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The American University in Cairo

School of Humanities and Social Sciences

ALL THE KING'S HORSES: STABLE ADMINISTRATION IN NEW KINGDOM EGYPT

A Thesis Submitted to

The Department of Sociology, Egyptology, and Anthropology

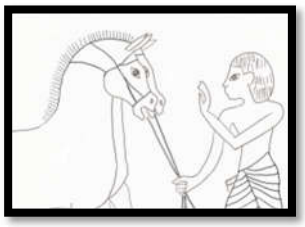
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

by Tessa Litecky

(under the supervision of Dr. Salima Ikram)
May, 2021

ABSTRACT

Horses were an important part of Egyptian society during the New Kingdom as tools of warfare, status symbols of the elite, and an emblem of the power of kingship. However, little is known about how these animals were trained and cared for, or who was working in horse stables and their roles. There are no texts or images that explicitly explain methods of horse management. Therefore, this topic has been generally overlooked in the literature. This thesis combines two threads of evidence to create a more complete picture of the organization, purpose, and function of horse stables and the treatment of horses. First, this work identifies and examines the surviving evidence from archeological, textual, and artistic sources relating to horse stables and horse care. Particular attention is given to the limited archaeological remain of horse stables in Egypt, texts that speak to the duties of Stable Masters and grooms, and depictions of interaction between handlers and grooms, feeding, as well as images of natural horse behaviors. In addition, examples of horse stables and management from neighboring contemporary cultures are surveyed to identify potential parallels. Then, the titles of people associated with horse stables from the 18th, 19th, and 20th Dynasties are analyzed to better understand how the hierarchy, roles, and titles changed throughout the New Kingdom and explain the development of horse care and training. This study concludes that the size of complexity of the stable administration expanded significantly from the 18th to the 19th Dynasty. In the 19th and 20th Dynasties, the position of Stable Master became more numerous with a greater variety of roles and responsibilities. In contrast, the role of Overseer of Horses transitioned from a practical position to one that was largely ceremonial. Furthermore, this thesis maintains that horse stables were present in a variety of contexts, including private, royal, military, and mobile military camps. However, horse management activities were not restricted only to the stables. It is likely that chariot horses were sometimes kept in pastures or with their charioteers during times of peace. This study also argues that breeding operations took place outside the stables, likely in the Delta.



Dedicated to Cocoa, my first horse, and all the horses I have known throughout my life, who inspired this research.

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Glossary of Equine Terms

Definitions of the terms related to horses that are used in the text:

Bit:	The mouthpieces, usually metal, by which the rider controls the horse. It lies on the bars of the horse's mouth, which are part of the lower gums where there are no teeth.
Bridle:	Several straps fastened around the horse's head that ensure the bit remains in the correct positions in the horses' mouth.
Colic:	A gastrointestinal condition causing abdominal pain, most cause by colonic disturbance.
Colt:	An uncastrated male horse under four years of age.
Concentrates:	Types of food that are not roughage, e.g., cereals, legumes, lucerne hay, or compound feeds, that are offered to provide high levels of nutrition
Confirmation:	The way a horse is put together. Conformation affects the horse's soundness, ability to perform, and comfort to ride.
Cribbing:	A stable "vice" whereby a bored horse grabs hold of something and takes in air.
Eggbutt:	A mild type of bit with an oval-shaped cheek piece fixed in a stationary position to a snaffle mouthpiece.
Frog:	The V-shaped pad on the sole of the hoof.
Gait:	The leg movement of a horse. The walk is the slowest gait, followed by the trot, canter, and gallop.
Gelding:	A castrated male horse of any age.
Hand:	A unit of measurement for horses and ponies, equal to 10 cm (4 in).
Hindquarters:	The rear end of the horse including the croup, rump, and hind legs.
Hogged Mane:	A mane that has been clipped off down to the horse's neck.
Manger:	A long trough from which horses or cattle feed.
Mare:	A female horse of any age.

Roughage:	Coarse plant parts high in fiber that make up the bulk of a horse's diet. Roughage aids in proper digestions and includes fresh grass, hay and haylage, straws, silage, and bran.
Snaffle:	The commonest type of bit, usually with one ring on each side.
Stallion:	An uncastrated male horse of any age
Turnout:	Free, non-working time the horse spends in open space.
Withers:	The highest point over the shoulders, the bony projection of the backbone between the neck and back.

Abbreviations

ÄM = Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin

ASAE = *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*

BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*

BM = British Museum, London

CGC = Catalogue General du Musée du Caire

EM = The Egyptian Antiquities Museum, Cairo, Egypt

HTBM = Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. The British Museum, Vols. I to XII

IFAO = l'Institut Français d'Archéology Orientale, Cairo

JEA = *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*

KRI = K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions, Historical and Biographical*. Vols. I – VII
Materialien I - VI = W. Helck, *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, 6 volumes.

MDAIK = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts,* Abteilung Kairo (DAIK)

MMA = The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

OIP = Oriental Institute Publications (Chicago)

PM = Porter and Moss *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Painting*. Vols. 1-7.

RdE = *Revue d'Égyptologie*

RIDA = *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité*

RITA:T = K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translations*

RITA:N&C = Kitchen, K.A. Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Notes & Comments

TT = Theban Tomb

Urk. IV = K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Vol. IV

Wb. Zettel = Notes from the Altägyptisches Wörterbuch, Berlin Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften

Chapter 1. Introduction

Horses have played a significant role in shaping many of the world's most influential civilizations. If one only considers Alexander the Great's military feats, the transportation network that crisscrossed the European continent in the early modern period, or the building of the American West, the horse was at the center of all these key historic events. Undoubtedly, horses have had a profound impact on human history, and ancient Egypt is no exception. The Egyptians' adoption of chariot technology changed the nature of warfare and allowed New Kingdom pharaohs to extend their empire further than ever before. The chariot was the most powerful war machine that the Egyptians had ever known, and the horse was the engine. Not only did the horse completely transform the Egyptian military system, but it also affected foreign relations, the economy, and altered the Egyptian conception of kingship and representations of power.[1]

The new branch of the military that arose at the start of the New Kingdom was comprised of several components. In addition to chariot personnel, the chariot builders, horse trainers, and grooms all played an essential, albeit somewhat less visible, role in Egypt's military success. The preparation of horses for battle must have required a significant amount of time, resources, and workers. In response, a new system of horse stables developed to deal with the demands of breeding, training, and caring for the horses in tandem with offices and specialized personnel to oversee their operation. There are several texts from Deir el Medina that mention donkeys in stables, but there is no evidence of large-scale stable operations.[2] Individuals owned donkeys for personal use or for hire, so the stables must have been small and basic. It was necessary for horse

[1] See Veldmeijer & Ikram (2013) for more in-depth discussions of these issues.
[2] Janssen, 2005.

stables to fulfill many of the same requirements as donkey stables: tethering the animals, a water source, feeding troughs, and adequate space for a large animal. However, donkeys were primarily beasts of burden and not used with chariots, so they were likely not given the same level of care as horses. Donkey stables would likely not have required extra spaces for harnessing or grooming that are found in Egyptian horse stables like those at Qantir-Piramesses (see section 3.2.1). Nevertheless, the first horse stables may have been an upgraded and expanded version of donkey stables.

To thoroughly explain the impact of the horse on ancient Egyptian society and the changing nature of the Egyptian military and state in the New Kingdom, it is necessary to explore the function of the horse stables, the personnel involved, and how stable organization was incorporated into the military and civil administrative structure. This study focuses on understanding the function and functioning of horse stables and those involved. To address these questions, this thesis uses the titles associated with the horse stables to understand the roles and responsibilities within the stable administration. First, the horse stables' function is explored using historical evidence from the New Kingdom, from artistic, textual, and archaeological sources, to deduce the practical demands of maintaining a herd of horses for the Egyptian military, how the Egyptians met these demands, and what kind of personnel were required. A catalog of titles associated with horses and stables (Appendix B) is then analyzed, both in terms of the individuals and the titles themselves, within the historical context to better understand the stables' organization, roles, and function.

1.2 Background

While the exact date of the introduction of horses is unclear, there was a significant number in Egypt by the end of the Second Intermediate Period (1650-1549 BC). The inscriptions

of King Kamose mention horses and chariots in describing the expulsion of the Hyksos.[3] Depictions of horses and chariots in art at the beginning of the 18th Dynasty demonstrate how quickly they were embraced by the Egyptians and incorporated into the military organization. The first Egyptian image of the horse and chariot in battle, an iconographic element that would become essential to representing the military prowess of the pharaoh, appears on the walls of the Abydos pyramid temple of Ahmose (1550-1525 BC), the first ruler of the New Kingdom (1550-1295 BC).[4] The fact that horses arrived so late in Egyptian history, yet appeared so prominently in the artistic and literary canon subsequently, is a testament to their influence and significance.

The adoption of horses for a variety of uses required an entirely new set of skills and knowledge previously unknown to the Egyptians—for example, training horses to pull chariots, veterinary care, and organizing breeding programs. Horse breeders and trainers continued to develop their expertise, and, by the Late Period, Egyptian horses were highly prized even by Neo-Assyrians kings.[5] However, any documentation of Egyptian horse knowledge is limited. There is no surviving text to explain Egyptian methods of horse management, how the stables operated or the degree to which, if at all, they relied on the expertise of foreigners. Therefore, the majority of scholarship in Egyptology has focused on the technological aspects of the chariot, military tactics, or studies of the horse itself. The people responsible for the horses' training and care and the stables' organizational system have been treated only tangentially and without a thorough investigation of the evidence.[6]

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[3] Habachi (1972), 36; Gardiner (1916), 106.
[4] Harvey (1998), 308.
[5] Dalley (1985), 43.
[6] Schulman (1963), (1964) has provided the most in-depth study of the organization of the stables and chariotry, however he relies heavily on texts with less consideration of the archaeological or visual evidence and is now dated. Ashmawy's (2014) analysis of stable administration is more in line with the focus of this thesis; however, he addresses only the 18th and 19th Dynasties, and his conclusions are vague.

Many Egyptological studies have centered on the role of horses in relationship to chariots, warfare, and the military.[7] The wide array of evidence, both historical documentation and archaeological artifacts, has made this a rich area of scholarly investigation. Strictly historical treatments of the horse have focused on the introduction of the horse to Egypt and the part played by the Hyksos and their military confrontations with the native Egyptians at the end of the Second Intermediate Period.[8]

More recently, scholars have begun to explore the larger cultural and social impact of the horse. While they are limited, several iconographic studies have attempted to categorize the depiction of horses and define their role in the artistic canon.[9] Additional works have considered how the horse was incorporated into the religious realm, particularly in association with the ancient Near Eastern goddess Astarte, who was assimilated into the Egyptian pantheon during the New Kingdom.[10]

Although there are only a small number of equines preserved in the archaeological record,[11] horse remains from Egypt and Nubia continue to be discovered, analyzed, and published.[12] Scholars have utilized the available evidence to investigate the development of types and identification of breeds. In addition, researchers have explored the historical debates surrounding the domestication and introduction of the horse in Egypt, as well as its place in Egyptian society, using osteological and archaeological evidence.[13]

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[7] For more on this topic, see Littauer & Crouwel (1979); Shulman (1963), (1964) (1980); Littauer, Crouwel, & Raulwing, (2002); Spalinger (2003), 163-199 and (2013), 237-256; Veldmeijer & Ikram (2012).
[8] Schulman (1980); Shaw (2001); and Bibby (2003), 13-18.
[9] The most extensive and widely cited work is Rommelaere (1991); additional studies by Schulman (1956); Liebowitz (1967); Hoffmeier (1988), 35-45; and Turner (2016).
[10] For example, see Leclant (1960) and Meeks (2003).
[11] Turner (2016); Ikram (2019).
[12] Discussed in Clutton-Brock (2009).
[13] See Clutton-Brock (1992); Biddy (2001); and Turner (2016).

Questions remain regarding the more mundane aspects of horse management, their care and training, and the horse stables' operations within Egypt. Furthermore, the role of officers involved with the horse stables and their association with the military establishment is still uncertain. Regardless of the military rank of the personnel in the horse stables, they were responsible for the continued availability of strong, healthy war horses that undoubtedly had a profound impact on the Egyptian Empire's military success.

1.3 Previous Scholarship

Identifying military titles and the organizational structure has long been a subject of scholarly interest in Egyptology; however, few studies have focused exclusively on titles related to the horse stables. In his early work on military titles of the 18th Dynasty, Helck (1939) deals with some titles associated with stables, including Stable Master (*ḫry iḫw*) and Overseer of Horses (*imy-r ssmt*), and speculates on their roles on responsibilities. Helck also first proposes the idea that stables held different functions. For example, a royal stable might house the king's guard troop, while a training stable served the instruction of both horses and recruits.[14]

In his study on Egyptian military organization (1953), Faulkner also identifies *ḫry iḫw* as the Stable Master, a position in the horse stables. Additionally, however, he distinguishes Stable Master from titles related to the chariotry, including Master of Horses, Lieutenant-Commander of Horses, and Charioteer.[15] Faulkner does attempt to address the role of the Stable Master, but it is the only title he relates directly to the stables or the maintenance of horses.

Schulman (1963, 1964) has published extensively on military titles and rank and devoted much of his work to the chariotry. His translations of the titles vary slightly from Helck and

[14] Helck (1939), 63-64.
[15] Faulkner (1953), 43.

Faulkner (see Table 1 in section 4.1). Still, he makes a clear distinction between the tactical fighting unit of the chariotry and the administrative personnel of the stables. While Faulkner and Helck identified individual positions within the horse stables, Schulman was the first to attempt to untangle the organizational structure and establish a hierarchy.

Schulman makes the important conclusion that the presence of scribal titles, like Scribe of Horses or Scribe of the Stables, indicates an internal organization of the horse stables independent from the tactical military arm.[16] Schulman also points to the variations in titles that denote different grades of the title Stable Master, as well as texts that imply varying responsibilities among the Stable Masters. However, he argues that, while duties may have varied, the available evidence does not allow for a precise distinction among them.

Schulman makes some attempt to understand the actual tasks associated with positions in the stables and in the chariotry, speculating that the Adjutant of the Chariotry, for example, was responsible for transport and quartermaster activities. However, his primary interest remains the organization and hierarchy of the stables. His arguments are derived almost entirely from textual sources with occasional references to iconographic evidence. Schulman's 1964 book on military organization in the New Kingdom also includes an extensive and extremely useful collection of textual references related to the subject.

The *Prosopographie* by Chevereau (1994) is a comprehensive collection of military titles from the New Kingdom and Late Period, including all titles related to the stables. Chevereau created a careful compilation of all individual officials, organized by title and grade, with bibliographical references. While the book lacks significant discussion about the exact

[16] Schulman (1963), 95.

organization and roles of military or civil positions, it is nonetheless an extremely beneficial resource for further study on the types and variations of military titles.

A more recent study by Ashmawy (2007) focuses exclusively on titles related to horse stables and includes an index of all their occurrences during the 18th and 19th Dynasties. He defines four main titles connected with officials of the stables; Stable Master (*ḥry iḫw*), Overseer of Horses (*imy-r ssmt*), Scribe for the Horses (*sš ssmt*), and Scribe for the Stables (*sš n iḫw*).[17] He determines there were different grades of each title that changed throughout the period and that the titles of the 19th Dynasty indicate a more complex organizational structure.[18] Ashmawy does attempt to define the practical duties of each of these positions. Still, his conclusions remain largely speculative, and there is little discussion of related written or pictorial evidence of the role and responsibilities within the horse stables.

The study of ancient horse stables preserved in the archeological record is another important source of information for understanding stable administration. However, identifying the physical remains of horse stables can be difficult. The scarcity of stables in the archaeological record and the lack of visual depictions have hindered scholars' ability to create any definitive description of a typical horse stable layout. In addition, the distinction between stables for horses and those for other animals, like sheep or cattle, is not always clear.

Jarmużek (2013) examines a stable from the Third Intermediate Period discovered at Tell el-Retaba. He compares the archeological remains of the different stables at Medinet Habu, Megiddo, Qantir, and Tell el-Amarna. Jarmużek also incorporates iconographic evidence to determine what kind of animal would have been housed in the stable at Tell el-Retaba. While he

[17] Ashmawy (2007), 121.
[18] Ashmawy (2007), 136.

ultimately determines that the structure at Tell el-Retaba was not meant for horses, his research illustrates important distinctions between stables built for horses and those for other animals.

During the excavations of the military and police headquarters at Tell el-Amarna in 1933-34, Pendlebury (1951) identified the eastern building as horse stables. Pendlebury estimates that these stables could have housed 150 to 200 horses in a constant state of readiness for use by the police squads and the guards of honor. His plan includes an eastern section of stables for horses and grooms, a large well for watering horses at the center, and, in the western section, storerooms and a small house for the "farrier-sergeant" (as Pendlebury designates the position).[19]

The more recent discovery of a complex at Qantir, ancient Piramesses, can almost certainly be identified as a stable for horses based on the archeological remains of chariots and depictions of horses on door jambs and lintels from the site.[20] Herold (2001) examines the architectural elements of both the stable from Qantir-Piramesses and Tell el-Amarna concludes that both were horse stables.[21] Furthermore, Herold analyses the layout of horse stables to understand how they were designed to deal with the food and water requirements, and waste disposal.

Several iconographic studies have focused exclusively on horses but not their management. Liebowitz examines the horses from several 18th and 19th Dynasty tombs and temples. He attempted to establish dating criteria based on depictions of horses by identifying three styles: The pre-Amarna phase, the Amarna phase, and the Ramesside phase.[22]

[19] Pendlebury (1951), 134.
[20] Herold (2002), 5.
[21] Herold (2001).
[22] Liebowitz (1967).

Rommelaere (1991) built on Liebowitz's work to produce an extensive survey of the depictions of horses in the New Kingdom.[23] This book's most significant contribution is identifying two different breeds, or types, introduced to Egypt that are distinguishable in artistic representation, the *Longiligne,* and the *Breviligne*. The *Longiligne* and its style of depiction apparently preceded the *Breviligne,* providing loose dating criteria for artistic images of horses. Her study is exceptional and, in the present literature, the only one of this breadth. However, her research is based almost entirely on pictorial evidence and provides little insight into horse stables or the practical aspects of horse care.

A recent dissertation by Turner (2016) is the only example of an exhaustive work that focuses on numerous aspects of the horse, including how the horse came to Egypt, its impact, and the development of iconography. She uses artistic, textual, faunal, and archaeological evidence, as well as secondary source materials. Her work examines the history and role of the horse in ancient Egypt. However, while she discusses aspects of horse care, the treatment of the horse stables themselves is superficial. What is needed is a truly comprehensive study of how horse stables responded to the needs of the Egyptian military and state, which this thesis hopes to begin to address.

1.4 Aims and Methodology

This thesis draws on textual, visual, and archaeological evidence to explain the function and organization of the New Kingdom's horse stables. In addition, by understanding the social and practical experiences of the title-holders, this thesis also explores the work conducted within the stables and the impact of horses in the social, political, and military realms of ancient

[23] Rommelaere (1991).

Egyptian society. The textual evidence is the basis for a catalog of all known individuals that held titles associated with horse stables from the 18th through the 20th dynasties. The chariotry did not become a distinct branch of the military until the time of Amenhotep III,[24] and the organization of Egyptian horse stables was still developing during the 18th Dynasty.[25] Therefore, it is essential to analyze the entire New Kingdom corpus for the most complete interpretation of how the management of the stables evolved during this era. Furthermore, this study also emphasizes additional positions held by individuals and relations among title-holders and title-holders who were part of, or related to, the royal family.

This study is centered on the titles associated with the horse stables. It does not focus on titles from the chariotry, such as Charioteer (*tpy kḏn*), Chariot Warrior (*snny*), or Lieutenant-Commander of Chariotry (*idnw n ta [ti-]nt-ḥtry*), as these are strictly military positions. However, these titles will be discussed in relation to the ties between the horse stable administration and the military, as well as in reference to the additional titles held by Stable Masters and Masters of Horses. While the distinction between the civil and military aspects of these titles is not entirely clear, since many title-holders were employed in the military either before or after their work in the horse stables, the scholarly consensus is that the titles included in this work were civilian positions.[26] Nevertheless, the stable administrators existed to support the chariotry and were therefore not completely independent of the military. While the association of the horse stables with the military will be discussed, it is not the thesis' primary focus.

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[24] Two titles distinct to the chariotry appears around this time: Adjutant of the Chariotry, known from the Amarna period and Standard-Bearer of the Chariotry from the early reign of Amenhotep III. In addition, the term for chariotry (*nt-ḥtry*), which appears in the Kamose text, is not present in the annals of Thutmose III, as would be expected if the chariotry was established by that time. Schulman (1963), 85.

[25] Schulman (1964), 15.

[26] Helck (1939), 62; Schulman (1964), 23; Ashmawy (2007), 134.

The titles included in this thesis are Overseer of Horses (*imy-r ssmt*), Stable Master (*ḫry iḫw*), the Scribe of the Stable (*sš n iḫw*), and Scribe of Horses (*sš ssmt*), as well as the various grades and variations of those titles. There is no definitive consensus for the translation of the titles (see Table 1 in Chapter 4), but generally, scholars translate *ḫry iḫw, sš n iḫw,* and *sš ssmwt* as Stable Master, Scribe of Horses, and Scribe of the Stables respectively. The title *imy-r ssmt* is various translated as Master of Horses[27] and Officer of Horses.[28] This thesis uses the translation of Overseer of Horses as the most accurate interpretation of *imy-r* is "overseer" rather than "master".[29] The catalog of these title-holders includes individuals' names, the hieroglyphic inscription and translation of the titles, the source of the inscription, the approximate date, and any additional biographical information available, including associated family members and additional titles held by the individual.

Textual material is selected from both historical and literary genres that mention titles related to horses, the training or maintenance of horses, the stables themselves, and the relationship between stable personnel. New Kingdom depictions of horse care, feeding, and handling are limited; however, several examples exist and are discussed in Chapter 3. This study draws primarily on tomb and temple scenes and identifies images of horse management and care. Studies on the iconography of New Kingdom horses have been mentioned above.[30] However, the lack of direct visual evidence of horse stables has led scholars to neglect the significance that certain scenes, like military camps or private stables, may have on our understanding of horse husbandry and the operational reality of the horse stables.

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[27] Ashmawy (2014).
[28] Schulman (1963).
[29] The primary translation of the word according to Faulkner (1962), 18.
[30] See Leibowitz (1967), Hoffmeier (1988), Rommelaere (1991), Turner (2016), as well as Sabbahy (2018).

This analysis focuses primarily on the few known scenes that depict horse care, handling, feeding, or natural herd interaction. Generally, these themes appear in depictions when the horses are either separate from the chariot, not actively at work, or in stalls. However, these likely do not directly represent the large horse stable complexes but private or temporary housing. Finally, this study will examine the scenes within tombs belonging to title-holders associated with horses stable and deduce the meaning of the depictions of horses or lack thereof.

The vast majority of scenes in this study come from the tombs of elite officials of the 18th Dynasty, while many of the battle scenes are found on temples and blocks of the Ramesside period. Although horses are depicted on three-dimensional objects such as jewelry,[31] hair curlers,[32] and whip handles.[33] They add nothing to the study of horse management and will thus be excluded from the study.

This thesis also includes the few recorded archaeological examples of New Kingdom horse stables. Understanding the physical space of these informs our understanding of the organization of the stables and makes a reconstruction of the New Kingdom horse stables possible. Ideally, this holistic approach to understanding the historical evidence for the horse stable operations, coupled with an in-depth analysis of the titles of people associated, will provide a broader understanding of horse stables' role and function in ancient Egypt.

[31] See the plaque from a ring engraved with a horse (BM 4077), or the gold finger ring from the reign of Ramses II, Musée Louvre, N728 in Andrews (1997), 165, fig. 147.
[32] For example, see the brass cosmetic tool (BSAe 1145) in Derriks & Billen (2012), 26; bronze hair curlers from the Art Institute of Chicago, (ref no. 1894.963), University College London (UC 26935); and the wig-curler of a horse and rider from the BM, EA 36314.
[33] MMA, 26.7.1293.

Chapter 2. The Horse in Ancient Egypt

2.1 The Introduction of the Horse into Egypt

2.1.1 The Domestication of the Horse

It is generally well-accepted that the modern-day horse originated from the *Equus ferus caballus*, more commonly known as the Tarpan, that lived in the steppes of present-day Ukraine.[34] Scholars have identified the earliest evidence of horse domestication at Dereivka (southern Ukraine). Indications of bit use discovered at Dereivka, including tooth wear and antler bone cheekpieces from a bridle, indicate that people rode horses as early as 4200 BC.[35] However, other scholars have questioned the validity of the evidence and the identification of the cheekpiece. Levine argues that the high proportion of horse bones and teeth at this site was more likely the result of hunting and consuming horses.[36] Archaeologists have also looked to the site of Botai (northern Kazakhstan) as a possible source of evidence for horse domestication. The settlement was dated to 3,500 BC and yielded an abundance of horse bones. However, no clear evidence emerged to prove that these horse bones were the result of domestication rather than the consumption of wild horses.[37] While the earliest origins of horse domestication require further research, definitive evidence shows that the Sintashta-Petrovka culture (south Urals) had domesticated horses around 2000 BC to pull wheeled vehicles.[38] Horse bones and skulls were discovered in 16 graves, interred with remains of chariots pieces. Eleven graves were radiocarbon dated to conclude that the burials could be securely dated to 1950-1750 BC.[39] It is

[34] Clutton-Brock (1992), 61.
[35] Anthony (2007), 221.
[36] Levine (2012), 16.
[37] Levine (2012), 19. For more on this site, see Levine (1999).
[38] Levine (2012), 16.
[39] Kuznetsov (2006), 643.

possible that people domesticated horses for riding earlier than 2000 BC. However, if early riders managed to ride without a bridle or bit, it would be difficult to detect that in the archaeological record and distinguish horses used for riding from horses hunted for food.

Following the osteological evidence, one can deduce that horses spread south through Anatolia and down to the Levant. Horse bones dating to the 4th millennium were discovered in the Chalcolithic sites of Shiqmim and Grar (Negev, Israel). Textual evidence indicates that horses were present, albeit rare, in Mesopotamia by the end of the third millennium.[40]

However, the matter of precisely when the horse came to Egypt is a matter of some controversy. Petrie discovered horse skulls and foot bones at Tell el-Ajjul (Gaza), which he dated to the Hyksos Period (1650 - 1550 BC). He used this evidence to propose a theory that the horse had been introduced to Egypt by the Hyksos during their reign.[41] Although the Hyksos people's exact origins are still debated, they likely came from somewhere in the Levant.[42] Since horses had permeated this region by the 3rd millennium, it is safe to assume that the Hyksos had knowledge of horses, but whether they were widely used by the Hyksos is uncertain.

2.1.2 Osteological Evidence

The osteological evidence, although sparse, seems to correspond to Petrie's timeline for Egypt. Several equid remains from Tell el-Daba, the Hyksos capital, are dated to 1600 BC, corresponding with Hyksos rule.[43] A partial horse skeleton from Tell Heboua in Sinai was discovered in a stratigraphic layer from the Second Intermediate Period.[44]

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[40] Grigson (1993), 652.
[41] Petrie (1931).
[42] For an overview of this debate, see Bietak (2010). He argues that the Hyksos very likely originated from the Northern Levant, in the area of Byblos (163).
[43] Boessneck (1976), 21-24.
[44] L. Chaix (2000), 177.

At Tell el-Ajjul, Petrie identified several burials with human and equid remains.[45] Only one skeleton was intact, which Petrie identified as a donkey, while the other bones he identified as either donkeys or horses. However, the lack of thorough documentation or faunal reports has left Petrie's conclusions open to criticism.[46] Fortunately, one bone fragment, positively identified by Juliet Clutton-Brock as coming from a horse, was radiocarbon dated to the Hyksos period, reaffirming Petrie's claims.[47] However, Petrie also used the presence of horses in the region at this time to argue that the Hyksos were only able to invade Egypt so easily because they used chariots. Säve-Söderbergh challenged Petrie and dismissed this idea, stating that there was no evidence for a wide-scale invasion in Egypt, nor proof that the Hyksos used chariots until, perhaps, the end of their reign.[48]

Early osteological finds in Nubia further complicate the timeline. The Buhen horse is dated to 1675 BC, which would actually place it before the Hyksos period, and is perhaps even earlier than the horses from Tell el-Ajjul. The Buhen horse was discovered in a layer of rubble from a siege of the fortress in 1675 BC when the entire site burned down. The fortress was rebuilt as a stronghold for the New Kingdom army and remained until it was destroyed again in the 20th Dynasty.[49] The early date of this horse does not fit the well-accepted narrative of the arrival of the horse to Africa (coming from the Levant into the Delta) and, as such, has been the source of great debate.[50] Attempts at radiocarbon dating the Buhen horse were unsuccessful, so the 1675 BC date relies entirely on the stratigraphy of W. B. Emery[51] from the time of the initial

[45] See Petrie (1931), (1932).
[46] Clutton-Brock & Raulwing (2009), 43.
[47] Burleigh (1986), 232.
[48] Säve-Söderbergh (1951), 159.
[49] Clutton-Brock (1974), 89.
[50] For the best overview, see Clutton-Brock & Raulwing (2009).
[51] See Emery (1960). Emery states, "There can be no doubt of its date, for it was covered with a stratified deposit 1.15 m. deep on which the brickwork of the New Kingdom reconstruction was

excavation in 1958. However, his records were not particularly thorough, and there are very few photographs of the horse in situ, making any reexamination of the evidence extremely difficult, inviting widespread criticism of Emery's date.

2.1.3 Earliest Attestation of the Horse in Egypt

The first reference to horses in an Egyptian text comes from the stela erected by Kamose at Karnak after his victory over the Hyksos at the end of the 17th Dynasty. It refers to horses (*ssmt*), as well as chariotry (*ḫtry)*.[52] This early testimony supports the widely held belief that the arrival of horses in Egypt (or at least the time when the Egyptians had access to horses) corresponded with the end of the Second Intermediate Period. However, this does not mean that chariot teams were in use by the Egyptians in battle the way they would be later in the period. Gnirs and Hoffmeier, referring to the Kamose inscription, say, "In this source, chariots do not appear as weapons, but rather as precious status objects in a king's booty. Thus, at first the chariot served military commanders primarily as a superior, fast operational platform; it was not yet deployed in formations during military actions."[53] Nevertheless, based on the fact that there is no evidence for horses and chariots in Egypt during the Middle Kingdom but they do appear immediately at the start of the 18th Dynasty, it is understandable that the Hyksos are still often credited for the arrival of the horse in Egypt.[54] Despite this widely accepted claim, scholars continue to debate this simplified conclusion. Biddy suggests that the horses and chariots that

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laid. Moreover, the bones about 0.50 m. beneath a layer of cinders and charred wood remain of the burning of the fortress when it was stormed at a date approximating to 1675 B.C." (8).

[52] The word "chariotry" was used by Habachi (1972) in his translation of the second stela of Kamose but Shulman (1980) challenged that translation, as the word lacks the chariot or horse determinative, and the archaeological and textual evidence does not support the presence of a chariot division in the Hyksos army. Nevertheless, this reference to horses is the earliest known to date.

[53] Gnirs and Hoffmeier (2001).

[54] Shaw (2001), 202.

arrived in Egypt came through "normal transmission methods" of trade and gift-giving rather than suddenly introduced by foreigners.[55] Shaw argues that the Hyksos were actually a barrier to the adoption of chariot technology, and only with their expulsion were the Egyptians finally able to access horses and chariots.[56]

Egyptian representations of horses first appear in reliefs from the temple of Ahmose at Abydos. Discovered in 1993, the series of relief fragments constitute the earliest known scene of horses and chariots employed during a battle.[57] The narrative scenes depict a battle against Asiatics, but it is unclear if the chariots belong to the Egyptians or the Hyksos. Horses also appear on three-dimensional objects, like scarabs, during the reigns of Amenhotep I[58] and Thutmose I.[59]

Although sparse, the osteological remains and very early testaments in text and images do suggest the existence of horses in Egypt prior to the start of the New Kingdom during the Second Intermediate Period. However, there is no indication that the quantity was large enough to warrant any argument as to the existence of chariotry under the Hyksos or the Egyptians during this time. It may be that the horse was first used in Egypt as a means of transportation in the non-military context, or, if it was part of the military force of the Hyksos, employed in another way. Although, donkeys were far more suitable for transport across the desert landscape of Egypt and required far fewer resources and less maintenance than horses.

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[55] Biddy (2001), 16.
[56] Shaw (2001), 69.
[57] Harvey (1998), 308, pls. 76-79.
[58] The scarab depicts Amenhotep I driving a chariot, in Hornung & Staehelin (1976), no. 213.233, pl. 21.
[59] The scarab in the British Museum is inscribed with his prenomen and shows Thutmose I in a chariot shooting an arrow at a Nubian soldier (BM 17774).

Within Egypt, the Nile was always one of the primary means of transportation, and successful warfare depended on the navy. Compared with boats, chariots were a far slower and less efficient way of moving around the country, especially in the thick reeds surrounding the banks of the Nile or the wetlands of the Delta. In fact, there are several scenes of chariot teams transported by boat, implying that it was quicker to transport the horses by boat than to drive the chariot itself.[60] To put it simply, the chariot was not very useful for transport or battles within the borders of Egypt. Therefore, it is logical to assume that only when the Hyksos were driven out and the Egyptian empire sought to expand into the Near East did the Egyptians encounter an environment in which the chariot was suited to the terrain and made sense strategically.

The biography of Ahmose, son of Ibana, from his tomb in El Kab, is the first text to specifically mention a king, or even an Egyptian, in a chariot. Ahmose served in the military under the first three kings of the 18th Dynasty: Ahmose I, Amenhotep I, and Thutmose I (1550 - 1492 BC). The inscription reads, "Thus I used to accompany the Sovereign – life, prosperity, health! – on foot, following his excursions in his chariot."[61] In this text, *ḥtr* is followed by a chariot determinative, leaving no doubt about the translation. When recalling his military achievements and being awarded the gold of valor from Thutmose I after a battle in Naharin, Ahmose recounts how he presented the king with booty and was rewarded with gold again, "I brought a chariot and its team, and the one upon it (the Charioteer) as a living prisoner."[62] Although it can be said with some certainty that the Egyptians owned horses and chariots at this time, chariots may have either been solely a royal prerogative or so rare that they were only

[60] For example, the 18th Dynasty tombs of Kenamun (TT162), Amenhotep-Huy (TT40), and Parennefer in Dra Abu el Naga.
[61] Pritchard (1969), 233.
[62] Davies (2009), 156, she notes that the word in column 39 (Urk. IV, 10, 1) should be read *ssmt[t]* instead of *ssm* and probably refers not to a single horse, but to the chariot team.

available to a select few. However, the fact that a king is riding in a chariot, as well as the mention of a chariot and horse as war booty valuable enough to warrant royal recognition, clearly establishes the high value of the horse soon after their introduction to Egypt.

Several decades later, by the reign of Thutmose III (1479-1425 BC), non-royal individuals certainly owned horses and chariots. The inscription of Paheri, the grandson of Ahmose, son of Ibana, reads, "Stand still, don't be restless, you excellent team of the mayor, the beloved of its lord, about which the mayor boasts to everyone."[63] The text is above a scene of Paheri's chariot team awaiting him as he performs official inspections. Not only does Paheri own a chariot team which he uses while carrying out his official duties, but also, he places this image and text in a prominent position in his tomb.[64] This indicates that the chariot team was of great importance to the tomb owner and represented his high social status. While early references to horses are exclusive to tomb and battle inscriptions, horses begin to appear in many genres of texts and become commonplace in art from this period onward.[65]

2.2 The Horse in Text During the New Kingdom

Despite the fragmentary nature of the surviving textual record, references to horses appear in all varieties of literary, administrative, and historical documents of the New Kingdom. While texts occasionally mention horses, writing that refers directly to the horse stables or individuals working within the stables is rare. The absence of a training manual for horses or veterinary texts, similar to those discovered from other ancient societies, such as the Hittite training guide of Kikkuli or the writings of the Greek Xenophon, is unfortunate. It is quite

[63] Tylor (1895), 13, pl. 3; Turner (2016), 171.
[64] Long hall, south end of the west wall.
[65] See Turner (2016) for an overview.

possible that these types of texts once existed but, due to the fragile nature of papyrus and the accidental nature of archaeology, these may have been lost.

Writers often describe horses in stories of battles and royal narratives from inscriptions on temples and monuments, like the Battle of Kadesh, and historical tales, as in the "Capture of Joppa" from Papyrus Harris 500 from the early 19th Dynasty.[66] The surviving texts and images leave no doubt that horses were held in high esteem by the Egyptians. They were valued for their strength, loyalty, and beauty, and possession of them brought the owner prestige.

Battle narratives inscribed on temples highlight the degree to which the kings valued their horses and illustrate the central role that the image of the horse played in constructing the idea of kingship and creating successful royal propaganda. The most striking example of this is Ramesses II's Kadesh inscriptions. The story tells us how, when the enemies from Khatti surrounded Ramesses's men, the king himself immediately mounted his chariot, pulled by his two great horses, "Victory-in-Thebes" and "Mut-is-content," and rode alone into battle.[67] The Chief of Khatti and his army hid within the walls of Kadesh, paralyzed by fear upon seeing the king, well-armed and galloping at full speed with his mighty horses, charging the city.

Several Ramesside battle scene refer to the king's horses by name. The names are predominantly theophoric, like *Imn-di.n.f-pꜣ-ḫpš* "Amun has given might",[68] or propagandistic, such as *ptpt-ḫꜣswt* "trampler of foreign countries".[69] The content of these names reaffirm the prestige of the chariot horse, deemed worthy enough to bear the names of the gods, as well as their role in constructing the image of the warrior king by making reference to victory and

[66] BM, EA 10060.
[67] Lichtheim (2006), 70.
[68] KRI I, 19 (4).
[69] KRI I, 20 (16); see Fischer (1977) 177-178.

defeated enemies. In addition to horses, it is notable that owners often gave names to their dogs, which also occasionally referenced gods, but evidently, cats were not named.[70]

Other writings from the New Kingdom also express royals' love for horses. The Sphinx Stela of Amenhotep II clearly illustrates the king's sentiment towards his horses and reveals something about horse care and management. It reads, "when he was still a youth, he loved his horses and rejoiced in them. He was stout-hearted in working them, learning their nature, skilled in training them, understanding their ways. He raised horses that were unequaled. They did not tire when he held the reins; they did not drip sweat in the gallop. He would yoke (them) with the harness at Memphis and would stop at the resting place of Harmakhis"[71] This passage shows an understanding of physical indicators of fatigue or displeasure, like excessive sweating or resistance to the bit. The prince shows affection for his horses in how he cares for them, recognizing the need to understand their unique personalities and temperament. It is a love not just for their physical strength, but with a recognition of their delicate nature.

In the relief and inscription from Medinet Habu, Ramesses III inspects his horses while a bugle sounds and the grooms accompanying the horses salute the king (Fig. 1). The inscription states, "Inspecting the great spans of the great stable [of] Ramses III of [the Court] by the king himself. The king appearing like Montu, his strength like (that of) the son of Nut, to see the horses which his (own) hands have trained for the great [stable] of the palace which the Lord of the Two Lands: Usermare-Meriamon made."[72] Like the Sphinx stela, this text suggests that the king played an active role in the training of his horses. While the reality of the king's physical

[70] For example, in the 4th Dynasty, a dog was buried in the Giza plateau with all the ritual ceremonies of a nobleman and identified as *Abuwityuw*. See Reisner (1936), 96-99; see also Jansseen (1958) and Fischer (1961) and (1977).
[71] Lichtheim (2006), 42.
[72] Edgerton & Wilson (1936), 136-137.

participation in training is questionable, it was important for the king to take responsibility for the horses' abilities and success in battle.

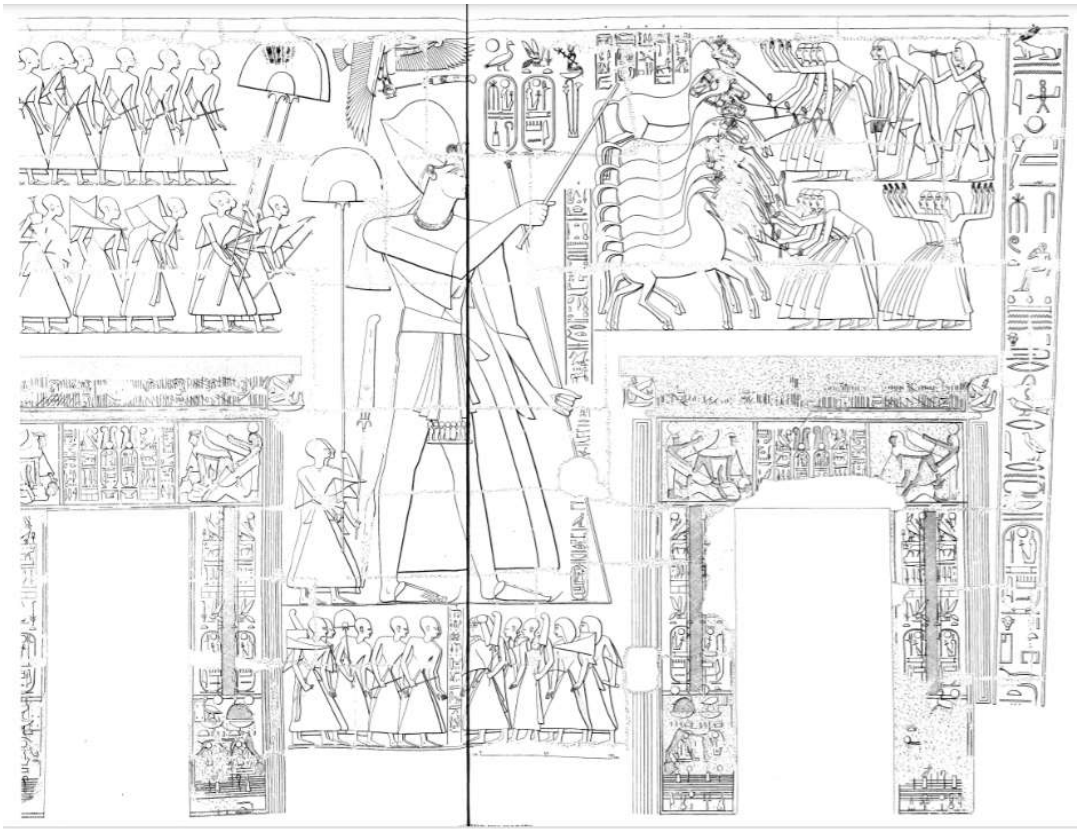

Figure 1: Ramesses III Inspecting his Horses. Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago

Other narratives recounting battle make mention of the more practical aspect of military campaigns. "The Capture of Joppa", dated to the early 19th Dynasty but set in Thutmose III's reign, mentions the activities of grooms in a military encampment. In one passage, grooms are charged with bringing the horses in and feeding them for fear the Apiru will steal them.[73]

While the battle narratives relate information about the use and care of horses in battle and the king's relationship with his horses, administrative texts are beneficial for identifying individuals involved with the horse stables, as well as numbers of horses acquired in battle. The Wilbour Papyrus, an extensive 20th Dynasty land census, lists most of the Stable Masters known

[73] Manassa (2013), 75.

from that period. The assessors covered only a limited area in upper Middle Egypt, but Stable Master made up 22% of landowners there, indicating the title was not only a common one at the time but also of some importance.[74] Other legal documents, like the so-called "adoption papyrus" from the later 20th Dynasty, address topics unrelated to horses but identify the individuals by their titles, including Stable Master.[75]

Some royal administrative documents and correspondences record the number of horses captured during war or acquired through tribute or dues. The annals of Thutmose III record the acquisition of 2,041 mares, six stallions, 191 foals during the battle of Megiddo, 29 horses from Djay five years later, and 188 from Retenu the next year, among others. [76] Amenhotep II also documented the number of horses acquired in his Syrian campaigns on stelae set up at Memphis and Karnak.[77] This information is crucial to understand not only the extent of the royal herd that the stables would have to accommodate but also in considering breeding programs. Was this steady supply of horses adequate to equip the chariotry? Was this foreign stock perhaps even used for breeding to improve and diversify the horses in the royal stables?

The Amarna Letters also document horses brought to Egypt, as well as those sent abroad as gifts or as military assistance to allies. In one of many letters to Akhenaten,[78] Rib Hadda, vassal of Byblos, wrote, "give me 30 pairs of horses along with chariots. I have Charioteers, but I do not have a horse to march against the enemies of the king."[79] King Burra-Buriyaš of Babylon writes to the king of Egypt, "I send to you as your greeting-gift 3 minas of genuine lapis lazuli

[74] Spalinger (2005), 265.
[75] Ashmolean Museum, Papyrus 1945.96.
[76] Urk. IV, 663, 8-11; 668, 5; Urk. IV, 668.5.
[77] Urk. IV 1301-1316.
[78] Turner (2015), 296, note 709, calculates that Rib Hadda asked for a total of 580 horses documented in letters EA 76, EA 78, EA 85, EA 90, EA 99, EA 100, EA 103, EA 106, EA 107, EA 108, EA.
[79] EA 107, Moran (1993), 181. 117, EA 127, EA 131, EA 132.

and 5 teams of horses for 5 wooden chariots."[80] The Amarna Letters also reveal the movement of horses and the value of the animals as gifts and tools of the military.

Literature, including poetry, letters, and narrative tales, is another source of valuable information. Poetry illustrates how horses were represented in ancient Egyptian culture, while stories often describe horses and their caretakers in more practical terms. In the satirical story "Sufferings of an Army Officer" from Papyrus Anastasi III, a young man is assigned to the stables. He attempts to drive a chariot, but his inexperience leads him to fall and be injured.[81] However, within this cautionary tale are details about how chariot drivers were assigned to the stables and how they acquired their teams. Other letters like one from Papyrus Koller, [82] dated to the end of the 19th Dynasty,[83] describe aspects of the roles of grooms and Stables Masters.

Love songs and poetry often use horses as metaphors for beauty, vitality, and speed. A love song from Papyrus Harris 500[84] waxes, "Oh, hurry to look at your love! Be like horses charging in battle."[85] The imagery of the horse – swift, athletic, and powerful – was often used to illustrate the passion, excitement, and eagerness between lovers. A poem from Papyrus Chester Beatty I reads, "O that you came to your sister swiftly! Like a horse of the king; Picked from a thousand steeds of all kinds, the choicest of the stables. It is singled out in its feed, its master knows its paces. When it hears the sound of the whip, there's no holding it back. There's no Chief of Charioteers who could overtake it."[86]

[80] EA 9, Moran (1993), 18.
[81] BM, EA102466.
[82] Papyrus Berlin, 3043, Caminos (1954), 431.
[83] Gardiner (1911), 35.
[84] BM, EA 10060.
[85] Foster (1992), 67.
[86] Lichtheim (2006), 186.

The man described in this verse did not just run to his lover quickly. He ran as fast as the best horse in the stable, who could outrun all the other horses. Secondary to the description of speed is the horses' wild determination that even his master cannot control. Again, this passage also suggests an intimate relationship between the king and his horse since it implies that he hand-selected his horses.

Additionally, a new genre of literature in the New Kingdom known as Hymn to the King in His Chariot (or Poem on the King's Chariot) reinforces the horse and chariot's role in constructing the image of the warrior-king and safety and success of the kingdom. One of the few known examples reads, "The floor of your chariot: gracious towards you do they become, the (foreign) rulers. The cab supports of your chariot: those who terrify every foreign country. The rail of your chariot: it takes away the spirit and morale of the (enemy) troops."[87] In this poem, each part of the chariot is described by its contribution to the king's victory over Egypt's foreign enemies. These hymns may have been recited during important ceremonies like coronation celebrations, royal jubilees, and celebrations of military victories.[88] In these scenarios, spectators would have possibly seen the king riding in his chariot as they listened to the poem's words, emphasizing the association of the chariot and horses with the victorious king.

In literature, as in art, horses added an element of interest to the larger theme, as the horse was highly regarded as an animal of supreme grace and beauty. Several reliefs depict unrestrained horses running freely, such as the Amarna reliefs from Hermopolis (see Fig. 7). The looseness of these images and the romantic metaphors found in poems and songs reflect the creator's creativity and experimentation in which the horse was his subject of choice. The

[87] Manassa (2013), 144 from an ostracon in the National Museum of Scotland, acc. no. A.1956.319.
[88] Manassa (2013), 152-153.

association of the horse with speed, power, stamina, and beauty are apparent in the imagery of ancient Egyptian literature and, in many ways, mirror our modern conceptions of horses.

2.3 Representations of Horses in the New Kingdom

Horses appear in many common genres of art throughout the New Kingdom. The image of galloping horses mid-hunt, like those on the box of Tutankhamun,[89] or leaping into battle, like the depictions of Ramesses II at the Ramesseum, have become synonymous with this period of Egyptian art. Horses and chariots appear most often on tomb walls in hunting and sporting scenes, celebratory processions, funerary processions, presentations of tribute, and depictions of the elite carrying out their duties. They also often appear on temple walls in battle and victory scenes. Many of these depictions show the horse being used for three primary purposes: transportation, a tool for battle, or status symbols. Grooms or horse handlers who may have been involved with the stables are not standard but occasionally appear in tribute scenes, in battle camps, and sometimes in pastoral contexts.

In addition to tomb and temple scenes, horses occasionally appear on stelae. Examples show horses either as part of a chariot team, such as on the Amarna stela of the royal scribe Ani,[90] or in association with Astarte and Resheph, the Near Eastern deities associated with horses and warfare, adopted in Egypt in the early 18th Dynasty.[91] Reliefs of Resheph are primarily from the 18th Dynasty, from at least the time of Amenhotep II,[92] while private monuments and votive

[89] EM, JE 61467.
[90] EM, CG 34177 = JE 29748
[91] See Hoffmeier & Kitchen (2007). The stela (TBO 760) was commissioned by Betu who held the title "Overseer of Horses". On this stela, Resheph is referred to as *ršp nb pr iḥw*, "Resheph Lord of the estate (or house) of the stable of horses." (131)
[92] Relief at Karnak, in the *Heb-Seb* temple of Amenhotep II between the 9th and 10th pylons. Cornelius (1994), 84.

stelae depicting Resheph more commonly appear in the 19th and 20th dynasties.[93] Moreover, artisans featured individual horses and chariot teams as decorative elements on items such as brass hair curlers[94] or jewelry.[95] This suggests an interest by artists and patrons in the horse itself and its association with beauty and grace.

Battle reliefs, smiting, and victory scenes are some of the most recognizable images from the New Kingdom and often appear as the main subject in temple decoration, such as the reliefs of Seti I at Karnak Temple or the story of Ramesses II's victory at the battle of Kadesh found at Abu Simbel and the Ramesseum. Narrative war scenes demonstrated the king's military prowess through the motif of the galloping horse and chariot. In contrast, images of the king smiting enemies or returning victorious from battle reinforced his power over the forces of chaos, represented by foreign enemies.[96] While there are only a few examples of royal chariots in battle and victory scenes before the Amarna period,[97] the surviving evidence illustrates how quickly these themes were incorporated into royal art.

However, during the Ramesside period, battle scenes expand into larger narratives showing all components of military campaigns, including the march into battle, the battle itself, the victorious king, and the troops and king returning with the spoils of war.[98] These expanded narratives also provide more insight into the logistics of military expeditions. One reliefs of

[93] Cornelius (1994), 241
[94] See the curlers from the Art Institute of Chicago, (ref no. 1894.963), University College London (UC 26935), and the BM, EA 36314)
[95] For example, the ring with two horses from the Louvre, N 728.
[96] Ikram and Veldmeijer, eds. (2013).
[97] Such as the scarab of Thutmose I shooting at Nubians (BM, EA 17774) and Thutmose IV killing his opponents with arrows and an axe, depicted on the side panel of the royal chariot discovered in his tomb, in Carter & Newberry (1904), 26.
[98] Sabbahy (2018), 142.

Ramesses II's battle of Kadesh on the walls of Abu Simbel depicts how horses were kept and fed in the military camps (Fig. 2).

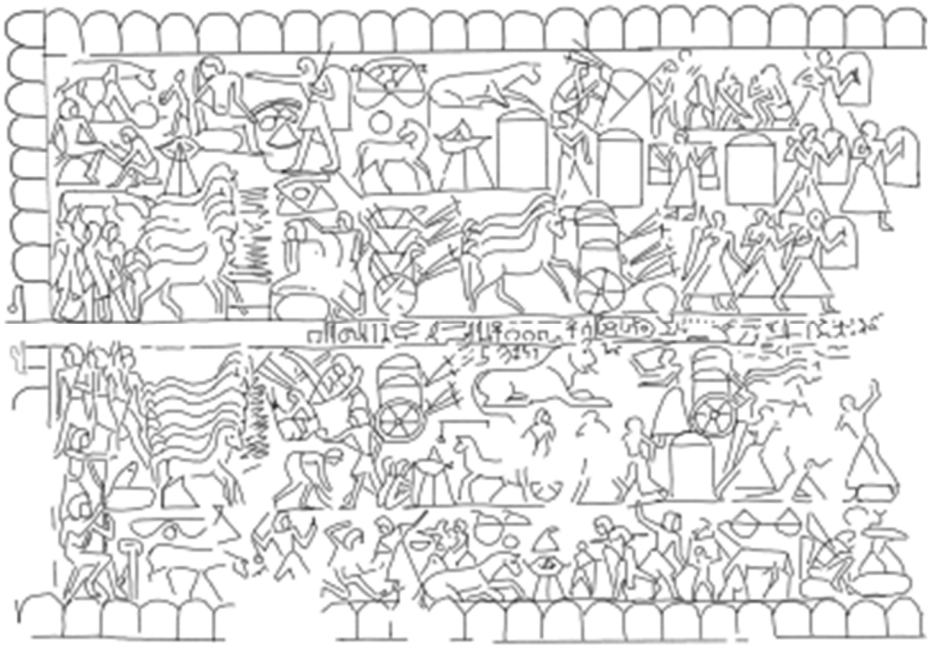

Figure 2: Horses Eating in a Military Camp from the Battle of Kadesh, Abu Simbel Temple. After Desroches-Noblecourt (1971), pl. 4.

