stela (CG 20735) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1145</sup> *Sn-<sup>ss</sup>*'s sole title is *w<sup>sb</sup> n Shm.t*.

#### 6.I.4.B.12. *W<sup>sb</sup> n Stj.t nbt 3bw*

The title  (*w<sup>sb</sup> n Stj.t nbt 3bw*), or "pure one of Satis, Lady of Elephantine,"<sup>1146</sup> is a *w<sup>sb</sup>*-title within the cult of Satis, Lady of Elephantine. Only one title-holder is known, *Mrii* (3-269M),<sup>1147</sup> whose name and title are preserved by an inscription on a rock below the western rampart of Kumma Fort, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1148</sup> *Mrii*'s sole title is *w<sup>sb</sup> n Stj.t nbt 3bw*.

#### 6.I.4.B.13. *W<sup>sb</sup> nb Iwnyt*

The title,  (*w<sup>sb</sup> nb Iwnyt*), or "pure one of the Lord of Esna,"<sup>1149</sup> is a *w<sup>sb</sup>*-title in the cult of the Lord of Esna, a divine epithet which may refer to the god Montu, or his syncretized form as Montu-Re or Montu-Horus-Re.<sup>1150</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *S3-mnt.w* (3-114M),<sup>1151</sup> whose name and titles are preserved on a stela (CG 20712) from Thebes, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1152</sup> *S3-mnt.w* holds the following priestly titles: *w<sup>sb</sup>*, *ꜥq* or "enterer," *w<sup>sb</sup> n nb Iwnyt*, *w<sup>sb</sup> bsi* or "pure one who is initiated," and *ibḥ n nswt* or "libationer of the king." It is worthwhile to note that the title-

<sup>1142</sup> Ranke *Personennamen* I, 312 [15].

<sup>1143</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 386-388.

<sup>1144</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 312 [13].

<sup>1145</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* II, 366-367.

<sup>1146</sup> Ward, *Index*, 83 [687].

<sup>1147</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 160 [1].

<sup>1148</sup> Dows Dunham, *Second Cataract Forts* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1960), 166 [RIK 119c, Lepsius E4].

<sup>1149</sup> Ward, *Index*, 81 [669].


<sup>1150</sup> Leitz, *Lexikon* III, 577.

<sup>1151</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 282 [7].


<sup>1152</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* II, 337-338.

holder's name, *S3-mnt.w* means "son of Montu," the god to whom the epithet in his *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title most likely refers. *S3-mnt.w* is the father of *Qm3.w.n.i* (3-119M), who also holds the title of *w<sup>s</sup>b*.

#### 6.I.4.B.14. *W<sup>s</sup>b Tn(i)*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b Tn(i)*), or "pure one of Thinis,"<sup>1153</sup> is a *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title that refers to Thinis, which is located within the 8th Upper Egyptian Nome. Only one title-holder is known, *Snb.b* (3-270M),<sup>1154</sup> whose name and titles are preserved in Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446, which was found in Thebes and dates to year 10 of the reign of Amenemhat III.<sup>1155</sup> *Snb.b*'s name appears in the papyrus as the one who is responsible for a fugitive; *w<sup>s</sup>b Tn(i)* is his sole title.

#### 6.I.4.B.15. *W<sup>s</sup>b n Drty*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b n Drty*), or "pure one of Tod,"<sup>1156</sup> is a *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title that refers to Djerty (modern Tod), which is located in the vicinity of Thebes (U.E. 4). Only one title-holder is known, *Ii-mr* (3-271M),<sup>1157</sup> whose name and title are preserved on a stela (Bolton 10.20/12) from Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1158</sup> *Ii-mr*'s sole title is *w<sup>s</sup>b n Drty*.

### 6.I.5. Processional *W<sup>s</sup>b*-Titles

Processional *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles, or titles that refer to the *w<sup>s</sup>b*'s position when carrying the divine image in a procession, appear for the first time during the Middle Kingdom. This section examines all of the known processional *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles, beginning with one that takes hierarchical form, *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 imy-wr.t*, or "great pure one of the West Side." All other non-hierarchical processional *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles are discussed after in alphabetical order.

<sup>1153</sup> Title not included in Ward's *Index*.

<sup>1154</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 315 [2].


<sup>1155</sup> William Hayes, *A papyrus of the late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446)* (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1955), 25, 30, 144.

<sup>1156</sup> Title not included in Ward's *Index*.



<sup>1157</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 9 [14].

<sup>1158</sup> V. Donohue, *Bolton Museum and Art Gallery: The Egyptian Collection* (Bolton: Bolton Museum, 1966), 19.



#### 6.I.5.A. *W<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 imy-wr.t*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 imy-wr.t*), or "great pure of the West Side,"<sup>1159</sup> is a hierarchical title that may refer to the title-holder's position in a procession.<sup>1160</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *Hr(.w)* (3-272M),<sup>1161</sup> whose name and titles are preserved upon a stela (CG 20339) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1162</sup> *Hr(.w)*'s sole title is *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 imy-wr.t*.

#### 6.I.5.B. *W<sup>s</sup>b nm(?) n [Sbk] nb Šd.ty*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b nm (sic) n [Sbk] nb Šd.ty*), or "processional(?) pure one of Sobek, Lord of Crocodilopolis,"<sup>1163</sup> refers to one who carries the divine image of Sobek, Lord of Crocodilopolis in processions. The verb of motion  (*nm*) means "to travel,"<sup>1164</sup> and is the word most likely intended in this title.<sup>1165</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *Wr-ni-ntr* (3-221M),<sup>1166</sup> whose name and title are preserved on a stela (C 39) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1167</sup> *Wr-ni-ntr*'s sole title is *w<sup>s</sup>b nm (sic) n [Sbk] nb Šd.ty*.

#### 6.I.5.C. *W<sup>s</sup>b rmn H3byw*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b rmn H3byw*), or "pure one who raises the *H3byw*,"<sup>1168</sup> refers to one who carries the *H3byw*, or cult image. The word  (*rmn*)

<sup>1159</sup> Ward, *Index*, 79 [646].

<sup>1160</sup> Compare to *imy-wr.t*, the name of a *phyle* during the Old Kingdom. Refer to: Ann Roth, *Egyptian phyles in the Old Kingdom*, 9-20.

<sup>1161</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 245 [18].

<sup>1162</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 350.

<sup>1163</sup> Fischer, *Supplement*, 13 [670a].

<sup>1164</sup> *Wb.* II, 263-265.

<sup>1165</sup> As originally copied by: Paul Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Égyptien du Louvre: traduites et commentées* II (Paris: Franck, 1878), 23. See comment by: Fischer, *Supplement*, 13 [670a].


<sup>1166</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 81 [10].

<sup>1167</sup> Pierret, *Louvre* II, 23 [C 39].

<sup>1168</sup> Fischer, *Supplement*, 15 [672a]. Fischer notes that "the title is of interest because it is not otherwise known until Dynasty 18," yet nevertheless obscure as it is not included in Al-Ayedi's *Index* or Taylor's *Index*. Refer to: Fischer, *Supplement*, 15. Contra: Abdul Al-Ayedi, *Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious, and Military Titles of the New Kingdom* (Ismailia: Obelisk Publications, 2006); Jeanette Taylor, *An Index of Male Non-Royal Egyptian Titles, Epithets & Phrases of the 18th Dynasty* (London: Museum Bookshop Publications, 2001).

refers to the "bearer" or "supporter" of a processional shrine,<sup>1169</sup> which in this case belongs to an obscure deity. Only one title-holder is known, *Ns-pr-nḥt* (3-283M),<sup>1170</sup> whose name and title are preserved on a stela (CG 20409) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1171</sup> *Ns-pr-nḥt*'s sole title is *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b rmn Ḥ3byw*.

#### 6.1.5.D.1. *W<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥry-s3*



The title  (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥry-s3*),<sup>1172</sup> or "pure one who provides the back support service in the procession,"<sup>1173</sup> is a processional title. *Ḥry-s3* is a *nisba*-adjective meaning "behind," "below," or "following,"<sup>1174</sup> thus referring to a rear carrier in a procession. Six title-holders are named in the Lahun Papyri, each of whom hold the sole title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥry-s3*, unless otherwise stated. The title also occurs in a petition concerning the tenure of an official post (UC 32055),<sup>1175</sup> for which no name is preserved (3-274M).

The name and titles of *Iḥii-snb(.w)* called *W3ḥ* (3-273M)<sup>1176</sup> are preserved in a deed of conveyance (UC 32058) by *W3ḥ* himself.<sup>1177</sup> *W3ḥ* is identified on the *recto* of the document as holding the title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥry-s3 n Spd.w nb i3btt*, while on the *verso* he is only identified as *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥry-s3*. It is possible that his full title was *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥry-s3 n Spd.w nb i3btt*, for which *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥry-s3* was an abbreviation, due to the placement of the long- and short-titles - both of which refer to the same individual - within the same document. This is the most convincing case for titular abbreviation found in the undertaking of this thesis. In all

<sup>1169</sup> *Wb*. II, 418-420. Lefébvre translates this word as "porteur." Refer to: Lefébvre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak*, 14-15.

<sup>1170</sup> Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>1171</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine II*, 9-11.

<sup>1172</sup> Although Ward renders the title as  (with  listed as a variant), the first spelling is not contained within any of the original texts that he cites. Refer to: Ward, *Index*, 82 [676].

<sup>1173</sup> Wolfhart Westendorf, "Der Priestertitel *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥr(j)-s3*," in *Miscellanea Aegyptologica: Wolfgang Helck zum 75. Geburtstag*, eds. Hartwig Altenmüller and Renate Germer (Hamburg: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Hamburg, 1989), 193. Contra Ward, who translates the title as "priest in charge of a *phyle*." Refer to: Ward, *Index*, 82 [676]. Collier and Quirke alternatively translate the title as "pure-priest in charge of the protection(?)." Refer to: Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical*, passim; Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, passim.

<sup>1174</sup> *Wb*. IV, 11-12.

<sup>1175</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical*, 102-103.

<sup>1176</sup> Hermann Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I* (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1935), 45 [1], 72 [26].

<sup>1177</sup> Mark Collier and Stephen Quirke, eds., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical* (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004), 104-105.

other cases (below), the title *w<sup>b</sup> hry-s3* constitutes a title in its own right. The same example is mentioned again in §6.I.5.D.3.

The name and title of *Sbk-snfrw* (3-275M)<sup>1178</sup> are preserved on a fragment (P. 10.069) containing daily entries of events and the priest who is on duty, wherein *Sbk-snfrw* is mentioned.<sup>1179</sup>


The name and title of *[...]nb(?)-iry-r-3w* (3-276M) are preserved on a table of account concerning fields (UC 32186), which most likely dates to year 26 of the reign of Amenemhat III.<sup>1180</sup> *[...]nb(?)-iry-r-3w* is the owner of the fields in question.

The name and title of *Imn.ii* (3-277M)<sup>1181</sup> are preserved in a roll-call of work crews (UC 32170).<sup>1182</sup>

The name and title of *Wr-nb(.i)* (3-278M)<sup>1183</sup> are preserved in a field yield account (UC 32189).<sup>1184</sup>

The name and title of *Ppi[...]* (3-279M)<sup>1185</sup> are preserved on a very small accounts fragment (UC 32108C).<sup>1186</sup>

#### 6.I.5.D.2. *W<sup>b</sup> hry-s3 n 3bdw*

The title  (*w<sup>b</sup> hry-s3 n 3bdw*), or "pure one who provides the back support service in Abydos,"<sup>1187</sup> is a processional title referring to the rear carrier in a procession in the cult center of Abydos. Only one title-holder is known, *Id.i* (3-229M),<sup>1188</sup> whose name and titles are preserved on a stela from Abydos,<sup>1189</sup> which dates from the end of the First Intermediate Period to the early 12th Dynasty.<sup>1190</sup> *Id.i* holds two *w<sup>b</sup>*-titles, the

<sup>1178</sup> Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

<sup>1179</sup> Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Handschriften I*, 32 [54].

<sup>1180</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 74-75.

<sup>1181</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 31 [13].


<sup>1182</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 44-45.

<sup>1183</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 81 [12].

<sup>1184</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 76-77.

<sup>1185</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 131 [12].

<sup>1186</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 210-211.

<sup>1187</sup> The translation of this title follows that of Westendorf for  (*w<sup>b</sup> hry-s3*), presented above. Refer to: Westendorf, "Der Priestertitel *w<sup>b</sup> hr(j)-s3*," 193. Contra Ward, who translates the title as "priest in charge of a *phyle* of Abydos." Refer to: Ward, *Index*, 82 [677].

<sup>1188</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 53 [23].


<sup>1189</sup> Peter Munro, "Die beiden Stelen des *Wnmi* aus Abydos," *ZÄS* 85 (1960): pl. 4.

<sup>1190</sup> Due to this individual's inclusion in Ward's *Index*, as well as the prevalence of other *w<sup>b</sup> hry-s3* title-holders within the Lahun Papyri dating to the Middle Kingdom (see above), *Id.i* has been included within this chapter (rather than in the previous chapter on the First Intermediate Period).





lower-ranking *w<sup>s</sup>b n 3bdw* or "pure one of Abydos," and *w<sup>s</sup>b hry-s3 n 3bdw* or "pure one who provides the back support service in Abydos." He is also identified as the father of *Wnm.i*, a *htm(w)-ntr*, or "god's sealer."

#### 6.1.5.D.3. *W<sup>s</sup>b hry-s3 n Spd.w nb i3btt*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b hry-s3 n Spd.w nb i3btt*), or "pure one who provides the back support service in the procession of Sopdu, Lord of the East,"<sup>1191</sup> is a processional title referring to the rear carrier of the god, Sopdu, Lord of the East. Two title-holders are named in Lahun Papyri. The title also occurs in a petition concerning tenure of an official post (UC 32055),<sup>1192</sup> for which no name is preserved (3-274M).

The name and titles of *Ihii-snb(.w)* called *W3h* (3-273M)<sup>1193</sup> are preserved in a deed of conveyance (UC 32058) by *W3h* himself.<sup>1194</sup> *W3h* is identified on the *recto* of the document as holding the title of *w<sup>s</sup>b hry-s3 n Spd.w nb i3btt*, while on the *verso* he is only identified as *w<sup>s</sup>b hry-s3*. It is possible that his full title was *w<sup>s</sup>b hry-s3 n Spd.w nb i3btt*, for which *w<sup>s</sup>b hry-s3* was an abbreviation.

The name and title of another (yet possibly the same) *Ihii-snb(.w)* called *W3h* (3-280M)<sup>1195</sup> are preserved in a deed of transfer of labor (UC 32167).<sup>1196</sup> *W3h*'s sole title is *w<sup>s</sup>b hry-s3 n Spdw nb i3btt*.

<sup>1191</sup> Ward renders the title as , but this does not reflect the original spelling contained within the Lahun Papyri. The translation of this title follows that of Westendorf for  (*w<sup>s</sup>b hry-s3*), presented above. Refer to: Westendorf, "Der Priestertitel *w<sup>s</sup>b hr(j)-s3*," 193. Contra Ward, who translates the title as "priest in charge of a *phyle* of Sopdu, Lord of the East." Refer to: Ward, *Index*, 82 [678].

<sup>1192</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical*, 102-103.


<sup>1193</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 45 [1], 72 [26].

<sup>1194</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical*, 104-105.

<sup>1195</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 45 [1], 72 [26].


<sup>1196</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical*, 118-119.

### 6.I.5.E. *W<sup>s</sup>bt nt Gs-i3by*




The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>bt nt Gs-i3by*), or "pure one of the East Side,"<sup>1197</sup> is a feminine *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title that may refer to the title-holder's position in a procession, analogous to the *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 imy-wr.t*, mentioned above (§6.I.5.A).<sup>1198</sup> Only one title-holder is known, *Špsi.t* (3-281F),<sup>1199</sup> whose name and title are preserved within a fragment from the Lahun Papyri (UC 32163)<sup>1200</sup> listing the household members in the household of the soldier Sneferu. *Špsi.t*'s sole title is *w<sup>s</sup>bt nt Gs-i3by*.

### 6.I.6. *W<sup>s</sup>b*-Titles Pertaining to the Temple

#### 6.I.6.A. *W<sup>s</sup>b n rwd pr špss*

The title  (*w<sup>s</sup>b n rwd pr špss*), or "pure one of the noble stairway of the temple,"<sup>1201</sup> is a *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title affiliated with the temple. Only one title-holder is known, *Rdi(.wi)-hnm(.w)* (3-282M),<sup>1202</sup> whose name and title are preserved upon a stela (CG 20543) from Dendera, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.<sup>1203</sup> *Rdi(.wi)-hnm(.w)*'s sole priestly title is *w<sup>s</sup>b n rwd pr špss*.

## 6.II. Summary

By the Middle Kingdom, the change in rendering from  to  may be observed in nearly all *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles. The only exceptions in which the title continues to be rendered as  are: *w<sup>s</sup>b m Šhm-Imny*, *w<sup>s</sup>b šnty* (200), and *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 m Hwt-nbw*, possibly because they date to the early Middle Kingdom. This wide scale change may be due to any variety of reasons, ranging from the desire to write a more simplified form to a change in the title itself, e.g. in regard to priestly requirement, role, or duties.

During the Middle Kingdom, the *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title becomes linked with the title, *ʿq*, or "enterer." This subsidiary title emphasizes the title-holder's right of entry into sacred

<sup>1197</sup> Ward, *Index*, 84 [693]. Also mentioned in: Blackman, "On the Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy," 24, n. 7.

<sup>1198</sup> Contra: Ward, who believes that the title refers to a location such as the eastern border of the delta. Refer to: Ward, *Essays*, 6.

<sup>1199</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 327 [2].

<sup>1200</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical*, 110-111.

<sup>1201</sup> Ward translates this title as "priest of the stairway of the noble temple." Refer to: Ward, *Index*, 82 [672].

<sup>1202</sup> Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 228 [8].

<sup>1203</sup> Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* II, 164-167.

space, which may permit one to enter further into sacred space than one who is designated as *w<sup>sb</sup>* only. The title *w<sup>sb</sup> bsi* further suggests that a *w<sup>sb</sup>* could undergo a form of initiation within the temple, giving the title-holder further access to delineated sacred space than had been the case in earlier periods. This, however, was not the full form of initiation reserved for an upper-ranking *hm-ntr*.

There is an increase in the variety of funerary *w<sup>sb</sup>*-titles, e.g. *w<sup>sb</sup> šnty (200)*, *w<sup>sb</sup> hr.t*, *w<sup>sb</sup> n b3.w hrt-ntr*, *w<sup>sb</sup> n sh-ntr*, and *w<sup>sb</sup> n k3* during the Middle Kingdom. Although the title *w<sup>sb</sup> šnty (200)* was consistently linked to the pyramid complexes since the end of the 5th Dynasty, the title is no longer explicitly linked to the royal mortuary cult in the Middle Kingdom. The diversification of other funerary *w<sup>sb</sup>*-titles suggests a shift in the affiliation of the title-holder from the royal mortuary cult to that of private individuals.

Although the hierarchical title of *w<sup>sb</sup> ʿ3* initially appears during the late 6th Dynasty, it is not until the Middle Kingdom that the title is found in nearly half (44%) of the cults of deities that include *w<sup>sb</sup>*-titles in their priestly hierarchy. The title of *w<sup>sb</sup> ʿ3*, which had been previously linked to the titles of *šps nswt* (in the Old Kingdom) and *shd* (from the Old Kingdom through mid-First Intermediate Period) is no longer explicitly linked to any other title in the Middle Kingdom. The new hierarchical title of *w<sup>sb</sup> wr*, which emerges during the Middle Kingdom, likewise does not appear to be linked to any other title.

The number of known female title-holders significantly increases during the Middle Kingdom. Of the 294 known title-holders of the Middle Kingdom, 12 (4%) were women. Of these, five were *w<sup>sb</sup>(t)* (42%), three (25%) were *w<sup>sb</sup> nswt* in Lahun, two (17%) were *w<sup>sb</sup>* of Khonsu in Abydos, one (8%) was a *w<sup>sb</sup>* of Amun in Thebes, and one (8%) was *w<sup>sb</sup>t nt Gs-i3by*. These women are detailed in Table 6.II.1, below.

<b>Table 6.II.1: Female Title-Holders in the Middle Kingdom</b>			
<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i>Title-String</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>Di.s (3-002F)</i>	<i>w<sup>sb</sup></i> ; pure one.	Abydos	11th Dynasty
<i>I-<sup>sn</sup>h(w) (3-074F)</i>	<i>w<sup>sb</sup></i> ; pure one.	Abydos: Middle Cemetery, eastern slope	Middle Kingdom

<b>Table 6.II.1: Female Title-Holders in the Middle Kingdom</b>			
<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i>Title-String</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Date</i>
<i>Hkkw.ti</i> (3-110F)	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b, m<sup>ḥ</sup>3 ḥrw</i> ; pure one, true-of-voice.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom
<i>W<sup>ḥ</sup>r.t</i> (3-133F)	<i>snt.f n mwt.f, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.t</i> ; his sister of his mother, pure one.	Thebes	13th Dynasty
<i>ḥnh.t</i> (3-134F)	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.t, m<sup>ḥ</sup>3 ḥrw</i> ; pure one, true of voice.	Edfu	Middle Kingdom
<i>Nfr.t</i> (3-140F)	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Lahun	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III
<i>Sn[.t]</i> (3-141F)	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Lahun	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III
<i>Sn.t</i> (3-151F)	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom
<i>Smn.t</i> (3-209F)	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>bt nt Hns.w m W3st</i> ; pure one of Khonsu in Thebes.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	13th Dynasty
<i>Snb.tysy-Smn.t</i> (3-210F)	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>bt nt Hns.w m W3st</i> ; pure one of Khonsu in Thebes.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	13th Dynasty (?)
<i>Nn-nhn</i> (3-242F)	<i>s3t, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b (n) Imn</i> ; daughter, pure one of Amun.	Thebes	13th Dynasty
<i>Špsi.t</i> (3-281F)	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>bt nt Gs-i3by</i> ; pure one of the East Side.	Lahun	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III

Of the 294 known *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w* of the Middle Kingdom, only five (2%) became (or were also) *ḥm-ntr*. Of the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w* that held the title of *ḥm-ntr*, two (40%) were in the cult of Osiris, two (40%) were in the cult of the Mistress of the Sky, and one (20%) was a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty* (200); two (40%) held the hierarchical title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3* in their respective cult. Each of the five *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w* that held a *ḥm.w-ntr*-title are shown in Table 6.II.2, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix C.

<b>Table 6.II.2: <i>W<sup>s</sup>b.w</i> with <i>Hm-ntr</i>-Titles During the Middle Kingdom</b>		
<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b-title</i>	<i>hm-ntr-title</i>
<i>Wp-w3.wt-ʿ3</i> (3-191M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n Wsir</i> ; great pure one of Osiris.	<i>hm-ntr M3<sup>c</sup>.t, imy-r hm.w-ntr</i> ; god's servant of Maat, overseer of the god's servants.
<i>Sn(i)-pw</i> (3-192M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b hm-ntr n Wsir</i> ; pure one [and] god's servant of Osiris.	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b hm-ntr n Wsir</i> ; pure one [and] god's servant of Osiris.
<i>Wh.w-htp(.w)</i> II (3-225M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3 n nbt pt</i> ; great pure one of the Mistress of the Sky.	<i>hm-ntr, imy-r hm.w-ntr, imy-r hm.w-ntr n Hwt-Hr nb.t Qis, imy-r hm.w-ntr n nb.t r dr</i> ; god's servant, overseer of the god's servants, overseer of the god's servants of Hathor Lady of Cusae, overseer of the god's servants of the mistress of all.
<i>Wh.w-htp(.w)</i> IV (3-226M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b n nbt pt</i> ; pure one of the Mistress of the Sky.	<i>imy-r hm.w-ntr</i> ; overseer of the god's servants.
<i>D3g.i</i> (3-291M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200)</i> ; pure one of the <i>šnty (200)</i> .	<i>hm-ntr Hr [...], hm-ntr</i> ; god's servant of Horus [...], god's servant.

Of the 294 known *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* of the Middle Kingdom, only two (1%) became (or were also) *hm-k3*. Of these, one (50%) held the generic title of *w<sup>s</sup>b*, whereas the other (50%) held the upper-ranking title of *w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3*. Both title-holders are shown in Table 6.II.3, below. Their complete title-strings may be found in Appendix C.

<b>Table 6.II.3: <i>W<sup>s</sup>b.w</i> with <i>Hm-k3</i>-Titles During the Middle Kingdom</b>		
<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b-title</i>	<i>hm-k3-title</i>
<i>Ppi-snb(.w)</i> (3-088M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	<i>hm k3; k3-servant</i> .
<i>Imn.ii</i> (3-183M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b ʿ3</i> ; great pure one.	<i>hm k3; k3-servant</i> .

The number of *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* who became (or were also) *hry-hbt*, or lector priest, is similarly low. Of the 294 known *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* of the Middle Kingdom, seven (2%) held lector-titles. Of the seven *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* that held a lector-title, one individual (14%) held the upper-

ranking title of  $w^{\text{b}} \text{ ʿ3}$  with the upper-ranking title of  $\text{hry-ḥbt hry-tp}$  or "chief lector priest." The concurrence of these titles suggests that these titles may have been of similar rank within the temple hierarchy, as previously suggested by Gauthier<sup>1204</sup> and Lefévre.<sup>1205</sup> The seven  $w^{\text{b}}.w$  that held lector-titles are shown in Table 6.II.4, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix C.

<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i><math>w^{\text{b}}</math>-title</i>	<i><math>\text{hry-ḥbt}</math>-title</i>
<i>Nb.w (3-022M)</i>	$w^{\text{b}}$ ; pure one.	$\text{hry-ḥbt}$ ; lector priest.
Unknown (3-031I)	$w^{\text{b}}$ ; pure one.	$\text{hry-ḥbt n [...]}$ ; lector priest of [...].
<i>Iw.f (3-075M)</i>	$w^{\text{b}}$ ; pure one.	$\text{hry-ḥbt}$ ; lector priest.
<i>If (3-081M)</i>	$w^{\text{b}}$ ; pure one.	$\text{hry-ḥbt}$ ; lector priest.
<i>R<sup>ᶜ</sup>-ḥtp(.w) (3-098M)</i>	$w^{\text{b}}$ ; pure one.	$\text{hry-ḥbt}$ ; lector priest.
Unknown (3-174I)	$w^{\text{b}} S^{\text{c}}nḥ-k3-r^{\text{c}}$ ; pure one of Sankhkare.	$\text{hry-ḥbt}$ ; lector priest.
<i>Wh.w- ḥtp(.w) II (3-225M)</i>	$w^{\text{b}} \text{ ʿ3 n nbt pt}$ ; great pure one of the Mistress of the Sky	$\text{hry-ḥbt hry-tp}$ ; chief lector priest.

Of the 294 known  $w^{\text{b}}.w$  of the Middle Kingdom, six (2%) became (or were also)  $s(t)m$ -priest, or the chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth. Of the six  $w^{\text{b}}.w$  that held  $s(t)m$ -titles, three (50%) held the upper-ranking title of  $w^{\text{b}} \text{ ʿ3}$ . The high percentage suggests that the position of  $s(t)m$ -priest may have been more readily accessible to those who held an upper-ranking title in the priestly hierarchy. Of the six  $w^{\text{b}}.w$  that held  $s(t)m$ -titles, two (33%) were  $w^{\text{b}}.w$  of the Mistress of the Sky. The dichotomy of  $w^{\text{b}}$ - and  $s(t)m$ -titles held by the  $w^{\text{b}}.w$  of the Mistress of the Sky is especially worthy of note: The upper-ranking  $w^{\text{b}} \text{ ʿ3}$  of the Mistress of the Sky served as  $s(t)m$ -priest for the deceased king (the "Lord of the Two Lands") while the lower-ranking  $w^{\text{b}}$  of the Mistress of the Sky served as  $s(t)m$ -priest for the deceased queen (the "Lady of the Two Lands"). These

<sup>1204</sup> Gauthier, *Le Personnel du Dieu Min*, 33-34.

<sup>1205</sup> Lefévre, *Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak*, 16-17.

six *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* are shown in Table 6.II.5, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix C.

<b>Table 6.II.5: <i>W<sup>s</sup>b.w</i> with <i>S(t)m</i>-Titles During the Middle Kingdom</b>		
<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b-title</i>	<i>s(t)m-title</i>
<i>Kw</i> (3-039M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	<i>s(t)m</i> ; <i>s(t)m</i> -priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth).
<i>Wp-</i> <i>w3.wt-<sup>s</sup>3</i> (3-191M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b <sup>s</sup>3 n Wsir</i> ; great pure one of Osiris.	<i>s(t)m</i> ; <i>s(t)m</i> -priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth).
<i>Snb.i</i> (3-196M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b <sup>s</sup>3 n Hwt-hr</i> ; great pure one of Hathor.	<i>s(t)m</i> ; <i>s(t)m</i> -priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth).
<i>Wh.w-</i> <i>htp(.w) II</i> (3-225M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b <sup>s</sup>3 n nbt pt</i> ; great pure one of the Mistress of the Sky.	<i>s(t)m</i> , <i>s(t)m n nb t3wy</i> ; <i>s(t)m</i> -priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth), <i>s(t)m</i> -priest of the Lord of the Two Lands.
<i>Wh.w-</i> <i>htp(.w)</i> IV (3-226M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b n nbt pt, w<sup>s</sup>b <sup>s</sup>wy</i> ; pure one of the Mistress of the Sky, pure of hands.	<i>s(t)m n nb t3wy</i> ; <i>s(t)m</i> -priest of the Lady of the Two Lands.
<i>D3g.i</i> (3-291M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200)</i> ; pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200).	<i>s(t)m</i> ; <i>s(t)m</i> -priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth).

Of the 294 known *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* of the Middle Kingdom, only four (1%) held scribal titles. Such a decrease may reflect an increased degree of specialization by the title-holder, for which they do not appear to be employed in an administrative career over the course of their lifetime. The four *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* that hold scribal-titles are shown in Table 6.II.6, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix C.

<b>Table 6.II.6: <i>W<sup>s</sup>b.w</i> with Scribal-Titles During the Middle Kingdom</b>		
<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b-title</i>	<i>sš-title</i>
<i>Sbk-nht</i> (3-027M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	<i>sš</i> ; scribe.
<i>P3-hrwi</i> (3-071M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	<i>imy-r sš.w</i> ; overseer of scribes.
<i>Iw-mnh</i> (3-076M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	<i>sš</i> ; scribe.
<i>Wh.w-</i> <i>htp(.w) II</i> (3-225M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b <sup>s</sup>3 n nbt pt</i> ; great pure one of the Mistress of the Sky	<i>sš md3t ntr</i> ; scribe of the god's documents.

Forty-eight filial relationships have been identified in which one or more family members share a *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title. Of these, 11 (23%) are shared between father and son. Of the *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles shared by father and son(s), there are nine (82%) cases in which one or more of their *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles are identical (and to which others are often added): *Ir* (*w<sup>s</sup>b*, 3-079M) and *Hr-bḥd.ti-msi.w* (*w<sup>s</sup>b*, 3-101M), *Hr-bḥd.ti-msi.w* (*w<sup>s</sup>b*, <sup>ṣ</sup>*q*, 3-101M) and *Hr-ḥtp(.w)* (*w<sup>s</sup>b*, <sup>ṣ</sup>*q*, 3-108M), *Mn.w-snfrw* (*w<sup>s</sup>b*, 3-089M) and *S3-ḥwt-ḥr* (*w<sup>s</sup>b*, 3-116M), *Hr-nḥt(.w)* (*w<sup>s</sup>b*, <sup>ṣ</sup>*q*, 3-103M) and *Hr-nḥt(.w)* (*w<sup>s</sup>b*, <sup>ṣ</sup>*q*, 3-104M), *Hw.ii* (*w<sup>s</sup>b*, <sup>ṣ</sup>*q* 3-111M) and *Hr-ḥtp(.w)* (*w<sup>s</sup>b*, <sup>ṣ</sup>*q*, 3-107M), *S3-mnt.w* (*w<sup>s</sup>b*, 3-114M) and *Qm3.w.n.i* (*w<sup>s</sup>b*, 3-119M), *Intf.w* (*w<sup>s</sup>b* *Nb-hpt-r<sup>ṣ</sup>*, 3-159M) and *Iibb* (*w<sup>s</sup>b* *Nb-hpt-r<sup>ṣ</sup>*, 3-157M), *R[n].f-snb(.w)* (*w<sup>s</sup>b* (*n*) *Imn*, 3-236M) and *In[-it].f* (*w<sup>s</sup>b* (*n*) *Imn*, 3-232M), and *Nfr-tm-m-s3.f* (*imy-r w<sup>s</sup>b.w Shm.t*, 3-265M) and *Ndmw-snb(.w)* (*imy-r w<sup>s</sup>b.w Shm.t*, 3-266M). The two cases (18%) in which the *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles shared by father and son are not identical is that of *Rn(i)-snb(w)* (3-217M) and *Snb-mi-3w* (3-220M), and *In[-it].f* (3-232M) and *Iwii-n-p[š?]* (3-158M).

Three (6%) of the 48 filial relationships are between grandfather and grandson. Of these, two (67%) share identical *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles: *Ir* (*w<sup>s</sup>b*, 3-079M) and *Hr-ḥtp(.w)* (*w<sup>s</sup>b*, 3-108M), and *Wnis-r-gs-ptḥ* (*w<sup>s</sup>b*, 3-084M) and *Wnis* (*w<sup>s</sup>b*, 3-085M). The remaining case (33%) in which grandfather and grandson do not share identical *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles is that of *R[n].f-snb(.w)* (3-236M) and *Iwii-n-p[š?]* (3-158M). The grandfather *R[n].f-snb(.w)* holds the title of *w<sup>s</sup>b* (*n*) *Imn*, while the grandson, *Iwii-n-p[š?]*, holds the title *w<sup>s</sup>b* *Nb-hpt-r<sup>ṣ</sup>*.

One (2%) of the 48 filial relationships is between a parent and child of indeterminable gender, i.e.: *Mrii-snb* (3-037M) and a person whose name is unknown (3-167I), neither of whom share an identical *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title.

Thirty-three (69%) of the 48 filial relationships are between brothers, 28 of which are contained within one stela (CG 23045) that was found within the Northern Cemetery of Abydos. All (100%) brothers share the identical title of *w<sup>s</sup>b*. All of the filial relationships are shown in Table 6.II.7, below.

No husband-and-wife relationships are known from the Middle Kingdom.



<b>Table 6.II.7: Heredity of <i>W<sup>s</sup>b</i>-Titles During the Middle Kingdom</b>		
<i>Father</i>		<i>Son</i>
<i>Ir</i> (3-079M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one		<i>Hr-bhd.ti-msi.w</i> (3-101M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> , <i>‘q</i> : pure one, enterer
<i>Hr-bhd.ti-msi.w</i> (3-101M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> , <i>‘q</i> : pure one, enterer		<i>Hr-htp(.w)</i> (3-108M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> , <i>‘q</i> : pure one, enterer
<i>Mn.w-snfrw</i> (3-089M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one		<i>S3-hwt-hr</i> (3-116M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> , <i>w<sup>s</sup>b ‘3</i> , <i>w<sup>s</sup>b Snfrw</i> : pure one, great pure one, pure one of Sneferu
<i>Hr-nht(.w)</i> (3-103M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> , <i>‘q</i> : pure one, enterer		<i>Hr-nht(.w)</i> (3-104M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> , <i>‘q</i> : pure one, enterer
<i>Hw.ii</i> (3-111M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> , <i>‘q</i> : pure one, enterer		<i>Hr-htp(.w)</i> (3-107M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> , <i>‘q</i> : pure one, enterer
<i>S3-mnt.w</i> (3-114M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> , <i>‘q</i> , <i>w<sup>s</sup>b nb Iwny.t</i> , <i>w<sup>s</sup>b bsi</i> : pure one, enterer, pure one of the Lord of Esna, pure one who is initiated.		<i>Qm3.w.n.i</i> (3-119M), <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one
<i>Intf.w</i> (3-159M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b Nb-hpt-r<sup>s</sup></i> : pure one of Nebhepetre		<i>libb</i> (3-157M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b Nb-hpt-r<sup>s</sup></i> : pure one of Nebhepetre
<i>Rn(i)-snb(w)</i> (3-217M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b n Sbk</i> ; pure one of Sobek		<i>Snb-mi-3w</i> (3-220M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b n Sbk nb Swmnw</i> ; pure one of Sobek, Lord of Sumenu
<i>R[n].f-snb(.w)</i> (3-236M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b n Imn</i> : pure one of Amun		<i>In[-it].f</i> (3-232M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b n Imn</i> : pure one of Amun
<i>In[-it].f</i> (3-232M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b n Imn</i> : pure one of Amun		<i>Iwii-n-p[š?]</i> (3-158M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b Nb-hpt-r<sup>s</sup></i> : pure one of Nebhepetre
<i>Parent</i>		<i>Child</i>
<i>Mrii-snb</i> (3-037I) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ; pure one		<i>Unknown</i> (3-167I) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b Nb-hpt-r<sup>s</sup></i> : pure one of Nebhepetre
<i>Grandfather</i>		<i>Grandson</i>
<i>Ir</i> (3-079M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one		<i>Hr-htp(.w)</i> (3-108M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one
<i>Wnis-r-gs-ptḥ</i> (3-084M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one		<i>Wnis</i> (3-085M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one
<i>R[n].f-snb(.w)</i> (3-236M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b n Imn</i> : pure one of Amun		<i>Iwii-n-p[š?]</i> (3-158M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b Nb-hpt-r<sup>s</sup></i> : pure one of Nebhepetre
<i>Brother</i>		<i>Brother</i>
<i>Ib.w</i> (3-046M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one		<i>W3h-k3</i> (3-052M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one
<i>Imn.ii</i> (3-077M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one		<i>S3-mnt.w</i> (3-115M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one
<i>Ir(w)-ns</i> (3-080M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one	<i>Mnt.w-m-š</i> (3-090M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one	<i>Mnt.w-htp.w</i> (3-091M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one

**Table 6.II.7: Heredity of *W<sup>b</sup>*-Titles During the Middle Kingdom**

<i>Brothers within CG 23045</i>	
<i>Im3.w</i> (3-047M)	<i>Rdi.s</i> (3-058M)
<i>In-it.f</i> (3-050M)	<i>Rdi.s</i> ʿ3 (3-059M)
<i>Whm.i</i> (3-055M)	<i>Šd.ii</i> (3-063M)
<i>Mmi</i> (3-056M)	<i>Dd.w</i> (3-064M)

## CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

This thesis examined the title *w<sup>s</sup>b*, or "pure one," from the Old Kingdom to the end of the Middle Kingdom. The title has been presented in the context of ritual purity, with specific reference to the purification process, the agents used in that process, as well as the locations where this process may have taken place. The hierarchical status of the *w<sup>s</sup>b* was then examined in comparison to the *hm-ntr*. The role and responsibilities of the *w<sup>s</sup>b* were then explored according to the primary sources available for each historical period, e.g. the Abusir Papyri of the Old Kingdom, textual and iconographic evidence from the First Intermediate Period, and the Lahun Papyri of the Middle Kingdom. The subsequent chapters presented an inventory of *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles as they occurred throughout the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period, and Middle Kingdom. Each of these titles was presented according to type, i.e. those associated with the royal mortuary cult, a deity, etc.

This final chapter presents an overview of the geographical distribution of *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles by time period, a discussion of hierarchical and subsidiary *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles, the promotions from *w<sup>s</sup>b* to other positions within the priestly hierarchy (e.g. *hm-ntr*, *hry-hbt*, *s(tm)*, etc.) as well as those that hold scribal titles, a discussion on the gender of title-holders with special attention given to female title-holders, and closes with an overview of the heredity and transfer of office.

