The Offices and Career of Ḏw / Šm̱i of Deir El-Gebrawi

وظائف چعو/ شماي من دير الجبراوي ومساره الوظيفي

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Abstract

Ḏw / Šm̱i was one of the members of ʾIbi’s family that ruled the Eighth and the Twelfth nomes of Upper Egypt for three generations respectively during the sixth dynasty. Ḏw / Šm̱i was the son of ʾIbi who took over him in both nomes then after the death of Ḏw / Šm̱i his son who was called also Ḏw, the grand son of ʾIbi, took the charge of both nomes by the end of the sixth dynasty.

The aim of this article is to examine the titles and offices held by Ḏw / Šm̱i which were registered on the tomb walls of tomb 12 at Deir el Gebrawi which was designated to be the eternal residence for him and his son Ḏw.

The paper states a detailed discussion on the different offices that he held during his long career. It also discusses the reading of each title, the tasks carried out by its holder and the nature of each title whether it was an actual title with a real office or a honorific one. Thus, in order to suggest a possible hierarchy for Ḏw / Šm̱i and to shed light on his responsibilities in these several offices which he was occupied.

Finally, The article proposes three different career paths that Ḏw / Šm̱i passed by during his long resplendent career.

Keywords: Ḏw, Šm̱i, Deir El Gebrawi, Overseer of Upper Egypt, Abydos, offices.

الملخص

تهدف هذه الورقة البحثية إلى دراسة الألقاب والوظائف التي تقلدها چعو/ شماي والمدونة على جدران المقبرة رقم 12 بدير الجراوي التابعة لمركز أبئوب بمحافظة أسوان.

تتناول البحث عرضًا مفصلا لكل الوظائف المتنوعة التي شغلها چعو/ شماي خلال حياته المهنية الطويلة، كما يناقش طبيعة كل لقب ومهمته الوظيفية من أجل وضع اقتراح تسلسل وظيفي لهذا الموظف.

وبعد دراسة متائية لجميع الوظائف والألقاب التي تقلدها چعو/ شماي اقترح الباحث ثلاثة مسارات وظيفية مختلفة تقلدها هذا الموظف خلال حياته المهنية الطويلة.
Introduction:

D₅w / Šm₃l was the son of Ibi the owner of tomb 8 at Deir el Gebrawi and the nomarch of the Thinite and the Anteopolite Nomess¹, Ibi’s career was long extended from the reign of Pepy I and Merenre I and probably died during the first half of Pepy II².

Offices of D₅w / Šm₃l were registered on the different walls of his tomb which is located at the southern group in Deir el-Gebrawi³.

Davies, PM, Baer and Kanawati noted that tomb 12 at Deir el Gebrawi was the tomb of D₅w / Šm₃l² and his son who was also called D₅w, while Thérése Clarke adopted that the tomb 13 at Deir el Gebrawi was that of D₅w / Šm₃l and that the tomb 12 was D₅w’s tomb⁵. Davies had noted that during his work at Deir el Gebrawi he excavated tomb 13 which was a diminutive tomb divided into two by a pelaster and a false Architrave⁶.

Klaus Baer depending on an inscription in tomb 12 proposed that D₅w built that tomb for himself and his father D₅w / Šm₃l as the first registered that he caused to be buried with D₅w, his father, in order to be buried with him in one tomb and not because there were not the enough means to build two tombs⁸. Kanawati adopted that opinion of Baer as he

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¹ Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi I, pp. 8-9; PM IV, p. 243.
² Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 56 [32].
³ Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi I, p. 5; II, p. 3, pls. 3-5, 7-12.
⁴ Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi I, p. 5; II, pp. 1-13; PM IV, pp. 244-246; Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 157 [592]; Kanawati, N., “The Identification of D₅w / Šm₃l and D₅w in the Decoration of their tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi”, p. 59.
⁵ Clarke, T., The overseer of Upper Egypt in Egypt’s Old Kingdom, A prosopographical study of the title – holders and a re-examination of the position within the Old Kingdom bureaucracy, vol. I, p. 121.
⁷ Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 157 [592].
⁸ Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 157 [592].
The Offices and Career of D₅w / Šm₃l of Deir El-Gebrawi

noted that both D₅w / Šm₃l and D₅w were buried together in one and the same tomb⁹ which is tomb 12 at Deir el Gebrawi.

There are many difficulties to study the offices of D₅w / Šm₃l as many of the tomb reliefs are destroyed as well as the main difficulty that both individuals were named D₅w, the father and the son. For the second difficulty it is worth noting that the father was mentioned by his rn.f nfr Šm₃l, Kanawati referred that the Artists used two different methods to differentiate between D₅w the father and the son, the first method by using the phrase s₅₃.f D₅w when represented together¹⁰ and the second method by using two groups of titles particularly the priestly titles as when dealing with D₅w / Šm₃l the priestly title was written in addition to Pepy’s II pyramid Nfr-k₃-r₅ mn-₅₃nl¹¹.

For the name of D₅w it was written in that way 𓊉 in all the tomb reliefs¹² and for his rn.f nfr it was written in that way 𓊉 in all the tomb reliefs¹³.