This scene depicts a camp with chariot horses, as well as donkeys, encircled by the ongoing struggle.[99] Horses populate the surrounding scene; chariot teams rush into (or away from) battle, resting horses eat in the military camps, and some are even ridden. Although mounted horsemen appear in ancient Egyptian art with at least 16 examples of Egyptian horse riders in the New Kingdom,[100] particularly from the end of the 18th Dynasty, their presence has generally been overlooked and explained away with the insistence that the ancient Egyptians did not ride horses. However, Schulman made a strong argument that these riders are scouts[101] who

[99] Breasted (1903), pl. 6.
[100] Schulman (1957). In addition, there are several Egyptian representations of foreign horsemen, as well as the goddess Astarte on horseback.
[101] Schulman (1957), 270-271.

served an essential role in gathering intelligence; another way the horse contributed to warfare tactics and success on the battlefield.

The king relied on his chariot team in warfare, however, he also used them at home for transportation and leisure activities. Chariots were used to carry the royal family during official processions, particularly during the Amarna period.[102] The royal family and attendants riding in chariots accompanied by military personnel became a common motif in elite tombs of the period. The drivers are sometimes depicted attending to waiting chariot teams. [103] Examples include scenes in the tomb of Meryra I (T4)[104] and the Colonnade Hall at Luxor Temple depicting the procession to the temple for the Opet festival from the reign of Tutankhamun.[105] Hoffmeier suggests that one scene from the Karnak *talatat* shows Akhenaten and Nefertiti riding together in a chariot, making it the first representation of a woman in a chariot, a theme unique to the Amarna period.[106]

There are a few examples of sporting and hunting scenes in which the king rides in a chariot from the early 18th Dynasty,[107] but this imagery was particularly prominent in the time of Tutankhamun. Hunting scenes are found on several objects from his tomb, including the wood bow case,[108] fan,[109] and lid of his painted box,[110] depicting Tutankhamun shooting wild game,

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[102] Sabbahy (2019), 133.
[103] Sabbahy (2019), 131. See Hoffmeier (1988) for an overview and the reconstruction of the Karnak *talatat*.
[104] Davies (1902), pls. XXVI, XXIV.
[105] The Epigraphic Survey (1994), pl. LXVIII.
[106] Hoffmeier (1988), 35, pl. 37. Queens and princesses are also depicted in chariots in T3 (Ahmese), T4 (Meryra I), T6 (Panehesi), and T9 (Mahu), as well as another *talatat* block, MMA 1985.328.16. For further discussions, see Kopp-Junk (2013), 134 & Sabbahy (2013), 196.
[107] Including a tomb scene in TT72 of Amenhotep hunting ibex and ostriches from a chariot and a relief from Karnak Temple of Amenhotep II shooting arrows at a copper ingot from a chariot (Luxor Museum - J. 129).
[108] Carter no. 335, JE 62001
[109] Carter no. 242, JE 62001.
[110] Carter no. 21, JE 61467.

including lions and gazelles. The next surviving royal hunting scene is Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, who hunts wild game from his chariot. [111] Hunting scenes begin as a royal prerogative but were quickly adopted by non-royal elites. The first complete non-royal hunting scene from the New Kingdom comes from the tomb of Userhat (TT56), a high-ranking official,[112] during the time of Amenhotep II. [113] Scenes of everyday activities like hunting disappear from elite tombs during the Ramesside period as the trend turned towards religious themes.[114]

While chariot scenes with the king and royal family are essential components of the ancient Egyptian artistic canon, non-royal scenes more often include images of horse care, horse handlers, or grooms. These scenes hint at horse and stable management and training techniques and are therefore particularly relevant to this study.

The most common type of scene that includes horse handlers and horses (independent of the chariot) are tribute scenes in which foreign delegations bring offerings to officials and kings (Fig. 3). Tribute from the Levant often features horses in addition to other valuable gifts, including chariots, and horse handlers or grooms are often illustrated leading the horses in the procession. These scenes are most common in the reigns of Thutmose III/Hatshepsut, Thutmose IV, and Amenhotep III.[115] Only twenty 18th Dynasty tombs include tribute scenes, and more than half have horses. [116] All of the tomb owners with tribute scenes held high-ranking administrative,

[111] The Epigraphic Survey (1930), pl. 35.
[112] Royal Scribe and Child of the Royal Nursery, PM I/1, 111.
[113] Other examples of partial hunting scenes from private tombs from the 18th Dynasty in Thebes include the tombs of User (TT21) from the reign of Thutmose I, in Sabbahy (2013), 191 and Amunedjeh and Mery (TT84) and Amenemhet (TT123) during Thutmose III, in Sabbahy (2013), 191.
[114] Dodson & Ikram (2008), 252-55.
[115] Aldred (1970), 105.
[116] Anthony (2017), 13.

military, and religious titles.[117] It is clear that the purpose of these scenes was to demonstrate the king's wealth and power and the tomb owner's role in relation to the king. [118]

Figure 3: Tribute Scene from the Tomb of Sobekhotep (TT63). © The Trustees of the British Museum

During the Amarna period, tribute scenes are rare.[119] Post-Amarna, examples are limited, but the tomb of Amenhotep-Huy (TT40), Viceroy of Kush under Tutankhamun and Governor of the Southern Lands, depicts Nubians and Syrians bringing tribute, including horses.[120] The decorative program of Horemheb's tomb in Saqqara also contains a delegation of Asiatics and

[117] For example, Governor (TT84, TT40), Vizier (TT100), Captain of Troops (TT42, TT91), and High Priest of Amun (TT86), all from the time of Thutmose III to Tutankhamun (1479-1323 BC). Other tombs with tribute scenes with horses include Sobekhotep (TT63), Thanuny (TT74), Haremheb (TT78), Amenemhab (Mahu) (TT85), Nebamun (TT90), and Sennufer (TT99).
[118] Aldred (1970), 107.
[119] The tomb of Huya (T1) shows horses brought by Syrian tribute-bearers, as does the tomb of Meryra II (T2), where chariots are also brought in Davies (1905a), pl. XXXIX; Sabbahy (2019), 136.
[120] Davies & Gardiner (1926), pl 19.

Libyans bringing horses.[121] However, by the Ramesside period, elite tomb decoration focuses on religious themes, and tribute scenes no longer appear.[122]

Another setting in which horses and horse handlers often appear is elite officials using their personal chariot teams in the course of their work. Often the horses wait with attendants or drivers while the tomb owner performs the duties of his office. These scenes provide biographical information about the tomb owner and display the fact that the tomb owner possesses a personal chariot team, reinforcing his social status. They also demonstrate that horses were used for transportation outside of the context of warfare and were not exclusive to the military.

While elite work scenes occur throughout the New Kingdom, the subject matter changes. In the pre-Amarna 18th Dynasty, scenes of chariots with attendants in the fields are prevalent in elite tomb decoration, especially with officials associated with grain harvests. The earliest complete scene, and the first non-royal, non-military depiction of a chariot, comes from the tomb of Renni (T7), Counter of Grain, at el Kab from the time of Amenhotep I. In this scene, two horses wait in a field while the driver stands behind the chariot holding the reins and Renni examines the harvest.[123] In other examples, the tomb owner measures the fields while the chariot team waits nearby.[124]

Another type of elite work scene that appears only rarely, but is significant, is the registration scene in which horses are presented to a scribe who records the number of horses, in

[121] Martin (1989), 96, pl. 115.
[122] Dodson & Ikram (2008), 252.
[123] Tylor (1900), pl. 2. Similar scenes appear in the tombs of Paheri (T3) at el Kab, Mayor and Scribe of the Granary (Thutmose III); and of Amenemopet (TT297), also Scribe and Counter of the Grain of Amun (Thutmose IV/Amenhotep II).
[124] For example, the tombs of Menna (TT69), Scribe of the Fields; Nebamun (number lost); and Ka'emhet (TT57), Scribe and Overseer of Granaries, all from the reigns of Thutmose IV to Amenhotep III.

addition to other livestock. In the relief showing Amenhotep-Huy (TT40) leaving the palace, grooms lead the unharnessed horses in front of a scribe (Fig 4).[125] A similar 18th Dynasty scene from the tomb of Nebamun (TT145) shows horses, in addition to other animals like cattle, donkeys, and goats, registered by a scribe.[126] Registration scenes emphasize the tomb owner's contribution to the state and the pharaoh, and positions them among the growing bureaucracy and military centralization of the New Kingdom.

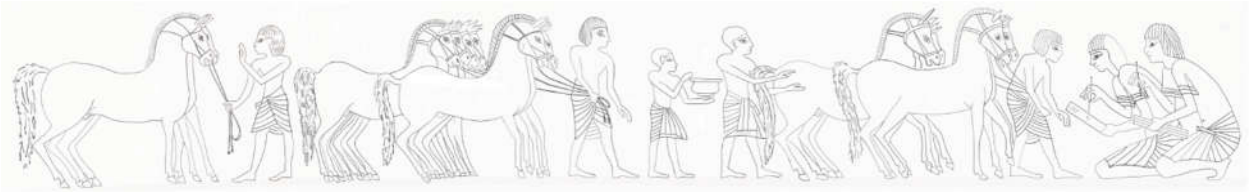

Figure 4: Scribe Recording Horses from the Tomb of Amenhotep-Huy (TT40); after Davies & Gardiner (1926), pl. 8

Several images of horses transported on boats are also present in 18th Dynasty tombs of individuals who held high-ranking titles like the Mayor, Kenamun (TT162); High Priest, Parennefer, (in his tomb in Dra Abu el Naga); Overseer of Sacred Cattle and Head of Archers, Horemheb (TT78); Governor and Scribe Paheri (T3); Royal Scribe, Khaemhat (TT57); and Viceroy of Kush and Governor of the Southern Lands, Amenhotep-Huy (TT40) from later in the 18th Dynasty (Fig 5).

From the Ramesside period, horses on boats appear in the tombs of Tia & Tia at Saqqara, Overseer of the Treasury, and First Prophet of Thutmose III, Khonsu, (TT31), whose son was Overseer of Horses, Usermont (Section 1.10 in Appendix B). These titles imply that the

[125] Davies & Gardiner (1926), pl. VII.
[126] Davies (1932) fig. 9. There is also a similar scene in the tomb of Tjanuny (TT74) from the reign of Thutmose IV, in which the deceased is shown recording soldiers, oxen, and horses.

owners had responsibilities that required travel and identifies them as members of the elite with enough wealth to possess their own chariot teams.

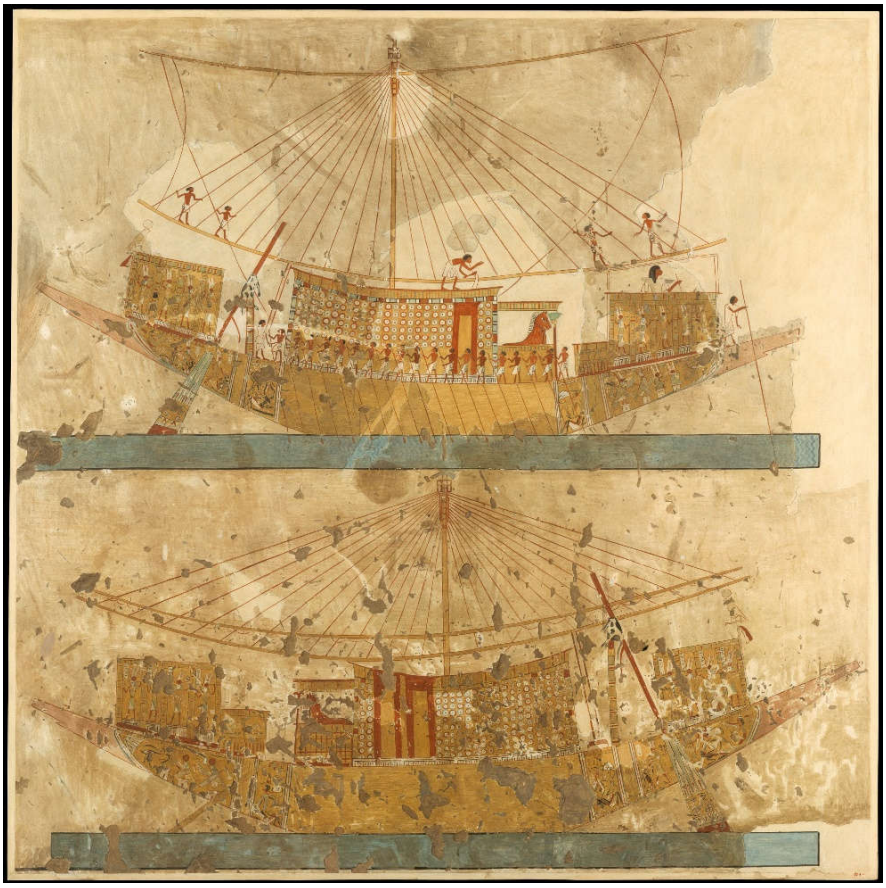

Figure 5: Facsimile of Boats from the Tomb of Amenhotep-Huy (TT40). By Charles K. Wilkinson, MMA 30.4.19

The owner would travel with the team in order to have a means of private transportation upon arriving at his destination. In these scenes, horses appear either in the foredeck or rear of the boat, usually in stall enclosures, and the artists often depict chariots on the roof.[127] Other images of elite work that involve horses and chariots appear in TT143 and TT89 from the reigns

[127] In TT324, the tomb of Hatiay, only the chariot is shown, implying a team of horses was also being transported; See Davies (1948), pl. 32. In TT49, the tomb of Neferhotep, a stall is visible on the boat, but no horses are depicted within; See Davies (1933), pl. XI.

of Thutmose III/Amenhotep II, in which the tomb owner meets Puntites by the Red Sea with the tomb-owner in the chariot, or the horses and chariot waiting nearby.[128]

During the Amarna period, scenes of elite work incorporate new subject matter. Huya was both Steward of the Great Wife Tiye and Overseer of the Royal Harem. In his tomb (Amarna T1), Huya is depicted carrying out his duties, accompanying Queen Tiye in his chariot as she visits Akhenaten at the temple.[129] In another particularly unique scene from Amarna, the Chief of Police, Mahu (Amarna T9), is pursuing criminals and bringing them to the Vizier.[130]

Another component of elite work is officials receiving recognition from the king. Usually, this came in the form of the official rewarded with the Gold of Honor (*shebu*). During the Amarna period, rewarding scenes expand from single images of the tomb owner before the king into a more extensive narrative sequence with chariots waiting during the rewarding scene and bringing the triumphant official back to his home.[131] The tomb of Meryra II (Amarna T2) provides a well-preserved example of this narrative sequence, demonstrating that chariots were the primary means of transportation for the elites at Amarna.[132] Grooms are sometimes depicted in the periphery of these scenes attending to the horses as they wait for their owner, or in other parts of the narrative when the tomb owner returns home, as in T2, which shows grooms wiping down and watering the horses upon their return (Fig. 6).[133]

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[128] Davies & Davies (1940), pl. XXV.
[129] Davies (1905b), pl. XIV.
[130] Davies (1906), pl. XXVI. Additional scenes show Mahu with his waiting chariot before the palace and visiting the temple, in Davies (1906), XVII.
[131] See the tombs of Neferhotep (TT49) in Davies (1933), pl 2; Aye (T25) in Davies (1908), pl. 30, 32; and Parennefer (T7) in Hofmann (2004), pl. 2; and the stela of Any in Davies (1908a), pls. XXIII; in which the owner drives away in his chariot after the ceremony with the gold necklaces already around his neck.
[132] Davies (1905), pl. 33.
[133] Davies (1904), pl. 33, 36.

Figure 6: Horse grooming (top right) in the tomb of Meryra II (T2). Davies (1905), pl. 33.

Horemheb's Saqqara tomb features several scenes highlighting his duties as general of the army that provide some information about the use and care of the horse. The tomb is populated with military scenes, including encampments, busy with soldiers, and the presentation of tribute. In several reliefs, grooms are depicted casually handling the horses of the chariotry. In one, the groom sits on the ground, holding the reins of two unharnessed horses.[134] In another particularly notable example, the groom half lays across the backs of two harnessed horses.[135] These scenes speak to the close relationship between the grooms and their horses and the significant amount of downtime they likely spent together. There is also a relief of a mounted rider that Martin refers to as a "dispatch rider".[136] Images of horse riders are rare in the artistic record and this is a unique example that shows a horse rider amid daily military activities, not in

[134] ÄM 20363.
[135] Martin (1989), pl. 95. Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 1887.
[136] Martin (1989), 40.

the heat of battle. This setting emphasizes the fact that these riders, most likely scouts or messengers, held an established role in the military, rather than being grooms exercising horses or soldiers fleeing battle.

As discussed above, the tomb decoration of the Ramesside period is focused on religious themes, meaning there are minimal representations of chariots in a non-royal context.[137] The few that exist are similar to those of the 18th Dynasty, depicting officials transported in chariots.[138] It is interesting to note that during the Ramesside period, there are also representations of chariot workshops on blocks discovered at Saqqara.[139] Reliefs from the lost tombs of Kairy, Chief of Chariot Makers, and Apuia also show chariot production and use. Furthermore, there are chariot manufacturing scenes from 18th Dynasty tombs, including Puyemre (TT39), Mery (TT95), Hepu (TT66), and Amenhotep-sise (TT75).[140]

In addition to tribute scenes and images of elite work, horses and horse handlers also occasionally appear in scenes of funeral processions. In the tomb of Userhat (TT56) from the reign of Amenhotep II, the horse and chariot are brought separately to the tomb. One man pulls the chariot while the other follows alongside, holding the reins of a single horse.[141] There is a similar funeral procession in the Saqqara tomb of Horemheb.[142] The scene is damaged, but a fragment reveals the lower legs of twelve horses.[143] During the Ramesside period, horses only

[137] Sabbahy (2019), 148.
[138] For example, Amenemopet (TT41), Chief Steward of Amun in Thebes in PM I/1, 79; and Userhat (TT51), High Priest of the cult temple of Thutmose I in Davies (1927), pl. XIII; and block from Saqqara also shows the King's Scribe, Tjay, being driven in a chariot in Martin (1987), pl. 26, 72.
[139] Quibell & Hayter (1927).
[140] Quibell & Hayter (1927), pl. 12; Sabbahy (2019), 129.
[141] Sometimes only chariots are depicted in the procession, as in the tombs of Mentiywy (TT172) and Ahmose (TT121), during the reign of Thutmose III, and Hety (TT151) and Sobekhotep (TT63) during the reign of Thutmose IV, as well as the Amarna tomb of Meryneith at Saqqara.
[142] Sabbahy (2019), 140.
[143] Martin (1989), pl. 123.

appear in this context in Tia and Tia's tomb in Saqqara, who lived during the reign of Ramesses II. Instead of a procession of funerary goods, however, the horses appear on a boat as Tia and Tia make the voyage to Abydos as part of the funerary rituals.[144]

The final category of scenes in which horses appear is in the pastoral context. These unusual images demonstrate the Egyptians' understanding of natural horse behavior and may provide clues to methods of horse training and breeding. These scenes, which are very limited in number, show horses in their natural state, unharnessed and presumably in open areas, although the exact setting is not clear. A scene from the tomb of Amenemhet (TT123) dated to the reign of Thutmose III shows a groom leading two horses by their bridles, with four unharnessed horses following behind and two small foals (Fig. 13).[145] The image of the man leading the two horses is reminiscent of tribute scenes. However, the presence of the foals and the unrestrained horses suggest a different situation, perhaps bringing horses from the fields to the stables or even a breeding operation.

Several reliefs from Amarna discovered at Hermopolis depict horses running freely, although the scenes are fragmented, so the exact context is uncertain. One shows a herd of galloping horses of different sizes (Fig. 7).[146] The smallest appear to be foals or young horses. In the register below, several men holding ropes in their hands are calming unrestrained horses.

[144] Martin (1997), pl. 47.
[145] Davies (1932), fig 8.
[146] Hanke (1978), 231.

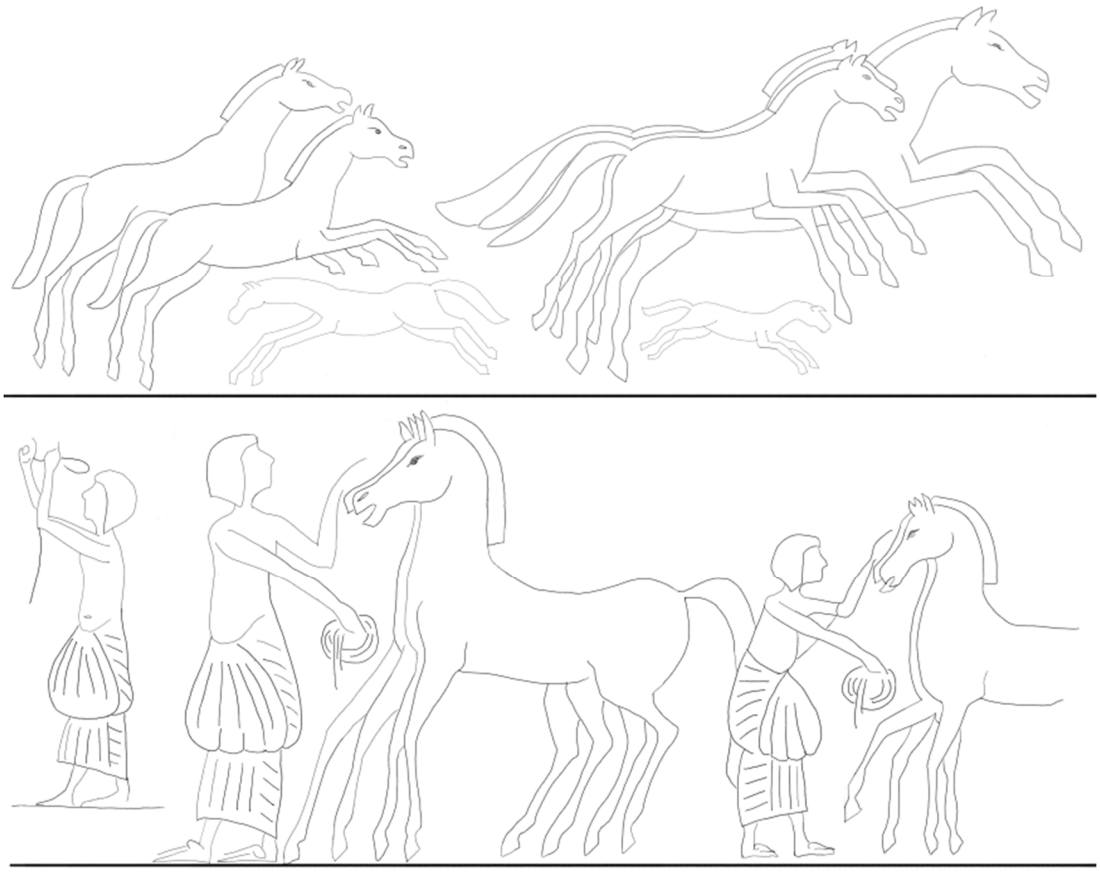

Figure 7: Amarna Scene from Hermopolis of Running Horses and Foals; after Hanke (1978), 231.

A late 18th Dynasty relief from the tomb of Ipuia at Saqqara, is another atypical representation of horses (see Fig. 12).[147] The fragment depicts four men attempting to restrain three animated horses. Unlike the tribute or registration scenes, the horses do not walk obediently but actively resist their handlers. Like the pastoral scenes above, the horses act in a much more naturalistic way.

It is clear that horses appear in a wide variety of two- and three-dimensional art: in rare instances being ridden, more commonly as Levantine tribute, and, most commonly, associated with chariots, whether in hunt, battle, or transportation scenes. Horse handlers appear primarily

[147] EM, JE 44924 in Quibell and Hayter (1927), pl 12.

in tribute scenes, funerary procession, assisting in elite work, and sometimes in depictions of battle camps. However, considering the possibility of destroyed or undiscovered examples, the mundane aspects of horse care or representations of horse stables were never the focal point of tomb decoration. This is supported by the fact that even the tomb owners who held titles associated with the horse stables did not represent the duties related to those roles in their tombs.[148]

2.4 The Horse in the Archeological Record During the New Kingdom

2.4.1 Architectural Remains

Evidence of horses in the archaeological record is rare. A minimal number of animal stables have been identified, and osteological evidence of the horses themselves is inconsistent. Few settlement areas of ancient Egypt have been excavated due to the continued habitation of specific regions and modern urban development in others. Nevertheless, archaeological investigations in Egypt have yielded a few examples of horse stables. Structures uncovered in excavations at Qantir-Piramesses and Amarna can confidently be identified as horse stables based on their architectural context (discussed further in Section 3.2).

The stable at the Ramesside capital of Qantir-Piramesses is the most notable for its size and the associated finds that support the definite identification of the structure as a stable for horses rather than a stable for any other animals. In addition, the site has been extensively excavated over the past several decades by the Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum. It sets the standard against which all other possible horse stables may be compared.

[148] Six individuals with the title Master of Horses, and three with the title Stable Master, have horses in the tomb decoration within military, rewarding, elite work, and tribute scenes.

The earlier stables at Amarna resemble the stables at Qantir-Piramesses with long rectangular rooms, tethering stones, and sloping floors. In addition to the rooms' shape and size, remains of horse manure were identified at the site.[149] A door lintel with a horse head (echoed millennia later on the façade of the Khedive's stables in Cairo, still visible on 26th of July Street in downtown Cairo)[150] further bolstered the theory that the Amarna stables housed horses. Furthermore, the archaeological context made it clear that this building was associated with the city's police force which would have required chariot teams to carry out their work, as evidenced by the image of Mahu, the Chief of Police, pursuing criminals in his chariot.[151]

However, the comparison of these two examples is limited as they are dissimilar in geography, time period, and context. Qantir-Piramesses, the Ramesside capital during the 19th and 20th Dynasties, was built in the eastern Delta's fertile environment. It was also positioned within a larger chariot complex with workshops and a training arena, and the stables housed the chariot units and likely the royal horses. The earlier site of Amarna, the capital city of Akhenaten, was built on the banks of the Nile in a dryer desert area of Middle Egypt. The stables were set within the police barracks, near the military quarters, and must have housed the horses for Amarna's police force, which was somewhat smaller (Pendlebury estimates 150-200 horses).[152]

Several other smaller stables have been discovered, for example, in the North Palace at Amarna or at Tell el-Retaba. However, with so few securely identified examples of horse stables in the archaeological record, it remains difficult to distinguish between stables that housed horses

[149] Pendlebury (1951), 133, pl XXI.
[150] Now the Royal Carriage Museum, the entrance is flanked by horse head sculpture that also runs along the front of the façade, S. Ikram, personal communication.
[151] Amarna tomb T9. Davies (1906), pl. XXVI.
[152] Pendlebury (1951), 134.

and those for other large animals, like cattle. With our current knowledge, it is also impossible to speak about how the horse stables' actual architecture or organization changed over time.

2.4.2 Chariots, Harnessing, and Accessories

In addition to the architectural zooarchaeological remains of horses discovered throughout Egypt and Nubia, objects associated with horses have been identified, particularly parts of chariots and harnessing. Chariots mainly come from tomb contexts. Six chariots were found in the tomb of Tutankhamun,[153] one in the tomb of Thutmose IV[154] and one in that of Yuya and Tuya.[155] In addition, one unprovenanced chariot resides in the Florence Museum.[156] However, the chariots' leather casing pieces were mostly missing or disintegrated, leaving most of the chariots incomplete. The chariot body of Thutmose IV, however, did survive intact as it was constructed entirely in wood.[157]

Leather pieces from the Tano chariot represent the first complete chariot casing discovered, in addition to accessories and horse harnessing.[158] Other leather pieces, including girths, bridles, neck-straps, blinkers, bow cases, as well as decorative gold sheets have been discovered in the tombs of Maiherpi (KV36), Amenhotep II (KV35), Thutmose IV (KV43), Amenhotep (WV22), and Tutankhamun (KV62). Other remnants of chariots and harnessing were uncovered at Amarna during Ludwig Borchardt's excavations and the German Missions, and later the Egypt Exploration Society in the early 20th Century.[159]

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[153] Carter (1927), 54-63, nos. 120, 121, 122, 161, 332, 333.
[154] EM, CG 46097.
[155] EM, CG 51188.
[156] No. 2678.
[157] Veldmeijer & Ikram (2018), 13.
[158] Analyzed extensively in Veldmeijer & Ikram (2018).
[159] Veldmeijer & Ikram (2018), 17. See also Veldmeijer (2011).

In addition to leather harnessing, metal bits have been discovered in Amarna and Tell el-'Ajjul (Gaza) (Fig. 11). The bit from Tell el-Ajjul is the earliest securely dated example of a metal bit from ancient Egypt. [160] Like this early example, all ancient bits were snaffles and designed to enforce directional control.

Bronze bits were discovered at Amarna, along with leather fragments near the horse stables.[161] Another bronze bit and bridle came from under a wall of house N48.15.[162] Several other bronze bits were excavated in sector Q1 at Qantir-Piramesses. Two bits were discovered lying on top of one another in the same stratigraphic layer as a bronze hubcap of a chariot. Also, bronze neck spurs[163] and decorative fittings, including gilded buttons and rivets, and a bronze headdress were found at the site.[164] Several other bronze bits exist in museums but are unprovenanced, including three at the Petrie Museum in London,[165] one in the Louvre,[166] and one in Cairo's Egyptian Museum.[167] They are stylistically dated to the New Kingdom. Another purchased bit supposedly came from Medinet Habu and is dated to the 19th Dynasty,[168] and a second New Kingdom bit with questionable origin from North Assasif.[169] These artifacts allow us to adequately reconstruct the chariot, harnessing, and biting used during the New Kingdom, which is essential for understanding horses' training and use (discussed further in Section 3.5).

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[160] Littauer & Crouwel (2002), 329.
[161] Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, no.1933:1209. Borchardt (1911), 16, 26; Herold (1999), 53, no. 4.1.1.
[162] ÄM, no. 20493. Borchardt, (1912), 35. Herold (1999), 61, no. 4.1.8.
[163] Round, spiked discs that were attached to the sidelines of the harnessing, presumably to apply pressure and keep the horse from turning his head to the side.
[164] See Herold (1999) for a full overview of bronze chariot materials from the Qantir-Piramesses excavations.
[165] Inv. Nos. UC 40720, 40721, 40724, 40735, 40726. Herold (1999), 58, 60, 61.
[166] E25406, dated to the Ramesside period. Herold (1999), 67, no. 4.1.9.
[167] CG 27901. Herold (1999), 70, no. 4.1.11.
[168] ÄM, no. 17326. Herold (1999), 55, no. 4.1.2.
[169] Herold (1999), 56, no. 4.1.3. See Lefebvre des Noettes (1931), 48.

2.4.3 Osteological Remains

Horse remains also have the potential to tell us about the use of the horse and harnessing and equipment. Several scholars have argued that the abnormal wear patterns on the Buhen horse's teeth are evidence of bit use, thereby suggesting that this horse was domesticated and ridden or driven. Anthony and Brown argued that occlusal wear on the lower second premolar resulted from the horse chewing on the bit,[170] while Bendrey proposed that the bit rubbed against the front part of the tooth, causing damage to the enamel surface of the tooth.[171] Sasada argued that both these theories neglect to examine the upper premolar set, in addition to the lower set, when formulating their hypotheses. Instead, Sasada suggested that the upper and lower molar sets' wave-like appearance resulted from the old age of the Buhen horse (19), which accounts for the abnormal wear on the lower second premolar.[172]

In addition to the Buhen horse and other early osteological evidence discussed in Section 2.1.2, a limited number of equid remains have been discovered dating to the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period.[173] In Nubia, bones were identified at Sai between the second and third cataract (1500 BC)[174] and at Soleb near the third cataract (1580 –1530 BC).[175] Another burial of a young horse discovered at Hillat el Arab[176] was broadly dated from 1250 to 750 BC.[177] Other

[170] See Anthony and Brown (1991).
[171] Bendrey (2007).
[172] Sasada (2013), 235.
[173] For recent overviews of equid burials in Egypt and Nubia, see Ikram (2019) and Turner (2016).
[174] Chaix & Gratien (2002), 53-59.
[175] Ducos (1965), 260-265.
[176] Chaix (2006).
[177] Based on the overview in Clutton-Brock & Raulwing (2009), 41.

remains from Egypt were found at Deir el-Bahri from the 18th Dynasty[178] (1500 - 1465 BC) and at Saqqara from the 18th to 19th Dynasties (1300 - 1200 BC), although this date could be later.[179]

Later, horse burials were unearthed at el Kurru in Sudan (25th Dynasty/8th – 7th century BC).[180] The osteological evidence does not show a definite transmission pattern from the north of Egypt to Nubia in the south. Still, it does reaffirm the idea that horses were present in Egypt from the Second Intermediate Period, although how they were used, and their prevalence is still uncertain.

Equid remains were also discovered at several New Kingdom fort sites. [181] An early horse, possibly from the Second Intermediate Period, was found at Tell Heboua in Sinai.[182] Six equids were uncovered at Tell el-Borg, of which at least one could be positively identified as a horse, from the end of the 18th Dynasty (1300 BC). Teeth and bones were found at Kom Firin dated from Late New Kingdom to the Late Period. Position on the southwest edge of the Nile Delta, this was likely a defense post against the Libyans to the West. Possible bone and tooth fragments were also found at Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham, a Ramesside fort on Egypt's north coast. The prevalence of equid fragments including donkeys, mules, and horses, do suggest that these animals were housed at fortresses throughout Egypt and played an important role in the defense of the kingdom. Presumably, these discoveries also suggest that New Kingdom fortresses may have been the site of sizable stables. In fact, in the same moat where the equids of Tell el Borg were found, the stela of Buto was uncovered, identifying him as the Overseer of

[178] Chard (1937), 317-319.
[179] Quibell & Olver (1926), 172-177.
[180] Dunham (1950).
[181] Ikram (2019).
[182] Chaix (2000), 177–86.

Horses. Again, this implies a sizable herd of horses were housed at the fort, as there was some stable administration in place there.

Equid remains are only very rarely found in a tomb context. A horse was discovered in a wood coffin, wrapped in linen, near the tomb of Senenmut (TT71) in Thebes, steward and architect of Hatshepsut. The careful burial near the elite official's tomb implies that this horse was highly valued and perhaps even a favorite of Senenmut himself. The horse was buried wearing a saddlecloth.[183] The saddlecloth could have been a part of the chariot harnessing, as on the chariot horses on Tutankhamun's painted box,[184] but images of Ptolemaic and Assyrian horseman clearly show horses ridden with saddlecloths.[185] The saddlecloth, and the fact that only one horse was buried, rather not a team, does lead to the assumption that this could be Senenmut's personal riding horse.

Additionally, disarticulated equid bones were found in Thebes at the tomb of Tjanuni from the mid-18th Dynasty. Unfortunately, the bones were not carefully examined at the time of excavation and have since been lost, making it impossible to determine whether they were horse bones or belonging to another equid.[186] If they were, in fact, equid bones, it would be another instance of horse burials from the 18th Dynasty, implying that it was perhaps more common than the surviving evidence suggests.

[183] See Lansing & Hayes, (1937) and Ikram & Iskander (2002).
[184] EM, JE61467
[185] For example, the Assyrian reliefs in the BM, EA 124876 and 124887 (c. 645 BC-635 BC) or the funerary stela of a soldier on horseback in the Alexandria Graeco-Roman Museum, no. 10228 (c. Late 4th–3rd century BC); Cole (2019), Figs. 5, 6.
[186] Boessneck (1970).

Chapter 3. Horse Stables and Horse Management in the New Kingdom

3.1 Requirements of Stable and Horse Management

Whether ancient or modern, horse stable management focuses on maintaining the horse's health, well-being, and functionality. In ancient Egypt, the horse was a tool for the chariotry, and a horse that was not physically and mentally sound was useless. The horse has six basic requirements: food, water, shelter, personal space, freedom of movement, and the company of other horses.[187] To effectively fulfill these basic requirements, horse care involves designing proper feeding regimens, disposing of waste, routine grooming, tacking up the horse for work, keeping tack in good condition, exercising the horse, administering veterinary and hoof care, and indoor spaces with enough space for each horse to be comfortable. In terms of other aspects of horse management, breeding and training also require careful planning and consideration. It is essential to control mating to prevent inbreeding and track which stallions and mares produce the best quality offspring with the most desirable traits.

Modern horse stables keep horses using one of four methods: in stalls, in grass pastures, in open or communal stabling, or a combination of one or more methods.[188] The horse stables of Amarna and Qantir/Piramesses both had long rectangular rooms with tethering stones spaced out at intervals appropriate for the size of a small horse where the grooms would have tied the horses. Amarna had a large open area with a large well at the center, while the stables at Qantir/Piramesses also had open spaces between the sets of stalls. This setup suggests that horses

[187] McBane (1994), 20.
[188] McBane (1994), 7.

were stabled at least part of the time but could have also spent part of their time in communal stabling.

This situation created additional care concerns. It is generally accepted that horses kept in stalls should be given at least two hours of exercise per day to maintain their mental and physical health.[189] Therefore, it is likely that someone was responsible for taking the horse to and from open areas where they could move freely or exercising them by hand or harnessed to the chariot. Furthermore, a horses' housing situation and footing determines how their hooves grow. Horses' hooves grow at a rate of 5-10 mm per month, and they must be trimmed regularly. Horses in the wild usually walk substantial distances over sufficiently rough terrain to naturally wear down their hooves. However, a domestic horse in a field without horseshoes generally needs their feet trimmed every six weeks.[190] There is no evidence that the ancient Egyptians used horseshoes so, if the horses were stalled, someone would have regularly trim or file their hooves unless the flooring was rough enough to wear down the feet naturally.[191]

Royal stables in ancient Egypt would have had to address all these concerns at a massive scale in order to maintain the herds needed for the chariotry. Redford estimates, for example, that during the Megiddo campaign of Thutmose III, the chariotry included 2,000 horses. In comparison, Spalinger suggests a maximum of 4,200 horses for the same period, both based on the annals of Thutmose III at Karnak.[192] Presumably, the number of horses within Egypt, including broodmares and young horses, was far higher since young horses and pregnant or nursing mares would not have participated in the battles.

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[189] McBane (1994), 8.
[190] Brown, Pilliner, & Davies (2003), 109.
[191] This is an especially perplexing point as there is no evidence that the Egyptians had any knowledge of farrier techniques or tools.
[192] Spalinger (2005), 90. Spalinger calculates of the size of the Egyptian army based the time it took for the troops and animals to travel from Yehem through the Aruna Pass.

In addition to horses, the stables may have accommodated horse-donkey hybrids including mules (offspring of a female horse and a male donkey) or hinnies (offspring male horse and a female donkey). Hybrids were apparently also used with chariots, evidenced by depictions from the 18th Dynasty in the tombs of Khaemhat (TT 57) and Nebamun.[193] The scene from Nebamun's tomb shows a team of hybrids, either hinnies or mules, directly below a team of horses, emphasizing the difference in morphology and attitude between the two sets of equids.

Furthermore, the stables had to occasionally accommodate horses captured as booty and brought as tribute. For example, during the same campaign at Megiddo, Thutmose III acquired an additional 2,238 horses.[194] Such an influx of horses would require a vast network of horse stables, staff, or members of the chariotry to care for them.

The stables would have required a robust administrative structure to meet all these needs. Previous studies of military and administrative organization have identified the horse stables' main personnel as the Overseer of Horses, Stable Master, grooms, and scribes.[195] Based on the requirements to maintain a healthy herd, one can make some assumptions about how the stables may have functioned. Overseer of Horses was the highest-ranking position associated with the horse stables. Not only was this title listed in high positions in the Onomasticon of Amenemope and the tomb of Tutu (T8), many of the Overseers of Horses also held other high-ranking titles, like Royal Scribe, Troop Commander, or Fan-bearer to the Right of the King and were associated with the royal family (discussed in more detail in Section 4.4.4). In addition, during the New Kingdom, many of the administrative units were managed by overseers. Titles like Overseer of the Treasury, Overseer of Work, or Overseer of the Fields were influential and

[193] BM 37982.
[194] Urk. IV, 663:8-11, Redford (2003), 34.
[195] Namely, Helck (1939) and Schulman's (1964) studies of military organization.

powerful positions.[196] Therefore, it is reasonable to suggest that the Overseer of Horses was the main authority and oversaw the administration of the stables and possibly elements of the chariotry as well.

Based on lists of military ranks and secondary titles, the Stable Master was not as high-ranking as the Overseer of Horses but was still a position with significant responsibilities. Stable Masters likely managed the stables, ensuring the steady supply of food, the presence of adequate personnel, and preparations for expeditions and battles. However, the Stable Master was not necessarily subordinate to the Overseer of Horses. Even if the Overseer of Horses was a position of greater authority, it could have been that they were responsible for the horses themselves (breeding, assigning horses to charioteers, handling incoming stock, etc.), while the Stable Masters managed matters related directly to the stables like supervising grooms and procuring food. Unfortunately, there is no direct evidence that explains if the two roles were a direct hierarchy or not with the Stable Master taking orders directly from the Overseer of Horses. Scribes probably would have tracked the number of horses, the payment of personnel, and the intake and storage of food. This leaves the grooms who must have dealt with the day-to-day activities of the stables and the physical tasks of horse care.

While it is possible to draw some general conclusions about ancient Egypt's horse stables based on our modern understanding of horse care requirements, the exact mechanisms of stable management and the specific responsibilities have remained elusive. With little direct evidence from the archaeological, textual, and pictorial records, earlier attempts to explain the function and roles of people with tiles in the stables have been generalized and speculative, with the main

[196] Warburton (2001).

focus being their degree of involvement with the military.[197] However, approaching the question by considering the individuals involved in the horse stables in the context of the physical, visual, and textual evidence regarding the management of horses provides deeper insight into the organization of the horse stables in ancient Egypt.

3.2 Architecture of the Horse Stables

In analyzing how horse stables may have functioned and the various tasks and duties that needed to be performed, it is essential first to consider the stables' physical space. This would be determined by how the horses were positioned, in stalls or open areas, issues of feeding, means of waste disposal, where personnel lived, and where production took place; all crucial factors in understanding stable administration. Although the scope of this thesis is limited to the New Kingdom, this chapter will include two comparative examples from the Third Intermediate Period to address as completely as possible the question of horse stable architecture.

3.2.1 Qantir-Piramesses

The horse stables at Qantir-Piramesses are the largest and most extensively studied to date. Positioned in the eastern Delta, Qantir-Piramesses was the Ramesside capital and known from hymns as the "headquarters of thy (the king's) chariotry"[198] and a rich and splendid city. The stables in the area known as QIV have been positively identified as horse stables based on the unique architecture, the associated objects found at the site, and the presence of other structures dedicated to the royal chariotry. Not only does this structure have no known direct parallel in the archaeological record of Pharaonic Egypt, but it is also far more extensive than

[197] For example, Schulman (1964), says that the Stable Master, "had the responsibility for the maintenance of the stable and the horses in it." (83). Ashmawy (2014), merely states, "the Stable Master was responsible for the grazing and well-being of the horses" (135).
[198] Papyrus Anastasi III 7, 5

any other excavated animal stable. Herold estimates that the stables housed approximately 418 horses and the associated workforce.[199]

Archaeologists have identified several periods of occupation, starting with a foundry for glass production and a palace-like structure with royal stables and pillared halls in QIV dated to the reign of Ramesses II, when the new residence was built at the site. An expansion of the royal stables followed this period and included a chariot garrison and associated workshops, then a later habitation level, and, most recently, a poorly preserved cemetery.[200]

The so-called "chariot garrison" occupation level consists of three main areas. The first is the three-pillared structures in the northern site of QI. The northernmost is a peristyle court. The columns labeled with the royal titulary of Ramesses II indicate that they could not have been erected before regnal year 30, his first *sed*-festival.[201] The open courtyard had tall, slender columns, as well as painted walls and colossal statues; surely a space built to impress. The identification of this structure as part of the chariot garrison by Dr. Edgar B. Pusch, Roemer and Pelizaeus Museum, Hildesheim, is bolstered by the discovery of horse hoof prints that had been impressed in the soft mud after rain and dried.[202] It is possible that this structure was used for chariot training or carrying out military exercises since the horses were housed in the nearby stables. Perhaps it was also a space for the horses to exercise and enjoy time outside of their stalls.

The second area is the horse stables themselves in the excavation site QIV (Fig. 8). The earliest materials (stratum Bc) are attributed to the reigns of Ramesses II or Merenptah when the earlier stable was built with an adjoining palace-like structure. The expanded stables (stratum

[199] Herold (1998), 138.
[200] Pusch & Herold (2001), 49.
[201] Pusch and Herold (2001), 48.
[202] Pusch (1993), 13.

Bb) are dated through pottery finds to the reigns of Seti II/Tausret to Setnakhte/Ramesses III and covered an area of more than 15,000 m^2.[203] In this phase, the stable complex consisted of six identical areas, each with an open courtyard arranged roughly east to west. From the courtyard, one could access a columned hall and the 12 parallel rectangular rooms arranged perpendicular to the courtyard.

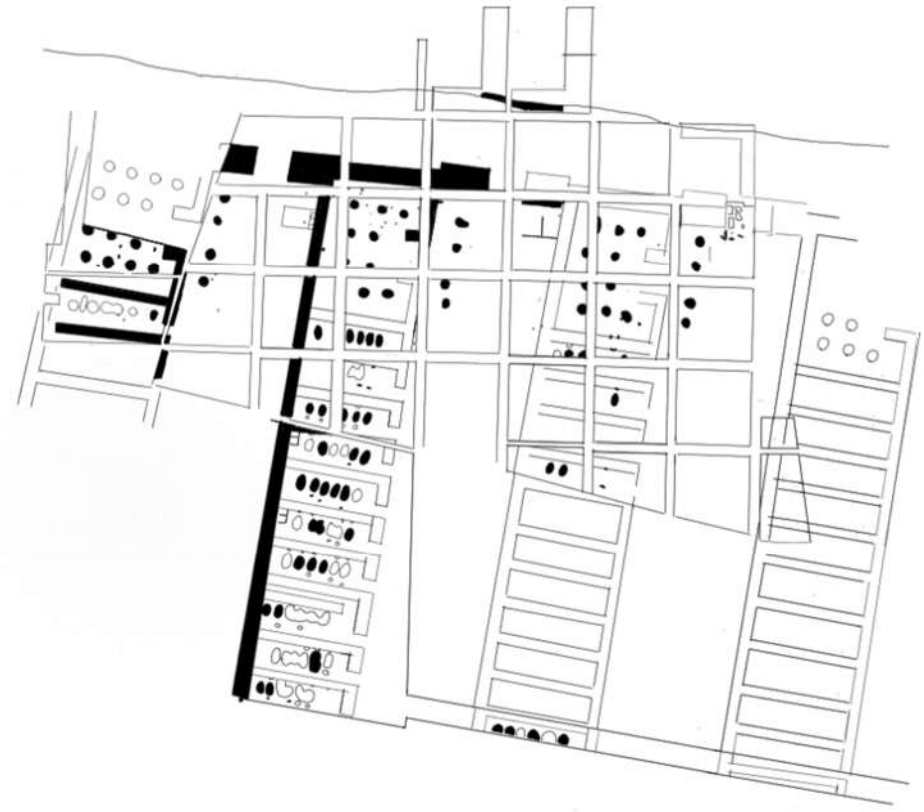

Figure 8: Plan of the Horse Stables at Qantir-Piramesses; after Herold (1999), fig. 13.

These narrow rooms were where the horses were kept. Each room had 12 to 16 tethering stones arranged in pairs about three meters apart. The distance between the sets of tethering stones was 1.5 meters. Anja Herold points out that these dimensions are suitable for larger

[203] Ashton and Pusch (1999), 40.

animals like cattle or horses rather than sheep or goats.[204] If the horses were restrained by both the head and one rear leg, six to eight horses could be kept in each narrow room.[205] However, it is questionable if horses would tolerate being tethered by the foot. Unlike cattle or other domestic animals, horses are significantly more skittish and have a very strong flight response when frightened or stressed. Tethering a horse by its back leg, a sensitive area, would have put the horses at risk of leg injuries, impeding their ability to work. Is it possible there were two sets of tethering stones so the horse could be tied by the had facing either direction? Or that the back tethering was only utilized when necessary if the horses were fighting, for example. It would have been more practical for the horses to be separated by a wall, a simple wooden fence perhaps, than to be tied in a way that risked injury.

The two rows of tethering stones were 3 meters apart, and, according to the scale of the plan,[206] the width of each of the narrow rooms was around 3.5 meters. The average length of a horse from nose to tail is approximately 2.4 meters. Since Egyptian horses were slightly smaller than modern horses, we can assume shorter body length, around 2 meters. This means the distance between the back and front tethering stones would have provided sufficient space for the horses to stand comfortably and have some mobility to move backwards and forwards. However, this would have left little room between the horses and the wall. A typical stall door is around 1.1 m, so the width of the stable may have been adequate to allow a horse to pass by the others safely, but just barely. Although, if the horse was tied to the back tethering stone and stood farther to the back, that would only leave about .5 m between the tethering stone and the wall. This would have too tight for a horse to pass through comfortably. In either scenario, the width

[204] c
[205] Jarmużek (2013), 286.
[206] Herold (1999), fig. 13.

would have been sufficiently wide for a human to walk through, and a video reconstruction of the stables depicts a low bench at the end of each room that provided sleeping space for the grooms.[207]

A small archaeological experiment conducted at the site with donkeys[208] showed that they take up over half of the width of the room and ancient Egyptian horses, although small compared to the average horses of today, was still longer than a modern donkey. It would have been complicated and time consuming to remove every horse from the stables whenever one or two horses was needed. Perhaps this was not necessary because the 6 to 8 horses housed together in each stable were always taken out for training, exercise, grooming etc. at the same time.

The courtyard was accessed from the west through pylons-like entrances. To the right of the entrance was a portico of four palmiform columns. The portico led into a pillared hall with ten palmiform columns with approximately seven to nine tethering stones. The columns would have blocked the horses' view and ensured they did not bite or kick one another. This would have been a suitable place for horses to be tied while being groomed, harnessed, or receiving medical treatment. It may have also acted as a central checkpoint where the Scribe of the Stable recorded the schedule of the horses coming in or out of the stables, tracked their training and exercise, and made notes of any health issues.

In front of the building complex, running north to south was a canal with reed beds.[209] This canal would have provided a ready water source for the hundreds of horses housed at the stables, as reed beds naturally clean running water. Another concern was the disposal of waste. A

[207] https://vimeo.com/194362703 Video by the Badisches Landesmuseum Karlsruhe, Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum Hildesheim, and the Qantir Excavation Project.
[208] Herold (2001), 7-8.
[209] Pusch (1993), 13.

1,000-pound horse produces about 2.5 gallons of urine and 31 pounds of manure a day.[210] Solid waste can easily be picked up and removed. Remains of manure were identified along the north walls, so it was likely collected there before being taken away and possibly used as fertilizer in the fields or even in brick manufacture. Floors were coated with a waterproof lime slurry to ensure they were kept clean and dry.[211] To deal with the urine, the area where each horse would stand had a depressed trough paved with limestone slabs with narrow spaces left in between. However, this setup would have posed a risk for the horses; if they stepped in the hole, it could easily cause a serious injury. Perhaps the Egyptians had a method to deal with this issue, like grates made of wood, reeds, or another organic material.

The limestone between each standing spot sloped down towards the trough. This design ensured that all urine was collected in the depression below each horse while also keeping the hooves dry. The average volume of the openings was 19 liters, which corresponds to horses' daily urine capacity at that time, which is assumed to be between 12 and 14 liters, although some of this would be expelled while the horse was outside the stables. Therefore, the idea behind this design may have been to collect the urine to use for fertilizing vineyards, or for tanning and dyeing leather in the nearby workshops.[212]

The third area of the chariot garrison was the multifunctional workshops in the south part of QI. The archaeological evidence suggests these workshops were foundries for producing and working various materials, including bronze, gold, silver, and glass, as well as the processing of organic materials like wood, leather, or reeds and animal bones. According to Pusch, “Taken as a whole, this cross-craft workshop reveals an interrelated web of dependent processes, linked

[210] Wheeler (2006), 81.
[211] Herold (2001), 7.
[212] Herold (2001), 8.

together like a modern assembly line to repair and produce chariots and their equipment as well as bronze and glass."[213]

Several reliefs were discovered in the various locations of the site and in different layers of stratigraphy that show some portion of a horse. The reliefs were parts of lintels, door panels, and stelae that bear Ramesses II's name. Other objects in the excavation sites of QI and QIV include chariot parts and bits, as well as stone and metal decorative elements, including gold-plated bronze buttons and rivets that were likely decorative elements of bridles and harnesses. There were also plano-convex endplates of calcite, marble, and faience elements attached to the wooden elements of the chariot frame, axel, and drawbar, as well as special bronze nails used to construct chariots. [214] When we consider these vast workshops in light of the stables and the courtyard, it is clear that this site was a centralized point for the chariotry that included the production and repair of chariots, the care and, possibly, training of the horses, and also acted as the base for the royal family and the army.

3.2.2 Amarna

Excavated by J.D.S. Pendlebury, the stable found in the central city of Amarna has also been confidently identified as a stable for horses (Fig. 9).[215] A door lintel discovered near the main entrance bears the decoration of a horse head. In addition, the surrounding streets were covered with a 15 cm thick layer of horse manure.[216] This stable was positioned within a complex for the military and police.