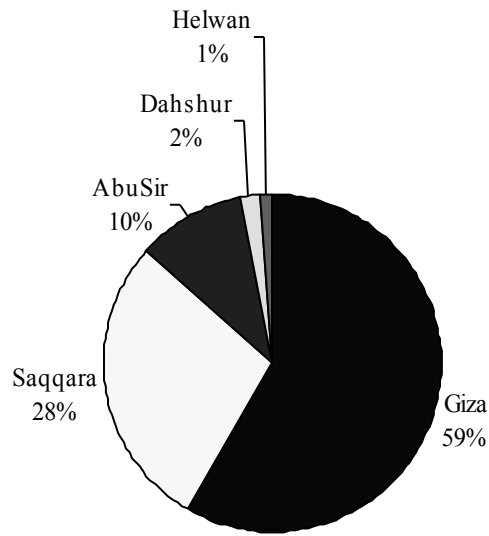
### 7.I. Geographical Distribution by Time Period

#### 7.I.1. The Old Kingdom

During the Old Kingdom,<sup>1206</sup> the majority of known title-holders are attested within the vicinity of Memphis, the royal residence and capital of Egypt. Of the 212 known title-holders, 194 (91.5%) are located within the Memphite area: 113 (59%) from Giza, 55 (28%) from Saqqara, 20 (10%) from Abusir, 4 (2%) from Dahshur, and 2 (1%) from Helwan. The distribution of title-holders within the Memphite area is shown in Chart 1, below.

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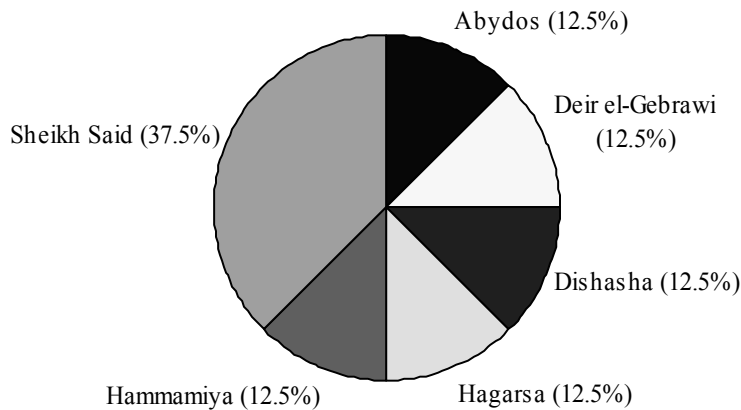
<sup>1206</sup> The monuments of 10 (21%) title-holders from this period are unprovenanced.



**Chart 1: Distribution of Title-Holders within the Memphite Area during the Old Kingdom**

Of the 212 known title-holders of the Old Kingdom, eight (4%) are attested outside of the Memphite capital: three (37.5%) in Sheikh Said, one (12.5%) in Deir el-Gebrawi, one (12.5%) in Dishasha, one (12.5%) in Abydos, one (12.5%) in Hagarsa, and one (12.5%) in Hammamiya. The distribution of title-holders outside of the Memphite area is shown in Chart 2, below.

**Chart 2: Distribution of Title-Holders Outside of the Memphite Area During the Old Kingdom**



These sites were the seats of provincial administrators that functioned as semi-independent local rulers. The office of the provincial administrator was hereditary and was usually kept within the same family for several generations. One of these hereditary rulers, *D<sup>ε</sup>.w* called *Šm3.i* (1-210M), who is identified as *iry-p<sup>ε</sup>t*, *h3ty-<sup>ε</sup>*, etc. also held the title of *w<sup>ε</sup>b šnty* (200). Two other title-holders outside of the Memphite area held *hq3*-titles within their title-string, which also suggest that they had an upper-ranking status in their respective nomes: *Wr-irni* (1-032M) and *N-hft-k3(.i)* (1-037M). *K3(.i)-m-nfr.t* (1-044M) held dual managerial titles of *imy-r 3t nswt* and *imy-r hwt 3t*, while *Hns.w* called *Htp*'s (1-212M) titles affiliate him with the judiciary system. The remaining three title-holders (1-044I, 1-029M, and 1-039M) held no other titles in addition to their *w<sup>ε</sup>b*-title that may be used to indicate their status. The names and titles of all eight individuals are shown in Table 7.I.1, below.

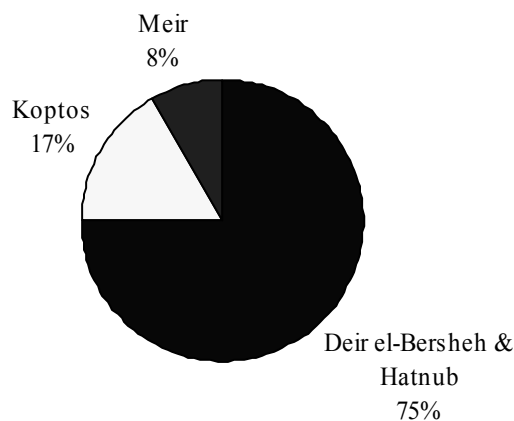
<b>Table 7.I.1: Title-Holders Outside of the Memphite Area During the Old Kingdom</b>		
<i>Name (No.)</i>	<i>Title-String</i>	<i>Location</i>
<i>Wr-irni</i> (1-032M)	<i>rḥ nswt, ḥq3 ḥwt, imy-r wp(w)t, sšm t3, imy-r niwwt m3wt, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, ḥm ntr Ni-wsr-r<sup>ḫ</sup></i> ; royal acquaintance, estate manager/property administrator, overseer of commissions/apportionments, leader of the land, overseer of the new settlements, royal pure one, god's servant of Niuserre.	Sheikh Said: Tomb 25
<i>N-ḥft-k3(i)</i> (1-037M)	<i>rḥ nswt, ḥq3 niwt r(t)-rst, w<sup>b</sup> n nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, chief of the Southern Goat City (U.E. 20), royal pure one.	Dishasha
<i>K3(i)-m-nfr.t</i> (1-044M)	<i>rḥ nswt, imy-r 3t nswt, imy-r ḥwt ʿ3t, w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, overseer of the royal 3t(?), overseer of the Great Estate, royal pure one.	Hagarsa: Tomb of Ka-em-nofer, south chamber
Unknown (1-046I)	<i>imy-r wp(w)t, w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; overseer of commissions/apportionments, royal pure one.	Hammamiya: Tomb of Khentkaus, west wall
<i>Mn.w-ḥtp.w</i> (1-129M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> , royal pure one.	Sheikh Said: Tomb 25
<i>K3(i)-ḥp</i> (1-139M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Sheikh Said: Tomb 25
<i>Ḍ<sup>ḫ</sup>.w : Šm3.i</i> (1-210M)	<i>iry-p<sup>ḫ</sup>t, ḥ3ty-ḫ, mdw Ḥp, r3 P nb, ḥrp šḥt Hr, Nḥny, ḥry-tp Nḥb, ḥtm(ty)-bity, ḥry-tp ʿ3 n T3-wr, ḥwty-ʿ3t, imy-r Šm<sup>ḫ</sup>w, ḥq3 ḥwt, smr w<sup>ḫ</sup>ty, ḥry-ḥbt [ḥry-tp], šḥd ḥm.w-ntr Mn-ḫ-Nfr-k3-r<sup>ḫ</sup>, imy-ḥt ḥm.w-ntr Mn-ḫ-Nfr-k3-r<sup>ḫ</sup>, ḥnty-š Mn-ḫ-Nfr-k3-r<sup>ḫ</sup>, ḥry-tp ʿ3 (n) 3tft, imy-r šnwty, imy-r prwy-ḥd, imy-r sšwy, w<sup>b</sup> šnty (200), imy-r wp(w)t ḥtp(w)t-ntr m prwy, s(t)m, ḥrp šndt nb.t, [ḥry] s[št3 n sdm]t w<sup>ḫ</sup>, iry ʿ3 r Šm<sup>ḫ</sup></i> ; hereditary prince/nobleman, count, herdsman of Apis, mouth of every Pe-ite/Butite, director of the net of Horus, one of Nekhen, overlord of el-Kab, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, great overlord of the Grand Land Nome (U.E. 8, or the area of This-Abydos), one who belongs to the Great Estate, overseer of Upper Egypt, estate manager/property administrator, sole companion, [chief] lector priest, inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-life-of-Neferkare', under-supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-life-of-Neferkare', land tenant of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-life-of-Neferkare', great overlord of the Viper Mountain Nome (U.E. 12, the <i>Cerastes</i> nome), overseer of the two granaries, overseer of the two treasuries, overseer of the two bird pools/fowling pools,	Deir el-Gebrâwi: tomb of Ḍ <sup>ḫ</sup> .w : Šm3i

	pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200), overseer of the division(s)/apportionments of divine offerings in the two houses, <i>s(tm)</i> -priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth), director of every kilt, secretary of that which one alone judges, one who is in the door to the south.	
<i>Hns.w</i> : <i>Htp</i> (1-212M)	<i>smsw (n) h(3)yt, w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200) n s3, im3ḥw, nḥt-ḥrw ḥwt-wrt, w<sup>s</sup> m mḏ(?) m w<sup>s</sup>bt(?);</i> elder of the (judicial) court, pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200) of the <i>phyle</i> , revered one, tallyman of the lawcourt, one in 10 in the workshop/mortuary workshop.	Abydos: West of Ramesses Portal Temple

### 7.1.2. The First Intermediate Period

By the First Intermediate Period, the majority of known title-holders shifts to the provinces of Upper Egypt, primarily the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna), the Double Falcon Nome (U.E. 5, Koptos), and the Lower Sycamore and Viper Nome (U.E. 14, Meir). Of the 18 known title-holders from this period, 12 (67%) are from Upper Egypt. Of these, nine (75%) are from the Hermopolis Magna (U.E. 15): three are from the tombs of the hereditary rulers in Deir el-Bersheh and six are from the alabaster quarry that they controlled in Hatnub. Two (17%) title-holders were identified in Koptos (U.E. 5), and one (8%) was identified in Meir (U.E. 14). The distribution of title-holders throughout Upper Egypt is shown in Chart 3, below.

**Chart 3: Distribution of Title-Holders Throughout Upper Egypt During the First Intermediate Period**

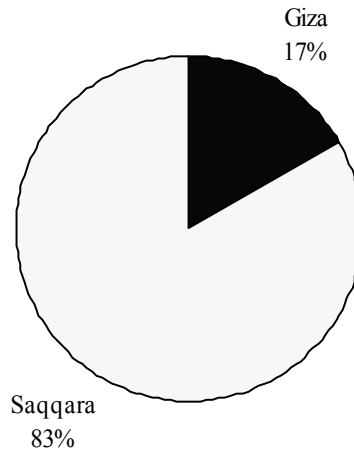


Three (75%) of the four hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna) are identified as *h3ty-ꜥ*; all four (100%) of them held the upper-ranking priestly titles of *wꜥb ꜥ3* and *imy-r hm.w-ntr* within their title-strings, which secured their position at the top of the administrative and religious hierarchies of the province. One of the two known title-holders from Koptos (modern Qift) also held the title of *wꜥb ꜥ3*, but was not identified by any other title that suggested a high status such as *h3ty-ꜥ*; the same is true for the one known title-holder from Meir (2-001M).

Six (33%) title-holders were identified within the Memphite area, which continued to be an important center during the Herakleopolitan Kingdom (9th-10th Dynasties). Within this area, five (83%) title-holders were identified in Saqqara, which was still used as a necropolis by the Herakleopolitan kings. Only one (17%) title-holder was identified in Giza, *[I]m[i]-st-k[3.i]* (2-003M). The distribution of title-holders within the Memphite area is shown in Chart 4, below.



**Chart 4: Distribution of Title-Holders within the Memphite Area during the First Intermediate Period**

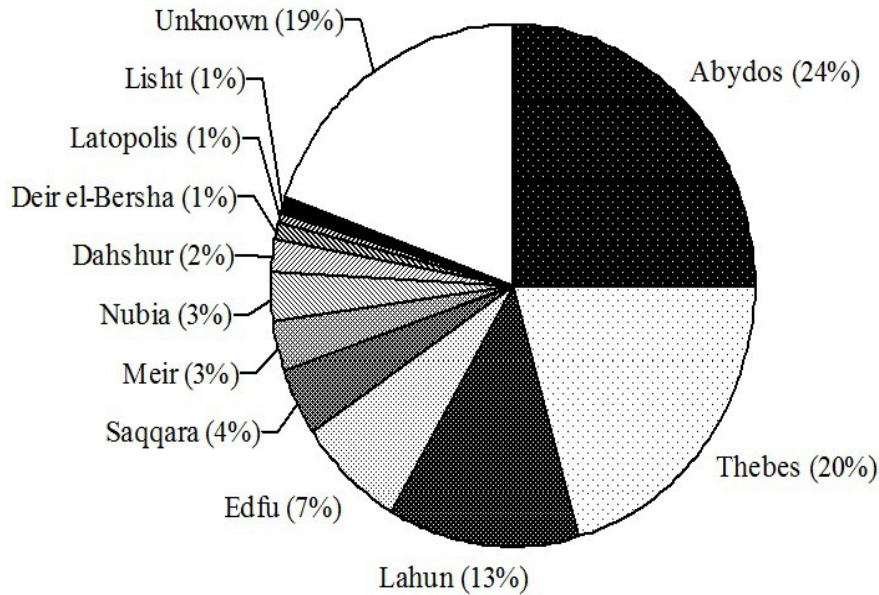


### 7.1.3. The Middle Kingdom

During the Middle Kingdom, the attestations of title-holders are far more widespread throughout Egypt, with the largest concentrations being found in Abydos (24%), Thebes (20%), and Lahun (13%); 19% of the materials examined were of unknown provenance. Concentrations of title-holders are expected at both Thebes and Lahun, as they are the capitals of the 11th and 12th Dynasties, respectively. Abydos, a long established cult-centre, saw the highest concentration of title-holders throughout this period; a dramatic increase from the single attestation that is known from the Old Kingdom. *W<sup>b</sup>*-titles were also found as far afield as Nubia and Palestine, with eight attestations (3%) found in Nubia and one inscription (<0%) found at Tell el-Duweir (modern Lachish, Palestine), both of which also reflect Egyptian outreach into these areas during the Middle Kingdom. The total distribution of title-holders throughout Egypt is shown in Chart 5, below.<sup>1207</sup>

<sup>1207</sup> Values <0% are not shown.

**Chart 5: Distribution of Title-Holders Throughout the Middle Kingdom**



## 7.II. Promotions and Other Employment

### 7.II.1. Promotions within the Priestly Hierarchy

The *w<sup>b</sup>*-title indicates the title-holder's lower status, from which one could be promoted to an upper-ranking position within the priestly hierarchy, e.g. *hm-ntr*, *hm-k3*, *hry-hbt*, or *s(t)m*-priest, as discussed in §3.II. The Old Kingdom saw the greatest opportunity for upward-mobility. Of the 212 known *w<sup>b</sup>.w* of the Old Kingdom, 98 (46%) became (or were also) *hm-ntr*, 9 (14%) became (or were also) *hm-k3*, 6 (3%) became (or were also) *hry-hbt*, and 7 (3%) became (or were also) *s(t)m*-priest. For a detailed discussion, see §4.II.

The opportunity for upward-mobility within the priestly hierarchy continues during the First Intermediate Period, albeit on a much smaller scale and with no variability between grades. The only known promotion from this period was from from *w<sup>b</sup>* to *hm-ntr*. Of the 18 known *w<sup>b</sup>.w* of the First Intermediate Period, 6 (33%) became (or were also) *hm-ntr*. For a detailed discussion, see §5.II.

The possibility of promotion to other priestly grades continues during the Middle Kingdom, but on a greatly diminished scale. Of the 294 known *w<sup>b</sup>.w* of the Middle

Kingdom, 5 (2%) became (or were also) *hm-ntr*, 2 (1%) became (or were also) *hm-k3*, 7 (2%) became (or were also) *hry-hbt*, and 6 (2%) became (or were also) a *s(t)m*-priest. For a detailed discussion, see §6.II. The promotion of *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* to other priestly grades is shown in Table 7.II.1, below.

<b>Table 7.II.1: Promotions within the Priestly Hierarchy Over Time</b>					
	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i>	<i>hm-ntr</i>	<i>hm-k3</i>	<i>hry-hbt</i>	<i>s(t)m</i>
<b>Old Kingdom</b>	212	98	9	6	7
<b>First Intermediate Period</b>	18	6	0	0	0
<b>Middle Kingdom</b>	294	5	2	7	6
<b>Total:</b>	<b>524</b>	<b>109</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>

### 7.II.2. Employment Beyond the Priestly Hierarchy

Aside from the potential of being promoted within the priestly hierarchy, the *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* also had the potential of being employed in the administrative sector. A trend observed across all historical periods was for the *w<sup>s</sup>b.w* to hold scribal titles (e.g. *sš*) within their title-strings. During the Old Kingdom, 32 (15%) held scribal titles. By the First Intermediate Period, 2 (11%) held scribal titles. During the Middle Kingdom, the number dwindles to a mere 4 (1%). Table 7.II.2 shows the concurrence of *w<sup>s</sup>b*- and scribal-titles over time, below.

<b>Table 7.II.2: <i>W<sup>s</sup>b.w</i> with Scribal-Titles Over Time</b>		<b>Total</b>
Old Kingdom	32	<b>212</b>
First Intermediate Period	2	<b>18</b>
Middle Kingdom	4	<b>294</b>

The title-strings of the Old Kingdom are typically lengthy and often belong to diverse career sectors, for which the *w<sup>s</sup>b* has a chance of holding an administrative position such as *sš*. The title-strings of the Middle Kingdom are by comparison quite short and are often restricted to no more than two titles. By the Middle Kingdom, the concurrence of a *w<sup>s</sup>b*-title with a *sš*-title in the same title-string has all but disappeared, which may be due to an increased degree of career specialization, which in turn resulted in a decreased crossover of the *w<sup>s</sup>b* to other career sectors.

### 7.III. Hierarchical and Subsidiary *w<sup>b</sup>*-Titles

#### 7.III.1. Hierarchical Titles

The hierarchical title *w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3*, or "great pure one," displays its own unique development. During the Old Kingdom, the title occurs exclusively in the cults of Ptah of Memphis and of Min, the latter of which has no known provenance. Regardless of cultic affiliation, the title is linked to the titles *shd* and *šps nswt*. Of the six known divine cults that include *w<sup>b</sup>.w* within their hierarchy during the Old Kingdom, only two (33%) include the hierarchical title *w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3*.

During the First Intermediate Period, the title *w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3* appears singularly, without reference to any specific cult. The title also continued to be linked to the cult of Min, centered at Koptos (modern Qift). The stela from Qift (BM 325 [1247]) suggests that the title of *w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3 n Mn.w* may have been held by one individual at a time (see discussion, §5.II). In cases where the title appears singularly, or in reference to the cult of Min, it is no longer linked to the titles *shd* and *šps nswt*. The title *w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3* also appears within the cult of Thoth, where it is held in tandem with *imy-r hm.w-ntr* by the hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna). Of the three known divine cults that include *w<sup>b</sup>.w* in their hierarchy during the First Intermediate Period (i.e. of Min, Sekhmet, and Thoth), two (67%) include the hierarchical title *w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3* (i.e. (i.e. of Min and Thoth). The high percentage yielded from the small sample size is due to the scarcity of material identified from this time period.

By the Middle Kingdom, the title *w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3* appears to have become far more widespread, and is linked to the cults of several deities: Anubis (provenance unknown), Osiris (Abydos), Hathor (Abydos), Horus (Edfu), Khonsu (Abydos), Khnum (Rifeh), Sobek (Lahun, Abydos, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Latopolis), Sopdu (Abydos and Lahun), and the divine epithet *nbt pt*, or "Mistress of the Sky" (Meir); Table 6.I.4.B. Of the 17 known divine cults that include *w<sup>b</sup>.w* within their hierarchy, 12 (70.5%) include the hierarchical title of *w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3*. The perceived increase in frequency of this title may be misleading when compared to earlier periods due to better representation within the archaeological record. Nevertheless, the adoption of this title indicates that these cults maintained a high number of *w<sup>b</sup>.w* who needed to be overseen by an upper-ranking *w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3*.

The title is also associated with the centers of Hatnub (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 m Hwt-nbw*) and the Thinite Nome/Abydos (*w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 m T3-wr 3bḏw*); §6.I.5.A. Because these titles do not reference the cult of any specific deity, the author proposes that these title-holders may have overseen *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w* across multiple cults in each of their respective locations. The title *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3* was also included among processional titles, as indicated by the title *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 imy wr.t*, who may have led the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w* of a designated section within a procession. This title specifically occurs within the area of Abydos (§6.I.5.A).

The hierarchical title *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b wr*, or "grand pure one," appears for the first time in Edfu during the Middle Kingdom (§6.I.4.A.12). Based upon an analogy of the *hry-hbt* being qualified by *ʿ3* and *wr*, it is possible that the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b wr* is equal in rank to the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3*. The different designations of the title are most likely a reflection of where the title-holder is working. In this case, the title *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b wr* may be unique to Edfu.

The hierarchical title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b bsi*, or "pure one who has been initiated," also appears for the first time in Edfu during the Middle Kingdom (§6.I.4.A.13). The title indicates that the title-holder has undergone a form of initiation that serves to further distinguish them from the rest of the *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w*, but not the complete form of initiation that was reserved for the upper-ranking *hm-ntr*, as discussed in Chapter 3. Such a partial initiation may have enabled the title-holder to complete ritual tasks that were not possible for one who was merely *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*.

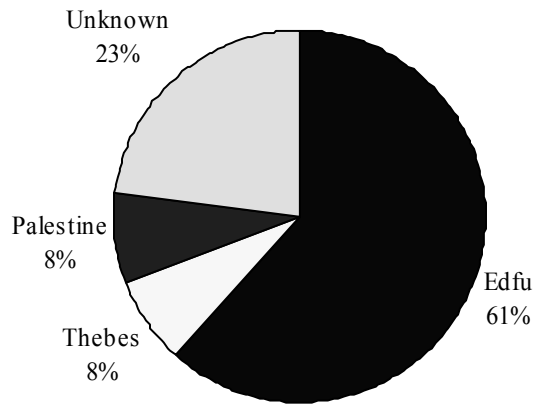
### 7.III.2. Subsidiary Titles

Because *ʿq* is not explicitly a *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*-title, it is here designated as a subsidiary title. Thirteen individuals hold the subsidiary title of *ʿq* or "enterer" in addition to their title of *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b*, all of whom lived during the Middle Kingdom. Eight (61%) resided in Edfu, one (8%) in Thebes, and one inscription (8%) was found in Tell el-Duweir (modern Lachish, Palestine); the remaining three (23%) are of unknown provenance.

The complete form of the title held by *Hwi* (3-203M), one of the eight title-holders in Edfu, is: *w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿq n Hr Bḥd.t* or "pure one [and] enterer of Horus the Behedite." It is quite likely that the other subsidiary titles from the same site are also in reference to the Horus of Edfu. The other titles of *S3-mnt.w* (3-114M), the title-holder in Thebes, invoke *nb Iwnyt*, or the "Lord of Esna," a divine epithet which may refer to the god Montu, or his

syncretized form as Montu-Re or Montu-Horus-Re.<sup>1208</sup> The complete form of the title held by *[Iw].f-n.i* (3-044M), the title-holder from Palestine, is: *[w<sup>s</sup>b] <sup>s</sup>q n Nḥbt* or "pure one [and] enterer of Nekhbet." The three attestations of unknown provenance are also noteworthy, as each references a different deity: Satis (3-060M), the *wrš* (3-065M), and Sobek, Lord of Sumenu (3-072M). The distribution of subsidiary title-holders is shown in Chart 6, below.

**Chart 6: Distribution of Subsidiary Title-Holders**



Five filial relationships have been identified in which one or more family members have the subsidiary title of <sup>s</sup>q. All five (100%) of these relationships are between father and son. Of these, two (40%) share the subsidiary title of <sup>s</sup>q, while the remaining three (60%) do not. Each of these relationships are shown in Table 7.III.2, below.

<b>Table 7.III.2: Heredity of Subsidiary Titles</b>	
<i>Father</i>	<i>Son</i>
<i>Ir</i> (3-079M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one	<i>Ḥr-bḥd.ti-msi.w</i> (3-101M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> , <sup>s</sup> <i>q</i> : pure one, enterer
<i>Ḥr-bḥd.ti-msi.w</i> (3-101M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> , <sup>s</sup> <i>q</i> : pure one, enterer	<i>Ḥr-ḥtp(.w)</i> (3-108M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one


<sup>1208</sup> Leitz, *Lexikon* III, 577.


<b>Table 7.III.2: Heredity of Subsidiary Titles</b>	
<i>Father</i>	<i>Son</i>
<i>Hr-nht(.w)</i> (3-103M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b, 'q</i> : pure one, enterer	<i>Hr-nht(.w)</i> (3-104M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b, 'q</i> : pure one, enterer
<i>Hw.ii</i> (3-111M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b, 'q</i> : pure one, enterer	<i>Hr-htp(.w)</i> (3-107M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b, 'q</i> : pure one, enterer
<i>S3-mnt.w</i> (3-114M) <i>w<sup>s</sup>b, 'q, w<sup>s</sup>b nb Iwny.t, w<sup>s</sup>b bsi</i> : pure one, enterer, pure one of the Lord of Esna, pure one who has been initiated.	<i>Qm3.w.n.i</i> (3-119M), <i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> : pure one

#### 7.IV. Gender

A total of 524 individuals were examined in this study. Of these, 459 men (87.5%) and 13 women (2%) held *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles; 49 title-holders (9%) are of indeterminable gender. Although the number of known female title-holders pales in comparison to the number of known male title-holders, their very existence makes it possible to conclude that the title was not restricted by gender, especially by the Middle Kingdom, in which greatest number of female title-holders are known. Of the 13 women that are known to have held *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles, only one (8%) lived during the Old Kingdom, while all remaining title-holders lived during the Middle Kingdom (92%). The gender of title-holders for each historical period are shown in Table 7.IV, below.

<b>Table 7.IV: Gender of Title-Holders Over Time</b>				
	<b>Male</b>	<b>Female</b>	<b>Indeterminable</b>	<b>Total:</b>
<b>Old Kingdom</b>	193	1	18	<b>212</b>
<b>First Intermediate Period</b>	17	0	1	<b>18</b>
<b>Middle Kingdom</b>	252	12	30	<b>294</b>
<b>Total:</b>	<b>459</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>524</b>

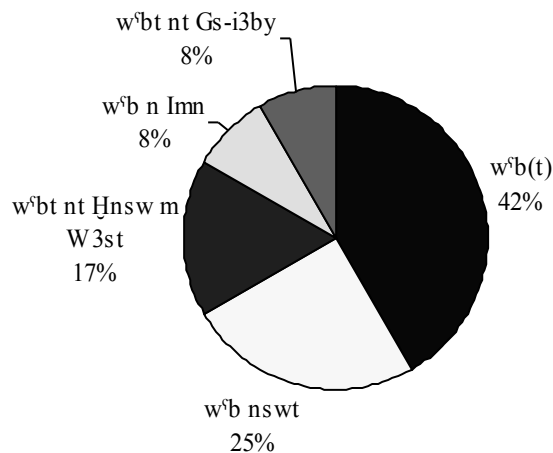
The first known woman to hold the title of *w<sup>s</sup>bt* was  *Ihi* (1-017F),<sup>1209</sup> whose name and titles are preserved upon a false door (CG 1449) of unknown provenance, which dates to the 6th Dynasty or later. *Ihi* is identified as *hmt.f* or "his wife," *mrt.f* or "his beloved," *im3ht.f* or "his provided one," and lastly, as *w<sup>s</sup>bt*. The false door is

<sup>1209</sup> Not to be confused with the masculine  *Ihii*, the musician and son of Hathor. For variant renderings, see: Leitz, *Lexikon* I, 542-543. The designation of *Ihi* as a feminine name is clearly indicated by its context on the false door, hence Ranke's identification of *Ihi* as a feminine name with specific reference to CG 1449. Refer to: Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 44 [20].

inscribed for her husband, *Id.ii* (1-121M), who held the title of *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt* and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *ḥm-nṯr R<sup>s</sup>*, or "god's servant of Re." Both individuals held *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles, and may have served within the same cult(s). *Id.ii* holds two additional titles: *rh nswt* or "royal acquaintance" and *ḥry-sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret." Their children are identified by name without title; the same is true for *Id.ii*'s brother, who is also included on the false door. *Iḥi* is the only female title-holder identified from the Old Kingdom.

The attestations of the next known female title-holders do not occur until the Middle Kingdom. It is possible that additional female title-holders existed during the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, for which no evidence survives. By this time, a small variety of *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles were held by women. These titles include: *w<sup>s</sup>b(t)* (held by five, 42%), *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt* (held by three, 25%), *w<sup>s</sup>bt nt Ḥns.w m W3st* (held by two, 17%), *w<sup>s</sup>b (n) Imn* (held by one, 8%), and *w<sup>s</sup>bt nt Gs-i3by* (held by one, 8%). The types of *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles held by women are shown in Chart 7, below.

**Chart 7: Titles Held by Women**



The generic title of *w<sup>s</sup>b(t)* is the most widely attested title in terms of both number and geographic distribution. Of the five known female title-holders of the Middle Kingdom, two (40%) are attested in Abydos (3-002F and 3-074F), one (20%) is attested



in Lahun (3-110F), one (20%) is attested in Thebes (3-133F), and one (20%) is attested in Edfu (3-134F). Their title-strings do not further specify the cults in which they served.

Other female *w<sup>s</sup>b*-titles seem to occur within specific geographical areas; e.g. the female *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt* are found in Lahun, the female *w<sup>s</sup>bt nt Hns.w m W3st* are found in Abydos, etc. The female holders of the title *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt* are all known from fragments of the Lahun Papyri, which shed additional light on the role of the title-holder. The first fragment (P. 10.237a+b) contains a list of fabric and metal objects which are being brought to the *pr hꜣ* of the temple, a task that the title-holder, *Nfr.t* (3-140F), may have completed. Another fragment (P. 10.094) names *Sn[.t]* (3-141F) as the priestess on duty in addition to the daily entries for food. The last fragment (UC 32143B) contains a list of statues followed by the names and titles of temple staff, which includes *Sn.t* (3-151F) and two other *w<sup>s</sup>b nswt*: *It* (3-144M) and *S-n-wsr.t* (3-149M). The names of the title-holders, most notably, are of mixed gender. The purpose of the document may be an order for statues to be made for the named individuals, or perhaps is a list of temple staff required to perform service for these statues.

Both of the known *w<sup>s</sup>bt nt Hns.w m W3st* are preserved upon two stelae from Abydos, both of which date to the 13th Dynasty and possibly reference the same woman: *Snb.tysy-Smn.t* (3-210F) and *Smn.t* (3-209F). Both stelae (CG 20056 and CG 20240) were inscribed for the scribe *Nfr-htp*. Both women hold the title of *w<sup>s</sup>bt nt Hns.w m W3st*, but it is only on CG 20056 that *Smn.t* is identified as *mwt.f* or "his mother."

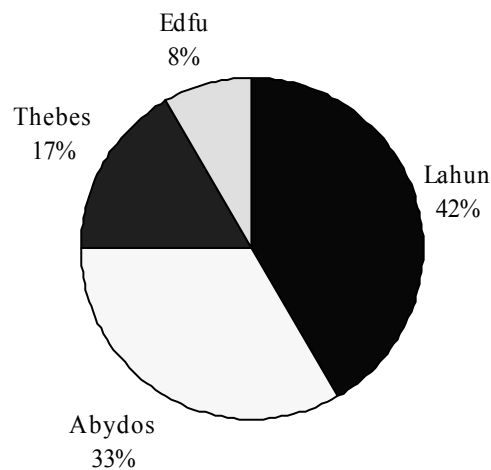
The female *w<sup>s</sup>b (n) Imn* is attested in Thebes. *Nn-nhn* (3-242F), was identified on a stela from Thebes (CG 887) where she is identified as *s3t* "daughter," but holds no other titles. Another woman, *W<sup>s</sup>r.t* (3-133F), was identified as a *w<sup>s</sup>b* upon the same monument; she is also identified as *snt.f* or "his sister" and *mwt.f* or "his mother." Although the direct filiation between the two women remains unclear, *Nn-nhn* and *W<sup>s</sup>r.t* were nevertheless members of the same family.

The *w<sup>s</sup>bt nt Gs-i3by* is preserved upon another fragment of the Lahun Papyri (UC 32163), which lists the members in the household of the soldier *Snfrw. Špsi.t* (3-281F) appears at the top of a list of women identified as *nmhyt nt hrtyw-ntr w<sup>s</sup>rt mhtt*, or "ward[s] of the cemetery-workers, northern sector." Blackman proposes that *Špsi.t* is the

widow of the soldier *Snfrw*,<sup>1210</sup> hence her placement at the top of the list. Quirke believes that the entire list represents a kinship unit,<sup>1211</sup> whereas Kóthay proposes that the latter part of the list represents an association of people within the same trade, "one aim of which could have been to provide support for dead members' families."<sup>1212</sup> Because *Špst* heads the list and is identified as *w<sup>6</sup>bt nt Gs-i3by*, it is possible that she is the official responsible for those identified as wards beneath her name, analogous to *Snb.b*'s (3-270M) responsibility for the fugitive mentioned in Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446.<sup>1213</sup> She is elsewhere identified in UC 32164<sup>1214</sup> as just the *st nt Gs-i3by*, or "woman of *Gs-i3by*."

Of the 12 known *w<sup>6</sup>bt* of the Middle Kingdom, five (42%) are attested in Lahun, four (33%) are attested in Abydos, two (17%) are attested in Thebes, and one (8%) is attested in Edfu. The geographical distribution of female title-holders is shown in Chart 8, below.

**Chart 8: Geographical Distribution of Female Title-Holders During the Middle Kingdom**



<sup>1210</sup> Blackman, "On the Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy," 24.

<sup>1211</sup> Stephen Quirke, "Women of Lahun 1850-1700BC: An Exercise in Historical Archaeology," in *Archaeology and Women*, ed. Sue Hamilton et al. (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2007), 253.

<sup>1212</sup> Katalin Kóthay, "Categorisation, Classification, and Social Reality: Administrative Control and Interaction with the Population," in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, ed. Juan Carlos Moreno García, (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 514.

<sup>1213</sup> Hayes, *Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446*, 25, 30, 144.

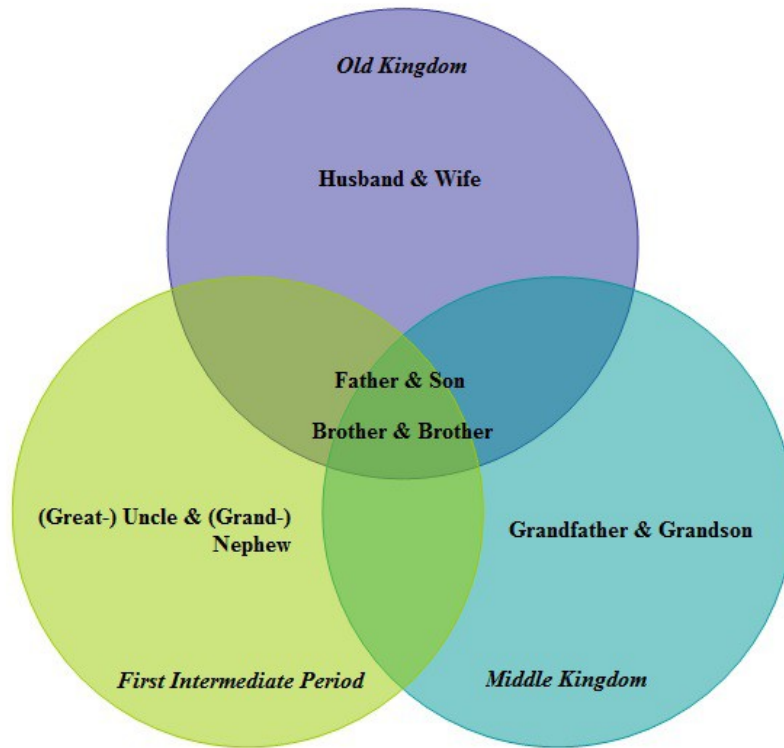
<sup>1214</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical*, 112-113.

## 7.V. Heredity and Transfer of Office

A total of 63 filial relationships in which one or more family members share a *w<sup>f</sup>b*-title have been identified from the Old through Middle Kingdoms. Two types of filiation are consistently found throughout all historic periods: father-and-son and brother-to-brother. For all historical periods examined in this thesis, there are 22 (35%) known relationships between parent and child. Of these, there are 21 (95%) relationships between father and son. In only one case (4.5%), the gender of the offspring is not known.

For all historical periods, there are 33 (36%) known relationships from brother-to-brother. This is being presented as the second most common type of filiation due to high amount of relationships contained within CG 23045, which has potentially skewed the results.

Other varieties of filiation seem to be unique to their historic period. The sole (1.5%) case of a husband-and-wife sharing a *w<sup>f</sup>b*-title occurs within the Old Kingdom. During the First Intermediate Period, two (3%) relationships are known between (great-) uncle and (grand-) nephew, after which the title continued to be passed from father-to-son. In the Middle Kingdom, one (1.5%) relationship is known between a grandfather and grandson. All types of filiation that occur within different historical periods are shown in the Venn Diagram, below.



The office of *w<sup>s</sup>b* could also be bought, as indicated by a fragment of the Lahun Papyri (UC 32055),<sup>1215</sup> a petition concerning the tenure of the office of *w<sup>s</sup>b ḥry-s3 n Spdw nb i3bt.t* (§6.I.5.B.3). The exchange took place between two individuals who do not appear to be otherwise related. Indeed, it is the son of the former *w<sup>s</sup>b* who petitions for collection of the debt owed to his father in exchange for his title. This is the only known reference to the sale of the office, and it remains unclear as to whether or not such exchanges were commonplace.

<sup>1215</sup> Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical*, 102-103.