Different opinions were raised concerning the date of the tomb of D₅w / Šm₃l and his son, PM dated it to the sixth dynasty without assigning a specific sovereign¹⁴, Baer dated it to the middle or later reign of Pepy II¹⁵, Kanawati dated it to the middle years of Pepy II particularly from the 21-40 years of his long reign¹⁶, while Harpur suggested an earlier date in the long reign of Pepy II from the first year of that sovereign to the thirty-fourth year of his reign¹⁷, Kanawati later changed his mind and adopted a wide range date for the tomb by the reign of Pepy II without setting any years¹⁸, Brovarski believed that it is dated to the second half of Pepy II¹⁹, then later he assigned particular date from the 55-85 years of Pepy’s II reign²⁰. Consequently, D₅w / Šm₃l may be dated back from the early to the middle reign of Pepy II, a fact which was supported by Strudwick who pointed out

⁹ Kanawati, N., “The Identification of D₅w / Šm₃l and D₅w in the Decoration of their tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi”, p. 59.
¹⁰ Kanawati, N., “The Identification of D₅w / Šm₃l and D₅w in the Decoration of their tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi”, p. 60.
¹¹ Kanawati, N., “The Identification of D₅w / Šm₃l and D₅w in the Decoration of their tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi”, p. 60.
¹⁴ PM IV, p. 244.
¹⁵ Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 157 [592].
¹⁶ Kanawati, N., Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt, pp. 33, 48-49, 89, 94.
¹⁷ Harpur, Y., Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom, p. 280 [647].
¹⁸ Kanawati, N., “Nepotism in the Egyptian Sixth Dynasty”, p. 56.
²⁰ Brovarski, E., “Overseers of Upper Egypt in the Old to Middle Kingdoms”, p. 29 (46).
that the title $shd\ hm(w)$-$ntr$ + a royal pyramid, which was known in the titularies of $D^5w / \dot{S}m\dot{b}l$, was not common after the middle of the sixth dynasty\textsuperscript{21}.

From the tomb of $D^5w / \dot{S}m\dot{b}l$ and after examining its reliefs and inscriptions it is noted that $D^5w / \dot{S}m\dot{b}l$ held twenty two titles, I arranged them alphabetically after studying those mentioned by Davies\textsuperscript{22} and comparing them with the titles of $D^5w$ (the son) and excluding five of them which are related to the son. Those five titles are:

1. $mdw\ H^p$\textsuperscript{23}
2. $r\ p\ nb$\textsuperscript{24}
3. $hrp\ ibt\ tyw\ H^r$\textsuperscript{25}
4. $mmiw\ Nh\ n$\textsuperscript{26}
5. $hry-tp\ Nh\ b$\textsuperscript{27}

On the other hand, there were two titles for $D^5w / \dot{S}m\dot{b}l$ were not listed in the list of Davies which are $hry-\ hbt$\textsuperscript{28} and $imy-r\ \dot{sm}^5w$\textsuperscript{29}.

The Titles of $D^5w / \dot{S}m\dot{b}l$:

1. $imy-r\ wp(w)t\ htp(w)t-ntr\ m\ prwy$\textsuperscript{30}
2. $imy-r\ prwy-hd$\textsuperscript{31}
3. $imy-r\ s\swy$\textsuperscript{32}
4. $imy-r\ \dot{sm}^5w$\textsuperscript{33}

\textsuperscript{21} Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 318.
\textsuperscript{28} Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, pl. IX.
\textsuperscript{29} Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, pl. VII.
The Offices and Career of $\text{Dw} / \text{Śm3l}$ of Deir El-Gebrawi

5- $\text{imy-r Śm}_w \text{m3}^\text{34}$
6- $\text{imy-r Śnwy}^\text{35}$
7- $\text{imy-hṭ hmw-ntr Mn-Śnḥ Nfr-K3-R}^\text{36}$
8- $\text{wŚb 200}^\text{37}$
9- $\text{ḥṣy-}^\text{38}$
10- $\text{ḥwy}-\text{ṣt}^\text{39}$
11- $\text{ḥṛy sšṭ n sdmt w}^\text{40}$
12- $\text{ḥṛy-tp }^\text{32} (n) \text{ṭtft}^\text{41}$
13- $\text{ḥṛy-tp }^\text{33} \text{T3-wr}^\text{42}$
14- $\text{ḥk3 hw}^\text{t}^\text{43}$
15- $\text{ḥnty-Ś Mn-Śnḥ-Nfr-K3-R}^\text{44}$
16- $\text{ḥṛp śnd(w)t nb(w)t}^\text{45}$
17- $\text{ḥtnty-bṭy}^\text{46}$
18- $\text{ḥṛy-hb}^\text{t}^\text{47}$
19- $\text{ḥṛy-hbt ḥṛy tp}^\text{48}$