[213] Pusch & Herold (2001), 50.
[214] Herold (2001), 6.
[215] Pendlebury (1951), 132-134.
[216] Jarmużek (2013), 285.

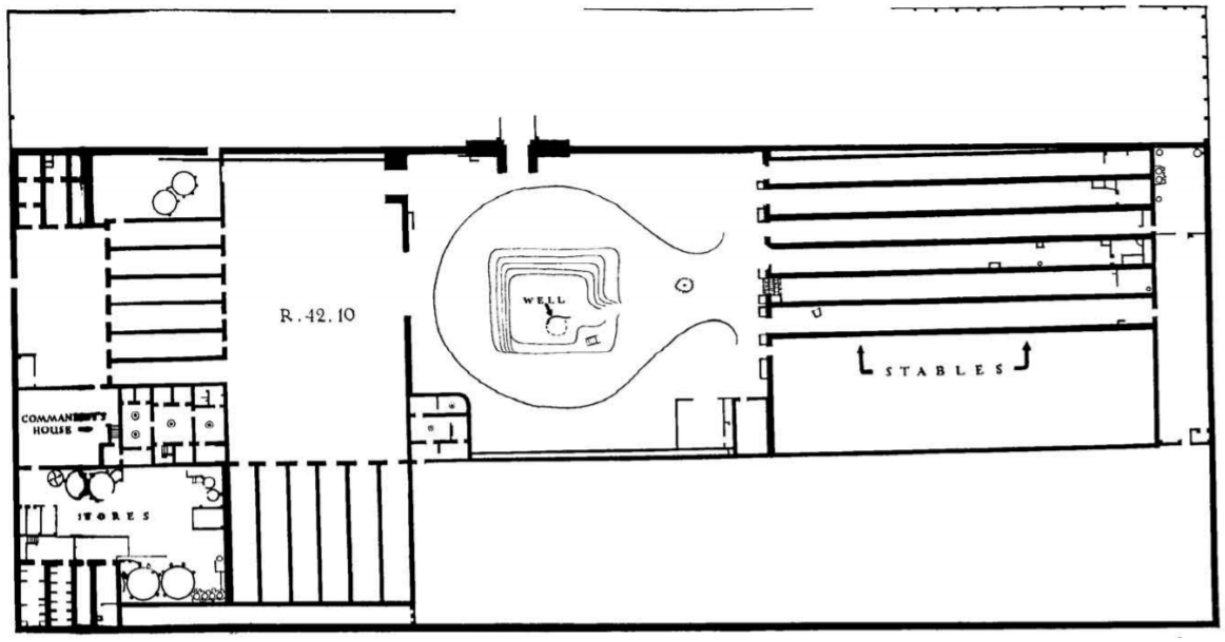

Figure 9: Plan of Horse Stables at the Police Barracks in Amarna. Pendlebury (1951), pl. xxi. Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

The entrance from the north led into an open courtyard with a well at the center. Mangers and tethering stones were installed along three of the walls. Presumably, this was an area for visiting horses to be fed and watered. Furthermore, the south wall had a second low wall in front, running the entire length. This created a trough that would be suitable for holding drinking water for the horses. Pendlebury, who designates this area as the parade grounds, suggests that it was designed to keep a fleet of police horses at the ready so that "a 'flying squad' could be kept in perpetual readiness for an emergency."[217]

The eastern section is the actual stables which consist of six long narrow rooms, each of which could be entered from the courtyard with the well. The rooms were approximately 53.5 m in length and only 3.6 m wide, which is a relatively narrow space for grooms to move around the horses during feeding, for example. The logistics of feeding the horses may have required they

[217] Pendlebury (1951), 133.

were kept in the courtyard while the mangers were filled. Like the Qantir-Piramesses stables, the floors were paved with cobblestones. They sloped down at intervals with troughs to collect the urine, a characteristic unique to horse stables in the archaeological record.

West of the main courtyard was another slightly smaller courtyard and, to the south, six long rooms. Based on the fragments of leather collars found, indicating that horse equipment was stored, cleaned, or repaired here, this area could have been dormitories for the personnel assigned to the stables. West of the courtyard was another open area that held two grain bins. To the south of this area were several magazines and a small private house. Here, wine jars still containing wine with painted jar stoppers were discovered, in addition to mud seals. To the south were the armory and storage magazines that included corn bins, ovens, and racks that could have held weapons. In addition, there were several small rooms in the south-west corner, one of which contains a manger.[218] This was a possible location for the housing of other livestock.

3.2.3 Megiddo

One of the largest and most extensively excavated horse stables from the ancient Near East is Megiddo, located in modern-day Palestine. The dating of the structures (Stratum IV) is a matter of some debate.[219] However, most recently, Cantrell and Finkelstein have argued for the early 8th century BC as the most probable construction date.[220] This site was a complex devoted almost entirely to horses, their training, and care. In fact, very little is known about the domestic areas of Stratum IV or where and how stable personnel lived.[221]

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[218] Which Pendlebury calls refers to as the "Commandant's House" (1951), 134.
[219] After the initial excavations of the Oriental Institute, the director, P.L.O. Guy, immediately identified the complex as the stables of Solomon based on biblical inscriptions, which would date the site to the 10th century BC. This designation endured for many decades but has since been revised. For a full discussion, see Franklin (2017), 96-97.
[220] Cantrell & Finkelstein (2006), 644-645.
[221] Franklin (2017), 96.

The site had a northern and a southern stable complex. Both had courtyards, a large one in front of the southern complex and a smaller courtyard between the three buildings in the northern complex. The northern and southern stables each had five units, which consisted of three long narrow rooms. A central aisle was flanked by spaces on either side delineated by a low wall with shallow stone mangers between pillars. These pillars could have acted as tethering spots for the horses, as well as a means of keeping horses separated during feeding to prevent dominant horses from stealing food or acting aggressively. Presumably, the horses were held in the side aisle, and the central space was used for grooming and care. Cantrell and Finkelstein also suggest this could be where the grooms slept.[222] The central aisle was packed lime, and the side aisles were cobblestone. The horse stables from Egypt were also paved with cobblestones, and this hard material may have been sufficient to wear down the horses' hooves without the intervention of a farrier. Holladay commented that the size and placement of stones at Megiddo would have kept the horses' feet dry, provided grip, and harden the horses' feet, even when standing still.[223] In the wild, horses' hooves wear down naturally as they cover many miles of varied terrain each day to find food. The abrasion of the rough cobblestones of the stable floor on the hooves would have worked in the same manner as rocks and uneven terrain in the wild. In addition, horses in warmer, dry climates, like Egypt, tend to have upright, narrow hooves with a rigid wall, making overgrown hooves less common.[224]

This method of natural horse care was also used in other ancient cultures. The Greek writer, Xenophon, in his 4th century BC treatise on horsemanship, describes further measures to wear down the hooves of horses without a farrier. He suggests adding large loose rocks to the

[222] Cantrell & Finkelstein (2006), 651.
[223] Holladay (1986), 121.
[224] Bird (2002), 120.

stall to act as a substitute for the natural terrain a horse would encounter if he lived outside or spent much of the day walking on stony roads.

> To secure the best type of stable-yard, and with a view to strengthening the horse's feet, I would suggest to take and throw down loosely four or five wagon loads of pebbles, each as large as can be grasped in the hand, and about a pound in weight; the whole to be fenced round with a skirting of iron to prevent scattering. The mere standing on these will come to precisely the same thing as if for a certain portion of the day the horse were, off and on, stepping along a stony road; whilst being curried or when fidgeted by flies he will be forced to use his hoofs just as much as if he were walking. Nor is it the hoofs merely, but a surface so strewn with stones will tend to harden the frog of the foot also.[225]

Excavations at Rehovot-in-the-Negev in south Israel uncovered a horse stable from the Byzantine period that was also paved with flagstones.[226] It is reasonable to assume this practice was adopted from earlier models as a method to wear the horses' hooves naturally.

With the advent of horseshoes and farrier practices, horses' hooves could be trimmed and shaped manually. However, more recently, a natural horse care movement was spearheaded by farrier Jamie Jackson, who has incorporated a similar practice into their methodology. This movement encourages horse owners to mimic the horses' natural environment as much as possible to improve the horses' overall physical and mental wellbeing.[227] Natural horse care advocates not using horseshoes but keeping the horse "barefoot" and trimming the horses' hooves as close to their natural shape as possible. Jackson's "Paddock Paradise" model creates a track around an open pasture to encourage horses to move continuously from place to place to find food.[228] Horse owners scatter rocks along the path and at specified points to promote the natural self-trimming of hooves, much in the way Xenophon utilized stones within stalls.[229]

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[225] Xenophon (2019), 8.
[226] Holum & Tsafrir (1988), 121.
[227] Jackson (1992).
[228] Jackson (2006).
[229] https://www.aanhcp.net/pages/welcome-to-paddock-paradise

Each stable unit at Megiddo was accessed through a single doorway from the courtyard. The southern stable courtyard had a well that, along with the nearby river, would have been an adequate water source for the stables.[230] The large courtyards had hard, even lime surface flooring, which gradually sloped to allow for water drainage. This arrangement would have made the courtyard suitable for training with chariots or on foot. The tripartite arrangement of the stable units differs from the horse stables in Egypt. Still, the basic components remain: shelter, a space for feeding, an open space for exercise, a water source, and an area for grooming, care, and tacking up.

Cantrell and Finkelstein suggest that the stable could have been a commercial operation, rather than functioning solely as a military camp for horses: they propose that it was primarily a training center where horses were imported in the fall, trained during the winter, and sold the following spring. It may also have been a location for breeding. Unsold horses and mares that had foaled could be sent to pasture among the local population during the summer.[231] Although later in date than the Egyptian horse stables discussed above, this theory does broaden our understanding of the types of horse stables that may have existed in the ancient world, including military, breeding, training, and commercial.

3.2.4 Other Stables

With so few examples of horse stables in the archaeological record, it remains difficult to distinguish between stables for horses and stables for other animals based solely on the structure itself. The only other large stable that has undergone archaeological examination is the Third Intermediate Period building from Tell el-Retaba, a New Kingdom fortress in Wadi Tumilat. Though there are stables, the excavator has convincingly demonstrated that they were for cattle,

[230] Cantrell & Finkelstein (2006), 650.
[231] Cantrell & Finkelstein (2006), 657.

and possibly sheep and goats in a later phase, and not for horses.[232] The long rectangular rooms and tethering stones from the earlier phase are reminiscent of the stables at Amarna and Qantir-Piramesses. However, Tell el-Retaba has no courtyard or obvious water source like the other two sites. In addition, there is no evidence of the sloping limestone floors present at the other stables. Therefore, it is doubtful that this stable housed horses. It does, however, demonstrate various stages of use and is an example of a stable structure that accommodated different types of animals at different periods.

The site of Amarna provides two additional examples of animal stables, one in a palace and one in a domestic context, that illustrate the similarities and differences between horse stables and stables for other animals like cattle, sheep, goats, and pigs. A stable discovered in the North Palace includes a large courtyard with a pond and, to the north, three nearly identical rectangular spaces, broken up into three sections each.[233] Several aspects of the stables, including a roofed room with mangers and tethering stones, attendants' quarters, and a large courtyard with a water source, are reminiscent of the horse stables at Amarna and Qantir-Piramesses. However, some of the 14 remaining stone mangers bore carvings of oxen, ibex, and antelopes, presumably depicting the types of animals that were kept here. Newton suggests that the central courtyards were where the animals spent the day and were fed, then moved to the northernmost space for the night where a roof would protect them. Perhaps this was also the case at the Amarna police barracks, with the horses spending the day in the courtyard or in use and stabled at night.

Another well-preserved example of a private animal stable comes from house Q44.1 in the central part of the city. Q44.1 was a private residence of considerable size, one of the larger

[232] Jarmużek (2013).
[233] Newton (1924), 296.

houses discovered at Amarna that also included a garden. The unidentified owner must have held a prominent place in society and Akhenaten's administration, but there were very limited finds that could shed light on this individual.

The residence included cattle stables, consisting of one narrow room, 16 m long by 3 m wide, paved with rough stones. Even though there is no evidence that horses were kept here, this setup could have been adequate to support a personal team of horses. The complex includes a stable paved with stones and lined with mangers, living quarters for grooms, and a large courtyard with a water source, common elements of the Amarna and the Qantir-Piramesses horse stables. Several rooms are connected to the stables or neighboring the space for storage and housing for the caretakers. A semi-circular pen with the manger may have been a place for isolating sick or injured animals, to protect the young and their mothers from the herd, or even for breeding.[234]

It is possible, especially in a domestic context, that horses could have been housed alongside cattle, as they have many of the same requirements. While the function and administration of stables specifically for horses is the focus of this thesis, it is important to consider other environments in which horses were housed and cared for and the possibility that horses could have also resided in stables alongside different animals. This brief overview of other animal stables also demonstrates how the design of horse stables could have easily been adapted from earlier versions of cattle stables since there are many standard features.

[234] Newton (1924), 291.

3.3 Types of Horse Stables and Locations

The archaeological evidence, although sparse, does suggest that there were different types of horse stables. At Amarna, the horse stable served the police force, while the stable complex at Qantir-Piramesses likely served the chariot troops and the royal household. The cattle stables at Amarna provide a template for large animal stables in temple and domestic settings. However, since the remains of horse stables in the archaeological record are so limited, and depictions are almost nonexistent, questions of the actual locations of stables, how many existed, and the different types remain difficult to answer. Without additional examples, we must turn to other threads of evidence to understand the different contexts in which the horse stables may have existed.

3.3.1 Royal and Military Horse Stables

The only known royal horse stable to survive was built at the king's residence in Qantir-Piramesses. The epithet "of the residence," meaning the residence of royals or a palace, is a common addition to titles of Stable Master, Scribe of the Stable, and Overseer of Horses. The prevalence of this title in the 19th Dynasty, especially at the time of Ramesses II, seems to reaffirm that a large royal stable existed at Qantir-Piramesses that required a significant workforce. Therefore, it is logical to assume that other royal stables were also built at the king's residence at different times in the New Kingdom.

In Papyrus Bologna 1094, dated to the reign of Merenptah, the scribe Pwhem pens a letter to his lord, the scribe Anherrekh, concerning agricultural matters.[235] It reads, "I have received the letter which my lord (l.p.h.) sent to me concerning the food for the horses of the Great Stable of Raʿmesse-miamun [belonging to the residence] and for the horses of the Great

[235] Vs. 2,10 - 3,1; Caminos (1954), 11-12.

Stable of Binereʿ-miamun belonging to the residence." The great stable of Ramesses II is the large stable discovered at Qantir-Piramesses, but this letter also implies that there is another stable of Binereʿ-miamun (King Merneptah) at the residence. Are these stables the same? Anherrekh, possibly not just a scribe but a Scribe of the Stable, bears some responsibility for monitoring the food for the horses and the running of the royal stable at the residence of Ramesses II[236] and Merenptah.[237]

Earlier, in the 18th Dynasty, the Sphinx of Amenhotep references a royal stable. It reads, "He would yoke (them) with the harness at Memphis and would stop at the resting place of Harmakhis."[238] This passage indicates there was a royal stable at the residence in Memphis, although no archaeological evidence for this has yet been discovered.

The evidence supports the notion that horses for royal use were housed in stables at the king's residence. It does not, however, explain if these stables also held horses used by the military. The size of the stables at Qantir-Piramesses was undoubtedly adequate to have a large chariot force but was that also the case with the stable at Memphis, for example? The discovery of equid remains at New Kingdom fort sites like Tell el-Borg, Zawiyet umm el-Rakham,[239] and Tell Heboua[240] suggests the possibility of horse stables at these military strongholds. However, identifying these remains as horses is difficult, and it is also possible that they represent donkeys, mules, or hinnies. Nevertheless, it would stand to reason that some sort of chariot force would be stationed alongside soldiers at Egypt's fortresses and boundary cities for protection, information gathering, or transportation.

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[236] The stable of the residence of Ramesses II is also mentioned in Pap. Sallier I, vs. 9, 2 and 5.
[237] This stable is also mentioned in Pap Anastasi III 5, 8-9; Caminos (1954) 109.
[238] Lichtheim (2006), 42.
[239] Ikram (2019), 422-423.
[240] Chaix (2000), 177–86.

Furthermore, the question remains of how horses were distributed among the chariot warriors and where they were stabled during periods of peace. A portion from the 19th Dynasty Papyrus Anastasi III may also provide a clue. Known as the "Sufferings of an Army Officer,"[241] this passage describes the challenges of a young, inexperienced chariot warrior. The letter contrasts the trials of the chariot warrior with the more sensible occupation of scribe. It begins, "Because of his mother's father he is assigned to the stable, which has five slaves. He is allotted two men from amongst them, [but] they are unmindful of him. He goes to procure steeds at the military camp in the presence of His Majesty (l.p.h.). Fine horses are secured for him, and he is joyful and exults." The letter goes on to detail how the young man does not understand the horses well, but, despite this, he sells his belongings to buy a chariot. He is subsequently thrown from the chariot and receives a beating, suffering terribly for his arrogance and inexperience.

The protagonist was assigned to the stables because of his grandfather, indicating that placement in the stables was an inherited position or one obtained through familial contacts. He is given two slaves, presumably to assist him with the horses and maybe even act as the grooms in his private stable. Finally, the letter tells us that, once assigned to the stables, the young man goes to the military camp and, in front of the king, he gladly receives top-quality horses and returns to the village with them. This letter indicates that chariot warriors were given horses (although considering that the chariot warrior had to buy his own chariot, perhaps he purchased his horses) that were then brought back to their residence. This would imply that horses were trained at the military stables, and the chariot warrior would then care for the horses in order to maintain a state of preparedness for battle with the assistance of grooms.

[241] Papyrus Anastasi III, 6, 2-10; Caminos (1954), 95, 96; Gardiner (1937), 27.

This was the case in the Assyrian army under Sargon II (721–705 BC). In times of peace, the horses were distributed among soldiers who would care for them and allow them to graze in a pasture. The recruitment officer ensured the horses and men remained ready for battle. When the troops reassembled, the recruitment officer was also responsible for assigning horses to the cavalry or chariotry and deciding which horses should return to pasture and remain on reserve. In addition, larger herds were maintained by the provincial governors on their estates or state land.[242]

In the Mamluk period (c. AD 1250 to 1517), Mamluk soldiers were provided horses, equipment, and feed by the sultan and the royal stables. Mamluk boys were trained in the military barracks (*tibdq*) of the Cairo citadel. When their training was completed, they received a horse and equipment, and graduated from the military school.[243] It is not clear how many horses each Mamluk soldier could own or how often horses were distributed, but if the horse died, it would be replaced from the royal stables.[244] In addition, men were allotted plots of land every year to grow clover for feeding the horses, so the soldiers were presumably also responsible for the feeding and care of their own horse, albeit subsidized by the state.[245]

These historical examples demonstrate a system in which a central military stable would distribute horses, and the soldiers were then responsible for their care. This provides a possible model for New Kingdom Egypt—indeed, there is no evidence to contradict this type of model. Besides, there is no evidence of the existence of horse stables exclusively for the military. Looking at the example of Qantir-Piramesses, it is possible that a large herd was cared for at the royal stables of the residence both for military and royal use (the king and his guard). However,

[242] Melville (2016), 33.
[243] Ayalon (1957), 61.
[244] Ayalon (1958), 268.
[245] Ayalon (1958), 269.

later historical parallels and the known existence of private horse stables imply that at least some military horses remained under individual soldiers' supervision when inactive. This would also explain the lack of large horse stables in the archaeological record.

3.3.2 Private Stables

Textual evidence makes it clear that the Egyptian upper classes and military elite had private horse stables. In reality, these private stables may have been nothing more than several stalls, or even just a designated space within a homeowner's larger estate. Q44.1, although it housed cattle rather than horses, demonstrates what a horse stable complex within a domestic context could have looked like. While these privately-owned stables are not the focus of this study, there may have been some overlap in terms of the practical aspects of horse care as well as the personnel involved and their roles. Therefore, it is worth examining texts and images that attest to these private stables in order to identify the potential parallels between private and the larger state-owned stables.

There is a small note in the 18th Dynasty Lansing Papyrus which describes the mansion of Raia. It reads, "Raia has built a beautiful mansion; it lies opposite Edjo… Its barns are supplied with grain, are bulging with abundance. Fowl yard and aviary are filled with geese; byres filled with cattle, a bird pool full of geese; horses in the stable."[246] This text describes a high-status individual whose estate is filled with animals and crops, as well as a horse stable and more than one horse at his residence. Another private letter (discussed in more detail below) comes directly from the overseer of a private stable. It is addressed to the estate owner, a high-ranking Egyptian official, and describes the well-being of his horses and their routine care.[247]

[246] Lichtheim (2006), 173.
[247] Gardiner (1937), 80f; Caminos (1954), 307.

The scene in the Amarna tomb of Meryra (T4) is one of the rare examples that can undoubtedly be interpreted as a horse stable, and it is in a private residence (Fig. 10). Meryra was a high-ranking priest and close to the king with several honorary designations. His titles include High Solar Priest of the Aten in the Temple of Akhenaten; Chancellor of the King of Lower Egypt; Sole Companion and Friend of the King; Fan-Bearer to the Right of the King; and Hereditary Noble.[248]

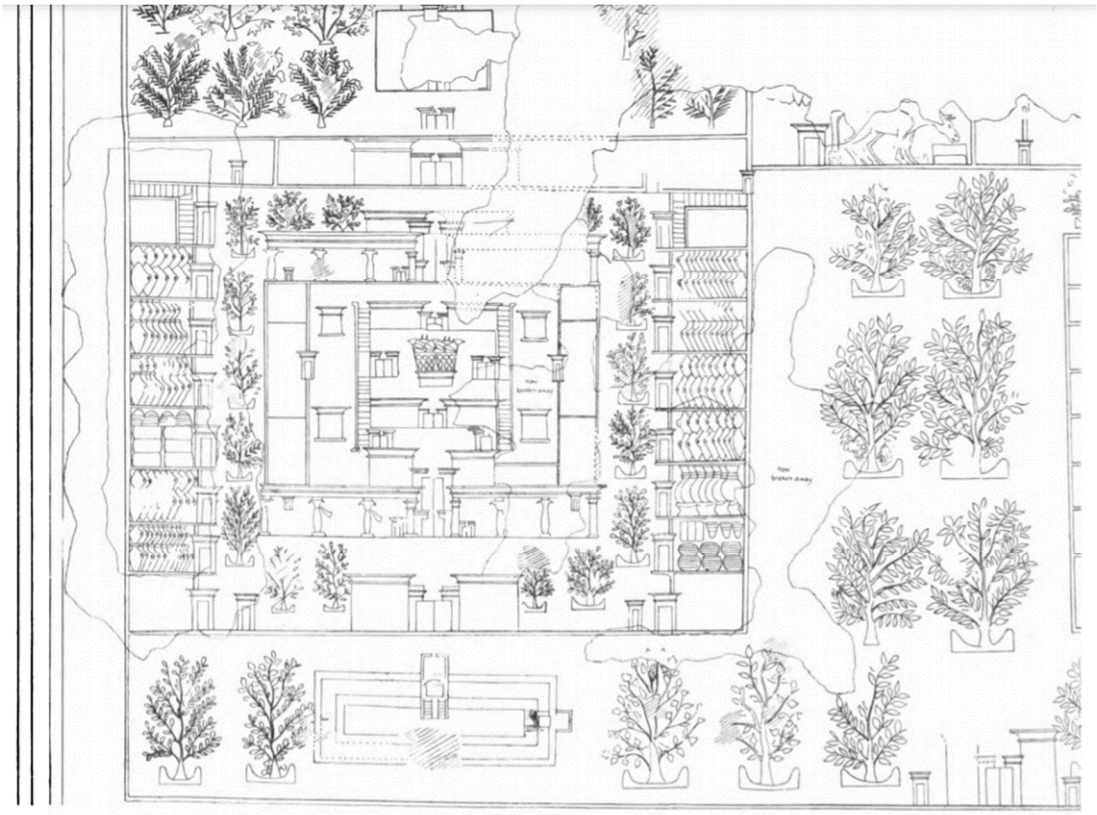

Figure 10: Fragment from the Tomb of Meryra (T4) with Horse Stable (upper right). Davies (1903), pl. 32.

The scene depicts two horses at rest in their stall, feeding from a trough. The horse stable is set within a larger architectural scene depicting storerooms, houses, gardens, and, presumably, a temple.[249] Davies identifies the house as that of Meryra, based on the inscription, with the

[248] PM IV, 214.
[249] For a full description of the scene, see Davies (1903), 38 - 41, pl XXXII.

attached horse stables.[250] A stairway leading to the loft above is visible in the depiction which could have provided space to store the additional food and equipment required to care for the two horses, so it was almost certainly a permanent fixture on the estate.[251] Therefore, it is logical to presume that this structure is the personal stable of Meryra to house his chariot team. Furthermore, another scene from his tomb depicts a chariot team waiting for the tomb owner with attendants outside a temple, reaffirming that he owned a chariot team and possibly even depicting the same two horses.[252] Meryra held the titles suggest he was a high-ranking and wealthy individual, but there is no indication that he was associated with the royal stables.

Although the top of the stable scene is damaged and only one of the horses' heads is visible, a fragment discovered by Petrie from the palace in Amarna may provide a clue to the overall composition.[253] The small fragment shows the head of two horses; one is eating from the trough, as we see in Meryra's tomb, while the other raises his head to observe the surroundings. The two lines intersecting above their heads suggests they are in some sort of structure. These two scenes mirror one another and imply that the image in the tomb of Meryra is not anomalous, but rather one of the themes in representations of the elite in Amarna.

The high officials of Amarna are often seen in reliefs with their private chariot teams in the course of their elite work, as well as in ceremonial scenes. For example, one votive stela from the Amarna tomb of Any depicts the tomb owner driven in his chariot by the chariot driver, Thay. Any, a royal scribe, is in full his regalia and wears five gold collars.[254] The representations

[250] Davies (1903), 38.
[251] Davies (1903), 38.
[252] Davies (1903), pls. 20, 26, 29.
[253] Petrie (1894), pl. xi, no 1.
[254] Davies (1908a), 10, pl. xxii.

of officials in private chariots, in addition to the scene from the tomb of Meryra, points to the existence of private horse stables, in addition to those belonging to the king, military, or police.

Scenes of horses traveling on boats also depict private chariot teams in stalls and closely mirror the composition of the horses and stable in the tomb of Meryra. Presumably, these horses are accompanying their owners to act as transportation as their owner performed his official duties. In the tomb of Amenhotep-Huy (TT40) from Qurnet Murai, horses appear on boats in several scenes (see Fig. 5).[255] In one relief, a pair of horses are housed in a small stall upon an elaborately decorated boat. The walls of the stall rise almost to the horses' withers, distinguished by a crosshatch pattern. The stall is roofed just above the horses' raised head, mimicking the curved shape of a cavetto cornice. The stall is positioned directly in front of the main cabin of the ship. No chariot is visible, unlike some similar scenes,[256] and no men are depicted on the ship. In other depictions, like the tomb of Parennefer, the horses in their stalls are positioned in the center of the small ship, which seems to be used exclusively for transporting the team.[257] These are the only other types of scenes that show horse stalls.

The text in the tomb of Amenhotep-Huy indicates that the vessel is a state river boat, carrying the tomb owner and his possessions to Nubia to carry out his duties as Viceroy.[258] Evidently, the Viceroy prioritized bringing his own chariot team so that it was available to him immediately upon his arrival in Nubia. The subsequent scene illustrates Amenhotep-Huy's return from Nubia.[259] This time, the river boat is traveling with the horses in their stall on the foredeck.

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[255] Davies (1926), pls. 12, 31.
[256] For example, see the tomb of Khaemhat called Mahu (TT57), which shows both the horses on the deck of the boat and the chariot above, in Decker, W. (2006), fig. 28; and the tomb of Haitay (TT324) that includes a chariot on the boat, but no horses are explicitly depicted, see Davies (1948), pl 32.
[257] Hoffmann (2004), pl. 3.
[258] Davies and Gardiner (1926), 14; Turner (2016), 251.
[259] Davies and Gardiner (1926), pl 12, 31.

Turner points out that, although only one horse is visible, it is reasonable to infer that the scene represents the same chariot team returning to Egypt.[260] Now, however, the Egyptian boat is accompanied by a Nubian ship with two stalls on the foredeck, one in front of the other. The stalls are similar in style to those on the Egyptian boat; however, each has a lotus shape column at the front. Each stall appears to only contain one horse. Could this be an additional team of horses that Amenhotep-Huy acquired in Nubia?

Several texts support the association of horses with boats. One describes an official who has his own "horses, whilst your barque is on the Nile."[261] Another reads, "You are rich in horse-teams, white of sails."[262] These small excerpts imply that boat ownership and possessing a team of horses were both indicators of status and were sometimes related.

Although this type of scene, which appears in several tombs at the end of the 18th Dynasty, clearly depicts horse stalls as temporary housing structures used during transport, it is logical that they were constructed in the image of the stalls at horse stables. However, the fact that these stalls are only built to house one or two horses, points to the idea that these stalls more likely reflect the construction of smaller private stables rather than anything that would be seen at the large military stables.

3.3.3 Training Stables

There is one title of Stable Master that mentions a training stable on a statue in Munich belonging to Bakenkhons. The inscription reads, "When I completed 11 years as a child, I became Stable Master of the training stable of Seti I."[263] This implies that a stable existed specifically for the purpose of training horses or, at least, that training was done in the stables.

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[260] Turner (2016), 251.
[261] Caminos (1954), 400.
[262] Caminos (1954), 421.
[263] KRI III, 298.

Perhaps this means that breeding and basic training were performed at the military stables, while the chariot warriors were tasked with continued care in their private stables. The alternative explanation of the title is that it was the Stable Masters who were trained at the stable, especially since Bakenkhons explicitly mentions his young age in the inscriptions. However, as this title is the only mention of a training stable, the idea remains speculative.

3.4 Horse Care

With an understanding of the different contexts in which horse stables existed, one can better interpret the visual and textual evidence to understand the types of activities that took place in the stables and who was responsible. Evidence suggests that the main purpose of the stables' administration was horse care, breeding and possibly also training, although where exactly these activities actually took place is still a matter of discussion. Horse care primarily includes feeding, grooming, and veterinary care, both within the stables, as well as on military expeditions.

3.4.1 Feeding

Descriptions of feeding occur somewhat frequently compared to other types of horse care, like grooming or training. Horses are depicted eating in several different contexts, including stables,[264] on boats,[265] in army camps,[266] and even on three-dimensional objects.[267] However, the amount of information that can be deduced from these scenes is limited, and questions remain about the type of food, frequency, and methods of feeding.

[264] Amarna Tomb of Meryra (T4), and the relief from the Amarna palace discussed in Section 3.3.2 (Fig 10) both show horses eating from mangers.
[265] Amarna Tomb 8 (Tutu), TT 162 (Kenamun).
[266] Battle of Kadesh reliefs at Abu Simbel Temple.
[267] Ivory comb from MMA 26.7.1290.

One of the best descriptions of the working of a horse stable appears in a letter from an overseer of a private stable who reports on the condition of the estate and includes a brief description of the treatment and routine of the horses. The letter, from Papyrus Sallier I, dated to the reign of Merenptah, reads, "The horse-teams of my lord are well; I have their [allotted] measure mixed before them daily, and their grooms bring to them the best grass from the papyrus-marshes. I assign grass to them daily and give ointment to rub them down every month; and their chief of stable[268] trots them every 10 days."[269]

Gardiner notes that this letter is derived from the so-called Schuler manuscripts. He explains that "...for educational purposes, certain letter forms were exemplified, which have served the school as a template for learning the writing skill."[270] Therefore, the letter may be more of a generic description that reflects the general understanding of standard stable management practice rather than the account of a specific stable. Nonetheless, the details satisfy the requirements of a small stable to maintain horses that were not in training.

The daily feed consists of some mix, probably grains, in addition to grass. Since horses are grazing animals, it is common practice for stabled horses who do not have access to grass pastures to be given periodical or constant portions of hay or grass. This appeals to the horses' natural inclination to eat and digest slowly over the day.[271] It also prevents boredom and behavioral problems that can develop, such as cribbing[272] or pawing. It is possible that the ancient Egyptians also understood this method of feeding and adopted it as standard practice.

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[268] Interestingly, the phrase used here is *ꜥ3 n šmmt,* which is otherwise unknown, instead of the expected *ḫry iḫw* (Stable Master). Gardiner (1911), 9, no. 2.
[269] Papyrus Sallier I, vs. 4, 8-11; Caminos (1954), 307.
[270] Gardiner (1937), 80f.
[271] The British Horse Society (2005), 168.
[272] Cribbing is a vice of horses in which they grasp a solid object (such as a stall door) with their teeth and gulp air. The excess air intake can be dangerous as it could cause gastro-intestinal problems like colic.

The tomb of Kenamun (TT162) from the burial site of Dra Abu el Naga depicts a pair of horses returning from the Abydos pilgrimage on Kenamun's boat.[273] Dated to the reign of Amenhotep III, this is the first depiction of horses eating.[274] Curiously, unlike the later images described from the tomb of Amenhotep-Huy, these horses are not in stalls, but are tethered in the bow of the boat. They eat from a trough while a man sits before them holding his knees, focused on the horses. Kenamun, who was Mayor of the Southern City and Overseer of the Granary of Amun, traveled with his chariot team and a member of his party appears to be assigned to care for the horses.

Another scene from the Amarna tomb of Tutu (T8) depicts the joyous celebration and praise after Tutu receives the gold for valor from the king.[275] Several chariot teams are represented in this busy scene; however, in one of the top registers, two pairs of horses are feeding from troughs, unharnessed from their chariot and clearly at ease. One team is noticeably smaller, although this may be due to the impeded space of the register above. In front of the horses, Standard Bearers are returning their regalia and sitting down to rest. The context of this scene indicates that, immediately after the ceremonial event, the horses were unharnessed, fed, and left to rest; their care became the immediate priority.

This interpretation is affirmed by another Amarna tomb, that of Meryra II (T2). While the groom wipes down the horses, another man is placing a trough of food or water in front of them (see Fig. 6).[276] Today, most guides suggest that water be restricted after long of strenuous periods of exercise, although water can be offered in limited quantities. Brown suggests that water can be

[273] Davies (1963), pl. 18.
[274] Turner (2016), 209.
[275] Davies (1908b), pl XX.
[276] Davies (1904), pl 33, 36.

given in 10-minute intervals after work if the horse is dehydrated or in hot weather.[277] Horses can be fed soon after exercising, but only when the horse has "cooled down", allowing the heart rate and breathing to return to normal.[278] While such feeding and watering scenes are rare, they point to the fact that attention to the horses upon returning home was an important aspect of the care of private chariot teams.

There are a few examples of these types of feeding scenes on objects as well. One example is an ivory comb dated to the reign of Ramesses II.[279] This comb imitates the iconography of other feeding scenes: the horse stands at rest with his neck lowered to eat from a trough at his feet. Unlike the tomb scenes, it is clear that there is only one horse depicted. It is interesting that such a mundane scene would be the preferred subject matter of this object over a horse in full galloping, for example, as in the examples of cosmetic items and jewelry mentioned in Section 2.2.

No text details precisely what stable personnel fed to the horses. The letter from Papyrus Sallier I describes feeding the horses grass from the papyrus marshes. Another text reaffirms the cultivation of fields specifically for horse feed, but the exact crop is not named. Amenemuia, the Stable Master of the Great Stable of Ramesses II, relates how the land given to him for food for the pharaohs' horses was taken away by Nodjme. Amenemuia says, "30 auroas of fields have been given to me [to] make into fodder for the horse-team of Pharaoh (l.p.h.) which is in my charge; and now, look. They have been taken away from me and given to Nodjme, the steward of the Mansion of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usimare-setepenre (l.p.h.) in the house of Amun."[280]

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[277] Brown (1987), 154.
[278] The British Horse Society (2005), 168.
[279] MMA 26.7.1290.
[280] Papyrus Sallier I, vs. 9; Caminos (1954), 326.

This passage indicates that Stable Masters were responsible for overseeing food production for the horses and that the land was given to him by the state to cultivate horse feed. Feeding the horses in the royal stable would have been no small task as each horse generally needs to eat 2.5-3% of their bodyweight, depending on their activity level. Based on the limited faunal remains of horses in Egypt from the period, they were estimated to be around 14 hands and finely built. The small horse weighs about 400 kilos, meaning that they would require approximately 10 to 12 kilos of feed a day.[281] Horses in the wild or at pasture can satisfy this need by grazing, but stalled horses usually need a combination of roughage and concentrates [282] for a balanced diet.

Based on the evidence and the requirements of stabled horses, limited conclusions can be drawn about feeding. Texts suggest that the production of fodder for the chariotry was a major concern and the Stable Masters held some responsibility. The letter from Papyrus Sallier I indicates that the food was some mix of grasses/roughage and concentrates.

A horse in the wild, or not engaged in work, can thrive on a diet of only forage (grasses or hay). The more intense the work, the higher the ratio of concentrates to forage the horse requires to compensate for the expended energy. Modern feeding guidelines suggest concentrates should only be used when there is no adequate supply of hay and grass or when the horse needs supplemental calories but should not make up more than half of the total feed.[283]

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[281] McBane (1994), 31.
[282] According to McBane (1994), 25, "Roughage feeds are hay and haylage, straws, forage feeds, silage and bran. Concentrates are straight, grain feeds such as oats, barley, maize, coarse mixes and cubes." Concentrates generally include corn, oats, bran, barley, bran, and beet pulp. Sorghum grain or wheat can be fed with care but should be cracked or rolled.
[283] The British Horse Society (2005), 172.

There is extensive evidence from ancient writers that their horses were fed barley and hay. [284] They also mention a variety of supplementary food sources, including oats, clover, fenugreek, figs, marsh parsley, and chickpeas, as well as trees like elm, oak, and poplar leaves.[285] The Hittite text of the horse trainer Kikkuli (c. 1400 BC) prescribes a feeding regime for chariot horses that includes hay, oats, and barley three times a day. Barley was also a staple crop in Egypt, used in making beer and bread, as well as in cultic practices.[286] It is therefore likely that barley was one of the main concentrates fed to horses at the time. Other ancient sources seem to suggest that horses were fed a variety of concentrates for a well-rounded diet. In Egypt, crops like emmer wheat, oats, corn, or figs may have also been incorporated into the horses' feed.

The other component of the horses' diet was quality hay and grass. Grassland would have been found in the Nile Valley's moisture-rich areas: the desert oases, Fayoum, and the Delta. During the New Kingdom, these areas were heavily cultivated with crops, leaving little uncultivated land as pasture for grazing animals. This leaves two possibilities: horses were stabled and fed several concentrates to supplement their diet, or herds were moved to rich pastureland in the northern Delta during the dry season or in years of low yield.

There is evidence that cattle herds were transported down the Nile to the Delta for parts of the year. This is attested both in images of cattle transported on ferries[287] and fording cattle[288], as well as in 20th Dynasty Papyrus Harris I, which reads "… [the black cattle] were transported to their other places for their grazing grounds"[289] It is common practice today, as well as in the

[284] Including Homer (ca. 8th century BC), Columella (1st century AD), Varro (2nd/1st century BC), Babrius (2nd century AD), and Polybius (2nd century BC).
[285] See Donaghy (2012), 218.
[286] Germer, Schwaiger, & Goldstein (2001).
[287] For example, the 18th Dynasty tomb of Huy, in Davies (1926), pl. 32.
[288] For example, the 6th Dynasty mastaba of 'Ankhm'ahor at Saqqara, in Badawy (1978), pl. 26.
[289] BM no. 1879.20, In. 49; see Hagseth (2015), 6.

past, to pasture cattle and horses together. Horses tend to prefer younger, more tender grasses, while cattle will eat the coarser grasses left by the horses. In the 1st to 2nd century AD, the Greek writer Dio Chrysostom remarked on how horses and cattle graze peacefully together and even gravitate towards one another.[290] It is undoubtedly beneficial to graze cattle and horses together and, whether or not the ancient Egyptians recognized the advantage of such an arrangement, it is entirely possible that horses and cattle were pastured together. Tomb paintings clearly show that horses were transported on boats in a similar way as cattle. Therefore, it is highly likely that the Stable Masters could have sent herds of horses to graze in the Delta for periods of the year and to breed and reproduce.

The reality may have been a combination of methods based on the horse's use, the degree of military engagement at the time, the season, and the age and stage of training of the horse. In art, feeding appears in the context of stables, boat travel, and upon arriving home in ceremonial scenes. These images coupled with the architectural remains show that horses in these scenarios were fed from mangers which would contain the feed so it could be consumed most efficiently and allowed horses to eat without interfering with one another. It also implies that the horses were being fed dried grass and concentrates, not grazing in pastures. The move to the Ramesside capital of Qantir-Piramesses in the eastern Delta would have made it easier to gather and transport roughage for the growing chariotry and allowed for such a large horse stable to function. It also would have provided an opportunity to pasture graze some of the horses without transporting them long distances. If moving to an area of ample forage for horses was not one of the motivations for relocating the capital to the north, it was undoubtedly a beneficial consequence.

[290] Donaghy (2012), 303-304.

Private horse owners, or Stable Masters with limited horses in their care, may have owned plots of land with sufficient pasture to feed their horses and did not rely as heavily on other feed sources. The 20th Dynasty Wilbour Papyrus, which describes landholdings in the Fayoum area, specifically designates some entries as "Fields for Horses," implying that these plots supplied land for the sole purpose of raising and feeding horses, similar to the passage of Amenemuia in Papyrus Sallier I, mentioned above.

3.4.2 Grooming

Modern equestrians use a variety of toothed combs (known as curry combs) and stiff- and soft-bristled brushes (dandy and body brushes) to lift dirt from the horse's coat and remove excess hair. In the daily grooming routine, the tail and mane are also usually combed out, and the horse's feet are cleaned using a hoof pick. There is no evidence that the ancient Egyptians had any specialized grooming equipment for horses. However, many combs have been discovered from the New Kingdom. Combs at this time became increasingly variable compared to earlier periods, with variations in length, width, and spacing.[291] This implies that they were used for different purposes and it is therefore possible that some combs were used on horses but have been misidentified as combs for human use.

Nevertheless, based on the scene in the Amarna tomb of Meryra II (T2) (see Fig. 6), it was likely that grooming was practiced in some form. This scene depicts Meryra receiving the gold of valor and returning to his home to celebrate his reward.[292] In the lower register, Meryra is being praised by his household, and his chariot team, still harnessed to his chariot, is

[291] Tassie (2008); Compare examples of the Predynastic style from the Fitzwilliam Museum (E.62.1900) and EM (JE29805 and JE52861), having a narrow handle, long teeth and often some ornamentation, with the later New Kingdom example from the Medelhavsmuseet museum in Stockholm (MM 30725), which is wider with short teeth and undecorated.
[292] Davies (1904), pl 33, 36.

immediately attended to by a groom, who wipes the horses with a cloth. Another man brings a trough and places it in front of the horses. This scene may depict the only known instance of a horse being groomed and demonstrates the Egyptians interest in attending to the horses immediately upon their return home by cleaning them and providing food and water.

Grooming is also usually done after a horse has recovered from exercise. However, a technique called "strapping" is also sometimes used immediately after a workout when the muscles are still warm and loose. The idea of strapping is to slap the horses' muscles (forcefully but without hurting or agitating the horse) with a hay wisp, rubber or leather pad, or even a small towel, and can improve blood flow and help to build muscles mass. Whichever grooming technique is used, horses are often washed or at least brushed after exercise to remove sweat and dirt that has accumulated on their coat. Like modern equestrians, it is plausible that the Egyptians not only cleaned their horses after a workout but also groomed them before harnessing or as part of a daily routine.

In addition to brushing, the letter from Papyrus Sallier I also informs us that the salve is applied to them during a monthly grooming, stating, "I assign grass to them daily and give ointment to rub them down every month."[293] The identification of the yellow salve mentioned is unclear. However, the pottery excavated in the stables at Qantir-Piramesses suggests the use of perfumed oils on horses. The oils could have been used either for massage, to soften the tail and mane, or to keep the leather harnessing in good condition and make it soft and supple.[294] Modern equestrians often use olive oil to clean tack and the owners of a donkey refuge outside of Marrakech, Morocco, use massages with olive oil as a treatment for donkeys recovering from

[293] Papyrus Sallier I, vs. 4, 8-11; Caminos (1954), 307.
[294] Mountjoy & Mommsen (2001), 124.

injuries and stress, and to promote circulation.[295] Therefore, it is plausible that the topical use of oil or the above-mentioned salve on horses was likely a common practice.

Xenophon highlights the importance of grooming to keep the horse clean free from dirt and infection. He emphasizes that the washing of the mane and tail is important as the mane protects the horse's eyes, and the tail keeps the body free of bugs and insects. He also distinguishes between the areas that can be cleaned with stiff brushes and the delicate areas like the face and spine that should only be wiped with the hand.[296]

Although the tools may have been different in pharaonic times, grooming likely served the same purpose as today. Grooming cleans the horse, removing dirt and hair from their coats and feet, which prevents skin problems and hoof problems such as thrush,[297] and ensures that the harnessing equipment does not rub and irritate the horse. In addition, grooming has the added benefit of stimulating blood flow, massaging the muscles, and is an opportunity to identify any potential health issues, such as strained or stiff muscles, swelling, skin irritations, or cuts and abrasions.

3.4.3 Horse Care during Military Campaigns

The evidence discussed above comes from the context of permanent horse stables within Egypt, whether royal or private. However, chariot horses were also frequently used in battle and expeditions outside the empire. This presented a new set of challenges since the horses had to be housed in temporary camps and equipment and fodder had to be transported with the army or they had to pillage or gather levies from the territories they passed through. Nevertheless, the

[295] Personal communication with Charles Hantom, co-founder of Jarjeer Mule and Donkey Refuge.
[296] Morgan (1893), 31.
[297] Thrush is an infection of the "frog", the fleshy part on the underside of the horse's foot. It is usually caused by pathogens that thrive in wet, dirty environments, especially in decaying matter like mud and manure. Brown, Pilliner & Davies (2003), 116.

activities observed in these scenes may reflect the horse care techniques practiced in stables as it would stand to reason that the Stable Masters and grooms would be carrying out the same roles, though under different circumstances, when on campaign.

Horses inevitably appear in art in the midst of battle, but there are also several depictions of feeding and caring for horses in military camps. Since the transportation of large amounts of roughage or concentrates would have been impractical during military expeditions, the army relied on procuring produce from allied districts as they traveled or pillaged.[298] Therefore, it is necessary to acknowledge that the methods and types of feed would have differed some degree when comparing the permanent stables to military excursions.

One particularly active scene of the battle of Kadesh from Abu Simbel represents a camp with many horses, surrounded by the ongoing battle (see Fig. 2).[299] To the right of the scene, some horses are lying down, and in one particularly interesting vignette, a horse is depicted at the moment it bends its knees to lie on the ground. In the upper right, three groups of horses are lined up with hay or grass laid out before them. A single horse stands at a trough, but this may hold water and not feed, while other horses eat from the ground.[300]

It is also worth pointing out a small scene of a man who seems to be having his sandal adjusted by another man on the ground in front of him. Behind this pair, a horse is standing with one foot raised while another man kneels before the horse with an unidentified object on a tripod (Fig. 2, top left and bottom center). It is possible to suggest that this horse, like the standing man immediately in front of him, is having his foot attended to. Horseshoes were not yet invented, but hoof problems undoubtedly existed for unshod horses in the midst of battle, or in rocky or

[298] Spalinger (2005), 86.
[299] Breasted (1903), pl. 6.
[300] Breasted (1903), pl. 6.

unfamiliar terrain. There is no other evidence of farrier work is known from this period. However, it could be that tools for farrier work, like hoof picks or rasps, have simply not been identified.

A different scene of the Kadesh battle at Luxor Temple depicts another camp with horses lined up and ready to eat.[301] Several sacks are placed in front of the group, presumably the feed for the horses. Like the scene from Abu Simbel, the horses seem to be fed on the ground. The manger depicted in the Abu Simbel relief may, then, be for water. Interestingly, as in the scene described above, these horses are not contained within a structure, nor do they seem to be tethered or restrained by rope. They are portrayed simply organized in a line, possibly taking turns to eat. This scenario is realistic, given that there was adequate spacing between the horses to avoid competition over food and fighting.[302]

The identity of the men feeding the horses is not obvious. However, in one army camp scene, four horses are controlled by a soldier with a quiver for arrows slung across his back,[303] suggesting that this man could be, in fact, a Charioteer himself. Other texts suggest that the Stable Masters and grooms were responsible for the feeding of horses both in the stables and on expeditions. A passage from the Koller Papyrus provides direct information about the role of Stable Master and grooms in preparing for an expedition. The text reads, “Apply yourself to cause to be ready the steeds of the team which is (bound) for Khor, together with their Stable Master as well as their grooms; their bags of hair fabric[304] filled with provender and finely

[301] Breasted (1903), pl. 4.
[302] Breasted (1903), pl. 4.
[303] Breasted (1903), pl. 1.
[304] Camino (1954) suggests this may refer to a rough burlap type of material, 431.

chopped straw;[305] their haversacks filled with kyllestis-bread; (every) single ass in the charge of two men; their chariots being of *brry*-wood, filled with all manner of weapons of war."[306]

This short excerpt from one of a series of model letters between two scribes describes how the horses, their attendants, the chariots, and weapons should be prepared for an expedition to Syria. Gardiner suggests that the sacks with kyllestis-bread are provisions for the grooms and Stable Master, which were transported by donkeys.[307] It is interesting to note that the Stable Master and the grooms were not only part of the preparation but seem to also accompany the horses on the trip. The bags filled with provender and straw may be referring to the sacks seen in the military camp in the Kadesh battle reliefs at Luxor Temple that are spaced out before the horses before feeding.[308]

Grooms were undoubtedly an important component of the military expeditions and texts do occasionally refer to them. In addition to the Koller papyrus, the historical tale from Papyrus Harris 500 known as "The Capture of Joppa",[309] mentions the activities of the grooms in a military encampment. The text dates to the early 19th Dynasty but the story is set during the time of Thutmose III. In one passage, Dejhuty, the protagonist, is talking to the ruler of Joppa. It reads, "I am (?) together with my wife and children. Your city is your own. Have the grooms bring in the chariot horses and have them given fodder or else one of the Apiru should pass by and steal(?)...them(?) The chariot horses were secured and given fodder."[310] In this section, the

[305] Meaning fodder, or food given to animals as opposed to bedding material, Caminos (1954), 431. Gardiner's translation is "filled with provender and straw, rubbed down twice over" (1911), 37.
[306] Papyrus Berlin, 3043, translations in Gardiner (1911), 35; Gardiner (1937), 116, vs. 1, 1-2; Caminos (1954), 431.
[307] Gardiner (1911), 37.
[308] Breasted (1945), pl. 4.
[309] BM, EA 10060.
[310] Manassa (2013), 75.

grooms are charged with bringing the horses in and feeding them. The text is slightly damaged, but it seems to imply that there was concern that the horses could be stolen so they were brought within the encampment. Based on the depictions and descriptions of army camps, it is reasonable to suggest that horses were kept in an open space somewhere outside the camp and brought in to be fed straw portioned out on the ground. Stable Masters and grooms accompanied the army and looked after the wellbeing of the horses, although soldiers in the chariotry may have shared some of the responsibility.

3.5 Training

There are no texts or images of how the Egyptians trained chariot horses. In order to be useful, horses at least would have to learn to stand and be harnessed, to succumb to pressure from the bit in order for the driver to stop and turn the team, and to become accustomed to unfamiliar environments and situations to be function in battle. The bits and harnessing utilized by the Egyptians emphasized directional control and increased the leverage of the driver.

Most of the bits discovered in Egypt were made of bronze, an alloy of copper and tin, a common material from at least the Middle Kingdom, if not earlier.[311] Modern horse bits are made of a variety of materials including copper, rubber, plastic, and leather, but stainless steel is the most common. Copper, or copper-plated, bits are believed to encourages salivation, thereby helping the horse to relax his mouth and jaw. The copper in ancient bits would have been suitably gentle on the horses' mouths, while the addition of tin would have made the bits stronger and easier to cast.[312]

[311] Markowitz & Lacovara (2001).
[312] Markowitz & Lacovara (2001).

Most of the metal bits discovered in Egypt resemble a modern day "twisted snaffle", which consists of two solid pieces joined at the middle (Fig. 11). Twisted metal bits are usually much harsher than their smooth counterparts as the twist puts more pressure on the bar[313] and tongue of a horse.[314] In general, a snaffle is a milder form of a bit that acts on the sides of the horses' mouth without as much pressure on the bars, however, the severity is also dependent on the thickness of the bit and the length and angle of the shank. The shanks of ancient bits are long compared with the modern-day snaffle's D-ring or eggbutt. With this type of bit, the mouthpiece is jointed, attached to wide, cylindrical cheekpieces that are designed in a way that prevents pinching the sides of the mouth. It is generally considered a mild bit, and it increases the leverage and pressure applied on the horses' mouth.[315]

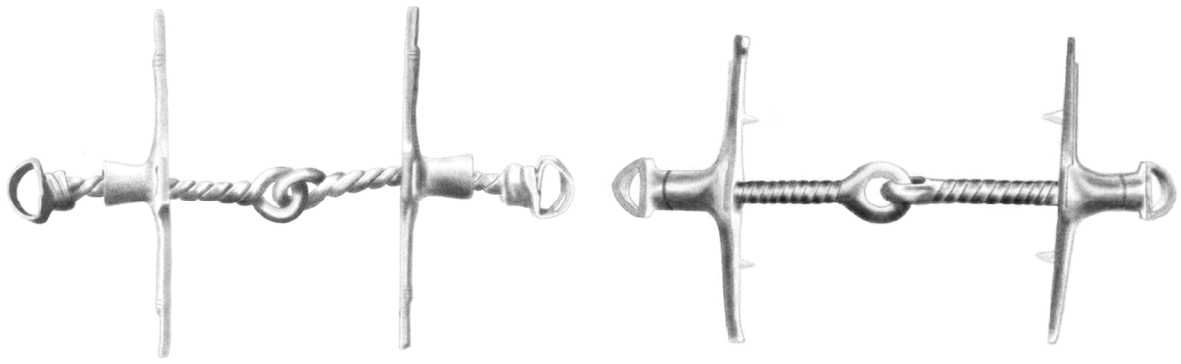

Figure 11: Types of Twisted Snaffle Bits from Ancient Egypt. Left: Bit found in the Delta; After Hansen (1992), fig. 2. Right: A metal bit from Tell el-Amarna, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum 1933.1209; After Littauer & Crouwel (1979) fig. 49.