## ABBREVIATIONS

ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
AUC	American University in Cairo
BD	Book of the Dead
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</i>
BM	British Museum
CdÉ	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CG	<i>Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</i>
CT	Coffin Texts
EEF/S	Egypt Exploration Fund/Society
IFAO	Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale
FIFAO	<i>Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
LÄ	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> . 7 vols. Wolfgang Helck and Eberhard Otto, eds. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1975-1986.
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
MFA	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
MMA	Metropolitan Museum of Art
PM	<i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings</i> . 7 vols. Bertha Porter and Rosalind Moss, eds. Oxford: Griffith Institute, 1934-1981.
PT	Pyramid Texts
RdÉ	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
Urk. I	Kurt Sethe. <i>Urkunden des alten reiches</i> . Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1933.
Urk. IV	Kurt Sethe. <i>Urkunden der 18. dynastie</i> . Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1906-09.
Wb.	<i>Wörterbuch der ägyptische Sprache</i> . 7 vols. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, eds. Berlin: Akademie, 1982.
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

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
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APPENDIX A

OLD KINGDOM

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
1-001M	<i>Mrii-m3<sup>c</sup>.t-ntr</i>	<i>sn dt, w<sup>b</sup>b</i> ; brother of the funerary estate, pure one.	Saqqara: Tomb of Sekhemka	5th Dynasty	Murray, <i>Saqqara Mastabas</i> , pl. 7.
1-002I	<i>Nfr[...]</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	P. Abusir-Neferirkara, 67, d1	5th Dynasty, reign of Neferirkare	Posener-Kriéger, <i>Archives</i> , 403 [67].
1-003M	<i>Ih3</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>b, hm-ntr</i> ; pure one, god's servant.	P. Abusir-Raneferef, 45-46Ad	5th Dynasty, reign of Neferefre	Posener-Kriéger et al., <i>Abusir X</i> , 375; Ranke, <i>Personennamen I</i> , 44 [6].
1-004M	<i>Isi-<sup>c</sup>nh(.w)</i>	<i>imy-wsht, w<sup>b</sup>b, hnty-š, hnty-š pr-<sup>c</sup>3, hry-tp nswt, qbh hwt-nmt, dt</i> ; one who is in the <i>wsht</i> -hall, land tenant, land tenant of the Great House, king's liegeman/royal chamberlain, libationer of the <i>Nmt</i> -temple, servant of the funerary estate.	P. Abusir-Raneferef, 59Ab	5th Dynasty, reign of Neferefre	Posener-Kriéger et al., <i>Abusir X</i> , 375; Ranke, <i>Personennamen I</i> , 45 [17].
1-005M	<i>Ni-sw-hnw</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	P. Abusir-Raneferef, 6C	5th Dynasty, reign of Neferefre	Posener-Kriéger et al., <i>Abusir X</i> , 377; Ranke, <i>Personennamen I</i> , 178 [3].
1-006I	<i>Ni-k3.w-r<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>b, dt</i> ; pure one, servant of the funerary estate.	P. Abusir-Raneferef, 59Ab	5th Dynasty, reign of Neferefre	Posener-Kriéger et al., <i>Abusir X</i> , 377; Ranke, <i>Personennamen I</i> , 180 [23].
1-007M	<i>R<sup>c</sup>-htp(.w)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>b, [hnty] smsw ist</i> ; pure one, foremost elder of the chamber.	P. Abusir-Raneferef, 59Ab	5th Dynasty, reign of Neferefre	Posener-Kriéger et al., <i>Abusir X</i> , 378; Ranke, <i>Personennamen I</i> , 219 [15].
1-	<i>Rnsi[...]</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	P. Abusir-	5th Dynasty,	Posener-Kriéger et al., <i>Abusir</i>

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
008I			Raneferef, 87F	reign of Neferefre	X, 378.
1-009M	<i>Hwi-wi</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	P. Abusir-Raneferef, 87F	5th Dynasty, reign of Neferefre	Posener-Kriéger et al., <i>Abusir</i> X, 378; Ranke, <i>Personennamen</i> I, 266 [3].
1-010M	<i>K3(i)-ni-nswt</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr pr-<sup>s</sup>3</i> , <i>hry-<sup>s</sup></i> ; pure one, god's servant of the Great House, sandal-maker.	P. Abusir-Raneferef, 5A <sup>2</sup> b	5th Dynasty, reign of Neferefre	Posener-Kriéger et al., <i>Abusir</i> X, 380; Ranke, <i>Personennamen</i> I, 340 [9].
1-011M	<i>Ir-n-3h.t(i)</i>	<i>imy-r pr-<sup>s</sup>3</i> , <i>w<sup>b</sup></i> , <i>swnw</i> ; overseer of the Great House, pure one, physician.	Saqqara: Tomb of Ptah-hotep [D 64], east wall	5th Dynasty, reign of Djedkare-Isesi	Ghalioungui, <i>Physicians</i> , 17 [6]; Jonckheere, <i>Médecins</i> , 24 [7]; Lefébvre, <i>Médecine égyptienne</i> , 25; Lefébvre, "Prêtres de Sekhmet," 59 (text II); Leibovitch, "Une Scène de Sacrifice Rituel," 59-60; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 359; Montet, "Les scènes de la vie privée," 156; Paget & Pirie, <i>Ptah-hetep</i> , pl. 36; PM III.2, 600; von Känel, <i>Les prêtres-ouâb</i> , 5-6 [3].
1-012M	<i>Hii-hwfw</i>	<i>rḥ nswt</i> , <i>shd hnty.w-š</i> , <i>shd hnty.w-š</i> , <i>w<sup>b</sup></i> , <i>hry-sšt3</i> , <i>hm-ntr</i> ; royal acquaintance, inspector of land tenants (written twice), pure one, one who is privy to the secret, god's servant.	Giza: West Field, G 2407	Late 5th Dynasty	Lehmann, Kat. G139; PM III.1, 92-93; Reisner, "Note," 26-27.
1-013M	<i>H3g.i</i>	<i>rḥ nswt</i> , <i>w<sup>b</sup></i> , <i>hq3 hwt Issi</i> , <i>hm-ntr bikwy-nbw</i> , <i>imy-r shwt Hwfw</i> , <i>imy-r sšrt nt 3ht-Hwfw</i> , <i>imy-r ih.w</i> ; royal acquaintance, pure one, chief of the chapel of Isesi, god's	Giza: West Field, G 2352	Late 5th Dynasty or later	PM III.1, 84; Simpson, <i>Mastabas of the Western Cemetery</i> , 33-35; Smith, "Linen List," 135.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		servant of the Two Horuses of Gold (Khufu), overseer of the fields of Khufu, overseer of the milk herd of (the pyramid) 'The-Horizon-of-Khufu', overseer of cattle.			
1-014M	<i>P3-tn</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Giza: Hearst Expedition of the University of California (1903-5), Cemeteries G 1000-1400.	5th to 6th Dynasty	Berkeley Museum 6.19690; <i>Berkeley Exhibition Catalogue</i> , 38; Lutz, <i>Statues</i> , 13-14, pls. 20-21; PM III.1, 177.
1-015M	<i>Iri</i>	<i>swnw pr</i> <sup>3</sup> , <i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; physician of the Great House, pure one.	Saqqara: No. 37-38 [E 1-2]	6th Dynasty	CG 1419; Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, 96-101, pl. 21; Chassinat, "Note," 223, fig. 1; Jacquet-Gordon, <i>Domaines Funéraires</i> , 416; Jonckheere, <i>Médecins</i> , 77-78; Lefébvre, "Prêtres de Sekhmet," 62 (text IX); Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 383; <i>Urk.</i> I, 82-84.
1-016M	<i>Rwd I</i> ( <i>Son of Ii-mrii, 1-153M</i> )	<i>rh</i> <i>nswt</i> , <i>hm-ntr Hwfw</i> , <i>hm-ntr H<sup>s</sup>.f-r<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Ddfr<sup>s</sup></i> , <i>s3b hry-wdb</i> , <i>w<sup>b</sup> mwt nswt</i> , <i>imy-ht s3w-prw</i> , <i>s3b (imy-ht) s3w-prw</i> , <i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; royal acquaintance, god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of Khafre, god's servant of Djedefre, juridicial master of reversion-offerings, pure one of the king's mother, under-supervisor of police, juridicial (under-supervisor) of police (?), pure one.	Giza: West Field, G 3086	6th Dynasty	CG 57042; UPM E13526; Baud, "Reine-mère," 13; Fisher, <i>Minor Cemetery</i> , 34-35; Kanawati, <i>Egyptian Administration</i> , 107 [213], Pirenne, <i>Institutions</i> II, 417, 422 [97]; PM III.1, 98.
1-	<i>Ihi</i>	<i>hmt.f, mrt.f, im3ht.f, w<sup>s</sup>bt</i> ; his wife, his	Provenance	6th Dynasty	CG 1449; Lemke,

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
017F	<i>(wife of Id.ii, 1-121M)</i>	beloved, his provided one, pure one.	Unknown	or later	"Priesterinnen," 197.
1-018M	<i>Wp</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Helwan: Tomb 247 H6	Late 3rd Dynasty	Saad, <i>Ceiling Stela</i> , 48-50 [24], fig. 33, pl. 29.
1-019M	<i>Nfr-stš</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Helwan: Tomb 247 H6	Late 3rd Dynasty	Saad, <i>Ceiling Stela</i> , 51-53 [25], fig. 34, pl. 30.
1-020M	<i>K3(.i)-m- qd(.i)</i>	<i>hm-ntr Snfrw, [im3hw] hr nb.f, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, im3hw hr ntr '3, rh nswt, mrr n nb.f, hm-ntr [...]t, hry-sšt3, [...] swt.f nbt, hnty [...], nb im3hw hr ntr-'3</i> ; god's servant of Sneferu, [revered] with his lord, royal pure one, revered with the great god, royal acquaintance, beloved of his lord, god's servant of [...]t, one who is privy to the secret, [...] in all his places, foremost [...], possessor of reverence with the great god.	Dahshur: Mastaba of Kem-Kadu	4th dynasty, reign of Sneferu	Barsanti, "Rapport," 203.
1-021M	<i>K3(.i)- rs(.w)</i>	<i>s3.f, rh nswt, mrr n nb.f, hm-ntr Snfrw, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, im3hw hr nb.f, im3hw</i> ; his son, royal acquaintance, beloved of his lord, god's servant of Sneferu, royal pure one, revered with his lord, revered one.	Dahshur: Mastaba of Kars	4th Dynasty, reign of Sneferu or later	Barsanti, "Rapport," 201.
1-022M	<i>Pth-htp(.w)</i>	<i>qbh nmt, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, hm-ntr Hwfw, hry-sšt3 nb.f</i> ; butcher of the slaughterhouse, royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, secretary of his lord (i.e. the king).	Giza: Provenance Unknown	4th Dynasty, reign of Khufu or later	Giza Archives Photo: A7012_NS
1-023M	<i>Hmt-nw</i>	<i>rh nswt, imy-r hm.w-k3, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, hm-ntr Hwfw, imy-r pr n iry-p<sup>t</sup> s3 nswt K3w<sup>b</sup>, imy-r pr n wrt hst s3t nswt Mrs<sup>nh</sup>, imy-r</i>	Giza: West Field, G 5210	4th Dynasty, reign of Khufu or	Baud, "Reine-mère," 13; Dunham and Simpson, <i>Mersyankh III</i> , 4; Flentye,

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		<i>pr n (s3t?)-nswt [...] Htphrs</i> ; royal acquaintance, overseer of <i>k3</i> -servants, royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, steward of the hereditary prince, king's son Kawab, steward of "Great-of-Praise," king's daughter Meresankh, steward of the king's daughter [...] Hetepheres.		later	"Meresankh III," 73; PM III.1, 155; Reisner, "Meresankh," 66, 68, 70, 73, 76, fig. 17; Rzepka, "Hidden Statues," 102, 104.
1-024I	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Giza	4th Dynasty, reign of Khafre or later	Kaplony, <i>Rollsiegel</i> II, 78, pl. 26 [58, Khafre].
1-025M	<i>Mry-r<sup>s</sup>-pth</i>	<i>hs(w) pr-<sup>s</sup>3, nb im3hw, shmh ib n nb.f m hst, nfrt r<sup>s</sup>-nb, mrr nb.f, shd (n) hst m<sup>s</sup>3t, hsi nfrt, rh nswt, irr mrrt nb.f m hs nfr, w<sup>s</sup>b nswt, im3hw hr ntr-<sup>s</sup>3</i> ; singer of the Great House, possessor of reverence, one who gladdens/entertains the heart of his lord with beautiful singing every day, beloved of his lord, lesser overseer of singing to the flute(?), beautiful singer, royal acquaintance, one who does what his lord desires in beautiful singing, royal pure one, revered with the great god.	Saqqara: Mastaba C22	Mid-4th Dynasty or later	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 154.
1-026M	<i>Ni-sw-qd</i>	<i>hnty-s, w<sup>s</sup>b nswt, hm-ntr Hwfw, hm-ntr Hr Mddw</i> ; land tenant, royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of the Horus Medjedu (Khufu).	Giza: Kednes [I] (unnumbered mastaba excavated by Junker)	Mid- to late-4th Dynasty?	Cairo JE 49693; Leipzig 3132.
1-027M	<i>Iri</i>	<i>nb im3hw, w<sup>s</sup>b nswt, rh nswt</i> ; possessor of reverence, royal pure one, royal	Saqqara or Giza: Position	4th Dynasty or later	BM 1169; BM, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts</i> I, pl. 17; PM III.2, 692.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		acquaintance.	Unknown		
1-028M	<i>ḥnḫ-wd.s</i>	<i>iry md3t pr-ʿ3, wʿb nswt, ḥm-ntr Mn-k3w-rʿ, iry md3t pr(?)-ntr, rh nswt, nb im3ḥw hr nb.f</i> ; archivist of the Great House, royal pure one, god's servant of Menkaure, archivist of the god's house, royal acquaintance, possessor of reverence with his lord.	Provenance Unknown	5th Dynasty	Louvre 25369; Mostafa, <i>Opfertafeln</i> , pl. 31; Vandier, "Ankhoudjès," 145-155, pls. 10-11.
1-029M	<i>K3-tp</i>	<i>hrp m s3, hrp wʿb.w nswt [?], rh nswt, wʿb nswt</i> ; director of a phyle, director of the royal pure ones [?], royal acquaintance, royal pure one.	Saqqara or Giza: Position Unknown	5th Dynasty	BM 1181; BM, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts</i> VI, pl. 19; PM III.2, 693.
1-030M	<i>Ni-k3.w-rʿ</i>	<i>wʿb nswt, shḏ n ḥm.w-k3, shḏ n ḥsw(w), mrr nb.f, rh nswt, shḏ n Wʿb-swt-Wsr-k3.f, ḥsi, nb im3ḥw</i> ; royal pure one, inspector of the <i>k3</i> -servants, inspector of singers, beloved of his lord, royal acquaintance, inspector of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Unas', singer, possessor of reverence.	Saqqara: Mastaba D50	5th Dynasty	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 313.
1-031M	<i>Ibii</i>	<i>imy-r sš.w, wʿb nswt, ḥry-sšt3</i> ; overseer of scribes, royal pure one, one who is privy to the secret.	Giza: East Field, G 7710	5th Dynasty	PM III.1, 202.
1-032M	<i>Wr-irni</i>	<i>rh nswt, ḥq3 ḥwt, imy-r wp(w)t, sšm t3, imy-r niwwt m3wt, wʿb nswt, ḥm ntr Ni-wsr-rʿ</i> ; royal acquaintance, estate manager/property administrator, overseer of commissions/apportionments, leader of the land, overseer of the new settlements, royal pure one, god's servant of Niuserre.	Sheikh Said: Tomb 25	5th Dynasty	Davies, <i>Sheikh Said</i> , pl. 13; Fischer, <i>Dendera</i> , p. 19, n. 83.



No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
1-033M	<i>Mmi</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Giza: West Field, D 32+32 A	5th Dynasty	Leipzig 2560; Hildesheim 2; Junker, <i>Giza</i> IX, 107; Lehmann, Kat. G16; PM III.1, 110; Urk. I, 141A-B.
1-034M	<i>Mrii-nswt</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, nḥt-ḥrw n šnwt n ḥnw, šḥd iry.w-ḥt šnwt n ḥnw, šḥd iry.w-mḏ3t n <sup>ᶜ</sup>.w nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, strong-of-voice of the granary of the Residence, inspector of custodians of property of the granary of the Residence, inspector of archivists of the royal documents.	Giza: West Field, G 1301	5th Dynasty	Fischer, "Old Kingdom Example," 44; Lehmann, Kat. G79; PM III.1, 61.
1-035M	<i>Nfr-ir.t-n.f</i>	<i>ḥm-nṯr Ḥwt-ḥr, šḥd ḥry-sšt3 nṯr r.f, im3ḥw ḥr nb.f, s3b imy-r sš.w, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, ḥm-nṯr S3ḥw-R<sup>ᶜ</sup>, ḥry-sšt3 n nb.f r<sup>ᶜ</sup>-nb</i> ; god's servant of Hathor, inspector of those privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king), revered with his lord, juridical overseer of scribes, royal pure one, god's servant of Sahure, secretary of his lord every day.	Saqqara Mastaba D55	5th Dynasty	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 326.
1-036M	<i>Nfr-n-Ḥwfw</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, šḥd n id.w, šps nswt, sš <sup>ᶜ</sup>.w, ḥrp <sup>ᶜ</sup>pr.w (nw) nfr.w, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, šḥd n wi3</i> ; royal acquaintance, inspector of the young men, noble of the king, scribe of interpreters, director of a crew/section of recruits, royal pure one, inspector of the boat.	Provenance Unknown	5th Dynasty	Fischer, <i>Orientation</i> , 64, fig. 65.
1-037M	<i>N-ḥft-k3(.i)</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, ḥq3 niwt <sup>ᶜ</sup>r(t)-rst, w<sup>b</sup> n nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, chief of the Southern Goat City (U.E. 20), royal pure one.	Deshdasheh	5th Dynasty	Fischer, <i>Dendera</i> , p. 19, n. 83; Petrie, <i>Deshasheh</i> , pl. 33 [28].
1-	<i>Špss-r<sup>ᶜ</sup></i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Giza: West	5th Dynasty	Lehmann, Kat. G10-11;

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
038M			Field, D 23		Kayser, <i>Pelizaeus-Museum</i> , fig. 12; PM III.1, 110.
1-039M	<i>H<sup>3</sup>-dw3</i>	<i>s3b, shd w<sup>6</sup>b.w nswt, imy-r sš.w, hm-ntr M3<sup>t</sup>, shd sš.w, s3b imy-r sš, s3b shd sš.w, hm-ntr R<sup>6</sup> m St-ib-R<sup>6</sup>, hm-ntr Hr-3hty, hm-ntr R<sup>6</sup> m Šsp-ib-R<sup>6</sup>, hm-ntr Wsrw, rh nswt, hry-sšt3 n ntr.f</i> ; judge, inspector of the royal pure ones, overseer of scribes, god's servant of Maat, inspector of scribes, juridicial overseer of scribes, juridicial inspector of scribes, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>6</sup></i> , god's servant of Horakhty, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>6</sup></i> , god's servant of <i>Wsrw</i> , royal acquaintance, privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king).	Saqqara: Mastaba D 59	5th Dynasty	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 336.
1-040M	<i>H<sup>6</sup>-b3.w-ptḥ</i>	<i>mḥnk nswt, imy-r ir.w-šn pr-<sup>6</sup>3, w<sup>6</sup>b nswt, hry-sšt3 n ntr r.f, hm-ntr S3ḥw-r<sup>6</sup>, hm-ntr Nfr-ir-k3-r<sup>6</sup>, hry-sšt3 n nb.f, hm-ntr [R<sup>6</sup>] m St-ib-R<sup>6</sup>, hm-ntr Nfr.f-r<sup>6</sup>, hm-ntr Ny-wsr-r<sup>6</sup>, rh nswt, mrr n nb.f, [...] im3ḥw hr nswt, im3ḥw hr Inpw</i> ; intimate of the king, overseer or hairdressers of the Great House, royal pure one, privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king), god's servant of Sahure, god's servant of Neferirkare, secretary of his lord (i.e. the king), god's servant (of Re) in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>6</sup></i> , god's servant of Neferefre, god's servant of Niuserre, royal	Saqqara Mastaba D42	5th Dynasty	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 295.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		acquaintance, beloved of his lord, [...] revered with the king, revered with Anubis.			
1-041M	<i>Hwfw-htp(.w)</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one.	Giza: West Field, G 2353	5th Dynasty	Lehmann, Kat. G129; PM III.1, 84; Simpson, <i>Western Cemetery</i> , 33-37.
1-042M	<i>Shm-k3(.i)</i> (Father of <i>Shm-k3(.i)-nds, 1-043M</i> )	<i>s3b r Nḥn, hry-sšt3, im3ḥw ḥr ntr, ḥm-ntr Ḥwt-Ḥr m St-ib-R<sup>ε</sup>, ḥm-ntr Ni-wsr-r<sup>ε</sup>, s3b Nḥn n ḥwt-wrt, wḏ-mdw m3<sup>ε</sup> n hry(w)-wḏb(w), ḥm-ntr M3<sup>t</sup>, im3ḥw ḥr ntr-<sup>ε</sup>3, mry nb.f, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, ḥm-ntr Sd, ḏ<sup>ε</sup>(r) M3<sup>t</sup> n nb.f, rḥ nswt</i> ; juridicial official and mouth of Nekhen, one who is privy to the secret, revered with the god, god's servant of Hathor in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>ε</sup></i> , god's servant of Niuserre, juridicial official and mouth of Nekhen of the Great Court/Tribunal, true giver of orders to those in charge of reversions (of offerings), god's servant of Maat, revered with the great god, beloved of his lord, royal pure one, god's servant of Sed, one who seeks out what is right for his lord, royal acquaintance.	Saqqara: Tomb of Sekhemkha	5th Dynasty	Murray, <i>Saqqara Mastabas</i> , pl. 7.
1-043M	<i>Shm-k3(.i)-nds</i> (Son of <i>Shm-k3, 1-042M</i> )	<i>s3.f smsw, im3ḥw, s3b shḏ sš.w, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, rḥ nswt</i> ; his eldest son, revered one, juridicial inspector of scribes, royal pure one, royal acquaintance.	Saqqara: Tomb of Sekhemkha	5th Dynasty	Murray, <i>Saqqara Mastabas</i> , pl. 7.
1-044M	<i>K3(.i)-m-nfr.t</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, imy-r 3t nswt, imy-r ḥwt <sup>ε</sup>3t, w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, overseer of the	Hagarseh: Tomb of Ka-em-nofer,	5th Dynasty	Fischer, <i>Dendera</i> , p. 19, n. 83; Petrie, <i>Athribis</i> , pl. 2.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		royal <i>3t(?)</i> , overseer of the Great Estate, royal pure one.	south chamber		
1-045M	<i>D3-š</i>	<i>w<sup>š</sup>b nswt, ḥm-ntr mwt nswt</i> ; royal pure one, god's servant of the king's mother.	Giza: West field, D 39+40	5th Dynasty	Leipzig 2561; Cairo JE 37820; Cairo JE 37825; Junker, <i>Giza</i> IX, plan 2; Lehmann, Kat. G20; PM III.1, 111-112.
1-046M	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>imy-r wp(w)t, w<sup>š</sup>b nswt</i> ; overseer of commissions/apportionments, royal pure one.	Hemamieh: Tomb of Khentkaus, west wall	5th Dynasty	Petrie, <i>Hemamieh</i> , pl. 9; Fischer, <i>Dendera</i> , p. 19, n. 83.
1-047M	<i>Im3-ni.t</i>	<i>w<sup>š</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Giza: Central Field, G 8426	5th Dynasty or later	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> IV, 203-207; Lehmann, Kat. G328; PM III.1, 252.
1-048M	<i>Mr-ḥwfw</i>	<i>nb im3ḥw ḥr Mn-k3.w-r<sup>š</sup>, šḥd w<sup>š</sup>b.w mwt nswt, imy-r id.w n ḥwt <sup>š</sup>3t, ḥm-ntr Ḥ<sup>š</sup>.f-r<sup>š</sup>, ḥm-ntr Mn-k3w-r<sup>š</sup>, w<sup>š</sup>b nswt, rḥ nswt, imy-r st</i> ; possessor of reverence with Menkaure, inspector of pure ones of the king's mother, overseer of young men of the Great Estate, god's servant of Khafre, god's servant of Menkaure, royal pure one, royal acquaintance, overseer of a department.	Giza: East Field, Service Tomb 6	5th Dynasty or later	Fakhry, <i>Sept tombeaux</i> , 3, 19-25, 28-32; PM III.1, 213-214.
1-049M	<i>Nfr-ḥr-n-ptḥ : Ffi</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, w<sup>š</sup>b nswt, ḥm-ntr Ḥ<sup>š</sup>.f-r<sup>š</sup>, ḥm-ntr Mn-k3w-r<sup>š</sup></i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, god's servant of Khafre, god's servant of Menkaure.	Giza: Central Field, G 8412	5th Dynasty or later	Ghalioungui, "Exophthalmie," 63-64; Hassan, <i>Giza</i> V, 279-287; Lehmann, Kat. G366; PM III.1, 253.
1-050M	<i>Rnp.t-nfr.t</i>	<i>w<sup>š</sup>b nswt, ḥm-ntr mwt-nswt</i> ; royal pure one, god's servant of the king's mother (Khentkaus [I]?).	Giza: Central Field, G 8602	5th Dynasty or later	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> III, 160-165; PM III.1, 257.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
1-051M	<i>Nḏ.w</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, wᵝb nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one.	Giza: West Field, G 2175	Early 5th Dynasty	Fisher, "Expedition," 22; Lehmann Kat. G115; PM III.1, 80; Reisner, Giza, 268-269, 313; Smith, <i>Egyptian Sculpture and Painting</i> , 191.
1-052M	<i>Hnm.w-nfr</i>	<i>wᵝb nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Giza: West Field, G 2175	Early 5th Dynasty	Fisher, "Expedition," 22; Lehmann Kat. G115; PM III.1, 80; Reisner, Giza, 268-269, 313; Smith, <i>Egyptian Sculpture and Painting</i> , 191.
1-053M	<i>Sn.nw-nḥ(.w)</i>	<i>imy-r sš.w iry(w) iᵝḥ/sprw, s3b imy-r sš.w, s3b sš, sš wsḥt, šḥḏ sš.w, šḥḏ sš.w wsḥt, wᵝb nswt, wᵝb Ḥᵝ-b3-S3ḥw-rᵝ, ḥm-ntr Wsr-k3.f, ḥm-ntr Nḥn-Rᵝ, ḥm-ntr Rᵝ, s3b ᵝḏ-mr, im3ḥw ḥr ntr, im3ḥw ḥr ntr-ᵝ3</i> ; overseer of the scribes who are in <i>iᵝḥ /sprw</i> , juridicial overseer of scribes/overseer of scribes of the judiciary, juridicial scribe, scribe of the broad hall, inspector of scribes, inspector of scribes of the <i>wsḥt</i> -hall, royal pure one, pure one of the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor', god's servant of Userkaf, god's servant of (the sun-temple) <i>Nḥn-Rᵝ</i> , god's servant of Re, juridicial <i>ᵝḏ-mr</i> official, revered with the god, revered with the great god.	Saqqara: East of the Step Pyramid, Position Unknown [D 52]	5th Dynasty, reign of Sahure or later	Königliche Museen zu Berlin, <i>Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> I, 40; Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 125 [452]; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 319; PM III.2, 582; Piacentini, <i>Scribes</i> , 465 [E.Sa.42]; Tiradritti, "Vassalli," 73 (f. 46v, 1r).
1-054M	<i>Nfr-msdr-ḥwfw</i>	<i>smr pr, imy-r st ḥnty.w-š pr-ᵝ3, imy-ib nb.f, ḥry-sšt3, imy-r šwi pr-ᵝ3 ᵝ nswt, imy-r ᵝ ḥ3w, wᵝb nswt, ḥm-ntr (Ḥwfw)</i> ; companion of the house, overseer of the department of	Giza: West Field, G 2240	5th Dynasty, reign of Sahure to Unas	Lehmann, Kat. G124; Roth, <i>Cemetery of Palace Attendants</i> , 162-166.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		land tenants of the Great House, one who is in the heart of his lord, one who is privy to the secret, overseer of the two canals of the Great House, one who belongs to the royal documents, overseer of the arsenal, royal pure one, god's servant (of Khufu).			
1-055M	<i>K3(i)-pw-nswt : K3.i</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, sš<sup>ᶜ</sup> nswt, imy-r ḥm.w-k3, imy-r prw mswt nswt, w<sup>ᶜ</sup>b nswt, s3b sš<sup>ᶜ</sup>pr.w</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal document scribe, overseer of <i>k3</i> -servants, overseer of the houses of the king's children, royal pure one, juridicial scribe of the crews.	Giza: West Field, G 4651 and G 1741	Early to Mid-5th Dynasty	Baud, "Reine-mère," 13; Brovarski, "Beaded Collars," 149-150, 154, 159; Brovarski, "Boxes and Chests," 28-29, 39, 44, 49; Hawass, "Interview," 24; Hawass, "Unique Statues," 25-38; PM III.1, 135.
1-056M	<i>Ni-sw-rdi</i>	<i>w<sup>ᶜ</sup>b nswt, ḥry-sšt3, ḥnty-š pr-ᶜ3, ḥm-ntr Hr Mddw, imy-r wpwt ḥntyw-š pr-ᶜ3</i> ; royal pure one, one who is privy to the secret, land tenant of the Great House, god's servant of the Horus Medjedu (Khufu), overseer of commissions of land tentants of the Great House.	Giza: West Field, G 2156	Mid-5th Dynasty	PM III.1, 80.
1-057M	<i>Ḥ<sup>ᶜ</sup>i-k3-r<sup>ᶜ</sup></i>	<i>ir šn nswt, w<sup>ᶜ</sup>b nswt, rḥ nswt</i> ; royal hairdresser, royal pure one, royal acquaintance.	Giza: West Field, G 1314	Mid-5th Dynasty	Lehmann, Kat. G81; Lutz, <i>Statues</i> , 14; Manuelian, "Penmeru Revisited," 33; PM III.1, 61-62.
1-058M	<i>Htp</i>	<i>iri nbw pr-ᶜ3, imy-r pr Dd.f-r<sup>ᶜ</sup>, ḥnty-š, w<sup>ᶜ</sup>b nswt</i> ; keeper of the gold of the Great House, steward of Djedefre, land tenant, royal pure one.	Giza: West Field, G 5080	5th Dynasty, reign of Niuserre	Altenmüller, " <i>ndt-ḥr</i> Offerings," 25-26; Fisher, "Expedition," 20 [fig.]; Junker, <i>Giza</i> III, 33, 187-192; Lehmann, Kat. G204; Pieke, "Grabherr und die

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					Lotosblume," 269, 272, 277; PM III.1, 146-148; Reisner, Giza, 214-215, 311, 321, 325, 328, 330, 344; Reisner and Fisher, "Preliminary Report," 227-252; Reisner and Smith, <i>Hetep-Heres</i> , 51; Simpson, <i>Mastabas of the Western Cemetery</i> , 3, 18; Smith, "Inscriptional Evidence," 113-128; Smith, <i>Egyptian Sculpture and Painting</i> , 165.
1-059M	K3-dw3	<i>rh nswt, imy-r pr, hm k3, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, hm-ntr H<sup>c</sup>.f-r<sup>c</sup>, im3hw hr ntr-<sup>c</sup>3, smsw h3it, im3hw, shd w<sup>b</sup>.w, hry sst3, smsw h3it ny H<sup>c</sup>.f-r<sup>c</sup> wr, hm-ntr Hr-wsr-ib, hm-ntr Nbti-wsr-m, hm-ntr w<sup>b</sup> H<sup>c</sup>.f-r<sup>c</sup></i> ; royal acquaintance, overseer of the house (steward), k3-servant, royal pure one, god's servant of Khafre, revered with the great god, the eldest of the audience hall, revered one, inspector of pure ones, one who is privy to the secret, elder of the portal/forecourt of (the pyramid) 'Great-is-Khafre', god's servant of <i>Hr-wsr-ib</i> (Khafre), god's servant of <i>Nbti-wsr-m</i> (Khafre), god's servant and pure one of Khafre.	Giza: Central Field, G 8472	5th Dynasty, before or after the reign of Niuserre	Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 150 [550]; Hassan, <i>Giza VI.3</i> , 93-110; Wildung, <i>Rolle I</i> , p. 200(g).
1-060M	<i><sup>c</sup>nh(.i)-m-<sup>c</sup>-k3(.i)</i>	<i>s3b <sup>c</sup>d-mr, n(y)-nst-hntt, iwn knmwt, hry-sst3 n mdw-ntr, hm-ntr M3<sup>c</sup>t, wr 10 sm<sup>c</sup>w, hry-tp nswt, imy-r hwt-wrt, hm-ntr S3hw-r<sup>c</sup></i>	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 67	5th Dynasty, reign of Niuserre or	CG 1485; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 217; PM III.2, 481; Strudwick, <i>Administration</i> , 75 [31].

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		<p><i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt, ḥm-nṯr Mn-swt-Ny-wsr-r<sup>ḥ</sup>, mrr(w) nb.f, im3ḥw ḥr nṯr.f, ḥm-nṯr R<sup>ḥ</sup> m Nḥn-R<sup>ḥ</sup> [St-ib-nb.f r<sup>ḥ</sup>-nb], wḏ-mdw št3(w) (n) ḥry-wḏb(w), ḥry-sšt3, ḥry-sšt3 n wḏ(t)-mdw nt nswt, ḥry-sšt3 n nṯr.f, imy-r k3t nt nswt, imy-r swt ḥtpw ḏf3w, ḥry- sšt3 n wḏ<sup>ḥ</sup>-mdw, ḥrp sš.w nt i<sup>ḥ</sup>/sprw, imy-r nt <sup>ḥ</sup>, imy-r pr <sup>ḥ</sup>3w, imy-r wp(w)t nt nswt, ḥm-nṯr Ḥqt, mdw Rḥyt, ḥry-wḏb n Ḥwt <sup>ḥ</sup>nḥ;</i>  juridicial <sup>ḥ</sup>d-mr official, one who belongs to the foremost seat, pillar of <i>knmwt</i>, privy to the secret of the god's word(s), god's servant of Maat, Greatest/Great one of the 10 of Upper Egypt, king's liegeman/royal chamberlain, overseer of the Great Court/Hall of Justice, god's servant of Sahure, royal pure one, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', beloved of his lord, revered with his god, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nḥn-R<sup>ḥ</sup> [St-ib-nb.f r<sup>ḥ</sup>-nb]</i>, giver of secret orders to those in charge of reversion(s) (of offerings), one who is privy to the secret, privy to the secret of all proclamations/decrees of the king, privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king), overseer of the king's works, overseer of the departments of offerings and provisions, privy to the secret of judgment/determining cases, director of</p>	[D 16]	later	



No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		scribes connected with the <i>i<sup>h</sup></i> , overseer of the <i>h</i> -palace, overseer of the house of weapons/arsenal, overseer of royal commissions, god's servant of Heqat, staff of the <i>Rhyt</i> -people, one who is in charge of reversions (of offerings) in the House of Life.			
1-061M	<i>K3(i)-m-nfr.t</i>	<i>imy-r sš.w mrt, hrp sš.w, hrp sš.w iry(w) i<sup>h</sup>/sprw, hrp sš.w wsht, hrp sš.w m wsht ʿ3t, s3b imy-r sš.w, s3b imy-r sš.w m d3d3t wrt, s3b shd sš.w, sš iry(yw) i<sup>h</sup> /spr(w) iwn knmwt, imy-r wsht, w<sup>b</sup> Mn-swt Ni-wsr-r<sup>ε</sup>, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, w<sup>b</sup> H<sup>ε</sup>-b3-S3hw-r<sup>ε</sup>, wr 10 šm<sup>ε</sup>w, wd wd<sup>ε</sup>-mdw n hr(yw)-wdb(w), mdw rhyt, n(y)-nst-hntt, rh nswt, hm-ntr B3-Nfr-ir-k3-r<sup>ε</sup>, hm-ntr M3<sup>t</sup>, hm-ntr M3<sup>t</sup> nbt ʿnh, hm-ntr Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>ε</sup>, hm-ntr Nfr-ir-k3-r<sup>ε</sup>, hm-ntr R<sup>ε</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup>, hm-ntr R<sup>ε</sup> m St-ib-R<sup>ε</sup>, hm-ntr H<sup>ε</sup>.f-r<sup>ε</sup>, hm-ntr S3hw-r<sup>ε</sup>, hm-ntr Šsp-ib-R<sup>ε</sup>, hry-wdb(w) m hwt-ʿnh, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 n wd<sup>ε</sup>-mdw, hry-sšt3 n hwt-wrt, hry-sšt3 (n) nb.f, hrp wsht, hry-tp nswt, s3b ʿd-mr, im3hw, im3hw hr ntr-ʿ3, im3hw hr ntr.f</i> ; overseer of the (document) scribes of the <i>mrt</i> -people, director of scribes, director of scribes connected with the <i>i<sup>h</sup></i> , director of scribes of the <i>wsht</i> -hall, director of scribes of the great <i>wsht</i> -hall, juridicial overseer of scribes/overseer of scribes of the judiciary, juridicial overseer of scribes	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 57 [D 23]	Late 5th Dynasty, Niuserre or later	MFA 04.1761; MFA 07.1005; Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 142 [523]; Dunham, "Palimpsest," 300-309; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 248; Piacentini, <i>Scribes</i> , 482-483 [E.Sa.56]; PM III.2, 467-468; Simpson, <i>The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret</i> , 1-4; Smith, <i>Ancient Egypt</i> , 61-63.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		<p>of the Great Council, judicial inspector of scribes, scribe of those concerned with the <i>i<sup>h</sup></i> pillar of Kenmet, overseer of the <i>wsh<sup>t</sup></i>-hall, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', royal pure one, pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-<i>B3</i>-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor', greatest/great one of the 10 of Upper Egypt, arbitrator/giver of judgments to those in charge of reversions (of offerings), staff of the <i>rhyt</i>-people, (one who belongs to) the foremost seat, royal acquaintance, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'The-<i>B3</i>-of-Neferirkare' / 'Neferirkare-is-a-<i>B3</i>', god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Maat mistress of life, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', god's servant of Neferirkare, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>ç</sup></i>, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>ç</sup></i>, god's servant of Khafre, god's servant of Sahure, god's servant of (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>ç</sup></i>, master of the reversion (of offerings) in the House of Life, one who is privy to the secret, privy to the secret of judgment/determining cases, privy to the secret of the Great Court, secretary of his lord (i.e. the king), director of the broad hall, king's liegeman/royal chamberlain, judicial <i>çd-mr</i> official, revered one,</p>			

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		revered with the great god, revered with his god.			
1-062M	<i>Htp-3h.ti</i>	<i>rh nswt, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, shd hm.w-ntr Hwfw, imy-r mš<sup>c</sup>, imy-r 3ht-Hwfw, hrp imy.w s3</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, inspector of the god's servants of Khufu, expedition leader, overseer of (the pyramid) 'The-Horizon-of-Khufu', director of members of a phyle.	Giza: West Field, G 1208	Mid-5th Dynasty or later	Lehmann, Kat. G73; PM III.1, 58; Reisner, "Report," 73; Reisner, <i>Giza</i> , fig. 159.
1-063M	<i>Nfr</i>	<i>smr, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, hm-ntr H<sup>c</sup>.f-r<sup>c</sup></i> ; companion, royal pure one, god's servant of Khafre.	Giza: Central Field, G 8420	Mid-5th Dynasty or later	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> III, 200-218; Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, 31, 121; II, 95; PM III.1, 258-259; Strudwick, "Three Monuments," 51.
1-064M	<i>Nht-k3.i</i>	<i>rh nswt, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, hm-ntr S3hw-r<sup>c</sup>, shd sš.w šnwt, shd sš.w<sup>c</sup>.w (nw) nswt šnwt</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, god's servant of Sahure, inspector of scribes of the granary, inspector of the scribes of the royal documents of the granary.	Giza: Central Field, G 8220	Mid-5th Dynasty or later	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> VII, 21-33; Lehmann, Kat. G369; PM III.1, 240.
1-065M	<i>Htp-ni-ptḥ</i>	<i>rh nswt, hnty-š (n) pr-š3, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, hm-ntr Hwfw, imy-r st n pr-š3 (?)</i> ; royal acquaintance, land tenant of the Great House, royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, overseer of the department of the Great House (?).	Giza: West Field, G 5290	Mid-5th Dynasty or later	PM III.1, 158.
1-066M	<i>S.<sup>c</sup>nh.w</i>	<i>rh nswt, w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one.	Giza: Central Field, G 8406	Mid-5th Dynasty or later	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> III, 219-222; PM III.1, 256.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
1-067M	<i>Ir-n-r<sup>s</sup></i>	<i>[imy-r] hm.w-k3, w<sup>s</sup>b nswt; [overseer of] k3-servants, royal pure one.</i>	Giza: West Field, G 2156b	Mid-5th to 6th Dynasty	PM III.1, 79.
1-068M	<i>Sd3w(g)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt, hm-ntr S3hw-r<sup>s</sup>, hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>s</sup>, rh nswt, imy-r gnwtyw/qstyw, hm-ntr H<sup>s</sup>-b3-S3hw-r<sup>s</sup>; royal pure one, god's servant of Sahure, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Nhn-R<sup>s</sup>, royal acquaintance, overseer of sculptors, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'.</i>	Giza: West Field, G 1012	Mid-5th to 6th Dynasty	Junker, <i>Giza IX</i> , 107-118; Lehmann, <i>Kat. G52</i> ; PM III.1, 52-53.
1-069M	<i>Pn-mrw</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b nswt, hm-ntr Mn-k3w-r<sup>s</sup>, imy-r hm.w-k3; royal pure one, god's servant of Menkaure, overseer of k3-servants.</i>	Giza: West Field, G 2197	Late 5th Dynasty	Dunham, <i>Egyptian Department</i> , 45; Fisher, "Expedition," 19-21; Lehmann, <i>Kat. G121</i> ; Manuelian, "Penmeru Revisited," 3-48; Manuelian, "Excavating the Old Kingdom," 149; PM III.1, 82-83; Reisner, <i>Giza</i> , 292; Reisner and Fisher, "Preliminary Report," 247; Simpson, <i>Mastabas of the Western Cemetery</i> , 16, 24-27; Smith, <i>Ancient Egypt</i> , 53.
1-070M	<i>Ni-m3<sup>s</sup>.t-r<sup>s</sup></i>	<i>imy-r hst pr-<sup>s</sup>3, hrp tis(t) bity, imy-r shmh-ib nb nfr m hnw-št3w pr-<sup>s</sup>3, stp-s3 hr(y?)-tp st nswt, hry-sšt3, [imy-r] nb m hnw swt pr-<sup>s</sup>3, smr pr, imy ib n nb.f r<sup>s</sup>-nb, hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup>, w<sup>s</sup>b Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>s</sup>, imy-r w<sup>s</sup>b mwt-nswt, w<sup>s</sup>b nswt; overseer of the singing of the Great House, director of the</i>	Giza: Central Field, G 8900	Late 5th Dynasty	Allen, "Non-Royal Afterlife," 16, n. 59; Baud, "Reine-mère," 14-15; Hassan, <i>Giza II</i> , 202-225; Helck, "Pyramidenstätten," 105; Kamal, "Comte de Galarza," 121; Lehmann, <i>Kat. G361</i> ; PM III.1, 282-284.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		<i>tist</i> -companions (?) of the King of Lower Egypt, overseer of all goodly entertainment in the residence and of the secrets of the Great House, bodyguard under the throne of the king (?), one who is privy to the secret, [overseer of] all the interior places of the great house, companion of the house, he who is in the heart of his lord every day, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', overseer of the pure ones of the king's mother, royal pure one.			
1-071M	<i>Ni-k3.w-ptḥ</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt, ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw</i> ; royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu.	Giza: West Field, G 2099	Late 5th Dynasty	Lehmann, Kat. G110; Manuelian, "Penmeru Revisited," 34; Manuelian, "Excavating the Old Kingdom," 150; PM III.1, 70; Roth, <i>Cemetery of Palace Attendants</i> , 150-154.
1-072M	<i>Nfr-ḥw.w</i>	<i>imy-r ḥnty.w-š pr-<sup>s</sup>3, ḥry-sšt3 n nswt m ḥnw št3w pr-<sup>s</sup>3, ḥry-sšt3 n nb.f, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, ḥrp ḥ, (imy-r) šwy (pr-<sup>s</sup>3)</i> ; overseer of land tenants of the Great House, privy to the secret of the king in the secret interior of the Great House, secretary of his lord (i.e. the king), royal pure one, director of the ḥ-palace, (overseer of) the two canals(?) of (the Great House).	Giza: West Field, G 2098	Late 5th Dynasty	Roth, <i>Cemetery of Palace Attendants</i> , 142-149; Roth, "Little Women," 286-287; Shirai, "Ideal and Reality," 331-333.
1-	<i>Dd.f-ḥwfw</i>	<i>imy-r wp(w)t ḥnty.w-š pr-<sup>s</sup>3, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, ḥm-</i>	Giza: West	Late 5th	Lehmann, Kat. G142; PM III.1,