The range of frequency of each title and its sequences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>The title number</th>
<th>The title</th>
<th>Number of times $\Phi\Phi\Phi$’s / $\Phi\Phi\Phi$ title was mentioned inside the tomb</th>
<th>The preceding title</th>
<th>The following title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>$'my-r\ wpt\ h\tlpt-ntr\ m\ prwy$</td>
<td>only once</td>
<td>$\Phi\Phi b\ 200$</td>
<td>$h\Phi\Phi t\ 3\ (n)\ T3-wr$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>$'my-r\ prwy-hd$</td>
<td>only once</td>
<td>$'my-r\ s\nwty$</td>
<td>$'my-r\ s\swy$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>$'my-r\ s\swy$</td>
<td>three times</td>
<td>$'my-r\ prwy-hd$ or $'my-h\ tlht\ h\m(w)-ntr\ Mn-\Phi\Phi Nfr-k3-R\Phi$ or $h\Phi\Phi-t\ 3\ T\Phi-wr$</td>
<td>$'my-r\ s\swy\ w\Phi$ in once, while in the other two it was the last title in the inscription of the wall before his name.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>$'my-r\ s\swy\ w\Phi$</td>
<td>nine times</td>
<td>$h\swy-c$ or $h\Phi\Phi-h\Phi t$ or $h\tlhty-b\Phi\Phi\Phi\Phi$ or $smr-w\Phi\Phi\Phi$ and $h\Phi\Phi-s\Phi\Phi\Phi\Phi n\ sdmt\ w\Phi$</td>
<td>$h\Phi\Phi-t\ 3\ (n)\ 3\Phi\Phi t\ or\ h\Phi\Phi-t\ 3\ T3-wr\ or\ h\wty-c\ 3\ t\Phi$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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The Offices and Career of $D^w / Šmžl$ of Deir El-Gebrawi

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Office or Title</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Sequence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>$'my-r βm$ $m^3$</td>
<td>two times</td>
<td>It was once preceded by $h^3ty$ and in the second time by $ḥmtty-bity$</td>
<td>It was followed by $sm$ on one occasion and by $hry-tp$ $T3-wr$ on the other occasion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>$'my-r βnty$</td>
<td>two times</td>
<td>either $'my-ḥt $hm(w)-ntr$ $Mn-nḥ-Nfr-k3-R^c$ or $hry-tp$ $n$ $ṭf$</td>
<td>It was followed once by $'my-r$ $prwy-ḥd$ and on the other occasion it was the last title before the deceased’s name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>$'my-ḥt $hm(w)-ntr$ $Mn-nḥ-Nfr-k3-R^c$</td>
<td>six times</td>
<td>$smr w^c$ or $h^3ty$ or $shd$ $hm(w)-ntr$ $Mn-nḥ-Nfr-k3-R^c$</td>
<td>$'my-r βnty$ or $hry-tp$ $T3-wr$ or $ḥk3$ $ḥwty$ or $hry-ḥbt$ $hry-tp$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>$w^c$ $šnty$ (200)</td>
<td>only once</td>
<td>$ḥnty-σ$ $Mn-nḥ-Nfr-k3-R^c$</td>
<td>$'my-r$ $wpt$ $ḥpt-ntr$ $m$ $prwy$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>$h^3ty$</td>
<td>twelve times</td>
<td>$'my-r βm$ or $hry-tp$ $T3-wr$ or $shd$ $hm(w)-ntr$ $Mn-nḥ-Nfr-k3-R^c$</td>
<td>$'my-r βm$ or $'my-r$ $βm$ $m^3$ or $'my-ḥt$ $hm(w)-ntr$ $Mn-nḥ-Nfr-k3-R^c$ or $ḥmtty-bity$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>$ḥwty$</td>
<td>three times</td>
<td>$'my-r βm$ or $ḥmtty-bity$ or $shd$ $hm(w)-ntr$ $Mn-nḥ-Nfr-k3-R^c$</td>
<td>$ḥk3$ $ḥwty$ or $ḥmtty-bity$ while in the third time there is a fraction in the inscription</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>$hry$ $ššb$ $n$ $sdmt$ $w^c$</td>
<td>only once</td>
<td>The inscription is destroyed before the current title</td>
<td>$'my-r βm$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>$hry-tp$</td>
<td>seven times</td>
<td>$'my-r βm$ or $hry-tp$ $T3-wr$ or $smr w^c$</td>
<td>$'my-r βnty$ or $ḥk3$ $ḥwty$ or $hry-ḥbt$</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>hry-tp</td>
<td>thirteen times</td>
<td>Imy-r wpt ḫpt-ntr m prw or imy-r šm₃w or imy-r šm₃w m₃c or imy-ḥṯ hm(w)-nṯr Mn-₅nh-Nfr-k₃-Rc or ḫtmty bity or smr wᶜty or šḥd hm(w)-nṯr Mn-₅nh-Nfr-k₃-Rc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>T₃-wr</td>
<td></td>
<td>Imy-r sswy or Ḫty-c or hry-tp ḫ ṯt T₃-wr or Ḫk₃-hwt</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ḫḳ₃ ḫwt</td>
<td>nine times</td>
<td>Imy-ḥṯ Mn-₅nh-Nfr-k₃-Rc or ḫwty-ḥṭ or hry-tp ḫ ṯt (n) ḫṯt or Ḫty-c T₃-wr or ḫtmty bity or šḥd hm(w)-nṯr Mn-₅nh-Nfr-k₃-Rc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>It was followed either by ḫnty-š Mn-₅nh-Nfr-k₃-Rc or smr wᶜty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ḫnty-š Mn-₅nh-Nfr-k₃-Rc</td>
<td>two times</td>
<td>Once it was preceded by Ḫḳ₃-ḥwt and once by hry-ḥbt hry-tp</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Once it was followed by wᶜb šnty (200) and once by ḫtmty bity</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>ḫrp ṣmd(w)t nb(w)t</td>
<td>two times</td>
<td>Once it was preceded by sm, while in the second time the inscription is destroyed</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>It was once followed by hry-tp ḫ ṯt T₃-wr, while in the second time it is followed by the epithet imy-ib n nb.f⁵²</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>ḫtmty-bity</td>
<td>nine times</td>
<td>Ḫty-c or ḫwty-ḥṭ or ḫnty-š Mn-₅nh-Nfr-k₃-Rc or smr wᶜty or šḥd hm(w)-nṯr Mn-₅nh-Nfr-k₃-Rc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>It was followed by several titles either imy-r šm₃w, Ḫty-c, ḫwty-ḥṭ, hry-tp ḫ ṯt T₃-wr, Ḫḳ₃ ḫwt or smr wᶜty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>hry-ḥbt</td>
<td>two times</td>
<td>It was preceded either</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>It was followed by imy-</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