[313] The space of gum between the incisors and molars.
[314] Littauer (2002), 500.
[315] Broome (1994), 164.

However, the harshness of any bit, or even a hackamore (bit-less bridle), is dependent on how it is combined with other equipment. While wearing a harsh snaffle, the natural inclination of the horse would be to open their mouth to avoid the pressure of the bit on the bar and the bit would act only on the corners of the mouth.[316] Apparently this was an issue because Turner found that horses were depicted with open mouths in 25 of the 38 images in which the mouth is clearly visible.[317] Drop nosebands, identifiable in 23 of the 38 examples in which preservation was adequate,[318] were likely used to prevent this. This top of this type of noseband sits lower and fits above the bit while the bottom fastens below the bit.[319] This noseband would have also encouraged the horse to tuck in his neck to avoid the pressure, commonly depicted in art, as with the horse team Ramesses III in the reliefs from Medinet Habu or the horses of Seti I in scenes from Karnak.[320]

Images also show the Egyptians used side reins and another method similar to the modern-day running martingale to keep the horse from raising or stretching out his head, both visible in the relief from Karnak. A martingale is a piece of leather that attaches to the girth and divides into two. Each of the reins runs through a ring and prevents the horse's head from becoming excessively high.[321] Horses often raise their heads out of anxiousness and fear, or to evade the pressure of the bit. When horses hold their heads too high, the body shape also changes; the horse braces their back, limiting their ability to bring their hind legs underneath them and create powerful forward movement and speed. The Egyptians used a similar technique to the running martingale, but the reins passed through rings attached at the shoulder instead.

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[316] Hansen (1992) 174.
[317] Turner (2016), 372.
[318] Turner (2016), 373.
[319] Micklem (2003), 387.
[320] The Epigraphic Survey (1930-1970), pl. 23.
[321] Micklem (2003), 390.

Sidelines or side reins are also evident in artistic representation. These run from the bridle's noseband to the yoke saddle, but in the later Ramesside are attached directly to the bit.[322] Side reins are used today as a training tool to help horses develop muscles to move in the correct body frame. However, in ancient times, it was clearly a part of the typical harnessing and prevented the horse from stretching out their neck and pulling the reins from the drivers' hands. The side lines may have also provided some additional stability and are therefore seen in depictions of the king alone in the chariot with the reins tied behind his back.[323]

Kathy Hansen argued in her 1992 article that this equipment was used to encourage collection in chariot horses. Collection is an advanced body position in which the horse rounds its body, bringing the hind legs underneath and curling the neck inwards so the head comes to vertical as the back arches slightly. The weight shifts to the back end and the hindquarters lower as the shoulders, head, and neck rise and the stride shortens.[324] Hansen argues that the depiction of horses in the artwork demonstrates that the ancient Egyptian were concerned with collection and trained their horses specifically to maintain this body frame. Shifting the center of gravity creates impulsion and lift in all gaits, which allows the horse to slow, and turn more quickly while staying balanced. Horses naturally collect for short periods of time but maintaining this body position requires a high level of physical fitness and usually many years of training. Even among modern riders, collection is only expected at high levels of competition in disciplines like dressage.

Another reason why collection is such an advanced technique is that it requires a true rounding of the horses' frame but is difficult to identify by look or feel. Horses can exhibit

[322] Hansen (1992), 175.
[323] Such as the image of Thutmose IV on the side of his chariot. There are also some non-royals depicted using this technique such as Userhat in his tomb (TT56).
[324] Micklem (2003), 386.

"false" collection when the neck is curled and the head brought to the vertical or behind, without the rounding of the back and hind legs coming underneath the body. While the examples that Hansen cites, like the painted fragment from the tomb of Nebamun,[325] do show bending in the hind legs and curl of the head and neck, the back is deeply hollowed, and the shoulders are not elevated above the hindquarters. Furthermore, this example that Hansen points to depicts standing horses, but collection generally requires forward momentum. Encouraging the horse to bring the chin towards the chest without truly collecting is simple to achieve with restrictive harnessing. In fact, Turner even acknowledges, "Egyptian horses (like those on the fragment) are painted with slightly dropped backs - an indication that the collection the ancient Egyptians produced was not quite complete."[326] She is correct in pointing out that true collection cannot exist without the rounding of the frame.

If the ancient Egyptians were aware of collection (which images do not definitively prove) as well as how to train the horses for it, the question remains; why? Training that develops collection increases the horses' strength, balance, and weight-bearing power, which would certainly benefit war horses that need to maneuver quickly and powerfully on the battlefield.[327] In collection, the stride of the horse also shortens.[328] However, horses in battle would occasionally have to sprint at full speed when a collected body frame would actually work against the horse as they lengthen their stride. Furthermore, collection can only be achieved by a horse that is relaxed, concentrating, and under control. During battle, the horse could not be expected to maintain a collected frame, nor would it be beneficial.

[325] BM, EA 37982.
[326] Turner (1993), 174, note 6.
[327] Micklem (2003), 321.
[328] Micklem (2003), 156.

So, while the Egyptians may have been aware of the benefits of the strength and balance developed through collection, and maybe even conditioned their horses to engage their hindquarters more deeply, the suggestion that the harnessing and training was designed to always have the horse collected is unlikely. Furthermore, the artistic representations are not reliable evidence as they generally show hollowed backs with the hindquarters and shoulders at equal height. Therefore, it is more likely that the bits, side lines, and martingales were designed to prevent the horses from evading the bit and to give the driver stronger control over the horse.

Another point that should not be overlooked is the ancient Egyptian approach to training horses for riding. There is significant pictorial evidence that horses were ridden, at least on occasion (See Section 2.2). Teaching a horse to accept the pressure of a rider on its back must be approached differently than teaching a horse to become accustomed to harnessing. Horses are natural reactive to the weight of a rider and the horse must first get used to human touch. Then, the rider begins to lean on the back, gradually increasing the weight until the rider can sit fully on the horse. Then the horse must learn the forward response of the pressure of the riders' legs. However, teaching the horse to accept the bit, turn, and stop or slow down would be similar to the training of the chariot horses.

Unfortunately, the training methods of the ancient Egyptians is an area of inquiry in which the evidence is particularly sparse. There is only one relief that has been interpreted as depicting actual horse training. A block from the tomb of Ipuia at Saqqara[329] depicts three spirited horses, barely contained by their handlers (Fig. 12). The horses are pulling back with their head thrown into the air with effort. The horse in the rear of the group is actually held by

[329] EM, JE 44924.

two handlers, one who stands at the side of the rearing horse, grasping one of the reins, and the other at the horse's head with one hand gripping the other rein close to the horse's mouth.

Figure 12: Horse Training Scene from the Tomb of Ipuia at Saqqara (JE 44924). Photograph by author, courtesy of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.

Two aspects of this scene imply that this may be a training scene. First, there are very few scenes with grooms and horse handlers in which the horses are depicted in such an animated way. Although the block is damaged so that there is little context to the scene, it does not seem to fit any of the categories discussed in Section 2.2. Second, there are associated reliefs from the tomb showing military exercises, which would set this scene in the context of training and preparation.[330] These reliefs show archers, one on the ground and one in a chariot, practicing shooting while other soldiers collect arrows from the ground and more soldiers wait nearby. If the relief with the horses is a training scene, the actions of the grooms would make sense since a significant part of the training process was teaching the horse to respond to pressure from the reins or lead, and as discussed above, the harnessing suggests that this was a major concern.

[330] Hayter & Quibell (1927), 35-36, pl. 12.

In addition to teaching the horse how to be harnessed or ridden, and follow the directions of the driver, the other element of training the chariot horse would be building stamina and teaching the horse to make tight maneuvers that would maximize their effectiveness is battle. The Stable Master in the Papyrus Sallier I letter takes the horses out for a "trot" (*titi*),[331] but probably refers to general exercise including trotting, cantering, and galloping. Exercise only every 10 days would certainly be inadequate for horses stabled full-time. It is therefore probable that the horses were either housed in an open area permanently, received some turnout, or were housed in appropriately large stalls to make the exercise schedule sufficient. The weekly "trot" could be equivalent to the modern-day practice of "hacking." Hacking simply means horse riding outside and many equestrians incorporate it into their training routine as a break from strenuous arena work. The motivation for hacking is twofold: first, it is mentally refreshing and stimulating for the horse to be outside the arena or stable. Second, it is an opportunity for physical conditioning, as hacking often covers long distances which builds stamina, and the various types of terrain, especially hills, is useful for building key muscle groups. While the letter describes a type of exercise regimen, there is no indication that it was actual training, as in teaching the horse a certain skill or behavior.

The inscription of the Sphinx Stela describes how Amenhotep II trained the horses of the royal stable and emphasized the horses' stamina.[332] Again, this passage indicates that the training was centered on conditioning the horses since it was desirable that they could travel at high speeds for long distances without tiring. As horses were primarily used for military purposes, well-developed stamina would have been necessary for the journey to the battlefield, as well as success during the battle itself.

[331] Papyrus Sallier I, vs. 4, 8-11; Caminos (1954), 307.
[332] Lichtheim (2006), 42.

The harnessing, which emphasized directional control and stopping power, the lack of any depictions or descriptions of specific training techniques, and value placed on a horses' stamina, as is evident in the Sphinx Stela text, all indicate that the ancient Egyptians prioritized training methods that increased physical (and probably mental) endurance, as well as accepting the bit and harness. It does seem likely that, in order to be successful in battle, in addition to stamina, a horse would also have to become accustomed to loud noises, movement, and unfamiliar obstacles. It would be interesting to know if the Egyptians took measures to familiarize horses with the sights and sounds of battle as part of the horses' education.

There is no evidence that they utilized more advanced training techniques to mold the horses' frame or head position, for example, or shorten or lengthen strides, as horses today are trained to do. That is not to say that horse training in ancient Egypt was simplistic or unsophisticated, rather it was narrowly focused on achieving a specific set of goals for a very specific purpose. In fact, if Xenophon's methodology is any indicator, the training program may have been rather complex and refined.

And what of the training of the chariot driver? There is also little evidence on the topic, but one can assume that there was some specialized training but was narrowly focused on controlling the direction and speed of the horse. It is reasonable to assume that the chariot drivers, as they learned to manage the horse and chariot, would also carry out their training. However, Papyrus Sallier I also acknowledges the role of the Stable Master of a private stable in exercising the horses and, if taking the horses out trotting, would likely have been in a chariot rather than running alongside. However, there is no definitive evidence that Stable Masters at larger stables, rather than privately-owned stables, participated directly in the training of horses. If a clearly structured training program was developed, there may have been different roles. The

chariot driver and the Stable Master could have trained the horse in harness, while the grooms carried out training from the ground, like teaching the horse to lead on foot, introducing the harnessing, or exercising on foot.

Horse or chariot racing in ancient Egypt is unattested,[333] implying that horses were trained only for battle and transportation. However, Kozloff suggests that the area around *Birket Habu* at the Malqata palace of Amenhotep III would have been the perfect training grounds for chariot drivers and horses, while the nearby *Kom el Abd* with its wide track and tall mudbrick platform could have served as a racetrack and grandstand.[334] She suggests the series of dirt mounds that surrounded *Birket Habu* were obstacles for training to navigate sharp turns and hilly terrain, as well as distance markers for endurance training, as outlined in the Kikkuli training text. Indeed, it would stand to reason that horses would have been kept in the area of Malqata which would have provided both ample grazing land and food and water sources for a sizable herd. Furthermore, the area around *Birket Habu* consisted of hard packed sand, free from debris or small rocks, which is similar to modern day horse arenas used for training and competition. Notably, the area is still used for informal horse racing and training today.[335] It is reasonable to assume that training practices, at Malqata or elsewhere, could have naturally led to competitions of chariot racing. However, while images of military exercises, chariot making, or other sports, such as wrestling, appear on tomb walls, chariot racing never became part of the decorative program.[336]

[333] Köpp-Junk (2013), 132.
[334] Kozloff (2012),163-164.
[335] S. Ikram, personal communication.
[336] Decker (1992).

3.6 Horse Handlers and Grooms

Stable Master was certainly an important office in the horse stables, and, as seen in the texts above, they were responsible for overseeing the care, transport, and feeding of horses. Groom (*mri*) is a much broader category and seems to be a general description rather than a reference to a formal position. Individual grooms are not usually named, and the position is not referred to in biographical texts. Therefore, the horse handlers in the descriptions below may be referred to as grooms with the acknowledgement that this modern designation may not be completely accurate of the reality in ancient times.

The majority of depictions of grooms are occur in tribute scenes that include horses led by foreign delegations or in military processions, such as in the tomb of Amenmose (TT42), the Stable Master, mentioned previously. A challenge arises in determining the ethnicity of these grooms. In the bottom register of the scenes in TT42, one groom wears a long kilt, and the other appears to have a bow case around his hip. In the upper register, the man wears a short kilt and has no apparent mark of being a foreigner. In contrast, other tribute scenes, such as that in the tomb of Amunedjeh (TT 84) from the reign of Thutmose III, clearly depict Asiatic grooms among other Asiatics bringing tribute.[337] Here, the groom wears a short kilt with a hat, full hair, and pointed beard, typical of depictions of Asiatics. As in many of these scenes, the main duty of the grooms appears to be keeping the horse calm. The horses exhibit excited behavior with the tails and heads held high, while the grooms soothe them.

In the tomb of Amenhotep-Huy (TT40) from Qurnet Murai, the tomb owner brings offerings to king Tutankhamun with horses led by Syrians handlers.[338] This tomb is of particular

[337] Davies (1941), pl. 13.
[338] Davies & Gardiner (1926), pl 19.

interest because it includes examples of the most common scenes in which horse handlers appear, including depictions of horses on boats, horses led by Asiatic grooms, as well as a registration scene.[339] In addition, two of Amenhotep-Huy's sons were Stable Masters who are identified in his tomb inscriptions.[340]

In the tribute scene from TT40, Syrian grooms take the horses by the reins of their bridles, turning back to the horses and raising a hand to calm the excited animals. This pose is common in the motif of horse tributes and other scenes in which horses, attached to the chariot or not, are being held or led. Often the grooms seem to be raising a hand to pacify the horse, which suggests that one of the main duties of horse handlers in these scenarios was managing the horses' behavior and keeping them calm. If the horses were brought by Syrian grooms and were intended to stay in Egypt, one must wonder whether these men remained with the horses or had any influence on the grooms of Egypt.

Turner suggests, "Tribute presentation is made more exotic by the inclusion of horses and chariots shown in the tombs."[341] To serve this purpose, the horses had to be depicted in an animated state to bring energy and movement to the narrative of the scene. The customary response of the groom to the excited horse was to raise a hand to subdue them. This gesture is also evident in the scenes of military camps discussed above, as well as with waiting chariot teams as seen in the tomb of Ay,[342] and unharnessed horses in pastoral scenes like the Amarna block from Hermopolis (see Fig. 7).[343]

[339] Manniche (1987), fig. 39.
[340] For the full list of Huy-Amenhotep's titles, see Davies & Gardiner (1926) and PM I/1, 75.
[341] Turner (2016), 314.
[342] Davies (1908b), pl. xxxix.
[343] Cooney (1965), 45, no. 25.

Grooms are also present in animal registration scenes. Although very limited in number, these scenes represent grooms in their everyday duties, not in the formal presentation of tribute as discussed above. In the tomb of Amenhotep-Huy, the registration scene has been badly damaged, but reconstructions[344] identify 12 horses accompanied by several grooms and attendants (Fig. 4). The horses are presented before a scribe to be counted. Positioned in the broad hall of the tomb, this scene occupies a single register below the scenes of Huy leaving the palace. In the front, four horses are led by their bridles or halters, the next group of six horses are brought together, and, at the back, a group of only two. The last groom turns back towards the horses, raising his hand to calm them. He may also be leading the stallions while the others are mares, but identification is difficult. All the horses look lively, though under control.

The first four horses are followed by two men, one depicted significantly smaller than the others. They are dressed in the same manner as the grooms, but both with close cropped hair. The taller of the two raises both hands in front of him and seems to be carrying a blanket or cover. The second, smaller figure holds out a basin. It is possible that the small man may be carrying water to refresh the scribes in their work. This hypothesis seems likely since, although the men are positioned within the procession of horses, the small vessel would not be large enough to provide an adequate amount of food or water for the large number of horses. Nevertheless, the possibility remains that these two figures may represent additional grooms to care for the needs of the horses.

An earlier, similar scene in the 18th Dynasty tomb of Nebamun (TT145) also depicts the recording of horses in the field.[345] Unlike the scene from Amenhotep-Huy however, the two horses are represented amongst other livestock including cattle, as well as donkeys and geese in

[344] Davies & Gardiner (1926), pl. 7.
[345] Davies (1932), fig. 9.

the register below. The near horse wears a halter or bridle, so it is assumed that the pair was led by a groom, but damage has obscured the rest of the image.

Animal registration is often found in the tombs of military officials, especially in processions of tribute or produce.[346] Porter and Moss call this scene "Recording horses, cattle."[347] Although no scribe is present, the procession of animals suggests the counting of livestock, one of the representations of daily life commonly found in 18th Dynasty tombs. Perhaps the inclusion of horses simply reflects the artist's wish to enhance this commonplace pastoral scene with a variety of animals. However, if there are, in reality, only two horses depicted, this could show Nebamun's personal team of chariot horses. Hartwig suggests that the horses were included to emphasize Nebamun's long military career.[348]

While we can make some assumptions about the duties of the grooms based on these passages and images, the question remains of *how* one became a groom. There is little evidence to resolve this matter; however, one line from Papyrus Sallier I[349] refers to lower class men who become grooms. It reads, "Man comes forth from his mother's womb and runs to his master: the child will be in the service of a soldier whilst the stripling will be a skirmisher. The grown man will be put to be a cultivator, and the poor will be a groom."[350] Hoch points out that the context of this text is subservience and positions the groom even lower than the farmer. The word *nmḫw,* which Hoch translates as "pauper"[351] and Camino as "the poor" is also used to refer to orphans.[352] It is interesting to consider the possibility that some orphans were placed in the

[346] Hartwig (2004), 29.
[347] PM I/1, 257.
[348] Hartwig (2004), 75.
[349] Gardiner (1937), 84, col. 7, ins. 2.
[350] Caminos (1954), 317.
[351] Hoch (1994), 133.
[352] Faulkner (1981), 133.

stables to act as grooms. Regardless, the word suggests that the groom is someone of low social and economic status.

In the 19th Dynasty Papyrus Bologna 1094, a letter between a priest and a royal scribe discusses the Stable Master, Psiur, and his groom. It reads, "He (Psiur) has returned from Khor just now after five years, he having been there serving as shield-bearer to Inwau. (As for) his (own) shield-bearer, whose maid-servant you had in Memphis, attend to him. The major-domo will cause this younger brother of his to be branded for him as a groom."[353] The word *ȝbw*, or brand, is used in reference to branding cattle[354] as well as war prisoners.[355] The passage seems to imply that the brother of the shield-bearer was made the groom of Psiur. While it is doubtful that the groom was literally branded, it again points to the fact that this position was not either completely voluntary or well-respected.

However, in the 19th Dynasty Papyrus Anastasi I, the scribe Hori describes himself as, "Groom of His Majesty, follower of the Sovereign, trainer of the steeds of the king, ardent cultivator of the stable."[356] This description can be read as emphasizing Hori's subservience and lowliness before the king by giving himself the title of groom.[357] However, he also describes himself as a trainer or breeder (*sḫprw*) and cultivator (*mniti*) which, as we can see from other texts like the Sphinx Stela that describe royals training horses, was not an undignified designation. Furthermore, a later section of the letter recounts how Hori received a letter from Amenmope, "as I sat beside the horse which is in my charge," implying that he did work directly with the horses.[358]

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[353] Caminos (1954), 24; Papyrus Bologna 1094, vs. 9, 3-6.
[354] Papyrus Chester Beatty, Gardiner (1931), 37, no. 2.
[355] For example, Papyrus Harris I, vs. 77, 5-6.
[356] Gardiner (1911), 6.
[357] This is the interpretation of Hoch (1994), 133.
[358] Gardiner (1911), 9.

However, the sentiment of the groom as a low-status individual is evident in other examples. The Amarna Letter EA 299 titled, "A Plea for Help" from Yapahu, governor of Gazru reads, "To the king, my lord, my god, the Sun, the Sun [f]rom the sky: Message of Yapahu, the ruler of Gazru, your servant, the dirt at your feet, the groom of your horses. Truly I fall at the feet of the king, my lord, my god, my Sun, the Sun from the sky, 7 times and 7 times, on the stomach and on the back."[359] Here the groom is equated with servants, as lowly as the dirt at the feet of the king.

Ultimately, the evidence suggests that grooms or horse-handlers held a low-ranking position but must have played an important role as they appear in a variety of artistic contexts including tribute, registration, and pastoral scenes. The textual and visual evidence indicates that grooms were primarily tasked with the basic care of the horse including feeding, watering, and grooming, moving them to where they needed to be, and assisting the Stable Masters in their role. However, considering the variety of duties, it is also possible that there was a number of ranks or roles among the grooms.

3.7 Breeding

A final point to consider in the role of the horse stables is breeding. Breeding and the first few months in the life of a young horse require a particular set of considerations. If mares and stallions are kept in the same stable, precautions must be taken to ensure the mares are separated from the stallions when in heat to prevent unwanted breeding and aggressive behaviors. Male horses that are not used for breeding are often gelded, or castrated, to minimize aggressive,

[359] Moran (1992), 340.

hormonal-driven behaviors. Several images depict male horses without testes, suggesting the Egyptians did practice castration, but the evidence is not conclusive.

Monitoring mares is vital since they are seasonal breeders and are only in heat during the summer.[360] Modern breeders use a technique called "teasing" to determine if the mare is in season. During this process, the mare is introduced to the stallion under handlers' supervision and the stallion is allowed to sniff and nuzzle the mare. The handlers may do this several times. Based on her response, breeders can determine if the mare is in heat as they will reject and act aggressively towards the stallion if they are not ready to breed but will stand readily if in season.[361] The actual mating process can be carried out "in hand," meaning that both the stallion and mare wear a bridle or halter and are under the control of humans, or the stallion is allowed to "run with the mares," in which the horses will be allowed to mate in an open space without human interference.[362] Either of these methods require a certain amount of designated space to be carried out safely. In Egypt, this could have been within the stables or, more likely, in pasture areas.

There is no evidence that breeding took place within the royal stables as the archaeological remains do not include any isolated area for this purpose or any explicit reference to it in text. It is, therefore, very possible the ancient Egyptians utilized open areas outside the stables for breeding and raising horses. The Delta could have provided ample space and food for grazing, as discussed in Section 3.4.1.,[363] which would have been ideal for pregnant and nursing

[360] Brown, Pilliner, & Davies (2003), 381.
[361] McBane (2001), 127.
[362] McBane (2001), 121.
[363] Turner (2016), 220, "The Delta was definitely able to provide sufficient fodder and the method of "hogging" of Egyptian horse manes … as a possible response to the insects and the moisture in the Delta, could supply supporting evidence for its use as a grazing and breeding area."

mares, and their foals. Young horses can usually walk within a few hours of being born, and open spaces are essential for appropriate mental and physical development. Grassy pastures are also ideal since the presence of food will encourage the young horse to move more around the area.[364] In addition, while foals nurse for several months, they begin supplementing their milk intake by eating grass within 10 days of being born.[365] Breeding operations in the Delta would have been especially convenient in the Ramesside period, when the capital was based in Lower Egypt and the stables would have had large areas of grassland nearby.

One small passage from the 18th Dynasty Lansing Papyrus schoolbook[366] supports the existence of a separate breeding area. It reads, "Horses brought from the field, they forget their mother. Yoked they go up and down on all his majesty's errands. They become like those that bore them that stand in the stable."[367] The text makes a clear distinction between the field where young horses begin their lives and remain with the mothers, and the stable where the working horses reside after being weaned.

In addition, some iconographic evidence points to the possibility that horse breeding and the raising of young horses took place outside the stable. In almost all the scenes discussed above, the horses are generally represented either at rest or under the control of humans. However, there are also several reliefs that may depict an outdoor environment in which the horses exhibit much more natural behavior. Although the full context of the scenes is not clear, it is assumed the horses are depicted in an open space based on animated behavior. While these scenes hint at the relatively energetic nature of horses as compared to cattle, for example, they

[364] McBane (2001), 98-100.
[365] British Horse Society (2005), 259.
[366] BM, papyrus EA 9994.
[367] Lichtheim (2006), 169.

still adhere to the Egyptian artistic doctrine of representing human control over the chaotic animal world.

An Amarna relief discovered at Hermopolis provides a rare exception to this concept.[368] In the upper register, seven horses leap with great energy, completely unrestrained and with no humans present (see Fig. 7). The horses are of varying sizes, but two likely represent foals, and the largest could be gelding while the others are mares, although no genitalia are visible.[369]

This highly unusual scene is accompanied by a more typical image in the register below. Two men each calm a pair of horses and hold ropes in their hands, although the horses wear neither a bridle nor halter. A third man on a slightly higher ground line holds a rope at eye-level, examining it or possibly tying a knot. Because of the unique aspects of this scene, the subject is difficult to interpret. There is no definitive archaeological evidence that horse stables included an open area large enough to allow for the number of horses and speed of movement depicted in this scene. This scene could therefore represent the horses and their foals in the field in the upper register, and the herding and transport of horses at the end of the breeding cycle in the lower register.

Another Amarna relief found at Hermopolis may portray a similar scene. A group of four horses with the front legs raised leap to the right and, in front, the back legs of another horse are visible.[370] On the right, another set of front legs charges in the opposite direction, but only a damaged fragment remains. The barrel of one of the horses is preserved, and no trapping is visible. Of particular interest is the top half of a much smaller horse under the legs of the larger two sets that mirror the composition of the other relief from Hermopolis. Therefore, it very likely

[368] Hanke (1978), 230-231, pl. 19; Turner (2016), 220.
[369] Turner (2016), 220.
[370] Cooney (1965), no. 25.

depicts a foal in a similar pastoral scene. Cooney tentatively identified this as, "a scene of horses at pasture or, more probably, a roundup of them," as there is nothing to indicate that it falls into any other category of scene.[371] Curiously, he does point out that the commotion depicted is too wild for a calm pasture setting and suggests that horses may have been allowed to run wild in the area to the east of Amarna, and "rounding them up would have been good sport for the grooms."[372]

Cooney believes that a third Amarna relief from Hermopolis[373] is part of the relief from the Schimmel collection and also shows the rounding up of horses.[374] In this relief, the lower half of two horses is visible, and they seem to be leaning away from the groom with the weight on their back legs. The groom on the left holds a coiled rope in his hand, and Cooney speculates the other hand may be held back to throw the rope around the horses and lasso them.

The only other relief with young horses is an earlier tomb scene of Amenemhat (TT123) from Sheik Abd el-Qurna dated to the reign of Thutmose III. The scene depicts a procession of domestic animals with nine horses in the top register (Fig. 13).[375] A man leads two horses, followed by two frolicking foals and another five adult horses who follow obediently.

Interestingly, the two sets of horses are depicted quite differently. The two in the front display a much more active position with their tails elevated and heads in the air. Their backs are swayed, exaggerating this position. Alternatively, the group that follow behind the foals are represented with a more robust, taller body type, flat back, and neutral head position.

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[371] Cooney (1965), 45-46.
[372]Cooney (1965), 46. Cooney further notes "horses must have been allowed to run free at times, and as green fields were not available in Egypt the hard surface of the desert must have served the purpose." also implying the wild scene could reflect the Egyptians view of the desert as a place of chaos.
[373] MFA Boston, 62.319.
[374] Cooney (1965), 48, no. 26.
[375] Wegner (1933), pl. 5, Davies (1932), fig. 8, Turner (2016), 162-164.

Figure 13: Mares, Foals, and Stallions in the Tomb of Amenemhat (TT123); after Davies (1932), fig. 8.

Turner suggests the first two horses are mares, while the group at the back are stallions, as their genitals are visible and they appear larger and more full-bodied in size.[376] However, Delpeut argues that the second group is shown with udders, rather than male genitalia, meaning that this is a group of mares. Furthermore, she states that the horses at the front are clearly supposed to be interpreted as chariot horses based on the style of the body and the fact that they wear bridles, and are therefore likely stallions, or at least not breeding horses.[377] Unfortunately, the original relief is rather damaged, but the line drawing does appear to depict udders, and, it would stand to reason that it was more important for the artist to show the udders of the nursing mothers in relation to the young horses.

Regardless, the presence of young horses, so rare in Egyptian art, certainly implies a breeding scene. Between the adult horses, two small foals are playfully rearing, facing alternate directions. Only the two horses in front wear halters and are led by the groom, the others follow obediently. In this scene, both the animals and the handler seem content and calm. The handler does not turn to calm the horses as in many of the tribute scenes.

[376] Turner (2016), 164.
[377] L. Delpeut, personal communication.

There is no direct evidence, either visually or in text, that the ancient Egyptians had an organized breeding program. However, although rare, scenes like the Amarna relief and the depiction TT 123 both indicate mating in pastoral settings. Not only do both scenes appear to take place outside an organized human environment, but the horses are also not at work and exhibit much more naturalistic herd behavior. For example, in the scene from TT123, only the horses in the front are being led which the others instinctually follow.

The propagation of horses was undoubtedly important to the success of Egypt's army and essential to the survival of the empire. While the number of horses brought to Egypt through trade or booty was significant, active breeding would have been needed to keep a consistent supply of chariot horses. The Egyptians did directly depict acts of reproduction; however, the presence of both sexes, as well as young horses in these scenes may be a coded allusion to horse breeding.

The horse stables in Qantir-Piramesses and Amarna both had open courtyards, but the archaeological evidence does not show that either had adequate space for a designated breeding area or the amount of open land needed for any sizable breeding operation. While there are no additional texts that refer to breeding, the passage from the Lansing Papyrus considered in tandem with the visual and archaeological evidence, makes a strong case for a breeding program outside stables.

3.8 Practice of Horse Management in Other Cultures

The practices of contemporary cultures can also provide valuable insight into what is lacking in the Egyptian record in terms of horse training, care, and stable operations. The most notable text regarding horses that is contemporary to Egypt's New Kingdom is the Hittite Horse Tablets, which include the so-called "Kikkuli Training Manual." The texts were written on clay

tablets in the Hittite language in 1350-1200 BC and discovered in Hattusa, the capital of the Hittite empire at the time.[378] The author of the training manual is identified as Kikkuli, a Hurrian master horse trainer from the land of Mitanni. The text from Hattusa is dated to the 13th century BC, but it is, in fact, a copy of an earlier text from the 15th century BC, which makes it contemporaneous to the early mid-18th Dynasty in Egypt.[379] This dates the text to a period when the Hittites were establishing a written archive in order to systematically organize and record the available knowledge at the time. Apparently, Kikkuli's manual of horse training was deemed worthy of recording.[380]

The text itself consists of four tablets and the fragments of a fifth, each written by a different scribe. Kikkuli and possibly other Hurrian trainers could have dictated the information to Hurrian-speaking scribes to be recorded in Hittite. However, it is impossible to say with certainty if this knowledge had been passed on orally prior to the recording or if Kikkuli and his colleagues had their own written texts or notes.[381] Additional tablets and fragments were found detailing the training for horses on the light, two-wheeled chariots, which were not authored by Kikkuli.[382]

The Kikkuli manual consists of a detailed training sequence, covering approximately 184 days of prescribed exercises for the horse at varying speeds and distances, as well as a feeding and watering instructions and other horse care techniques. The exercises are a combination of daytime drives, night drives, and "on foot" excursions.[383] Some exercises are repeated on

[378] Kammenhuber, (1988), 35.
[379] Raulwing (2009), 4.
[380] Raulwing (2009), 5.
[381] Raulwing (2009), 13.
[382] Raulwing (2009), 4.
[383] Kammenhuber (1988), 42. Presumably this means the horse would sometimes be attached to the chariot and sometimes unharnessed.

consecutive days for a maximum of 10 days. The entire program builds to increasingly longer distances, with an upper limit of 75 km in the slower gait, probably a trot. Clearly, as with the Egyptian methods, the focus of the program was building the stamina and endurance of the horse.[384] Kikkuli makes clear that anything the horse was expected to do when pulling a chariot was first introduced without the weight of a driver. The texts instruct that the horse should be led from another horse or chariot so that it could reach a reasonable level of fitness before being exposed to the weight of any human. This allowed for slow physical development that would minimize stress on the horse, thereby reducing injury.

The text prescribes feeding the horses straw, clover, barley, chaff, and grass. The schedule includes periods when food and water are withheld, and the horse is only allowed to graze on grass in the evening. Although the text does not explicitly state the purpose of the training regime (either for warfare or chariot racing) presumably this practice of withholding food and water would help prepare the horse for long battles when sustenance would only be available periodically.

Also of note are techniques that involve bathing the horse in water of varying temperatures and giving it salt water. In the beginning of the training period, the horse is fed a mix of salt water and malt. Kammenhuber suggests this "sweatcure" was used to make the horse slender and fit for training.[385] At different points throughout the training period, horses were washed in the river and rinsed once with cold water and once with warm water. At one point, the cold-water rinse is repeated nine times, and the text suggests that the fitter and stronger horses be

[384] Kammenhuber (1988), 43.
[385] Kammenhuber (1988), 43.

treated more vigorously than the weaker.[386] The horses are given other treatments including massages and also fitted with blankets and sometimes muzzles.[387]

The thoroughness of the Kikkuli program suggests a comprehensive approach to horse training. The horse is conditioned not just through exercise, but the diet, health, and mindset of the horse is also considered. This implies some understanding of the physiology of the horse and the way muscles, bones, and tissue can be stressed during training. Perhaps, more importantly, the text also suggests that the Mitanni horse trainers understood the connection between the mental state of the horse and their physical performance, as well as recognizing their physical and mental limits. Horses are highly emotional animals, easily frightened and often temperamental and aggressive when pushed beyond their abilities or in pain. However, these characteristics can vary greatly among different individuals, even if they are bred from the same stock and raised in the same environment. The concept of tailoring training and care to individual horses demonstrates a high level of sophistication and sensitivity among the Mitanni horse trainers that could only have developed through generations of experience or contact with seasoned horsemen.

While the Kikkuli text shows interests in maintaining a healthy horse, the Ugarit veterinary text was concerned with the treatment of sick horses. Four cuneiform tablets were discovered among the great archives from the city of Ugarit, excavated in the 1920s. The archives included fragmentary copies of the hippiatric text, designated KTU 1.71, KTU 1.72, KTU 1.97, and KTU 1.85 (the most complete and most often cited), dating to the second millennium BC.[388] KTU 1.85 was found in the private residences of the scribe, Rashapabu,

[386] Kammenhuber (1988), 43.
[387] Raulwing (2009), 4.
[388] See Cohen & Sivan (1983) and Pardee (1985).

indicating that this text was used for scribal practice.[389] It addresses various equine-specific ailments like coughing and respiratory problems, convulsions or overeating, discharge, pain, and mange. The identification of the explicit illness discussed, however, is debated.[390] The treatments include no ritual magic, but the combination of particular herbs, plants, and seeds.

Ugarit came under the sphere of Egyptian influence in the 18th Dynasty and generally maintained a good relationship with Egyptian rulers.[391] Considering the amount of trade and interaction between the Egyptian state and Ugarit in the 18th and 19th Dynasty, it is very plausible that some of this hippiatric was knowledge shared with the Egyptians. However, it is unclear if this knowledge actually originated from Ugarit. Renfroe argues that the use of foreign vocabulary and the fact that horses were introduced to the Levant from the east, suggests that these texts are translations of earlier Eastern texts on horse care.[392] Throughout the New Kingdom, horses were brought into Egypt through trade and war in great numbers. It is therefore highly probable that that training and veterinary knowledge from contemporary cultures was available to Egyptian horsemen.

The other text on horses from the ancient world that is often cited is the treatise on horsemanship by the Greek author Xenophon the Athenian, born in 431 BC.[393] While this text is well beyond the temporal scope of this study, it is interesting to note that, by this time, Xenophon and his fellow horsemen had a very sophisticated understanding of the horse's build and the way

[389] Watson & Wyatt (1999), 50.
[390] For a discussion, see Renfroe (1988), 181-91.
[391] Evidence for this can be found in the Amarna letters. Letters EA 45-49 originated from Ugarit and represent friendly correspondences between King Ammistamru and Niqmaddu and the king of Egypt. EA 45 is the one of the earliest documents from Ugarit and, in it, Ammistamru declares his loyalty to Amenhotep III, "he surely knows whether [there is a loyal servant in the land of Ugarit." (Rainey 215, 373). In EA 49, the letter includes well wishes to the king's horses. (Rainey 2015, 381).
[392] Renfroe (1988), 181-182.
[393] Translation in Morgan (1893).

confirmation could affect the horse's usefulness and performance. The author advises that, before purchasing a horse, one should examine the thickness of the hoof wall, consider the thickness and straightness of the leg bones, the angles at the connection between joints, and observe the natural suppleness and flexibility of the horse's gaits. In the modern era, the purchase of a horse is conducted in much the same way and competitions that judge a horse's conformation evaluate the exact same qualities that Xenophon describes.

From the time of the Egyptian New Kingdom up to the time of Xenophon and beyond, the shifting empires that dominated the Near East facilitated the exchange of ideas and expertise that must have included horsemanship. The writings of Xenophon represent the lengths that equestrian knowledge was developed in the ancient world over the centuries. As a mercenary soldier under Cyrus the Younger against the Persians,[394] Xenophon would have traveled through the areas that were once home to Kikkuli, and the Ugarit horse doctors and may have even shared some knowledge with their descendants. It is clear that a thoughtful and systematic study of how to select, breed, train, and manage horses has a long history in the ancient world and must have been practiced for many generations before it was codified in writing. As a powerful empire in the region with a formidable chariot unit, it is reasonable to assume that Egypt also shared in this tradition.

The lack of Egyptian writing on horse training and care is either a consequence of lost material, or, more likely, an indicator that the Egyptians passed on the formal aspects of their training program through oral traditions and apprenticeships. The fact that the Kikkuli training text was only recorded and has survived because it was part of a larger effort to archive materials by the Hittites and no other copies have been discovered, leads to the conclusion that this

[394] Van de Mieroop (2007), 289.

information was only passed down orally prior to the written document. It could also indicate that each stable or region had its own school of thought on training methodologies. The evidence points to the likelihood that the knowledge of Egyptian horseman was relayed in an informal manner, rather than suggesting that the Egyptians had no systematic method of training or understanding of horse biology, physiology, or intelligence.

It is safe to assume that a society with similar technology to the Hittites, using the horses for the same purposes, would have subscribed to the same general training strategy. That is, a program focused primarily on increasing endurance and stamina, as well as the horses' ability to travel long distances with an inconsistent feeding schedule, with a sensitivity towards the horses' physical and mental soundness.

3.9 Summary

The historical evidence reveals the different purposes of the horse stables. The letter from the private stable makes it clear that horses required regular feeding, exercise, and grooming. This would have been a requirement at both private, and royal and military stables, but may have been implemented differently. The horses were likely fed a combination of fresh grass, hay, and barley, and possibly also oats, figs, bitter vetch, or wheat chaff. It is possible that horses were herded to uncultivated areas of the Nile Valley and Delta for grazing at certain times of year, or when they were not in training or in use. Some land was set aside specifically for horse pasture for use by Stable Masters. These pasture areas also would have been ideal for breeding and raising young horses.

Horses also required attention when being transported or when presented as tribute or for registration. Horse handlers are frequently depicted and guided as well as calmed the horses. Grooming, feeding, and watering were also important tasks carried out by grooms after horses

completed their work. In addition to the main objective of caring for the health and wellbeing of the horses, the stable management was also responsible for preparing the horses for expeditions and battle, feeding and overseeing the horses in military camps, admitting new horses brought as tribute, organizing the breeding of horses, and possibly transporting horses and their young to and from breeding areas. Horse training consisted of two components; teaching the horses to be accepting of the harnessing and bit and conditioning them to develop and maintain the muscles and stamina needed for traveling long distances and agility on the battlefield. Who was responsible for the various aspects of horse training and where training was conducted, however, remains unclear. The contemporary Kikkuli text also supports the assumption that the Egyptians had some type of organized training or conditioning program to prepare chariot horses for battle.

Chapter 4. Administration of the Horse Stables

With a better understanding of what types of activities were conducted at the stables and the requirements to perform these duties, this study will now turn to the roles of individuals involved with the stables. First, this chapter will analyze the different titles in the catalog (Appendix B) and how they change over the course of the New Kingdom. Next, it will consider biographical information to understand the social standing of the title holders and their involvement with the royal, military, and administrative realms of Egyptian society in the New Kingdom.

4.1 Titles Associated with Horse Stables

The catalog collects all known individuals who held titles associated with Egyptian horse stables from the 18th, 19th, and 20th Dynasties. The three main titles, which are most commonly attested and provide the most information, are:

imy-r ssmt – Overseer of Horses

ḫry iḫw – Stable Master

sš ssmt – Scribe of Horses

There are several other titles associated with the horse stables but are only attested once or twice throughout the New Kingdom. While there is very little information in the historical record regarding the roles and responsibilities, or hierarchy of these less common titles, the very nature of the titles themselves imply some connection with the stable administration. Therefore, to form the most complete picture of stable administration possible, these titles are also included in the catalog. These less common titles are:

sš n iḥw – Scribe of the Stable

tpy m iḥw – Headmaster of the Stable

ḥry ssmt – Commander of Horses[395]

kḏn n iḥw – Charioteer of the Stable

Scholars have generally agreed on the primary titles related to horses, namely Stable Master and Master of Horses, but translations and descriptions of the duties involved vary (Table 1). This thesis uses the translations listed above as the most accurate interpretation of the phrases. There is general agreement that *ḥry iḥw* is translated as "Stable Master" (sometimes with a hyphen or as a compound word). There is not a clear consensus on *imy-r*, but the author believes that *imy-r* is best translated as "Overseer".[396]

	Helck	**Faulkner**	**Schulman**	**Ashmawy**
imy-r ssmt	Cavalry General (*Kavalleriegeneräle*)	Master of the Horse	Officer of Horses	Master of Horses
ḥry iḥw	Stable Chief (*Stallobersten*)	Stable-master	Stablemaster	Stable Master
idnw n ta [ti-]nt-ḥtry	Not mentioned	Lieutenant-commander of Chariotry	Adjutant of the Chariotry	Adjutant of the Chariotry
kṯn/ kḏn	Chariot Driver (*Wagenlenkers*)	Chariot Driver	Charioteer	Charioteer
snn	Chariot Fighter (*Wagenkämpfer*)	Chariot Fighting Soldier	Chariot-warrior	Chariot-warrior

Table 1: Translations of Titles Associated with the Horse Stable and Chariotry

[395] This title is the only time *ḥry* is used in association with the chariotry. Schulman suggests it could be equated with Stable Master (1964, 57), but it is only attested once in the 19th Dynasty (Men-heper).
[396] Faulkner (1962), 18.

The role of Stable Master is securely positioned within the administration of the horse stables by both the language of the title itself and supporting texts.[397] Early in the 1930s, Helck identified *ḥry iḫw* as a position within the stables responsible for the food and maintenance of horses. He also proposes that the Stable Master's role expanded beyond the stables: they were given land to cultivate grain for feed and were conscripted for expeditions.[398] Faulkner suggests that the Stable Master was responsible for horses' grazing and well-being and carried out his duties at the training stable (*iḥ n sḫpr*).[399]

Both Helck and Faulkner agree that the Stable Master worked in the horse stables and were generally responsible for caring for the horses. Schulman expands on this idea, arguing that the horse stables had a complex internal organization that went beyond just the Stable Master. In his research, he attempted to untangle the exact administrative structure of the horse stables and identifies the hierarchy in the horse stables as: the Adjutant of the Chariotry (*idnw n ta [ti-]nt-ḥtry*), the Stable Master (*ḥry iḫw*), the Scribe of a Stable (*sš n iḫw*), Scribe of Horses (*sš ssmwt*) and Scribe of Chariotry (*sš n tȝ-nt-ḥtry*), and Servants (*ḥmw*) who did the actual work of caring for horses and equipment.[400]

Based on administrative texts like the inscriptions describing the Wadi Hammamat expedition from the time of Ramses IV, Schulman posits that the Stable Master only served at the royal stables where the horses were maintained and played no active military role. Interestingly, he also denotes different grades of the title Stable Master, pointing to instances like

[397] For example, Papyrus Sallier I, which describes the role of the Stable Master in a private stable. See section 3.4.1.
[398] Helck (1939), 62.
[399] Faulkner (1953), 43.
[400] Schulman (1963), 87.

Meryptah[401] (1388–1351 BC), who calls himself "First Stable Master of His Majesty", as well as texts that imply varying responsibilities among the Stable Masters. Sometimes Stable Masters are described as outranking charioteers and oversee two or more horse teams,[402] while in other cases, one team is cared for by several Stable Masters.[403] Ashmawy argues that the Stable Master worked under the Overseer of Horses and was trained in management skills for promotion to higher civil, military, or religious office, contrary to the assertions of Schulman and Faulkner.[404]

The title of Overseer of Horses (*imy-r ssmt*) is somewhat more ambiguous than Stable Master, since there is so little in the written record about the role, and there is some debate as to whether this position was primarily part of the military/chariotry, or the stables themselves. Schulman tentatively adds this title to the stable organizational structure. However, he states that there is little evidence attested for this position and speculates that it implied a general command within the chariotry without a specific rank.[405] Helck argues that the title was considered a civil, honorary title awarded to officials at the end of their military service.[406]

Schulman agrees with Helck's assertion that these titles were awarded at the end of military service, and Stable Masters were generally serving after retirement from the infantry since the protocol shows them more frequently originating from an infantry rather than chariotry background.[407] Ashmawy contradicts Schulman, arguing that, because *imy-r ssmt* is found in tandem with Charioteer (*kḏn*) and Chariot Warrior (*snny*), it must have been a distinct title rather

[401] Shulman (1963), 75-7, pl. XIII.
[402] In the Wadi Hammamat inscription, Schulman (1964), 86.
[403] Papyrus Koller I, 1-4. Schulman (1964), ref. 127.
[404] Ashmawy (2007), 135-136.
[405] Schulman (1963), 95.
[406] Helck (1939), 61.
[407] Schulman (1963), 94.

than an indicator of command in the chariotry. Instead, Ashmawy determines that the Overseer of Horses played an active role as the head of stable administration and was a royal office since most known title-holders were princes or crown princes.[408]

While there is not a clear consensus on the position of Overseer of Horses, this study is conducted with the assumption that the Overseer of Horses was involved with the organization of the horse stables to some degree, thereby warranting inclusion in the catalogue. In addition to Stable Master and Overseer of Horses, any other title with "horse" (*ssmt*) or "stable" (*iḫw*) is included since these terms imply an association with the horse stables.

When examining how the organization of the horse stables evolved over time, it is important to consider when the roles of these positions appeared in practice, versus when the actual use of the titles began. Schulman suggests that the chariotry did not become a distinct branch of the military until the time of Amenhotep III, since that is when two titles distinct to the chariotry branch appear.[409] The titles of Overseer of Horses and Stable Master appear consistently around the time of Thutmose III. However, before this time, Thutmose I was leading expeditions into Syria and the tomb biography of Ahmose, son of Ibana, mentions chariots captured as booty. By the time titles associated with the horse stables appear with some frequency, Thutmose III was again making military campaigns into the levant. This implies that, since horses and chariots were present in Egypt since the start of the New Kingdom and were very likely part of Thutmose I's campaigns (see sections 2.1.3), there must have been individuals managing the training and care of horses, but not yet at a large scale. By the time of Thutmose

[408] Ashmawy (2007), 136.
[409] Adjutant of the Chariotry, known from the Amarna period, and Standard-Bearer of the Chariotry from the early reign of Amenhotep III. Schulman (1963), 85.

III, it appears the positions were formalized, and the stable administration began to take form to support the chariotry in becoming a distinct division of the military. An in-depth study of this topic is beyond the scope of this thesis, but further research may bring about more definitive evidence to pinpoint the start of the stable administration.

4.2 Organization of the Catalog

4.2.1 Organization

Each catalog entry consists of the individual's name, the source of the text, dating by reign or dynasty, additional titles, family members and their titles, a bibliography, and additional notes, listed in this order. Individuals often held multiple titles and, in some instances, the titles and names of family members are also known. This biographical information aids in reconstructing the social position and careers of the officers. It also helps to understand the position of the various offices within the larger military, civil, and social spheres of the New Kingdom.

Most of the titles, particularly the more common "Stable Master" and "Overseer of Horses", have several variations of epithets. All variations of these titles are listed in Table 4 and Table 6 below, organized by dynasty. While some of these gradations also suggest a higher rank (which will be discussed in more detail below), it remains unclear if they all signify varying degrees of responsibilities or authority.

4.2.2 Sources

The majority of titles from the New Kingdom come from papyri, stelae, and biographical tomb inscriptions (See Appendix A, Table 2 and Fig. 14). The most common sources vary significantly throughout the New Kingdom. In the 18th Dynasty, most titles of Stable Masters

come from tomb inscriptions, while the vast majority of Master of Horses titles are found on funerary equipment, like sarcophagi, funerary cones, and shabtis. In the 19th Dynasty, nearly half of the titles appear on stelae, followed by papyri and statues. In the 20th Dynasty, almost all of the titles of Stable Masters come from papyri (namely the Wilbour Papyrus), while most of the Master of Horses are identified in temple inscriptions at Medinet Habu and Luxor Temple. When evaluating statistical trends in the number of title-holders, it is important to note that the survival of the Wilbour Papyrus significantly effects the number of Stable Masters in the 20th Dynasty, as it is the source of 85% of the Stable Masters identified in that period and may not be reflective of the reality at the time.

4.3 Stable Master

4.3.1 Changes Throughout the New Kingdom

When analyzing the number of Stable Masters attested throughout the New Kingdom, the number increases dramatically from the beginning to the end of the period. In the 18th Dynasty, there were 20 known individuals, increasing to 61 in the 19th Dynasty, and 241 in the 20th Dynasty (Table 3). In addition, there are 10 Stable Masters from the New Kingdom whose date is uncertain, and six from the Ramesside period, but the exact date is unknown.

	18th Dynasty	**19th Dynasty**	**20th Dynasty**	**Ramesside** (Date Uncertain)	**NE**
Number of Stable Masters	20	61*	241	6	10

*There are 63 attestations, but Hatiay holds three variations.

Table 3: Number of Stable Masters During the New Kingdom

While this trend may be attributed, in part, to the survival of evidence (the Wilbour Papyrus is the source for the vast majority of the titles attested during the 20th Dynasty[410]), it would stand to reason that more personnel would be required in the stables as the chariotry arm of the military evolved and expanded over the course of the New Kingdom, accounting for the increased number of Stable Masters.

However, the increased number of Stable Masters throughout the New Kingdom does not coincide with a greater diversity of titles. In that regard, the 19th Dynasty has the greatest variation of titles (14) compared with only five variations in the 18th Dynasty, and six in the 20th (see Table 4 below). While the variations during the 18th Dynasty are all generic epithets related to the king, such as "of the Lord of the Two Lands," or "of His Majesty", Stable Masters of the 19th Dynasty were primarily identified in relation to the stable of one particular king or the palace ("the residence").

The 19th Dynasty is also the only period when the term "Great Stable" appears in the titles of Stable Masters (*ḥry iḫw n iḫw ꜥ3*). The phrase "Great Stable" is also commonly found in the titles of Charioteers of the Stable (*kḏn n iḫw)*. All the titles of the Charioteers of the Stable, a variation of Charioteer (*kḏn*) attested only in the 19th and 20th dynasties, name a specific king, namely Merenptah, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III (see catalog entries 4.3 – 4.10). Six of the eight variations of this title reference the "great stable" (*iḫw ꜥ3*) of the king. Five of the eight variations include a mention of "the residence" (*n ḥnw)*. Additionally, four of the titles specify the "first charioteer" (*kṯn tpy*), suggesting that these charioteers held a higher rank. The combination of "great stable" and "the residence" denote a main stable at the king's residence

[410] Brooklyn Museum, no. 34.5596.4; Gardiner & Faulkner (1941-1952).

where these high-ranking Charioteers were stationed. Perhaps, these Charioteers were even drivers dedicated to the king and the royal family. If this was the case, then the Stable Masters of the "great stable" were also stationed at the residence and served the royal family. There were, perhaps, also of a higher rank, by association with the king and the great stable.

The 19th Dynasty is also the only period that has a title variation associated with a god; an unnamed individual with the title Stable Master of Amun.[411] In contrast, the titles of the 20th Dynasty are more varied, with phrases such as, "of the residence," "of the army", and "of the *3wt* of the Pharaoh" (the later from the Ramesside period)[412] being added.