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073M		<i>ntr Hr(.w)-Mddw, hm-ntr Bikwy-nbw</i> ; overseer of apportionments/commissions of the land-tenants of the Great House, royal pure one, god's servant of the Horus <i>Mddw</i> (Horus name of Khufu), god's servant of the Two Falcons of Gold (Golden Falcon name of Khufu).	Field, G 2420	Dynasty	93; Reisner, "Note, 26, 30.
1-074M	<i>Hwfw-hnwi</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Giza: West Field, G 2407	Late 5th Dynasty	Lehmann, Kat. G139; PM III.1, 92-93; Reisner, "Note," 26-27.
1-075M	<i>Sbk-htp(.w)</i>	<i>iry htmt pr-<sup>3</sup>, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, hm-ntr Hwfw, hry-sšt3, hm-ntr Hr(.w)-Mddw, hm-ntr Bikwy-nbw</i> ; one who is in charge of the sealed goods of the Great House, royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, one who is privy to the secret, god's servant of the Horus <i>Mddw</i> (Horus name of Khufu), god's servant of the Two Falcons of Gold (Golden Falcon name of Khufu).	Giza: West Field, G 2420	Late 5th Dynasty	Lehmann, Kat. G142; PM III.1, 93; Reisner, "Note, 26, 30.
1-076M	<i>K3(i)-m-st</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt, hnty-š</i> ; royal pure one, land tenant.	Giza: West Field, G 2407	Late 5th Dynasty	Lehmann, Kat. G139; PM III.1, 92-93; Reisner, "Note," 26-27.
1-077M	<i>Ni-sw-qd</i> (Son of <i>Rrmw</i> , 1-044M; brother of <i>K3(i)-hr-st.f</i> , 1-150M)	<i>s3.f n ht.f, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, sš, hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; his son of his body, royal pure one, scribe, god's servant of Khufu.	Giza: West Field, G 2099	Late 5th Dynasty	Lehmann, Kat. G110; Manuelian, "Penmeru Revisited," 34; Manuelian, "Excavating the Old Kingdom," 150; PM III.1, 70; Roth, <i>Cemetery of Palace Attendants</i> , 150-154; von Känel, <i>Prêtres-ouâb</i> , 11-16 [9].
1-078M	<i>Nfr-qd</i>	<i>rḥ nswt pr-<sup>3</sup>, šḥd hnty.w-š pr-<sup>3</sup>, hm-ntr Hwfw, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, hry-sšt3, hm-ntr R<sup>ε</sup> m Šsp-</i>	Giza: West Field, G 1151	Late 5th Dynasty or	Lehmann, Kat. G67; Lutz, <i>Statues</i> , 21-22; PM III.1, 56;

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		<i>ib-R<sup>ε</sup></i> ; royal acquaintance of the Great House, inspector of land tenants of the Great House, god's servant of Khufu, royal pure one, one who is privy to the secret, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>ε</sup></i> .		later	Reisner, <i>Giza</i> , 208; Smith, <i>Egyptian Sculpture and Painting</i> , 248-249, 311.
1-079M	<i>Sp-n</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, w<sup>ε</sup>b nswt, w<sup>ε</sup>b ms.w-nswt, ḥq3 Ḥwt-Ḥwfw, ḥrp ḥrp.w n Ḥwt <sup>ε</sup>3t, imy-r pr.w ms.w-nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, pure one of the king's children, chief of the estate of Khufu, director of the directors of the Great Estate, overseer of the houses of the royal children.	Giza: West Field, Mastaba of <i>Nfr-ihii</i> (unnumbered)	Late 5th Dynasty or later	Abu-Bakr, <i>Giza</i> I, 31 [3] and n. 1, fig. 29; Baud, <i>Famille royale</i> , 191, tb. 12 [C.2] and n. 509, 347(a), 561 [199], 657; Helck, "Pyramidenstätten," 105; PM III.1, 50; Siedlmayer and Ziermann, "Friesinschrift," 169.
1-080M	<i>3ḥ-mrw.t-nswt</i>	<i>imy-r st ḥnty.w-š pr-<sup>ε</sup>3, imy-r ḥry.w-<sup>ε</sup> nswt n pr-<sup>ε</sup>3, im3ḥw ḥr nb.f, w<sup>ε</sup>b nswt, rḥ nswt</i> ; overseer of the department of land tenants of the Great House, overseer of the royal authorizations of the Great House, revered with his lord, royal pure one, royal acquaintance.	Giza: West Field, G 2184	Late 5th to 6th Dynasty	Bothmer, "Wooden Statue," 35-36; Fisher, "Expedition," 20-22; Lehmann, Kat. G116; Manuelian, "Penmeru Revisited," 3, 47; PM III.1, 80-81; Reisner, <i>Giza</i> , 218, 314. 380-381; Reisner and Fisher, "Preliminary Report," 227-252; Smith, <i>Egyptian Sculpture and Painting</i> , 198-9, 279, 318, 323, 340, 347, 364, figs. 79, 118, 187, 194, 198, 226(c), 229, 238-9.
1-081M	<i>Irrw</i>	<i>imy-r šn<sup>ε</sup> i<sup>ε</sup>w-r nswt, w<sup>ε</sup>b nswt, rḥ nswt</i> ; overseer of the storeroom of the king's repast, royal pure one, royal acquaintance.	Giza: Central Field, G 8698	Late 5th to 6th Dynasty	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> III, 57-71; Lehmann, Kat. G337-G338; PM III.1, 280; Reisner,

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					<i>Mycerinus</i> , 281.
1-082M	<i>Wr-mr.w</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt, ḥm ntr Ḥk3, ḥm ntr Snfrw, ḥm ntr Ḥ<sup>ᶜ</sup>.f-r<sup>ᶜ</sup></i> ; royal pure one, god's servant of Heka, god's servant of Snefru, god's servant of Khafre.	Giza: West Field, G 7851	Late 5th to 6th Dynasty	PM III.1, 206.
1-083M	<i>Pḥn-ptḥ</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt, ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw</i> ; royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu.	Giza: West Field, G 1029	Late 5th to 6th Dynasty	Lehmann, Kat. G58; PM III.1, 53; Reisner, <i>Giza</i> , 256, 362-363; Reisner and Fisher, "Preliminary Report," 227-252; Roth, "Little Women," 286-287; Simpson, <i>Mastabas of the Western Cemetery</i> , 1-6; Smith, <i>Egyptian Sculpture and Painting</i> , 198, 276.
1-084M	<i>Ni-k3-min</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt, ḥnty-š</i> ; royal pure one, land tenant.	Giza: West Field, G 1152a	Late 5th to 6th Dynasty	PM III.1, 56.
1-085M	<i>Nfr [I]</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, ḥm-ntr Ḥr(.w)-Mḏdw, ḥm-ntr Mḏd-r-nbty, imy-r pr, imy-r ḥm.w-k3</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, god's servant of the Horus <i>Mḏdw</i> (Horus Name of Khufu), god's servant of <i>Mḏd-r-nbty</i> (Nebty Name of Khufu), overseer of the house, overseer of <i>k3</i> -servants.	Giza: West Field, G 4761	Late 5th to 6th Dynasty	Junker, <i>Giza</i> III, 39; PM III.1, 137-138.
1-086M	<i>Šḥm-k3(.i)</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr R<sup>ᶜ</sup> m Šsp-ib-R<sup>ᶜ</sup>, ḥry-sšt3, imy-r st ḥnty.w-š pr-ᶜ3, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw</i> , god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>ᶜ</sup></i> , one who is privy to the secret, overseer of the department of land tenants of the Great House, royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu.	Giza: West Field, G 1029	Late 5th to 6th Dynasty	Lehmann, Kat. G58; PM III.1, 53; Reisner, <i>Giza</i> , 256, 362-363; Reisner and Fisher, "Preliminary Report," 227-252; Roth, "Little Women," 286-287; Simpson, <i>Mastabas of the Western Cemetery</i> , 1-6; Smith,



No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
					<i>Egyptian Sculpture and Painting</i> , 198, 276.
1-087M	<i>Štwi</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, imy-r ḥm.w-k3, šḥd sš.w šnwt</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, overseer of <i>k3</i> -servants, inspector of scribes of the granary.	Giza: Shetwi (unnumbered mastaba excavated by Junker)	Late 5th to 6th Dynasty	Junker, <i>Giza IX</i> , 184-191; PM III.1, 106.
1-088M	<i>K3pi</i>	<i>šḥd ḥnty.w-š pr-<sup>š</sup>3, imy-r st ḥnty.w-š pr-<sup>š</sup>3, rḥ nswt, ḥry-pr pr-<sup>š</sup>3, w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; inspector of land tenants of the Great House, overseer of the department of land tenants of the Great House, royal acquaintance, major-domo of the Great House, royal pure one.	Giza: West Field, G 2091	Late 5th to 6th Dynasty	Callender, "Burial of Women," 304; Lehmann, Kat. G104; PM III.1 69-70; Reisner, <i>Giza</i> , 285; Roth, <i>Cemetery of Palace Attendants</i> , 97-105; Roth, "Little Women," 286-287; Smith, <i>Egyptian Sculpture and Painting</i> , figs. 184, 212; Smith, "Linen List," 136, 141, 144.
1-089M	<i>K3(i)-m-qd(i)</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one.	Giza: West Field, G 5040	Late 5th to 6th Dynasty	Curto, <i>Ghiza</i> , 51-58; Junker, <i>Giza VII</i> , fig. 1; PM III.1, 145.
1-090M	<i><sup>š</sup>nh-špss-k3.f: Ss-k3-r<sup>š</sup></i>	<i>rḥ nswt, ḥry-tp Nḥb, ḥm-ntr Ḥ<sup>š</sup>f-r<sup>š</sup>, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, s3w Srqt pr-<sup>š</sup>3, imy-r ḥm.w-k3, šḥd ḥm.w-k3</i> ; royal acquaintance, overlord of el-Kab, god's servant of Khafre, royal pure one, magician of Selkis of the Great House, overseer of <i>k3</i> -servants, inspector of <i>k3</i> -servants.	Giza: Central Field, G 8983	Late 5th to mid-6th Dynasty	Hassan, <i>Giza II</i> , 15-31; Lehmann, Kat. G393; PM III.1, 272.
1-091M	<i>I3sn</i>	<i>imy-r 6 ḥnty.w-š pr-<sup>š</sup>3, (imy-r) ḥryw-<sup>š</sup> nw nswt, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, šḥd w<sup>b</sup>.w, ḥnty-š, ḥry-sšt3, ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw</i> ; overseer of six land tenants of the Great House, overseer of the authorizations of the royal decrees, royal	Giza: West Field, G 2196	5th to 6th Dynasty	Flentye, "Meresankh III," 76, n. 60; Kendall "Rock-Cut Tomb," 104, n. 1; Lehmann, Kat. G120; Manuelian, "Penmeru Revisited," 3, 47;

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		pure one, inspector of pure ones, land tenant, one who is privy to the secret, god's servant of Khufu.			PM III.1, 82; Reisner, "Dog Burial," 9 [figs.]; Reisner, "Report," 76; Reisner and Fisher, "Preliminary Report," 227-252; Roth, "Little Women," 286-287; Simpson, <i>Mastabas of the Western Cemetery</i> , 4, 16-23.
1-092M	<i>ḥnh.tifi</i>	<i>rh nswt, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu.	Giza: West Field, G 4911	5th to 6th Dynasty	Curto, <i>Ghiza</i> , 74; PM III.1, 141.
1-093M	<i>Wr-k3</i>	<i>rh nswt, w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one.	Giza: West Field, G 1309	5th to 6th Dynasty	PM III.1, 61.
1-094M	<i>Iw.f-n.i-pth</i>	<i>hm-ntr [...], w<sup>b</sup> nswt, shd hm.w-k3</i> ; god's servant of [...], royal pure one, inspector of <i>k3</i> -servants.	Giza: West Field, G 5482	5th to 6th Dynasty	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VIII, 22; PM III.1, 164.
1-095M	<i>Mri-ḥnh</i>	<i>hnty-š pr-š, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, rh nswt</i> ; land tenant of the Great House, royal pure one, royal acquaintance.	Giza: West Field, G 2196	5th to 6th Dynasty	Flentye, "Meresankh III," 76, n. 60; Kendall "Rock-Cut Tomb," 104, n. 1; Lehmann, Kat. G120; Manuelian, "Penmeru Revisited," 3, 47; PM III.1, 82; Reisner, "Dog Burial," 9 [figs.]; Reisner, "Report," 76; Reisner and Fisher, "Preliminary Report," 227-252; Roth, "Little Women," 286-287; Simpson, <i>Mastabas of the Western Cemetery</i> , 4, 16-23.
1-	<i>Hwfw[...]</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Giza: West	5th to 6th	Junker, <i>Giza</i> IX, plan 2; PM

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
096M			Field, D 15	Dynasty	III.1, 109.
1-097M	<i>Šnw</i>	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt, ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw, šḥd w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w nswt, rh nswt, iry sšr.w n pr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3</i> ; royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, inspector of the royal pure ones, royal acquaintance, keeper of the linen of the Great House.	Giza: West Field, G 1351	5th to 6th Dynasty	Junker, <i>Giza IX</i> , 5; PM III.1, 62.
1-098M	<i>K3.i</i>	<i>rh nswt, šḥd ḥm.w-ntr, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, inspector of god's servants, royal pure one.	Giza: West Field, D 208	5th to 6th Dynasty	Lehmann, Kat. G43; PM III.1, 116.
1-099I	<i>K3.ii</i>	<i>rh nswt, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt, im3ḥw</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, provided one.	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 45 [C21]	5th to 6th Dynasty	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 152; PM III.2, 463.
1-100M	<i>K3.w</i>	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt, ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw, šḥd ḥm.w-k3, mdḥ pr-nswt</i> ; royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, inspector of <i>k3</i> -servants, carpenter of the royal house.	Giza: West Field, D 30.	5th to 6th Dynasty	PM III.1, 110.
1-101M	<i>K3(.i)-m-tnn.t</i>	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Giza: West Field, G 1171	5th to 6th Dynasty	Lutz, <i>Statues</i> , 17; PM III.1, 56.
1-102M	<i>K3(.i)-hr-st.f</i>	<i>rh nswt pr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt, šḥd sqbb pr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3, imy-r prw pr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3, imy-ḥt sqbb, imy-r wp(wt) n pr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3, imy-r ḥm.w-k3 n ḥmt-nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance of the Great House, royal pure one, inspector of the cooling/libationers(?) of the Great House, overseer of the beer-cellar ( <i>prw</i> ?) of the Great House, under-supervisor of the cool storeroom, overseer of commissions of the Great House, overseer of <i>k3</i> -servants of the	Giza: Central Field, G 8808	5th to early 6th Dynasty	Hassan, <i>Giza VI</i> , 73-79; PM III.1, 262.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		king's wife.			
1-103M	<i>li-mrii</i>	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> nswt, shd sš.w<sup>š</sup>.w (nw) nswt pr-hd, shd sš.w (n) sšr nswt</i> ; royal pure one, inspector of scribes of the royal documents of the treasury, inspector of scribes of the royal linen.	Giza: West Field, Iymery [I] (unnumbered mastaba excavated by Junker)	6th Dynasty	Junker, <i>Giza</i> X, 143-147; Lehmann, Kat. G330; PM III.1, 218.
1-104M	<i>Itf-nn</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, w<sup>sb</sup> nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one.	Giza: West Field, G 1304	6th Dynasty	Lehmann, Kat. G80; PM III.1, 69.
1-105M	<i>Itw</i>	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Giza: Unnumbered mastaba excavated by Junker	6th Dynasty	Junker, <i>Giza</i> V, 134-150; PM III.1, 103.
1-106M	<i>ḥnh(i)-m-š-r<sup>š</sup></i>	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Giza: Ankhmare (2) (unnumbered mastaba excavated by Junker)	6th Dynasty	Junker, <i>Giza</i> V, 124-126; PM III.1, 103.
1-107M	<i>Mnw</i>	<i>w<sup>sb</sup> nswt, ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw, ḥm-ntr Hr(.w)-Mḏdw, ḥm-ntr bikwy-nbw, ḥm-ntr Mḏd-r-nbty, ḥnty-š pr-š3, ḥry-sšt3, sb3 nswt</i> ; royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of the Horus <i>Mḏdw</i> (Horus Name of Khufu), god's servant of the Two Falcons of Gold (Golden Falcon name of Khufu), god's servant of <i>Mḏd-r-nbty</i> (Nebty Name of Khufu), land tenant of the Great House, one who is privy to the secret, royal instructor.	Giza: West Field, Minu	6th Dynasty	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VI, 232-237; PM III.1, 140.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
1-108M	<i>Mr-<sup>h</sup>nh.f</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw, imy-r pr</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, overseer of the house.	Giza: Central Field, G 8870	6th Dynasty	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> III, 14-22; PM III.1, 278-279.
1-109M	<i>Mrw-k3</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, smsw ht, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw</i> ; royal acquaintance, elder of the hall, royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu.	Giza: West Field, Meruka 2 (unnumbered mastaba excavated by Junker)	6th Dynasty	Junker, <i>Giza</i> IX, 70-83; Lehmann, Kat. G355; PM III.1, 118-119.
1-110M	<i>Ni-msti</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, imy-r pr, ḥm-ntr, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, imy-ht ḥm.w-k3, imy-r sšr, ḥrp šmsw</i> ; royal acquaintance, overseer of the house, god's servant, royal pure one, under-supervisor of <i>k3</i> -servants, overseer of cloth distribution, director of the follower(s).	Giza: West Field, G 2366	6th Dynasty	PM III.1, 85; Simpson, <i>Mastabas of the Western Cemetery</i> , 32-33.
1-111M	<i>Ni-sw-rdi</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt, sš</i> ; royal pure one, scribe.	Giza: West Field, G 5032	6th Dynasty	Lehmann, Kat. 203; Manuelian, "Redi-nes," 55-78; PM III.1, 145; Urk. I, 226 [143].
1-112M	<i>Ḥwfw-snb(.w)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt, ḥm-ntr Ḥr(.w)-Mddw, ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw, šḥd ḥnty.w-š pr-<sup>š</sup>3, imy-r wp(w)t ḥntyw-š pr-<sup>š</sup>3</i> ; royal pure one, god's servant of the Horus <i>Mddw</i> (Horus name of Khufu), god's servant of Khufu, inspector of land tenants of the Great House, overseer of apportionments/commissions of land tenants of the Great House.	Giza: Khufuseneb [II] (unnumbered mastaba excavated by Junker)	6th Dynasty	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VII, 126-133; PM III.1, 153.
1-113M	<i>Ḥnw</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, ḥm-ntr Mn-k3w-r<sup>š</sup>, šḥd ḥm.w-k3</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, god's servant of Menkaure, inspector	Giza: Central Field, G 8816	6th Dynasty	Fischer, "Old Kingdom Example," 247; Hassan, <i>Giza</i> II, 159-168; PM III.1, 261.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		of <i>k3</i> -servants.			
1-114M	<i>Sn(.i)-whm.w</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt, hm-k3</i> ; royal pure one, <i>k3</i> -servant.	Giza: West Field, G 2132	6th Dynasty	Manuelian, "Re-examination of Reisner," 230; PM III.1, 75; Reisner, "Meresankh," 60.
1-115M	<i>Shm-<sup>h</sup>nh-pt<sup>h</sup></i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt, hrp sh, imy-ht hm.w-k3 n sb3t(yw) nswt, hm-ntr Mn-k3w-r<sup>c</sup></i> ; royal pure one, director of the dining hall, under-supervisor of <i>k3</i> -servants of the royal instructors, god's servant of Menkaure.	Giza: Central Field, G 8981	6th Dynasty	Allen, "Non-Royal Afterlife," 10, n. 10; Hassan, <i>Giza</i> II, 32-45; Lehmann, Kat. G387; PM III.1, 272.
1-116M	<i>Ni-sw-qd</i>	<i>imy-r wp(w)t hnty.w-s<sup>c</sup> pr-<sup>c</sup>3, imy-r st hnty.w-s<sup>c</sup> pr-<sup>c</sup>3, shd hnty.w-s<sup>c</sup> pr-<sup>c</sup>3, imy-r 10 pr-<sup>c</sup>3, iry htmt pr-<sup>c</sup>3, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, hry(-s<sup>c</sup>t3), imy-ht hnty.w-s<sup>c</sup> pr-<sup>c</sup>3, hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; overseer of apportionments/commissions of land tenants of the Great House, overseer of the department of land tenants of the Great House, inspector of land tenants of the Great House, overseer of ten people of the Great House, one who is in charge of the sealed goods of the Great House, royal pure one, one who is privy (to the secret), under-supervisor of land tenants of the Great House, god's servant of Khufu.	Giza: Kednes [II] (unnumbered mastaba excavated by Junker)	6th Dynasty	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VII, 133-138; PM III.1, 152.
1-117M	<i>K3(.i)-m-<sup>h</sup>nh</i>	<i>r<sup>h</sup> nswt, shd n iry.w-ht pr-hd, shd hm.w-ntr, hry-s<sup>c</sup>t3 (n) htmt (nt) nswt, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, s<sup>c</sup> pr-hd, shd (n) pr-hd</i> ; royal acquaintance, inspector of custodians of the property of the treasury, inspector of god's servants, privy to the secret of the king's treasure, royal pure one, scribe of the treasury,	Giza: West Field, G 4561	6th Dynasty	Brovarski, "Boxes and Chests," 28, 31, n. 2; Junker, <i>Giza</i> III, 44-45; Kanawati, "Decoration of Burial Chambers," 55-58, 60; PM III.1, 131-133; Simpson, <i>Mastabas of the Western Cemetery</i> , 1, n. 14, 21,

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		inspector of the treasury.			n. 17; Smith, "Min-Khaf," 152-154; Smith, "Linen List," 135, 143, 147; Strudwick, "Three Monuments," 50.
1-118M	<i>D3g</i>	<i>rh nswt, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, hm-ntr Hnm.w-Hwfw</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, god's servant of Khnum-Khufu.	Giza: Central Field, G 8975	6th Dynasty	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> II, 46-64; Lehmann, Kat. G407; PM III.1, 271.
1-119M	<i>K3(i)-h(w)i.f</i>	<i>shd hnty.w-s pr-<sup>s</sup>3, w<sup>b</sup> nswt, shd hnty.w-s, rh nswt, hm-ntr Hwfw, hry (n) tm(?)</i> ; inspector of land tenants of the Great House, royal pure one, inspector of land tenants, royal acquaintance, god's servant of Khufu, supervisor of the <i>Tm(?)</i> .	Giza: West Field, G 2136	Mid-6th Dynasty	Junker, <i>Giza</i> III, 39-40; Lehmann, Kat. G111; Manuelian, "Re-examination of Reisner," 223; PM III.1, 76; Roth, "Little Women," 294.
1-120M	<i>Htp.i</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> , royal pure one.	Giza: West Field, D 211	6th Dynasty, reign of Merenre-Pepi II	Harvey, <i>Wooden Statues</i> , 214-215 [A51]; Lehmann, Kat. G45; PM III.1, 116-117.
1-121M	<i>Id.ii</i> (husband of <i>Ihi</i> , 1-017F)	<i>rh nswt, hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup>, hry-sst3, im3hw [hr ntr-]<sup>s</sup>3, w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, god's servant of Re, one who is privy to the secret, revered [with the] great [god], royal pure one.	Provenance Unknown	6th Dynasty or later	CG 1449.
1-122M	<i>Nfr-k3</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt, iry ht pr-<sup>s</sup>3, (iry) is, iry ssr ssf, hry-wdb.w rhyt</i> ; royal pure one, custodian of property of the Great House, custodian of the <i>is</i> -chamber(?), keeper of linen and bolts of linen(?), one who is in charge of reversions (of offerings) of the <i>rhyt</i> -people.	Giza, East Field: Neferka (unnumbered mastaba excavated by Schiaparelli)	Late 6th Dynasty or later	Curto, <i>Ghiza</i> , 13-31; PM III.1, 215.
1-	<i>Dnh-skd</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt, hm-ntr Hr(w)-Mddw</i> ; royal pure	Giza: West	6th	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VI, 232-237; PM

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
123M		one, god's servant of the Horus <i>Mḏdw</i> (Horus Name of Khufu).	Field, East of Minu (G 4851)	Dynasty?	III.1, 140 (Minu).
1-124M	<i>ḥnḥ-nb.f</i>	<i>sqd n wi3, sš whrt nswt, iry-ḥt pr-ḥ3, imy-r [...] pr-ḥ3, imy-ḥt pr-ḥ3, šḥd pr-ḥ3, imy-r wḥb.w ḥ3styw Nṯry-Mn-k3w-rḥ, wḥb nswt, ḥm-nṯr Mn-k3w-rḥ, rḥ nswt</i> ; rower/oarsman of a boat, scribe of the royal dockyard, custodian of property of the Great House, overseer of [...] of the Great House, under-supervisor of the Great House, inspector of the Great House, overseer of pure ones and foreign conscripts of (the pyramid) 'Divine-is-Menkaure', royal pure one, god's servant of Menkaure, royal acquaintance.	Giza: MQ 130	Unknown	Saleh, "Mycerinus Pyramid Complex," 149-150.
1-125M	<i>Iwn.i</i>	<i>ḥry-pr pr-ḥ3, ḥnty-š, imy-r pr-ḥ3, wḥb nswt, ḥm-nṯr Ḥwfw</i> ; major-domo of the Great House, land tenant, steward of the Great House, royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu.	Giza: West Field, G 2042a	Unknown	Lehmann, Kat. G98; PM III.1, 69; Simpson, "Additional Dog's Name," 175.
1-126M	<i>Ip</i>	<i>wḥb nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Giza: West Field, G 2172	Unknown	Manuelian, "Penmeru Revisited," 47.
1-127M	<i>Ir.w-k3-rḥ</i>	<i>imy-r wp(w)t, wḥb nswt, ḥnty-š, ḥm-nṯr Ḥwfw, ḥm-nṯr Hr(.w)-Mḏdw, ḥry-sšt3</i> ; overseer of commissions/apportionments, royal pure one, land tenant, god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of the Horus <i>Mḏdw</i> (Horus Name of Khufu), one who is privy to the secret.	Giza: West Field, G 2236	Unknown	Giza Archives Photo: B9121_NS
1-128M	<i>Wt3</i>	<i>wḥb nswt, rḥ nswt, ḥnty-š, ḥry-sšt3 Nṯry-Mn-k3w-rḥ, gs, imy-r gs.w ḥry-ḥ nswt, ṯbw</i>	Giza: Provenance	Unknown	Donadoni Roveri, <i>Sarcofagi Egizi</i> , pl. 36.



No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		<i>nswt, imy-r ʿrtyw irt (sic) md3t nt ʿrt nt hry-hb</i> ; royal pure one, royal acquaintance, land tenant, privy to the secret of (the pyramid) 'Divine-is-Menkaure', leather-worker, overseer of leather-workers and royal assistants, sandal-maker of the king, overseer of manufacturers of writing material/papyrus rolls(?).	uncertain (Reisner: "from mastaba near Third Pyramid")		
1-129M	<i>Mn.w-htp.w</i>	<i>wʿb nswt</i> , royal pure one.	Sheikh Said: Tomb 25	Unknown	Davies, <i>Sheikh Said</i> , pl. 4.
1-130M	<i>Ni-ʿnh-ḥwfw</i>	<i>ḥnty-š, hry-sšt3 nb.f, wʿb nswt, ḥm-ntr Hr(.w)-Mddw</i> ; land tenant, secretary of his lord (i.e. the king), royal pure one, god's servant of the Horus <i>Mddw</i> (Horus Name of Khufu).	Giza: West Field, G 2172	Unknown	Manuelian, "Penmeru Revisited," 47.
1-131M	<i>Nfr</i>	<i>wʿb nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Giza: Tomb of Nfr	Unknown	Fischer, <i>Varia</i> , p. 7, fig. 6.
1-132M	<i>Ns-m-n3</i>	[...], <i>shd</i> [...] <i>pr-ʿ3, hry-sšt3, rh nswt, wʿb nswt, im3hw hr ntr</i> ; [...], inspector [of ...] of the Great House, one who is privy to the secret, royal acquaintance, royal pure one, revered with the god.	Giza: Tomb of Schafre-Onkh	Unknown	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 542.
1-133M	<i>Rʿ-wr</i>	<i>wʿb nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Giza: East of G 2210	Unknown	Manuelian, "Re-examination of Reisner," 224, 226-229; Reisner, "Report," 72.
1-134M	<i>Hp.f-rʿ</i>	<i>rh nswt, wʿb nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one.	Provenance Unknown	Unknown	Petrie, <i>Gizeh and Rifeh</i> , 8-9.
1-135M	<i>Snb</i>	<i>wʿb nswt</i> , royal pure one.	Giza: G 2467	Unknown	Lehmann, Kat. G.151; PM III.1, 95.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
1-136M	<i>Q3r</i>	<i>ḥnty-š pr-ʿ3, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt, ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw, ḥm-ntr Ḥwt-ḥr</i> ; land tenant of the Great House, royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of Hathor.	Giza: G 2224	Unknown	Reisner, <i>A History of the Giza Necropolis II, Unpublished 1942 Manuscript, GN2–Additional Material: Description of Addition to Cemetery en Échelon, page 088, Index 3.</i>
1-137M	<i>K3.i</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one.	Provenance Unknown	Unknown	Turin S.1850/1.
1-138M	<i>K3(i)-pw-nswt</i>	<i>imy-r qd.w n w<sup>ḥ</sup>bt, ḥry-sšt3 (n) w<sup>ḥ</sup>bt, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt, imy-r qd.w n pr-dw3t, nb im3ḥw ḥr ntr ʿ3, imy-r qd.w n šḥwt nb(wt), mry it.f, im3ḥw ḥr it.f, im3ḥw ḥr mwt.f</i> ; overseer of the builders/masons of the workshop, privy to the secret of the workshop, royal pure one, overseer of the builders/masons of the House of the Morning, possessor of reverence with the great god, overseer of builders/masons of all the fields, beloved of his father, revered with his father, revered with his mother.	Saqqara: Tomb of Kaemhesit and Kapunesut, serdab of Kapunesut	Unknown	Harvey, <i>Wooden Statues</i> , 182-183 [A35].
1-139M	<i>K3(i)-ḥp</i>	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Sheikh Said: Tomb 25	Unknown	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler II</i> , 112b; Davies, <i>Sheikh Said</i> , pl. 6.
1-140M	<i>Tti</i>	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt, ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw, sš</i> ; royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, scribe.	Giza: West Field, near G 5130	Unknown	Jánosi, "G 4712," 60, fig. 3.
1-141I	<i>Tnti</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, im3ḥw, imy-r gs-pr, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt, ḥry-sšt3</i> ; royal acquaintance, provided one, overseer of the troop-house (of workers), royal pure one, one who is privy to the	Giza: No. 7	Unknown	Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 538.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		secret.			
1-142M	<i>Sd-ḥtp</i>	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt pr-ḥ3</i> ; royal pure one of the Great House.	Giza: Central Field, G 8662	5th Dynasty, early reign of Djedkare Isesi	Hassan, <i>Giza</i> III, 108-114; Kanawati, <i>Egyptian Administration</i> , 119 [317]; Kendall, "Rock-Cut Tomb," 107, n. 11; Lehmann, Kat. G392; PM III.1, 259.
1-143M	<i>Ḥnm.w-ḥtp(.w)</i>	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt pr-ḥ3, ib3</i> ; royal pure one of the Great House, dancer.	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 4 [B 11]	5th Dynasty or later	CG 1306; Lieblein, <i>Dictionnaire</i> , no. 1725; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 102, 435; PM III.2, 449.
1-144M	<i>Rrmw</i> (Father of <i>Ni-sw-ḡd</i> (1-077M); <i>K3(.i)-ḥr-st.f</i> , 1-150M)	<i>rḥ nswt, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b nswt pr-ḥ3</i> ; royal acquaintance, royal pure one of the Great House.	Giza: West Field, G 2099	Late 5th Dynasty	Lehmann, Kat. G110; Manuelian, "Penmeru Revisited," 34; Manuelian, "Excavating the Old Kingdom," 150; PM III.1, 70; Roth, <i>Cemetery of Palace Attendants</i> , 150-154; von Känel, <i>Prêtres-ouâb</i> , 11-16 [9].
1-145M	<i>M3<sup>ḥ</sup>.t-ptḥ</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr Mn-k3.w-r<sup>ḥ</sup>, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b pr-ḥ3, imy-r b<sup>ḥ</sup> pr-ḥ3</i> ; god's servant of Menkaure, pure one of the Great House, overseer of unguent(?) of the Great House.	Giza: MQ 134	4th Dynasty, reign of Menkaure	MFA, <i>West Diary</i> , vol. VI, p. 19: January 16, 1913.
1-146I	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b pr-ḥ3</i> ; pure one of the Great House.	Abusir: The Pyramid complex of Khentkaus	5th Dynasty, reign of Djedkare	Verner, <i>Abusir</i> III, 100, pl. 22, (285/A/78).
1-147I	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b pr-ḥ3, ḥry sšt3</i> ; pure one of the Great House, one who is privy to the secret.	Abusir: The Pyramid	5th Dynasty, reign of	Verner, <i>Abusir</i> III, 114, pl. 25 (386/A/78e).