⁵² Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 44:231.
### The Offices and Career of ⲳ ámb of Deir El-Gebrawi

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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>by hry-tp Ⲣ nb or smr wty</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>hry-hbt hry-tp</td>
<td>Five times</td>
<td>imy-ḥt Mn- ngũ Nh-Nfr-k3-R⪪ or smr wty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hry-tp Ⲣ T3-wr or ḫnty-ỉ Mn- ngũ Nh-Nfr-k3-R⪪ or ḫ3 hwt or sm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>sm</td>
<td>two times</td>
<td>hry-hbt hry-tp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>hṛp śnd(w)t nb(w)t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>smr wty</td>
<td>eleven times</td>
<td>ḫ3 hwt or šḥ ḫm(w)-ntr Mn- ngũ Nh-Nfr-k3-R⪪</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Imy-ṛ śm⪪ w or imy-ḥt Mn- ngũ Nh-Nfr-k3-R⪪ or hry-tp Ⲣ (n) nb or hry-tp Ⲣ T3-wr or hry-hbt or hry-hbt hry-tp</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>šḥ ḫm(w)-ntr Mn- ngũ Nh-Nfr-k3-R⪪</td>
<td>six times</td>
<td>In all times inside the tomb such title was always inscribed in the beginning of the inscriptions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Imy-ḥt ḫm(w)-ntr Mn- ngũ Nh-Nfr-k3-R⪪ or ḫ3ty-⪪ or ḫwty-⪪ nb or ḫry-tp Ⲣ T3-wr or smr wty</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) imy-ṛ wp(w)t ḫtp(w)t-ntr m prwy:

Firth and Gunn translated the title as: “overseer of the census (?) of divine offerings in the two houses”\(^{53}\), Pirenne suggested the translation of “director of the (declarations) of the sacred domain in Upper and Lower Egypt”\(^{54}\), Drioton and Lauer believed in the translation of “manager of divine domain enterprises in both administrations”\(^{55}\), while Simpson remarked that the possible translation is “overseer of the distribution of offerings in the two houses”\(^{56}\). And finally, Jones adopted the translation of “overseer of the divisions / apportionments of divine offerings in the two houses”\(^{57}\).

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53 Firth, C. and Gunn, B., Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I, p. 151 (15).
54 Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du droit privé Égypte III, p. 32.
Kanawati pointed out that it was a new title introduced by the advent of the sixth dynasty. It is worth commenting that the title was known in the Memphite necropolis and in the provinces as well.

The title is divided into two parts: the first is and the second part is . For the first part Fischer noted that it is more likely concern division(s) or apportionments of offerings but he was uncertain concerning the word division(s) or apportionment(s) whether it is singular or plural.

The title is connected with the divisions of offerings which came through serfs, landholders and also funerary priests. Baer pointed out that the office was connected at least once with a royal pyramid in case of the title .

For the second part of the title Faulkner and Hannig suggested the reading of and Hannig translated it as: “he who is in the two houses”. Hannig remarked that it was not an independent title, but to be understood as “in the two administrations” i.e. the state administration. Pirenne had supposed before that the two administrations mean Upper and Lower Egypt.

From the previous was responsible for collecting, managing and administrating all the divisions of offerings which came through land holders, serfs and funerary priests in the state administration and not the pyramid of Pepy II, where he held

59 as: Petrie, H. and Murray, M., Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels, pls. 3, 4; Moursi, M., Die Hohenpriester des sonnengottes von der frühzeit Ägyptens bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches, p. 32, / / , Capart, J., Une rue de tombeaux à saqqarah, pp. 76, 96, , Firth, C. and Gunn, B., Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I, p. 151 (15) and , Drioton, É and Lauer, J., “Un groupe de tombes à saqqarah: Icheti, Nefer-Khonou-Ptah, Sébeh-em-khent et Ânhki”, p. 213, pl. 6; , Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 94 [7].
60 as of Deir el Gebrawi (father of ), Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi I, p. 9 (28); II, pl. 3; - , Kanawati, N., The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, The cemetery of Akhmim VI, p. 7 (2), fig (2).
61 Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 222.
63 Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 250; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 98:404.
64 FCD, p. 89; Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 49.
65 Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 49.
66 Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 49.
many titles in his titulary, as there is an exclusive title for those who served in the pyramid complex of Pepy II which was \textit{imy-r wpwt-htp(w)t-nfr Mn 5nh-Nfr-k3-R}^{68}.

\begin{center}
(2) \includegraphics[width=0.1\textwidth]{image.png}
\end{center}

\textit{imy-r prwy-\(hd\)}:

Jones translated the title as “overseer of the two treasuries”\textsuperscript{69}. It was one of the most important offices in the Old Kingdom.

The term \textit{prwy-\(hd\)} most probably refers to the state treasuries, as the dual form always indicates the financial institutions of the state\textsuperscript{70}.