From the data, it is clear that the greatest variations in the titles of Stable Master appear in the 19th Dynasty and therefore may reflect a period of reorganization when the stable administrations became increasingly militarized with a more streamlined organization. Furthermore, there was more of an inclination to identify oneself in association with a particular stable (either of a certain king, or of the king's residence), such as "Stable Master of Great Stable of King NN of the Residence" or "Stable Master of the Training Stable". This could also indicate that the stables became more specialized and distinct from one another, reaffirming the historical evidence that suggests the existence of different types of stables, even if they existed before the 19th Dynasty. There are still a number of "Stable Master of the Residence" in the 20th Dynasty, but the homogeneousness of titles at this time indicates that the basic title of Stable Master was

[411] A stela from Kanais provides the title "Stable Master of Amun" (*ḥry iḫw n imn*), however the individual's name has been lost; KRI I, 72; PM VII, 325.
[412] Gardiner (1941a) translates *3wt* as "extension of [foot] of pharaoh" but there is no precise meaning (173).

more widely applied, and perhaps the broadening of stable administration towards the end of the New Kingdom.

This expansion of the military continued throughout the New Kingdom as Egypt built its empire and had to maintain a military presence in vassal states. In addition to the addition of an entirely new branch of the military, including the chariotry and mounted scouts,[413] the organization of the New Kingdom army became increasingly more complex and sophisticated. The command structure broadened to include field officers like the Standard Bearer, which first appears in the early 18th Dynasty,[414] as well as the Commander of Bowmen and the Commander of Forts.[415] Simultaneously, the entire military became centralized under the control of the state government when previously, in the Middle Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, local armed forces were maintained by the resident nomarchs.[416]

During this period, the military provided a lucrative career path, and after the 19th Dynasty, military officers became increasingly involved in foreign affairs and state administration.[417] Spalinger provides some interesting insight into the status of Stable Masters of the 20th Dynasty in his analysis of the Wilbour Papyrus from the time of Ramesses V, which recorded land ownership in Middle Egypt. The vast majority of land-owners were from the military, with Stable Masters making up 22%. Interestingly, no individuals from the higher ranks of the military are recorded as land-owners. This indicates that Stable Masters were not only numerous, at least in this area, but of significant importance to the military at the time as the

[413] Schulman (1957)
[414] Faulkner (1941), 13; Gnirs (2013), 646.
[415] Gnirs (2001).
[416] Gnirs (2001); Gnirs (2013), 640.
[417] Warburton (2001).

Wilbour Papyrus indicates they received landholdings as a reward for their service and appear alongside other individuals of significant rank including charioteers, lieutenant-commanders, soldiers, priests, and scribes.[418] The land may have also been used by the Stable Masters to keep the horses under their care, whether or not the land was awarded specifically for that purpose.

4.3.2 Grades of Office

Of the different variations of titles, several show a degree of rank or distinct responsibility (Table 4). Stable Master of the Residence first appears in the 19th Dynasty, at least as early as the reign of Ramesses II, and implies a position focused solely on the royal stables and the activities of the king. The Wadi Hammamat Stela[419] of Ramesses IV lists Stable Masters of the Residence who accompany the charioteers on the expedition to gather raw materials from the Eastern Desert. Both the Stable Masters and the commanding Charioteer named in the inscription are given the epithet "of the Residence." This would indicate that this chariot division was closely associated with the Residence and likely based there.[420]

Title	Egyptian	18th	19th	20th	ND*
Stable Master	*ḫry iḫw*	11	29	229	12
Stable Master of the Lord of the Two Lands	*ḫry iḫw n nb tȝwy*	4	2	1	2
Stable Master of His Majesty	*ḫry iḫw n ḥm.f*	2	2	-	-
First Stable Master of His Majesty	*ḫry iḫw tpy n ḥm.f*	2	1	2	-
Stable Master of King NN	*ḫry iḫw n ...*	1	2	-	-
Stable Master of the Residence	*ḫry iḫw n ẖnw*	-	15	7	1
Stable Master of Great Stable of King NN of the Residence	*ḫry iḫw n pȝ iḫw ʿȝ ... n ẖnw*	-	4	-	-

[418] Spalinger (2005), 265.
[419] KRI VI, 12-14.
[420] Christophe (1948), 34.

Stable Master of the Stable of King NN	*ḥry iḥw n (pȝ) iḥw n ...*	-	2	-	-
Stable Master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands	*ḥry iḥw r ssmt n nb tȝwy*	-	1	-	-
Stable Master of the Great Stable of Ramesses II	*ḥry iḥw n iḥw ʿȝ n R II*	-	1	-	-
Stable Master of the Residence of the Columned Hall of Ramesses II	*ḥry iḥw n pȝ ḏȝdw n R II*	-	1	-	-
Stable Master of the Training Stable	*ḥry n sḫpr n nsw (... ... mn)*	-	1	-	-
Stable Master of Amun	*ḥry iḥw n imn*		1	-	-
Stable Master of the Estate of Siamon	*ḥry iḥw n pr sȝ-imn*	-	1	-	-
Stable Master of the Army	*ḥry iḥw n mšʿ*	-	-	1	-
Stable Master of the l'3wt of the Pharaoh	*ḥry iḥw n pȝ ȝwt [n pr-ʿȝ]*	-	-	1	-
Stable Master of the Prince	*ḥry iḥw n ḥȝty.ʿ*	-	-	-	1
Totals		20	63	241	16

* Date uncertain

Table 4: Titles and Grades of Stable Master

Textual and archaeological evidence confirms the existence of stables at the residence but does not explain who was stationed at these stables and for what purpose; military men who managed horses of the chariot division, or employees of the palace who cared for horses for royal use? The use of this epithet, however, confirms that chariot divisions that assisted in royal expeditions were likely based at the royal stables. The head Charioteer of the Residence, Nakht-Amon (who is mentioned by name and therefore of greater importance), is listed in addition to 50 Charioteers of the Chariotry (*kḏn n ḥtry*).[421] This would suggest that Charioteer of the Residence was a superior rank to Charioteer and was in command of a 25-chariot squadron (assuming two Charioteers per chariot) and that designation "of the Residence" brought with it greater responsibilities and importance.

[421] Christophe (1948), 20.

Several other titles signify a superior rank. The First Stable Master of His Majesty (*ḥry iḫw tpy n ḥm.f*) is attested throughout the New Kingdom, as well as Headmaster of the Stable (*tpy m iḫw)*. While it is difficult to determine the rank and responsibilities of these titles, evidence from the chariotry suggests that these qualifications would indicate a high rank. Schulman argues that the equivalent title of First Charioteer (*kḏn tpy*) was an officer of superior rank to the Charioteer (*kḏn*) simply by the nature of the title itself.[422] While the Charioteer of the Residence presided over a squadron of 50 Charioteers according to the Hammamat inscription, the First Charioteer was likely in charge of a different sized unit. Since Chariot units were broken up into groups of 10 and the contemporary Akkadian rank, *emantuhlu*, was "leader of a ten," Schulman suggests the First Charioteer also commanded a unit of 10 chariots.[423]

Interestingly, the title First Charioteer is only attested with the epithet “of the Stable of NN of the Residence.”[424] Here again, the qualification “of the Residence” is associated with a higher rank. If the same holds true for the stable administration, the First Stable Master would have ranked above Stable Masters and perhaps been responsible for an entire stable complex. Helck suggests that the First Stable Master of the King was a gradation that may have been responsible for the royal stables, where guard troops who accompanied the king were stationed and there is nothing in the historical record that contradicts this claim.[425]

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[422] Schulman (1963), 90.
[423] Schulman (1963), 90.
[424] On a stela from the Louvre (G 96) belonging to "the first Charioteer of his majesty, Bak, of the stable of Ramesses-Miamun of the Residence"; Heri named as “Charioteer, First of His Majesty, of the Great Stable of Seti-Merenptah of the Residence” from Inscription, Temple of Buhen; a door jamb from Qantir in the Victoria Museum, Uppsala reading “First Charioteer of His Majesty of the Great Stable of Ramesses II, Beloved of Amun” but the name is lost.
[425] Helck (1939), 63.

Another variation of note is the epithet "of the Great Stable of King NN", which is attested five times, only in the 19th Dynasty.[426] Helck argues that a Stable Master of the Great Stable would have broader responsibility, presiding over an entire stable complex or the whole of the garrison, while a regular Stable Master only commanded a part of the stable or garrison.[427] If there were multiple types or branches of stables (breeding, training, royal), then perhaps some Stable Masters were assigned to oversee multiple establishments in the same geographical area.

Whether all these variations of the titles indicate a hierarchy within the stable administration is still unclear. However, texts do reveal that the responsibilities of Stable Masters varied to some degree. Some examples identify Stable Masters as in charge of several teams of horses and outranking the Charioteers, while in another example, there are several Stable Masters assigned to one team.[428] This implies that the duties varied and, taken into consideration with variations like "First Stable Master " indicate that there were different grades of Stable Master with at least a few different levels of authority. However, there is no evidence that other generic variations like "of the Lord of the Two Lands", "of His Majesty", and "of King NN" indicated any differences in authority of duties. Nevertheless, this trend does indicate the rising importance and integration of horse related activities in Egypt.

4.3.3 Rarely Attested and Unique Variations

There are several titles that are only attested once or twice throughout the New Kingdom. One unique title of particular interest from a statue of Bakenkhons, which identifies the owner as

[426] Four individuals carry the title "Stable Master of Great Stable of King NN of the Residence" and one "Stable Master of the Great Stable of Ramesses II".
[427] Helck (1939), 63.
[428] Schulman (1963), 95.

Stable Master of the Training Stable. The inscription reads, "When I completed 11 years as a child I became Stable Master of the training stable of Seti I" (*'Iry (n) i 11 n rnpt m ḥwn iw.i m ḥry n sḫpr n nsw (... ... mn)*).[429] Breasted translated the title as "Master of the Training Stable," but *sḫpr* also brings to mind breeding. As discussed in Section 3.7, visual images of horses with foals in pastoral settings,[430] as well as texts that suggest that breeding took place outside the stables,[431] imply that there could have been a breeding stable distinct from the regular stables. If it was a training stable where Bakenkhons was placed, it is possible that there were Stable Masters that specifically dealt with the training of horses. The author of the Anastasi I Papyrus, Hori, also describes himself as "groom of his majesty" and "trainer of the king's horses".[432] However there is no specific term for horse trainer in ancient Egyptian as there was in other languages like Hittite (*a-aš-šu-uš-ša-an-ni*). Another possible interpretation is that this stable was a place for training Stable Masters and recruits, since Bakenkhons specifically mentions his young age and was at the start of his career.

There are several other titles that should be mentioned although they are only attested once, and the meaning is unclear. One example from the 20th Dynasty is a Stable Master of the Army (*ḥry iḫw n mšʿ*).[433] This title is especially curious considering there is no evidence that the Stable Master played any active military role but points to the interconnectedness of the military

[429] Breasted (1927), 234-236.
[430] For example, the Amarna reliefs from Hermopolis in Hanke (1978), 230-231, pl. 19; Cooney (1965), 45-46, no. 25.
[431] For example, the passage in the Lansing Papyrus schoolbook, "Horses brought from the field, they forget their mother. Yoked they go up and down on all his majesty's errands. They become like those that bore them that stand in the stable." Lichtheim (2006), 169.
[432] Pap Anastasi I, 8.
[433] "Rh", in Papyrus MMA 3569, KRI VII, 269.

and the horse stables.[434] As there is little else known about this individual, nothing more can be said about this title. During the Ramesside period, Any is identified in the Wilbour Papyrus as Stable Master of the *3wt* of the Pharaoh (*ḫry iḫw n pȝ ȝwt* [*n pr-ꜥȝ*]).[435] Gardiner translates *3wt* as "on fields of the stretch (lit. 'extension of [foot]) of pharaoh," but there is no precise meaning.[436] However, another entry in text B of the Wilbour Papyrus uses the phrase in reference to the type of land, rather than in association with a title so this anomalous phrase may not refer to a type of stable or grade of stable master, but rather, to a category of landholdings.

4.3.4 Secondary Titles of Stable Masters

The analysis of other titles held by Stable Masters can reveal important information about their social positions and career path. It is useful to categorize these titles based on their roles in order to generalize trends. However, this is a complex endeavor, particularly during the New Kingdom, a time when the highly centralized power system was based on the king, but nonetheless relied on an extended administrative structure to be politically effective.[437] The evidence of exact hierarchies and roles of various positions in the historical record is limited and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish which titles were purely honorific and which involved actual activity. Furthermore, many offices required overlapping responsibilities in different sectors.[438] The changing administrative, military, and temple organization and interaction

[434] Schulman (1963), 51. The relation between the stable administration and the military is discussed in more detail below.
[435] Gardiner (1948b), 90 (84.42).
[436] Gardiner (1948a), 173.
[437] O'Connor (1983), 205.
[438] Wartburn (2001).

between these spheres of influence[439] further complicates a properly nuanced description of any given title or position. Nevertheless, a general survey of secondary titles held by officials in the horse stables is useful to understand their social positions and the degree to which their offices overlapped with military, administrative, and religious roles.

O'Connor divides the government of the New Kingdom into branches defined as dynastic, internal government, and foreign territories.[440] The dynastic category indicates members of the royal family itself, but the titles hold little political power. The internal government is divided into four functional units: the royal, military, religious and civil governments. Like the internal government, the offices of foreign lands held significant power and influence. For the sake of identifying broad trends, this thesis will use a slightly altered model, categorizing titles as administrative, foreign administration, honorific, military, royal (royal family and personal attendants), or religious.

Among the Stable Masters, the most common secondary titles, illustrated in Table 5 in Appendix A, are military (22) followed by those in the foreign administration (17), royal titles (10), administrative offices (8), religious (2), honorific titles (2) and two who also had the title

[439] See Cruz-Uribe (1994). Cruz-Uribe criticizes more traditional hierarchical models of Egyptian government like that of O'Connor (1983), as too rigid to account for positions like Viceroy of Nubia which may have been both military and administrative, for neglecting to define the role of scribes, and for disregarding the influence of noble families and their eternal organization. Cruz-Uribe uses the concept of "spheres of influence" to create a model flexible enough to reflect the constant fluctuations among different areas of Egyptian society over time. He also states that his model, "allows individuals to hold multiple offices in different sectors of Egyptian society and not be divorced from the family structure which serves as their support structure and basis of strength." (p 52) While this approach provides a more nuanced method for understanding the organization of New Kingdom governance overall, it is not necessary for the purpose of this thesis and O'Connor's simplified model is sufficient.

[440] O'Connor (1983), 207-8.

Overseer of Horses. It is also worth noting that two Stable Masters had relationships to the royal family (discussed in Section 4.9). Khemwast was a prince and Amenmes a Hereditary Prince, both during the time of Amenhotep II in the early 18th Dynasty. Interestingly, there are no Stable Masters with royal associations known from later periods.

As mentioned above, Stable Masters with a military background were more likely to have come from the infantry. There are 11 Stable Masters who also hold titles in the infantry,[441] and only six who had titles associated with the chariotry.[442] Five Stable Masters were Charioteers or Chariot Warriors,[443] one individual that was called Brave of His Majesty in the Chariotry and one Standard Bearer of Chariot Warriors, both in the 18th Dynasty. In the 19th Dynasty, one Stable Master was also Lieutenant Commander of the Chariotry. However, Stables Masters only rarely had positions in both the chariotry and the infantry. During the reign of Seti I, the Stable Master Iwny was Charioteer of His Majesty and also Chief of the Medjay,[444] while Nakhtmin, during Ramesses II, held the position of Stable Master and Lieutenant Commander of the Chariotry in addition to occupying the infantry positions of Troop Commander of Kush and Head Bowmen of Kush.[445] Only two Stable Masters were also Overseer of Horses: Usermont under Ramesses II and Paser under Akhenaten/Tutankhamun. While Stable Masters do appear to have had military associations and their duties related directly to the success of the military, the

[441] There are 12 infantry titles in total since Nakhtmin in the 19th Dynasty was both Troop Commander and Head of the Bowmen of Kush.
[442] There are 8 chariotry titles since Meryptah in the 18th Dynasty held three titles in the chariotry.
[443] Two Charioteers in the 19th Dynasty and one in the 20th Dynasty; one Chariot Warrior in the 18th Dynasty.
[444] Gunn-Gardiner (1917), 241-251; KRI I, 304.
[445] For a full bibliography of his monuments and titles, see Chevereau (1994), 161, no. 18.264.

evidence suggests they were not under the command of the Chariotry. The same theory may be extrapolated to the Scribes of Horses and Scribes of the Stable since they were under the authority of the Stable Master.

There are also a number of Stable Masters who had positions related to the administration of foreign lands, mainly as King's Envoy (*wpwty nswt*). It is well attested that Charioteers played an important diplomatic role in the Ramesside period.[446] The Egyptian-Hittite peace treaty from the time of Ramesses II names the "Royal Envoy and Lieutenant Commander of the Chariotry" as part of the negotiations.[447] Abbas identified at least 12 Charioteers who held the title of Royal Envoy during the Ramesside period and argued that their military background was precisely what made them so well-suited to act as ambassadors of the king abroad. Members of the chariotry would likely have experience in foreign countries and travel and be adequate horsemen.

We know from the Papyrus Koller that grooms and Stable Masters accompanied horse teams on expeditions abroad.[448] The passage reads, "Apply yourself to cause to be ready the steeds of the team which is (bound) for Khor, together with their stablemaster as well as their grooms."[449] Therefore, it would stand to reason that the Stable Masters acquired some of the same skills as the Charioteers acquired in the course of their work abroad, making them suitable for diplomatic positions. A poem from the Papyrus Chester Beatty I also makes a connection between the King's Envoy and chariot horses. It reads, "O that you came to your sister swiftly! Like a swift envoy of the king; The heart of his lord frets for his message, His heart is anxious to

[446] For a good overview of this topic, see Abbas (2013).
[447] KRI II, 226.
[448] Papyrus Berlin 3043, col. 1, insc. 1-2.
[449] Caminos (1954), 431.

hear it. All stables are held ready for him. He has horses at the stations. The chariot is harnessed in its place."[450]

The relationship of the Royal Envoys and the chariotry is particularly evident in the 19th Dynasty, especially under Ramesses II, when foreign relations and military engagements were at their height.[451] It is also true that, among the Stable Masters, titles associated with foreign administration are most common in the 19th Dynasty. There are seven examples of King's Envoys who were also Stable Masters in the 19th Dynasty, four in the 20th Dynasty and only one in the 18th Dynasty. Overall, military and royal titles are more common among Stable Masters in the 18th Dynasty, and foreign administration positions are more common in the 19th and 20th Dynasties. This would mean that a Stable Master in the Ramesside period also could have had responsibilities including foreign relations and political negotiations. Again, this is evidence for the shifting position of the Stable Master from the 18th Dynasty onwards as the chariotry and the stable administration developed.

4.4 Overseer of Horses

4.4.1 Changes Throughout the New Kingdom

While the number of Stable Masters increases throughout the New Kingdom, the trend for Overseers of Horses is reversed. There are far more Overseers of Horses in the 18th Dynasty (32), compared to 22 attested in the 19th Dynasty, and only seven in the 20th Dynasty (see Table 6 below). The title of Overseer of Horses has almost the same overall number of variations as Stable Master (15 versus 16), however only two forms of the title are attested multiple times:

[450] Lichtheim (1976), 186.
[451] Abbas (2013), 19.

Overseer of Horses and Overseer of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands. The other variations only occur once. It is clear that the office of Overseer of Horses does not follow the same broad trends as Stable Master, suggesting the rank, nature and activities of these two positions varied.

Title	Egyptian Title	18th	19th	20th	ND
Overseer of Horses	*imy-r ssmt*	19	12	3	2
Overseer of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands	*imy-r ssmt n nb tȝwy*	7	6	1	1
Overseer of Horses of the Entire Stable	*imy-r ssmt n iḫw r ḏr.f*	1	-	-	-
Overseer of Horses of His Majesty	*imy-r ssmt n (ḥm.f)/nt ḥm.f*	1	-	-	-
Overseer of Horses of the King of the South and North	*imy-r ssmt nt nswt m šmʿw mḥtt*	1	-	-	-
Master of all the Horses of His Majesty	*imy-r ssmt nbt nt ḥm.f*	1	-	-	-
Master of all the King's Horses	*imy-r ssmt nbt nt nswt*	1	-	-	-
Head of the Overseer of Horses	*ḥry-tp imy-r ssmt*	1	-	-	-
Head Overseer of Horses	*ḥry-tp ssmt*	-	1	-	-
Overseer of Horses of his Father	*imy-r ssmt nt it.f*	-	1	-	-
Overseer of Horses of (Ramesses II) in the House of Amun	*imy-r ssmt nt (wsr mȝʿt rʿ stp n Rʿ) m pr Imn*	-	1	-	-
Deputy Overseer of Horses	*idnw n mr ssmt*		1	-	-
Great Overseer of Horses of the King Victorious	*imy-r ssmt wr nt nswt nḫt*	-	-	1	-
Great Overseer of Horses, the First of His Majesty, of the Place of Ramesses III of the Chariotry	*imy-r ssmt wr tpy n ḥm.f n tȝ st (R III) t nt ḥtri*	-	-	1	-
Great Overseer of Horses	*imy-r ssmt wr*	-	-	1	-
Totals		32	22	7*	3

Table 6: Overseer of Horses Titles and Grades

*The 7 titles in the 20th Dynasty were held by 4 individuals.

Interestingly, textual evidence provides more information about the duties of the Stable Masters (for example their role in preparing expeditions from the Papyrus Koller), while there is very little explanation of the role of the Overseer of Horses. However, given that the individuals who were Overseer of Horses generally held high-ranking positions and close associations with the royal family, it is reasonable to assume that Overseer of Horses was a position of some authority. Therefore, it is likely that the two offices fall into a direct hierarchy, with the Stable Master serving under the Overseer of Horses. Although, the Stable Master was probably more directly involved with the stables, while the Overseer of Horses was concerned with the broader administration of the stables and possibly the chariotry.

4.4.2 Grades of Office

Among the Overseers of Horses, there are also several variations that indicate some degree of hierarchy. In the 18th Dynasty, an unnamed Head of the Overseer of Horses (*ḥry-tp imy-r ssmt*) is attested who was also a Prophet of Maat and Chief Justice. During the 19th Dynasty, there is one instance of a Chief of Horses (*ḥry-tp ssmt*), Iwny, who also held the important titles including King's Envoy to all Foreign Lands, Royal scribe, Right hand of the King, and Overseer of Foreign Lands of Upper and Lower Egypt. There were also two Commanders of Horses (*ḥry ssmt*) in the 19th Dynasty, both of whom held the additional title King's Envoy to all Foreign Lands.

There are only five individuals who hold multiple variations of the same title, listed in Table 7 below:

Name	Date	Royal Association	Titles		
Aye	Tutankhamun	18th Dynasty King	Overseer of Horses	Master of all Horses of His Majesty	
Montu-her-khepesh	Ramesses II	Son of Ramesses II	Overseer of Horses	Overseer of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands	Overseer of Horses of His Father
Seti	Ramesses II	None	Overseer of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands	Deputy Overseer of Horses	
Amun-her-khepeshef	Ramesses III	Son of Ramesses III	Overseer of Horses	Great Overseer of Horses of the Victorious King	Great Overseer of Horses, the First of His Majesty, of the Place of Ramesses III of the Chariotry
Ramesses Setukh-her-khepeshef	Ramesses III	Son of Ramesses III, future King Ramesses VIII	Overseer of Horses	Great Overseer of Horses	

Table 7: Officers who Hold Multiple Variations of the Same Title

A 19th Dynasty man named Seti was both Overseer of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands, and Deputy-Overseer of Horses (*idnw n mr ssmt*). In addition, of the sons of Ramesses III, Amun-her-khepeshef was called Great Overseer of Horses of the King Victorious (*imy-r ssmt wr nt nswt nḫt*), and Great Head Overseer of Horses, the First of His Majesty, of the Place of Ramesses III of the Chariotry (*imy-r ssmt wr tpy n ḥm.f n tȝ st (R III) t nt ḥtry*). Another son, Ramesses Setukh-her-khepesh-ef was both Overseer of Horses, and Great Overseer of Horses (*imy-r ssmt wr*). The fact that several princes held these titles both reinforces the association of kingship and horses, and the rank and importance of the title of Overseer of Horses.

The epithets *ḥry* and *ḥry-tp* were given to high-ranking 19th Dynasty officials involved in diplomatic and temple and justice administration, suggesting they were indeed an indicator of rank. Alternatively, *wr* was an epithet that seems to be reserved for royal family members and therefore may not have designated a higher rank, a hypothesis also shared by Ashmawy in his study of titles and stable administration.[452]

The designation Overseer of Horses of the Entire Stable is attested only once by Ranefer who held the title under Akhenaten, who also calls himself and First Charioteer of His Majesty. Helck suggests that Ranefer oversaw the entire garrison at Amarna.[453] Slightly later, under Tutankhamun, Aye (the future king) is called Overseer of all Horses of His Majesty (*mr ssmt nbt nt ḥm.f*), while Maay also from the 18th Dynasty, held the similar title of Overseer of all the Horses of the King (*mr ssmt nbt nt nswt*).

These titles suggest there was some hierarchy or differences in authority. However, when considering the more generic epithets like "...of His Majesty," "...of King NN," or "...of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands," shared by both Stable Masters and Overseers of Horses, there is no evidence that these specific designations implied a hierarchy of ranks. It is more likely, therefore, that most variations described only personal preference, or, perhaps, geographical location, but in the same level of authority.

4.4.3 Rarely Attested and Unique Variations

Most of the abovementioned variations of Overseer of Horses are only attested once. Of these, most of the epithets are references to the king like "of His Majesty", "of the Lord of the

[452] Ashmawy (2014), 131.
[453] Helck (1939), 63.

Two Lands", "of the King of the South and North", or variations using qualifiers like *wr* or *tpy*. There are two known titles that make reference to the god Amun. Bakenamun is named Overseer of Horses of (Ramesses II) in the House of Amun (*imy-r ssmt nt [wsr mɜʿt rʿ stp n Rʿ] m pr Imn*) on his brother's stela.[454] Bakenamun bears no other titles, but his family members primarily hold administrative titles like Deputy of the Granary, Overseer of Fields, Fan Bearer, and Granary Scribe. The only religious titles belong to the women of the family, called God's Wife of the Min Domain and Chantress of Isis.

4.4.4 Secondary Titles

Among the Overseers of Horses, the majority come from a military background with 51 secondary titles attested (see Table 8 in Appendix). Overseer of Horses, however, were more likely to have been a military position since it appears in a superior position to Troop Commanders in the Chariotry in lists of ranks like the Onomasticon of Amenemope.[455] In the Amarna tomb of Tutu (T8), Overseer of Horses is listed second in the rank of military officers, above Scribes of the King, Overseers of Soldiery, and Overseer of Mercenary Troops.[456] In addition, there were at least 10 individuals called Overseer of Horses who also held a title in the chariotry. Most of these additional titles are high ranking: three Charioteers; three First Charioteers; one Adjutant of His Majesty in the Chariotry; one Lieutenant Commander of (His Majesty in) the Chariotry; one Chief of the Cavalry; one Chief of the Whole Cavalry of the Lord of the Two Lands. There is even one Overseer of Horses title that refers directly to the Chariotry,

[454] BM, EA 132; KRI III, 375; Lieblein (1871), no. 890.
[455] Gardiner (1947), 27.
[456] Urk. IV, 2008. Davies (1903), 11, pl. XVIII.

"Great Overseer of Horses, the First of His Majesty, of the Place of Ramesses III of the Chariotry."[457]

Thirteen of the Overseers of Horses also held the titles Troop Commander and Royal Scribe. Troop Commander was also one of the more common titles among Stable Masters. As with the Stable Masters, Overseers of Horses hold more secondary titles in the infantry and other military titles than the chariotry, albeit only slightly. However, Schulman points out that most secondary titles among the Overseers of Horses were designations common in either both infantry and chariotry arms of the military or were exclusive to the chariotry. He suggests that the title Overseer of Horses indicated that the title-holder had a command in the chariotry, without specifying his rank.[458]

However, very few hold secondary titles in the foreign administration. Many Overseers of Horses also held secondary titles in local administrations, however, particularly in the 18th Dynasty. The secondary titles held by Overseers of Horses in the administration vary widely, but the most prominent by far is Royal Scribe. This title implies a very high-ranking administrative position and a close association with the king. In addition, there are far more Overseers of Horses (19) than Stable Masters (10) who held positions in the royal household. There were 11 Overseers of Horses that were Prince, Hereditary Prince, or directly related to the king versus only two Stable Masters (discussed more in Section 4.9). This is to be expected in light of the fact that the Overseer of Horses was a much higher-ranking position and therefore appropriate for kings and princes, including the sons of Ramesses III. However, many of the titles in this

[457] In the 20th Dynasty, the prince Amun-her-khepeshef held the titles Overseer of Horses, and Great Overseer of Horses of the Victorious King but no other military titles.
[458] Schulman (1963), 95.

category, including Fan-bearer to the Right of the King, Steward, Prince, and Child of the Nursery, are held by both Stable Masters and Overseers of Horses.

The analysis of titles clearly shows that the Overseers of Horses and Stable Masters did not completely overlap in terms of the type of secondary titles they held, as well as the distribution of which titles were most common. In addition, there are only two examples of individuals who were both Stable Masters and Overseer of Horses. This points to the fact that the two categories of officials did not participate in stable organization to the same degree and that the rank of Overseer of Horses was likely more involved with the military.

4.5 Hierarchy of Stable Master and Overseer of Horses in the Chariotry

As discussed previously in Section 2.1.3, the first reference to the chariotry (*nḫm.i tȝ nt-ḥtry*) comes from the Kamose stela set at Karnak, commemorating his victory over the Hyksos. This refers to horses (*ssmt*), as well as chariotry (*ḥtry*). Since the terminology for the chariotry was clearly established by the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, and chariots were depicted in battle since at least the time of Thutmose I,[459] one would expect references to the chariot to appear in historical texts from the early 18th Dynasty. However, Schulman points out that even the texts recalling the Megiddo campaign of Thutmose III make no reference to the chariotry,[460] even though horses were certainly present during the battle.[461]

[459] Portions of the relief from the temple complex of Ahmose at Abydos show bridled horses and parts of chariots (Harvey (1998), figs. 76-79). Although these fragments are badly damaged and without context, a scarab with the prenomen of Thutmose I clearly depicts a war scene with the king firing an arrow from the chariot at a fallen Nubian soldier (BM, EA17774).
[460] Schulman (1963), 84.
[461] One passage reads, "It was caused that [every man] knew his footsteps. Horse behind horse, while [his majesty] as on the point of his army." Urk. IV, 652.

Furthermore, the first attestation of the title of Chariot Warrior (*snny*) is dated to the time of Thutmose III. In his tomb, Menkheperrasonb identifies himself as Chariot Warrior of His Majesty (*snny n ḥm.f*).[462] Other distinct ranks of the Chariotry do not appear until later, such as Standard Bearer of the Chariot Warriors (*ṯzỉ šryt n nꜣ snnyw*) which comes into use in the reign of Amenhotep III Chariotry, and Charioteer (*kḏn/kṯn*) and Lieutenant Commander of the Chariotry (*idnw n tꜣ [ti-]nt-ḥtry*) which appear during the Amarna period.[463] This indicates that in the first half of the 18th Dynasty, the chariotry had not developed a distinct organization. Instead, it is likely that, initially, the existing military structure was replicated and applied to this new sector of the army.

The titles of Stable Master and Overseer of Horses are first attested early in the 18th Dynasty,[464] but the evidence suggests that, as with the active military side, the system of logistical personnel who supported the chariotry was still in development. Therefore, it is safe to assume that it was not until after the Amarna period that the chariotry became structurally independent and developed into the distinct, elite arm of the military with its own administration.[465] This explains the increasing number of chariotry officials during the New Kingdom.

The Stable Masters' and Overseer of Horses' relation to the military is a complicated matter. While Stable Masters traveled with expeditions and even to battles, there is no evidence

[462] Davies (1933b), pl. 24.
[463] Schulman (1963), 85.
[464] Of the officers who are dated to a specific reign, the earliest are Stable Master Sa-Pa-er under Ahmose, and Minnakhte during the reign of Thutmose II.
[465] Spalinger (2005), 272.

that they played an actively participated in military battles.[466] Rather, the Stable Master and Overseer of Horses served the chariotry by maintaining a herd of horses and providing logistical and administrative support abroad. To understand how horse stables functioned and the people involved, it is essential to assess the degree to which the military influenced operations; did the stable administration serve solely at the behest of the military and act on orders of generals and lieutenants? Or was the role flexible, fluctuating between military and civil duties based on the context, and whether the country was in a state of peace or at war?

Shirley's examination of military and civil officials in the 18th Dynasty reveals a more complicated reality. She argues that in the mid-18th Dynasty, as the state made a switch from empire building activities to managing the expanded empire, officials who were assigned to work abroad often had both the military and administrative positions. She defines two categories. The first is "true" military men who served as administrators and also sometimes as soldiers, especially in the foreign administration in Syria and Palestine where this combination of skills was highly valued. The second is officials who essentially performed civil functions while in a military setting and often even included military epithets in their title.[467] Overseer of Horses and Stable Master fit perfectly into this second category in which their inclusion in the military was the result of circumstance rather than function. Even among Charioteers, one of the lower ranks includes the qualifier "of the scribe of the king" (*n sš nswt*), which demonstrates that not even Charioteers can be definitely categorized as purely part of the military establishment.[468] The

[466] Helck (1939), 62; Schulman (1964), 53.
[467] Shirley (2011), 313.
[468] Schulman (1963), 91.

scribes of the stable and of horses, too, were clearly administrative in their activities, but served the chariotry, and therefore the military, to some degree.

Nevertheless, many Stable Masters and Overseers of Horses also held military positions at some point in their careers. Schulman emphasizes that the secondary titles of Stable Masters are more frequently related to the infantry,[469] than the chariotry.[470] It is therefore more likely that the Stable Master was a position assigned at the end of a military career, but not necessarily a career specifically in the chariotry. Helck also believes the Overseer of Horses was a civil position that acted as a respectable and lucrative retirement from frontline military service.[471]

Ashmawy, however, argues that a position in the stables was essential training for a future military career since many of the Stable Masters held the position at a young age, during the father's lifetime, and at least one example states that the individual was 13 years old[472] when acquired the began as a Stable Master.[473] Indeed, there are several examples that show a career transition from Stable Master to a position of higher rank, like Troop Commander (*ḫry pḏt*), which would have taken place earlier in an individual's career. For example, in the 18th Dynasty, Nebenkemet holds the titles Standard Bearer and Stable Master in his tomb in Thebes

[469] For example, Standard Bearer (5) or Troop Commander (4). It is worth noting that Troop Commander is translated variously as "colonel" (*oberst*) by Helck (1939), "Commander of a Host" by Schulman (1963, 1964), and "Commander of a Regiment" by Chevereau (1994).
[470] Including titles like Lieutenant Commander of the Chariotry (1), Chariot Warrior (1), or Charioteer (3).
[471] Helck (1939), 61.
[472] Statue of Bakenkhons, KRI III, 298.
[473] Ashmawy (2014), 134.

(TT256),[474] but he is called Troop Commander and does not list Stable Master on his stela from Sedment.[475]

Stable Master does rank above some other military titles. This is confirmed by lists of ranks which identify Stable Master as an office below the rank of Troop Commander and First Charioteer (*tpy kḏn*), and above Chariot Warrior (*snny*) and Standard Bearer (*ṯzy sryt*). Helck's hierarchy has the Overseer of Horses ranking above Troop Commander. Schulman's hierarchy, based primarily on the Hammamat inscription but also the Onomastica and Nauri Decree, is similar to Helck's. However, he specifies that Stable Master ranks above Chariot Warriors and Charioteers of the Chariotry and below Charioteer of the Residence, as is clear from the Hammamat Inscriptions.[476] Schulman also includes the Lieutenant Commander of the Chariotry,[477] ranking above Charioteers but below the Overseer of Horses.

These lists of ranks place the Stable Master in a position of some rank with important responsibilities, but with authority only over the Chariot warriors and their horse teams, in addition to the scribes employed by the stable. Both Helck and Schulman place the rank of Overseer of Horses at the head of the chariotry, above the Troop Commander. Again, this points to the idea that the Stable Master was involved with the direct administration of the stables, while the Overseer of Horses was more concerned with the running a portion or all of the chariotry division, including the stables.

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[474] PM 1/I, 340.
[475] It is highly likely, but not certain, that these two are owned by the same person. Petrie (1924), pl. 52.
[476] Schulman (1963), 97.
[477] Schulman translates as "Adjutant of the Chariotry".

4.6 Other Titles

Several other titles exist that suggest some direct relationship of the chariotry with the horse stables. In the 19th Dynasty there are five Charioteers of the Stable and three individuals called Charioteer, the First of His Majesty. These Charioteers also have epithets similar to Stable Masters in the 19th Dynasty including "of the Stables of Ramesses II of the Residence", "of the Great Stable of Ramesses II" "of the Great Stable of Seti-Merenptah of the Residence", "of the Great Stable of Merenptah of the Residence". The fact that these variations associate the Charioteers specifically with the stable of the residence of certain kings does indicate that they were assigned directly to these stables. This is also true during the 20th Dynasty. Only two Charioteers of the Stable are known from this time; one "Charioteers of the Great Stable of Ramesses III of the Residence of Ramesses III" and one "Great Charioteer, the First of His Majesty, of the Great Stable of Ramesses III." Why may these Charioteers have been assigned to one particular stable? Perhaps they were responsible for training the chariot horses or recruits, as there is no evidence that the Stable Masters had any knowledge of this. However, Charioteers of the Stable are only attested 12 times during the New Kingdom, so the evidence is extremely limited.

4.7 Scribes

Scribes of the Stable and Scribes of Horses are so rarely attested that it is impossible to draw definitive conclusions about trends over time. These titles are only known from the 18th (2) and 19th Dynasties (5). It is interesting to note that, like the Stable Masters, there are more variations in the 19th Dynasty (4), compared to the 18th Dynasty (2). The evidence is so sparse

that it is difficult to interpret with any certainty. However, the trends of an increased number from the 18th to the 19th Dynasty, as well as the greater diversity of titles in the 19th Dynasty compared to the 18th correlates with the trends among Stable Master. This suggests that the work of the scribes was related to the duties of the Stable Master and, therefore, were also part of the stable administration working within the actual stables.

4.8 Family Members with Related Titles in Stable Administration

4.8.1 Fathers and Sons

While offices in the New Kingdom were appointed, it was common that certain professions like craftsmen and priestly offices would persist in families over generations, passed on from father to son. Several *jmyt-pr* documents, a type of will, from the Middle Kingdom attest to the inheritance of office.[478] For example, in the Papyrus Kahun VII from the 12th Dynasty, the chief of a priest guild conveys his position upon his son. The Juridical Stela dating to the 17th century BC describes how the office of governor of El Kab held within one family for several generations.[479] In total, there are five known family groups in which several immediate family members held the position of Stable Master, one group with two members in the stable administration (one Stable Master and one Overseer of Horses), and four groups in which one family member has a position in the stable administration and one is part of the chariotry.

[478] Logan (2000).

[479] EM, JE 52453. The text reads, "My office of Mayor of El Kab which came to me as the office of my father, The Mayor of El Kab Iy-meru [which came] to me [as the possessions] Of my father from the possessions of his maternal brother, the [Mayor] of El Kab Ay the Younger who died childless. It (the office) shall belong to my relative . . . Sobek-nakhte, from son to son, heir to heir." In Logan (2000), 60.

If positions in the stable administration were also inherited, it would be expected that the catalog would include several examples of sons and fathers who held the same title. However, the evidence points to the contrary. There is currently only one known instance of a son who shared the same office as his father. A graffito[480] from Sehel names Amenhotep as Stable Master of Ramesses II of the Residence, while his son, Amenemope was also a Stable Master. Also, during the reign of Ramesses II, a stela[481] identifies Pay as Overseer of Horses, and his son, Nay, was First Stable Master of the Lord of the Two Lands. More in-depth research on relationships between individuals could reveal more examples, as we do not always know the names or titles of fathers or sons of title-holders. However, this could indicate that the position was not inherited but assigned based on ability or given as an award.

Other families show some relationship between the stables, chariotry, and scribal positions. Amenhotep, during the reigns of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III, was Stable Master of His Majesty and also held a title in the Chariotry, Brave of His Majesty in the Chariotry (*ḳn n ḥm.f m t nt ḥtry*).[482] His sons, Kenna and Hat, were both Chariot Warriors of His Majesty.[483] Pahemnetcher was Overseer of Horses under Ramesses II, and his son, Nefer, was a Charioteer. Finally, in the 18th Dynasty a Stable Master named Pennebu is known to have a father, Inhertmose, and grandfather, also called Pennebu, who both held the office of Scribe of the Recruits of the Lord of the Two Lands.[484] Inhertmose held a second scribal rank of Military

[480]De Morgan (1894) 88, no. 63.
[481] BM, EA795, KRI VII, 409.
[482] Graffiti at Sehel, Smith (1976), pl. XXXI; Graffiti at Buhen, De Morgan (1894), 92, no. 108, Urk. IV, 1637.
[483] BM, no. 902.
[484] Statue in the EM, CGC 582, 1136; KRI VII, 226.

Scribe of Horses Innumerable and several religious titles. Pennebu did not continue in the scribal profession as his father and grandfather but became a Stable Master. With so few examples, no pattern can be identified and there is, therefore, no indication that the offices of Stable Master or Master of Horses were passed down among generations at any point during the New Kingdom.

4.8.2 Brothers

It is interesting to observe that, especially in the 19th Dynasty, there are several examples of families with two or more brothers who hold similar titles; four family groups with brothers who both held titles in stables administration, and two family groups in which one brother held a title in the stables and the other in the chariotry. There are fewer instances of fathers and sons who hold similar titles; only two known examples. In the 18th Dynasty, during the reign of Akhenaten and Tutankhamun, two brothers named Paser and Tjuer were both identified as Stable Masters in the tomb of their father, Amenhotep-Huy (TT40).[485] Tjuer's title variation was First Stable Master (*ḥry iḫw tpy*), and Paser was simply Stable Master, as well as Overseer of Horses. The Stable Master Haty is also depicted in the same tomb receiving revenue from Nubia with Amenhotep-Huy.[486] Haty may have been a favorite of the tomb owner, but there is no clear familial relationship. Amenhotep-Huy held many high-ranking positions, including Viceroy of Nubia and First Lieutenant Commander of the Chariotry. In addition to his titles of Stable Master and Master of Horses, his son, Paser, would follow his father and eventually become Viceroy of Nubia.[487]

[485] PM I/1, 75, Urk. IV, 2065-7.
[486] Davies (1926) 19, pls. XVI, XVII.
[487] Davies (1926) 7, 11, 14, pl VI, XI, XXXIX; PM I/1, 75; URK IV, 2065-7.

During the reign of Ramesses II, the stela of the Stable Master Bak-aa[488] identifies his two brothers, Ptah-may and Pay, who also held the title of Stable Master. Ptah-may was also a Charioteer, but there are no additional titles listed for the other brothers. This is a rare example of three brothers in the same position in the stables. Also, from the time of Ramesses II, a stela of the army scribe Nebwaa discovered at the Ramesseum named three Stable Masters: Pannefer, Minemheb, and Kay-iry. Their relationship to the owner of the stela is unclear, but Kitchen suggests they may have each been a son-in-law of Nebwaa.[489]

A late 20th Dynasty Papyrus from the reign of Ramesses XI, the so-called "adoption papyrus",[490] describes the efforts of the childless Stable Master Nebnefer to secure an inheritance for his wife. He not only adopts his wife, Rennefer, but also the emancipated children of a slave woman they purchased. The eldest of the children is married to Nebnefer's brother,[491] the Stable Master Padiu. Not only are the two brothers identified as both being Stable Masters in this text, the list of witnesses to the declaration includes five other Stable Masters. This suggests that Stable Masters were linked not only by occupation but also by their social circles, especially in the 20th Dynasty when men with the title of Stable Master were abundant.

Occasionally, there are instances of an officer in the stables whose brother is in the chariotry. Nehet-menu, Stable Master in the 19th Dynasty, is listed on the stela of Mahu and Yupa,[492] along with his two brothers, who are both Chariot Warriors. Usermont, who held the

[488] BM, EA166.
[489] KRI III, 390.
[490] Ashmolean Museum, Papyrus 1945.96.
[491] Gardiner's earlier translation identifies Padiu as Rennefer's brother, making him Nebnefer's brother-in-law. Compare Gardiner (1941a), 23-9 to Cruz-Uribe (1988), 220-223.
[492] Museo Egizio, no. 1465.

titles of both Stable Master and Overseer of Horses during the reign of Ramesses II, also had a brother named Raia, who was Charioteer of the Stable of Ramesses II. The father, grandmother, and grandfather of Raia and Usermont all held religious, not military or civil titles.[493] Again, this implies a link between positions in the chariotry and positions in the horse stables, as with titles like Charioteer of the Stable. In addition, it demonstrates that roles in the chariotry and the stables were comparable for individuals of the same social class.

4.8.3 Extended Family

Among extended family there are, again, very few examples. Hori and his nephew, Sa-bastt, are both named as Stable Masters of the Residence on a 19th Dynasty stela.[494] The brother of Hori and father of Sa-bastt was Wennefer, Chariot Driver, the First of his Majesty. Like the examples mentioned in the previous sections, this family includes two men of the same generation involved with both the chariotry and the stable administration. Wennefer's son, however, was not a Chariot Driver like his father.

The only other example is that of Neferhotep and Ramose who are both named as Stable Masters of the Residence in an inscription from the tomb of Iyroy, a Memphite High Priest of Ptah.[495] Neferhotep is referred to as *s3.f*, so he was likely the son of Iyroy and his wife. Ramose is not identified in relation to the tomb owner but is likely a relative. It is interesting that in both these cases, the office shared by family members is Stable Master of the Residence. It is tempting to suggest that a position associated with the royal residence was reserved for families

[493] Their grandfather, Neferhotep, was First Prophet of Amenhotep II. Their Grandmother, Tausret, was Songstress of Amun. Their father, Khonsu, was the First Prophet of Menkheperre/Thutmose III.
[494] BM, EA154.
[495] Anthes (1965), 84, fig. 8, pl. 28 b10.

of a certain social standing. However, in contrast, the example in Section 4.8.1 of a father who is Stable Master of Ramesses II of the Residence, however, his son is called only Stable Master, not Stable Master of the Residence. In almost all the examples of multiple brothers who hold titles in the stable administration, they are identified only as Stable Master.

4.9 Royal Title-Holders

The concept of kingship in the New Kingdom was inextricably tied with the Egyptian military and especially the chariotry, as the most elite branch of the army. It is logical, therefore, that male members of the royal family would hold offices related to horses and the chariotry. The title-holders from the catalog who were related to the royal family are listed Table 9 below.

Reign	Name	Title	Relation to Royal Family
Amenhotep II	Khemwast	Stable Master of Amenhotep II	Prince (tentative identification)
Amenhotep II	Weben-Senu	Overseer of Horses	Son of Amenhotep II
Amenhotep III	Yuya	Overseer of Horses	Father-in-law of Amenhotep III
Tutankhamun	Ay	Overseer of Horses Master of all Horses of His Majesty Overseer of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands	Future King, Brother-in-law of Amenhotep III, Uncle of Akhenaten
Seti I (?)	Pa-Ramesses	Overseer of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands	Hereditary prince, son of Seti I
Ramesses II	Pareherwenemef	Overseer of Horses	Son of Ramesses II

Ramesses II	Montu-her-khepesh	Overseer of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands Overseer of Horses Overseer of Horses of His Father	Son of Ramesses II
Ramesses III	Amun-her-Khepesh-ef	Overseer of Horses Great Overseer of Horses of the Victorious King Great Overseer of Horses, the First of His Majesty, of the Place of Ramesses III of the Chariotry	Son of Ramesses III
Ramesses III	Ramses	Overseer of Horses	Son of Ramesses III, Future King Ramesses VI
Ramesses III	Ramesses Setukh-her-khepeshef	Overseer of Horses Great Overseer of Horses	Son of Ramesses III, future King Ramesses VIII
Ramesses III	Pentawere	First Royal Charioteer of the Great Stable of Ramesses III in the Residence of Ramesses III	Son of Ramesses III
Ramesses III	Pareherwenemef	Charioteer of the Stable of the Great House	Son of Ramesses III

Table 9: Officers who were Related to the Royal Family

Although there are several examples of princes and future kings who held variations of Stable Master, Overseer of Horses, and Charioteer of the Stable, they seem to be concentrated in two time periods and not distributed throughout the New Kingdom. In the early part of the 18th Dynasty, two sons of Amenhotep II were officers in the stables, as was Yuya, the father-in-law of Amenhotep III, and Ay, before he became king. There are no other examples from the later part of the 18th Dynasty. Interestingly, only the one prince, Khemwast, held the position of Stable Master, as well as Amenmes who was Hereditary Prince (*iry-pʿt*), a title that does not necessarily imply he was part of the royal family. All the other examples are Overseer of Horses and two

princes who were Charioteers of the Stable under Ramesses III. In the 19th Dynasty, only sons of Ramesses II and Ramesses III held the relevant titles, including kings Ramesses VI and Ramesses VIII before they ascended to the throne. This is also the period when the titles Great Head Overseer of Horses (*imy-r ssmt wr tpy*) and Great Overseer of Horses (*imy-r ssmt wr*) appear, which are held only by princes.

Only one prince was awarded the position of Stable Master, and it occurred early in the 18th Dynasty. Another of Amenhotep II's sons was bestowed the office of Overseer of Horses, implying that these two positions were comparable in terms of prestige and authority. However, there are no other Stable Masters related to the royal family after Amenhotep II, while Overseer of Horses continues to be a title for princes. This supports the hypothesis, discussed above, that the offices of Stable Master and Overseer of Horses were still very much developing in the early part of the 18th Dynasty, and the Overseer of Horses position had not yet been established as a superior rank. Therefore, as the roles and hierarchies of these offices were still being developed, it was appropriate for a prince to hold the title of Stable Master while, later, the Overseer of Horses was preferred. By the 20th Dynasty, an even higher rank of *wr tpy* and *wr* in association with the title of Overseer of Horses emerged, perhaps because this office had become too commonplace or, as far fewer are attested in the 20th Dynasty, was losing prominence.

4.10 Summary

The number of individuals with the title of Stable Master increased steadily throughout the New Kingdom, while the number of variations increased from the 18th to the 19th Dynasty, then decrease in the 20th Dynasty. While there are a limited number of examples, the title of Scribe of horses or of the stables also increases from the 18th to the 19th Dynasty with a greater

number of variations in the 19th Dynasty. The opposite is true for the title of Master of Horses; the number of individuals and number the variations decrease throughout the New Kingdom.

This pattern demonstrates an expanding middle management, with an increase in the number of Stable Masters and Scribes, who evidence suggests were more directly involved with the operation of the stables and the care and management of the horses. Alternatively, the position of Overseer of Horses, whose practical duties are unclear but was certainly a high-ranking position, becomes less prevalent, but increasingly appears among individuals in the royal family. Perhaps the position of Overseer of Horses, which was introduced in the early 18th Dynasty when stable organization was in its infancy, was once the main authority in the horse stables, but lost its practical significance and became more of a ceremonial designation. The Stable Master may have taken over the duties of the Overseer of Horses in addition to new responsibilities as the stable administration became larger and more complex at the end of the 18th and into the 19th Dynasty. It is likely that the stables were not only growing in size and number, so as to require a greater number of Stable Masters with more varied responsibilities, but also that the administrative structure was becoming more refined and providing a lucrative career path for men to move into the military or foreign administration.

In the 20th Dynasty, the Wilbour Papyrus records hundreds of Stable Masters in the Fayoum area. At the same time, the "Adoption Papyrus" identifies seven Stable Masters from the same social circle, reaffirming the conclusion that it was a ubiquitous title near the end of the New Kingdom and was prevalent in certain communities. Among the examples, few families in stable administration include an Overseer of Horses. While some Overseer of Horses were related to Stable Masters or members of the Chariotry, there are no examples of multiple

Overseer of Horses in one family, save for the sons of Ramesses III. Once again, the Overseer of Horses does not follow the same patterns apparent among Stable Masters. This may point to a difference in how the offices were assigned and the influence of one's social position on their titles.

Chapter 5. Conclusion

Explaining how the horse stables functioned and who was involved is a complicated matter. It requires, first, an understanding of the physical space of the stables themselves and how they were organized to serve the needs of the horses and the chariotry. Second, one must examine the stable administration organization, the hierarchy, who was involved, and their roles and responsibilities. This question can only be addressed through a comprehensive approach, drawing together strings of evidence from visual, textual, and archaeological sources to form a more complete picture of the New Kingdom's horse stables.

5.1 Reconstructing the Stables

By analyzing the archaeological record and considering the requirements of horse care, the basic layout of the large royal or military horse stables can be reconstructed. However, it is important to remember that some information is always lost in the archaeological record, artefacts and materials are misinterpreted or left undiscovered. Nevertheless, some general conclusions can be made about the basic elements of the horse stables and their function.

The stables were generally situated around a courtyard with a well or water source. The courtyard also likely had mangers and tethering stones to accommodate visiting horses or act as a feeding area for the horses housed there. The stable units themselves were long, narrow rooms with tethering stones. The horses were positioned individually within the stable rooms, approximately every 1.5 meters, based on the arrangement at the Qantir-Piramesses stable. The horses were tethered at the head and possibly also at the back leg, although this assumption is questionable, based on the issues raised in section 3.2.1. The floor would have to be made of

hard, uneven stone to help wear down the horses' hooves naturally since there is no evidence the Egyptians shortened the hooves manually. A sloping floor with openings may have been used to collect urine, although, since these gaps could have put the horses at risk of injury, the openings may have been cover by reed mats or wood grates. Due to the narrow space in the stable units, a separate area was required for grooming, veterinary, hoof, or tooth care. In Qantir-Piramesses, this was the columned room accessed from the courtyard, while in Amarna, these tasks were likely carried out in the courtyard itself.