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
			complex of Khentkaus	Djedkare	
1-148M	<i>Htp-3h.ti</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> pr-<sup>3</sup>, imy-r w<sup>b</sup>.w Shm.t, nb im3hw hr nb.f</i> ; pure one of the Great House, overseer of the pure ones of Sekhmet, possessor of reverence with his lord.	Saqqara: Around the Pyramid-Complex of Unas	5th Dynasty, reign of Unas	Badawi, "Denkmäler," 495, pl. 47; Badawi, "Fouilles," 80 [as Ptahhotep]; Harvey, <i>Wooden Statues</i> , 142-143 [A15]; PM III.2, 638; von Känel, <i>Les prêtres-ouâb</i> , 1-4 [1]; Zayed, "Le Tombeau d'Akhti-hotep à Saqqara," 127-137, pls. 9-17.
1-149M	<i>Mmi</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, shḏ hm.w-ntr Hwt-hr, hry sst3, w<sup>b</sup> nswt db3t, shḏ hs.w, im3hw hr ntr-<sup>3</sup>, im3hw hr nb.f</i> ; royal acquaintance, inspector of the god's servants of Hathor, one who is privy to the secret, royal pure one of the Robing Room, inspector of the singers, revered with the great god, revered with his lord.	Giza: Central Field, Khafre Cemetery, No. 7	5th Dynasty or later	Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 78 [176]; Fischer, <i>Varia Nova</i> , 215, n. 286-287; Galvin, <i>Priestesses</i> , 109 [321M]; Hassan, <i>Giza VII</i> , 45 [4], fig. 38; PM III.2, 238.
1-150M	<i>K3(i)-hr-st.f</i> ( <i>Son of Rrmw, 1-144M; brother of Ni-sw-qd (1-077M)</i> )	<i>s3.f mry, w<sup>b</sup> nswt Shm.t, hm-ntr Hwfw, hnty-š</i> ; his beloved son, royal pure one of Sekhmet, god's servant of Khufu, land tenant.	Giza: West Field, G 2099	Late 5th Dynasty	Lehmann, Kat. G110; Manuelian, "Penmeru Revisited," 34; Manuelian, "Excavating the Old Kingdom," 150; PM III.1, 70; Roth, <i>Cemetery of Palace Attendants</i> , 150-154; von Känel, <i>Prêtres-ouâb</i> , 11-16 [9].
1-151M	<i>Itti</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, w<sup>b</sup> mwt nswt, imy-r hm.w-k3, im3hw hr ntr-<sup>3</sup>, shḏ w<sup>b</sup>.w mwt nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, pure one of the king's mother, overseer of the <i>k3</i> -servants,	Giza: East Field, LG 68	Early 5th to 6th Dynasty	Kanawati, <i>Egyptian Administration</i> , 85 [45]; Kaplony, <i>Die Rollsiegel II</i> , 4; Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler II</i> , 92b;

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		revered with the great god, inspector of the pure ones of the king's mother.			PM III.1, 210. Cf. Schäfer, <i>Priestergraber</i> , 9-10, fig. 6.
1-152I	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b mwt nswt</i> ; pure one of the king's mother.	Abusir	Mid-5th Dynasty	Baud, <i>Famille royale</i> , 220, tb. 13, Sceaux [187], doc. 1; Verner, <i>Abusir III</i> , 125 [10/a/85-b].
1-153I	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b mwt [nswt], sš, [...] wsht, [...], s3b sš</i> ; pure one of the [king's] mother, scribe, [...] of the broad hall, [...], juridicial scribe.	Abusir	Mid-5th Dynasty	Baud, <i>Famille royale</i> , 220, tb. 13, Sceaux [187], doc. 1; Piacentini, <i>Scribes</i> , 360-361 [E.As.29]; Verner, <i>Abusir III</i> , 127 [11/A/85-c].
1-154M	<i>Ii-mrii</i> (Father of <i>Rwd</i> , 1-016M, 1-155M)	<i>rḥ nswt, w<sup>6</sup>b mwt nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, pure one of the king's mother.	Giza: West Field, G 3098	6th Dynasty	Baud, <i>Famille royale</i> , 220, tb. 13, 403 [7], 514 [147], 657; Baud, "Reine-mère," 13; Fisher, <i>Minor Cemetery</i> , 145, pl. 50 [6]; Pirenne, <i>Institutions II</i> , 417, 422 [97]; PM III.1, 99.
1-155M	<i>Rwd II</i> (son of <i>Ii-mrii</i> , 1-153M)	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b mwt nswt, s3b ḥry-wdb</i> ; pure one of the king's mother, juridicial master of reversions (of offerings).	Giza: West Field, G 1683B	Unknown	Reisner, <i>A History of the Giza Necropolis III, Unpublished 1942 Manuscript, Appendix K: Cemetery G 1600</i> , p. 51.
1-156M	<i>In-k(3).f</i> (Son of <i>Šri</i> )	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b n Pr-ib-sn</i> ; pure one of Peribsen.	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, B 3	4th Dynasty	CG 1384; Fischer, "Graphic Transposition," 123 [B1]; Junker, <i>Giza VI</i> , 14 [1]; Kaiser, "Sened und Peribsen," 49, n. 5; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 92-93; Moret, <i>Mon. Piot.</i> 25, 280, fig. 1, pl. 21; Pirenne, <i>Institutions I</i> , 351 [63]; PM III.2, 490; Ward, "Scribes," 383, n. 9.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
N/A	<i>Šri</i> (Father of <i>In-k3.f</i> , 1- 156M)	<i>imy-r hm.w-k3 n Snd, rh nswt, hm-ntr Snd m (m rwt ist), tp(y) s3w(?)</i> , <i>imy-r hm.w-k3 n Snd m hr(t)-ntr, imy-r w<sup>b</sup>.w Pr-ib-sn m hr(t)-ntr m hwt Snd m swt.f nb</i> ; overseer of the <i>k3</i> -servants of Sened (in the necropolis), royal acquaintance, god's servant of Sened (in the 'portal'), chief of <i>s3w (snsm?)</i> , overseer of the <i>k3</i> -servants of Sened in the necropolis, overseer of the pure ones of Peribsen in the necropolis in the temple of Sened in all his places.	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, B 3	4th Dynasty	CG 1384; Fischer, "Graphic Transposition," 123 [B1]; Junker, <i>Gîza</i> VI, 14 [1]; Kaiser, "Sened und Peribsen," 49, n. 5; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 92-93; Moret, <i>Mon. Piot.</i> 25, 280, fig. 1, pl. 21; Pirenne, <i>Institutions I</i> , 351 [63]; PM. III.2, 490; Ward, "Scribes," 383, n. 9.
1-157M	<i>Tp-m-<sup>s</sup>nh</i> (Father of <i>Hm-mn.w</i> , 1-166M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> H<sup>s</sup>-b3-S3hw-r<sup>s</sup>, hry sšt3, iry sšr.w pr-<sup>s</sup>3, iry ht pr-<sup>s</sup>3, hm-ntr M3<sup>t</sup>, hm-ntr Hwfw, imy-r hr(yw) sd3t, w<sup>b</sup> H<sup>s</sup>-Snfrw, hrp iry.w md3t nb.w, w<sup>b</sup> Ntry-Mn-k3.w-r<sup>s</sup>, hm-ntr W3dt/Qbhwt, w<sup>b</sup> Wr-H<sup>s</sup>f-r<sup>s</sup>, iry wndt-ntr, htm(w) md3t-ntr pr-<sup>s</sup>3, s3b smsw h3yt, hm-ntr Sš3t, hm-ntr [R<sup>s</sup> m] Nhn-R<sup>s</sup>, shy-ntr Inpw, hm-ntr, šhd htmt(tyw) pr md3t-ntr, hm-ntr Hr(.w) (m) Nhn-R<sup>s</sup>, w<sup>b</sup> W<sup>b</sup>-swt-Wsr-k3.f, [n(y)?] <sup>s</sup>.w (nw) nswt pr-<sup>s</sup>3, iry md3t, hm-ntr Hwt-hr, hm-ntr Mn-k3.w-r<sup>s</sup> (m?) <sup>s</sup>h-hnw</i> ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor', one who is privy to the secret, keeper of the linen of the Great House, custodian of property of the Great House, god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Khufu, overseer of sealbearers, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Sneferu-Appears-in-Splendor', director of	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 76 [D 11]	5th Dynasty, reign of Sahure	CG 1564(e); Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 151 [559]; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 196, 198; PM III.2, 483; Wildung, <i>Rolle</i> , 105 [g]; Zibelius, <i>Siedlungen</i> , 184.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		<p>all archivists/book-keepers, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Divine-is-Menkaure', god's servant of Wadjet/"The Water Purer" cobra goddess, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Great-is-Khafre', custodian of the divine image, god's sealer of the god's books of the Great House, juridicial elder of the court/audience hall, god's servant of Seshat, god's servant [of Re] in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup></i>, one who belongs to the divine booth of Anubis, god's servant, inspector of sealers of the archive of the god (i.e. the king), god's servant of Horus (in the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup></i>, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', [one who belongs to] the royal documents/portfolio of the Great House (a phrase used in conjunction with other titles, possibly indicating that the appointment was bestowed upon the incumbent 'by royal decree'), keeper of documents, god's servant of Hathor, god's servant of Menkaure in the 'h-palace(?) of the residence.</p>			
1-158M	<i>Nfr.i</i>	<p><i>imy-r gs-pr ir.w is, iry ht pr-<sup>ε</sup>3, w<sup>ε</sup>b nswt, w<sup>ε</sup>b nswt n 3ht(y)-Hwfw, m3(3t) Hr, rh nswt, nb im3hw hr ntr, hm-ntr W3dt, hq3 hwt, hq3 hwt <sup>ε</sup>3, hrp <sup>ε</sup>pr.w, hrp <sup>ε</sup>pr.w (nw) nfr.w, s3b hry sqr, shd (n) wi3/dpt, shd pr-<sup>ε</sup>3, imy-r n [...]</i>; overseer of the troop-</p>	Giza: West Field	4th Dynasty or later	Abu Bakr, <i>Giza I</i> , 39 [4], 46 [4], fig. 37; Alexanian, <i>Dahschur II</i> , 76 n. 309; Cherpion, <i>Mastabas</i> , 97 [7], pl. 11; Chevereau, "prosopographie des cadres

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		house of tomb makers, custodian of property of the Great House, pure one of the king, pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-Horizon-is-Khufu', one who beholds/seer of Horus, royal acquaintance, possessor of reverence with the god, god's servant of Wadjet, estate manager/property administrator, chief/manager of a great estate/district, director of the crew, director of a crew/section of recruits, juridicial official in charge of the offering/offerer(?), inspector of the boat, inspector the Great House, overseer of the [snake play].			militaries," 19 [402]; PM III.1, 50; Zibelius, <i>Siedlungen</i> , 13. n. 66.
1-159M	<i>Q3.ii</i>	<i>smsw h(3)yt n (3ht(y)-) Hwfw, w<sup>b</sup> nswt n 3ht(y) (-Hwfw), im3hw, mrr(w) nb.f</i> ; elder of the (judicial) court of (the pyramid 'The-Horizon-of-) Khufu', royal pure one of the (the pyramid) 'The-Horizon-(of-Khufu)', provided one, beloved of his lord.	Giza: East Field, LG 69	5th-6th Dynasties	Lepsius, <i>Denkmäler</i> II, 34b; PM III.1, 211.
1-160M	<i>Itti</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, šḥd pr-<sup>3</sup>, imy-r pr-<sup>3</sup>, imy-r k3t nt nswt, w<sup>b</sup> Wr-H<sup>3</sup>f-r<sup>3</sup></i> ; royal acquaintance, inspector of the Great House, steward of the Great House, overseer of the king's works, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Great-is-Khafre'.	Giza: East Field, G 7391	Late 5th Dynasty	Curto, <i>Ghiza</i> , 34-46; Lehmann, Kat. G252-G253; PM III.1, 193; Reisner, <i>Giza</i> , 312; Smith, <i>Egyptian Sculpture and Painting</i> , 297, 316.
1-161M	<i>Nfr</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr R<sup>3</sup> m Nḥn-R<sup>3</sup>, ḥry sšt3, w<sup>b</sup> Wsr-k3.f, mrr nb.f r<sup>3</sup>-nb, im3hw ḥr ntr-<sup>3</sup>, ḥnty-š (n) pr-<sup>3</sup>, ḥ<sup>3</sup>qw</i> ; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nḥn-R<sup>3</sup></i> , one who is privy to the secret, pure one of Userkaf, revered	Provenance Unknown	5th Dynasty, reign of Userkaf or later	Stewart, <i>Petrie Collection</i> II, 35 [no. 151], pl. 37.1.



No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		with the great god, beloved by his lord every day, revered with the great god, land-tenant of the Great House, barber.			
1-162M	<i>Ffi</i>	<i>imy-r šnwt, imy-r šnwwt nswt, ḥm-ntr R<sup>ε</sup> m Nḥn-R<sup>ε</sup>, w<sup>ε</sup>b n W<sup>ε</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f, imy-r ḥmwt(yw) n(t) ḥkrw nswt, imy-r ḥmwt(yw), ḥm-ntr Pth, ḥm-ntr Skr</i> ; overseer of the granary, overseer of the royal granary, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nḥn-R<sup>ε</sup></i> , pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', overseer of the craftsmen of the king's ornaments/royal regalia, overseer of craftsmen, god's servant of Ptah, god's servant of Sokar.	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 2 [B 10]	5th Dynasty, reign of Userkaf or later	CG 1359; Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 56 [35B]; Helck, "Pyramidenstätten," 98 [6]; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 101; PM III.2, 449; Strudwick, <i>Administration</i> , 60 [10]; Zibelius, <i>Siedlungen</i> , 61.
1-163I	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>w<sup>ε</sup>b R<sup>ε</sup> m Nḥn-R<sup>ε</sup>, irr-wdt nswt-bity S3ḥw-r<sup>ε</sup>, ḥm-ntr Wsr-k3.f, mrr(w) nb.f, ir-wdt nb.f, w<sup>ε</sup>b [ḥm-ntr] W<sup>ε</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f, w<sup>ε</sup>b ḥm-ntr W<sup>ε</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f, mrr(-Wsr-k3.f) r<sup>ε</sup>-nb</i> ; pure one of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nḥn-R<sup>ε</sup></i> , one who does that the king of upper and lower Egypt Sahure commands, god's servant of Userkaf, beloved of his lord, one who does what his lord commands, pure one [god's servant] of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', pure one [and] god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', beloved (of Userkaf) every day.	Abusir	5th Dynasty, reign of Sahure or later	Kaplony, <i>Rollsiegel</i> IIA, 193 [Sahure 25]; IIB, pl. 61.
1-164I	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr R<sup>ε</sup> m Nḥn-R<sup>ε</sup>, mrr(w) nb.f, w<sup>ε</sup>b W<sup>ε</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f, ḥry-sšt3, [...] ḥm-ntr [Hr Ir-</i>	Abusir	5th Dynasty, reign of	Kaplony, <i>Rollsiegel</i> IIA, 194-196 [Sahure 26]; IIB, pl. 61.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		<i>m3't</i> (?), <i>irr wdt n nb.f</i> , [ <i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ]- <i>nswt</i> , [ <i>wr</i> ] <i>swnw</i> [ <i>pr-<sup>3</sup></i> ], <i>hry-sst3</i> [...]; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>3</sup></i> , beloved of his lord, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure- are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', one who is privy to the secret, [...] god's servant of the Horus <i>Ir-m3't</i> (Horus name of Userkaf), one who does what his lord commands, royal [pure one], [chief] physician [of the Great House], one who is privy to the secret [...].		Sahure or later	
1- 165I	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>sš nswt, mrr.f</i> , [ <i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ]- <i>nswt</i> , <i>hm-ntr</i> [ <i>Wsrk3.f</i> ], <i>mrr(w) n nb.f</i> , <i>sm3't(y)-wd(t)</i> , <i>w<sup>b</sup> W<sup>b</sup>-swt-Wsrk3.f</i> , <i>hm-ntr Hr-ir-m3't</i> [...]; royal scribe, whom he loves, [pure one] of the king, god's servant [of Userkaf], beloved of his lord, one who sets right the commands (of the king), pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', god's servant of the Horus <i>Ir-m3't</i> (Horus name of Userkaf) [...].	Abusir	5th Dynasty, reign of Sahure or later	Kaplony, <i>Rollsiegel</i> IIA, 196- 197 [27]; IIB, pl. 61; Piacentini, <i>Scribes</i> , 350 [E.As.15].
1- 166M	<i>Hm-mn.w</i> ( <i>Eldest son</i> <i>of Tp-m-</i> <i><sup>h</sup>nh, 1-</i> <i>157M</i> )	<i>htm(w)-ntr</i> , <i>hm-ntr Nhn-R<sup>3</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Hr(.w)</i> ( <i>m</i> ) <i>Nhn-R<sup>3</sup></i> , <i>hry sst3</i> , <i>sh(y-ntr) Inpw</i> , <i>hm-</i> <i>ntr Wsr-k3.f</i> , <i>hm-ntr Hwt-hr</i> , <i>hm-ntr Sš3t</i> , <i>htm(w) md3t-ntr pr-<sup>3</sup></i> , <i>hm-ntr Mn-k3.w-r<sup>3</sup></i> <i>m hnw</i> , <i>hm <sup>h</sup></i> , <i>iwn smsw Inpw shy(-ntr)</i> , <i>w<sup>b</sup> W<sup>b</sup>-swt-Wsr-k3.f</i> ; god's sealer, god's servant of (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>3</sup></i> , god's servant of Horus in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-</i> <i>R<sup>3</sup></i> , one who is privy to the secret, one who	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 76 [D 11]	5th Dynasty, reign of Sahure	CG 1415, 1417, 1556, 1564; Musée Guimet B10; Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, 89-91, pl. 20; II, 17-18, 28-30, pls. 61, 64; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 196-201; McFarlane, <i>The God Min</i> , 59 [095]; Zibelius, <i>Siedlungen</i> , 62.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		belongs to the divine booth of Anubis, god's servant of Userkaf, god's servant of Hathor, god's servant of Seshat, god's sealer of the god's books of the Great House, god's servant of Menkaure in the residence, servant of the <sup>h</sup> -palace, senior pillar of Anubis who belongs to the (divine booth), pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.			
1-167M	<i>Špss-r<sup>ḥ</sup></i>	<i>sš<sup>ḥ</sup> (w) n(w) nswt m ḥtm(t) nb(t) ntt m Nḥn-R<sup>ḥ</sup> nht Ḥwt-ḥr, imy-ḥt n w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w W<sup>ḥ</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f, ir(w)-šn nswt, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b W<sup>ḥ</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f, ḥm-ntr Nfr-ir-k3-r<sup>ḥ</sup>, ḥm-ntr R<sup>ḥ</sup> Ḥwt-ḥr m St-ib-R<sup>ḥ</sup> Nḥn-R<sup>ḥ</sup></i> ; king's letter scribe in every treasury (which are) in (the sun-temple) <i>Nḥn-R<sup>ḥ</sup></i> (and the) <i>nht</i> -sanctuary of Hathor, under-supervisor of the pure ones of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', maker of the king's hair, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', god's servant of Neferirkare, god's servant of Re [and] Hathor in (the sun-temples) <i>St-ib-R<sup>ḥ</sup></i> [and] <i>Nḥn-R<sup>ḥ</sup></i> .	Saqqara	5th Dynasty, reign of Neferirkare or later	Borchardt, <i>Statuen</i> I, 48-49, pl. 14; Piacentini, <i>Scribes</i> , 507 [E.Sa.76.1f]; PM III.2, 723.
1-168M	<i>K3(.i)-ḥp</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr R<sup>ḥ</sup> m Nḥn-R<sup>ḥ</sup>, ḥnty-š pr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3, im3ḥw ḥr nb.f, mrr(w) nb.f, ir(w) <sup>ḥ</sup>nt pr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n W<sup>ḥ</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f, ḥry sšt3, im3ḥw ḥr ntr <sup>ḥ</sup>3</i> ; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nḥn-R<sup>ḥ</sup></i> , land tenant/tenant-farmer of the Great House, revered with his lord, beloved of his lord, manicurist of the Great House,	Provenance Unknown	5th Dynasty or later	Berlin 11469; Königliche Museen zu Berlin, <i>Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin</i> I, 44; Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 147 [540B]; Helck, "Pyramidenstätten," 97 [4].

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		pure one of (Userkaf's pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', one who is privy to the secret, revered with the great god.			
1-169M	<i>Dw3-r<sup>ε</sup></i>	<i>imy-r k3t nt nswt, imy-r Imntt, imy-r nswtyw, imy-r Hwt-ih(w)t, hm-ntr R<sup>ε</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup>, w<sup>ε</sup>b n W<sup>ε</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f, hnty-š, hnty-š W<sup>ε</sup>b-swt-Wsr-k3.f, im3hw hr ntr-<sup>ε</sup>3, imy[-r] pr[-<sup>ε</sup>3], smr, wr 10 šm<sup>ε</sup>, imy-r H<sup>ε</sup>-Snfrw, imy-r H<sup>ε</sup>.wy-Snfrw, rh nswt, imy-r s3.w šm<sup>ε</sup>, <sup>ε</sup>d-mr Hr-sb3w-hnty-pt, hm-ntr Snfrw, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 n nb.f, hq3 hwt <sup>ε</sup>3t, hrp w<sup>ε</sup>b.w;</i> overseer of the king's works, overseer of the West Nome (L.E. 3), overseer of the king's people, overseer of the <i>Hwt-ih(w)t</i> (capital of the West Nome (L.E. 3), precise location unknown), god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>ε</sup></i> , pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', land tenant, land tenant of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', revered with the great god, steward of the Great House, companion, greatest/great one of the 10 of Upper Egypt, overseer of (the pyramid) 'Sneferu-Appears-in-Splendor', overseer of (the two pyramids) 'Sneferu-Appears-in-Glory,' royal acquaintance, overseer of the phyles of Upper Egypt, administrator of (the royal 'domain') 'Star-of-Horus-Foremost of Heaven' (reign of Djoser), god's servant of	Dahshur: East of the southern Pyramid of Sneferu	Mid-5th Dynasty	CG 1375; Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 155 [581]; Fakhry, <i>Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur</i> , 10-11 [3-4], figs. 285-286; Fakhry, "Sneferu's Monuments at Dahshur," 589; PM III.2, 878, 894; Strudwick, <i>Administration</i> , 163 [162]; Zibelius, <i>Siedlungen</i> , 61.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		Sneferu, one who is privy to the secret, secretary of his lord (i.e. the king), chief/manager of a great estate/district, director of the pure ones.			
1-170M	<i>Pth-ḥtp(.w)</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, ḥm-nṯr R<sup>ᶜ</sup> [m] Nḥn-R<sup>ᶜ</sup>, ḥm-nṯr Ḥwt-ḥr, w<sup>ᶜ</sup>b nswt (m) mrt(t) Wsr-k3.f, ḥm-nṯr Wsr-k3.f</i> ; royal acquaintance, god's servant of Re (in the sun-temple) <i>Nḥn-R<sup>ᶜ</sup></i> , god's servant of Hathor, royal pure one of the <i>mrt</i> -temple of Userkaf, god's servant of Userkaf.	Saqqara: East of the Step Pyramid, Position Unknown, D 51	5th Dynasty, reign of Userkaf or later	Allam, <i>Hathorkult</i> , 9, n. 4; Barta, "mrt-Bauten," 99 [2a]; Galvin, <i>Priestesses</i> , 33(B), no. 61M; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 314; PM III.2, 581; Zibelius, <i>Siedlungen</i> , 100.
1-171M	<i>K3(.i)-m-snw (Son of S.ḥtp.w, 1-173M)</i>	<i>imy-r šnwt, ḥm-nṯr R<sup>ᶜ</sup> m St-ib-R<sup>ᶜ</sup>, w<sup>ᶜ</sup>b S3ḥw-r<sup>ᶜ</sup>, ḥm-nṯr Nfr-ir-k3-r<sup>ᶜ</sup>, ḥm-nṯr Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>ᶜ</sup>, rḥ nswt, [...] B3-Nfr-ir-k3-r<sup>ᶜ</sup>, imy-r b<sup>ᶜ</sup>ḥt nb[t] nt nsw,t, w<sup>ᶜ</sup>b Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>ᶜ</sup>, ḥm-nṯr R<sup>ᶜ</sup> Ḥwt-ḥr m St-ib-R<sup>ᶜ</sup>, ḥry-tp šnwt</i> ; overseer of the granary, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>ᶜ</sup></i> , pure one of Sahure, god's servant of Neferirkare, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', royal acquaintance, [...] of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Neferirkare' / 'Neferirkare-is-a-B3', overseer of all the abundance of the king, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', god's servant of Re [and] Hathor in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>ᶜ</sup></i> , employee/agent/servant of the granary.	Saqqara: Around Teti Pyramid	5th Dynasty, reign of Niuserre or later	Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 143 [528]; Firth-Gunn, <i>TPC</i> I, 157 [3], pl. 63; PM III.2, 541-542; Strudwick, <i>Administration</i> , 149 [144]; <i>Urk.</i> I, 175.
1-172M	<i>N-ḥft-k3(.i)</i>	<i>smr, ḥrp ᶜh, im3ḥw ḥr nb.f, ḥry sšt3 n pr-dw3t, ḥry wdb(w) (m) Ḥwt-ᶜnh, ḥm-nṯr Ḥr</i>	Saqqara: East of the Step	5th Dynasty, reign of	CG 1484(g); Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 95 [282]; de Rougé,

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		<p><i>Inpw hnty pr šmswt, ḏ-mr Hr-sb3w-hnty-pt, [hnty-š] pr-ḥ3, imy-r sšr-nswt, imy-r hkrw-nswt, wḥb Rḥ m Nhn-Rḥ, shḏ wḥb.w n Wḥb-swt-Wsr-k3.f, mrr(w) nb.f, im3hw hr nb.f, hry w3wt, im3hw hr ntr, wḥb Hḥ-b3-S3hw-rḥ, imy-r sqb(b)w pr-ḥ3; companion, director of the ḥ-palace, revered with his lord, privy to the secret of the House of the Morning, one who is in charge of the reversions (of offerings) in the House of Life, god's servant of Horus-Anubis who presides over the suite, administrator of (the royal 'domain') 'Star-of-Horus-Foremost of Heaven' (reign of Djoser), [land-tenant] of the Great House, overseer of royal cloth/linen, overseer of the king's regalia, pure one of Re in (the sun-temple) Nhn-Rḥ, inspector of pure ones of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', beloved of his lord, revered with his lord, master/controller/superior of the ways, revered with the god, pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor', overseer of the cool chambers of the Great House.</i></p>	<p>Pyramid, Position Unknown [D 47]</p>	<p>Sahure or later</p>	<p><i>Inscript. Hiérogl.</i>, pl. 83; Hassan, <i>Gîza</i> VI.2, 126 [48]; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i>, 308; PM III.2, 580.</p>
<p>1- 173M</p>	<p><i>S.htp.w (Father of K3(.i)-m-snw, 171M)</i></p>	<p><i>hm-ntr Rḥ m St-ib-Rḥ, hm-ntr Nfr-ir-k3-rḥ, wḥb Hḥ-b3-S3hw-rḥ, imy-r šnwt, imy-r šnwt, imy-r swt htpwt ḏf3w; god's servant or Re in (the sun-temple) St-ib-Rḥ, god's servant of Neferirkare, pure one of (the</i></p>	<p>Saqqara: Around Teti Pyramid</p>	<p>Mid-5th Dynasty or later</p>	<p>Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i>, 128 [462]; Firth-Gunn, <i>TPC</i> I, 165 [3], pl. 63; Helck, "Pyramidenstätten," 98 [6]; <i>Saqqara Exc.</i> 7, 165, pl. 63;</p>

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor', overseer of the granary, overseer of the two granaries, overseer of the departments of offerings and provisions.			PM III.2, 541; Strudwick, <i>Administration</i> , 134 [122].
1-174M	<i>Nfr-k3.i</i>	<i>imy-r sš.w (n) ʿpr.w, sš, wᵇ Hᶜ-b3-S3ḥw-rᶜ, rh nswt</i> ; overseer of scribes of the crews, scribe, pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor', royal acquaintance.	Dahshur	Late 5th Dynasty	Brooklyn Museum 37.33E; James, <i>Corpus</i> , 15 [41], pl. 21 [41A]; Piacentini, <i>Scribes</i> , 447-448 [E.Sa.31]; PM III.2, 735.
1-175M	<i>Htp-ḥr-3ḥ.t.i</i>	<i>im3ḥw ḥr ntr-ᶜ3, im3ḥw ḥr nswt, s3b r Nḥn, smsw h(3)yt, ḥm-ntr M3ᶜt, ḥry-sšt3 n ḥwt-wrt, wᵇ B3-Nfr-ir-k3-rᶜ, mrr n nb.f, ḥm-ntr Rᶜ m Sšp-ib-Rᶜ, ḥry-sšt3</i> ; revered with the great god, revered with the king, juridicial official and mouth of Nekhen, elder of the (judicial) court, god's servant of Maat, privy to the secret of the Great Court, pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Neferirkare' / 'Neferirkare-is-a-B3', beloved of his lord, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Sšp-ib-Rᶜ</i> , one who is privy to the secret.	Saqqara: West of the Step Pyramid enclosure, D 60	5th Dynasty, reign of Niuserre	Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 108 [357]; Holwerda and Boeser, <i>Rijksmuseum van Oudheden</i> , pl. 17; Lichtheim, <i>Ancient Egyptian Literature I</i> , 16; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 347; Mohr, <i>Hetep-Her-Akhti</i> , 87; PM III.2, 593; <i>Urk. I</i> , 50-51.
1-176M	<i>K3(i)-pw-ptḥ</i>	<i>wr 10 šmᶜ, s3b ʿd-mr, ḥry-sšt3, im3ḥw ḥr ntr-ᶜ3, imy-r sš.w, im3ḥw ḥr sn, im3ḥw pw ḥr ntr-ᶜ3, n(y)-nst-ḥntt, ḥm-ntr M3ᶜt, ḥm-ntr Rᶜ Hwt-ḥr m St-ib-Rᶜ, wᵇ B3-Nfr-ir-k3-rᶜ, im3ḥw ḥr nswt, imy-r sp3wt šmᶜ, mrr(w) nb.f, rh nswt, wᵇ nswt, ḥm-ntr Nfr-Dd-k3-rᶜ, imy-r ḥt ms.w nswt sp3wt šmᶜ, wᵇ Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-rᶜ</i> ; greatest/great one of the 10	Saqqara: Position unknown	Late 5th Dynasty	CG 1563(f), 1567, 1711, 57160-57161; Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , [517]; Baud, <i>Famille royale</i> , 587 [231]; Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler II</i> , 26-28, 36-37, 150, pls. 64, 67; Piacentini, <i>Scribes</i> , 480 [E.Sa.54]; PM III.2, 693.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		of Upper Egypt, juridicial <i>'d-mr</i> official, one who is privy to the secret, revered with the great god, overseer of scribes, revered with them, revered with the great god, (one who belongs to) the foremost seat, god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Re [and] Hathor in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>s</sup></i> , pure one of (the pyramid) 'The- <i>B3</i> -of-Neferirkare' / 'Neferirkare-is-a- <i>B3</i> ,' revered with the king, overseer of the southern provinces of Upper Egypt (i.e. Nomes 1-7), beloved of his lord, royal acquaintance, royal pure one, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-is-Isesi', overseer of the property of the royal children in the nomes of Upper Egypt (i.e. Nomes 1-7), pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.			
1-177M	<i>Id.w</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b (n) B3-K3k3i, sš ms.w nswt, shd hm.w-k3 mwt nswt-bity nswt-bity Hnt-k3w.s, s3b, sš [...] hwt-<sup>s</sup>3t, rh nswt</i> ; pure one (of the pyramid) 'Kakai-is-the-Soul', scribe of the royal children, inspector the <i>k3</i> -servants of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt's mother (acting as) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Khentkaus, judge, scribe [of the] great estate, royal acquaintance.	Abusir	5th Dynasty, reign of Djedkare	Verner, "Die Königsmutter Chentkaus," 259 [2], pl. 16a, b; Verner, "Excavations at Abusir," 166; Verner, <i>Forgotten Pharaohs</i> , 87.
1-178I	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>hm-ntr, hry-sšt3 Hwt-hr R<sup>s</sup> m St-ib-R<sup>s</sup>, w<sup>s</sup>b hry-sšt3 Ntry-b3.w-Nfr.f-r<sup>s</sup>, sš-ntr, hry-sšt3 B3-Nfr-ir-k3-r<sup>s</sup>, irr mrr(t)-nb.f</i> ; god's	Abusir/Abu Ghurob	5th Dynasty, reign of Neferefre or	Kaplony, <i>Rollsiegel</i> II, 284, pl. 81(3);



No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		servant, privy to the secret of the cult of Hathor [and] Re in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>ḥ</sup></i> , pure one [and] privy to the secret of (the pyramid) 'Divine-are-the-B3s-of-Neferefre', scribe of the divine books, privy to the secret of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Neferirkare' / 'Neferirkare-is-a-B3', one who does what his lord loves.		later	
1-179M	<i>Hnm.w-ḥtp(.w)</i> (Brother of Ni- <sup>ḥ</sup> hnm, 1-180M)	<i>ir(w) ḥnt nswt, šḥd iry.w ḥnt nswt pr-ḥ3, mḥnk nswt, mḥnk nswt m irw ḥnwt, mḥnk nswt mrrw nb.f, ḥry-sšt3 mrr(w) nb.f, nb im3ḥw ḥr ntr-ḥ3, im3ḥw ḥr ntr-ḥ3, rḥ nswt, wḥb nswt, ḥm-ntr R<sup>ḥ</sup> m Šsp-ib-R<sup>ḥ</sup>, wḥb Mnswt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>ḥ</sup>, imy-r ir.w-ḥnt pr-ḥ3, mḥnk nswt m k3t irt ḥnwt, ḥry-sšt3, ḥry-sšt3 n ntr.f, mrrw nb.f, im3ḥw ḥr nswt, im3ḥw ḥr ntr</i> ; manicurist of the king, inspector of the manicurists of the king (in) the Great House, intimate of the king, intimate of the king in (the practice of) manicuring, intimate of the king whom his lord loves, secretary whom his lord loves, possessor of reverence with the great god, revered with the great god, royal acquaintance royal pure one, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>ḥ</sup></i> , pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', overseer of the manicurists of the Great House, intimate of the king of the works of manicuring/care of hands and nails, one	Saqqara: Around the Pyramid-Complex of Unas	5th Dynasty, reign of Niuserre or Menkauhor	Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Nianchchnum</i> , pl. 46; PM III.2, 641.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		who is privy to the secret, privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king), beloved of his lord, revered with the king, revered with the god.			
1-180M	<i>Ni-<sup>ḥ</sup>nh-<sup>w</sup>hnm.w</i> ( <i>Brother of Hnm.w-<sup>w</sup>htp(.w)</i> , 1-179M)	<i>ir(w) <sup>ḥ</sup>nt nswt, shḏ iry.w <sup>ḥ</sup>nt nswt pr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3, mḥnk nswt, mḥnk nswt mrrw nb.f, nb im3ḥw ḥr ntr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3, rḥ nswt, ḥm-ntr R<sup>ḥ</sup> m Šsp-ib-R<sup>ḥ</sup>, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>ḥ</sup>, imy-r ir.w <sup>ḥ</sup>nt pr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3, mḥnk nswt m k3t irt <sup>ḥ</sup>nwt, ḥry-sšt3, im3ḥw ḥr nswt, nb im3ḥw ḥr ntr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3;</i> manicurist of the king, inspector of the manicurists of the king (in) the Great House, intimate of the king, intimate of the king whom his lord loves, possessor of reverence with the great god, royal acquaintance, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Šsp-ib-R <sup>ḥ</sup> , pure one (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', overseer of the manicurists of the Great House, intimate of the king of the works of manicuring/care of hands and nails, one who is privy to the secret, revered with the king, revered with the great god.	Saqqara: Around the Pyramid-Complex of Unas	5th Dynasty, reign of Niuserre or Menkauhor	Moussa and Altenmüller, <i>Nianchchnum</i> , pl. 47; PM III.2, 641.
1-181M	<i>Snfrw-nfr</i>	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b Ntry-swt-Mn-k3w-ḥr, imy-r <sup>ḥ</sup>t, imy-r shmḥ ib nb n nswt, ḥm-ntr Nfr-Dd-k3-r<sup>ḥ</sup>;</i> pure one of (the pyramid) 'Divine-are-the-Places-of-Menkauhor', overseer of singers, overseer of all royal amusements, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-is-Djedkare'.	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 58 [E 6]	Late 5th Dynasty or later	Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 124 [446]; Junker, <i>Giza VII</i> , 34 [4]; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 394-395; PM III.2, 468; Zibelius, <i>Siedlungen</i> , 131, n. 781.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
1-182M	<i>S.mnh-wi-pth : Itwš</i>	<i>bdty pr-ʿ3 n(y) mrwt, hrp drp.w nswt, hkrt nswt, imy-r nb sšt3.w, imy-r wʿbt, imy-r prwy-nb.w, [?] st d3w [?], imy-r hwt-nbw, hry sšt3 n nswt [m] pr-ʿ3, [st?] bt d3w[?], bdty pr-ʿ3, [...] n m sšt3.f nb, mry nb.f, [...] swt nb.f, im3hw hr nb.f, wʿb Nfr-Issi;</i> favorite metal-worker of the Great House, director of royal offerings, royal ornament, overseer of all secrets, overseer of the <i>wʿbt</i> -chamber/mortuary workshop, overseer of the two houses of gold, [?] necklace-stringer [of <i>d3w?</i> ], overseer of the mansion of gold (sculptors' workshop), secretary of the king in the Great House, [necklace-stringer? of] <i>bt d3w[?]</i> , metal-worker of the Great House, [...] in all his secrets, beloved of his lord, [...] in all his places, revered with his lord, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-is-Isesi'.	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 14 [D 43]	5th dynasty, reign of Djedkare	Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 122 [436]; Baud, <i>Famille royale</i> , 25, n. 87; Mariette <i>Mastabas</i> , 297; PM III.2, 452; Schott, "Metallarbeiter," 29; <i>Urk. I</i> , 192, 3.
1-183M	<i>Tsmw</i>	<i>shd pr-ʿ3, wʿb Nfr-swt-Wnis, imy-ht pr-ʿ3, imy-r wp(w)t;</i> inspector of the Great House, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas', under-supervisor of the Great House, overseer of commissions/apportionments.	Saqqara: Mastaba of <i>Hmt-Rʿ</i> called <i>Hmi</i>	5th Dynasty, reign of Unas or later	Baud, <i>Famille royale</i> , 25, n. 88; Hassan, <i>Excav. At Saqqara III</i> , p. 9 [3], fig. 4, pl. 5.
1-184I	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>imy-ht wʿb.w, hry sšt3, sš pr-md3t ntr, m33 sš.w št3.w, wʿb-Nfr-swt-Wnis;</i> under-supervisor of the pure ones, one who is privy to the secret, scribe of the house of documents/archives/scriptorium of the god	Unknown	5th Dynasty, reign of Unas or later	Kaplony, <i>Rollsiegel II</i> , pl. 88 [23].

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		(i.e. the king), beholder of the secret writing, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas'.			
1-185I	<i>K3-tp</i>	<i>imy-r Nfr-swt-Wnis, imy-r hnty.w-š, w<sup>b</sup> šnty (200) Nfr-swt-Wnis</i> ; overseer of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas', overseer of the land tenants, pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200) of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas'.	Saqqara?	Late 6th Dynasty	Helck, "Pyramidenstätten," 104.
1-186M	<i>Hs.i</i>	<i>imy-ib n nswt, imy-r is n pr hry.w-wdb, imy-r is (n) mrt, imy-r is n hry-htmt, imy-r wp(w)t (m prwy), imy-r wp(w)t htpt-ntr (m prwy), imy-r wp(w)t htpt-ntr m T3-mhw Šm<sup>w</sup> drw, imy-r wp(w)t htpt-ntr m t3 r dr.f, imy-r wd<sup>ε</sup>-mdw (nb št3) n hwt-wrt 6, imy-r n pr hry.w-wdb.w, imy-r n hr(y)-htmt, imy-r hwt-wrt, imy-r sdmt nbt, imy-ht hm.w-ntr Dd-swt-Tti, w<sup>b</sup> Dd-swt-Tti, mty n s3, mdw Rhyt, hm-ntr M3<sup>t</sup>, hm-ntr Hqt, hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 n wd<sup>ε</sup>-mdw, hry-sšt3 n wd<sup>t</sup> nbt, hry-sšt3 n wd(t)-mdw nbt (št3t), hry-sšt3 n nswt m swt.f nbt, hnty-š Dd-swt-Tti, hrp sš.w, hry-tp nswt, s3b imy-r sš.w, s3b <sup>ε</sup>d-mr, s3b sš, s3b shd sš.w, sš <sup>ε</sup>.w (nw) nswt hft hr, sš (n) s3, shd hm.w-ntr Dd-swt-Tti</i> ; confidant of the king, overseer of the bureau of those in charge of reversion offerings, overseer of the bureau of the <i>mrt</i> -people, overseer of the bureau of the registry, overseer of apportionments (in the	Saqqara: Around Teti Pyramid	6th Dynasty, reign of Teti	Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, <i>Teti Cemetery V</i> , 12 [16], 22, pl. 52.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		<p>two houses), overseer of the division(s)/apportionment(s) of divine offerings in the two houses, overseer of apportionments in the entire North and South, overseer of apportionments of the god's offering in the entire land, overseer of determining (all secret) cases in the six great courts, overseer of the house/department of those in charge of reversions (of offerings), overseer of the registry, overseer of the great court/Hall of Justice, overseer of all that is judged, under-supervisor of god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', pure one of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', regulator of a phyle, staff of the <i>Rhyt</i>-people, god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Heqat, one who is privy to the secret, privy to the secret of judgment/determining cases, privy to the secrets of all commands, privy to the secrets of all (secret) proclamations/decrees, privy to the secrets of the king in all his cult-places, land-tenant of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', director of scribes, king's liegeman/royal chamberlain, juridicial overseer of scribes, juridicial <i>'d-mr</i> official, juridicial scribe, juridicial inspector of scribes, scribe of royal records in the</p>			

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		presence, scribe of the phyle, inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti'.			
1-187M	<i>Hnti-k3 : Ihhi</i>	<i>iry p<sup>t</sup>, h3ty-<sup>s</sup>, smr w<sup>t</sup>ty, t3yty s3b t3ty, s(t)m, hrp šndt nbt, šd hm.w-ntr Dd-swt-Tti, hry hbt, hry hbt hry-tp, wt(y) Inpw, hts(?) Inpw, sm3 Inpw, hry sšt3 nswt m swt.f nbt, hry wr.w, šd hm.w-ntr Mn-nfr-Ppy, imy-r swt špswt (nt) pr-<sup>s</sup>3, imy-r pr-nswt, [hry sšt3] n wd(t)-mdw nbt, imy-r i<sup>w</sup>-r nswt, im3-<sup>s</sup>, hrp nsty, hrp h3ts km, sš md3t-ntr, šd pr-nswt, imy-r sšr, hry sšt3 n mdw-ntr, šd db3t, imy-r htmty, hry sšt3 n pr dw3t, sš n s3 Mn-nfr-Ppy, w<sup>b</sup> šnty (200) Mn-nfr-Ppy, imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nswt, imy-r šnwty, imy-ib n nswt m swt.f nbt, imy-ib n nswt m t3wy.f, imy-ht hm.w-ntr Dd-swt-Tti, imy-r hnty.w-š pr-<sup>s</sup>3, imy-r šwy pr-<sup>s</sup>3, imy-r iswy (n) hkr.w nswt, imy-r prwy-nbw, imy-r prwy hd, imy-r sšwy, imy-r niwt (mr), hry-tp nswt (n) pr-<sup>s</sup>3, imy-r sš.w <sup>s</sup>.w (nw) nswt, wr idt, hm-ntr pr Dhwti, htm(ty)-bity, s[hd] hm.w-ntr hwt-k3-3h[t], hry sšt3 n m33t w<sup>s</sup>, t3ty s3b t3ty m3<sup>s</sup>, imy-r hnty.w-š, imy-r sšw, imy-r pr-nswt nb stp-s3, h3ty-<sup>s</sup> m3<sup>s</sup>, hry-hb m3<sup>s</sup>, smr w<sup>t</sup>ty m3<sup>s</sup>; hereditary prince/nobleman, count, sole companion, one of the curtain (chief justice and vizier), s(t)m-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth), director of every kilt,</i>	Saqqara: North of the Pyramid, Around Teti Pyramid	Late 6th Dynasty, reign of Teti to early/mid-Pepi I	Fischer, <i>Varia Nova</i> , 3, n. 15, 251; James, <i>Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi</i> , 9-10; PM III.2, 508-511; Strudwick, <i>Administration</i> , 125 [109].