It is worth noting that it is evidenced from the titles connected with the treasury that most of its offices were scribal concerning with reckoning state revenues as well as that revenues from temples and private estates\textsuperscript{71}. The treasury was responsible for providing the deceased with part of the funerary offerings and funerary equipments beside controlling some sorts of goods as metals, linen, wine and oils\textsuperscript{72}. The treasury performed the supervision of the central government expenditure and the assessment of the dues from the different governmental institutions and the individuals\textsuperscript{73}.

The appearance of \textit{imy-r prwy-\(hd\)} and \textit{imy-r \(snwty\)} (6) together with each other in the titularies of the officials was quite common in the capital and in the provinces as well. As both institutions formed that portion of the economic administration of the state\textsuperscript{74}.

The title \textit{imy-r prwy-\(hd\)} was known since the middle of the fourth dynasty as it was held by \textit{nfr} who is dated to the reign of king Khafre or slightly later\textsuperscript{75} then it was held by \textit{3\(hi\)} who is dated to the late of the fourth dynasty or the beginning of the fifth dynasty\textsuperscript{76}. The title disappeared during the first half of the fifth dynasty until it appeared in the titularies of the two viziers \textit{k3\(i\)} and \textit{ph-n-wi-k3\(i\)} who were dated to the reign of Ne-User-Re\textsuperscript{77}. During the fifth dynasty the title was confined solely to viziers except for \textit{k3\(i\)} and \textit{df3wi}\textsuperscript{78}.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[69] Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 133:524.
\item[70] Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamten titeln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, pp. 59-63.
\item[71] Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 299.
\item[72] Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamten titeln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, p. 59.
\item[73] Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 299.
\item[74] Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 288, 299.
\item[75] Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 109-110 (84), 290.
\item[76] Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 55 (1).
\item[77] For \textit{k3\(i\)} who is dated to the reign of Ne-User-Re and \textit{ph-n-wi-k3\(i\)} who is dated to the late reign of the same sovereign, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 142-144 (136), 84-85 (45).
\item[78] For \textit{k3\(i\)} who is dated to the middle of the fifth dynasty and \textit{df3wi} who is dated to the middle or late of the same dynasty, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 144 (137), 166-167 (167).
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
In the sixth dynasty the title was held by viziers and non viziers in addition to its occurrences in the provinces\textsuperscript{79}. Despite the title was not common in the provinces, it was found occasionally since the reign of Pepy I to the late Old Kingdom\textsuperscript{80}. As it was firstly appeared in the provinces in the case of \textit{iw\textit{w}} at Abydos, who held also the title of the vizierate\textsuperscript{81} and \textit{ny\textsuperscript{c}}\textit{nh-ppy / sb\textit{k}-\textit{h}tp} at Meir\textsuperscript{82}. Both are dated to the middle of the sixth dynasty\textsuperscript{83} while during the reign of Pepy II it was held by Ibi’s family of Deir El Gebrawi which includes \textit{Ibi, D\textsuperscript{\textit{w}}/ \textit{Sm}3\textit{i} and D\textsuperscript{\textit{w}}/\textit{tt}i} and finally, \textit{k\textit{il}-\textit{hb}} / \textit{tti} of Akhmim\textsuperscript{84}. Helck remarked that the holders of \textit{imy-r prwy \textit{hd}} were responsible for the overall control of the treasury while those who bore the singular form of the title i.e. \textit{imy-r pr \textit{hd}} were in charge of actual treasuries and daily matters of the treasuries\textsuperscript{86}. Helck’s point of view was acceptable until the advent of the dynasty six when the title \textit{imy-r pr-\textit{hd}} disappeared, as it was only held by \textit{k\textit{il}-\textit{dbh}} and \textit{\textit{nh}-h\textit{3}/l \textit{k\textit{hr}}\textsuperscript{87} and most probably the non vizierial holders of \textit{imy-r prwy-\textit{hd}} took over part of their responsibilities\textsuperscript{88}. It is worth commenting that there were two or may be three concurrently holders of the two main treasury titles since the late of the fifth dynasty and the early of the sixth dynasty, which led to the division of responsibility and the appearance of some Memphite officials dealt with the revenues in the provinces until some local nomarchs were granted the title of \textit{imy-r prwy-\textit{hd}}\textsuperscript{89}. A fact which is confirmed by the reduction of the Memphite holders of the \textit{imy-r prwy-\textit{hd}} by the middle of the sixth dynasty. The title \textit{imy-r prwy-\textit{hd}} was not frequent in the provinces as there were only six provincial holders for the title, the title was distributed in Abydos, Meir, Deir El Gebrawi and Akhmim, with consideration that the three holders of the title from Deir el Gebrawi, i.e. \textit{Ibi’s} family, were at the same time nomarchs of Abydos, that led to conclude the

\textsuperscript{79} Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 277-279.
\textsuperscript{80} Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 276.
\textsuperscript{81} Kanawati, N., The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom, Evidence on its Economic decline, p. 33.
\textsuperscript{83} Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 279.
\textsuperscript{84} Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebräwi I, p. 8 (9); II, p. 1 (20); Brovarski, E., “Overseers of Upper Egypt in the Old to Middle Kingdoms”, pp. 28 (45), 29 (46).
\textsuperscript{85} Kanawati, N., The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, the cemetery of Akhmim III, pp. 7-32.
\textsuperscript{86} Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtenstiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, pp. 58, 61.
\textsuperscript{87} The former was dated to the middle fifth dynasty up to the early sixth dynasty, while the later was dated to the early sixth dynasty, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 156 (153), 78-79 (35).
\textsuperscript{88} Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 291.
\textsuperscript{89} Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 299.
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strong link or connection of this title with Abydos and Meir as two highly administrative provinces.