Manure would have to be periodically cleaned out of the stables and courtyard. It was probably piled up in another area and then used as fertilizer, fuel, or building materials. The stables' sloped floor would ensure the urine could collect in troughs and be easily disposed of or saved for tanning leather. Presumably, this would be the job of the grooms. Since mentions of grooms indicate this was a low-status position, and there is no evidence of any other posts in the stable that were involved with manual labor, waste disposal was almost certainly the responsibility of the grooms.

Feeding of the horses was likely done in the stable rooms if there was adequate space so that the horses did not interfere with one another. Herds naturally develop a hierarchy so that the most dominant horse would eat first and sometimes prevent lower-ranking horses from eating at all, so it would be necessary to have some separation. In the stables at Megiddo, this was addressed by pillars between each tethering spot, which would have blocked the horses' view of its neighbor.

Horses were likely fed a combination of hay or grass and some grains or concentrates. The Kikkuli text specifies straw, clover, barley, chaff, and grass for horses in training, so the

Egyptians probably fed something similar. Ptolemaic texts reveal that horses were fed primarily grasses, or hay and barley.[496] One document from Ptolemaic Egypt recounts that horses were given two meals a day which consisted of 13 *choinikes* (equivalent to 13 liter) of barley per horse.[497] Other ancient Greek and Roman writers frequently mention barley and supplemental food like oats, figs, and bitter vetch, which were also present in Egypt. Based on the frequent mention of barley in various sources and the prevalence of the crop in ancient Egyptian agriculture, the horses were most likely fed barley, along with grasses, hay, and possibly chaff from emmer wheat, oats, figs or bitter vetch.

The process of procuring and feeding the horses took a significant degree of administrative effort. Stable Masters were allotted land for growing food for the horses in the stables. Several entries in the Wilbour Papyrus specify Stable Masters who possessed land that was "fields for horses."[498] The letter from Papyrus Sallier I describes how Amenemuia was responsible for overseeing the food production for the horses of the royal stable. This passage also indicates that the land was given to him by the state to cultivate horse feed. The evidence suggests that this was a significant role of the Stable Masters. Assuming some chariot horses were cared for by the chariot soldiers during times of peace, this would also alleviate the need for growing and transporting massive amounts of food to the stables.

It is also possible that the horses of the large royal and military stables spent a portion of the year when they were not in use grazing at pasture in another area away from the stables. The practice of fording cattle using papyrus rafts, and evidence of a cattle estate in the Delta, dates

[496] Abu Bakr (1990), 57-58.
[497] Papyrus Cairo Zenon, no. 59376.
[498] For example, the Stable Master Amenmose in Gardiner (1941a), 47, line 45.19.

back to the Old Kingdom.[499] The Delta would have provided ample pasture for both cattle and horses in the expanses between cultivated areas or after the harvesting season. Uncultivated regions of the Nile Valley could have also provided spaces for horse pastures. During the Mamluk times, the Sultan's horses grazed in enclosures near Giza.[500]

If training was conducted at the stables, there would need to be a large area or arena with solid, even ground, suitable for chariots. Perhaps it would be a large courtyard with a slight slant to allow for water to run off, as at Megiddo, although Egypt's climate is dry enough that this may not have been a concern. At Qantir-Piramesses, the peristyle court in Q1 could have served as a training space. Finally, the stables required living quarters for grooms and other personnel. The low benches in each of the stable rooms at Qantir-Piramesses and the central aisles at Megiddo suggest that grooms would have actually slept with the horses. However, the "House of the Grooms"[501] described in the Wilbour Papyrus indicates that the grooms had separate sleeping quarters.

In addition to pulling chariots, horses may also have been trained for riding. Although there are only a limited number of images of horse riders, this may not reflect reality. When looking at Egyptian art, it is important to consider why certain images were depicted. Perhaps riding was quite common, and horses were used for both riding and chariots. However, the image of the chariot brought more excitement and prestige to a scene and was therefore preferred.

[499] Hagseth (2015), 6.
[500] Ayalon (1958), 268.
[501] Gardiner (1941a), 59 (56.39).

5.1.1 Types of Stables

Previous examinations of stable administration have not addressed the possibility that there were different types of stables for different purposes or even how many stables existed at a given time. This is a difficult question to address as no written descriptions exist, and the titles of personnel rarely reference specific stables. One exception is the title of Bakenkhons, which names him as Stable Master of the Training Stable.[502] Based on the existence of this title, Helck suggests that training stables educated both horses and military recruits for the chariotry.[503] This theory is supported by the fact that Bakenkhons was only 11 years old when he entered this position, implying that he was at the very beginning of his career. If this was, in fact, the case, then this could have been a stable for training Stable Masters, as well as horses and soldiers.

The type of stable most often attested is the royal stables at the residence of the king. The royal stables are mentioned in texts like Papyrus Bologna 1094 and present in the archaeological record at Qantir-Piramesses. Presumably, this is where horses were kept for the royal family and the royal guard. Based on the size of the stables at Qantir-Piramesses, it is very likely that the chariotry kept a portion of their horses here as well. This would also make sense in terms of geography since the Delta's location would minimize the travel distance of the chariotry when deployed to battle in the Near East.

Given the evidence for stables of the residence, one would expect to find stables at the other New Kingdom capital cities. The Sphinx Stela relates that the young Amenhotep harnessed his horse in Memphis, indicating there was a stable at the residence there. While not all palace

[502] KRI III, 298.
[503] Helck (1939), 63-64.

locations are known, it is surprising to not find horse stables at sites like Malqata that have been thoroughly excavated. Meyers proposed that a cleared depression near the palace was a chariot racecourse and grandstand; however, there is no evidence that the ancient Egyptians had a formalized sport of chariot racing.[504] Similarly, at Amarna, there were no horse stables identified at the palaces, only at the police barracks, yet there are so many artistic representations of Akhenaten and his family in chariots. Where were these royal horses housed?

The royal stables are also commonly referred to in titles like Stable Master of the Residence or Stable Master of Great Stable of King NN of the Residence. The epithet "Of the Residence" is common among Stable Masters, but only during the 19th and 20th Dynasties. The fact that none of the Stable Masters in the 18th Dynasty had this designation, in addition to the lack of horse stables at the palaces of the 18th Dynasty capitals of Amarna and Thebes, points to the conclusion that building large stables at the king's residence only began in the 19th Dynasty.

Furthermore, the lack of significantly large stables in the archaeological record begs the question: where were all the chariot horses kept? For most of the New Kingdom, the number of horses in the chariotry must have numbered in the thousands, in addition to the broodmares, foals and young horses not yet trained for war. In the Amarna period, it only stands to reason that the main chariot forces within the country were kept at the large stables in the capital. During the Ramesside period, as mentioned above, the stables of Qantir-Piramesses must have housed hundreds of chariot horses, based on the size and location. The Wilbour Papyrus from the time of Ramesses V, which records land holdings in Middle Egypt, specifically mentions horse stables but without the qualifier of any identifying place names.

[504] Meyers and Mond (1934), 26.

Nevertheless, Gardiner notes that the mention of horse stables occurs in two distinct sections indicating at least two separate stables existed.[505] Undoubtedly there must have also been stables for chariot horses at the garrisons and fortified towns in the Eastern Delta, Gaza, Palestine, Nubia, or *swnw*, the settlement area of Elephantine. Ikram notes that most horse remains have been discovered in a military context, including Tell el-Borg, Kom Firin, Tell Hebua, and Zur Umm Rakkam.[506]

In addition, based on historical parallels, it is likely that the charioteers were tasked with caring for their own chariot horses. In the Ptolemaic period, cavalrymen were assisted in purchasing horses, which they acquired from the state, and were also awarded plots of land.[507] Horses were distributed among the cavalrymen with instructions to care for them.[508] Under Sargon II (721–705 BCE), chariot horses were distributed among the Assyrian soldiers who cared for them and provided pastures for them to graze in times of peace.[509] Abu Bakr suggests that horses were property of the state during the third century BC and would be returned upon the owner's death but, by the second century, it became customary for horses to be passed down from father to son (assuming he was in active service).[510]

There is little mention of this practice in the historical record of the New Kingdom, save for the tale of the chariot warrior from Papyrus Anastasi III that describes the soldier being assigned to the stables and procuring horses at the military camp in front of the king and is then

[505] Gardiner (1941a), 35.
[506] Ikram (2019), 422.
[507] Fischer-Bovet (2014), 128.
[508] Papyrus Petrie, III 54 (a).
[509] Melville (2016), 33.
[510] Abu Bakr (1990), 56.

responsible for the horses.[511] In addition, the Ramesside model letter in the British Museum states that Amenemuia, son of Amenemope, Stable Master of the Great Stable of Ramesse-mianmun of the Residence was given 30 arouras, "to make into food for the pair of horses of Pharaoh which are in my charge".[512] In this example, Amenemuia was given two royal horses to care for, as well as a sizable piece of land to feed them.

Based on the lack of large stables in the archaeological record, contemporary societies' practices, and the examples mentioned above, it is highly probable that charioteers were assigned horses from the royal stables and tasked with caring for them to some degree in their own homes. Therefore, it is reasonable that this was the case throughout the New Kingdom and was more prevalent during the 18th Dynasty, but, by the Ramesside period, some horses were also held in large royal stables.

In conclusion, there were possibly three types of stables: training, royal/military, and personal. The personal stables, which were likely less formal than the royal or military, would have included both noblemen who utilized horse teams in the course of their work and charioteers who were responsible for the care of their chariot teams in times of peace.

5.2 Standing, Roles, and Responsibilities in New Kingdom Stable Administration

5.2.1 Overseer of Horses

It is difficult to speculate about the roles and responsibilities of the office of Overseer of Horses. There is very little about this position in the historical record. Nevertheless, based on the relation to the role of Stable Master, a few conclusions can be deduced. Texts like the

[511] Pap Anastasi III, 6, 2-10; Caminos (1954), 95, 96; Gardiner (1937), 27.
[512] Papyrus Sallier I, vs. 9; Gardiner (1941a), 78.

Hammamat inscription, Onomasticon of Amenope, and the Nauri Decree make clear that Overseer of Horses was one of the highest-ranking titles, above Troop Commanders of the chariotry and outranking the Stable Master. Furthermore, this designation was held by members of the royal family, including future kings Aye, Ramesses VI, and Ramesses VIII. Due to this title's hierarchical position, it was almost certainly involved with the highest level of administration. While several of the Overseer of Horses also held titles in the military and were no doubt career military men, there is no indication that this position, in particular, involved active military duties. Neither, though, is there much mention of this office or its function in historical accounts or literature, unlike the Stable Master or groom. Helck explained away this discrepancy by suggesting it was an honorary title awarded at the end of a military career. At the same time, Schulman assigned it as a general position in the chariotry without specifying function.[513] While these explanations are not entirely satisfactory, neither can they be disproven.

The nature of the title, as well as the variations Overseer of Horses of the Entire Stable, point to an association with the horse stables rather than the chariotry. However, this title does not carry the same epithets as Stable Master like "...of the residence" or "...of the stable of King NN." Furthermore, Overseer of Horses does not follow the same development trends as Stable Master, which, if these two positions were directly related, one would expect to observe. The number of Stable Masters increases throughout the New Kingdom, while the number of Overseer of Horses decreases. The most variations of Stable Master are attested during the 19th and the epithet "of the residence" becomes more prevalent, while the most variations of Overseer of

[513] Shulman (1963), 95.

Horses occur in the 18th Dynasty and includes epithets of the king like "Overseer of the Lord of the Two Lands" or "...of the King of the South and North" or "...of His Majesty."

Overseer of Horses is used to fill a gap in the hierarchy of stable administration. There must have been some broader administrative oversight above the Stable Master, and there is no office that better fits this position. Their duties would likely have included assigning horses to pastures and stables, dealing with horses acquired in warfare or as gifts, and possibly even overseeing the breeding programs to ensure they maintained the proper numbers and quality of horses. It is also reasonable to suggest that they were involved with assigning horses to charioteers. In the 20th Dynasty, however, the number of Overseers of Horses is reduced significantly, and there is a greater association with the royal family. Therefore, this thesis proposes that Overseer of Horses was a broad administrative title involved in the supervision of the horse stables and the Stable Masters but may have evolved into a more honorific position with fewer practical responsibilities by the 20th Dynasty. The position of Stable Master, as it increased in number, and the duties became more varied, took over at least some of the responsibilities of the Overseer of Horses.

5.2.2 Stable Master

Within the stable administration, more evidence exists for the activities of the Stable Master than any other positions. Texts directly describe their role in procuring food and feeding horses, preparing teams for expeditions, as well as exercising horses in private stables. In addition, visual and textual evidence indicates that Stable Masters may also have been involved in breeding and possibly training. However, it is difficult to distinguish which tasks were actually performed by the Stable Master rather than delegated to grooms.

Based on the hierarchy, it can be assumed that the most basic and fundamental daily tasks, including feeding and waste disposal, were carried out by the grooms but under the supervision of the Stable Master. Other tasks, like harnessing the horses or training and exercising could have been performed by the Charioteers, as they would have been best suited to handle the chariot and its trappings but may have also involved the Stable Masters or the grooms.

Additional questions remain as to the roles and responsibilities of the Stable Master in different contexts. The abovementioned conclusions refer to the large establishments of royal or military stables, but does the same hold true for Stable Masters in private stables and military camps? Activities like harnessing, training, and exercise may have been conducted under the supervision of the charioteer, with the assistance of grooms or household staff, but the position of Stable Master seems to be reserved for the royal and military stables and possibly the stables of the elite.

Private stables' requirements must have been similar to that of the royal or military stables but conducted on a much smaller scale. Even if training and breeding were conducted at the royal or military stables and horses were assigned to chariot soldiers, the horses would have required continual conditioning exercise. In the description of the workings of a private horse stable in Papyrus Sallier I, the only task specifically designated to the Chief of the Stable is exercising the horses. While the text uses the title *ꜥ3 n šmmt,* instead of the expected *ḫry iḫw*, it is reasonable to assume that these titles are equivalent.[514] The feeding is explicitly left to the grooms. The one responsible for the grooming is not specified. Although this is a singular example, it does seem to indicate that each position did have some specific duties in private

[514] Gardiner translates this phrase as “chief of the stable” (1911), 9.

stables but may have overlapped in other general tasks. In reality, training may have occurred both at the military stables involving multiple personnel, and with the chariot soldiers at their homes. However, the evidence does not provide a definite answer.

Requirements of the military camps, whether in battle or on expeditions, were markedly different. Providing the chariot horses with food, water, and veterinary care was undoubtedly the priority, in addition to keeping them contained and safe from enemy sabotage or interference. The Koller Papyrus describes both grooms and Stable Masters preparing for an expedition to Khor, while in the Wadi Hammamat inscription, a non-combat endeavor within Egypt, only Stable Masters are mentioned. Again, it is unclear which duties were carried out by the Stable Master and which were conducted by grooms. However, some texts relate that Stable Masters were responsible for one chariot team, or sometimes several, indicating that they could have been the team's sole caretakers without the grooms' assistance.

Another question is how one became a Stable Master. The inscription of Bakenkhnos relates how Bakenkhnos became a Stable Master at age 11, implying that this was a position acquired at the start of a career. The secondary titles common among Stable Masters, such as high-ranking positions like King's Envoy, Lieutenant, or Viceroy, suggest that many Stable Masters also had prestigious military and administrative careers. Stable Master, while a respectable position that presumably had more authority than Charioteer or Shield Bearer of the Chariotry, may have acted as a steppingstone to the higher levels of the military or foreign administration. For example, in the 18th Dynasty tomb of Amenhotep-Huy (TT40), his son,

Paser, is identified as a Stable Master, along with his brother,[515] but later holds the position of Viceroy of Nubia, like his father.

It is also noteworthy that it is relatively common to have multiple Stable Masters in families and communities, as discussed in Section 4.8. In addition to the above-mentioned example of TT40, three Stable Masters are identified, albeit in different contexts. The inscription names Paser and Tjuerare as sons of the tomb owner, but Haty is identified as a Stable Master within a scene of receiving tribute, and there is no apparent familial relationship with the tomb owner. The 19th Dynasty stela of Bak-aa names three brothers who are all Stable Masters.[516] In the 20th Dynasty, the "Adoption Papyrus" names seven Stable Masters as witnesses to the legal proceedings, implying they all came from the same community and social group.[517] This trend suggests not only that it was somewhat common to have multiple Stable Masters in the same community but that it was a position closely tied to a particular social group in a particular area. Since the archaeological evidence for horse stables are sparse, it stands to reason that the Stable Masters, as with the stables themselves, would have been concentrated in specific geographical locations, namely the site of the royal residences.

Finally, the historical evidence related to the stables, as well as the attestation of the Stable Masters themselves, points to the continual development of the position throughout the New Kingdom, increasing in number and complexity, particularly from the 18th to the 19th Dynasty. The number of Stable Masters, variety of epithets, and descriptions in texts are more prevalent in the 19th Dynasty. While in the 18th Dynasty, many Stable Masters were given

[515] PM I/1, 75, Urk. IV, 2065-7.
[516] BM, EA166.
[517] Ashmolean Museum, Papyrus 1945.96.

honorific titles associated with royalty or military positions like Standard Bearer, the Stable Masters of the 19th Dynasty became far more involved in foreign administration while also holding positions in the military. In the 20th Dynasty, while Stable Masters were numerous, few held significant secondary titles or progressed to higher-ranking positions in administration or the military. In addition, the sheer size of the 19th Dynasty stable complex at Qantir-Piramesses suggests a sophisticated system and a complex administration to manage nearly 500 horses. All indications show that the 19th Dynasty was the period when the horse stables were functioning at their peak, and the position of Stable Master was the most dynamic and influential.

5.2.3 Scribes

The royal and military stables would have required careful record keeping. From the New Kingdom, the titles of Scribe of Horses and Scribe of the Stable are both known. However, they are so rarely attested, it is impossible to determine if there was a difference in responsibility between them. The Hittites, too, had an office specified as Scribe of the Stable Area. A 3rd century BC document from Ptolemaic Egypt describes the registration of cavalry horses and includes descriptions of their age, pelage, and appearance.[518] In the 13th century, the staff of the Mamluk royal stables recorded "the names of the horses, their qualities, the dates on which they had been brought to the stables, the names of their previous owners, the names of their grooms and their prices. Dates of mating were always registered."[519] Comparative historical evidence, therefore, implies that there were scribes assigned specifically to record biographical and identifying information of the horses of the stables.

[518] Papyrus Petrie 35, Abu Bakr (1990), 65.
[519] Ayalon (1958), 265.

In Papyrus Bologna 1094, dated to the reign of Merenptah, the scribe Pwhem pens a letter to his lord, the scribe Anherrekh, concerning agricultural matters.[520] It reads, "I have received the letter which my lord (l.p.h.) sent to me concerning the food for the horses of the Great Stable of Raʿmesse-miamun [belonging to the residence] and for the horses of the Great Stable of Binereʿ-miamun belonging to the residence." Anherrekh was possibly not just a scribe but a Scribe of the Stable. He bears some responsibility for monitoring the horses' food and the running of the royal stable at the residence of Ramesses II and Merenptah. Since this stable at Qantir-Piramesses house more than 400 horses, the amount of food that would have to be organized to feed them would have been a significant bureaucratic duty. It would stand to reason that this administrative task would be one of the Scribe of the Stable's primary responsibilities, while the grooms carried out the actual feeding.

However, feeding the horses would have been just one of many activities that required organization and documentation. There was also breeding, arranging medical care, the production of tack and chariot equipment, and managing and paying personnel. None of these issues are mentioned in the letter, but they must have taken considerable time and coordination, and likely many scribes had to be employed.

5.2.4 Grooms

The groom's role is perhaps the easiest to speculate about because it is the least formal of the titles discussed. Several texts confirm the low social status of grooms. In one passage, paupers, or poor men, become grooms and are described as subservient even to farmers.[521]

[520] Vrs. 2,10 - 3,1; Caminos (1954), 11-12.
[521] Gardiner (1937), 84, col. 7, ins. 2.

Turner also suggests that some Amarna reliefs, including those in the tombs of Ay and Huya,[522] intentionally depict the groom much smaller than the chariot drivers to illustrate the drivers' relative importance.[523] This reinforces the low status of the groom and their place in the hierarchy. Grooms also display a degree of familiarity with the horses through their body language; for example, the groom sitting before two horses eating from the manger on a boat in the tomb of Kenamun[524] or the man caressing a horse in TT91.[525]

The letter from Sallier Papyrus I describes the groom of a private stable bringing food for the horses. Grooms also prepare food for an expedition to Syria in the Koller Papyrus. In the military camps, Papyrus Harris 500 describes how the grooms brought the horses into the camp for safety and gave them fodder. Spalinger notes that in military campaigns, the horses and donkeys would have relied primarily on grazing on pasturage (grasses and vegetation from fields), but their diet would need to be supplemented by hard fodder grains like oats or barley.[526] Presumably, this is what is shown in the scenes of army camps from the battle of Kadesh. Feeding was clearly one of the grooms' primary responsibilities in all contexts: in private stables, in the royal stables, during expeditions, and while on military campaigns.

Considering the evidence for the groom's low status and the lack of evidence that anyone else was involved in the day-to-day horse care duties at the stables, the grooms were likely responsible for waste removal, feeding, grooming, and at least basic veterinary care. The grooms

[522] The scene of Ay and his wife being honored by the king in Davies (1908), pl. XXIX, and Akhenaten leading Tiy in the temple in the tomb of Huya, Davies (1905), pl. VIII.
[523] Turner (2016), 229, 231, 233.
[524] Davies (1963), pl. 18.
[525] Wreszinski (1988), pl. 290.
[526] Spalinger (2005), 42.

likely lived at the stables in order to provide constant care for the horses. Recreations of the stable at Qantir-Piramesses propose that a low bench at the end of each rectangular room provided sleeping space for the grooms, while Cantrell and Finkelstein suggest that the grooms at Megiddo slept in the aisles between the rows of horses.[527] However, a line from the 20th Dynasty Wilbour Papyrus reads, "Measurement made to the north-east of the Houses of the Grooms,"[528] which would imply that living quarters were provided specifically for the grooms. The reality may have been that both cases were correct: the grooms had their own house, but some would remain in the stables overnight to watch over and attend to the horses.

In modern horse stables that employ grooms, they are often tasked with tacking up the horses for riders. Whether the grooms or the drivers themselves were responsible for harnessing the horses is unclear. It is reasonable to assume that at private stables of the elite, in which the horse team owner was not necessarily a charioteer himself, the grooms' duties would have been broader and probably included harnessing and perhaps even exercising the team.

Finally, the role of grooms in breeding should be considered. If the Amarna reliefs from Hermopolis do, in fact, depict horses being brought in from the breeding areas, this was likely the grooms' responsibilities, as they appear to be the primary horse handlers. In addition, it is possible they arranged mating pairs, monitored pregnancies, and perhaps were present to assist in the birth. However, there is no evidence for any of these practices, so this suggestion remains entirely speculative.

[527] Cantrell & Finkelstein (2006), 651.
[528] Gardiner (1941a), 59 (56.39).

5.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, a thorough examination of the archaeological remains of horse stables reveals a few key elements that may assist in the identification of stables in the future: a courtyard situated near a well or water source; long, narrow rooms with tethering stones; floors made of hard or uneven stones, usually sloping at an angle; and an area separate from the narrow rooms for grooming, harnessing, veterinary care, etc. Presumably, the horse stables were built at the palaces and possibly also at military strongholds and fortresses along Egypt's border. Compared to the generic titles of the 18th and 20th Dynasties, the epithets in the 19th Dynasty frequently identify one particular king or palace. This is also the only period when epithets include the term "Great Stable". This suggests that there were a greater number of royal and military stables throughout Egypt in the 19th Dynasty and that the stable administration had become increasingly sophisticated and refined.

The administration of the horse stables was established around the reign of Amenhotep III, although the activities of the positions likely occurred earlier. The administration consisted of the Overseer of Horses, Stable Master, Scribes, and grooms. Throughout the New Kingdom, the stables administration evolved and expanded. The Overseer of Horses was the highest-ranking position which managed the general operation of the stables, the distribution of horses, and possibly the breeding program. The Overseer of Horses was closely tied to the operations of the military, as many also held high-ranking military titles, and was generally responsible for the quality and number of horses available to the chariotry. This position was directly involved with the stables in the 18th Dynasty but gradually became more honorary in the Ramesside period, as the position of Stable Master expanded to take on those practical responsibilities. It is possible

that the role of Overseer of Horses was never very well-established, but varied among individuals, since there is so little information in the historical record about their responsibilities.

The Stable Masters were responsible for the day-to-day operations of the large military and royal stables, as well as some small private stables. They managed the training, exercise, feeding, veterinary care and possibly the breeding of the horses in their jurisdiction. The Stable Master was also involved in preparing, and sometimes accompanying, horses on expeditions or military excursions. The Stable Masters grew in number and breadth of responsibilities from the 18th to the 20th Dynasty, eventually overtaking some of the duties held by the Overseer of Horses in the later 18th Dynasty and onwards. The variety of titles among Stable Masters do indicated a variety of roles and responsibilities. The position of Stable Master was presumably a desirable one and acted as a steppingstone to higher military and administrative offices.

Surviving records make it clear that there were scribes assigned specifically to the stables. Presumably, the scribes recorded the coming and goings of horses, the intake of new horses through tribute or captured as booty, and food stocks, although it is curious that no such records have survived. It is also likely they documented health issues and breeding activities.

The grooms carried out the majority of practical tasks at the horse stables including feeding, watering, grooming, waste disposal, exercise, and possibly also some training and breeding. There is some evidence that the grooms lived at the stables to be available for horse care at all times. Grooms may have also been involved in transporting and presenting horses as tribute and responsible for the wellbeing of horses on military expeditions.

Grooms were employed at the military and royal stables, but also held positions in private stables. They may have assisted members of the chariotry who likely played some role in the

care, training, and conditioning of their chariot teams. Historical examples from other ancient cultures show that it was common practice for charioteers to take their horses back to their homes and care for them during peace time. Whatever their positions, grooms certainly played a major role in the success of the horse stables and sustainability of the chariot force.

In studying the horse stables and the accompanying administrative structure, however, the importance of the animals themselves, the many horses that lived and died during Egypt's New Kingdom, must not be forgotten or overlooked. The social impact of animals has often been minimized, overshadowed by the human tendency to act as both author and protagonist of the past, each chapter dictated by the rise and fall of great men and women. But it is impossible to imagine an Egypt as powerful as it was in the New Kingdom, economically, diplomatically, and militarily, without horses. How could the army have ventured into the far reaches of the Near East or faced powerful militaries without chariots? No other animal possessed their unique capacity for speed, stamina, and strength. What gift to a foreign ruler would have created such a sense of awe as a fine Egyptian horse?

There can be no doubt that horses shaped the political and economic progress of New Kingdom Egypt, but these animals were also the catalyst for an entire system of people who cared for, trained, and worked with them. While there is still a great deal about the function of horse stables that remains unknown, the evidence suggests a sophisticated system that continued to develop and adapt as the presence of horses in Egypt increased. The complexity of this system is not only a testament to the Egyptian's reverence for horses, but also their ability to create a functioning administrative structure around the care and use of a completely foreign animal and technology.

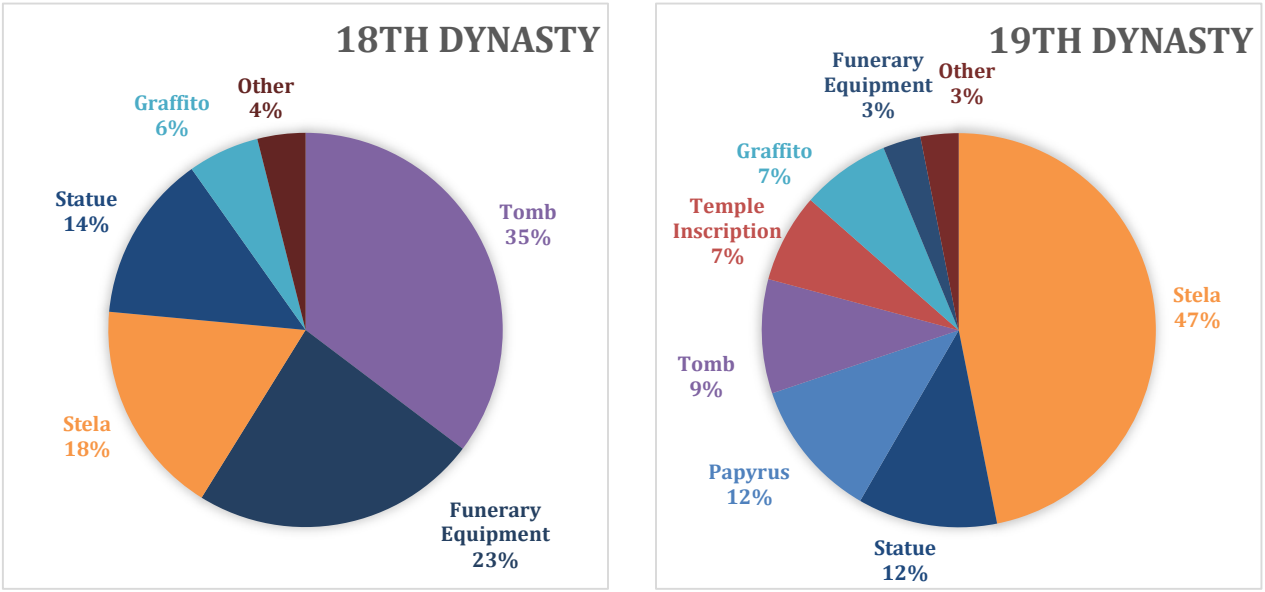
Furthermore, studying the workings of ancient horse stables further illuminates the mutual influence of the human-horse relationship. From domestication to the modern day, humans have had a profound effect on the development of the horse. At the same time, horses, by their very nature, have played an essential role in shaping human history and must be written more fully into the story of humankind.

Appendix A: ADDITIONAL TABLES AND FIGURES

Table 2: Catalog Sources

	Papyrus	Stela	Tomb	Statue	Temple Inscriptions	Funerary Equipment	Graffito	Ostracon	Other
18th	0	9	18	7	0	12	3	0	2
19th	11	45	9	11	7	3	7	0	3
20th	204	2	5	2	11	2	4	8	2
Total	**215**	**56**	**32**	**20**	**18**	**17**	**14**	**8**	**7**

Fig 14: Catalog Sources for Title-Holders by Dynasty



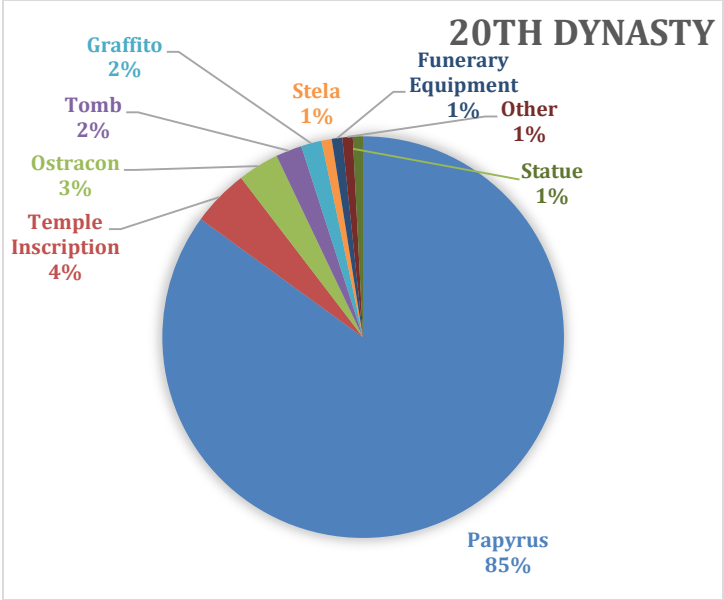


Table 5: Stable Master Secondary Titles

Category	18th	19th	20th	Total
Stable Administration				
Overseer of Horses	1	1	-	
Total: Stable Administration	**1**	**1**	**0**	**2**
Military				
Honorary				
Brave of the Lord of the Two Lands (Brave of the King)	2	-	-	2
Total: Honorary	**2**	**0**	**0**	**2**
Chariotry				
Brave of his Majesty in the Chariotry	1	-	-	1
Lieutenant Commander of the Chariotry	-	1	-	1
Charioteer	-	2	1	3
Chariot Warrior	1	-	-	1
Chariot Warrior of (the Unit) "The Heron"	1	-	-	1

Standard Bearer of the Chariot Warriors "Manifest in Justice"	1	-	-	1
Total: Chariotry	(2 individuals) **4**	**3**	**1**	(6 individuals) **8**
Infantry				
Chief of the Medjay	-	1	-	1
Commander of the Guard of His Majesty	1	-	-	1
Standard Bearer (of the Great Company of Menmare)	4	1	-	5
Troop Commander (of Gold)/(of Kush)	2	2	-	4
Head Bowmen of Kush	-	1	-	1
Total: Infantry	**7**	(4 individuals) **5**	**0**	(11 individuals) **12**
Navy				
Chief of the Armament Ship "Star in Memphis"	1	-	-	1
Chief of the Royal Fleet	1	-	-	1
Total: Navy	**2**	**0**	**0**	**2**
Total: Military	**14**	**9**	**1**	**22**
Administrative				
Governor	1	-	-	1
Mayor	1	-	-	1
Overseer of the Cabinet	1	-	-	1
Overseer of the Cattle of Amun	1	-	-	1
Overseer of Hunters	1	-	-	1
Overseer of the Lands of Western Thebes	1	-	-	1
Royal Scribe	-	1	-	1
Scribe of the King	1	-	-	1
Total: Administrative	**7**	**1**	**0**	**8**
Foreign Administration				
King's Envoy (to the Land of Retenu)/(to	1	7	4	12

all Foreign Lands)				
King's Son of Kush	1	-	-	1
Viceroy of Kush	1	1	-	1
Viceroy	-	2	-	2
Overseer of the Foreign Lands	1	-	-	1
Total: Foreign Administration	(3 individuals) **4**	(9 individuals) **10**	(3 individuals) **4**	(15 individuals) **17**
Royal				
Hereditary Prince/Prince	3	-	-	3
Chamberlain	1	-	-	1
Child of the Nursery in the Temple of Amenhotep II/Child of Kap	2	-	-	2
Royal Butler Clean of Hands	1	-	-	1
Fan Bearer (to the right of the king)	1	2	-	3
Total: Royal	**8**	**2**	**0**	**10**
Religious				
Overseer of the Priests of all Gods	1	-	-	1
Steward of the Estate of Khonsu	-	-	1	1
Total: Religious	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**
Honorific				
Dignitary	-	-	1	1
Hereditary Noble	1	-	-	0
Total: Honorific	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**

Table 8: Overseer of Horses Secondary Titles

Category	18th	19th	20th	Totals
Stable Administration				
Stable Master	1	1	-	2
Overseer of Horses (Deputy M of H)	1	2	-	3
Total: Stable Administration	2	3	0	5
Military				
General				
Brave of the King	1	-	-	1
Commander of the Armies of the Whole of Egypt	-	-	1	1
Total: General	**1**	**0**	**1**	**2**
Chariotry				
Adjutant of His Majesty in the Chariotry	-	1	-	1
Chief of the Cavalry	1	-	-	1
Chamberlain	1	-	-	1
Charioteer (of His Majesty)	2	1	-	3
First Charioteer (Charioteer First of his Father)	-	3	-	3
Chief of the Whole Cavalry of the Lord of the Two Lands	1	-	-	1
Lieutenant Commander of (His Majesty in) the Chariotry	1	-	-	1
Great Overseer of Horses (of the Victorious King)/(First of His Majesty, of the Place of Ramesses III of the Chariotry)	-	-	2	2
Total: Chariotry	**6**	**5**	**2**	**13**
Infantry				
Fortress Commander of the Tjarou	1	1	-	2
Standard Bearer	1	1	-	1
Troop Commander (of the good God)	8	5	-	13
Troop Commander of Tjaru	-	1	-	1
Commander	1	1	1	3
Commander of Archers	1	-	1	2
Keeper of the Bow	1	-	-	1

General (of the Lord of the Two Lands)(of the Pharaoh)	1	1	1	3
Great of the Medjay	1	-	-	1
Head of Recruits	1	-	-	1
Commander of the Regiment	1	-	-	1
Scribe of Recruits of the lord of the Two Lands	1	-	-	1
Total: Infantry	**18**	**9**	**3**	**30**
Total: Military	**27**	**17**	**6**	**50**
Administration				
Vizier	-	1	-	1
Chief Justice	1	-	-	1
Royal Scribe	6	5	2	13
Scribe	-	1	-	1
Driver of the Lord's Cattle	-	1	-	1
First Deputy of the Army	-	1	-	1
Governor	1	1	-	2
Overseer of Cattle	3	-	-	3
Overseer of all Commissions	1	-	-	1
Overseer of the City	-	1	-	1
Overseer of the Department of the Wine Cellar	1	-	-	1
Overseer of the Entourage of Northern Upper Egypt	1	-	-	1
Overseer of the Granaries of Upper and Lower Egypt	1	-	-	1
Overseer of Horned, Hoofed, Feathered, and Scaled Livestock (of all kinds of livestock)	2	-	-	2
Overseer of the Plowfields	1	-	-	1
Overseer of Foreign Lands of Upper and Lower Egypt	-	1	-	1
Overseer of the Royal Harem of Memphis	1	-	-	1
Overseer of Silver and Gold	1	-	-	1
Overseer of the Treasury	1	-	-	1
Overseer of all Works of His Majesty	1	-	-	1
Total: Administration	**22**	**12**	**2**	**36**

Foreign Administration				
Viceroy of Kush	-	1	-	1
King's Envoy to all Foreign Lands	1	2	-	3
Overseer of all the Foreign Lands of Amun	-	1	-	1
Total: Foreign Administration	**1**	**4**	**0**	**5**
Royal				
King	1	-	-	1
Great Companion (of the King)	1	-	-	1
Prince	1	2	-	3
King's Son	1	1	2	4
Child of the Kap	1	-	-	1
Nurse of the King's Son	1	-	-	1
Fan-bearer to the Right of the King	2	2	2	6
Steward	1	-	-	1
Total: Royal	**9**	**6**	**4**	**19**
Religious				
Prophet of all the Gods	-	1	-	1
Prophet of Maat	1	-	-	1
Chief Servitor in the Temple of Amun	1	-	-	1
Guardian of the Seven Sacred Oils	1	-	-	1
Total: Religious	**3**	**1**	**0**	**4**
Honorific				
Companion	1	1	-	2
God's Father	2	-	-	2
Chief Mouthpiece of the Entire Land	1	-	-	1
Total: Honorific	**4**	**1**	**0**	**5**

Appendix B: CATALOG OF TITLES ASSOCIATED WITH HORSES AND STABLES IN TH NEW KINGDOM

1. Overseer of Horses

18th Dynasty

1.1 Overseer of Horses

– *imy-r ssmt*

Name: Horemheb
Source:
1. TT 78
2. Graffito, Konosso
3. Graffito, Sehel
Date: Thutmose III - Amenhotep III
Additional Titles: Royal Scribe; Chief of all the Military Scribe of the King; Scribe of Recruits; Superintendent of the Sacred Cattle; Captain of Archers; Tutor of Princess Amenipet
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 128; Chevereau (1994), 49 (7.25); Helck (1939), 60; Turner 207, 48
1. PM I, 152; Bouriant (1894), 416-21, pl. V; Urk. V, 1595-6; Helck (1939), 15, no. 5
2. PM V, 252; Petrie (1887), no 35; de Morgan (1894), 69, no. 12
3. PM V, 255; de Morgan (1894), 103, no. 19
Family: Mother: Esi
Wife: Ithuy
Additional Notes: Tomb has tribute scene, horses led in pairs of 4; possibly 2 horses in boat?

Name: Betu
Source: Stela, Tell el-Borg, TBO 760
Date: Amenhotep II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Hoffmeier & Kitchen (2007), 132, fig. 1b; Turner (2006), 193
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: The stela shows the diesties Astarte and Resheph, who is given the title "Lord of the House of the Stable of Horses"

Name: Unknown
Source: Statue, Florence no. 1504 (1793)
Date: Amenhotep II
Additional Titles: Head of Recruits; Troop Commander
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 50 (7.30); Schiaparelli, (1887), 196
Family: Unknown

Name: Weben-Senu
Source: Canopic Jar, Cairo Museum, CGC 5031
Date: Amenhotep II – Thutmose IV
Additional Titles: Viceroy
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 128; Chevereau (1994), 46 (7.07); Daressy (1902), 224; Gauthier (1912), 290; Pamminger (1997), 13
Family: Father: Amenhotep II
Brother: Thutmose IV
Additional Notes: A mummy, possibly of Webensenu, was found in 1898 in a side chamber of Amenhotep II's royal tomb (KV 35). It was estimated that he was no older than 11 years.

Name: Unknown
Source: TT 91, Sheikh Abd el Qurna
Date: Thutmose IV - Amehotep III
Additional Titles: Troop Commander of the Good God; Brave of the King; Great of the Medjay
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 50 (7.29); Champollion (1827), 498-9; PM I, 185; Urk. IV, 1597-9
Family: Unknown

Name: Yoya
Source: Inscription on his sarcophogus, Cairo Museum, CGC 51003
Date: Amenhotep III
Additional Titles: Deputy of His Majesty in the Chariotry; Prophet of Min; Overseer of Cattle of Min; Hereditary Noble; Sole Friend of the King; Divine Father
Bibliography: Aldred (1957), 31-33; Ashmawy (2014), 128; CGC 51003 (1908), 7, pl. III; Chevereau (1994), 46 (7.03); Davies (1907); Helck (1939), 60; Kadri (1982), 72; PM I/2, 562-4; Quibell (1908), 7, pl. III; Urk. IV, 1894-5
Family: Wife: Tuyu, Chantress of Amun, of Min; Lady of the Harem of Amun, of Min
Daughter: Tiy, wife of Amenhotep III
Son: Aanenu, Second Prophet of Amun
For the full list of titles and epithets, see Davis (1907).

Name: Aye
Source:
1. Amarna Tomb 25
2. Ivory disk, Museum Egizio, no. 6446
3. Box in Berlin, No. 17555
Date: Tutankhamun
Additional Titles: King; Chief of the Whole Cavalary of the Lord of the Two Lands; Master of all Horses of His Majesty; Troop Commander; Royal Scribe' Fan-bearer to the Right of the King; Great Companion (of the King); God's Father
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 45 (7.01)
1. Davies (1908) IV, 87; Urk. IV, 1997 sq; Helck (1939), 73; PM IV, 228
2. Hari (1976), 265-8, pl XV
3. Ashmawy (2014), 128; Günther, no. 267; PM IV, 173; Urk. IV, 2002
Family: Wife: Ty
Additional Notes: Check title translations, check all docs. have M of H title

Name: Paser
Source: TT 40 (Tomb of Huy, Father)
Date: Amenhotep IV - Tutankhamun
Additional Titles: Stable Master; Standard Bearer; Viceroy of Nubia
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 47 (7.13); Gardiner (1926), 11, 14, pl VI, XI, XXXIV; PM I, 75; Urk. IV, 2065-7
Family: Father: Amenhotep-Huy, First Lieutenant Commander of the Chariotry; Viceroy of Nubia; Viceroy of Kush; Governor of the South Lands; Real Scribe of the King; King's Envoy in Every Land; Fan Bearer to the Right of the King; Overseer of the Cattle of Amun in the Land of Kush; Overseer of the Gold Countries of Amun
Brother: Tjuer, First Stable Master of His Majesty, King's Envoy
Additional Notes: For a full list of Amenhotep-Huy's titles see Gardiner (1926).

Name: Tutu
Source: Amarna Tomb 8
Date: Akhenaten
Additional Titles: Chamberlain; Chief Servitor in the Temple of Amun; Overseer of all Comissions; Overseer of all Works of His Majesty; Overseer of Silver and Gold; Overseer of the Treasury; Chief Mouthpiece of the Entire Land
Bibliography: Davies, El Amarna VI, p. 11, pl. xvii
Family: Unknown

Name: Parennefer
Source: Tomb of Maya, Saqqara
Date: Horemheb

Additional Titles: Commander of Archers, Troop Commander
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 128-9; Chevereau (1994), 47 (7.10); Quibell (1927), pl 66; LD II, 241 b; Urk. IV, 2164;
Family: Unknown

Name: Ay
Source: Shabti, MMA, no. 54.4.7
Date: 18th Dynasty
Additional Titles: God's Father
Bibliography: Aldred (1957), 31; Chevereau (2014), 45 (7.02); Kadri (1982), 71
Family: Unknown

Name: Huy
Source: Tomb of Aper-el, Saqqara, and funerary material
Date: 18th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Troop Commander; Scribe of Recruits of the Lord of the Two Lands
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 49 (7.23); PM III/2, 562; Zivie (1979), 28; Zivie (1982), 64; Zivie (1990), 124, 161, 164-5
Family: Father: Aper-el, Vizier

Name: Menna
Source: Shabti, University College London
Date: 18th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Troop Commander of Tjaru; Child of the Kap
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 47 (7.15); Petrie (1935), pl. VIII, no. 49
Family: Unknown

Name: Nebi-mesu
Source: Funerary Cone
Date: 18th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Steward; Overseer of Cattle; Overseer of horn, hoof, feather, and scaled (of all kinds of livestock)
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 48 (7.18); Davies & Macadam (1957), no. 114-5
Family: Unknown

Name: Paramesu
Source:
1. Statue, Cairo Museum
2. Stela from Tanis

3. Sarcophagus from Medinet Habu, Cairo Museum, JE 72203
Date: 18th Dynasty
Additional Titles: General of the Lord of the Two Lands; Troop Commander; Fortress Commander of the Tjarou; Commander; Charioteer of His Majesty
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 46 (7.09)
1. Legrain (1914), 30; Urk. IV, 2175
2. Mariette (1865), 169, pl IV; Sethe (1930), 85-9; Montet (1933), 191; PM IV, 23; KRI II, 287
3. Drunton (1943), 133-48, pl. 710; KRI II, 912-4
Family: Unknown

Name: Pyia
Source: Funerary Cone
Date: 18th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Overseer of Cattle of Amun
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 47 (7.14); Daressy (1893) no. 7; Davies & Macadam (1957), no. 6
Family: Unknown

Name: Raya
Source: Stela, Berlin Museum no. 7270 and 7271
Date: 18th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Troop Commander; Keeper of the Bow; Royal Scribe; Fan-bearer on the Right Side of the King; Overseer of the Royal Harem of Memphis
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 48 (7.20); Günther (1924), 192-5; Königliche Museen zu Berlin (1899), 148, 163; KRI VII, 117-9
Family: Wife: Maya

Name: Amenemhat
Source: Stela, west necropolis of the pyramid of Teti, Saqqara
Date: End of 18th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 46 (7.05); PM III/2, 572; PN I, 28, 8
Family: Unknown

1.2 Overseer of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands

– *imy-r ssmt nbt n nb t3wy*

Name: Minnakhte

Source: TT87
Date: Thutmose III
Additional Titles: King's Scribe; Overseer of the Graneries of Upper and Lower Egypt
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 129; Urk. IV, 1179; Schulman MRTO, 46-47; PM I/1, 178-179
Family: Father: Sen-dhouty
Son: Menkheper, Overseer of the Granary of the Lord of the Two Lands, wab-priest in the Mortuary Temple of Thutmose III

Name: Nehetmenu
Source: TT 87, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna
Date: Thutmose III
Additional Titles: Royal Scribe; Overseer of the Entourage of Northern Upper Egypt; Overseer of the Department of the Wine Cellar
Bibliography: Missing
Family: Father: Dehutysn

Name: Maʿy
Source: TT 55 (Tomb of Ramose)
Date: Amenhotep IV
Additional Titles: King's Envoy to all Foreign Lands
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 129; Chevereau (1994), 51 (7.37); Davies (1941), 17, pl. VIII; Steindorff (1928) no. 236; Urk. IV, 1784
Family: Wife: Wernewer

Name: Aye
Source:
1. Amarna Tomb 25
2. Ivory disk, Museum Egizio, no. 6446
3. Box in Berlin, No. 17555
Date: Tutankhamun
Additional Titles: Overseer of Horses; Master of all Horses of His Majesty; King, God's Father, Fan-Bearer on the Right Hand of the King; Acting Scribe of the King, Beloved by Him; Companion
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 50 (7.32) Davies (1908), pls. XXV, XXIX, XXXV; Turner (2016), 228
1. Davies (1908) IV, 87; Urk. IV, 1997; Helck (1939), 73; PM IV, 228
2. Hari (1976), 265-8, pl XV
3. Ashmawy (2014), 129; Günther, no. 267; PM IV, 173; Urk. IV, 2002
Family: Unknown

Name: Irtw
Source: Funerary Statue, Walter Gallery Baltimore, ex-Collection Hoffman
Date: 18th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Scribe of the King
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 50 (7.33); Helck (1971),358, VIII.1; Legrain (1894), 91, no. 312; Schneider (1992), 39, no. 62; Steindorf (1946), 160, pl. 107, 119
Family: Unknown

Name: Paheripedjet
Source: Canopic Jar, Art & History Museum (formerly the Cinquantenaire Museum), Brussels, E.05894
Date: 18th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Troop Commander
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 51 (7.36); Speleers (1923), 80, no. 295
Family: Unknown

Name: Tchay
Source:
1. Stela, Cairo Museum, JE 34542
2. Ebony Statuette, Luxor Museum, JE 33255
Date: Later 18th Dynasty (probably Amenhotep III)
Additional Titles: Royal Scribe
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 52 (7.42)
1. Loret (1899), 95
2. Lange (1951), 141, pl. 48-9; Loret (1899), 100
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Finds from Saqqara tomb

1.3 Overseer of all the King's Horses

– i*my-r ssmt nbt nt nswt*

Name: Maay
Source: Funerary Cone
Date: 18th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Overseer of Cattle; Overseer of the Plowfields; Overseer of all Horned, Hoofed, Feathered, and Scaled Livestock
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 52 (7.45); Daressy (1893), no. 167; Davies & Macadam (1957), no 384
Family: Unknown

1.4 Overseer of Horses of the Entire Stable

– *imy-r ssmt iḫwt r ḏr.f*

Name: Ra-Nefer
Source: Amarna house no. 49-18, painted plaster from niche in northern loggia
Date: Akhenaten
Additional Titles: Charioteer, the First of His Majesty
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 129; Chevereau (1994), 54 (7.53); Helck (1939), 60, no. 9; Peet and Wooley (1923) pl. LX; Urk. IV, 2023
Family: Unknown

1.5 Overseer of Horses of the King of the North and the South

– *imy-r ssmt nt nswt n šmʿw mḥtt*

Name: Meri-Atum
Source: Funerary Cone, number unknown
Date: 18th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 53 (7.49); Daressy (1893), no. 37; Davies & Macadam (1957), no. 97; Petrie (1888), 24, no. 16
Family: Unknown

1.6 Overseer of Horses of His Majesty

– i*my-r ssmt n ḥm.f*

Name: Hekaneheh
Source: Funerary Cone, MMA, no. 30.6.75
Date: Thutmose IV
Additional Titles: Nurse of the Viceroy Amenhotep

Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 129; Chevereau (1994), 54 (7.51); Daressy (1893), no. 39; Helck (1939), 60; Davies & Macadam (1957), no. 98; Mond, ASAE 6 (1906), 91; PM I/1, 128-129
Family: Unknown

1.7 Overseer of all Horses of His Majesty

– *imy-r ssmt nt ḥm.f*

Name: Aye
Source: Amarna Tomb 5
Date: Tutankhamun
Additional Titles: King; Master of all Horses; Chief of the Whole Cavalary of the Lord of the Two Lands; Troop Commander; Royal Scribe; Great Companion (of the King); God's Father; Fan-bearer at the Right of the King
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 54 (7.50); Davies (1908) IV, 87; Urk. IV, 1997 sq; Helck (1939), 73; PM IV, 228
Family: Unknown

1.8 Head of the Overseer of Horses

– *ḥry-tp imy-r ssmt*

Name: X
Source: Stela from Giza, current location unknown
Date: Amenhotep II
Additional Titles: Prophet of Maat; Chief Justice; Guardian of the Seven Sacred Oils
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 55 (7.54); Hassan (1953), 85-7, no. 37, fig. 68; Zivie (1976), 96-104, no. 9
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Name and some dates erased from inscription but likely a prince. See Gniris (2013), 643.