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		<p>           inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', lector priest, chief lector priest, embalmer of Anubis, (?) of Anubis (precise reading unknown), <i>sm3</i>-priest (stolist) of Anubis, privy to the secret of the king in all his cult-places, controller/master of the Great Ones, inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides', overseer of the august places of the Great House, overseer of the king's domain, [privy to the secret] of all proclamations/decrees, overseer of the king's repast, gracious of arm, director of the two thrones, director of the black pot/jar, scribe of the god's book, inspector of the king's domain, overseer of cloth/linen distribution, privy to the secret of the god's word(s), inspector of the Robing Room, overseer of the sealed goods/treasury, privy to the secret of the House of the Morning, scribe of the phyle of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides', pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides', overseer of all works of the king, overseer of the two granaries, one who is in the heart of the king in all his places, one who is in the heart of the king in his two lands, under-supervisor of the god's servants of         </p>			

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		(the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', overseer of the land-tenants of the Great House, overseer of the two weaving shops/sheds of the Great House, overseer of the two bureaux of the royal regalia/king's ornament, overseer of the two houses of gold, overseer of the two houses of silver, overseer of the two bird pools/fowling pools, overseer of the pyramid town, king's liegeman of the Great House, overseer of scribes of the royal documents, great of censuring, god's servant of the house of Thoth, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, inspector of the god's servants of the K3-Chapel/funerary temple of the Horizon/tomb(?), privy to the secret of seeing alone/of that to which (only) one sees, true chief justice and vizier, overseer of land-tenants, overseer of the fowling pool/pond, overseer of the every royal domain/estate and <i>stp-s3</i> (?), true count, true lector priest, true sole companion.			
1-188M	<i>I3rt(i)</i>	<i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty, imy-r hnty.w-š pr-<sup>c</sup>3, hry-ḥbt, w<sup>c</sup>b šnty (200) H<sup>c</sup>-nfr-Mr-n-r<sup>c</sup>, imy-r ipt, sš gs-dpt, imy-r hnty.w-š, h3ty-<sup>c</sup>, hry sšt3 n nswt m swt.f nbt, ḥtm(ty)-bity, šps nswt, im3ḥw, im3ḥw hr Inpw, im3ḥw hr ntr-<sup>c</sup>3; sole companion, overseer of the land tenants of the Great House, lector priest, pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-</i>	Saqqara: North-West of Pyramid of Merenre I, unnumbered tomb	6th Dynasty, reign of Merenre or later	CG 1355, 1523, 1634; Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 53 [15]; Borchardt, <i>Denkmäler</i> I, 25, 224; II, 101-102; Grdseloff, "Deux Inscriptions Juridiques," 29, fig. 1; Maspero, <i>Trois Années</i> , 200-201 [3]; Piacentini, <i>Scribes</i> , 556,



No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		Perfection-of-Merenre-Appears-in-Splendor', overseer of the census(?)/cattle-count(?), scribe of protection, overseer of land tenants, count, privy to secret of the king in all his cult-places, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, noble of the king, revered one, revered with Anubis, revered with the great god.			[G.Sa.4]; PM III.2, 674.
1-189M	<i>Dr-snd : Nfr-k3-r<sup>ḥ</sup>-<sup>ḥ</sup>nḥ</i>	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b šnty (200) Mn-<sup>ḥ</sup>nḥ-Nfr-k3-r<sup>ḥ</sup>, ḥtm(ty)-bity, smr w<sup>ḥ</sup>ty, imy-r sqbbwy, ḥry-tp d3t, šps nswt, im3ḥw [...], imy-r r nswt</i> ; pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-Life-of-Neferkare-abides', sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, overseer of the two cool rooms, supervisor of linen/the wardrobe, noble of the king, revered one [...], overseer of the king's speech.	Saqqara: North-East of Pyramid of Pepi II, N. VI	6th Dynasty, reign of Pepi II	Jéquier, <i>Tomb. Part.</i> , 110, fig. 124; PM III.2, 678.
1-190M	<i>Irt-Pth : Iri</i>	<i>Šps nswt, smr-pr, sš ḥtmt-ntr m ḥwt Pth, sš ḥtpt-ntr, it-ntr, s<sup>ḥ</sup> ʿ3(?) m ḥnw Skr, šḥd s(t)m.w, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 Pth, im3ḥw, im3ḥw ḥr Pth-Skr, im3ḥw ḥr ntr ʿ3</i> ; noble of the king, companion of the house, scribe of the god's treasure in the temple of Ptah, scribe of the god's offerings (responsible for keeping the register of offerings to the temple), god's father, great noble/spirit in the barque of Sokar, inspector of <i>s(t)m</i> -priests (chief celebrants in the rite of Opening the Mouth), great pure one of Ptah, provided	Saqqara	6th Dynasty, no later than the reign of Pepi II	Philadelphia University Museum E.14318; Fischer, "Sixth Dynasty Titles," 28 [6], pl. 15; Kanawati, <i>Akhmim</i> , 238, n. 1479; McFarlane, <i>The Cult of Min</i> , 296, n. 1605; Piacentini, <i>Scribes</i> , 563 [G.Sa.11]; PM III.2, 746; Ranke, "The Egyptian Collections of the University Museum," 30, fig. 16.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		one, revered with Ptah-Sokar, revered with the great god.			
1-191M	<i>Špss-ptḥ I</i>	<i>wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt, wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt m prwy, wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt n r<sup>ḥ</sup> ḥb, ḥm-nṯr Pth, ḥm-nṯr Skr, ḥrp s(t)m.w, mh<sup>n</sup>k nswt, imy-r pr Skr, imy-r w<sup>ḥ</sup>bt, ḥrp ḥmwt(yw) nbt, ḥry sšt3 n nṯr.f, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b Pth, n imy-ib n nb.f, imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nswt, ḥm-nṯr M3<sup>t</sup> m swt (i)ptn n ḥry-b3qf, ḥm-nṯr R<sup>ḥ</sup> m 3ḥt-R<sup>ḥ</sup>, ḥm-nṯr R<sup>ḥ</sup> m Nḥn-R<sup>ḥ</sup>, ḥm-nṯr R<sup>ḥ</sup> m St-ib-R<sup>ḥ</sup>, ḥm-nṯr R<sup>ḥ</sup> m Šsp-ib-R<sup>ḥ</sup>, ḥm-nṯr Ḥwt-ḥr m swt nb(w)t, ḥm-nṯr Ḥr(.w) m ḥnt-wr, ḥm-nṯr Ḥr(.w) Ḥnty-mdf, ḥm-nṯr Ḥnty-i3t.f, ḥm-nṯr Ḥnty-Ṛntt, ḥm-nṯr Skr m swt.f nbt, ḥm-nṯr Dd-špss, ḥry sšt3, ḥrp ḥwt ṯḥnt, imy-r s(w)t-df3w, i3w n ḥwt Pth;</i> greatest of the directors of craftsmen, greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the Two Houses, greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the day of the festival, god's servant of Ptah, god's servant of Sokar, director of <i>s(t)m</i> -priests (chief celebrants in the rite of Opening the Mouth), intimate of the king, overseer of the temple of Sokar, overseer of the <i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>bt</i> -chamber/mortuary workshop, director of all craftsmen, privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king), pure one of Ptah, one who belongs to the heart/favorite of his lord, overseer of all the works of the king, god's servant of Maat in	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 48 [C1]	5th Dynasty, reign of Niuserre	Begelsbacher-Fischer, <i>Götterwelt</i> , 126-127, n. 1, 147, 279; BM 32 [682]; BM, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts</i> I.2, pl. 10-13; Fischer, "Sixth Dynasty Titles," 29 [6], no. 42; Hassan, <i>Gīza</i> II, 7; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 110-114; Maystre, <i>Ptah</i> , 226 [3]; PM III.2, 464; Stolk, <i>Ptah</i> , 36; <i>Urk.</i> I, 51-53.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		<p>these (cult) places of him who is under his olive tree, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>3ht-R<sup>Ϝ</sup></i>, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nhn-R<sup>Ϝ</sup></i>, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>Ϝ</sup></i>, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>Ϝ</sup></i>, god's servant of Hathor in all places/everywhere, god's servant of Horus in <i>hnt-wr</i>, god's servant of Horus <i>Hnty-mdf</i> (one of the titles of the high priest of Ptah at Memphis), god's servant of <i>Hnty-i3wt.f</i> (alias of Ptah), god's servant of <i>Hnty-Tnnt</i>, god's servant of Sokar in all his places (sanctuaries), god's servant of <i>Dd-špss</i> (alias of Ptah), one who is privy to the secret, director of the mansion of faience, overseer of the department(s) of offerings, elder of the Mansion of Ptah.</p>			
1-192M	<i>Špss-ptḥ II</i>	<p><i>wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt, wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt m prwy, wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt n r<sup>Ϝ</sup> ḥb, ḥm-ntr Ptḥ, ḥm-ntr Skr, ḥrp s(t)m.w, mhnk nswt, imy-r pr Skr, imy-r w<sup>Ϝ</sup>bt, ḥrp ḥmwt(yw) nbt, ḥry sšt3 n ntr.f, w<sup>Ϝ</sup>b Ptḥ, n imy-ib n nb.f</i>; greatest of the directors of craftsmen, greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the Two Houses, greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the day of the festival, god's servant of Ptah, god's servant of Sokar, director of <i>s(t)m</i>-priests (chief celebrants in the rite of Opening the Mouth), intimate of</p>	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 50 [C9]	Mid-5th Dynasty	Fischer, "Sixth dynasty Titles," 29 [6], no. 42; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 130; Maystre, <i>Ptah</i> , 231 [5]; Pirenne, <i>Institutions III</i> , 520 [3]; PM III.2, 464-465.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		the king, overseer of the temple of Sokar, overseer of the <i>w<sup>3</sup>bt</i> -chamber/mortuary workshop, director of all craftsmen, privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king), pure one of Ptah, one who belongs to the heart/favorite of his lord.			
1-193M	<i>S3b.w : Ibb.i (Father of Šps-pth IV, 1-194M)</i>	<i>wr hrp.w hmwt, wr hrp.w hmwt m prwy, wr hrp hmwt m prwy n r<sup>s</sup> hb, wr hrp.w hmwt n r<sup>s</sup> hb, hm-ntr Pth, hm-ntr Skr, hrp s(t)m.w, mhnk nswt, imy-r pr Skr, imy-r w<sup>3</sup>bt, hrp hmwt(yw) nbt, hry sst3 n ntr.f, w<sup>3</sup>b Pth, n imy-ib n nb.f, imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nswt, imy-r hwt Skr m swt nb(w)t, imy-ht hm.w-ntr Nfr-swt-Wnis, imy-ht hm.w-ntr Dd-swt-Tti, wr hrp.w hmwt db3t(y?), hm-ntr M3<sup>st</sup> m swt (i)ptn n hry-b3qf, hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m 3ht-R<sup>s</sup>, hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m Nhn-R<sup>s</sup>, hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m St-ib-R<sup>s</sup>, hm-ntr R<sup>s</sup> m Šsp-ib-R<sup>s</sup>, hm-ntr Hwt-hr m swt nb(w)t, hm-ntr Hr(.w) m hnt-wr, hm-ntr Hr(.w) Hnty-mdf, hm-ntr Hnty-i3t.f, hm-ntr Hnty-Tnnt, hm-ntr Skr m swt.f nbt, hm-ntr Dd-šps, hry sst3, hry sst3 n nswt m swt.f nbt, hry sst3 n k3t nbt, hrp mhnk.w nswt, sš qd št3 n wdt-mdw, šps nswt, im3hw n Pth, im3hw hr Inpw, im3hw hr ity nb, im3hw hr Pth, im3hw hr nswt, im3hw hr ntr-<sup>s</sup>3, im3hw hr Skr; greatest of the directors of craftsmen, greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the Two Houses, greatest of the directors of the craftsmen in the Two</i>	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, Nos. 37-38 [E 1, 2 and H 3]	6th Dynasty, mid- to late-reign of Teti	Bienkowski and Tooley, <i>Liverpool Museum</i> , 67, fig. 102; Borchartd, <i>Denkmäler I</i> , 91-101, pl. 21; II, 31-34, pl. 65; Fischer, "Sixth dynasty Titles," 29 [6], no. 42; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 375[B]; Maestre, <i>Ptah</i> , 236 [17]; Piacentini, <i>Scribes</i> , 617-619 [G.Sa.60]; Pirenne, <i>Institutions III</i> , 522 [4]; PM III.2, 460-461; Strudwick, <i>Administration</i> , 130 [116].

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		<p>Houses who belongs to the day of the festival, greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the day of the festival, god's servant of Ptah, god's servant of Sokar, director of <i>s(t)m</i>-priests, intimate of the king, overseer of the temple of Sokar, overseer of the <i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>bt</i>-chamber/mortuary workshop, director of all craftsmen, privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king), pure one of Ptah, one who belongs to the heart/favorite of his lord, overseer of all the works of the king, overseer of the temple(s)/cult-place(s)/sanctuaries of Sokar in all places/wheresoever, under-supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas', under-supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', greatest of the directors of craftsmen of the <i>ḏb3t(y?)</i>, god's servant of Maat in these (cult) places of him who is under his olive tree, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>3ḥt-R<sup>ḥ</sup></i>, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Nḥn-R<sup>ḥ</sup></i>, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>St-ib-R<sup>ḥ</sup></i>, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>ḥ</sup></i>, god's servant of Hathor in all places/everywhere, god's servant of Horus in <i>ḥnt-wr</i>, god's servant of Horus <i>Hnty-mdf</i> (one of the titles of the</p>			

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		high priest of Ptah at Memphis), god's servant of <i>Hnty-i3wt.f</i> (alias of Ptah), god's servant of <i>Hnty-Tnnt</i> , god's servant of Sokar in all his places (sanctuaries), god's servant of <i>Dd-špss</i> (alias of Ptah), one who is privy to the secret, privy to the secret of the king in all his cult-places, privy to the secret of all works, director of the <i>mḥnk.w</i> of the king, scribe of the secret documents of the decrees, noble of the king, revered one of Ptah, revered with Anubis, revered with every sovereign, revered with Ptah, revered with the king, revered with the great god, revered with Sokar.			
1-194M	<i>Špss-ptḥ IV</i> (Son of <i>S3b.w</i> : <i>Ibb.i, I-194M</i> )	<i>im3ḥw ḥr Pth-Skr m swt.f nb(w)t, wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt, wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt m prwy, wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt n r<sup>s</sup> ḥb, ḥm-ntr Pth, ḥm-ntr Skr, ḥrp s(t)m.w, mḥnk nswt, imy-r pr Skr, [imy-r] w<sup>s</sup>bt, ḥrp ḥmwt(yw) nbt, ḥry sšt3 n ntr.f, ḥm-ntr Dd-swt-Tti m nḥt, im3ḥw ḥr Hr n nb.f r<sup>s</sup> nb, ḥm ntr Nfr-swt-Wnis, w<sup>s</sup>b Pth, n imy-ib n nb.f</i> ; revered with Ptah-Sokar in all his cult-places, greatest of the directors of craftsmen, greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the Two Houses, greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the day of the festival, god's servant of Ptah, god's servant of Sokar, director of <i>s(t)m</i> -priests (chief celebrants priests in the rite of Opening the Mouth), intimate of the king,	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, Nos. 37-38 [E 1, 2 and H 3]	6th Dynasty, mid- to late-reign of Teti	de Rougé, <i>Inscriptions Hieroglyphiques</i> , pl. 92; Fischer, "Sixth Dynasty Titles," 29 [6], no. 42; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 377B; Maystre, <i>Ptah</i> , 244 [21], 246 [24]; Murray, <i>Saqqara Mastabas I</i> , pl. 28; PM III.2, 460-461.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		overseer of the temple of Sokar, overseer of the <i>w<sup>b</sup>bt</i> -chamber/mortuary workshop, director of all craftsmen, privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king), god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', revered with Horus of his lord every day, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas', pure one of Ptah, one who belongs to the heart/favorite of his lord.			
1-195M	<i>Hss.ii</i>	<i>im3ḥw, ḥry-ḥbt, šps nswt, w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3 n Mn.w, ḥnty-š Mn-nfr-Ppy, šḥd pr-Mn.w</i> ; provided one, lector priest, noble of the king, great pure one of Min, land-tenant of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides', inspector of the temple of Min.	Provenance Unknown	6th Dynasty, reign of Pepi I or later	CG 1407; Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 107 [349A]; Baud, <i>Famille royale</i> , 140, n. 246; Fischer, "Sixth Dynasty Titles," 29, n. 40; Helck, "Pyramidenstätten," 103; Kanawati, <i>Akhmim</i> , 193, n. 1171, 237, n. 1474; Kanawati, <i>El-Hawawish IX</i> , 55-56, pl. 7(b and d); McFarlane, <i>The Cult of Min</i> , 67 [108], 296-7.
1-196I	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> [ḥm-ntr] W3d.t, mrr(w) nb.f</i> ; pure one [and god's servant] of Wadjet, beloved of his lord.	Abusir/Abu Gurob	5th Dynasty, reign of Djedkare	Kaplony, <i>Rollsiegel II</i> , pl. 89 [Djedkare, 20].
1-197M	<i>Tnti</i>	<i>rḥ nswt, nfr-idw, ḥrp ʿpr.w, šps, wrš<sup>c</sup> r mš<sup>c</sup>, ḥtm(w)-ntr wi3, imy-r wp(w)t, ḥm-ntr Hnm.w ḥnty Hr-wr m swt.f nbwt, w<sup>b</sup> Nmty, wr ʿḥ, ḥtm(w), ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw, smsw is(t), ḥrp ʿḥ, ḥrp š nswt</i> ; royal acquaintance, recruit, director of the crew, noble,	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 71 [B 1]	Late 5th Dynasty	Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 153 [569]; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 88-89; PM III.2, 482.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		watcher/attendant to the army, god's sealer of the barque, overseer of commissions/apportionments, god's servant of Khnum foremost of Hur in all his (cult-) places (sanctuaries), pure one of Nemty, great one of the <i>ḥ</i> -Palace, sealer, god's servant of Khufu, elder of the <i>is(t)</i> -chamber, director of the <i>ḥ</i> -Palace, director of the royal canal/pool.			
1-198M	<i>Tii</i>	<i>ḏ-mr wh<sup>ḥ</sup>.w 3pd.w, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b R<sup>ḥ</sup>, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b R<sup>ḥ</sup> m Sht-[R<sup>ḥ</sup>], imy-r sš, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b [...]</i> ; overseer of fishers/fowlers, pure one of Re, pure one of Re in (the sun-temple) <i>Sht-[R<sup>ḥ</sup>]</i> , overseer of the bird pool/fowling pool, pure one [...].	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 6 [C 15]	5th Dynasty, reign of Sahure or later	CG 1380; Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 152 [565]; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 140.
1-199M	<i>Sn.nw</i>	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b R<sup>ḥ</sup>, ḥtm(w) šspt nswt, rh nswt n pr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3, ḥry-pr n db3t</i> ; pure one of Re, sealer of the royal <i>šspt</i> -cloth, royal acquaintance of the Great House, major-domo of the Robing Room.	Giza: West Field, G 2032	5th Dynasty	Fischer, "Varia Aegyptiaca," 25; Fischer, <i>Varia Nova</i> , 214, n. 275, pl. 47.
1-200I	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>imy-r wp(w)t Šsp-ib-R<sup>ḥ</sup>, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ḥm-ntr [R<sup>ḥ</sup> m] Šsp-ib-R<sup>ḥ</sup>, [ḥm-n]tr w<sup>ḥ</sup>[b] Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>ḥ</sup>, imy-r wp(w)t Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r<sup>ḥ</sup></i> ; overseer of apportionment(s)/commissions in (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>ḥ</sup></i> , pure one [and] god's servant [of Re in] (the sun-temple) <i>Šsp-ib-R<sup>ḥ</sup></i> , god's [servant and] pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', overseer of commissions/apportionments of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.	Abu Ghurob	5th Dynasty, reign of Niuserre or later	Kaplony, <i>Rollsiegel</i> II, 314-315, pl. 86 [7].



No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
1-201M	<i>Ipsḥ</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw, w<sup>s</sup>b nswt, nb im3ḥw ḥr nb.f, mrr nb.f r<sup>s</sup> nb, w<sup>s</sup>b Šḥm.t</i> ; god's servant of Khufu, pure one of the king, possessor of reverence with his lord, beloved by his lord every day, pure one of Sekhmet.	Giza: Southeast corner of Tomb No. 5	4th Dynasty, reign of Khufu or later	Moursi, <i>Gedenkschrift Barta</i> , 289.
1-202M	<i>Wnn-nfr(.w)</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b Šḥm.t, šḥd swnw</i> ; pure one of Sekhmet, inspector of physicians.	Saqqara: West of the Step Pyramid, [D 62]	5th Dynasty, reign of Djedkare	Begelsbacher-Fischer, <i>Götterwelt</i> , 234; PM III.2, 596; Davies, <i>Ptahhetep II</i> , pl. 18; Ghalioungui, <i>Physicians</i> , 18, [16]; Hassan, <i>Excav. at Saqqara II</i> , 29 [35a]; Helck, <i>Beamtentitel</i> , 67, n. 51; Hoenes, <i>Sachmet</i> , 35, n. 6; Jonckheere, <i>Médecins</i> , 31 [18], 129D; Jonckheere, "Chirurgien Égyptien," 28; Lefébvre, <i>Médecine égyptienne</i> , 25; Lefébvre, <i>Les prêtres de Sekhmet</i> , 59 (text I); Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 355; Montet, "Scènes de boucherie," 49, n. 3; Murray, <i>Saqqara Mastabas I</i> , 15, pl. 11; PM III.2, 596; von Känel, <i>Prêtresouâb</i> , 6-7 [4].
1-203M	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b Šḥm.t</i> ; pure one of Sekhmet.	Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 20 [D 41]	Mid-5th Dynasty or later	Baer, <i>Rank and Title</i> , 128-129; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 287; Simpson, <i>Sekhem-Ankh-Ptah</i> , 4, pl. C6-8; PM III.2, 454-455; von Känel, <i>Prêtresouâb</i> , 4-5 [2].

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
1-204M	<i>Wsr</i>	<i>smr w<sup>s</sup>ty, hry-tp nswt, im3hw, rh nswt, imy-r sr.w, w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200)</i> ; sole companion, king's liegeman/royal chamberlain, provided one, royal acquaintance, overseer of the <i>sr.w</i> -officials, pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200).	Saqqara: West of Step Pyramid	6th Dynasty	CG 1550-1551; PM III.2, 613.
1-205M	<i>Gg.i</i>	<i>h3ty-<sup>s</sup>, htm(ty)-bity, smr w<sup>s</sup>ty, imy-r hnty.w-š pr-<sup>s</sup>3, im3hw hr Pth-Skr, sš n s3, imy-r wp(w)t, w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200), hry hbt, hry-tp <sup>s</sup>3 Nhn, imy-r hm.w-ntr n In-hr.t, mniw kmt, im3hw hr ntr <sup>s</sup>3, im3hw hr nb.f, šd hm.w-ntr H<sup>s</sup>-nfr-Mr-n-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; count, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, overseer of land tenants of the Great House, revered with Ptah-Sokar, scribe of a phyle, overseer of commissions/apportionments, pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200), lector priest, great overlord of the Rural Nome (U.E. 3, Hierakonpolis), overseer of the god's servants of Onuris (god of Thinis), herdsman of (sacred) black cattle, revered with the great god, revered with his lord, inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-Beauty-of Merenre'.	Saqqara	6th Dynasty	CG 1455.
1-206M	<i>Ihii</i>	<i>sš pr-<sup>s</sup>3, w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200)</i> ; scribe of the Great House; pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200).	Saqqara: Tomb of Teta-meri	6th Dynasty, reign of Pepi I or later	Daressy, <i>Mastaba de Mera</i> , 562, 567.
1-207M	<i>Issi-h3- [...]</i>	<i>imy-r wp(w)t Mn-nfr-Mry-r<sup>s</sup>, smr w<sup>s</sup>ty, w<sup>s</sup>b šnty (200), hm-ntr mrt Mry-r<sup>s</sup>, imy-r</i>	Saqqara: Mastaba H 10	6th Dynasty, reign of Pepi	CG 1438; Mariette, <i>Mastabas</i> , 456.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		<i>wp(w)t, im3ḥw, šḏ pr ʿ3, ḥry sšt3 n pr-dw3t</i> ; overseer of commissions/apportionments of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-Beauty-of-Merenre', messenger, sole companion, pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200), god's servant of the <i>mrt</i> -temple of Pepi I, overseer of commissions/apportionments, revered one, inspector of the Great House, privy to the secret of the House of Morning.		I or later	
1-208M	<i>Iw.f-n-ptḥ</i>	<i>ḥnty-š Mn-nfr-Ppy, wʿb šnty (200), imy-r st ḥnty.w-š pr-ʿ3, mdḥ whrwt ʿ3t, imy-r is n [...] š pr-ʿ3, šps nswt, smr pr</i> ; land tenant of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides', pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200), overseer of the department of land tenants of the Great House, carpenter of the great shipyard, overseer of the bureau of [...] of the Great House, noble of the king, companion of the house.	Giza: West Field, G 4941	6th dynasty, reign of Pepi I or later	Baud, "Reine-mère," 13; Junker, <i>Gîza</i> VII, 24-28; Lehmann, Kat. G200; PM III.1, 143.
1-209M	<i>ʿnh-ni-nb.f</i>	<i>smr wʿty, ḥry-ḥbt, im3ḥw, šps nswt, smr pr, imy-r st, im3ḥw ḥr ntr ʿ3 nb pt, smr wʿty, wʿb šnty (200), imy-r wp(w)t, im3ḥw ḥr n nb.f</i> ; sole companion, lector priest, provided one, noble of the king, companion of the house, overseer of a storehouse/department, revered with the great god Lord of the Sky, sole companion, pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200), overseer of commissions/apportionments, revered with	Saqqara: North of the Pyramid of Pepi II, position unknown.	Late 6th Dynasty, reign of Pepi II	Jéquier, "Tombes Particuliers," 134-136; PM III.2, 679.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
1- 210M	<i>D<sup>ḫ</sup>.w : Šm3.i</i>	his lord. <i>iry-p<sup>ḫ</sup>t, h3ty-<sup>ḫ</sup>, mdw Ḥp, r3 P nb, ḥrp šḥt Ḥr, Nḥny, ḥry-tp Nḥb, ḥtm(ty)-bity, ḥry-tp <sup>ḫ</sup>3 n T3-wr, ḥwty-<sup>ḫ</sup>3t, imy-r Šm<sup>ḫ</sup>w, ḥq3 ḥwt, smr w<sup>ḫ</sup>ty, ḥry-ḥbt [ḥry-tp], šḥd ḥm.w-ntr Mn-<sup>ḫ</sup>nḥ-Nfr-k3-r<sup>ḫ</sup>, imy-ḥt ḥm.w-ntr Mn-<sup>ḫ</sup>nḥ- Nfr-k3-r<sup>ḫ</sup>, ḥnty-š Mn-<sup>ḫ</sup>nḥ-Nfr-k3-r<sup>ḫ</sup>, ḥry-tp <sup>ḫ</sup>3 (n) 3tft, imy-r šnwty, imy-r prwy-ḥd, imy-r sšwy, w<sup>ḫ</sup>b šnty (200), imy-r wp(w)t ḥtp(w)t-ntr m prwy, s(t)m, ḥrp šndt nbt, [ḥry] s[št3 n sdm]t w<sup>ḫ</sup>, iry <sup>ḫ</sup>3 r Šm<sup>ḫ</sup>; hereditary prince/nobleman, count, herdsman of Apis, mouth of every Pe- ite/Butite, director of the net of Horus, one of Nekhen, overlord of el-Kab, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, great overlord of the Grand Land Nome (U.E. 8, or the area of This-Abydos), one who belongs to the Great Estate, overseer of Upper Egypt, estate manager/property administrator, sole companion, [chief] lector priest, inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-life-of-Neferkare', under- supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-life-of-Neferkare', land tenant of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the- life-of-Neferkare', great overlord of the Viper Mountain Nome (U.E. 12, the <i>Cerastes</i> nome), overseer of the two granaries, overseer of the two treasuries,</i>	Deir el-Gebrâwi: tomb of D <sup>ḫ</sup> .w : Šm3i	6th Dynasty, reign of Pepi II or later	Davies, <i>Deir el-Gebrawi</i> II, 10.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		overseer of the two bird pools/fowling pools, pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200), overseer of the division(s)/apportionments of divine offerings in the two houses, <i>s(t)m</i> -priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth), director of every kilt, secretary of that which one alone judges, one who is in the door to the south.			
1-211M	<i>Ni-<sup>š</sup>nh-Pipi</i>	<i>w<sup>š</sup>b šnty (200) pr-<sup>š</sup>3, šps nswt</i> ; pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200) of the Great House, noble of the king.	Saqqara: Tomb of Teta-Meri	6th Dynasty, reign of Pepi I or later	Daressy, <i>Mastaba de Mera</i> , 567.
1-212M	<i>Hns.w : Htp</i>	<i>smsw (n) h(3)yt, w<sup>š</sup>b šnty (200) n s3, im3hw, nht-hrw hwt-wrt, w<sup>š</sup> m md(?) m w<sup>š</sup>bt(?)</i> ; elder of the (judicial) court, pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200) of the phyle, revered one, tallyman of the lawcourt, one in 10 in the workshop/mortuary workshop.	Abydos: West of Ramesses Portal Temple	6th Dynasty	Simpson, <i>Inscribed Material</i> , 6, fig. 4.

## APPENDIX B

### FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
2-001M	<i>Ii-n.i</i>	<i>im3hy hr 3st, w<sup>sb</sup>, im3hy hr psdt ʿ3t, stp s3 hr w<sup>sb</sup>, im3hy hr Nt, im3hy hr Nbt-Hwt, [im3h]y hr [...] ntrw wrt, im3hy hr S[r]qt</i> ; revered with Isis, pure one, revered with the Great Ennead, protector/court councilor supervisor of the pure ones, revered with Neith, revered with Nephys, revered with [...] the Great Gods, revered with Serket.	Meir	11th Dynasty?	CG 28073 (Mummy), CG 28068 (Mask), CG 28068 (Coffin); Lacau <i>Sarcophages</i> I, 162, 165-166, pl. 16, 21; Gillam, "14th Upper Egyptian Nome," no. 39.
2-002M	<i>Rn.w</i> (Father of <i>Hnm(.w)-hṭp</i> , 2-0014M)	<i>w<sup>sb</sup></i> ; pure one.	Hatnub, Gr. 27	Nomarch <i>Nhr.i</i> I	Hatnub Gr. 27; Anthes, <i>Felseninschriften</i> , 62-63, pl. 28; Shaw, <i>Hatnub</i> , 154 [27].
2-003M	<i>[I]m[i]-st-k[3.i]</i>	<i>s3b ʿd-mr pr-ʿ3, imy-r prwy-ʿh3.w, w<sup>sb</sup> nswt, hm-ntr Hwfw</i> ; judge and administrator of the Great House, overseer of the two Houses of Weapons, pure one of the king, god's servant of Khufu.	Giza: West Field, G 4351	First Intermediate Period	Junker, <i>Giza</i> VI, 208-217; Lehmann, <i>Kat. G175</i> ; PM III.1, 126-127.
2-004I	<i>Iri</i>	Unpublished.	Saqqara: Around Teti Pyramid	Early First Intermediate Period	PM III.2, 569.
2-005M	<i>Šd.ii-pth : Šd.w</i>	<i>shd pr-nswt, shd db3.t, mty n s3, shd pr-ʿ3, w<sup>sb</sup> šnty (200) [Mn-ʿnh-Nfr-k3-rʿ</i>	Saqqara: Around Teti	Early First Intermediate	Firth-Gunn, <i>TPC</i> I, 196 [27]; PM III.2, 545; Strudwick,

		<i>Ppy</i> , <i>imy-r wp(w)t [h̄tp(w)t-n̄tr]</i> <i>Mn-n̄h-Nfr-k3-rʿ Ppy</i> , <i>imy-r prwy-h̄d</i> , <i>imy-r is.wy hkr nswt</i> , <i>h̄ry-s̄st3 n pr-dw3.t</i> , <i>sh̄d pr-nswt</i> ; inspector of the royal domain, inspector of the Robing Room, regulator of a <i>phyle</i> , inspector of the Great House, pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200) [of (the pyramid), 'The-Life-of-Neferkare-Abides'], overseer of distribution of divine offerings of (the pyramid), 'The-Life-of-Neferkare-Abides', overseer of the two treasuries, overseer of the two bureaux of the royal regalia/king's ornament, secretary/privy to the secret of the House of Morning.	Pyramid, exact position unknown	Period	<i>Administration</i> , 141-142 [134]; Strudwick, "Three Monuments," 45, pl. 3 [2].
2-006I	<i>Unknown</i>	Unpublished.	Saqqara: Around Teti Pyramid	Early First Intermediate Period	PM III.2, 570.
2-007M	<i>Wsr</i>	<i>im3h̄w</i> , <i>im3h̄w hr Dd-Špss</i> , <i>im3h̄w hr nb.f</i> , <i>sh̄d hm.w-n̄tr</i> , <i>wʿb ʿ3</i> , <i>im3h̄w hr n̄tr-ʿ3 nb pt</i> , <i>im3h̄w [hr] Wsir</i> , <i>im3h̄w hr Inpw</i> ; revered one, revered with <i>Dd-Špss</i> (an alias of Ptah), revered with his lord, inspector of god's servants, great pure one, revered with the great god lord of the sky, revered [with] Osiris, revered with Anubis.	Saqqara: Around Teti Pyramid	10th Dynasty	Daoud, <i>Corpus of Inscriptions</i> , 18-20; Firth-Gunn, <i>TPC I</i> , 183 [5]; II, pl. 70 [1]; Fischer, "Sixth Dynasty Titles," 29, n. 41; PM III.2, 545.
2-008M	<i>Tti-h̄r-mnh̄t</i>	<i>h̄tm(ty)(-bity)</i> , <i>sh̄y-n̄tr</i> , <i>wʿb ʿ3</i> ; sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, one who belongs to the divine booth, great pure one.	Saqqara: Around Teti Pyramid	Late 10th Dynasty	Fischer, <i>Varia Nova</i> , 48, n. 33; Fischer, "Sixth Dynasty Titles," 29, n. 41; PM III.2, 563; Quibell, <i>Excav. At Saqqara II</i> , pl. 7 [3].

2-009M	<i>In-it.f</i> (Brother of <i>Mn.w-nḥt</i> , 2-010M)	<i>wᵃb ʿ3 n Mn.w, nb im3ḥw</i> ; great pure one of Min, possessor of reverence.	Gift?	13th to 17th Dynasty	BM 325 [1247]; BM, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts III</i> , pl. 9; Gauthier, <i>Personnel</i> , 32; Lefebvre, <i>Histoire des grandes pretres d'Amon</i> , 13-16.
2-010M	<i>Mn.w-nḥt</i> (Brother of <i>Int.f</i> , 2-009M)	<i>wᵃb (n) Mn.w</i> ; Pure one of Min.	Gift?	13th to 17th Dynasty	BM 325 [1247]; BM, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts III</i> , pl. 9; Gauthier, <i>Personnel</i> , 32; Lefebvre, <i>Histoire des grandes pretres d'Amon</i> , 13-16.
2-011M	<i>Iḥ3-nḥt I</i>	<i>ḥ3ty-ʿ, ḥrp ns.ty, imy-r ḥm.w-ntr, ḥry-tp ʿ3 n Wn.t, mrrw ntr.w.s nb.w, im3ḥy ḥr ntr-ʿ3 nb pt, ḥtm(ty)-bity, smr wᵃty, rḥ nswt, imy-r Imntt, im3ḥy ḥr Wsir, t3yty s3b t3ty, ḥry-tp Ḥwt-nbw, wr m i3t.f, ʿ3 m sḥ.f, ḥnty st m pr nswt, mr[r] Dḥwti nb Ḥmnw, ʿ3 rn m t3wy Ḥr(.w), imy-r [...], im3ḥy, m3ʿ ḥrw, sb3 Ḥr ḥnty pt, wᵃb ʿwy mḥ.f ḥ3w, mry nswt, mrrw.f, wᵃb ʿ3 n Dḥwti, twr ʿwy</i> ; hereditary prince/nobleman, director/controller of the two thrones, overseer of the god's servants, great overlord/chief of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna), beloved of all her gods, revered one with the great god lord of the sky, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, royal acquaintance, overseer of the Western Desert, revered with Osiris, he of the curtain chief justice and vizier, chief of Hatnub, great in his office, great	Bersheh: Tomb No. 5, inner chamber, front wall, right side	11th Dynasty	Newberry, <i>Bersheh II</i> , pl. 17.



		in his rank, foremost of seat in the palace, beloved of Thoth Lord of Hermopolis, great of name in the Two Lands of Horus, overseer of [...], revered one, true of voice, student of Horus foremost of the sky, pure of hands when he fills the bowl, beloved of the king, his beloved, great pure one of Thoth, clean of hands.			
2-012M	<i>Dḥwti-nḥt V</i> (Uncle of <i>Nḥr.i II</i> , 2-013M; great-uncle of <i>Dḥwti-nḥt VI</i> , 2-014M)	[ <i>ḥtm(ty)-]bity</i> , <i>smr w<sup>ḥ</sup>ty</i> , <i>imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr</i> , <i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 n Dḥwti</i> , <i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿwy drp.f nṯr</i> , <i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿḥw m st dsrt</i> , <i>twr ʿwy</i> ; [Sealer of the] King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, overseer of the god's servants, great pure one of Thoth, pure of hands when he offers to the god, one who purifies the braziers in the sacred place, clean of hands.	Hatnub Gr. 17, 23, 26	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret I-Amenemhat II	Hatnub Gr. 17, 23, 26; Anthes, <i>Felseninschriften</i> , 38-41, 52-53, 59-62, pls. 16, 20, 28; Shaw, <i>Hatnub</i> , 148 [17], 151 [23], 153 [26].
2-013M	<i>Nḥr.i II</i> (Nephew of <i>Dḥwti-nḥt V</i> , 2-012M, father of <i>Dḥwti-nḥt VI</i> , 2-014M)	<i>im3ḥy</i> , <i>ḥ3ty-<sup>ḥ</sup></i> , <i>ḥrp nsty</i> , <i>imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr</i> , <i>wr [...]</i> , <i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 n Dḥwti</i> ; revered one, hereditary prince/nobleman, controller of the two thrones, overseer of the god's servants, great [...], great pure one of Thoth.	Bersheh: Tomb No. 7	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret I	Newberry, <i>Bersheh II</i> , 37, pls. 18-19.
2-014M	<i>Dḥwti-nḥt VI</i> (Son of <i>Nḥr.i II</i> , 2-013M; grand-nephew of	<i>im3ḥy ḥr nṯr-<sup>ḥ</sup>3</i> , <i>ḥ3ty-<sup>ḥ</sup></i> , <i>im3ḥy</i> , <i>ḥrp ns.ty</i> , <i>im3ḥy ḥr nṯr</i> , <i>m<sup>ḥ</sup>3 ḥrw</i> , <i>imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr</i> , <i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b ʿ3 n Dḥwti</i> ; revered with the great god, hereditary prince/nobleman, revered one, controller of the two thrones,	Bersheh: Tomb No. 1	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret I-Amenemhat II	CG 28123; Lacau <i>Sarcophages I</i> , 136-142.

	<i>Dḥwti-nḥt V, 2-012M)</i>	revered with the god, true of voice, overseer of the god's servants, great pure one of Thoth.			
2-015M	<i>Hnm(.w)-ḥtp (Son of Rn.w, 2-002M)</i>	<i>w<sup>ḥ</sup>b n Dḥwti, nds n ḥnw, rḥ nn ḥ3ty-<sup>ḥ</sup></i> ; pure one of Thoth, citizen of the residence, one who is known by the hereditary prince/nobleman.	Hatnub, Gr. 27	Nomarch <i>Nḥr.i</i> I, year 8	Hatnub Gr. 27; Anthes, <i>Felseninschriften</i> , 62-63, pl. 28; Shaw, <i>Hatnub</i> , 154 [27].
2-016M	<i>Hr-š.f-nḥt(.w)</i>	<i>imy-r w<sup>ḥ</sup>b.w Šḥm.t, imy-r ḥk3.w, wr swnw n nswt, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b (n) Šḥm.t</i> ; overseer of the pure ones of Sekhmet, overseer of magicians, king's great physician, pure one of Sekhmet.	Hatnub, Gr. 15	Nomarch <i>Nḥr.i</i> I, year 4	Hatnub Gr. 15; Anthes, <i>Felseninschriften</i> , 34, pl. 19; Ghalioungui, <i>Physicians</i> , 25, [64]; Jonckheere, "Chirurgien Égyptien," 28; Jonckheere, <i>Médecins</i> , no. 62; Lefébvre, <i>Médecine égyptienne</i> , 25; Shaw, <i>Hatnub</i> , 147 [15].
2-017M	<i>Iḥ3-nḥt (Father? of Nḥt, 2-018M)</i>	<i>sš ʿrryt, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b (n) Šḥm.t, qni, ḥmwwt n wnw</i> ; scribe of the ʿrryt, pure one of Sekhmet, brave one, one who is skilled in his profession.	Hatnub, Gr. 15	Nomarch <i>Nḥr.i</i> I, year 4	Hatnub Gr. 15; Anthes, <i>Felseninschriften</i> , 34, pl. 19; Shaw, <i>Hatnub</i> , 147 [15].
2-018M	<i>Nḥt (Son? of Iḥ3-nḥt, 2-017M)</i>	<i>sš ʿrryt, w<sup>ḥ</sup>b Šḥm.t</i> ; scribe of the ʿrryt, pure one of Sekhmet.	Hatnub, Gr. 21	Nomarch <i>Nḥr.i</i> I	Hatnub Gr. 21; Anthes, <i>Felseninschriften</i> , 47, pl. 20; Shaw, <i>Hatnub</i> , 150 [21].