The attestation of this title in the provinces may reflect a gradual devolution of responsibility to a local level so as to manage the revenues and the assessments of the dues of all parts of the country accurately. The main reason for the less spread of imy-r prwy-hd outside the capital, if it is compared with the title of imy-r šnwty (6), was that the treasury was in charge of the collection of revenues, so the supervisors of the treasuries were not required to be close to the sources of the revenues unlike those supervisors of the granary who were required to be very close to the sources of the revenues. As for Ḑw / Šmỉl, he may have been appointed as a nomarch for the Eighth nome of Upper Egypt i.e. Abydos thus to be in charge of the treasuries and collecting the revenues of Upper Egypt a role which was played by Abydos due to its pivotal situation between the middle and southern nomes and its close relationship with the residence throughout the Old Kingdom.

\[(3) \text{imy-r šw}:\]

Jones translated the title as “overseer of the two bird pools or fowling pools”\(^92\). It is a well-known title since the Old Kingdom\(^93\). The title is attested in the Memphite necropolis\(^94\) as well as in the provinces\(^95\).

As for the sign \[\text{ },\] Gardiner referred that it represents ducks’ heads emerging from a pool and was used either as an ideogram, as in the current title, or as a determinative\(^96\).

Montet suggested the reading of this ideogram as “lwn”\(^97\) while Wb and Gardiner believed in the reading “ss” and pointed out that it means “swamp, bird pool or net”\(^98\).

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\(^{90}\) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 292.

\(^{91}\) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 292.

\(^{92}\) Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 219:816.

\(^{93}\) Wb III, p. 484 (13-14).


\(^{95}\) Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 473 (G 49).


\(^{97}\) Wb III, p. 483 ; Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 473 (G 49).
sš was used to designate the place of performing the activities of fowling and fishing in the swamps of Delta. The representation of this swamps in the scenes of the tombs had two functions, the first was to amuse the tomb owner by fowling and fishing for entertainment, and the second was to ensure the continuous flow of birds to his offering table.

The *imy-r sšwy* had two important responsibilities, He was in charge of the maintenance and preservation of these swamps for the royal family and nobles in order to spend their leisure time there, that role of amusement and entertainment is confirmed by the addition of the term *šhmh-ib*, which means “amusement or recreation”, after the title of *imy-r sšwy*. He was also responsible for the profiteering of these swamps economically. A function which is confirmed by the fact that the office of *imy-r sšwy* was carried out by officials who were in connection with either the granary or the treasury institutions or both of them as in case of *D iw / Šm ḫ*. For the relation between the three titles, The Author knows five officials till now in the capital held the three titles together *imy-r sš(wy)*, *imy-r prwy-ḥḏ* and *imy-r šnwty* and two only held the titles *imy-r sšwy* and *imy-r prwy-ḥḏ* while in the provinces, *Ṭbi* of Deir El Gebrawi held the three titles and *Ppy - ṣnh / ḥnī-km* and *ny-ṣnh-Ppy / sbk-ḥtp* of

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99 Newberry, P., Beni Hasan I, pl. 34; Newberry, P., El Bersheh I, pls. 8-9; Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 139 [16]; Macramallah, R., Le mastaba d’Idout, pl. 7.
101 Harpur, Y., Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom, pp. 140-141. As fowling and fishing are very known motif in the private tombs.
102 Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 808.
103 *imy-r sšwy mBrit n šhmh-ib* (true overseer of the two fowling ponds of recreation), Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 220:818. It also appeared in many Middle Kingdom titles as: *imy-r sšwy n šhmh-ib* and *imy-r sšw nw šhmh-ib*, Ward, W., Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, p. 45:351-352.
104 Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrāwi II, pl. IX, where the three titles are mentioned respectively *imy-r šnwty*, *imy-r prwy-ḥḏ* and *imy-r sšwy*.
- Ḥmnw-htp, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt is the Old Kingdom, p. 127 (112).
- *nfr-sšm-rad / sšl*, Capart, J., Une rue de tombeaux à saqqareh II, pl. xi ; Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 112 (88).
106 ṣnh-mz-Hr / sš, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 75 (30); Ḥnty-k*l / ḫḥḥ, James, T. and Apted, M., The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhki, p. 10 (35, 44).
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Meir held the three titles also, but the former held the granary and treasury titles in the singular form as $imy-r šnwt$ and $imy-r pr-wd$\(^{108}\).

Finally, the attestation of the title $imy-r šswy$ in the titularies of $D^5w / Šm3l$ beside the title $imy-r prwy-wd$ and $imy-r šntwy$ indicates his responsibility in the maintenance of the marshes of his nomes and its exploitation economically for the state.

(4) \[\begin{array}{c}
imy-r šm5w
\end{array}\]

(5) \[\begin{array}{c}
imy-r šm5w m35
\end{array}\]

Jones translated the first title as “overseer of Upper Egypt” while the second one as “true overseer of Upper Egypt”\(^{109}\).

For $šm5w$, Martinet suggested that it indicated an entity or area which was neglected by the sovereigns of the fourth dynasty who were interested in the development of Lower Egypt more than Upper Egypt\(^{110}\).