19th Dynasty

1.9 Overseer of Horses

– *imy-r ssmt*

Name: Sethy
Source: Stela, Tanis
Date: Ramesses I
Additional Titles: Prince; Fanbearer to the Right of the King; Troop Commander; Commander of the Fortress of Tjarou; First Prophet of Seth; Prophet of all the Gods,
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 49 (7.26); KRI II 287; Mariette (1865), 169; Montet (1933), 191; PM IV 23; Sethe (1930), 85-9
Family: Unknown

Name: Hui
Source: Stela, lower Nubia, Berlin, no. 17332
Date: Ramesses II(?)
Additional Titles: Adjutant of His Majesty in the Chariotry; King's Envoy to all Foreign Lands; Viceroy of Kush; Troop Commander; Troop Commander of Tjaru; Royal Scribe; Fanbearer to the Right of the King; Overseer of all the Foreign Lands of Amun
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 130; Chevereau (1994), 49 (7.24); Günther (1913), 212; Habachi, (1961), 219 sq., pl. XXIX; KRI III, 79; Roeder (1924), 212-213
Family: Unknown

Name: Iwpa
Source:
1. Pillar, Cairo Museum, JE 65061
2. Stela, Musée du Louvre, number unknown
3. Statue, Musée de Lyon, no. 84
4. Stela, Musée Calvet d'Avignon
5. Leather roll, Musée du Louvre, side II, b 6
6. Statue, Staatlich Museum Berlin, inv. no. 24022

Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: General
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 46 (7.03)
1. Gauthier (1935), 6, pl. 1; Helck (1958), 490, 28 d; Kitchen & Ruffle (1979), 55-71; PM III/2, 661
2. Helck (1958), 490, 28 a Ruffle-Kitchen (1979), doc. 4
3. Devéria (1857), 72-4, pl. II; Helck (1958), 490, 28 b

4. Moret RT 34 (1912), 188; Helck (1958), 490 28 c; Kitchen & Ruffle (1979), doc. 5
5. Virey (1887), 494; Helck (1958), 491, 29.2; Wenig (1967), 95.8, pl. 33-6; Kitchen & Ruffle (1979), doc. 9; Schulz (1992), no. 21
Family: Father: Iwry, General; Troop Commander of the Lord of the Two Lands; Royal Scribe, Master of the Great House, Master of the Great House of Ramesses II of the Temple of Amun; Overseer of the House of the Temple of Amun

Name: Montuherhepshef
Source: Statue, MFA Boston, no. 88748
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Overseer of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands; Overseer of Horses of His Father; Charioteer, the First of His Father
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 47 (7.16); Naville (1891), 42, pl. 38
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Hold three grades of Overseer of Horses.

Name: Pay
Source: Stela, British Museum, EA 795
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 46 (7.08); HTBM X, 40-1, pl. 94; KRI VII, 409
Family: Son: Nay, Head Stablemaster of the Lord of the Two Lands

Name: Pareherwenemef / Reherwenemef
Source:
1. Luxor Temple Incription, Statues Courtyard
2. Temple of Derr Inscription
3. Ramesseum Incription
4. Abu Simbel Inscription
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Viceroy; First Charioteer of His Majesty; First Deputy of the Army; Troop Commander; Commander
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 130; Chevereau (1994), 47 (7.11); Gauthier (1912) 83f.; Kitchen (1964), 60, fig. VI
1. Daressy (1892), 31-2
2. Blackman (1913), 15, no. 3, pl. 11
3. Gauthier III (1914), 83; PM II 442
4. Gauthier III (1914), 83; Wreszinski (1935), 184; PM VII, 102
Family: Father: Ramesses II
Additional Notes: Pareherwenemef / Reherwenemef was a prince.

Name: Pahemnetcher
Source:
1. Stela from Sedment Al Gabal, Oriental Museum Chicago, 11731
2. Tomb 33, Herakleopolis - shabti and a fragment of a sarcophugus
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Deputy of the Chariotry; Charioteer, First of His Majesty; Troop Commander
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 47 (7.12); Petrie (1924), 27, pls. 56, 68, 78, no. 28
1. Helck (1958), 491, 29.1; Ruffle, Gaballa, & Kitchen (1979); KRI III, 243-5
2. Gamal el-din-Mokhtar (1983), 106
3. PM IV, 117
Family: Wife: Thy
Mother: Buaya
Son: Nefer, Charioteer

Name: Hori
Source: Tomb of Mes, Saqqara no. 5
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 50 (7.30); Gardiner (1905), 9, 48, no.18; Loret (1901), 1-10; PM III/2, 553
Family: Unknown

Name: Merenptah
Source: Stela, Macclesfield Collection, no. 16
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 48 (7.17); David (1980), 61-2, pl. I, no. 6
Family: Unknown

Name: Rames
Source: Tomb, Saqqara, East of the Step Pyramid
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Scribe; Director of all Works; Driver of the Lord's Cattle
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 48 (7.21); Malek (1981), 158, note 17; PM III/2, 592
Family: Unknown

Name: Ta
Source: Shabti from Aniba (Nubia), SA 36.21
Date: 19th Dynasty

Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 49 (7.27); Steindorf (1937), 85
Family: Unknown

Name: X
Source: Relief, Tomb of Maya, Saqqara
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Troop Commander
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 50 (7.31); Quibell (1908-1910), pl. 56 A; PM III/2, 661
Family: Father: Maya

1.10 Overseer of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands

– *imy-r ssmt nbt n nb t3wy*

Name: Pa-Ramesses
Source: Sarcophagus of Prince Pa-Ramesses, Medinet Habu
Date: Seti I
Additional Titles: Hereditary Prince, Governor, Overseer of the City, Vizier
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 130; Brunton (1943), 138
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Ashmawy (2014) says "a prince Ramesses is known to bear the same titles on the 400 year stela, but it is not clear if this Pa-Ramesses is Ramesses II or the eldest son of Seti I who died during his reign"

Name: Montuherkhepeshef
Source: Statue, Tell el-Basta, MFA Boston, no. 88748
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Overseer of Horses, Overseer of Horses of His Father, Charioteer, the First of His Father
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 51 (7.39); Gauthier (1912), 91; Naville (1891), 42, pl. 38
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Holds three grades of Overseer of Horses.

Name: Seti
Source:
1. Stela, Louvre, A. 70
2. Stela, Musée Georges-Labit, Toulouse, no. 49276

Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Deputy Overseer of Horses, King's envoy to all Foreign Lands, Royal Scribe
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 52 (7.41)
1. Rougé (1873), 37, no. 70; Pierret (1878), 43; Boreux (1932), 56; KRI V, 241; Yoyotte (1954), 228
2. Ramond (1977), 40, no. 9; Yoyotte (1954), 228
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Holds two grades of Overseer of Horses.

Name: Thutmosis (Dehuty-mes)
Source: Door lintel from Hermopolis, now in Victoria Musem, Uppsala
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Royal Scribe
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 131; Chevereau (1994), 52 (7.44); KRI III, 253; Roeder (1937), 33, pl. 10 a
Family: Unknown

Name: Rw-rw
Source: Stela, Louvre, C.92
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Royal Scribe; High Steward; Overseer of the Great House
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 130; Chevereau (1994), 51 (7.40); KRI I, 307; Pierret (1878), 20
Family: Father: Baka
Mother: Henwt-iwnw
Wife: Shemet

Name: Usermont
Source: TT31, Tomb of Khonsou
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Stable Master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands; Standard Bearer of the Great Company Menmare
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 51 (7.34); Davies (1948), 22, pl XIX; PM I, 47-8
Family: Father: Khonsou, High-priest of Menkheperre, High-priest of Montu, Lord of Tod, Supervisor of the livestock of Menkheperure
Mother: Maiya
Brother: Raia, Charioteer of the Stable of Ramesses II
Grandfather: Neferhotep, High Priest of the Cult of Amenhotep II
There are many family members listed in Khonsou's tomb and it is clear that the family was in the service of temple and cults and they primarily hold the titles of high priests, wab priests, and lectors. For the full family tree and titles, see Davies (1948).

Additional Notes: Usermont is both Overseer of Horses and Stable Master.

1.11 Overseer of Horses of (Ramesses II) in the House of Amun

– *imy-r ssmt nt (wsr mȝʿt rʿ stp n Rʿ) m pr Imn*

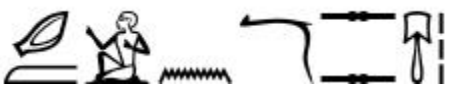
Name: Bakenamun
Source: Votive Stela
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 131; KRI III, 375 HTBM Part 9, pl. XLV; Lieblein, Dictionnaire , No. 890; PM I/2, 808
Family: Unknown

1.12 Overseer of Horses of His Father

– *imy-r ssmt nt it.f*

Name: Montuherkhepeshef
Source: Statue, Tell el-Basta, MFA Boston, no. 88748
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Overseer of Horses, Overseer of Horses of The Lord of the Two Lands, Charioteer, the First of His Father
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 54 (7.52); Gauthier (1912), 91; Naville (1891), 42, pl. 38
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Holds three grades of Overseer of Horses.

1.13 Deputy Overseer of Horses

 – *idnw n imy-r ssmt*

Name: Seti

Source:
1. Stela, Louvre, A. 70
2. Stela, Musée Georges-Labit, Toulouse, no. 49276
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Overseer of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands, King's Envoy to all Foreign Lands, Royal Scribe
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 131; Chevereau (1994), 55 (7.54)
1. Boreux (1932), 56; KRI III, 241; Pierret (1878), 43, Rougé (1873), 37, no. 70, Yoyotte (1954), 228
2. Tamond (1977), 40, no. 9; Yoyotte (1954), 228
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Holds two grades of Overseer of Horses.

20th Dynasty

1.14 Overseer of Horses

– *imy-r ssmt*

Name: Amunherkhepeshef
Source:
1. Inscription, Temple of Medinet Habu
2. Inscription, Karnak Temple
3. Inscription, QV55
Date: Ramesses III
Additional Titles: Great Overseer of Horses of the Victorious King; Great Overseer of Horses, the First of His Majesty, of the Place of Ramesses III of the Chariotry; Viceroy; Royal Scribe; Fan Bearer to the Right of the King
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 131; Chevereau (1994), 46 (7.06)
1 OIC 5 (1957), 299 (3), Gauthier (1914), 175
2. OIC 25(1936), 18 A (II); PM II, 31
3. PM I/2, 759-61; Schiaparelli (1924), 153-4
Family: Father was Ramesses III
Additional Notes: Not to be confused with the prince of the same name who became Ramesses IV. Holds three grades of Overseer of Horses.

Name: Ramesses Setukherkhepshef
Source: Inscription, Temple of Medinet Habu
Date: Ramesses III

Additional Titles: Great Overseer of Horses; Viceroy; Royal Scribe; Fan Bearer to the Right of the King
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 131; Chevereau (1994), 48 (7.22); OIC 5 (1957), 299 (4), 301 (4); KRI V, 375
Family: Fourth son of Ramesses III
Additional Notes: Future King Ramesses VIII. Holds two grades of Overseer of Horses.

Name: Rames
Source: Inscription, Temple of Medinet Habu
Date: Ramesses III
Additional Titles: Royal Scribe
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 131; Gautheir (1912), 175
Family: Son of Ramesses III and the future king Ramesses VI

1.15 Overseer of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands

– *imy-r ssmt nbt n nb t3wy*

Name: Pay-anh
Source: Ostraca, CGC 257445
Date: Ramesses XI
Additional Titles: General; General of the Pharaoh; Commander; Commander of Archers of the Pharaoh; Commander of the Armies of the Whole of Egypt

Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 51 (7.35); Chevereau (2001), 5-7, doc. 3; Černý (1935), Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire N°25675-25832 Ostraca hiératiques I, 90.

Family: Unknown

1.16 Great Overseer of Horses

– *imy-r ssmt wr*

Name: Ramesses Sethiherkhepeshef

Source: Inscription, Temple of Medinet Habu
Date: Ramesses III
Additional Titles: Overseer of Horses; Viceroy, Royal Scribe; Fan Bearer to the Right of the King
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 131; Chevereau (1994), 53 (7.48); OIC V (1957), 299 (4), 301 (4); KRI V, 375
Family: Fourth son of Ramesses III
Additional Notes: Future King Ramesses VIII. May also be the same as Sethiherkhepeshef, Charioteer of the Great Stables of Ramesses III of the Residence of Ramesses III.

1.17 Great Overseer of Horses of the Victorious King

– *imy-r ssmt wr nt nswt nḫt*

Name: Amunherkhepeshef
Source:
1. Inscription, Temple of Medinet Habu
2. Inscritiopn, Karnak Temple
3. Tomb, QV55
Date: Ramesses III
Additional Titles: Overseer of Horses; Great Overseer of Horses, the First of His Majesty, of the Place of Ramesses III of the Chariotry; Viceroy; Royal Scribe; Fan Bearer to the Right of the King
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 53 (7.46)
1 OIC 5 (1957), 299 (3), Gauthier (1914), 175
2. OIC 25(1936), 18 A (II); PM II, 31
3. PM I/2, 759-61; Schiaparelli (1924), 153-4
Family: Father was Ramesses III
Additional Notes: Not to be confused with the prince of the same name who became Ramesses IV. Holds three grades of Overseer of Horses.

1.18 Great Overseer of Horses, the First of His Majesty, of the Place of Ramesses III and of the Chariotry

– imy-r ssmt wr tpy n ḥm.f n tȝ st (Ramesses III) t nt ḫtri

Name: Amunherkhepeshef
Source:
1. Inscription, Temple of Medinet Habu
2. Inscritiopn, Karnak Temple
3. Tomb, QV55
Date: Ramesses III
Additional Titles: Overseer of Horses; Great Overseer of Horses of the Victorious King; Viceroy; Royal Scribe; Fan Bearer to the Right of the King
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 53 (7.47)
1 OIC 5 (1957), 299 (3); Gauthier (1914), 175
2. OIC 25 (1936), 18 A (II); PM II, 31
3. PM I/2, 759-61; Schiaparelli (1924), 153-4
Family: Father was Ramesses III
Additional Notes: Not to be confused with the prince of the same name who became Ramesses IV. Holds three grades of Overseer of Horses.

2. Stable Master

18th Dynasty

2.1 Stable Master

– ḥry iḥw

Name: Nebenkemet
Source: Tomb TT 256
Date: Thumtmose III/Amenhotep II
Additional Titles: Fan Bearer, Overseer of the Cabinet, Child of the Nursery in the Temple of Amenhotep II , Troop Commander

Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 121, Urk.. IV, 99
Family: Wife: Ryu
Additional Notes: It is highly likely, but not certain, that a stela from Sedment is owned by the same individual and lists additional titles. Petrie (1924) pl. 52

Name: Suemneut
Source: Tomb TT 92
Date: Amenhotep II
Additional Titles: Royal Butler Clean of Hands, Hereditary Prince, Mayor, Standard Bearer, Brave of the Lord of the Two Lands, Chief of the Royal Fleet, Govenor, Overseer of the Priests of all Gods, Overseer of the Cattle of Amun
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 122, Capart (1927), pl. 67, Urk. IV 1452, PM I/l, 187
Family: Father: Iamnufer, Mayor of Neferusi
Mother: Meryt, Songstress of Thoth
Wife: Kat

Name: Paser
Source: Tomb of Huy, TT 40
Date: Akhenaten/Tutankhamun
Additional Titles: Standard Bearer, Master of Horses, Viceroy of Nubia
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 121, Chevereau (1994), 45 (18.104), Davies (1926) 7, 11, 14, pl VI, XI, XXXIX, PM I, 75, Urk. IV, 2065-7,
Family: Father: Amenhotep-Huy, First Lieutenant Commander of the Chariotry, Viceroy of Nubia, Viceroy of Kush, Governor of the South Lands, Real Scribe of the King, King's Envoy in Every Land, Fan Bearer to the Right of the King, Overseer of the Cattle of Amun in the Land of Kush, Overseer of the Gold Countries of Amun
Brother: Tjuer, First Stable Master of His Majesty, King's Envoy
Additional Notes: For a full list of Amenhotep-Huy's titles see Gardiner (1926).

Name: Haty
Source: Tomb of Huy, TT 40
Date: Akhenaten/Tutankhamun
Additional Titles: In the text, Haty is refered to in association with gold mines
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 121; Chevereau (1994), 153 (18.186); Davies (1926) 19, pls XVI, XVII, PM I, 75, Urk. IV, 2069
Family: Haty is depicted receiving revenue from Nubia with Huy in the tomb. Haty may have been a favorite of Huy but there is no clear familial relationship.
Additional Notes: For a full list of Amenhotep-Huy's titles see Gardiner (1926).

Name: Nehemay

Source: Stela, Cairo Museum, CGC 34098
Date: 18th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Troop Commander
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 121; Lacau (1909) CG: 34001-34064, 151, pl XLVI, PN I, 207, no. 628
Family: Wife: Ta-taty

Name: Pennebw
Source: Statue (2 parts), Cairo Museum, CGC 582, 1136
Date: 18th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Borchardt, CGC II 1334, III, 7; Chevereau (1994), 147 (18.118); KRI VII, 226
Family: Unknown

Name: Nebiri
Source: Canopic Jar, Valley of the Queens, Museo Egizio, no. 30, sup. 5110 - 13
Date: 18th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Schiaparelli (1927) I, 35-9, fig. 37; Bruyere (1926), 33, PM I/2, 749
Family: Unknown

Name: Rish
Source: Tomb from Saqqara (Bubasteion Tomb I.3)
Date: 18th Dynasty (possibly Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III)
Additional Titles: Troop Commander, Standard Bearer of The Children of the Kap, Chief of the Armament Ship "Star in Memphis", Chamberlain, Child of the Kap
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 152 (18.180); Schneider (1992), 156, no. 333; Zivie (1979), 139-51, pl 10, 11; Zivie (1990), 41, 48-9; Zivie (2007), 52, 140
Family: Wife: Isis
Sons: Neferrenpet and Mery-Ptah
Mother: Tentiabet

2.2 Stable Master of the Lord of the Two Lands

– *ḥry iḫw n nb tȝwy*

Name: Amenmose
Source: TT 42

Date: Thutmose III/Amenhotep II
Additional Titles: Hereditary Prince, King's Envoy to the Land of Retenu, Overseer of the Lands of Western Thebes, Captain of Troops
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 122; Chevereau (1994),162 (18.269); Davies (1933), 27, pl. XLVIf; Gardiner-Weigall (1913), no 42; Urk. IV 1507-1508; PM I, 82
Family: Unknown

Name: Menkheperresoneb
Source: Block Statue, Cairo Museum, CGC 547
Date: Thutmose III
Additional Titles: Commander of the Guard of His Majesty, Overseer of Hunters
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 122; CG No. 1-1294, Vol 2, 92; Chevereau (1994), 162 (18.272)
Family: Unknown

Name: Suemneut
Source: 1. TT 92
2. Funerary Cone
Date: Amenhotep II
Additional Titles: Hereditary Noble, Royal Butler Clean of Hands, Mayor, Standard Bearer, Brave of the Lord of the Two Lands, Chief of the Royal Fleet, Govenor, Overseer of the Priests of all Gods, Overseer of the Cattle of Amun
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 122
1. Capart (1927), pl. 67; Chevereau (1994), 162 (18.276); Urk. IV 1452; PM I/l, 187
2. Daressy (1892), 283, no 123-4; Davies & Macadam (1957), no 163, 181
Family: Unknown

Name: Minmes
Source: Stela, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford
Date: Thutmose IV
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 124; Chevereau (1994), 162 (18.271); Petrie (1896), pl. 9.1, Urk. IV 1641
Family: Unknown

2.3 Stable Master of His Majesty

– *ḥry iḫw n ḥm.f*

Name: Sipair
Source: Pedestal Statue, Saqqara, text copy by Hay (British Library Manuscript 29812.85, pl VIII)
Date: Ahmose
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 160 (18.261); Malek (1989), 61-76, PM III/2, 732
Family: Father: Wedhu-senebu
Mother: Iah-mes
Wife: Iwnn
Son: Heruf

Name: Amunhotep
Source:
1. Graffito, Sehel, no. 108
2. Graffito, Buhen
3. Stela, British Museum, no. 902
Date: Thutmose IV/Amenhotep III
Additional Titles: Brave of his Majesty in the Chariotry, Viceroy of Kush, Overseer of the Foreign Lands, High Priest of Onnuris, Scribe of the King, Brave of the King
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 123; Chevereau (1994), 160 (18.260); Reisner (1920), 32, PN I, 30, 12
1. de Morgan (1894), 92, no. 108; PM V, 125 (5a); Urk. IV, 1637
2. Smith (1976), pl XXXI, i; Kadri (1982), 11
3. HTBM VIII, 9; Robins (1997), 143, fig. 164, Urk. IV 1615
Family: Son: Kenna and Hat, both Chariot Warrior of His Majesty

2.4 First Stable Master of His Majesty

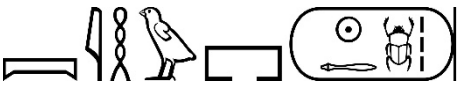
– *ḥry iḫw tpy n nswt ḥm.f*

Name: Meryptah
Source:
1. Stela, Vienna, no. 89
2. Stela, Lieden Rijksmuseum van Oudheden v 107
3. Stela, Museum of Rio de Janeiro no. 26
Date: Amenhotep III
Additional Titles: Chariot Warrior, Chariot Warrior of (the Unit) "The Heron", Standard Bearer, Standard Bearer of the Chariot Warriors "Manifest in Justice"
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 123; Chevereau (1994), 161 (18.263)

1. Schulman (1963), 75-7, pl XIII
2. Boeser (1913) IV, 2 no. 5, pl VIII
3. Kitchen (1990), 77 - 80, pl 55 - 6
Family: Father: Tjena, Overseer of Army Scribes, Army Scribe, Scribe of Recruits
Additional Notes: The title "Chariot Warrior of (the Unit) the Heron" on the Vienna stela is variously interpreted by Schulman as "Chariot Warrior of 'the Phoenix'" reading the final sign as bnw (Gardiner's sign-list, G 31), while Chevereau reads it as bʿḥ (sign list, G 32) with the translations "Chariot Warrior of (the Unit) "the Innondation".

Name: Tjuer
Source: Tomb of Huy, TT 40
Date: Amenhotep IV - Tutankhamun
Additional Titles: King's Envoy
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 123; Chevereau (1994), 161 (18.267); Davies (1926), 7, 14, pls. VI, , XI, XXXIX-5; Kadri(1982), 142; Kees (1958), 99; PM I, 75, Schulman(1964), 56-7, Urk. IV, 2067
Family: Father: Amenhotep-Huy, First Lieutenant Commander of the Chariotry, Viceroy of Nubia, Viceroy of Kush, Governor of the South Lands, Real Scribe of the King, King's Envoy in Every Land, Fan Bearer to the Right of the King, Overseer of the Cattle of Amun in the Land of Kush, Overseer of the Gold Countries of Amun
Mother: Wenher
Brother: Paser, Stable Master, Master of Horses, Standard Bearer, Viceroy of Nubia
Grandfather: Pennebw, Scribe of the Recruits of the Lord of the Two Lands
Additional Notes: For a full list of Amenhotep-Huy's titles see Gardiner (1926).

2.5 Stable Master of Amenhotep II


– *ḥry iḫw (ʿ3 ḫprw rʿ)*

Name: Khemwast
Source: Graffito, Sehel
Date: Amenhotep II
Additional Titles: Prince
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 123; de Morgan (1894), 102, no. 228; Gautheir (1914), 288; Urk. IV, 1507
Family: Father: Amenhotep II
Additional Notes: Full title is "Stable Master of Amenhotep II" [*ḥry iḫw (ʿ3 ḫprw rʿ*)].

19th Dynasty

2.6 Stable Master

– *ḥry iḥw*

Name: Pa-Semsu
Source: Stela of Nianuy and Menna, Louvre, C. 93
Date: Seti I
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 124; KRI I, 345-346, §144; RITA I, 283, §346; Pierret (1874) II, 22-23
Family: Brother: Nianuy, Chief of Goldminers of the (Abydos) Temple of Sethos I
Brother: Menna, Chief of Temple Workshops
Wife: Wernuro
Daughter: Nebt-hanu
Additional Notes: The stela belongs to Pa-Semsu's brothers.

Name: Amenmose
Source: Papyrus, Cairo Museum, CGC 58057
Date: Seti I/Ramesses I
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Allam (1973), 287-9, § 267, pl 86; Chevereau, (1994), 137 (18.13); Helck (1963) III, 501; KRI I, 238, § 108; RITA: T I, 204, § 238; RITA: N&C I, 156, § 312-314; Wente (1990), 112-113, §103
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Letter of an Official of the Estate of Ramesses I in Memphis. In the letter, Thutmose explains how he lent a hired donkey to Pairy. When Pairy refuses to return the donkey, Thutmose and Amenmose, the stablemaster, confront him.

Name: Amenemope/Amunemipt
Source: Inscription, Sehel
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 124; de Morgan (1894), 88, no. 63; Habachi (1968), 110
Family: Father: Amenhotep, Stable Master of the of the Stable of Ramesses II in the Residence
Additional Notes: Amenemope may have worked in the same stable as his father at the residence of Ramesses II.

Name: Bak-aa
Source: 1. Stela of Amunhotep named Huy, British Museum, EA 166
2. Stela of Harmin, British Museum, EA 321
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: British Museum (1909), 169f; Chevereau (1994), 140 (18.46); HTBM XII, 22, pl 70-71; James (1970), 25, pl. 21-22; Lieblein (1887), no. 888
Family: Father: Haunefer, Councillor
Brothers: Ptah-maay, Stable Master; Pay, Stable Master
Additional Notes: On stela EA 164 from the British Museum, Bak-aa is named with the title "Stable Master of the Residence". He died in year 38 of Ramesses II.

Name: Djehuty-mes
Source: Limestone group statue, Cairo Museum, CGC 549
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: King's Envoy to all Foreign Lands
Bibliography: CGC 1-1294, 94f
Family: Name: Haaw
Source: Parchment, Louvre Museum, E 7976
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 154 (18.194); KRI II 795; Virey (1887), 503
Family: Unknown

Name: Hatiay (son of Pay)
Source: Stela, Guimet Museum, no. 2153
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Stable Master of the Residence, Stable Master of Ramesses
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 153 (18.183); Moret (1909), 32, pl XXV; Lieblein (1892), 821
Family: Father: Pay
Additional Notes: Holds three grades of Stable Master.

Name: Hatiay
Source: Stela of father (Pay), British Museum No. 156
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles:
Bibliography: KRI III, 210; HTBM IX, 32, pl. XXVIII; James (1970), 32, pl. 28; Chevereau (1994), 153 (18.184)
Family: Unknown

Name: Herher-Sau-ef

Source: Naos statue of Min-em-Re-em-heb, Abydos
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 125; KRI III, 446
Family: Unknown

Name: Hori
Source: Naos of Vizier Rahotep, Sedment
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 125; KRI III, 61
Family: Father: Ra-hotep, Vizier
Additional Notes: Ti, Stable Master of Residence also mentioned on the Naos.

Name: Kay-iry
Source: Stela of Neb-waʿ, Ramesseum
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 158 (18.241); KRI III, 390; Spiegelberg and Quibell (1898), 19, pl XXVII/2
Family: Possibly the Son-in-law of the army scribe Neb-waa

Name: Minemheb
Source: Stela of Neb-waa, Ramesseum
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 148 (18.134); KRI III, 390; Spiegelberg and Quibell (1898), 19, pl XXVII/2
Family: Possibly the Son-in-law of the army scribe Neb-waa

Name: Nefer-Hotep
Source: Papyrus 1094, Bologna
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 125; Caminos (1954) 12; LEM (3,3)
Family: Unknown

Name: Panefer
Source: Stela of Neb-waa, Ramesseum
Date: Ramesses II

Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 143 (18.86); KRI III, 390; Spiegelberg and Quibell (1898), 19, pl XXVII/2
Family: Possibly the Son-in-law of the army scribe Neb-waa

Name: Pay
Source: Stela of Bak-aa, British Museum, EA 166
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Lieblein (1871), no. 888
Family: Father: Haunefer, Councillor
Brothers: Ptah-may, Stable Master; Bak-aa, Stable-Master
Additional Notes: The stela belongs to Pay's brother

Name: Ptah-may
Source: Stela of Bak-aa, British Museum, EA 166
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Charioteer
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994),147 (18.123); Lieblein (1871), no. 888
Family: Father: Haunefer, Councillor
Brothers: Bak-aa, Stable Master; Pay, Stable Master

Name: Sheri-Nefer
Source: Tomb of Mose, Memphis
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 125; Chevereau (1994), 157 (18.227); KRI III, 434
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Named on the text on southern wall, but in Gardiner's text, called Nebnefer, not Sherinefer.

Name: Ramesnes
Source: Statue of Mery and Wennefer from Abydos, Cairo Museum, JE 35257
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 152 (18.176); Legrain, RT 31 (1909) 206-9; PM V, 76; Randall-Maciver & Mace (1902), 85, pl. 37
Family: Father: Wenennefer

Name: Amenemheb
Source:
1. Graffito, Sehel, no. 60
2. Graffito, Sab el-Rigalleh
Date: Siptah
Additional Titles: Overseer of Southern Lands
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 136 (18.10)
1. de Morgan (1894), 103, Reisner (1920), 74
2. KRI IV, 367; Petrie (1888) no. 507
Family: Father: Sethi, Viceroy of Kush

Name: Ramose
Source: Stela of Pa(en)ires, Liverpool, City Museum, M.13930
Date: Siptah
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 152 (18.173); Gatty (1879), 33 no. 152; Handbook and Guide (1932), 55 no. 9; KRI IV, 445-446; RITA:N&C, 395 § 855; RITA:T IV, 315, § 446;
Family: Father: Iot, Shipmaster of the state of Osiris
Brother: Pa(en)ires, Shipmaster
Nephews: Pa-'ahaut(y) and Amenkha, Waab-preists
Wife: Mutemwia

Name: Haemwaset
Source: Stela, Lyon Museum, no. 83
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 154 (18.196); Deveria (1857), 10-11; Maspero (1896), 69, pl II (a)
Family: Unknown

Name: Harmin
Source: Steal, British Museum, EA 321
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: HTBM XII, 22 pl 70-71; British Museum (1909), 218 (no. 788)
Family: Unknown

Name: Mery-ra
Source: Stela, Louvre, C102
Date: 19th Dynasty

Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 148 (18.139); Pierret (1878), 20; Rougé (1873), 118
Family: Father: Wr-maa
Mother: Sat-imntt

Name: Mahu
Source: Stela of Amenmipt of Abydos, Museum of Rio de Janeiro, no. 31
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994) 149, (18.145); Kitchen (1990), 89-90, pl 67-8
Family: Father: Amunemipt

Name: Nehet-menu
Source: Stela of Mahu and Yupa, Museo Egizio, no. 1465
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 151 (18.165); Helck (1958), 491, 29 b; Ruffle-Kitchen (1979), 56, pl III
Family: Brothers: Pamermeshaa, Chariot Warrior
Amunmes, Chariot Warrior of the Lord of the Two Lands

Name: Pa-hem-ntr
Source: Stela, British Museum, no. 139
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: HTBM IX, p 24, pl 20; PM I/2, 808
Family: Unknown

Name: Penimn
Source: Offering Table, Louvre JE 25478,
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Vandier (1962), 70
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Offering Table of Standard Bearer Houy.

Name: Pairsa
Source: Stela, British Museum, no. 116
Date: 19th Dynasty

Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: British Museum (1909), 169f; Chevereau (1994), 140 (18.46); James (1970), 25, pl. 21-22; Lieblein (1887), no. 888
Family: Unknown

Name: Ray
Source: Stela, Berlin Museum, no. 2080
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 151 (18.170); Günther, 143; Königliche Museen zu Berlin (1899), 167; Wb Zettel, Berlin 2080 n.R. (S. 393 c)
Family: Grandfather: Huy, Royal Scribe of the Army; King's Envoy to all Foreign Lands

Name: Rames
Source: Stela Oriental Institute O.I. 11456
Date: 19th Dynasty/20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau 152 (18.174); Cruz-Uribe (1978), 237-44
Family: Father: swty (11.103) commander of regiment

2.7 Stable Master of the Lord of the Two Lands

– *ḥry iḫw n nb tȝwy*

Name: Nay
Source: Stela, British Museum, no. 795
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Royal Envoy to Every Land
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 162 (18.274); HTBM X, 40-41, pl. 94; KRI VII, 409
Family: Grandfather: Naya, Overseer of Cattle
Granmother: Hry, Chantress of Khnum
Father: Pay, Overseer of Horses
Mother: Ashatnebu, Chantress of Khnum, lady of the house
Sister: Ty (Lady of the House), Weret-nefrt, Baktia, Chantresses of Khnum
Brother: Pa-n-ta-weret, wˁb-priest
Relationship Unclear: Nebet-wnw, Aset, Chantesses of Amun; Paser, wˁb-priest and temple-scribe

Name: Khons
Source: Stela
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Bonnet (1952), 321; Chevereau (1994), 162 (18.275); HTBM XII, 23, pls. 80 - 81; Munro (1962), 52, pl. V
Family: Wife: Taweret
Son: Hori, Scribe of the Treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands

2.8 Stable Master of the Residence

– *ḥry ihw n ẖnw*

Name: Amenhotep
Source: Inscription, Sehel
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 124; de Morgan (1894) 88, no. 63
Family: Son: Amenmope, Stable Master

Name: Bak-aa
Source: Stela, British Museum EA164
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles:
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 126; Chevereau (1994), 140 (18.46); KRI II, 386
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: On stelas EA166 and EA321 from the British Museum, Bak-aa is also named with the title "Stable Master". BM stela 166, also names Stable Master Panirs, Ptaay.

Name: Hatiay
Source: Papyrus, British Museum, no. 10447
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Stable Master, Stable Master of Ramesses
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994) 153 (18.183); Granville (1929), 19; Gardiner (1941a), 58; Gardiner (1948c), 59.9
Family: Father: Pay

Name: Hor

Source: Stela, British Museum, EA132
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 125; Chevereau (1994), 164 (18.290); HTBM IX, 58, pl XLV; KRI III, 375; Lieblein (1892) no. 890; PM I/2, 808
Family: Brother: Hori, owner of stela

Name: Nefer-Abu
Source: Papyrus, Cairo Museum, CG 58059
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 126; Chevereau (1994), 164 (18.286); KRI III, 251; Bakir (1970), pls. 6-7
Family: Unknown

Name: Panirs/Pay
Source: Stela, British Museum EA166
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 126; Chevereau (1994), (18.78); KRI II, 386 (??)
Family: Unknown

Name: Ptah-may
Source: Stela, British Museum EA166
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 126; Chevereau (1994), (18.123)
Family: Unknown

Name: Ptah-mes
Source: Wall fragment from a chapel, Saqqara
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 163 (18.283); Berlandini (1982), 86-92, fig 1, pl VII
Family: Father: Ptah-mesu, General of the Domaine of Ptah, Royal Scribe

Name: Ptah-m-wia
Source: Stela, British Museum, EA167
Date: Ramesses II

Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 126; British Museum (1909), 169; Chevereau (1994), 163 (18.282); James (1970), 29-30, pl. 25; KRI II, 207, 169
Family: Unknown

Name: Ti
Source: Naos of Vizier Rahotep, Sedment
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 126; KRI I, 61
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Stable Master Hori also mentioned on the naos.

Name: Nefer-hotep
Source: Fragment, Tomb of Iyory at Memphis
Date: Siptah/Tausret
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Anthes (1965), 84, fig. 8, pl 28 b10; Chevereau (1994), 164 (18.287); KRI IV, 380-381; RITA IV, § 380; RITANC IV, § 705
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Named in an inscription from the tomb of Iyroy, a Memphite High Priest of Ptah, alongside the Stable Master Ramose, the scribe Huy, and three daughters of Iyroy. Neferhotep is referred to as *s3.f*, so he was likely the son of Iyroy and his wife.

Name: Ramose
Source: Fragment, Tomb of Iyory at Memphis
Date: Siptah/Tausret
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Anthes (1965), 84, fig. 8, pl. 28 b10; Ashmawy (2014), 126; Chevereau (1994), 164 (18.289); KRI IV, 380-381; RITA IV, § 380; RITANC IV, § 705
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes:
Named in an inscription from the tomb of Iyroy, a Memphite High Priest of Ptah, alongside the Stable Master Neferhotep, the scribe Huy, and three daughters of Iyroy. Ramose is not identified in relation to the tomb owner but is likely a relative.

Name: Hori
Source: Stela, British Museum EA154
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown

Bibliography: HTBM IX, 31-2, pl 27 (S. 396 a)
Family: Father: Ry, Standard bearer
Brother: Wennefer, Charioteer, the First of his Majesty
Nephew: Sa-bastt, Stable Master of the Residence (on same Stela)
Additional Notes: His nephew holds the same title

Name: Pa-wehem
Source: Papyrus, Turin Museum no .1882, v. 1.4
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 163 (18.280); Gardiner (1937), 121; Gardiner (1948c), 83.7; *Materialien* IV, 555
Family: Unknown

Name: Sa-bastt
Source: Stela, British Museum EA154
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: HTBM IX, 31-2, pl 27 (S. 396 b)
Family: Father: Wennefer, Charioteer, the First of his Majesty
Uncle: Hori, Stable Master of the Residence (on same Stela)

2.9 Stable Master of the Great Stable of King NN of the Residence

– *ḥry iḥw n* p*ȝ ꜥȝ iḥw n NN n ẖnw*

Name: Amenmuia
Source: Papyrus Sallier I 9,2
Date: Merenptah
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 127; Gardiner (1937), 87 (9,2); LEMC , 32
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: The full title is “The Stable Master Amenmuia, son of Amenmipet, of the Great Stable of Ramesses-miamun (L.P.H.) of the residence”.

Name: Nakht-Montu
Source: Graffito at Elephantine
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: King's Envoy to all Foreign Lands
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 127; Habachi (1979), 234 ff; KRI III, 252
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: The full title is **"**The Stable Master Nekht-mont of the Great Stable of Ramesses II beloved of Amun, of the Residence"

Name: Hori
Source: Graffito in Buhen
Date: Seti II, yr 3
Additional Titles: King's Envoy to all Foreign Lands
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 127; KRI III, IV, 364
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: The full title is "Hori, son of Kama, justified, of the Great Stable of Seti II of the Residence".

2.10 Stable Master of His Majesty

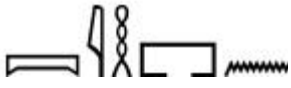
– *ḥry iḥw tpy n ḥm.f*

Name: Nakhtmin (Minnakhte)
Source:
1. Fragment of naophore statue, CGC 637
2. Stela of Bigeh
3. TT282, Tomb of Anhernakhte (Nakhtmin's Son)
4. TT156, Tomb of Pennesuttaui (Nakhtmin's Father)
5. Ushebti statues (unpublished), Museum University of Philadelphia
6. Stela on the Philae-Aswan
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Lieutenant Commander of the Chariots, Troop Commander of Kush, Royal Envoy to all Foreign Lands, Head Bowmen of Kush, Fan-bearer to the Right of the King
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 161
1. Borchardt CGC II, 185-6; Dewatcher (1979), 311-26
2. Weigall (1907), 36 (20 B)
3. Habachi (1968), 112, fig 4; PM I/1, 364-5
4. Champollion Not. Descr. I, 536; PM I/1, 265-6
5. Schulman (1964), no. 403, JARCE 3; JARCE 4, 63 - 68
Family: Father: Troop Commander of Kush during Ramesses II; Govenor of the South Lands

Mother: Mia, Chantress of Amun
Uncle: Parennefer, High Priest of Amun
Minmose: High Priest of Min and Isis
Wife: Tanedjemet, Chantress of Amun
Son: Inhernakht, Head of bowmen, Overseer of the South Lands, Fan-bearer to the Right of the King, Royal Scribe

Name: Dehutymesu
Source: Statue, Cairo Museum, CGC 549
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: King's Envoy to all Foriegn Lands
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 161 (18.266); Daressy (1893), 26-7; Borchardt CGC II, p 94-6
Family: Unknown

2.11 Stable Master of King NN



– *ḥry iḫw n NN*

Name: Hatiay
Source:
1. Papyrus, British Museum, EA 10447
2. Stela, Guimet Museum, no. 2153
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Stable Master, Stable Master of the Residence
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994),163 (18.277)
1. Granville (1929), 19; Gardiner (1941a), 58; Gardiner (1948c), 59.9
2. Moret (1909), 32, pl XXV; Lieblein (1892), 821
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: The full title is “Stable Master of Ramesses”

Name: Pa-mer-hetemu
Source: Papyrus Anastasi III
Date: Merenptah
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 166 (18.301); Gardiner (1937), 32; LEMC, 108, 112
Family: Father: A-nya
Additional Notes: The full title is “Stable Master of Merenptah”

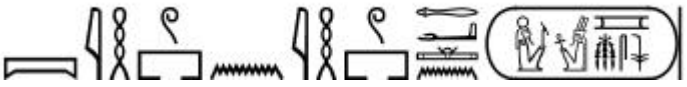
2.12 Stable Master of the Stable of King NN

NN – *ḥry iḥw n pȝ iḥw n NN*

Name: Iwny
Source:
1. Stela from Kanais (Wadi Abbad), JE 34620
2. Inscription in Wadi Miah, Temple of Redesah
Date: Seti I
Additional Titles: Charioteer of His Majesty; Viceroy of Kush; Chief of the Medjay
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 166 (18.300);
1. Ashmawy (2014), 126; Daressy (1920), 139; Gunn-Gardiner (1917), 241-251; Golenischeff (1890), 79; KRI I, 304; PM VII, 325; 2. Reisner (1920), 39-40
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: The full title on the stela is "Stable Master of the Stable of Seti-Merenptah". In the inscription at the Temple of Redesah, Iwny is called "Stable Master of the *Great* Stable of Seti-Merenptah".

Name: Nefuhetepu
Source: Papyrus Bibliothèque Nationale 211, v. 3.5
Date: Seti
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 166 (18.30); Helck (1964), 903; KRI I, 278; Spiegelberg (1896), pl XIV
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: The full title is **"**Stable Master of the Stable of Seti".

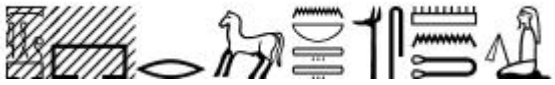
2.13 Stable Master of the Great Stable of Ramesses II

 *– ḥry iḥw n iḥw ʿȝ n Ramesses II*

Name: Wepwawetmose
Source: Stela, British Museum, EA 161
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown

Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 166 (18.299); HTBM X, 22-23, pl. 52-53; KRI VI, 141
Family: Unknown

2.14 Stable Master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands

 – ***ḥry iḫw r ssmt n nb tȝwy***

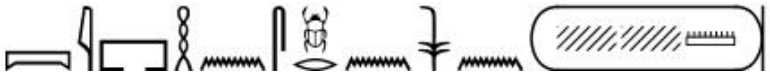
Name: Usermont
Source: TT31 (tomb of Father, Khonsu)
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Master of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands, Standard Bearer of the Great Company of Menmare
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 139 (18.41); Davies (1948), 11-30, pl. XIX; KRI III, 408
Family: Grandfather: Neferhotep, First Prophet of Amenhotep II
Grandmother: Tausert, Songtress of Amun
Father: Khonsu, High Priest of Thutmose III
Mother: Maya
Brother: Raia, Charioteer of the Stable of Ramesses II

2.15 First Stable Master of His Majesty

– *ḥry iḫw tpy n ḥm.f*

Name: Titi
Source: TT106 (of father Paser), Sheikh Abd el-Qurna
Date: Seti I
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 128; Champollion (1827), 523; Chevereau (1994), 161 (18.265); KRI I, 295-298 §116, 1(f); RITA I, §296; RITANC, §370; PM 1/I, 223; PN I 378, 25
Family: Father: Nebneteru, High Priest of Amun
Mother: Merytre, Chief of the Harim of Amun
Brothers: Paser, Vizier, High Priest of Amun; Aniy, Lector Priest of Amun on the first roster
Sisters: Tiy, Chief of the Harim of Amun; Naia, Chantress of Amun

2.16 Master of the Training Stable of Seti I (Menmare)

 *– ḥry iḫw n sḫpr n nsw (… … mn)*

Name: Bakenkhnos
Source: Inscription on statue, Munich
Date: Seti I/Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: KRI III, 298; Breasted (1927), 234-236
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: The inscriptions reads, "When I completed 11 years as a child, I became Stable Master of the Training Stable of Seti I" (*'Iry (n) i 11 n rnpt m ḥwn iw.i m ḥry n sḫpr n nsw (… … mn)).*

2.17 Stable Master of the Residence, of the Columned Hall of Ramesses II, Beloved of Amun

– ḥry iḫw n pꜣ ḏꜣdw n R. II

Name: Huy
Source: Graffito in Aswan
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: King's envoy to all Foreign Lands; Viceroy of Kush; Royal Scribe, Fan-bearer at the Right of the King
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 165 (18.296); de Morgan Cat. Mon. I, 27, no. 205; Habachi (1957), 28, no. 25; Habachi (1981), 51, fig. 17; Petrie (1887), pl. X, 275; Reisner (1920), 41
Family: Unknown

2.18 Stable Master of the Estate of Siamon

– ḥry iḫw n pr sꜣ-imn

Name: Pyy
Source: Papyrus Bibliothèque Nationale 211, v. B 2
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 167 (18.303); KRI I, 272; Helck (1964), 901; Spiegelberg (1896), pl. XII a
Family: Unknown

2.19 Stable Master of Amun

– *ḥry iḫw n imn*

Name: X
Source: Stela from Kanais (Wadi Abbad)
Date: Seti I
Additional Titles: Troop Commander of Gold
Bibliography: Brand (2000), 282; Chevereau (1994), 167 (18.305); Golenischeff (1890), 79; Gunn-Gardiner (1917), 249-250; KRI I, 72; Leclant (1960), fig. 5, pl. 2; PM VII, 325; Vercoutter (1959), 147
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: The goddess Astarte is depicted on the lower part of the stela, riding a horse and brandishing a spear.

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2.20 Stable Master

– *ḥry iḫw*

Name: Hatia
Source: Papyrus MMA 3569
Date: Ramesses III
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: KRI, 272, no. 257; RITA: T 185, § 272:1;

Family: Unknown

Name: Riay (Raʿy)
Source: Papyrus MMA 3569
Date: Ramesses III
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: KRI, 272, no. 257; RITA: T 185, § 272:1;
Family: Father: Khu[ru?]

Name: Kener
Source: Ostraca, Turin Museum, no. 57151 (suppl. 6629)
Date: Ramesses III
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 158 (18.242); Lopez (1988) 25, pl. 67
Family: Unknown

Name: Pensekhmet
Source: Tomb of Hekamaetre-neheh, Saqqara
Date: Ramesses IV
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 144 (18.91); Malek (1985), 57, fig. 9C
Family: Father: Hekamaetre-neheh (probably)

Name: Mehary-baal
Source: Fragment from Temple of Thutmosis III, Deir el-Bahri, F. 774
Date: Ramesses V
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 149 (18.144); Marciniak (1974) no. 71, pl LVI A; Schneider (1992) 131, no. 282-3
Family: Unknown

Name: ʿShahebsed
Source: 1. Papyrus British Museum 10054 II, 2.4, 4.7
2. Papyrus British Museum 10068
Date: Ramesses X
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 138 (18.30)
1. Peet (1930), pl. 7.8; KRI VI, 743, 746
2. KRI VI, 751

Family: Unknown

Name: Beniryer
Source: Ashmolean Museum, Papyrus 1945.96
Date: Ramesses XI
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Allam (1973), 258, no 261; Chevereau (1994), 140 (18.50); Cruz-Uribe (1988), 220-223; KRI VI, 736; Gardiner (1941b), 23-9, pl V; Theodorides (1965), 49,142
Family: Father: Duanefer
Additional Notes: The so-called "Adoption Papyrus" describes how the Stable Master Nebnefer adopted his wife and eventually the children of his slave, one of which would marry his brother (or possibly brother-in-law) the Stable Master Padiu, in order to secure the inheritance of Nebnefer's wife. Five Stable Masters are listed among the witnesses to the proclimation. The same document mentions Stable Masters Padiu, Nebnefer, Rer, Sethemheb, Kairsu

Name: Padiu
Source: Ashmolean Museum, Papyrus 1945.96
Date: Ramesses XI
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Allam (1973), 258, no 261; Chevereau (1994), 144 (18.92); Cruz-Uribe (1988), 220-223; KRI VI, 736; Gardiner (1941b), 23-9, pl V; Theodorides (1965), 49,142
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: The so-called "Adoption Papyrus" describes how the Stable Master Nebnefer adopted his wife and eventually the children of his slave, one of which would marry his brother (or possibly brother-in-law) the Stable Master Padiu, in order to secure the inheritance of Nebnefer's wife. Five Stable Masters are listed among the witnesses to the proclimation. The same document mentions Stable Masters Pairy, Nebnefer, Rer, Sethemheb, Kairsu

Name: Nebnefer
Source: Ashmolean Museum, Papyrus 1945.96
Date: Ramesses XI
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Allam (1973), 258, no 261; Chevereau (1994), 150 (18.153); Cruz-Uribe (1988), 220-223; KRI VI, 736; Gardiner (1941b), 23-9, pl V; Theodorides (1965), 49,142
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: The so-called "Adoption Papyrus" describes how the Stable Master Nebnefer adopted his wife and eventually the children of his slave, one of which would marry his brother (or possibly brother-in-law) the Stable Master Padiu, in order to secure the inheritance of Nebnefer's wife. Five Stable Masters are listed among the witnesses to the proclimation. The same document mentions Stable Masters Padiu, Beniryer, Rer, Sethemheb, Kairsu

Name: Rer
Source: Ashmolean Museum, Papyrus 1945.96
Date: Ramesses XI
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Allam (1973), 258, no 261; Chevereau (1994), 152; Cruz-Uribe (1988), 220-223; KRI VI, 736; Gardiner (1941a), 23-9, pl V; Theodorides (1965), 49,142
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: The so-called "Adoption Papyrus" describes how the Stable Master Nebnefer adopted his wife and eventually the children of his slave, one of which would marry his brother (or possibly brother-in-law) the Stable Master Padiu, in order to secure the inheritance of Nebnefer's wife. Five Stable Masters are listed among the witnesses to the proclimation. The same document mentions Stable Masters Padiu, Nebnefer, Beniryer, Sethemheb, Kairsu

Name: Sethemheb
Source: Ashmolean Museum, Papyrus 1945.96
Date: Ramesses XI
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Allam (1973), 258, no 261; Chevereau (1994), 156 (18.217); Cruz-Uribe (1988), 220-223; KRI VI, 736; Gardiner (1941a), 23-9, pl V; Theodorides (1965), 49,142
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: The so-called "Adoption Papyrus" describes how the Stable Master Nebnefer adopted his wife and eventually the children of his slave, one of which would marry his brother (or possibly brother-in-law) the Stable Master Padiu, in order to secure the inheritance of Nebnefer's wife. Five Stable Masters are listed among the witnesses to the proclimation.

Name: Kairsu
Source: Ashmolean Museum, Papyrus 1945.96
Date: Ramesses XI
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Allam (1973), 258, no 261; Chevereau (1994), 158 (18.234); Cruz-Uribe (1988), 220-223; KRI VI, 736; Gardiner (1941b), 23-9, pl V; Theodorides (1965), 49,142
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: The so-called "Adoption Papyrus" describes how the Stable Master Nebnefer adopted his wife and eventually the children of his slave, one of which would marry his brother (or possibly brother-in-law) the Stable Master Padiu, in order to secure the inheritance of Nebnefer's wife. Five Stable Masters are listed among the witnesses to the proclimation.

Name: Yuy
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty

Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 136 (18.03); Gardiner (1941a), 96 (91.12)
Family: Unknown

Name: Yahmay
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 136 (18.05); Gardiner (1941a), A 37 (36.5) pl. 17-III; Schneider (1992), 58, no 103
Family: Unknown

Name: Amen
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 136 (18.06); Gardiner (1941a), A 4 (3,x+3), pl. 1-III
Family: Unknown

Name: Amuewahsu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 136 (18.07); Gardiner (1941a), A 61 (58.39), 97 (92.17), pls. 27, 45
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: There are two Stable Masters from the Wilbour Papyrus, Amenemhab (Gardiner 1941a, 47, line 45.5) and Amenhotpe (Gardiner 1941a, 65, line 62.26) who are son of an Amenwahsu, possibly the same as this Stable Master. One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus also specifies that the land is a "Field for (horses) which the stable-master Amenwahsu named" (Gardiner 1941a, 61, line 58.39).