## APPENDIX C

### MIDDLE KINGDOM

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
3-001M	<i>Nṯr-ḥb</i>	<i>wʿb</i> ; pure one.	Abydos	11th Dynasty	Petrie, <i>Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos</i> , pl. 22.
3-002F	<i>Di.s</i>	<i>wʿb</i> ; pure one.	Abydos	11th Dynasty	Petrie, <i>Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos</i> , pl. 25 [5], bottom.
3-003I	<i>[...]ḥw-i3m</i>	<i>wʿb</i> ; pure one.	Abydos	11th Dynasty	Petrie, <i>Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos</i> , pl. 25 [5], no.15.
3-004M	<i>H3w</i>	<i>wʿb</i> ; pure one.	Buhen: Gebel Turob	11th-13th Dynasty	Smith, "The Rock Inscriptions of Buhen," 50 [28], fig. 9 [28].
3-005M	<i>Snb.tyfy</i>	<i>wʿb, ibḥw</i> ; pure one, libationer.	Provenance Unknown	Dynasties 11-13	Fraser, <i>Catalogue</i> , 12 [92]; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 123 [1597], pl. 1 [1]; Müller, <i>Skarabäen-Sammlung des Freiherrn von Bissing</i> , no. 531; Newberry, <i>Scarabs</i> , 136 [3], pl. XIV [3].
3-006M	<i>H3.ii</i>	<i>wʿb</i> ; pure one.	Mariya: rock surface C, facing west	Early 12th Dynasty	Zaba, <i>The Rock Inscriptions of Lower Nubia</i> , 179-180 [175].
3-007M	<i>Iʿḥ-ms</i>	<i>wʿb, wʿb Ḥns.w</i> ; pure one, pure one of Khonsu.	Provenance Unknown	12th Dynasty	Gayet, <i>Musée du Louvre</i> , pl. 26.
3-008M	<i>Iʿḥ-ms</i>	<i>wʿb</i> ; pure one.	Provenance Unknown	12th Dynasty	Gayet, <i>Musée du Louvre</i> , pl. 26.
3-009M	<i>Iʿḥ-ms</i>	<i>wʿb, mʿ3 ḥrw, nb [im3ḥw]</i> ; pure one, true of voice, possessor [of	Provenance Unknown	12th Dynasty	Gayet, <i>Musée du Louvre</i> , pl. 26.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		reverence].			
3-010M	<i>Imn.ii</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Saqqara	12th Dynasty	JE 51733; Vernus, "Deux Inscriptions de la XIIe Dynastie," pl. 14.
3-011M	<i>Imn.ii</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Saqqara	12th Dynasty	JE 51733; Vernus, "Deux Inscriptions de la XIIe Dynastie," pl. 14.
3-012M	<i>Imn-m-h3.t</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44 [no. 55].
3-013M	<i>Id</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Edfu	12th Dynasty	CG 23015; Kamal, <i>Tables d'Offrandes</i> , 14.
3-014M	<i>Bb.i</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44 [56]. Cf. Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 78 [938].
3-015M	<i>Mnt.w-[...]</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44 [60]. Cf. Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 79 [953].
3-016M	<i>Mnt.w-htp.w</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 77 [924f]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44 [57].
3-017M	<i>Mnt.w-htp.w</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 78 [935]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44 [58].
3-018M	<i>Mnt.w-htp.w</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 78 [936a]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44 [59].
3-	<i>Mnt.w-htp.w</i>	<i>wt, w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; embalmer, pure one.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und</i>

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
019M					<i>andere Graffiti</i> , 79 [951]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 45 [79].
3- 020M	<i>Mrii-r<sup>s</sup></i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Saqqara	12th Dynasty	JE 51733; Vernus, "Deux Inscriptions de la XIIe Dynastie," pl. 14.
3- 021M	<i>Nb-[<sup>s</sup>3]</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 81 [969a]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44 [61].
3- 022M	<i>Nb.w</i>	<i>hry-hbt</i> , <i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; lector priest, pure one.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 77 [925]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44 [68].
3- 023M	<i>Nb-k3.w-r<sup>s</sup></i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Saqqara	12th Dynasty	JE 51733; Vernus, "Deux Inscriptions de la XIIe Dynastie," pl. 14.
3- 024M	<i><sup>s</sup>n.ti-m-s3.f</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Saqqara	12th Dynasty	JE 51733; Vernus, "Deux Inscriptions de la XIIe Dynastie," pl. 14.
3- 025M	<i>Nfr-k3-r<sup>s</sup></i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Saqqara	12th Dynasty	JE 51733; Vernus, "Deux Inscriptions de la XIIe Dynastie," pl. 14.
3- 026M	<i>Nfr-k3-r<sup>s</sup>-nb- niwt(.i)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Saqqara	12th Dynasty	JE 51733; Vernus, "Deux Inscriptions de la XIIe Dynastie," pl. 14.
3- 027M	<i>Sbk-nht</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> , <i>sš</i> ; pure one, scribe.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 82 [982a]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44 [69].

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
3-028M	<i>Snb</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 78 [937a]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44 [63].
3-029M	<i>Snb.w</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 82 [983]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44 [64].
3-030I	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> , <i>imy-st-<sup>s</sup> Imn m m<sup>s</sup>3 hrw</i> ; pure one, helper of Amun in true voice.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44 [65]. Cf. Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 79 [945].
3-031I	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> , <i>hry-hbt n [...]</i> ; pure one, lector priest of [...].	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 80 [964]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44 [67].
3-032I	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 45 [70]. Cf. Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 78 [928a-b].
3-033M	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Saqqara	12th Dynasty	JE 51733; Vernus, "Deux Inscriptions de la XIIe Dynastie," pl. 14.
3-034M	<i>Mmi</i>	<i>im3hy</i> , <i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; revered one, pure one.	Provenance Unknown	12th Dynasty?	FM 31649; Allen, <i>Field Museum</i> , 16-17.
3-035M	<i>Bs-n-iwy</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Thebes	12th Dynasty, reign of Mentuhotep III or later	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 79 [944]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 43 [38].
3-036M	<i>Mrii-snb</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Thebes	12th Dynasty, reign of Mentuhotep III or later	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 82 [984]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 42 [23].

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
3-037M	<i>Mrii-snb</i> (Father of Unknown, 3-167I)	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Thebes	12th Dynasty, reign of Mentuhotep III or later	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 42 [24].
3-038M	<i>S-n-wsr.t</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	El-Lisht: Found in debris outside brick enclosure wall pyramid of Senusret I, near North Court entrance	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret II-Amenemhat IV	MMA 32.1.148; Hayes, <i>Scepter of Egypt</i> I, 191 (there called "Kuy-nofre-wah, chief <i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> and <i>stm</i> priest of Senwosret"); Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 97 [1251], pl. 32 [32].
3-039M	<i>Kw</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> , <i>s(t)m</i> , <i>m<sup>6</sup>3 hrw</i> ; pure one, <i>s(t)m</i> -priest (chief celebrant in the rite of opening the mouth), true of voice.	El-Lisht: Found in debris outside brick enclosure wall pyramid of Senusret I, near North Court entrance	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret II-Amenemhat IV	JdE 58839; Hayes, <i>Scepter of Egypt</i> I, 191; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 129 [1690a], pl. 42 [32]; Ranke, <i>Personennamen</i> I, 343 [24].
3-040M	<i>Wp-w3.wt-htp(.w)</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Wah Sut	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III	Wegner, "Excavations at the Town of Enduring-are-the-Places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abydos," 37 [16], pl. 18 [8].
3-041M	<i>Gb.w</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Sinai: Serabit el-Khadim	12th Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat III, year 6	Gardiner et al., <i>Inscriptions of Sinai</i> , no. 90.
3-042M	<i>Hnm.w-htp(.w)</i>	<i>im3hy hr Nbt-Hwt</i> , <i>m<sup>6</sup>3 hrw</i> , <i>im3hy hr Psdt 3t</i> , <i>im3hy hr Srqt</i> , <i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> , <i>im3hy hr 3st</i> , <i>im3hy hr Psdt</i>	Meir: Between Deirout to the north and Deir	Late 12th Dynasty?	Gillam no. 419; Kamal, "la Zone Comprise entre Déirout au Nord et Déir-el-Ganadlah, au Sud," 106-

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		<i>wrt, im3hy hr Nt, im3hy hr Imsti, im3hy hr Šw, im3hy hr Tfnwt, im3hy hr Dw3[mw]t.f, im3hy hr H<sup>ꜥ</sup>py, im3hy hr Gb, im3hy hr Nwt, im3hy hr Qbhsnw.f</i> ; revered with Nephtys, true of voice, revered with the Great Ennead, revered with Serket, pure one, revered with Isis, revered with the Great Ennead, revered with Neith, revered with Imseti, revered with Shu, revered with Tefnut, revered with Duamutef, revered with Hapy, revered with Geb, revered with Nut, revered with Qebhsenuf.	el-Ganadlah to the south		107.
3-043M	<i>[S]nb</i>	<i>s3.f, mr.f, w<sup>ꜥ</sup>b</i> ; his son, his beloved, pure one.	Provenance Unknown	12th dynasty or later	Pushkin Museum no. 5575; Vandier, "Le Groupe de Mémi," 103.
3-044M	<i>[Iw].f-n.i</i>	<i>[w<sup>ꜥ</sup>b], <sup>ꜥ</sup>q n Nhbt, nb im3h</i> ; [pure one], enterer of Nekhbet, possessor of reverence.	Tell el-Duweir (Lachish): Tomb 129	12th to 13th Dynasty	Palestine Archaeological Museum 33.1954; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 11 [63], pl. 23 [32]; PM VII, 372; Ranke, <i>Personennamen</i> I, 14 [7]; Rowe, <i>Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs</i> , 14-15, pl. II [50]; Tufnell, <i>Lachish</i> IV, 95, pls. 30 [37], 31 [37].
3-045M	<i>Iwii</i>	<i>w<sup>ꜥ</sup>b, m<sup>ꜥ</sup>3 hrw</i> ; pure one, true-of-voice.	Abydos: North Offering	12th to 13th Dynasty	ANOC no. 60.2; Simpson, <i>The Terrace of the Great God at</i>



No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
			Chapel, 60.2		<i>Abydos</i> , 21, pl. 42.
3-046M	<i>Ib.w</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Provenance Unknown	12th to 13th Dynasty	BM 253 [363]; BM, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts</i> III, 7.
3-047M	<i>Im3.w</i>	<i>sn.f, w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; his brother, pure one.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	12th to 13th Dynasty	CG 23045f; Kamal, <i>Tables d'Offrandes</i> , 39-41.
3-048M	<i>Imn.ii-snb-nb-k3.w-m-ḥ3.t</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Provenance Unknown	12th to 13th Dynasty	Louvre (unnumbered); Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 23 [223b], pl. 17 [21]; Petrie, <i>Historical Scarabs</i> , no. 222.
3-049M	<i>Imn-ḥtp(.w)</i>	<i>sn.f, w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; his brother, pure one.	Abydos: Provenance unknown, possibly Tomb 303 or 305	12th to 13th Dynasty	University of Liverpool, E. 30; Kitchen, "An Unusual Stela," 15, fig. 2, pl. 3.
3-050M	<i>In-it.f</i>	<i>sn.f, w<sup>6</sup>b, m<sup>6</sup>3 ḥrw</i> ; his brother, pure one, true-of-voice.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	12th to 13th Dynasty	CG 23045e; Kamal, <i>Tables d'Offrandes</i> , 39-41.
3-051M	<i>ḥnh-s-n-wsr.t</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Abydos?	12th to 13th Dynasty	BM 247 [220]; BM, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts</i> IV, 43.
3-052M	<i>W3ḥ-k3</i>	<i>sn.f, w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; his brother, pure one.	Provenance Unknown	12th to 13th Dynasty	BM 253 [363]; BM, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts</i> III, 7.
3-053M	<i>Wnm.w</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Abydos: Provenance unknown, possibly Tomb 303 or 305	12th to 13th Dynasty	University of Liverpool, E. 30; Kitchen, "An Unusual Stela," 15, fig. 2, pl. 3.
3-	<i>Wnm.w</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Abydos:	12th to 13th	University of Liverpool, E. 30;

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
054M			Provenance unknown, possibly Tomb 303 or 305	Dynasty	Kitchen, "An Unusual Stela," 15, fig. 2, pl. 3.
3-055M	<i>Whm.i</i>	<i>sn.f, w<sup>b</sup></i> ; his brother, pure one.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	12th to 13th Dynasty	CG 23045e; Kamal, <i>Tables d'Offrandes</i> , 39-41.
3-056M	<i>Mmi</i>	<i>sn.f, w<sup>b</sup></i> ; his brother, pure one.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	12th to 13th Dynasty	CG 23045p; Kamal, <i>Tables d'Offrandes</i> , 39-41.
3-057M	<i>Mnt.w-m.f</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Abydos: North Offering Chapel, 60.2	12th to 13th Dynasty	ANOC no. 60.2; Simpson, <i>The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos</i> , 21, pl. 42.
3-058M	<i>Rdi.s</i>	<i>sn.f, w<sup>b</sup></i> ; his brother, pure one.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	12th to 13th Dynasty	CG 23045p; Kamal, <i>Tables d'Offrandes</i> , 39-41.
3-059M	<i>Rdi.s</i> <sup>3</sup>	<i>sn.f, w<sup>b</sup></i> ; his brother, pure one.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	12th to 13th Dynasty	CG 23045d; Kamal, <i>Tables d'Offrandes</i> , 39-41.
3-060M	<i>Hnm.w-ḥtp(.w)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>, ḥq ḥr sšm n Stt</i> ; pure one, enterer leading Satis.	Provenance Unknown	12th to 13th Dynasty	Chicago Or. Inst. 18566; Allen, <i>Art Institute of Chicago</i> , 143-144; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 97 [1239], pl. 19 [5]; Pier, "Typical Middle Kingdom Scarabs," 41 [8].
3-061M	<i>S3-in-ḥr.t</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Abydos: Provenance unknown, possibly Tomb	12th to 13th Dynasty	University of Liverpool, E. 30; Kitchen, "An Unusual Stela," 11, fig. 1, pl. 2.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
			303 or 305		
3-062M	<i>S3-in-hr.t</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Abydos: Provenance unknown, possibly Tomb 303 or 305	12th to 13th Dynasty	University of Liverpool, E. 30; Kitchen, "An Unusual Stela," 15, fig. 2, pl. 3.
3-063M	<i>Šd.ii</i>	<i>sn.f, w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; his brother, pure one.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	12th to 13th Dynasty	CG 23045d; Kamal, <i>Tables d'Offrandes</i> , 39-41.
3-064M	<i>Dd.w</i>	<i>sn.f, w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; his brother, pure one.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	12th to 13th Dynasty	CG 23045e; Kamal, <i>Tables d'Offrandes</i> , 39-41.
3-065M	<i>Whm.w-snb-si</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b, ʿq n wrš(?)</i> , <i>mr</i> ; pure one, enterer of the <i>wrš(?)</i> , beloved.	Provenance Unknown	Late 12th-Early 13th Dynasty	Michaelides Collection; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 38 [425a].
3-066M	<i>H<sup>6</sup>-hpr-r<sup>6</sup>-snb(.w)</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Abydos?	Late 12th-Mid-13th Dynasty	Hermitage Inv. No. 1077; Bolshakov and Quirke, <i>The Middle Kingdom Stelae in the Hermitage III</i> , 73-78; Lieblein, <i>Denkmäler</i> , 21-22, Taf. 21-13, Kat. Nr. 32; Golénischeff, <i>Ermitage Impérial</i> , 158 [1077]; Lieblein, <i>Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch: Supplement</i> , Nr. 1637; Струве, Этюды, 273, 295, no. 7; Берлев, "стел Среднего царства," 69.
3-067M	<i>Sbk-htp-nht</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b [...]</i> ; pure one [...].	El-Lisht: Pyramid	12th to 18th Dynasty	MMA 09.180.1217; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and</i>

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
			Cemetery of Amenemhat I		<i>private-name seals</i> , 112 [1440], pl. 32 [25]; Ranke, <i>Personennamen</i> I, 305 [9].
3-068M	<i>Imn-nḥt</i>	<i>wʿb</i> ; pure one.	Abydos	13th Dynasty	Maspero, "Monuments égyptiens," 116.
3-069M	<i>In-it.f</i>	<i>wʿb, mʿ3 ḥrw</i> ; pure one, true-of-voice.	Abydos	13th Dynasty	Maspero, "Monuments égyptiens," 116.
3-070M	<i>Mntw-ʿ3.f</i>	<i>wʿb</i> ; pure one.	Abydos	13th Dynasty	Maspero, "Monuments égyptiens," 116.
3-071M	<i>P3-ḥrwi</i>	<i>iry-pʿt, ḥ3ty-ʿ, m ḥnt s3 nswt, imy-r sš.w, wʿb</i> ; hereditary prince/nobleman, count, one who is in the presence of the king's son, overseer of scribes, pure one.	Athribis (near Benha).	13th Dynasty, reign of Sekhemkare or later	BM 277 [1346]; BM, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts</i> IV, 22.
3-072M	<i>Rn(.i)-snb(.w)</i>	<i>wʿb, ʿq n Sbk nb Swmnw, mʿ3 ḥrw</i> ; pure one, enterer of Sobek Lord of Swmnw (Mahamid), true of voice.	Provenance Unknown	13th to 17th Dynasty	MMA 10.130.276; Hayes, <i>Burial Chamber of the Treasurer Sobkmose from er Rizeikat</i> , 29, n. 4; Mace, "Murch Collection," 12; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 68 [830], pl. 18 [10].
3-073M	<i>Ii-mr</i>	<i>wʿb</i> ; pure one.	Abydos	Middle Kingdom	Bolton 10.20/12; Donohue, <i>Bolton</i> , 19.
3-074F	<i>I-ʿnh(w)</i>	<i>wʿb</i> ; pure one.	Abydos: Middle Cemetery, eastern slope	Middle Kingdom	CG 20030i, Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine</i> I, 38-40 [I3-4].
3-075M	<i>Iw.f</i>	<i>wʿb, ḥry-ḥbt</i> ; pure one, lector priest.	Edfu	Middle Kingdom	Engelbach, "Steles," 118.
3-	<i>Iw-mnh</i>	<i>sš, wʿb</i> ; scribe, pure one.	Semna: on E.	Middle	Dunham and Janssen, <i>Second</i>

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
076M			face near top of a small rocky hill a little NE. of Cemetery S. 800	Kingdom	<i>Cataract Forts I</i> , 133 [RIS 13b].
3-077M	<i>Imn.ii</i> (Brother of <i>S3-Mnt.w</i> , 3-115M)	<i>sn.f, w<sup>s</sup>b, m<sup>s</sup>3 hrw</i> ; his brother, pure one, true of voice.	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom	Boeser, <i>Leiden II</i> , 13 [51], pl. 39.
3-078M	<i>In</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Buhen: Hill A, southern, external side of fallen boulder	Middle Kingdom	Smith, "The Rock Inscriptions of Buhen," 45 [5].
3-079M	<i>Ir</i> (Father of <i>Hr-bhd.ti-msi.w</i> , 3-101M; grandfather of <i>Hr-htp(.w)</i> , 3-098M)	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Edfu	Middle Kingdom	Entry No. 46.786; Engelbach, "Report," 65-66; Engelbach, "Steles," 129.
3-080M	<i>Ir(w)-ns</i> (Brother of <i>Mnt.w-m-š</i> , 3-090M; brother of <i>Mnt.w-htp.w</i> , 3-091M)	<i>s3.f, w<sup>s</sup>b, m<sup>s</sup>3 hrw</i> ; his son, pure one, true of voice.	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom	Boeser, <i>Leiden II</i> , 13 [51], pl. 39.
3-081M	<i>Itf</i>	<i>hry-hbt, w<sup>s</sup>b</i> ; lector priest, pure one.	Dahshur: Valley Temple of Sneferu, court	Middle Kingdom	Fakhry, <i>Monuments of Sneferu II</i> , 53-55 [6], fig. 353.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
3-082M	<i>Itf</i>	<i>wʿb</i> [?]; pure one [?].	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom	Stuttgart no. 12; Spiegelberg and Pörtner, <i>Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine</i> I, 9 [12].
3-083M	<i>Id</i>	<i>wʿb</i> ; pure one.	Abydos	Middle Kingdom	Bolton 10.20/11; Donohue, <i>Bolton</i> , 18.
3-084M	<i>Wnis-r-gs-ptḥ</i> (Grandfather of <i>Wnis</i> , 3-085M)	<i>wʿb</i> ; pure one.	Saqqara	Middle Kingdom	Moussa, "A Stela from Saqqara," 82, pl. 14.
3-085M	<i>Wnis</i> (Grandson of <i>Wnis-r-gs-ptḥ</i> , 3-084M)	<i>wʿb</i> ; pure one.	Saqqara	Middle Kingdom	Moussa, "A Stela from Saqqara," 82, pl. 14.
3-086M	<i>Wsr[...]</i>	<i>wʿb</i> ; pure one.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</i> , 238-239 [UC 32137C].
3-087M	<i>Bb.i</i>	<i>im3ḥw</i> , <i>wʿb</i> , <i>mʿ3 ḥrw</i> ; revered one, pure one, true of voice.	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom	Ledrain, <i>Bibliothèque Nationale</i> , pl. 9.
3-088M	<i>Ppi-snb(.w)</i>	<i>s3.f</i> , <i>mry.f</i> , <i>wʿb</i> , <i>ḥm-k3</i> ; his son, his beloved, pure one, <i>k3</i> -servant.	Edfu: Tomb of Isi	Middle Kingdom	Alliot, "Un nouvel exemple," 96.
3-089M	<i>Mn.w-snfrw</i> (Father of <i>S3-ḥwt-ḥr</i> , 3-116M)	<i>wʿb</i> , <i>mʿ3 ḥrw</i> ; pure one, true-of-voice.	Dahshur: Valley Temple of Sneferu, open court	Middle Kingdom	Fakhry, <i>Monuments of Sneferu II</i> , 17-18 [3], fig. 292-293.
3-090M	<i>Mnt̄.w-m-š</i> (Brother of <i>Ir(w)-ns</i> , 3-080M; brother of <i>Mnt̄.w-ḥtp.w</i> , 3-091M)	<i>s3.f</i> , <i>mry.f</i> , <i>wʿb</i> ; his son, his beloved, pure one.	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom	Boeser, <i>Leiden II</i> , 13 [51], pl. 39.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
3-091M	<i>Mnt.w-htp.w</i> (Brother of <i>Ir(w)-ns</i> , 3-080M; brother of <i>Mnt.w-m-š</i> , 3-090M)	<i>s3.f, mry.f, w<sup>b</sup></i> ; his son, his beloved, pure one.	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom	Boeser, <i>Leiden</i> II, 13 [51], pl. 39.
3-092I	<i>Nb.i</i>	<i>s3t.f, w<sup>b</sup></i> ; his daughter, pure one. *Inscribed under man.	Edfu	Middle Kingdom	CG 20623c; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine</i> II, 262-263; Engelbach, "Steles," 130.
3-093M	<i>N-rh.tw.f</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	Middle Kingdom	CG 20092f, Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine</i> I, 112-113 [F2].
3-094M	<i>Nh[.ii]-n.i</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</i> , 48-49 [UC 32121 (VI.17)].
3-095M	<i>Nhh</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Abydos	Middle Kingdom	Bolton 10.20/11; Donohue, <i>Bolton</i> , 18.
3-096M	<i>Nh.ti</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Beni Hassan: Tomb no. 90	Middle Kingdom	Garstang, <i>Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt</i> , pl. 7.
3-097M	<i>Nht</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</i> , 136-137 [UC 32281A].
3-098M	<i>R<sup>c</sup>-htp(.w)</i>	<i>hry-hbt, w<sup>b</sup></i> ; lector priest, pure one.	Dahshur: Valley Temple of Sneferu, court	Middle Kingdom	Fakhry, <i>Monuments of Sneferu</i> II, 53-55 [6], fig. 353.
3-099M	<i>Rn.f-rs(.w)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom	UC 14619; Page, <i>Egyptian Sculpture</i> , 40 [43]; Petrie, <i>Handbook</i> , 1915, 30 [423].
3-	<i>Rn(.i)-snb(w)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>, w<sup>b</sup> (n) Imn</i> ; pure one, pure	Abydos:	Middle	CG 20545g, Lange and Schäfer,

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
100M		one of Amun.	Northern Cemetery	Kingdom	<i>Grab- und Denksteine</i> II, 169-171.
3-101M	<i>Hr-bhd.ti-msi.w</i> (Son of Ir, 3-074M; father of <i>Hr-htp(.w)</i> , 3-098M)	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b, ʿq</i> ; pure one, enterer.	Edfu	Middle Kingdom	Entry No. 46.786; Engelbach, "Report," 65-66; Engelbach, "Steles," 132.
3-102M	<i>Hr-m-ḥ3.t</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Edfu	Middle Kingdom	Daressy, "Monuments d'Edfou," 52.
3-103M	<i>Hr-nḥt(.w)</i> (Father of <i>Hr-nḥt(.w)</i> , 3-104M)	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b, ʿq</i> ; pure one, enterer.	Edfu?	Middle Kingdom	CG 20499b; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine</i> II, 90-91 [B5-6]; Engelbach, "Steles," 133.
3-104M	<i>Hr-nḥt(.w)</i> (Son of <i>Hr-nḥt(.w)</i> , 3-103M)	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b, ʿq</i> ; pure one, enterer.	Edfu?	Middle Kingdom	CG 20499b; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine</i> II, 90-91 [B5]; Engelbach, "Steles," 133.
3-105M	<i>Hr-ḥr-ḥwi.t.f</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b, ʿq</i> ; pure one, enterer.	Edfu	Middle Kingdom	Entry No. 46.785; Engelbach, "Report," 66; Engelbach, "Steles," 133.
3-106M	<i>Hr-ḥr-htp.i</i>	<i>s3.f, w<sup>6</sup>b, ʿq</i> ; his son, pure one, enterer.	Edfu	Middle Kingdom	CG 20329c; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine</i> I, 342; Engelbach, "Steles," 133.
3-107M	<i>Hr-htp(.w)</i> (Son of <i>Hw.ii</i> , 3-111M)	<i>s3.f, w<sup>6</sup>b, ʿq, m<sup>6</sup>3 ḥrw, nb im3ḥw</i> ; his son, pure one, enterer, true-of-voice, possessor or reverence.	Edfu	Middle Kingdom	Entry No. 46.784; Engelbach, "Report," 64-65; Engelbach, "Steles," 133.
3-108M	<i>Hr-htp(.w)</i> (Son of <i>Hr-</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b</i> ; pure one.	Edfu	Middle Kingdom	Entry No. 46.786; Engelbach, "Report," 65-66; Engelbach,



No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
	<i>bḥd.ti-msi.w</i> , 3-101M; grandson of <i>Ir</i> , 3-079M)				"Steles," 133.
3-109M	<i>Hkk.w</i>	<i>imy[-st-]ᶜt</i> , <i>wᶜb</i> ; helper, pure one.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	Middle Kingdom	CG 20334e, Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 346-347 [E1].
3-110F	<i>Hkkw.ti</i>	<i>wᶜb</i> , <i>mᶜ3 ḥrw</i> ; pure one, true-of-voice.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Petrie, <i>Illahun, Kahun, and Ghurob</i> , 5, pl. 12.
3-111M	<i>Ḥw.ii</i> (Father of <i>Ḥr-ḥtp(.w)</i> , 3-107M)	<i>wᶜb</i> , <i>ᶜq</i> ; pure one, enterer.	Edfu	Middle Kingdom	Entry No. 46.784; Engelbach, "Report," 64-65; Engelbach, "Steles," 133.
3-112M	<i>Ḥntiw-k3</i>	<i>wᶜb</i> , <i>s3</i> ; pure one, son.	Dahshur: Valley Temple of Sneferu, court	Middle Kingdom	Fakhry, <i>Monuments of Sneferu II</i> , 53-55 [6], fig. 352.
3-113M	<i>Ḥnm.w-nḥt</i>	<i>wᶜb</i> ; pure one.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	Middle Kingdom	CG 20092f, Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 112-113 [F8].
3-114M	<i>S3-mnt.w</i> (Father of <i>Qm3.w.n.i</i> , 3-119M)	<i>wᶜb</i> , <i>ᶜq</i> , <i>wᶜb n nb Iwny.t</i> , <i>ibḥ n nswt</i> , <i>wᶜb bsi</i> ; pure one, enterer, pure one of the Lord of Esna, libationer of the king, pure one who is initiated.	Thebes	Middle Kingdom	CG 20712, Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine II</i> , 337-338.
3-115M	<i>S3-mnt.w</i> (Brother of <i>Imn.ii</i> , 3-077M)	<i>sn.f</i> , <i>wᶜb</i> , <i>mᶜ3 ḥrw</i> ; his brother, pure one, true of voice.	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom	Boeser, <i>Leiden II</i> , 13 [51], pl. 39.
3-	<i>S3-ḥwt-ḥr</i>	<i>wᶜb</i> , <i>im3ḥw</i> , <i>wᶜb ᶜ3</i> , <i>wᶜb [Snfrw]</i> ;	Dahshur: Valley	Middle	Fakhry, <i>Monuments of Sneferu II</i> ,

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
116M	(Son of <i>Mn.w-snfrw</i> , 3-089M)	pure one, revered one, great pure one, pure one [of Sneferu].	Temple of Sneferu, open court	Kingdom	17-18 [3], figs. 291-293.
3-117M	<i>Sbk-[...]</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</i> , 238-239 [UC 32137C].
3-118M	<i>Snfrw-<sup>c</sup>nh</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Dahshur: Valley Temple of Sneferu, court	Middle Kingdom	Fakhry, <i>Monuments of Sneferu II</i> , 53-55 [6], fig. 352.
3-119M	<i>Qm3.w.n.i</i> (Son of <i>S3-mnt.w</i> , 3-114M)	<i>s3.f, w<sup>b</sup></i> ; his son, pure one.	Thebes	Middle Kingdom	CG 20712b, Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine II</i> , 337-338.
3-120M	<i>Dd(.w)-Hns.w</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom	Pörtner, <i>Athens</i> , 2 [4], pl. 2 [4].
3-121I	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Kumma: corner of fort.	Middle Kingdom	Dunham and Janssen, <i>Second Cataract Forts I</i> , 169 [RIK 128].
3-122M	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup>, imy-hnt</i> ; pure one, one who is in the forecourt.	Meir: Tomb Chapel B, no. 4	Middle Kingdom	Blackman, <i>Meir III</i> , pl. 14.
3-123M	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup>, imy-hnt</i> ; pure one, one who is in the forecourt.	Meir: Tomb Chapel B, no. 4	Middle Kingdom	Blackman, <i>Meir III</i> , pl. 14.
3-124M	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup>, imy-hnt</i> ; pure one, one who is in the forecourt.	Meir: Tomb Chapel B, no. 4	Middle Kingdom	Blackman, <i>Meir III</i> , pl. 14.
3-125M	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup></i> ; pure one.	Meir: Tomb Chapel B, no. 4	Middle Kingdom	Blackman, <i>Meir III</i> , pl. 17.
3-126M	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup>.w</i> ; pure ones. [44 men]	Bersheh: Tomb no. 2	Middle Kingdom	Newberry, <i>Bersheh I</i> , pl. 15.
3-127M	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup>.w</i> ; pure ones. [1 man, thought to represent multiple].	Bersheh: Tomb no. 5, inner	Middle Kingdom	Newberry, <i>Bersheh II</i> , pl. 17.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
			chamber, front wall, right side		
3-128I	Unknown	w <sup>6</sup> b; pure one.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</i> , 90-91 [UC 32173 (XXXVI.1)]; Griffith, <i>Hieratic Papyri I</i> , 42, II, pl. 15 (verso).
3-129I	Unknown	w <sup>6</sup> b; pure one.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</i> , 218-219 [UC 32114E vso].
3-130I	Unknown	w <sup>6</sup> b; pure one.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</i> , 296-297 [UC 32305 (lot XLIX fragments)].
3-131M	R-3w	w <sup>6</sup> b; pure one.	Provenance Unknown	Late Middle Kingdom	UC 14349; Page, <i>Egyptian Sculpture</i> , 42-43 [45]; Petrie, <i>Handbook</i> , 1915, 30 [418].
3-132M	D <sub>h</sub> w <sub>t</sub> i	s3.f, w <sup>6</sup> b; his son, pure one.	Thebes	Late Middle Kingdom	CG 976; Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 12.
3-133F	W <sup>6</sup> r.t	snt.f n mwt.f, w <sup>6</sup> bt; his sister of his mother, pure one.	Thebes	13th Dynasty	CG 887; Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 137-139.
3-134F	6nh.t	w <sup>6</sup> bt, m <sup>6</sup> 3 hrw; pure one, true of voice.	Edfu	Middle Kingdom	Alliot, "Rapport," 34 [17].
3-135M	Iw-snb	w <sup>6</sup> b nswt; royal pure one.	Lahun	11th Dynasty or later	UC 11358; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 12 [76], pl. 15 [27]; Newberry, <i>Scarabs</i> , 141, pl. XVI [I]; Petrie, <i>Buttons and Design Scarabs</i> , pl. XXIV [12.Wa].
3-	Snb.f	w <sup>6</sup> b nswt; royal pure one.	Qift/Koptos	11th Dynasty	UC 26118; Martin, <i>Egyptian</i>

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
136M				or later	<i>administrative and private-name seals</i> , 121 [1569], pl. 15 [5]; Petrie, <i>Koptos</i> , 24, pl. 24 [5].
3-137I	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Lahun	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III	Borchardt, "Der zweite Papyrusfund," 94.
3-138M	<i>In-it.f</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Lahun	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III	P. 10.406a-h, m-o; Lüddeckens, <i>Ägyptische Handschriften I</i> , 237 [603].
3-139M	<i>It</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Lahun	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III	P. 10.201a; Lüddeckens, <i>Ägyptische Handschriften I</i> , 103 [239].
3-140F	<i>Nfr.t</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Lahun	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III	P. 10.237a+b; Lüddeckens, <i>Ägyptische Handschriften I</i> , 129 [305].
3-141F	<i>Sn[.t]</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Lahun	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III	P. 10.094; Lüddeckens, <i>Ägyptische Handschriften I</i> , 44 [80].
3-142I	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Lahun	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III to	P. 10.209b; Lüddeckens, <i>Ägyptische Handschriften I</i> , 109 [252].

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
				Amenemhat III	
3-143I	Unknown	<i>w<sup>ʿ</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Lahun	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III	P. 10.214; Lüddeckens, <i>Ägyptische Handschriften</i> I, 112 [260].
3-144M	<i>It</i>	<i>w<sup>ʿ</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</i> , 250-251 [UC 32143B].
3-145M	<i>Mikt</i>	<i>w<sup>ʿ</sup>b nswt, wty</i> ; royal pure one, embalmer.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</i> , 258-259 [UC 32147G].
3-146M	<i>Mikt</i>	<i>w<sup>ʿ</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</i> , 100-101 [UC 32194 (LV.8)]; Griffith, <i>Hieratic Papyri</i> I, 63-64, II, pl. 26.
3-147M	<i>S3-spd.w-y-n-ḥb</i>	<i>w<sup>ʿ</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Abydos	Middle Kingdom	Pennsylvania University Museum E 16012; Miller, "A Family Stela," pl. 1.
3-148M	<i>Sb.s</i>	<i>w<sup>ʿ</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Abydos: Middle Cemetery, North Slope	Middle Kingdom	CG 20520h, Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine</i> II, 116-122 [H5].
3-149M	<i>S-n-wsr.t</i>	<i>w<sup>ʿ</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</i> , 250-251 [UC 32143B].
3-150M	<i>Snb</i>	<i>w<sup>ʿ</sup>b nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom	Austrian Imperial Family Collection Stele Nr. 91; Bergmann, "Inscriptliche Denkmäler," 61 [5].

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
3-151F	<i>Sn.t</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</i> , 250-251 [UC 32143B].
3-152I	[...]. <i>f</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; royal pure one.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</i> , 100-101 [UC 32194 (LV.8)]; Griffith, <i>Hieratic Papyri</i> I, 63-64, II, pl. 26.
3-153I	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; pure one of the king.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</i> , 218-219 [UC 32114E vso].
3-154I	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nswt</i> ; pure one of the king.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</i> , 262-263 [UC 32149E]; Collier and Quirke, <i>The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical, and Medical</i> , 14-15.
3-155M	<i>Hwi</i> [...]	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n ḥq3</i> ; pure one of the ruler.	Provenance unknown	12th Dynasty or later	Fitzwilliam E.Sc.200; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 93 [1189], pl. 19 [16]; Fitzwilliam Museum, <i>Catalogue</i> , no. 159.
3-156M	<i>Iibb</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> Nb-hpt-r<sup>ḥ</sup></i> ; pure one of Nebhepetre.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 77 [924b]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 40 [6].
3-157M	<i>Iibb</i> (Son of <i>Intf.w</i> , 3-159I)	<i>s3</i> , <i>w<sup>b</sup> Nb-hpt-r<sup>ḥ</sup></i> ; son, pure one of Nebhepetre.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 77 [924c, e]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 40 [7].
3-158M	<i>Iwii-n-p[š?]</i> (Father of In[-	<i>w<sup>b</sup> Nb-hpt-r<sup>ḥ</sup></i> ; pure one of Nebhepetre.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 80 [967]; Winlock,

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
	it].f, 3-232M; grandfather of <i>R[n].f-snb(.w)</i> , 3-236M)				<i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 41 [12].
3- 159M	<i>Intf.w</i> (Father of <i>Iibb</i> , 3-157M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup>Nb-hpt-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; pure one of Nebhepetre.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 77 [924c, e]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 40 [7].
3- 160M	<i>ʿ3m</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>n Nb-hpt-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; pure one of Nebhepetre.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 78 [931]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 41 [8].
3- 161M	<i>Šd-ptḥ</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>n Nb-hpt-r<sup>s</sup> m3<sup>s</sup> ḥrw</i> ; pure one of Nebhepetre, true of voice.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 78 [934]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 41 [9].
3- 162M	<i>Mrii-snb[...]</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>Nb-hpt[-r<sup>s</sup>]</i> ; pure one of Nebhepetre.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 81 [969b]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 41 [10].
3- 163M	<i>Nf-iw</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>Nb-hpt-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; pure one of Nebhepetre.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 78-79 [930b, 941b, 946b]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 41 [11].
3- 164M	<i>Šw-imn[...]</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>Nb-hpt-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; pure one of Nebhepetre.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 41 [14].
3- 165I	<i>[...]mn</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>(?) Nb-hpt-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; pure one of Nebhepetre.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 41 [13]. Cf. Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 77 [922].
3- 166I	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup>Nb-hpt-r<sup>s</sup></i> ; pure one of Nebhepetre.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 79 [949]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 41 [22].