Most probably such office might had been introduced because of gathering or the concentration of titles from the different departments of the local administration in the hands of certain individuals by the advent of the fifth dynasty\(^{111}\).

Several opinions were raised concerning the beginning of the office of $imy-r šm5w$, Baer mentioned that it was known since the reign of Djedkare\(^{112}\), the eighth monarch of the fifth dynasty\(^{113}\) as it was held by $R^5-špss$\(^{114}\), Kanawati agreed with Baer’s suggestion but he pointed out that it was held firstly by the vizier $k3i$, who is dated by him to the middle reign of Djedkare then it was held by $R^5-špss$ whom he dated to the end of the reign of Djedkare\(^{115}\). On the other hand, Strudwick noted that the vizier $k3i$ is dated to the reign of Ni-User-Re\(^{116}\), the fifth monarch of the fifth dynasty\(^{117}\), If the opinion given by Strudwick is correct then the office was introduced since the reign of Ni-User-Re.

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\(^{108}\) Blackman, A. and Apted, M., The Rock Tomb of Meir V, pls. 41, 12 respectively.


\(^{110}\) Martinet, É, Le Nomarque sous L’Ancien Empire, p. 175.

\(^{111}\) Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 281.

\(^{112}\) Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 274.

\(^{113}\) von Beckerath, J., Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen, p. 55.

\(^{114}\) Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 274.

\(^{115}\) Kanawati, N., Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt, p. 14.

\(^{116}\) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 142 (136).

\(^{117}\) von Beckerath, J., Handbuch der ägyptischen königsnamen, p. 55.
Fischer noted that the title *imy-r Šm*f was held during the reign of Pepy II exclusively by nomarchs only except for *pr-Šm*r,[118] But Brovarski pointed out that there were holders for the title and were not nomarchs as ‘Idi,[119] beside it was held by viziers as well e.g. Mrrt,[120] Ppy-śnh / mry řc-śñy hry-ln of Meir[121] and his successor Ppy-śnh / Ḥn-šm[122] Also it was held by Ḥwī who was neither nomarch nor vizier[123].

Breasted, Kees and Helck observed that the title by the time, due to the much holders of it particularly in the reign of Pepy II, became an honorary title.[124] But Goedicke, depending on the Coptus decrees which are dated to the reign of Pepy II, rebutted that point of view and mentioned that it was a real office with various tasks beside the continuous role of that administration of Upper Egypt to the end of the sixth dynasty[125].

Fischer pointed out that the multiple holders of the title during the reign of Pepy II made it possible that many of them had control of far less than the entire southern half of the country.[126] Fischer also debated that title and stated that it was not honorific title, but it was limited in geographical scope.[127]

Brovarski remarked that by the end of the sixth dynasty the title lost something of its original high standing but at the same time it does not mean that it lost its functional significance.[128]

The *imy-r Šm*f was in charge of tax collection and financial management[129] as making the taxes of cattle, goats as well as that of oxen, a fact that is confirmed in the tomb of Ḥwī Šm[130] where he as *imy-r Šm*f was viewing the census of cattle[130]. Also, the overseer of Upper Egypt had the responsibility of issuing the order for corvée service with the list of men to be levied[131].

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118 Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 94.
119 CG 1577, Borchardt, L., Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II, p. 58, pl. 76; Brovarski, E., “Overseers of Upper Egypt in the Old to Middle Kingdoms, part 1”, p. 93.
120 Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 99 [67]; Harpur, Y., Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom, p. 274.
123 Jéquier, G., Le monument funéraire de Pepi II, II, pls. 46, 48.
125 Goedicke, H., “Zu *imy-r Šm*f und *tp-Šm*f im Alten Reich”, pp. 1-10.
126 Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 94.
127 Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 94.
129 Kanawati, N., Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt, p. 71.
130 Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, pl. 9.
131 Brovarski, E., “Overseers of Upper Egypt in the Old to Middle Kingdoms, part 1”, pp. 96, 98.
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$D^5w / Šmzi$ as nomarch of the 8th and 12th nomes was in charge of collecting taxes from these nomes which were under his control as well as making the required levy in those nomes for the residence.

While according to the title $imy-r šm5w m3^\gamma$, the addition of the adjective $m3^\gamma$ after the previous title may indicate that $D^5w / Šmzi$ practiced the office in the overall geographical scope of Upper Egypt132, consequently $D^5w / Šmzi$ was responsible for collecting taxes from all the provinces of Upper Egypt as well as making the required levy of the Upper Egyptian nomes for the residence.

(6) $\text{imy-r Šnwty}$:

Jones translated the title as “overseer of the two granaries”133. The title was the most important title in the administration of granary134. The title was found in the titularies of viziers, construction supervisors and non-viziers135.

The dual term of granaries in the title means the over control of the granaries of the whole country and not two particular ones136. The holder of that title was in charge of the overall supervision of the entire complex of the granary137 which was run by officials bearing lower ranks and titles138.

The title was known in the Memphite capital since the middle of the fifth dynasty which was firstly held by $sšmzw$ who is probably dated to the reign of Ne-User-Re139 while in the provinces it was first known since the early or middle dynasty six140 as in case of $wns-\gamma nh$ at Thebes141.