Name: Amenemuia
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 136 (18.09); Gardiner (1941a), A 56 (53.12), pl. 25
Family: Unknown

Name: Amenemheb
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 136 (18.12); Gardiner (1941a) A, 40 (38.30), 68 (65.14), 71 (67.44), pls. 18, 31, 32
Family: Unknown

Name: Amenemheb (son of Setemuia)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 136 (18.12); Gardiner (1941a) A, 40 (38.35), pl.18
Family: Father: Setemuia

Name: Amenemheb (son of Amenwahsu)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 136 (18.12); Gardiner (1941a) A, 47 (45.5), pl. 21
Family: Father: Amenwahsu

Name: Amenemheb (son of Nakhtamun)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 136 (18.12); Gardiner (1941a) A, 68 (65.17), pl. 31
Family: Father: Nakhtamun

Name: Amenmose
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 137 (18.15); Gardiner (1941a) A, 32 (31.5), 42 (40.20), 47 (45.19), 59 (56.26), 63 (60.9), 90 (85.16), pls. 14, 18, 21, 26, 28, 41
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a "Field for (horses) which the stable-master Amenmose named" (Gardiner 1941a, 47, line 45.19)

Name: Amennakhte
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 137 (18.16); Gardiner (1941a) A, 25 (24.44), 28 (27.36), 83 (78.21), 90 (84.45, 46, 47, 85.29), 96 (91.23), pls. 11, 12, 37, 41, 44
Family: Unknown

Name: Amen(hr)wenmaf
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Soldier (Gardiner 1941a 63, line 60.17)
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 137 (18.17); Gardiner (1941a) A, 63 (60.26)
Family: Unknown

Name: Amunhotep
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 137 (18.18); Gardiner (1941a) I A, 25 (24.40, 25.3), 30 (28.48), 31 (30.34), 32 (31.35), 62 (59.3), 65, pls. 11, 13, 14, 28
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a "Field for (horses) which the stable-master Amenhotpe named" (Gardiner 1941a, 62, line 59.3)

Name: Amunhotep (son of Amenwashu)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 137 (18.18); Gardiner (1941a) A, 65 (62.26), pl. 29
Family: Father: Amenwahsu

Name: Amenkhaʿ
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 137 (8.19); Gardiner (1941a) A, 25 (24.38), 58 (55.23), 59 (56.38), 62 (59.1), 72 (68.34, 44), 82 (77.34, 53), pls. 11, 26, 26, 28, 32, 37
Family: Unknown

Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a "Field for (horses) which the stable-master Amenkhaʿ named" (Gardiner 1941a, 62, line 59.1)

Name: Amenkhaʿ (son of Nebnufe)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 137 (8.19); Gardiner (1941a) A, 47 (45.4), pl. 21
Family: Father: Nebnufe

Name: Amenkhaʿ (son of Amenemuia)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 137 (8.19); Gardiner (1941a) A, 49 (46.42), pl. 21
Family: Father: Amenemuia

Name: Amenkhaʿ (son of Setemhab)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 137 (8.19); Gardiner (1941a) A, 49 (47.4), 69 (65.47), pls. 31, 22
Family: Father: Setemhab
Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a "Field for (horses) which the stable-master Amenkhaʿ son of Setemhab named" (Gardiner 1941a, 49, line 47.4)

Name: Amensau
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 137 (18.20); Gardiner (1941a) A, 68 (65.19), pl. 31-III
Family: Unknown

Name: Ankerrekh
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown

Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 138 (18.23); Gardiner (1941a) A, 37 (35.30), pl. 16-III
Family: Unknown

Name: Inwau
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 138 (18.21); Gardiner (1941a) I A, 32 (31.26), 63 (60.8), 82 (78.11), pls. 14, 28, 37
Family: Unknown

Name: Inena
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 138 (18.22); Gardiner (1941a) I A, 29 (28.46), 48 (46.15), 56 (53.24), 57 (54.5), pls. 13, 21, 25, 26
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Two entries from the Wilbour Papyrus specify that the land is a "Field for (horses) which the stable-master Inena named" (Gardiner 1941a, 48, line 46.15 and p. 57, line 54.5)

Name: Irynefer
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 138 (18.24); Gardiner (1941a) A, 69 (65.32), pl. 31-III
Family: Unknown

Name: ʿAbpide
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 138 (18.25); Gardiner (1941a) A, 51 (48.34), 90 (85.6), pl. 22, 41
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a "Field for (horses) which the stable-master ʿAbpide named" (Gardiner 1941a, 51, line 48.34)

Name: ʿAnkhaʿ
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 138 (18.26); Gardiner (1941a) A, 27 (26.23), pl. 12-III
Family: Unknown

Name: ʿAnkherset
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 138 (18.27); Gardiner (1941a) A, 27 (26.22), pl. 12-III
Family: Unknown

Name: ʿhay
Source: Papyrus Brooklyn Museum 10068 Vo 1.6
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 138 (18.28); KRI VI, 747
Family: Unknown

Name: ʿhownefer
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 138 (18.29); Gardiner (1941a) A, 82 (77.41), pl. 37-III
Family: Unknown

Name: ʿAdjd
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 138 (18.31); Gardiner (1941a) A, 65 (62.17), pl. 29
Family: Unknown

Name: Waroma/Waroro
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown

Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 139 (18.32); Gardiner (1941a) A, 28 (27.41), 85 (80.40), pl. 12, 38; Schneider (1992), 79, no 153
Family: Unknown

Name: Wepwawmose
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 139 (18.33); Gardiner (1941a) A , 80 (76.2), 89 (84.38), pls. 36, 41
Family: Unknown

Name: Wentjawa
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 139 (18.34); Gardiner (1941a) A, 68 (65.18), pl. 31-III; Schneider (1992), 79, no. 151
Family: Unknown

Name: Wennofer
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 139 (18.35); Gardiner (1941a) A, 32 (31.27), pl. 14-III
Family: Unknown

Name: Wersh
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 139 (18.36); Gardiner (1941a) A, 68 (65.9), pl 31-III
Family: Unknown

Name: Wershemgabu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 139 (18.37); Gardiner (1941a) A, 61 (58.22), pl. 27-II

Family: Unknown

Name: Wehadjesu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 139 (18.38); Gardiner (1941a) A, 23 (22.30), pl. 10-III
Family: Unknown

Name: Wesy
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 139 (18.39); Gardiner (1941a) A, 58 (56.6), pl. 26-III
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a "Field for (horses) which the stable-master Wesy named" (Gardiner 1941a, 58, line 56.6).

Name: Weserma$^{\varsigma}$tranakhte
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 139 (18.40); Gardiner (1941a) A, 72 (68.32), 95 (90.5), pls. 33, 44
Family: Unknown

Name: Weserhat
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 139 (18.42); Gardiner (1941a) A, 37 (36.9), pl. 17-III
Family: Unknown

Name: Weserherkhopshef
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 140 (18.43); Gardiner (1941a) A, 26 (25.18) pl. 11 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Wesekh-nemtt/Wesekhiu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 140 (18.44); Gardiner (1941a) A, 28 (27.16), 65 (62.15), pl. 12, 29
Family: Unknown

Name: Weshebetmne
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 140 (18.45); Gardiner (1941a) A, 59 (56.27), 73 (69.20), pls. 26, 33
Family: Unknown

Name: Khaʿemtir
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 140 (18.47); Gardiner (1941a) A, 97 (92.4), pl. 45 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Bakenptah
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 140 (18.48); Gardiner (1941a) A, 32 (31.3), 49 (47.15), 68 (65.22), 70 (66.41), 70 (67.3), pl. 14, 22, 31
Family: Unknown

Name: Baali-[hr]-khepshef
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 140 (18.49); Gardiner (1941a) A, 70 (66.28), pl. 31-III
Family: Unknown

Name: Batemheb
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 140 (18.51); Gardiner (1941a) A, 43 (40.36), 69 (65.37), pl 18, 31
Family: Unknown

Name: Pabukha
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 141 (18.52); Gardiner (1941a), A, 38 (36.42), 39 (37.6), 47 (45.15), pls. 17, 17, 21
Family: Unknown

Name: Piu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 141 (18.53); Gardiner (1941a) A, 33 (31.50), 33 (32.34), 37 (35.27), 38 (36.20), 39 (37.39), 43 (41.20), 57 (54.40), 74 (70.21), pls. 14, 15, 16, 17, 19, 25, 33
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a "Field for (horses) which the stable-master Piuiu named" (Gardiner 1941a, 57, line 54.40).

Name: Piu (son of Pahamnetcher)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 141 (18.53); Gardiner (1941a) A, 43 (41.23), pl. 19
Family: Father: Pahamnetcher

Name: Peroy
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 141 (18.54), Gardiner (1941a) A, 33 (32.20), 70 (67.21), 90 (85.21), pls. 15, 32, 41

Family: Unknown

Name: Pas
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 141 (18.57); Gardiner (1941a) A, 85 (80.31), pl. 38
Family: Unknown

Name: Pidhu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 141 (18.58); Gardiner (1941a) A, 47 (44.45), pl. 20
Family: Unknown

Name: Paʿaemper
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 141 (18.59); Gardiner (1941a) A, 57 (54.36), pl. 25
Family: Unknown

Name: Paʿaemnetef
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 141 (18.60); Gardiner (1941a) A, 7 (82.23), pl. 40-III
Family: Unknown

Name: Payferoy
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 141 (18.61); Gardiner (1941a) A, 62 (59.2), pl. 28
Family: Unknown

Name: Paʿn

Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 141 (18.62); Gardiner (1941a) A, 35 (33.26), pl. 15-III
Family: Unknown

Name: Pwaamun
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau, 142 (18.63); Gardiner (1941a), 96 (91.11), pl. 44-III
Family: Unknown

Name: Pwebekh
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 142 (18.64); Gardiner (1941a) A, 27 (26.20), 70 (67.13), pls. 12, 32
Family: Unknown

Name: Pwer
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 142 (18.65); Gardiner (1941a) A, 83 (78.16), 89 (84.15) , 90 (85.8), pls. 37, 41
Family: Unknown

Name: Pweremheb
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 142 (18.66); Gardiner (1941a) A, 63 (60.10), 73 (69.39), pls. 28, 33
Family: Unknown

Name: Pawakhed
Source: Wilbour Papyrus

Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 142 (18.67); Gardiner (1941a) A, 59 (56.13), pl. 26
Family: Unknown

Name: Pawakhed
Source: British Museum Papyrus 10068, vo 2.13
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 142 (18.68); KRI VI, 749
Family: Unknown

Name: Pa-ba-sa
Source: Turin Papyrus 1881, vo 1.2
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 142 (18.69); KRI VI , 616
Family: Unknown

Name: Pmu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 142 (18.70); Gardiner (1941a) A, 31 (30.27), pl 14
Family: Unknown

Name: Pmerhemunetcher
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 142 (18.71); Gardiner (1941a) A, 82 (77.40), pl. 37
Family: Unknown

Name: Pmernetcheru
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 142 (18.72); Gardiner (1941a) A, 65 (62.16), 82 (77.40), 96 (90.41), pls. 29, 82, 44

Family: Unknown

Name: Pmershnuty
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 142 (18.73); Gardiner (1941a) A, 29 (28.35), 33 (32.33), 43 (41.28) pls. 13, 15, 19
Family: Unknown

Name: Pa-n-iwn (pensn?)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Gardiner (1941a) A, 63 (60.30), pl 28
Family: Unknown

Name: Penyebnudjem
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 143 (18.76); Gardiner (1941a) A, 63 (60.30), pl 28
Family: Unknown

Name: Penamun
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 143 (18.77); Gardiner (1941a) A, 39 (37.7), pl 17
Family: Unknown

Name: Penbuwa
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 143 (18.80); Gardiner (1941a) A, 65 (62.3), 65 (62.11), pl. 29
Family: Unknown

Name: Pbes
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 143 (18.81); Gardiner (1941a) A, 23 (22.36), 37 (35.17), 38 (36.39), 62 (59.7) (deceased), 68 (65.10), 72 (68.43), pls. 10, 16, 17, 28, 31, 32
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus mentions that Pbes is dead so the land is cultivated by his children (Gardiner 1941a, 62, line 59.7). Another entry specifies that the land is a "Field for horses (which) the stable-master Pbes (named)" (Gardiner 1941a, 38, line 36.39).

Name: Pbes (son of Amenemope)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 143 (18.81); Gardiner (1941a) A, 50 (47.35), pl. 22
Family: Father: Amenemope

Name: Pnebsekhnu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 143 (18.82); Gardiner (1941a) A, 83 (78.20), 90 (85.27) pl 37, 41
Family: Unknown

Name: Pnebdime
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 143 (18.83); Gardiner (1941a) A, 49 (47.21) pl 22
Family: Unknown

Name: Penpidhu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 143 (18.84); Gardiner (1941a) A, 27 (26.17), 49 (47.9) pl.12, 22
Family: Unknown

Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a "Field for horses (which) the stable-master Penpidhu (named)" (Gardiner 1941a, 49, line 47.9)

Name: Penpekhant
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 143 (18.85); Gardiner (1941a) A, 56 (53.25), pl. 25
Family: Unknown

Name: Pennebakhet
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 144 (18.87); Gardiner (1941a) A, 96 (91.27), pl. 44
Family: Unknown

Name: Penernute
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 144 (18.88); Gardiner (1941a) A, 29 (28.45), 32 (31.33), 33 (32.27), pls. 13, 14, 15
Family: Unknown

Name: Panehsy
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 144 (18.89); Gardiner (1941a) A, 24 (23.32), 29 (28.9), 30 (28.47), 31 (30.25), 32 (31.2), 33 (32.2), 37 (35.25), 71 (68.17), 81 (77.5), 95 (90.33), pls. 10, 13, 14, 15, 16, 32, 37, 44
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a "Field for [horses] (which) the stable-master Penhasi (named)" (Gardiner 1941a, 37, line 35.25).

Name: Pnekhemhab
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty

Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 144 (18.90); Gardiner (1941a) A, 59 (57.3) pl 27; 69 (65.38) pls. 27, 31
Family: Unknown

Name: Paraemheb
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 144 (18.94); Gardiner (1941a) A, 73 (70.3), pl. 33
Family: Unknown

Name: Paraherwenemaf
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 144 (18.95); Gardiner (1941a) A, 85 (80.22), pl. 38
Family: Unknown

Name: Parowat
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 144 (18.96); Gardiner (1941a) A, 28 (27.10), pl. 12
Family: Unknown

Name: Pahan
Source: Valencay Papyrus no. 2
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 145 (18.97); Gardiner (1951), 125, 131
Family: Unknown

Name: Pahemnetcher
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 145 (18.99); Gardiner (1941a) A, 72 (68.25), 75 (71.30), pls. 32, 34

Family: Unknown

Name: Paheripedet
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 145 (18.100); Gardiner (1941a) A, 32 (31.22), 59 (56.44) pls.14, 26
Family: Unknown

Name: Paheripedet
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 145 (18.100); Gardiner (1941a) A, 32 (31.22), 59 (56.44) pls.14, 26
Family: Father: Amenemope

Name: Pakhyhat
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 145 (18.101); Gardiner (1941a) A, 96 (91.19), pl. 44
Family: Unknown

Name: Pahery/Pkhore
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 145 (18.102); Gardiner (1941a) A, 25 (24.43), 49 (47.10), 56 (54.2), 74 (70.22), 96 (91.5), pls. 11, 22, 25, 33, 44
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a "Field for (horses) which the stable-master Pkhore named" (Gardiner 1941a, 49, line 47.10).

Name: Pakhersheri
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown

Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 145 (18.103); Gardiner (1941a) A, 64 (61.22), pl. 29
Family: Unknown

Name: Paser/Psiur
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 145 (18.106); Gardiner (1941a) A, 39 (37.42), 85 (81.2) pls. 17, 39
Family: Unknown

Name: Pshedu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 145 (18.107); Gardiner (1941a) A 19 (18.30), 26 (25.20) pls. 8, 11
Family: Unknown

Name: Pakamen
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 146 (18.108); Gardiner (1941a) A, 89 (84.19), pl. 41
Family: Unknown

Name: Pakaroy
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 146 (18.109); Gardiner (1941a) A, 73 (69.48), pl. 33
Family: Unknown

Name: Pakatjen
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 146 (18.110); Gardiner (1941a) A, 64 (61.16), pl. 19
Family: Unknown

Name: Patha
Source: British Museum Papyrus 10068, vo 1.3, 7.10
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Charioteer
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 146 (18.111); KRI VI, 747, 754
Family: Unknown

Name: Patjaʿa
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 146 (18.112); Gardiner (1941a) A, 97 (92.21), pl. 45
Family: Unknown

Name: Patjaukhetef
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 146 (18.113); Gardiner (1941a) A, 40 (82.21), pl. 40
Family: Unknown

Name: Patjaraʿakhy
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 146 (18.114); Gardiner (1941a) A, 51 (48.35) pl 22 - III; Helck (1971) 357, VII.5; Schneider (1992), 122, no. 262
Family: Unknown

Name: Patjutjawy
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 146 (18.115); Gardiner (1941a) A, 90 (85.25), 96 (91.18), pls. 41, 44; Helck (1971), 359; Schneider (1992), 124, no. 265
Family: Unknown

Name: Penamun
Source: Stela, Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna, no. 27
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Bresciani (1985), 76-7, fig 40; Chevereau (1994), 146 (18.116); Kminek-Szedlo (1895) 192-3, no. 1918; Curto, (1961) 81, no 49
Family: Unknown

Name: Penseta
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 146 (18.117); Gardiner (1941a) A, 70 (66.34), pl. 31
Family: Unknown

Name: Penseth
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 147 (18.120); Gardiner (1941a) A 55 (52.43), pl. 24
Family: Unknown

Name: Pentwere
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 147 (18.121); Gardiner (1941a) A, 40 (38.29), 86 (81.21), 89 (83.33), 96 (91.8), pls. 18, 86, 40, 44
Family: Unknown

Name: Pahtenamun
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 147 (18.122); Gardiner (1941a) A, 74 (70.18) pl 22
Family: Unknown

Name: Ptah(em)menu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus

Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 147 (18.124); Gardiner (1941a) A, 32 (30.45), 32 (31.12), 57 (54.19) pls. 14, 25
Family: Unknown

Name: Ptahemheb
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 147 (18.125); Gardiner (1941a) A, 33 (31.37), 59 (56.9), 68 (65.20), pls. 14, 26, 31
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a, "Field for (horses) which the stable-master Ptahemhab named" (Gardiner 1994a, 59, line 56.9).

Name: Ptahmose
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 147 (18.126); Gardiner (1941a) A, 32 (30.44), pl. 14
Family: Unknown

Name: Ptahkhaʿ
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 147 (18.128); Gardiner (1941a) A, 51 (48.46), pl. 22 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Maay
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 148 (18.131); Gardiner (1941a) A, 27 (26.25) pl 12
Family: Unknown

Name: Maiay
Source: Wilbour Papyrus

Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 148 (18.132); Gardiner (1941a) A, 65 (62.21) pl 29
Family: Unknown

Name: Manenefer
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 148 (18.133); Gardiner (1941a) A, 32 (31.20) pl 14
Family: Unknown

Name: Montuhatef
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 148 (18.135); Gardiner (1941a) A, 72 (68.42) pl 32 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Montuherkhepshef
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 148 (18.136); Gardiner (1941a) A, 72 (68.34), pl. 32 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Mensenu
Source: Turin Museum, Papyrus 2021, 4.7
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 148 (18.137); Černý & Peet (1927), 33, pl. XV; KRI VI, 742
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Mensenu is listed as a witness in a marriage settlement document recording in the Theban area, however, he is named as "Mensesenu of Kheni" meaning he originated from the area of Gebel Silsila (Černý & Peet 1927, 33).

Name: Merymaʿt
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty

Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 148 (18.138); Gardiner (1941a) A, 70 (67.12) pl 32 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Meryra
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 149 (18.140); Gardiner (1941a) A, 9 (10.5), 27 (26.16), 33 (31.52), 63 (60.1), 64 (61.26), 69 (65.41), 70 (67.1), 70 (67.6), 71 (68.12), 85 (80.46), 87 (82.17) pls. 4, 12, 14, 28, 29, 31, 32, 38, 40
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a "Field for (horses) which the stable-master Meryre named" (Gardiner 1941a, 63, line 60.1).

Name: Merysobek
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 149 (18.141); Gardiner (1941a) A, 70 (66.32) pl 31
Family: Unknown

Name: Merysakhmet
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 149 (18.142); Gardiner (1941a) A, 58 (55.40), 72 (68.41) pl. 26, 32
Family: Unknown

Name: Meremope
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 149 (18.143); Gardiner (1941a) A, 56 (53.13), 68 (65.15), pl. 25, 31
Family: Unknown

Name: Meharbaal/Maharyset

Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 149 (18.145); Gardiner (1941a) A, 57 (54.32) pl 25 - III; Schneider (1992), 131, no 283
Family: Unknown

Name: Mose
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 149 (18.148); Gardiner (1941a) A, 72 (69.12) pl 33 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Mtointi
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 149 (18.141); Gardiner (1941a) A, 62 (59.4), pl. 28; Helck Bezieh. Aeg. (1971) VII, 9; Schneider (1992), 136, no. 290
Family: Unknown

Name: Nashuy
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 150 (18.150); Gardiner (1941a) A, 74 (70.24), pl. 33 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Nebwaʿ
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 150 (18.152); Gardiner (1941a) A, 48 (46.16), 85 (80.41), pls. 21, 38
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a "Field for (horses which) the stable-master Nebwaʿ named" (Gardiner 1941a, 48).

Name: Nebnefer
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 150 (18.155); Gardiner (1941a) A, 47 (44.47), 73 (69.23), pls. 20, 33
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus mentions that Nebnefer is dead (Gardiner 1941a, 73).

Name: Nebsmen
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 150 (18.157); Gardiner (1941a) A, 23 (22.33), 40 (38.33) pls. 10, 18
Family: Unknown

Name: Neferʿabt
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 150 (18.158); Gardiner (1941a) A, 87 (82.4), pl. 40
Family: Unknown

Name: Neferrenpet
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 150 (18.159); Gardiner (1941a) A, 81 (77.12), pl. 37
Family: Unknown

Name: Neferher
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 150 (18.160); Gardiner (1941a) A, 86 (81.13), 95 (90.17), pls. 39, 44
Family: Unknown

Name: Nakhtamun
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 151 (18.163); Gardiner (1941a) A, 23 (22.31), 26 (25.17), 59 (56.14), pls. 10, 11, 26
Family: Unknown

Name: Nehetʿa
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 151 (18.164); Gardiner (1941a) A, 49 (46.31), 56 (53.14), 65 (65.62), pls. 21, 24, 25, 29
Family: Unknown

Name: Nehetʿa (son of Pentwere)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 151 (18.164); Gardiner (1941a) A, 55 (52.53), pl. 24
Family: Father: Pentwere

Name: Nakhtherkhopshef
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles:
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 151 (18.166); Gardiner (1941a) A, 44 (32.1), 49 (47.16), 59 (56.25), 61 (58.44), 63 (60.5), 65 (62.14), 72 (68.45), 85 (80.23), 87 (82.18), 89 (84.12), pls. 15, 22, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 38, 40, 41
Family: Unknown

Name: Nakhtherkhopshef (son of Sad)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles:
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 151 (18.166); Gardiner (1941a) A, 87 (82.22), pl. 40
Family: Father: Sad

Name: Nakhtherkhopshef (son of Setmose)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 151 (18.166); Gardiner (1941a) A, 89 (84.20), pl. 41
Family: Father: Setmose

Name: Nekhsobek
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 151 (18.167); Gardiner (1941a) A, 69 (65.35) pl 3 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Nesamun
Source: British Museum Papyrus 10068, vo. 6.28
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 151 (18.168); KRI VI, 753
Family: Unknown

Name: Nesamun
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 151 (18.169); Gardiner (1941a) A, 25 (24.42), 28 (27.17), 32 (30.47), 40 (38.31), pls. 11, 12, 14, 18
Family: Unknown

Name: Raiay
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 152 (18.172); Gardiner (1941a) A, 27 (26.18), pl. 12 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Ramose
Source: Wilbour Papyrus

Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 152 (18.175); Gardiner (1941a) A, 29 (28.8), 35 (33.32), 49 (46.43), 96 (91.14), pls. 13, 15, 21, 44
Family: Unknown

Name: Ranefer
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 152 (18.177); Gardiner (1941a) A, 24 (23.17), 28 (27.38), 42 (40.19), 85 (80.21), pls. 10, 12, 18, 38
Family: Unknown

Name: Ropay
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 152 (18.178); Gardiner (1941a) A, 63 (60.29), pl. 28; Helck Bezieh Aeg 359, VII, 10; Schneider (1992), 151
Family: Unknown

Name: Reshpu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 152 (18.181); Gardiner (1941a) A, 43 (41.5), pl. 19
Family: Unknown

Name: Reshpu (son of Dhutemhab)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 152 (18.181); Gardiner (1941a) A, 72 (68.36), pl. 32
Family: Father: Dhutemhab

Name: Hay
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty

Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 153 (18.182); Gardiner (1941a) A, 73 (69.38), pl. 33
Family: Unknown

Name: Hatnefer
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 153 (18.185); Gardiner (1941a) A, 32 (31.7), pl. 14
Family: Unknown

Name: Huy
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 153 (18.188); Gardiner (1941a) A, 9 (10.6), 83 (78.25), 89 (84.11) pls. 4, 37, 41
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a "Field for (horses which) the stable-master Huy (named)" (Gardiner 1941a, 9, line 10.6).

Name: Haʿpiʿa
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 153 (18.189); Gardiner (1941a) A, 39 (37.10) pl 17
Family: Unknown

Name: Hori
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 154 (18.191); Gardiner (1941a) A, 85 (80.24), B, 118 (11.10) pls. 38, 58
Family: Unknown

Name: Heret
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty

Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 154 (18.192); Gardiner (1941a) A, 61 (58.41), pl. 27 - III
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a "Field for (horses) which the stable-master Huroti named" (Gardiner 1941a, 61, line 58.41).

Name: Khaniroy
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 154 (18.193); Gardiner (1941a) A, 64 (61.27), pl. 29
Family: Unknown

Name: Khaemneut
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 154 (18.197); Gardiner (1941a) A, 90 (85.7), pl. 41
Family: Unknown

Name: Khaemtchir
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 154 (18.198); Gardiner (1941a) A, 72 (68.33), 86 (81.24), 101 (96.16) pls. 32, 39, 47
Family: Unknown

Name: Khausbawekha
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 154 (18.199); Gardiner (1941a) A, 83 (78.15), 89 (84.13), 89 (84.17), pls. 37, 41
Family: Unknown

Name: Khausbawekha (son of Pensakhme)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty

Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 154 (18.199); Gardiner (1941a) A, 90 (84.40) pl. 41
Family: Father: Pensakhme

Name: Khonsu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 155 (18.201); Gardiner (1941a) A, 25 (24.39), pl. 11 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Khensuemweset
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 155 (18.202); Gardiner (1941a) A, 29 (28.34), 43 (41.27), pls. 13, 19
Family: Unknown

Name: Khore
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 155 (18.203); Gardiner (1941a) A, 96 (91.42), pl. 44 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Khnemunakhte
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 155 (18.204); Gardiner (1941a) A, 51 (48.47), pl. 22 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Saruai
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 155 (18.205); Gardiner (1941a) A, 96 (91.15), pl. 44; Schneider (1992), 186, no 392

Family: Unknown

Name: Sarosu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 155 (18.206); Gardiner (1941a) A, 90 (85.1), pl. 41; Schneider (1992), 190, no 401
Family: Unknown

Name: Sahtanefer
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 155 (18.207); Gardiner (1941a) A, 58 (56.7), 59 (56.37), pl. 26
Family: Unknown

Name: Sobekemheb
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 155 (18.208); Gardiner (1941a) A, 63 (60.38), 64 (61.15), 71 (68.18), pls. 29, 28, 32
Family: Unknown

Name: Sobeknakhte
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 155 (18.209); Gardiner (1941a) A, 70 (66.33), 86 (81.18) pls. 31, 40
Family: Unknown

Name: Sobekhetep
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown

Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 155 (18.210); Gardiner (1941a) A, 85 (81.3), 95 (90.15), pls. 39, 44
Family: Unknown

Name: Sobekkhaa
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 155 (18.211); Gardiner (1941a) A, 38 (36.15), 65 (62.9) pls. 17, 29
Family: Unknown

Name: Seny
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 155 (18.212); Gardiner (1941a) A, 65 (62.19), pl. 29
Family: Unknown

Name: Sennefer
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 155 (18.213); Gardiner (1941a) A, 55 (53.5), 58 (55.36), pls. 25, 26
Family: Unknown

Name: Sethenʿamu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 156 (18.214); Gardiner (1941a) A, 50 (47.31), pl. 22
Family: Unknown

Name: Setemuia
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 156 (18.215); Gardiner (1941a) A, 50 (47.33), pl. 22

Family: Unknown

Name: Sethmensedr
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 156 (18.216); Gardiner (1941a) A, 75 (71.32), pl. 34
Family: Unknown

Name: Sethemheb
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 156 (18.218); Gardiner (1941a) A, 33 (31.6), 33 (32.29), 43 (40.37, 39), 44 (41.30), 46 (44.42), 47 (44.49), 47 (45.16), 47 (45.26), 49 (46.45), 49 (47.5), 49 (47.26), 55 (52.35, 52.36), 55 (52.54), 57 (54.37), 60 (57.32), 60 (57.35), 64
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: The plot of land mentioned in line 44.42 of the Wilbour Papyrus was "khato-land under the authority of Raamose who is dead and who was (formerly) overseer of cattle" but cultivated by Setemhab (Gardiner 1941a, 46). The plots of land are identified as fields for horses in lines 44.49, 45.16, 45.26 (Gardiner 1941a, 47), 52.35, 52.36 (Gardiner 1941a, 55), 57.32, 58.35 (Gardiner 1941a, 60), and, 70.17 (Gardiner 1941a, 74). The plot of land in line 46.45 (Gardiner 1941a, 49) is cultivated by Setemhab but owned by the scribe Setnakhte. In line 52.54 (Gardiner 1941a, 55), Setemhab is dead and the land is cultivated by his children.

Name: Sethemheb (son of Meremope)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 156 (18.218); Gardiner (1941a) A, 59 (56.24), pl. 26
Family: Father: Meremope (Gardiner 1941a, 59, line 56.24)

Name: Setmose
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 156 (18.219); Gardiner (1941a) A, 27 (26.15), 40 (38.34), 43 (41.22), 44 (42.30), 49 (47.11), 61 (58.40), 63 (60.27), 69 (65.28), pls. 12, 18, 19, 22, 27, 28, 31
Family: Unknown

Additional Notes: The land described in lines 42.30, 47.11, and 58.40 (Gardiner 1941a, 44, 49, 61) is identified as "fields for horses which the stable-master Setmose named".

Name: Setnakhte
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 156 (18.220); Gardiner (1941a) A, 32 (31.9), 72 (68.39), 73 (69.42), 96 (91.36) pls. 14, 34, 35, 47
Family: Unknown

Name: Setnakhte (Son of Pehripide)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 156 (18.220); Gardiner (1941a) A, 69 (65.26), pl. 31
Family: Father: Pehripide

Name: Setnakhte (son of Wesekhiu)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 156 (18.220); Gardiner (1941a) A, 49 (47.18), pl. 22
Family: Father: Wesekhiu

Name: Setha
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 156 (18.221); Gardiner (1941a) A, 28 (27.7), 29 (28.36), 43 (40.40), 65 (62.18), 74 (70.23) pls. 12, 13, 18, 29, 33
Family: Unknown

Name: Setherhepshef
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 157 (18.222); Gardiner (1941a) A, 32 (30.42), 48 (46.22), 69 (65.25), pls. 14, 21, 31

Family: Son: Nehetamun

Name: Setherhepshef (son of Nakhtamun)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 157 (18.222); Gardiner (1941a) A, 56 (53.10), pl. 21
Family: Father: Nakhtamun

Name: Sethsankh
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 157 (18.223); Gardiner (1941a) A, 31 (30.35), 72 (68.24), pls. 14, 32
Family: Unknown

Name: Sethsankh (son of Sethemhab)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 157 (18.223); Gardiner (1941a) A, 49 (47.22), pls. 22
Family: Father: Sethemhab

Name: Sethetepu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 157 (18.224); Gardiner (1941a) A, 27 (26.21), pl. 12
Family: Unknown

Name: Sethkh (son of Sethemhab)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 157 (18.225); Gardiner (1941a) A, 51 (48.50), pl. 22
Family: Unknown

Name: Sethkha (son of Ptahmose)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 157 (18.225); Gardiner (1941a) A, 57 (54.22), 64 (60.42, 60.43), pl. 25, 28
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a "Field for (horses) which the stable-master Setkhʿ, son of Ptaḥmosĕ , named" (Gardiner 1941a, 57, line 54.22).

Name: Setshed
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 157 (18.226); Gardiner (1941a) A, 23 (22.25), pl. 10 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Sherynefer
Source: Tomb of Mes, Saqqara no. 5
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 157 (18.227); Gaballa (1977), 25, pl. XXXVIII; PM III, 129
Family: Unknown

Name: Shedset
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 157 (18.228); Gardiner (1941a) A, 51 (48.48), pl. 22 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Kenamun
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 157 (18.230); Gardiner (1941a) A, 23 (22.34), 62 (59.6), pls.10, 28
Family: Unknown

Name: Kenamun (son of Aʿhowtenefer)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 157 (18.230); Gardiner (1941a) A, 55 (52.56), pl. 24
Family: Unknown

Name: Kenamun (son of Amenemhab)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 157 (18.230); Gardiner (1941a) A, 85 (80.37), pl. 38
Family: Unknown

Name: Kenna
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 157 (18.231); Gardiner (1941a) A, 43 (41.24), pl. 19 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Kenramessu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 158 (18.232); Gardiner (1941a) A, 90 (85.12), pl. 41
Family: Unknown

Name: Kenherhepshef
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 158 (18.233); Gardiner (1941a) A, 24 (23.18), 37 (35.42), 37 (35.47), 42 (40.14, 15, 16), 46 (44.41), 65 (62.20), 85 (80.39), pls. 10, 16, 18, 20, 29, 38
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Two entries from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a "Field for horses which the stable-master Kenhikhopsh(ef) named" (Gardiner 1941a, 42, line 40.14, and 46, line 44.41).

Name: Kamaa
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 158 (18.235); Gardiner (1941a) A, 48 (46.17), pl. 21 - III
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: The line in the Wilbour Papyrus specifies the land as a "The field for (horses) which the stable-master Kama named" (Gardiner 1941a, 48, line 46.17).

Name: Kaemwaset
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 158 (18.236); Gardiner (1941a) A, 24 (23.33), pl. 10 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Kamaher
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 158 (18.237); Gardiner (1941a) A, 72 (68.35), pl. 32 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Kanefer
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 158 (18.238); Gardiner (1941a) A, 95 (90.31), pl. 44 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Karoy
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 158 (18.239); Gardiner (1941a) A, 61 (58.23), pl. 27 - III; Helck (1971), 358, VII; Schneider (1992), 280 no. 663
Family: Unknown

Name: Ka...du(?)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 158 (18.240); Gardiner (1941a) A, 59 (57.1) pl 27 - III
Family: Father: Dhutyemheb
Additional Notes: The entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the land is a "Field for (horses) which the stable-master Ka…du(?), (son of) Dḥutemḥab named" (Gardiner 1941a, 59, line 57.1).

Name: Tuwy
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 159 (18.244); Gardiner (1941a) A, 65 (62.10), pl. 29
Family: Unknown

Name: Temnehet
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 159 (18.245); Gardiner (1941a) A, 49 (47.20), 50 (47.30). pl. 22
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: One entry from the Wilbour Papyrus specifies that the plot of land used to belong to the lieutenant-commander of the Chariotry, Any, but was formerly owned by Temnehet (Gardiner 1941a, 50, line 47.30).

Name: Tenerkhepeshef
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 159 (18.246); Gardiner (1941a) A, 43 (40.38), 97 (92.10), pls. 18, 45
Family: Unknown

Name: Tet/Towe
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown

Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 159 (18.247); Gardiner (1941a) A, 100 (95.28), pl. 46
Family: Unknown

Name: Towe (Son of Huy)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 159 (18.247); Gardiner (1941a) A, 55 (52.41), pl. 24
Family: Unknown

Name: Tcha
Source: British Museum Papyrus 10068 II, vo. 1.5, 7.9
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 159 (18.248); Peet (1930) 92, pl 13; KRI VI 747, 754
Family: Unknown

Name: Tjaukhetef
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 159 (18.249); Gardiner (1941a) A, 87 (82.20), pl. 40 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Tjuro
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 159 (18.250); Gardiner (1941a) A, 16 (16.33), pl. 7 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Tjatj
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 159 (18.251); Gardiner (1941a) A, 38 (36.49), pl. 17 - III; Schneider (1992), 258, no 557
Family: Unknown

Name: Diefpatjau
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 159 (18.252); Gardiner (1941a) A, 65 (62.28), pl. 29 - III
Family: Unknown

Name: Denergi
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 159 (18.253); Gardiner (1941a) A, 43 (40.41), 43 (41.29), pls. 18, 19
Family: Unknown

Name: Dehutyemheb
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 159 (18.254); Gardiner (1941a) A, 72 (68.23), 73 (70.2) pls. 32, 33
Family: Unknown

Name: Dehutymesu
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 159 (18.255); Gardiner (1941a) A, 27 (26.19), 32 (31.24), 65 (62.5), 90 (84.48, 49), pls. 12, 14, 29, 41
Family: Unknown

Name: Dehutymesu
Source: Ostraca, Ramesseum, no. 322
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 159 (18.256); Spiegelberg and Quibell (1898), pl. 38; Helck *Materialien* IV, 693
Family: Unknown

Name: "X" (d...st<u>h</u>)
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 160 (18.257); Gardiner (1941a) A, 40 (38.32), pl. 18 - III
Family: Unknown

2.21 Stable Master of the Residence

– *ḥry iḫw n <u>ḥ</u>nw*

Name: Nakhtamun
Source: Pen-Case from Megiddo, Palestine Archaeological Museum, 38.813
Date: Ramesses III
Additional Titles: King's Envoy to Every Foreign Country
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994) 164 (18.288); KRI V, 255; Loud (1939), 11-12, pl. 62; PM VII, 380
Family: Unknown

Name: X
Source: Door Lintel, el-Hilleh, Cairo Museum, JE 25769
Date: Ramesses III
Additional Titles: Dignitary, King's Envoy
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 165 (18.295); Daressy (1920) 3 - 7; KRI V, 393; PM IV, 125 (S. 398 d)
Family: Son: Pahemneter, Stable Master of the Lord of the Two Lands, King's Envoy

Name: Nebsumenu
Source: Tomb, TT148, Dra Abu el-Naga
Date: Ramesses IV
Additional Titles: Steward of the Estate of Khonsu
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 164 (18.285); Gaballa-Kitchen 1982, MDAIK 37, 172, fig. 7; PM I, 259-60; KRI VI, 92
Family: Father: Amunemipt
Additional Notes: The title is inscribed in his father's tomb.

Name: Naherher
Source: Stela, British Museum EA792
Date: Ramesses IX
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 164 (18.284); HTBM X, 20-1, pl. 44-45; KRI VI, 525; Lieblein (1871) no. 1002; Sculpture Guide (1909), 202-3, no. 736
Family: Grandfather: Naherher, Viceroy of Kush
Father: Wentawat, Stable Master, Viceroy of Kush, First Prophet of Amun of Ramesses
Mother: Twosret
Brother: Amunwahsu, First prophet of Amun of Ramesses
Sisters: Aset and Taaky, chantresses of Wepwawet
Additional Notes: If the genealogy is correct, the father, Wentawat, passed one of his titles to each of his sons.

Name: Paser
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 163 (18.281); Gardiner (1941a) A, 48 (45.18), 54 (51.47), 69 (65.32), pls. 21, 24, 31
Family: Unknown

Name: Hori
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 164 (18.292); Gardiner (1941a) A, 14 (14.18), 15 (15.7), pl. 6
Family: Unknown

Name: Khaemtcheret
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 165 (18.293); Gardiner (1941a) A, 86 (81.33), 87 (82.35), 91 (86.30,86.31), 92 (87.13), 97 (92.4), pls. 39, 40, 42, 47
Family: Unknown

2.22 Stable Master of the Lord of the Two Lands

– *ḥry iḥw n nb t3wy*

Name: Pahemneter/Pawehemnuter
Source: Door Lintel, el-Hilleh, Cairo Museum, JE 25769
Date: Ramesses III
Additional Titles: King's Envoy to all Foreign Lands
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 162 (18.270); Daressy (1920); KRI V, 393; PM IV, 125 (S. 398 d); RITA:T, 323, § 393
Family: Father: X or [Aa/Wer]emiatef, Stablemaster of the Residence, Dignitary, King's Envoy
Additional Notes: Several horses are depicted on lintel: two horses, and an additional two horses led my a man but the images were not published. The text says Pahemneter was sent by the king to every foreign country.

2.23 Stable Master of the Army

– *ḥry iḥw n mšʿ*

Name: Rh...
Source: Papyrus MMA, no. 3569
Date: Ramesses III
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 160 (18.259); KRI VII, 269; RITA:T VII 186, § 269:215
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Text split between two documents dated to year 16 of Ramesses III, MMA 3569 and Vienna 38 (3934/3937) + 9352 a/b. This section is a documentary list of army personnel including the Stable Master and several army scribes. Determinative of "Stable Master" is A24, unsual for this title.

2.24 Stable Master of the *3wt*

– *ḥry iḫw p3 3wt*

Name: Any
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994),168 (18.306); Gardiner (1941a) A, 90 (84.42), pl. 41
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Gardiner translate 3wt as "strech" (lit. "extension of [foot] of pharaoh") but there is no precise meaning. (Gardiner, 1948, 173) Another entry in part B of the text refers to a place "(on) fields of the Strech of the Pharaoh arable land". (Gardiner, 1941a, 113, line 6.20).

Uncertain Date

2.25 Stable Master

– *ḥry iḫw*

Name: Pai-hary
Source: Stela, British Musem, no. 313
Date: 18th/19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: HTBM IX, 65, pl 50; Helck (1971), 7; Schneider (1992), 105, no 219
Family: Unknown

Name: Mia
Source: Relief fromTomb of Ry, Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin, no. 7278
Date: 18th/19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 147 (18.129); Günther (1913), 181; Königliche Museen zu Berlin (1899), 148
Family: Unknown

Name: Panastraa
Source: Graffito, Wadi el-Aliaki
Date: 19th/20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 142 (18.74); Piotrovski (1983), 76 (139)
Family: Unknown

Name: Panaanat
Source: Graffito, Wadi el-Aliaki
Date: 19th/20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 143 (18.79); Piotrovski (1983), 76
Family: Unknown

Name: Para
Source: Graffito, Wadi el-Aliaki
Date: 19th/20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Černý, J. (1947), 54 (13); Chevereau (1994), 144 (18.93); Piotrovski,(1983), 67 (10); PM VII, 318
Family: Unknown

Name: Nekhtu
Source: Stela, Museum G. Laibt Toulouse, inv no. 49279
Date: 19th/20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 151 (18.162); Ramond (1977), 48, pl X
Family: Unknown

Name: Ipwy
Source: Sarcophugus, Florence Museum S.no
Date: NE
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 136 (18.04)
Family: Unknown

Name: May
Source: Stela, Louvre C 81
Date: NE
Additional Titles: Child of the Kap
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 148 (18.130); Pierret (1878), 51
Family: Unknown

Name: Ramaa
Source: Stela, Abydos, no. 1158
Date: NE
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 152 (18.171); Helck *Materialien* I, 43; Mariette (1880), 433; Schneider, Asiatic (1992), 265 no. 625
Family: Father: Tchany, General of the House of Amun
Brother: Kener, General of the House of Amun

Name: Hr
Source: Stela, Louvre. C 87
Date: NE
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 153, (18.190); Pierret (1878), 55
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Stela of Sia

Name: Amunemipt
Source: Shabti, Museo Egizio no. 2521
Date: NE
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 136 (18.08); Fabretti (1881), 359; Helck *Materialien* II, 261
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes:

Name: Any
Source: Shabti, Museo Egizio no. 2513
Date: NE
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 135 (18.01); Fabretti (1881), 358
Family: Unknown

2.26 Stable Master of the Lord of the Two Lands

– *ḥry iḥw n nb t3wy*

Name: Ipwy
Source: Sarcophugus, Florence Museum S.no
Date: NE
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 162 (18.268)
Family: Unknown

Name: Meryra
Source: Stela. Louvre, C 102
Date: NE
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 162 (18.273); Pierret (1878), 20
Family: Father: Wermau
Mother: Taamenetet
Additional Notes: Stela of his father, Wermau

2.27 Stable Master of the Residence

– *ḥry iḥw n ẖnw*

Name: Wentawat
Source: 1. Stela from Buhen, University of Pennsylvania Museum, E 10990
2. Lintel from Semna, Cairo Museum, JE 50207
Date: NE
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 163 (18.279);
1. Randall (1911) 79 (8), 80 (10); KRI VI, 530; PM VII, 137
2. Gautheir (1928), 134-6, pl 2; KRI VI, 530
Family: Unknown

2.28 Stable Master of the Prince

- ḥry iḫw n ḥ3ty.ʿ

Name: Amuni
Source: Graffito, Wadi el-Aliaki
Date: 19th/20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Stable Master of the Prince
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 168 (18.307); Piotrovski (1983), 79 (179)
Family: Unknown

2.29 First Stable Master of His Majesty

– ḥry iḫw tpy n ḥm.f

Name: Parenen
Source: Stela. Museum of Vienna. no. 51
Date: NE
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Bergmann (1887), 41-2, no 12; Chevereau (1994), 161 (18.262); Helck *Materialien* VI, 1015
Family: Unknown

3. Scribes

18th Dynasty

3.1 Scribe of Horses

– *sš ssmt*

Name: Tennay
Source: Funerary Cone
Date: 18th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Scribe of the Army; Fleet Leader; Fleet Leader of Amun; Fleet Leader of the Lord
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 223 (32.05); Davies & Macadam (1957), no 111; Helck *Materialien* I, 47
Family: Unknown

3.2 Military Scribe of Horses Innumerable

– *sš n msʿ n ssmt ʿš3 wrw nn ḥsb.sn*

Name: Inhertmose
Source:
1. Tomb from Naga el-Mashayikh
2. Statue, Cairo Museum, CGC 582 and 1136
Date: 18th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Scribe of Recruits of the Lord of the Two Lands; Interpreter for any Country in Front of His Master; Overseer of Prophets; High Solar Priest of Ra in Thinis
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 224 (32.08)
1. PM V, 28-9; Sayce (1890), 62; Kees (1937), 79-82; Bell (1976), no. 1179; Kadri (1982), 178; Ockinga & al-Masri (1988), 11-14 (31.33)
2. Borchardt CGC II, 133-4, III, 7; KRI VII, 226; Schulz, (1992) nos. 90, 125
Family: Son: Pennebu, Stable Master
Father: Pennebu, Scribe of the Recruits of the Lord of the Two Lands

19th Dynasty

3.3 Scribe of Horses

– *sš ssmt*

Name: Ta
Source: Woo Unknown den scribal palette, British Museum, EA 5514
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 132; British Museum (1922), 49 (7); Chevereau (1994), 223 (32.06); Glanville (1932), 59, pl. VII, fig 1; KRI III, 249; PM I/2, 844
Family: Unknown

Name: Aa-bau
Source: TT 351
Date: 19th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 132; Chevereau (1994), 223 (32.04); Fakhry (1946) 42; PM I/1, 417
Family: Wife: Ay

3.4 Scribe of Horses of the Lord of the Two Land of the Stable of Ramesses II Miamun of the Residence

– *sš ssmt n nb tȝwy n pȝ iḥw n (Ramesses II) n ḫnw*

Name: Harmin
Source: Stela, Heliopolis, Louvre C.292 (AF 749)
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 224 (32.07); Desroches-Noblecourt & Vercoutter (1981), 268-9, no 284; KRI VII, 125-6; PM IV, 63
Family: Offering Stela by Harmin, honoring his father

Father: Piay, Chief Priest of the waʿbet-shrine(?)
Mother (?): Tataia, Chantress
Brothers: Pentaweret, depositor(?); Parekha, scribe

20th Dynasty

3.5 Chief Scribe of Horses

– *imy-r sšw ssmt*

Name: Iuy
Source: Facade of Speos of Horemheb, Gebel el-Silsileh
Date: Ramesses III
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 223 (32.03); Champollion (1827), 252, 258; KRI V, 394; PM V, 208
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Inscription above doorway

4. Other Titles

19th Dynasty

4.1 Headmaster of the Stable

– *tpy m iḫw*

Name: Seti
Source: Inscription at Abu Simbel
Date: Merenptah, Siptah
Additional Titles: Viceroy of Kush
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 132; Maspero (1910), 131
Family: Unknown

4.2 Commander of Horses

– *ḥry-tp ssmt*

Name: Amunemenet
Source: Statue, Deir el-Bahri, Luxor Museum, no. 227
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Charioteer; King's Envoy to all Foreign Lands
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 132; KRI III, 274
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: The inscription reads "He placed me to be Charioteer, Commander of Horses, and King's Envoy to (all) Foreign Lands, Amunemenet"

Name: Iwny
Source: Lower part of a statue, Luxor
Date: Seti I
Additional Titles: Royal scribe; Right hand of the King; Overseer of Foreign Lands of Upper and Lower Egypt
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 55 (7.56); Fakhry (1934), 91-2, pl. II.2; Kitchen (1978), 168; KRI VII, 26; Schulz (1992), no 241
Family: Unknown

Name: Men-Kheper
Source: Graffito at Sehel
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: King's Envoy to all Foreign Lands
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 132; Lieblein, (1892) no. 900; de Morgan (1894), 94 no. 139
Family: Men-Kheper is called "Commander of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands"

4.3 Charioteer of the Stable of Ramesses II

– *kḏn n iḫw n (Ramesses II)*

Name: Raia
Source: Tomb of Khonsu, Qurna

Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 184 (23.77); Davies (1948), 30; KRI III, 402; PM I, 47-8
Family: Grandfather: Neferhotep, First Prophet of Amenhotep II
Grandmother: Tausert, Songtress of Amun
Father: Khonsu, High-priest of Menkheperre, High-priest of Montu, Lord of Tod, Supervisor of the Livestock of Menkheperure
Mother: Maya
Brother: Usermont, Stable Master

Name: Hui
Source: Papyrus Leiden I, 349
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 133; Bakir (1970), pl. 17, 18, 23, 24; Chevereau (1994), 184 (23.78); KRI III, 250-1; Wente (1990), 123 (145)
Family: Unknown

4.4 Charioteer of the Great Stable of Merenptah of the Residence

– kṯn n pȝ iḫw ʿȝ n (bȝ-n-rʿ-mry-imn) n ḥnw

Name: Inwaw
Source: Papyrus Aastasi III
Date: Merenptah
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 183 (23.73); Gardiner (1937), 32
Family: Unknown

4.5 First Charioteer of His Majesty of the Great Stable of Ramesses II

– kṯn tpy n ḫm.f n pȝ iḫw ʿȝ n Ramesses II

Name: X

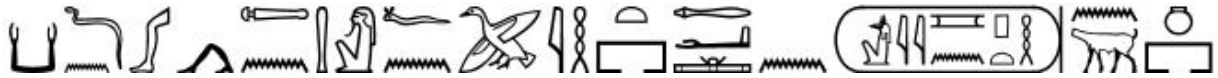
Source: Door jamb from Qantir, Victoria Museum, Uppsala
Date: Ramesses II
Additional Titles: King's Envoy to all Foreign Lands
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 133; Chevereau (1994), 182 (23.71); Habachi (1954), 499; KRI III, 253; Säve-Söderbergh (1945), 25-8, fig 4
Family: Unknown
Additional Notes: Name lost

4.6 First Charioteer of His Majesty of the Stable of Ramesses II of th Residence

– kṯn tpy n ḥm.f n pȝ iḫw n Ramesses II n ḫnw

Name: Bak
Source: Stela, Louvre C 96
Date: Stela
Additional Titles: Ramesses II
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 182 (23.70); Rougé (1873), 115; Pierret (1878), 41
Family: Unknown

4.7 First Charioteer of His Majesty of the Great Stable of Seti-Merenptah of the Residence



– kṯn tpy n ḥm.f n pȝ iḫw ʿȝ n sṯḥ.y-mr-n-pt n ḫnw

Name: Hori
Source: Inscription, Temple of Buhen
Date: Seti II
Additional Titles: Royal Envoy to all Lands
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 182 (23.72); PM VII, 134; Randall (1911), 38; Sayce (1895), 162

Family: Father: Kam

20th Dynasty

4.8 Charioteer of the Great Stables of Ramesses III of the Residence of Ramesses III

– kṯn pȝ iḥw ʿȝ n Ramesses III n ḫnw Ramesses

Name: Pareherwenemef
Source: Tomb QV42
Date: Ramesses III
Additional Titles: Head Charioteer, First of His Majesty, Prince, Fan-Bearer to the Right of the King
Bibliography: Ashmawy (2014), 133; Bruyère (1925), 158, pl. III, 5; Champollion (1827) 395-6; Chevereau (1994), 183 (23.74); Gauthier (1912), 176; PM I/2, 752-3
Family: Father: Ramesses III

Name: Sethiherkhepeshef
Source: Inscription in tomb QV 43
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Charioteer
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 183 (23.75); Habachi (1954), 505; PM I/2, 753-4
Family: Unknown

4.9 Great Charioteer, the First of His Majesty, of the Great Stable of Ramesses III

– kḏn ʿ3 tpy n ḥm.f n p3 iḥw ʿ3 n rʿ-ms-sw-ḥḳ3-iwn

Name: Sa…

Source: Statue, British Museum, no 936
Date: Ramesses III
Additional Titles: Great Charioteer, the First of His Majesty
Bibliography: Chevereau (1994), 183 (23.76); KRI VII, 279
Family: Unknown

4.10 First Charioteer of His Majesty of the Great Stable of Ramesses III in the Residence of Ramesses III

–

kḏn tpy n ḥm.f n pȝ iḥw ʿȝ n Wsr-Mȝʿt-Rʿ mri-imn n ẖnw Rʿw-mss ḥkȝ-iwnw

Name: Pentawere
Source: Tomb QV43
Date: Ramesses III
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Gnirs (2013), 661-662; Bruyère (1925), 158
Family: Father: Ramesses III
Mother: Ty
Additional Notes: May have been conspiring with his mother to usurp the throne of Ramesses III (See KRI V, 358:9– 12, RITA V, 301)

5. Grooms - *mri*

20th Dynasty

5.1 Groom

- *mri**

* For variations of the spelling of this word, see Hoch (1994), 132, no. 173

Name: Amennakhte
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Gardiner (1948a), 18 (17.31)
Family: Unknown

Name: Nebunakhte
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Gardiner (1948a), 38 (37.1), pl ; 44 (41.45)
Family: Unknown

Name: Setkhaa
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Gardiner (1948a), 43 (41.17)
Family: Unknown

Name: Setmose
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Gardiner (1948a), 47 (44.44), pl. ; 70 (66.35)
Family: Unknown

Name: Meryset
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Gardiner (1948a), 50 (48.20)
Family: Unknown

Name: Khore
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown

Bibliography: Gardiner (1948a), 83 (78.22)
Family: Unknown

Name: Hori
Source: Wilbour Papyrus
Date: 20th Dynasty
Additional Titles: Unknown
Bibliography: Gardiner (1948a), 83 (78.23)
Family: Unknown

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