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
3-167I	Unknown (Born of <i>Mrii-snb</i> , 3-037M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> Nb-hpt-r<sup>ε</sup></i> ; pure one of Nebhepetre.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 42 [24].
3-168I	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Nb-hpt[-r<sup>ε</sup>]</i> ; pure one of Nebhepetre.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 42 [33].
3-169M	<i>Ni-sw</i>	<i>imy-st-ε</i> , <i>w<sup>b</sup> Mnt.w n 3h-swt-Imn</i> ; helper/functionary, pure one of Montu, of (the pyramid) 'Glorious-are-the-Places-of-Amun.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 40 (2, and cf. 3-4). Cf. Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 79 [948].
3-170M	<i>Imn.ii</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> S<sup>ε</sup>nh-k3[-r<sup>ε</sup>]</i> ; pure one of Sankhkare.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 43 [36]. Cf. Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 78 [932].
3-171M	<i>Rn(.i)-snb(w)</i>	<i>[w<sup>b</sup>?] S<sup>ε</sup>nh-k3[-r<sup>ε</sup>]</i> ; pure one of Sankhkare.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 79 [944]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 43 [38].
3-172M	<i>S3-sn-wsr.t</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n S<sup>ε</sup>nh-k3-r<sup>ε</sup></i> , <i>w<sup>b</sup> Mnt.w-htp</i> ; pure one of Sankhkare, pure one of Mentuhotep [III].	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 77 [920b], 81 [975]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 42 [34].
3-173M	<i>S-n-wsr.t</i>	<i>w<sup>bb</sup> [sic] Mnt.w-htp [nswt-bity S<sup>ε</sup>nh-k3-r<sup>ε</sup> m<sup>ε</sup>3 hrw]</i> , <i>m<sup>ε</sup>3 hrw</i> ; pure one of Mentuhotep [Sankhkare], true of voice.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 43 [35].
3-174I	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup> S<sup>ε</sup>nh-k3-r<sup>ε</sup></i> , <i>hry-hbt</i> ; pure one of Sankhkare, lector priest.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 43 [43].
3-175I	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup> S<sup>ε</sup>nh-k3-r<sup>ε</sup></i> ; pure one of Sankhkare.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 43 [44].
3-176I	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup> S<sup>ε</sup>nh-k3[-r<sup>ε</sup>]</i> ; pure one of Sankhkare.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 43 [45]. Cf. Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische</i>



No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
					<i>und andere Graffiti</i> , 81 [972].
3-177I	Unknown	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b S<sup>6</sup>nh-k3-r<sup>6</sup></i> ; pure one of Sankhkare.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 78 [928g]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 43 [46].
3-178M	<i>Imn.ii</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>bb [sic] sh S<sup>6</sup>nh-k3-r<sup>6</sup> m<sup>6</sup>3 hrw</i> ; pure one of the booth of Sankhkare (Mentuhotep III) true of voice.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 43 [37].
3-179M	<i>Gb.w</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b n Sh<sup>6</sup>tp-ib-r<sup>6</sup></i> ; pure one of Sehetepibre (Amenemhat I).	Provenance Unknown	12th Dynasty	Michaelides Collection; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 131 [1713]; Ranke, <i>Personennamen I</i> , 350 [16].
3-180M	<i>Gb.w</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b n Sh<sup>6</sup>tp-ib-r<sup>6</sup>, wh<sup>6</sup>m <sup>6</sup>nh</i> ; pure one of Sehetepibre (Amenemhat I), repeating life.	Provenance Unknown	Late 12th to early 13th Dynasty	MMA 30.8.648; Hayes, <i>Scepter of Egypt I</i> , 176; Mace, "A Group of Hitherto Unpublished Scarabs," 37, pl. VIII [17]; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 131 [1712], pl. 37 [25]; Ranke, <i>Personennamen I</i> , 350 [16].
3-181M	<i>Nhr.i</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b W3h-s(w)t-H<sup>6</sup>-k3.w-r<sup>6</sup>-m3<sup>6</sup>-hrw-m-3bdw</i> ; pure one of 'Enduring-are-the-Places-of-Khakaure, true of voice' in Abydos.	Wah Sut: Building A	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III	7598 (48-1-2); Wegner, "Excavations at the Town of Enduring-are-the-Places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abydos," 34, 38, fig. 17 [3].
3-182M	<i>S3-nr</i>	<i>sn.f, mry.f, n(y) st ib.f nswt, w<sup>6</sup>b m Sh<sup>6</sup>m-Imny, m<sup>6</sup>3 hrw, nb im3hw</i> ;	Provenance Unknown	12th Dynasty	BM 147 [839]; BM, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts II</i> , pl. 7.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		his brother, his beloved, belonging to his king's affection, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Mighty-is-Ameny', true of voice, possessor of reverence.			
3-183M	<i>Imn.ii</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3, ḥm k3, wḥm ʿnh, nb im3ḥ</i> ; great pure one, <i>k3</i> -servant, repeating life, possessor of reverence.	Memphis (Mit Rahina)	12th Dynasty or later	JdE 34083; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 21 [199], pl. 36 [33]; Newberry, <i>Scarab-Shaped Seals</i> , 14 [36052], pl. I.
3-184M	<i>Nn.i</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3, nfr</i> ; great pure one, recruit.	Provenance Unknown	15th Dynasty	Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 62 [751], pl. 41 [56]; Ranke, <i>Personennamen I</i> , 205 [9].
3-185M	<i>Iḥ3</i>	<i>im3ḥy, w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3, m<sup>ʿ3</sup> ḥrw, im3ḥy ḥr H<sup>ʿ</sup>py, im3ḥy ḥr Qbḥsnw.f, im3ḥy ḥr Imswt, im3ḥy ḥr Dw3mwt.f, im3ḥy ḥr Nbt-Ḥwt, im3ḥy ḥr 3st, nb im3ḥw</i> ; revered one, great pure one, true of voice, revered with Hapy, revered with Qebehsenuf, revered with Imseti, revered with Duamutef, revered with Nephtys, revered with Isis, possessor of reverence.	Bersheh	Middle Kingdom	CG 28090; Lacau, <i>Sarcophages</i> , 30-37.
3-186M	<i>Hnm.w-ʿ3</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3</i> ; great pure one.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	Middle Kingdom	CG 20092f; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 112-113 [F6].
3-187M	<i>Hnm.w-nḥt</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3</i> ; great pure one.	Abydos: Northern	Middle Kingdom	CG 20092f; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 112-113

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
			Cemetery		[F11].
3-188M	<i>Dd.w-sbk</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> (n) Inpw, m<sup>3</sup> hrw</i> ; pure one of Anubis, true of voice.	Abydos	12th Dynasty	Inv. Nr. 23/66; Kaiser, <i>Berlin Char.</i> , 42 [427], fig. 427.
3-189M	<i>Rn(.i)-snb(w)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> (n) Inpw</i> ; pure one of Anubis.	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom	CG 20289b; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 303-304 [B4].
3-190M	<i>Nh.i</i>	<i>s3b iry Nh<sup>n</sup>, w<sup>t</sup>ty pw m t3 pn, w<sup>b</sup> (n) Inpw, m<sup>3</sup> hrw</i> ; juridical official and mouth of Nekhen, sole one of this land, pure one of Anubis, true of voice.	Provenance Unknown	Late Middle Kingdom	UC 14418; Stewart, <i>Petrie Collection II</i> , 27 [113].
3-191M	<i>Wp-w3.wt-<sup>3</sup></i>	<i>iry p<sup>t</sup>, h3ty-<sup>3</sup>, htm(ty)-bity, smr w<sup>t</sup>ty, s(t)m, hrp šndyt nbt r pr Mn.w, hm-ntr M3<sup>3</sup>.t, sr i3t tsst, w<sup>b</sup> <sup>3</sup> n Wsir, imy-r sšrw m pr-wr, hnty swt m <sup>t</sup>, špss hry.s, m33 in nw n pr, im3hy, imy-r hm.w-ntr, nb im3hw</i> ; hereditary prince/nobleman, count, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, <i>s(t)m</i> -priest (chief celebrant in the rite of opening the mouth), director of every kilt in the temple of Min, god's servant of Maat, official who unties the knot, great pure one of Osiris, overseer of cloth/linen of the shrine of Upper Egypt, foremost of seat in the estate, respected/esteemed before it, one	Abydos	Middle Kingdom	Leiden V4; Boeser, <i>Leiden II</i> , 3 [5], pl. 4.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		who sees what is brought to the temple, provided one, overseer of the god's servants, possessor of reverence.			
3-192M	<i>Sn(.i)-pw</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> hm-ntr n Wsir, m<sup>ʿ</sup>3 hrw</i> ; pure one [and] god's servant of Osiris, true of voice.	Abydos: Middle Cemetery, eastern slope	Middle Kingdom	CG 20030b; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 38-40 [B1-2].
3-193M	<i>S-n-wsr.t</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Wsir</i> ; pure one of Osiris.	Abydos: Middle Cemetery, eastern slope	Middle Kingdom	CG 20030d; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 38-40 [D6].
3-194M	<i>Snb-tyfy</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Wsir</i> ; pure one of Osiris.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	Middle Kingdom	CG 20334e; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 346-347 [E3].
3-195M	<i>Sn(.i)-pw</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Wsir</i> ; pure one of Osiris.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	Middle Kingdom	CG 20334e; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 346-347 [E3].
3-196M	<i>Snb.i</i>	<i>im3hw, w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3 n Hwt-hr, shtp, s(t)m, mrrt sn[.f], hq3 hsy.f m<sup>ʿ</sup>3, imy-r h3tyw, m<sup>ʿ</sup>3 hrw</i> ; revered one, great pure one of Hathor, pacified, <i>s(t)m</i> -priest (chief celebrant in the rite of opening the mouth), one whom [his] brother loves, ruler whom he truly praises, overseer of the foremost ones, true of voice.	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom	CG 20780a; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine II</i> , 409 [A1-5].
3-197M	<i>Sbk-hr(.w)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3 n Hwt-hr nb[t] Tp-ihw hry-ib Hnmw-swt</i> ; great pure one of Hathor, Lady of Aphroditopolis	Provenance Unknown	12th Dynasty or later	Fraser, <i>Catalogue</i> , 14 [108]; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 88 [1125],

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		(Atfih), in the midst of 'Favorite-of-Places'.			pl. 19 [9]; Müller, <i>Skarabäen Sammlung des Freiherrn von Bissing</i> , no. 516; Newberry, <i>Scarabs</i> , 130, pl. XII [10]; Piehl, "Review," 60.
3-198M	<i>Rn(.i)-snb(w)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Hwt-ḥr nb[t] Iwn.t</i> ; pure one of Hathor, Lady of Dendera.	Provenance Unknown	11th Dynasty or later	BM 41564; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 68 [831], pl. 5 [16].
3-199M	<i>W3d-sinw</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Hwt-ḥr nb[t] Iwn.t</i> ; pure one of Hathor, Lady of Dendera.	Provenance Unknown	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III	Vernus, "Un Fragment du Moyen Empire," 256, fig. 2.
3-200M	<i>Nḥ.i</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Hwt-ḥr nb[t] Iwn.t, m<sup>ᜫ</sup> ḥrw</i> ; pure one of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, true of voice.	Abydos: Middle Cemetery, eastern slope	Middle Kingdom	CG 20030g; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 38-40 [G1-2].
3-201M	<i>S3-ḥi</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Hwt-ḥr nb[t] Iwn.t</i> ; pure one of Hathor, Lady of Dendera.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	Middle Kingdom	CG 20334e; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 346-347 [E4].
3-202M	<i>Snb[...]</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ᜫ n Hr Bḥd.tii</i> ; great pure one of Horus the Behedite.	Edfu: Tomb of Isi	Middle Kingdom	Alliot, "Un Nouvel Exemple," 108.
3-203M	<i>Hwi</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ᜫ n Hr Bḥd.t</i> ; pure one [and] enterer of Horus the Behedite.	Edfu: Tomb of Isi	13th Dynasty, reign of Sobekhotep IV	Alliot, "Un Nouvel Exemple," 108 [20]; Alliot, "Rapport," 33.
3-204M	<i>Hr-ᜫ</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Hr Bḥd.t, im3ḥw</i> ; pure one of Horus the Behedite, provided one.	Edfu: Tomb of Isi	Middle Kingdom	Alliot, "Un Nouvel Exemple," 107 [19]; Alliot, "Rapport," 33.
3-205M	<i>Snb-tyfy</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Hr, m<sup>ᜫ</sup> ḥrw</i> ; pure one of Horus, true of voice.	Provenance Unknown	13th Dynasty	BM 335 [210]; BM, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts V</i> , 14.
3-	<i>Pth-ḥtp(.w)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>t (n) Hr, m<sup>ᜫ</sup> ḥrw</i> ; pure one of	Edfu	Middle	Alliot, "Rapport," 30.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
206M		Horus, true of voice.		Kingdom	
3-207M	<i>S3-nb.t-iwn.t</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3 n Hns.w</i> ; great pure one of Khonsu.	Provenance Unknown	12th Dynasty or later	Baltimore 42.18; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 101 [1302], pl. 3 [9]; Ranke, <i>Personennamen I</i> , 282 [21].
3-208M	<i>Dd(.w)-nšm.t</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Hns.w, whm ʿnh</i> ; pure one of Khonsu, repeating life.	Provenance Unknown	12th Dynasty	UC 14457; Stewart, <i>Petrie Collection II</i> , 26 [109].
3-209F	<i>Smn.t</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>bt nt Hns.w m W3st</i> ; pure one of Khonsu in Thebes.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	13th Dynasty	CG 20240b; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 262-263 [B6].
3-210F	<i>Snb.tysy-Smn.t</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup>bt nt Hns.w m W3st</i> ; pure one of Khonsu in Thebes.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	13th Dynasty (?)	CG 20056f; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 66-68; Guest, "Women's Titles," 46-47; Blackman, "On the Position of Women," 24.
3-211M	<i>Hnm.w-nht</i>	<i>im3hw, w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3 n Hnmw nb Š3y-shtp, s3 h3ty-ʿ, im3hy hr Imsti, im3hy hr Šw, im3hy hr Tfnwt, im3hy hr Dw3mwt.f, im3hy hr 3st, im3hy hr ntr.w wr, im3hy hr Srqt, im3hy hr Nbt-Hwt, im3hy hr Psdt ʿ3t, im3hy hr Nt, im3hy hr H<sup>ʿ</sup>py, im3hy hr Gb, im3hy hr Nwt, im3hy hr Qbhsnw.f</i> ; revered one, great pure one of Khnum Lord of Shay-sehotep, son of the count, revered with Imseti, revered with Shu, revered with Tefnut, revered with Duamutef, revered with Isis, revered with the great gods,	Rifeh	12th Dynasty	Petrie, <i>Gizeh and Rifeh</i> , pl. 13G.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		revered with Serqet, revered with Nephthys, revered with the great Ennead, revered with Neith, revered with Hapy, revered with Geb, revered with Nut, revered with Qebhsenuf.			
3-212M	<i>Imn.ii</i>	<i>w<sup>ʿ</sup>b ʿ3 Sbk</i> ; great pure one of Sobek.	Provenance Unknown	11th Dynasty or later	BM 48724; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 21 [200], pl. 8 [5].
3-213I	<i>[...]y</i>	<i>w<sup>ʿ</sup>b ʿ3 n Sbk nb Rhwy</i> ; great pure one of Sobek in Rhwy (northwest delta, vicinity of Alexandria).	Lahun	11th Dynasty or later	UC 11359; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 136 [1779], pl. 9 [2]; Petrie, <i>Buttons and design scarabs</i> , pl. XXIV [12.Wb]; Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, <i>Catalogue of the Amherst Collection</i> , no. 736.
3-214M	<i>ʿnh.w</i>	<i>w<sup>ʿ</sup>b ʿ3 n Sbk Šdty</i> ; great pure one of Sobek of Crocodilopolis.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	Middle Kingdom	CG 20616d; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine II</i> , 255-256 [D1].
3-215M	<i>Sw-m-ʿ</i>	<i>w<sup>ʿ</sup>b n Sbk, m<sup>ʿ</sup>3 hrw</i> ; pure one of Sobek, true of voice.	Thebes: Sheikh Abd el-Qurneh	13th Dynasty	Inv. N. 7601; Bosticco, <i>Le stele egiziane</i> , 58 [60]; Pellegrini, "Glanures," 216-217, n. 2; <i>Wb. Beleg. III</i> , 297, n. 15.
3-216M	<i>Pn.w</i>	<i>w<sup>ʿ</sup>b n Sbk, m<sup>ʿ</sup>3 hrw</i> ; pure one of Sobek, true of voice.	Abydos: Middle Cemetery, eastern slope	Middle Kingdom	CG 20030f, Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 38-40 [F6].
3-217M	<i>Rn(.i)-snb(w)</i> (Father of <i>Snb-mi-3w</i> , 3-	<i>w<sup>ʿ</sup>b n Sbk</i> ; pure one of Sobek.	Latopolis	Middle Kingdom	Bt. 8; Lutz, <i>Egyptian Tomb Steles</i> , 9 [87], pl. 44.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
	220M)				
3- 218M	<i>Iw.f-n.i</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Sbk nb Swmnw</i> ; pure one of Sobek, Lord of Sumenu.	Provenance Unknown	12th Dynasty or later	Michaelides Collection; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 11 [64].
3- 219M	<i>Wr-ni-ntr</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Sbk nb Swmnw</i> ; pure one of Sobek, Lord of Sumenu.	Abydos	12th to 13th Dynasty	NME 31; Patterson, "Ägyptische Privatstelen," 20, fig. 6.
3- 220M	<i>Snb-mi-3w</i> (Son of <i>Rn(.i)-snb(w)</i> , 3- 217M)	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Sbk nb Swmnw</i> ; pure one of Sobek, Lord of Sumenu.	Latopolis	Middle Kingdom	Bt. 8; Lutz, <i>Egyptian Tomb Steles</i> , 9 [87], pl. 44.
3- 221M	<i>Wr-ni-ntr</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> nm(?) n [Sbk] nb Šdyt</i> ; processional pure one of Sobek, Lord of Crocodilopolis.	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom	Pierret, <i>Musée Égyptien du Louvre</i> II, 23 [C39].
3- 222M	<i>Nḥ.ii</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3 n Spd.w</i> ; great pure one of Sopdu.	Abydos	Mid-12th Dynasty	NME 29; Patterson, "Ägyptische Privatstelen," 16, fig. 3.
3- 223M	<i>Ihii-snb(.w)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Spd.w</i> ; pure one of Sopdu.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical</i> , 122-123 [UC 32293 (lot II.13)].
3- 224I	<i>Šff[...]</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Spd.w nb i3btt</i> ; pure one of Sopdu, Lord of the East.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical</i> , 112-113 [UC 32164 (lot I.4)].
3- 225M	<i>Wh.w-ḥtp(.w)</i> II	<i>iry p<sup>ḥ</sup>t, ḥ3ty-<sup>ḥ</sup>, ḥtm(ty)-bity, smr w<sup>ḥ</sup>ty, ḥm-ntr, s3 ir ḥr ḥ3t, imy-r ḥm.w-ntr, imy-r ḥm.w-ntr n Ḥwt-ḥr nbt Qis, s(t)m, s(t)m n nb t3wy, ḥrp šndyt nbt, ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp, sš md3t ntr, w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3 n nbt pt, ḥww w<sup>ḥ</sup></i>	Meir: Tomb- Chapel B, no. 2	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret I to Amenemhat II	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> II, 1-27, pl. 10; Gillam no. 121.



No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		<p><i>n snwy.f, hry sst3 n m33t w<sup>s</sup>, imy-r hm.w-ntr n nbt r dr, hry-tp <sup>s</sup>3 n sp3t Ndft (sic), rh nswt m3<sup>s</sup> mrw.f, rh nswt hsy.f wn m3<sup>s</sup>, hrp nbw;</i>  hereditary prince/nobleman, count, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, god's servant, son of one who acted (in the same capacity) formerly, overseer of the god's servants, overseer of the god's servants of Hathor Lady of Cusae, <i>s(t)m</i>-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of opening the mouth), <i>s(t)m</i>-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands, director of every kilt, chief lector priest, scribe of the god's documents, great pure one of the Mistress of the Sky, unique personality without rival, privy to the secret of seeing alone, overseer of the god's servants of the mistress of all, great overlord of U.E. 14 (capital Qusiya), true royal acquaintance whom he loves, royal acquaintance whom he truly praises, director of gold.</p>			
3-226M	<i>Wh.w-htp(.w)</i> IV	<p><i>imy-r hm.w-ntr, w<sup>s</sup>b n nbt pt, iry p<sup>s</sup>t, h3ty-<sup>s</sup>, [hry] sst3 shy-ntr, s(t)m n nbt t3wy, smr w<sup>s</sup>ty,</i></p>	Meir: Tomb-Chapel C, no. 1	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret II to	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> VI, 8-9, pl. 13; Gillam no. 123.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
		<i>ḥtm(ty)-bity, w<sup>ʿ</sup>b ʿwy</i> ; overseer of the god's servants, pure one of the Mistress of the Sky, hereditary prince/nobleman, count, privy to the secret of the divine booth, <i>s(t)m</i> -attendant of the Lady of the Two Lands, sole companion, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, pure of hands.		Senusret III	
3-227M	<i>Wsr-inr</i>	<i>w<sup>ʿ</sup>b ʿ3 m Ḥwt-nb, gnwty m ʿḥ, imy-r gnwtyw</i> ; great pure one in Hatnub (alabaster quarries), sculptor in the ʿḥ-palace, overseer of sculptors.	Thebes: Shatt er-Rigal	Middle Kingdom	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , 66, pl. 39 [I].
3-228M	<i>Rwd</i>	<i>ḥm-ntr, imy ḥnt, ʿ3 m t3 dsr, w<sup>ʿ</sup>b ʿ3 n T3-wr 3bdw, sšmw wbnt R<sup>ʿ</sup> dmd t3wy, m<sup>ʿ</sup>3 ḥrw</i> ; god's servant, one who is in the forecourt, great one in the holy land, great pure one in the Grand Land Nome (U.E. 8) [and] Abydos, leader of the appearances of Re who unites the two lands, true of voice.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery, northeast district, at perimeter.	Middle Kingdom	CG 20514a; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine II</i> , 104-105 [A4].
3-229M	<i>Id.i</i>	<i>w<sup>ʿ</sup>b n 3bdw, w<sup>ʿ</sup>b ḥry-s3 n 3bdw, m<sup>ʿ</sup>3 ḥrw</i> ; pure one of Abydos, pure one who provides the back support service in Abydos, true of voice.	Abydos	First Intermediate Period to Early 12th Dynasty	Munro, "Die beiden Stelen des <i>Wnmi</i> ," pl. 4.
3-230M	<i>S3-in-ḥr.t</i>	<i>w<sup>ʿ</sup>b n 3bdw, m<sup>ʿ</sup>3 ḥrw</i> ; pure one of Abydos, true of voice.	Abydos	12th to 13th Dynasties	University of Liverpool, E. 30; Kitchen, "An Unusual Stela," 15.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
3-231M	<i>Pth-htp(.w)</i>	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b wr, im3hw</i> ; great pure one, revered one.	Edfu: Tomb of Isi	Middle Kingdom	Alliot, "Un Nouvel Exemple," 103.
3-232M	<i>In[-it].f</i> (Son of <i>Iwii-n-p[š?]</i> , 3-158M; father of <i>R[n].f-snb(.w)</i> , 3-236M)	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b (n) Imn, s3t mry</i> ; pure one of Amun, beloved daughter ( <i>sic</i> ).	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 80 [967]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 41 [12].
3-233M	<i>Wsr-nht</i>	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b (n) Imn</i> ; pure one of Amun.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44 [51].
3-234M	<i>Ni-pth-wsr</i>	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b (n) Imn</i> ; pure one of Amun.	Saqqara	12th Dynasty	JE 51733; Vernus, "Deux Inscriptions de la XIIe Dynastie," pl. 14.
3-235M	<i>Nfr</i>	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b (n) Imn</i> ; pure one of Amun.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 81 [968], 82 [981]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 40 [1].
3-236M	<i>R[n].f-snb(.w)</i> (Son of <i>In[-it].f</i> , 3-232M; grandson of <i>Iwii-n-p[š?]</i> , 3-158M.	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b (n) Imn, s3t</i> ; pure one of Amun, beloved daughter ( <i>sic</i> ).	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 80 [967]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 41 [12].
3-237M	<i>Rn-snbii</i>	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b (n) Imn</i> ; pure one of Amun.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 81 [977]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44 [52].
3-238M	<i>Dd.i</i>	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b (n) Imn</i> ; pure one of Amun.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 80 [960]; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44 [53].
3-	<i>Dd.w</i>	<i>w<sup>o</sup>b (n) Imn</i> ; pure one of Amun.	Thebes	12th Dynasty	Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
239M					[54]. Cf. Spiegelberg, <i>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</i> , 77 [924a].
3-240M	<i>Hns.w-nfr</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Imn</i> ; pure one of Amun.	Provenance Unknown	12th Dynasty or later	UC 11442; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 95 [1215], pl. 18 [16]; Petrie, <i>Scarabs and cylinders</i> , pl. XVI [13.AC].
3-241M	<i>Imn-m-h3t</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> (n) Imn</i> ; pure one of Amun.	Abydos	13th Dynasty	Maspero, "Monuments égyptiens," 117 [28].
3-242F	<i>Nn-nhn</i>	<i>s3t, w<sup>b</sup> (n) Imn</i> ; daughter, pure one of Amun.	Thebes	13th Dynasty	CG 887; Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 137-139 [11-12].
3-243M	<i>Rn(.i)-snb(w)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> (n) Imn</i> ; pure one of Amun.	Provenance Unknown	13th Dynasty, reign of Wahibre Iaib	BM 279 [1348]; BM, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts IV</i> , 27.
3-244M	<i>Ibi</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> (n) Imn, m<sup>s</sup>3 hrw</i> ; pure one of Amun, true of voice.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	Middle Kingdom	CG 20020b; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 19-20.
3-245M	<i>Imn-htp(.w)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Imn</i> ; pure one of Amun.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	Middle Kingdom	CG 20020d; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 19-20.
3-246I	<i>Hp.w</i>	<i>imy[-st-]<sup>s</sup>t pr, w<sup>b</sup> s Imn</i> ; helper/functionary of the house, pure of hand [for] Amun.	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom	CG 20695a; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine II</i> , 322-323 [A1-4].
3-247M	<i>Snb-mi.f</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> (n) Imn</i> ; pure one of Amun.	Abydos	Middle Kingdom	CG 20450d; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine II</i> , 45-46.
3-248M	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup> (n) Imn</i> ; pure one of Amun.	Karnak: Mut Temple	Middle Kingdom	CG 972; Borchardt, <i>Statuen und Statuetten</i> , 9.
3-249M	<i>Wnm.w</i>	<i>sn.f, w<sup>b</sup> n In-hrt</i> ; his brother, pure one of Onuris.	Abydos	Middle Kingdom	University of Liverpool, E. 30; Kitchen, "An Unusual Stela," 15,

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					fig. 2, pl. 3.
3-250M	<i>S[3-in-hr.t]</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n In-hrt</i> ; pure one of Onuris.	Abydos	Middle Kingdom	University of Liverpool, E. 30; Kitchen, "An Unusual Stela," 15, fig. 2, pl. 3.
3-251M	<i>Hnm.w-nht</i>	<i>sn.f, iry 't, w<sup>b</sup> Itm</i> ; his brother, hall-keeper, pure one of Atum.	Provenance Unknown	12th Dynasty	Inv. No. 2851; Moret, <i>Musée Guimet</i> , 12-13 [C6].
3-252M	<i>P3-nti-ni</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> (n) Itm, m<sup>3</sup> hrw</i> ; pure one of Atum, true of voice.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	Middle Kingdom	CG 20334e; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 346-347 [E2].
3-253M	<i>Hpr-k3-r<sup>s</sup></i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n W3d.t</i> ; pure one of Wadjet.	Abydos	Middle Kingdom	Pennsylvania University Museum E 16012; Miller, "A Family Stela," pl. 3 [B].
3-254M	<i>D33</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n W3d.t</i> ; pure one of Wadjet.	Abydos	Middle Kingdom	Pennsylvania University Museum E 16012; Miller "A Family Stela," pl. 3 [B].
3-255M	<i>Nfr-iv</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Wp-w3.wt</i> ; pure one of Wepwawet.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	Middle Kingdom	CG 20142b; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 167-168 [B1-3].
3-256M	<i>In-bnn</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Bnn</i> ; pure one of the <i>Bnw</i> -bird.	Provenance Unknown	12th Dynasty	Gayet, <i>Musée du Louvre</i> , pl. 33 [C 178].
3-257M	<i>Mr-Hr(.w)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Pth, m<sup>3</sup> hrw</i> ; pure one of Ptah, true of voice.	Abydos: Middle Cemetery, eastern slope	Middle Kingdom	CG 20030h; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 38-40 [H4].
3-258M	<i>Nniw</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Mn.w</i> ; pure one of Min.	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom	RPM 4565; Kayser, <i>Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum</i> , 55, fig. 38.
3-259M	<i>Imn-m-h3.t</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> Mnt.w, m<sup>3</sup> hrw</i> ; pure one of Montu, true of voice.	Provenance Unknown	13th Dynasty	BM 216 [903]; BM, <i>Hieroglyphic Texts II</i> , 47.
3-260M	<i>Ii</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> Mnt.w</i> ; pure one of Montu.	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom	Genf. D51; Spiegelberg and Pörtner, <i>Aegyptische Grabsteine</i>

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					<i>und Denksteine</i> III, 6 [3b].
3-261M	<i>S3-dd.i</i>	<i>s3.f, w<sup>b</sup> Mnt.w</i> ; his son, pure one of Montu.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	Middle Kingdom	CG 20432; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine</i> II, 30-31 [m].
3-262I	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup> Mnt.w</i> ; pure one of Montu.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 222-223 [UC 32120D].
3-263I	<i>Ib(.i)-i<sup>s</sup>(.w)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Mnt.w m M3dw, whm <sup>s</sup>nh</i> ; pure one of Montu in Madu (Medamud), repeating life.	Matariya	12th Dynasty	JdE 41377; Martin, <i>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</i> , 14 [97], pl. 17 [13].
3-264I	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup> R<sup>s</sup> Hr(.w)-3h.ti</i> ; pure one of Re-Horakhty	Thebes	12th Dynasty	S 946d; Winlock, <i>Rise and Fall</i> , pl. 44 [no. 62].
3-265M	<i>Nfr-tm-m-s3.f</i> (Father of <i>Ndmw-snb(.w)</i> , 3-266M)	<i>imy-r w<sup>b</sup>.w Shm.t</i> ; overseer of the pure ones of Sekhmet.	Provenance Unknown	12th Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat III	Jonckheere, <i>Les médecins</i> , 56 [53].
3-266M	<i>Ndmw-snb(.w)</i> (Son of <i>Nfr-tm-m-s3.f</i> , 3-265M)	<i>imy-r w<sup>b</sup>.w Shm.t</i> ; overseer of the pure ones of Sekhmet.	Provenance Unknown	12th Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat III	Jonckheere, <i>Les médecins</i> , 56 [53].
3-267M	<i>Snb</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Shm.t</i> ; pure one of Sekhmet.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	Middle Kingdom	CG 203911; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine</i> I, 386-388.
3-268M	<i>Sn<sup>ss</sup></i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Shm.t</i> ; pure one of Sekhmet.	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom	CG 20735c; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine</i> II, 366-367.
3-269M	<i>Mrii</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Sti.t nbt 3bw</i> ; pure one of Satis, Lady of Elephantine.	Kumma: on rock below western rampart	Middle Kingdom	Dunham and Janssen, <i>Second Cataract Forts</i> I, 166 [RIK 119c, Lepsius E4].
3-	<i>Snb.b</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> Tn(i)</i> ; pure one of Thisis.	Thebes	12th Dynasty,	Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446, recto,

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270M				reign of Amenemhat III, year 10	line 5b; Hayes, <i>A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom</i> , 25, 30, 144.
3-271M	<i>Ii-mr</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> n Drty</i> ; pure one of Tod.	Abydos	Middle Kingdom	Bolton 10.20/12; Donohue, <i>Bolton</i> , 19.
3-272M	<i>Hr(.w)</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ʿ3 imy-wr.t</i> ; great pure one of the West Side.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	Middle Kingdom	CG 20339b; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 350 [B1-4].
3-273M	<i>Ihii-snb(.w) : W3ḥ</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ḥry-s3, w<sup>b</sup> ḥry-s3 n Spd.w nb i3bt</i> ; pure one who provides the back support service in the procession, pure one who provides the back support service in the procession of Sopdu, Lord of the East.	Lahun	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical</i> , 104-105 [UC 32058 (Lot I.1)]; Griffith, <i>Hieratic Papyri</i> , 31-35, pl. 12-13.
3-274M	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ḥry-s3, w<sup>b</sup> ḥry-s3 n Spd.w nb i3bt</i> ; pure one who provides the back support service in the procession, pure one who provides the back support service in the procession of Sopdu, Lord of the East.	Lahun	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical</i> , 102-103 [UC 32055 (Lot II.1)]; Griffith, <i>Hieratic Papyri</i> , 36-38, pl. 13; Theodorides, "'imyt-per'", 88-91.
3-275M	<i>Sbk-Snfrw</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ḥry-s3</i> ; pure one who provides the back support service in the procession.	Lahun	12th Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat III	P. 10.069; Lüddeckens, <i>Ägyptische Handschriften</i> , 32 [54].
3-276M	<i>[...]nb(?)-iry-r-3w</i>	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ḥry-s3, s3</i> ; pure one who provides the back support service	Lahun	12th Dynasty, reign of	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Papyri: Accounts</i> , 74-75 [UC 32186

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		in the procession, son.		Senusret III- Amenemhat III	(XIII.1)]; Griffith, <i>Hieratic Papyri</i> , I, 52-54, II, pl. 21.
3- 277M	<i>Imn.ii</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b hry-s3, s3</i> ; pure one who provides the back support service in the procession, son.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Papyri: Accounts</i> , 44-45 [UC 32170 (Lot VI.14)]; Griffith, <i>Hieratic Papyri</i> , I, 40-42, II, pl. 14.
3- 278M	<i>Wr-nb(.i)</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b hry-s3</i> ; pure one who provides the back support service in the procession.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Papyri: Accounts</i> , 76-77 [UCL 32189 (XVI.1)]; Griffith, <i>Hieratic Papyri</i> , I, 54-55, II, pl. 21.
3- 279M	<i>Ppi[...]</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b hry-s3</i> ; pure one who provides the back support service in the procession.	Lahun	Middle Kingdom	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Papyri: Accounts</i> , 210-211 [UC 32108C].
3- 280M	<i>Ihy-snb(.w) : W3h</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b hry-s3 n Spdw nb i3bt</i> ; pure one who provides the back support service in the procession of Sopdu, Lord of the East.	Lahun	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical</i> , 118-119 [UC 32167 (lot I.2)]; Griffith, <i>Hieratic Papyri</i> , 35-36, pl. 13 (first ed.).
3- 281F	<i>Špsi.t</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>bt nt Gs-i3by</i> ; pure one of the East Side.	Lahun	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III	Collier and Quirke, <i>UCL Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical</i> , 110-111 [UC 32163 (lot I.3)].
3- 282M	<i>Rdi(.wi)- hnm(.w)</i>	<i>imy-r pr, w<sup>6</sup>b n rwd pr špss, im3hw</i> ; overseer of the house, pure one of the noble stairway of the temple, provided one.	Dendera	Middle Kingdom	CG 20543a; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine II</i> , 164-167 [A22-23].
3-	<i>Ns-pr-nht</i>	<i>w<sup>6</sup>b rmn H3byw</i> ; pure one who	Provenance	Middle	CG 20409a; Lange and Schäfer,



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283M		raises the <i>H3byw</i> .	Unknown	Kingdom	<i>Grab- und Denksteine</i> II, 9-11 [A1-3]; Kees, "Gottesväter," 115-125; <i>Urk.</i> IV, 1031 [5].
3-284M	<i>Rdi-ni-ptḥ</i>	<i>sn.f, w<sup>b</sup> ḥr.t</i> ; his brother, pure one of the tomb.	Provenance Unknown	12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III	Brooklyn 39.602; Aldred, <i>Middle Kingdom Art</i> , 53 [75], pl. 75; Bothmer, "Block Statues of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom," 26, n. 2, 29, n. V, fig. 10; Brooklyn Museum, <i>Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum Collection</i> , 24; Cooney, "A Souvenir of Napoleon's Trip to Egypt," 153-157, pl. 17; Hornemann, <i>Types</i> II, pl. 444; James, <i>Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum</i> , 59-60 [139]; Vandier, <i>Manuel d'archéologie</i> III, 236, 251, 254, pl. 80 [6]; Vernus, "Encore une fois le titre <i>w<sup>b</sup> ḥr.t</i> ," 7-8; Virginia Museum, <i>Treasures in America</i> , 38; Wolf, <i>Kunst Ägyptens</i> , 341, fig. 281.
3-285M	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ḥr.t</i> ; pure one of the tomb.	Meir: Tomb-Chapel B, no. 4, inner room, east wall, south of entrance, registers 5 and 6	12th Dynasty	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> III, pl. 24.
3-286M	Unknown	<i>w<sup>b</sup> ḥr.t</i> ; pure one of the tomb.	Meir: Tomb-Chapel B, no. 4,	12th Dynasty	Blackman, <i>Meir</i> III, pl. 24.

No.	Name	Title-String	Location	Date	Publication(s)
			inner room, east wall, south of entrance, registers 5 and 6		
3-287M	<i>ḥn.w</i>	<i>wḥb n b3.w ḥrt-ntr, mḥ3 ḥrw, nb im3ḥw</i> ; pure one of the <i>b3.w</i> (souls) of the necropolis, true of voice, possessor of reverence.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	Middle Kingdom	CG 20050b; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 59-60.
3-288M	<i>ḥn.ti-ḥtp(.w)</i>	<i>wḥb n b3.w ḥrt-ntr, mḥ3 ḥrw</i> ; pure one of the <i>b3.w</i> (souls) of the necropolis, true of voice.	Abydos: Northern Cemetery	Middle Kingdom	CG 20034b; Lange and Schäfer, <i>Grab- und Denksteine I</i> , 42-43 [B4].
3-289I	<i>Wḥ[...]/wḥ[...]</i>	<i>wḥb n šḥ-ntr</i> ; pure one of the divine booth.	Between Mahatta and Aswan	Middle Kingdom	de Morgan, <i>Catalogue des monuments I</i> , 38 [161].
3-290M	<i>Nḥt</i>	<i>wḥb n šḥ-ntr, mḥ3 ḥrw</i> ; pure one of the divine booth, true of voice.	Between Mahatta and Aswan	Middle Kingdom	de Morgan, <i>Catalogue des monuments I</i> , 38 [161].
3-291M	<i>D3g.i</i>	<i>iry pḥt, ḥ3ty-ḥ, s(t)m, ḥrp šndyt nbt, [...] ḥs3t, [...], wḥb šnty (200), ḥm-ntr Hr [...], ḥm-ntr, imy-r [...]</i> ; hereditary prince/nobleman, count, <i>s(t)m</i> -priest (chief celebrant in the rite of opening the mouth), director of every kilt, [...] Hesat, [...], pure one of the <i>šnty</i> (200), god's servant of Horus [...], god's servant, overseer of [...].	Thebes: Tomb of Daga, South Wall	Early 12th Dynasty	Davies, <i>Five Theban Tombs</i> , pl. 34.
3-292M	<i>Mn.w-ḥtp.w</i>	<i>wḥb n k3</i> ; pure one of the <i>k3</i> .	Provenance Unknown	12th-14th Dynasty	Turin 94; Maspero, "Rapport à M. Jules Ferry," 122; Müller, "Des

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					Totendenksteine des Mittleren Reiches," 204, pl. 34 [2].
3-293M	<i>Tti</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b hr.t</i> ; pure one of the tomb.	Provenance Unknown	Middle Kingdom, reign of Senusret III	Baltimore 22.163; Steindorff, <i>Catalogue</i> , 49 [No. 49], pl. 12 & 91; Vernus, "Encore une fois le titre <i>w<sup>s</sup>b hr.t</i> ," 7.
3-294M	<i>Ppii</i>	<i>w<sup>s</sup>b hr.t</i> ; pure one of the tomb.	Saqqara: Tomb of <i>Hryšf-nht</i>	Middle Kingdom	Quibell, <i>Excavations at Saqqara</i> , 73, pl. 11; Vernus, "Encore une fois le titre <i>w<sup>s</sup>b hr.t</i> ," 7.