Since the sixth dynasty and thereafter the numbers of the Memphite holders of the title were reduced, a fact which was confirmed by the development of the provincial administration in the sixth dynasty and the appearance of holders with the same title in the provinces142. Therefore, by the middle of dynasty six and then, it was a well known

132 Wb believed that such addition indicated that the office was actually exercised, Wb II, p. 13 [22].
134 Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtenstiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, p. 64.
135 Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtenstiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, p. 64; Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 266.
136 Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 265.
137 Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 266.
138 Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 138 (127), 252.
139 Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 253.
140 Strudwick, M., Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes, pp. 12-17.
141 Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 266.

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title in the provinces of Thebes\textsuperscript{143}, Meir\textsuperscript{144}, Abydos\textsuperscript{145}, Deir el Gebrawi\textsuperscript{146} and Akhmim\textsuperscript{147} as they were centred on the most productive lands in Upper Egypt\textsuperscript{148}. Finally, one can believe that it was one of the most essential and frequent titles in the provinces’ governments.

Martin-Pardey suggested that provincial officials who headed the granaries administration might have been connected with the capital early in their career\textsuperscript{149}. On the other hand, Kanawati and Strudwick doubted that suggestion. The former noted that, according to the governmental expansion, the system created branches of the central granaries in some well known province where the land revenue and taxes may be gathered and that the title cannot refer to a previous service in Memphis\textsuperscript{150}. The later pointed out that the frequency of the title appearances in the provinces makes it difficult to assume that these title holders performed the same tasks in the capital before moving to their new locations\textsuperscript{151}.

Such number of contemporary holders of the title “overseer of the granaries” indicates that their overall control of the granary organisation was not the same as many of them their control most likely did not exceed their provinces\textsuperscript{152}.

The holder of \textit{imy-r šnwty} was responsible for grain and food supply which reflects its significance in the financial administration of the land contributing in the revenue of the treasuries\textsuperscript{153}.

As for \textit{D$m\ddot{w}$ / Šm$\tilde{u}$}, I am inclined to suggest that he carried out the tasks of the granaries in the 8\textsuperscript{th} and 12\textsuperscript{th} nomes after moving to these nomes as an overlord where he was responsible for grain and food supply as well as collecting the land revenue and taxes.

\textsuperscript{143} Saleh, M., Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes, pp. 26-27.
\textsuperscript{145} Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, pp. 61-62 (73 a).
\textsuperscript{146} Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrawi I, p. 8 (7); II, pl. ix.
\textsuperscript{147} Kanawati, N., The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, The Cemetery of Akhmim III, pp. 7-32 (\textit{k3i-hb / tti}), 12-37 (\textit{k3i-hb / tti-ikr}).
\textsuperscript{148} Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 266.
\textsuperscript{149} Martin-Pardey, E., Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches, p. 137 n.1.
\textsuperscript{150} Kanawati, N., Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt, p. 74.
\textsuperscript{151} Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 266.
\textsuperscript{152} Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 266.
\textsuperscript{153} Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 275.
The Offices and Career of ḫn-m(w)-ntr Mn-ŠNh-Nfr-k3-Rc of Deir El-Gebrawi

(7)  imy-ḥt hm(w)-ntr Mn-ŠNh-Nfr-k3-Rc

(22)  ṣḥd hm(w)-ntr Mn-ŠNh-Nfr-k3-Rc

Jones translated the first title as “under supervisor of ḫm-ntr priests of the pyramid of Neferkare”\(^{154}\) and the second title as “inspector of ḫm-ntr priests of the pyramid of Neferkare”\(^{155}\).

\(\text{ḥm-nt}r\) was one of the temple phyles which included other staff and personnel beside the \(\text{ḥm-nt}r\) as: the \(\text{w}^\text{f}b(w)\), the \(\text{ḥry}(w)-\text{ḥbt}\), the \(\text{ḥnty}(w)-\text{š}\) and the \(\text{dt}\) servants\(^{156}\). Each of them performed specific tasks in the temple.

\(\text{ḥm-nt}r\) and \(\text{w}^\text{f}b\) priests were in charge of recitation of the daily rituals and directing the monthly activities\(^{157}\).

As for ḫn-m(w)-ntr he was ṣḥd hm(w)-ntr then he was promoted to imy-ḥt hm(w)-ntr, which was a very high rank. Consequently, he presided all these temple phyles\(^{158}\) in the cult temple of Pepy II.

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157 Roth, A., Egyptian phyles in the Old Kingdom: The Evolution of a system of social organization, pp. 91-92.
158 Muhs, B., The Ancient Egyptian Economy 3000-30 BCE, p. 43.
It is worth commenting that it is not before the Middle Kingdom that the office of shḥd ḥm(w) ntr was linked with the gods’ temples beside the mortuary temples of the pyramids. Since ḫw / Șmḥ was shḥd ḥm(w)-ntr and then promoted to the imy-ḥt ḥm(w)-ntr therefore he may have supervised all the activities in the cult temple of Pepy II or at least directing and managing the prophets who served in the cult temple of Pepy II.

In addition to these two priestly offices, Șmḥ was also wḥb śnty, thus he was responsible for the recitation of the daily rituals and the monthly activities in the cult temple of Pepy II and administrating all the affairs of Pepy’s II cult temple.

(8)  

wḥb 200 / wḥb śnty:

Jones translated the title as “wḥb priest of two hundred”. Junker remarked that it was a rare and unexplained title which was also attached to the priests of both the court and the pyramid temple. Fischer noted that it was not a very lofty title as it did not reflect a high status.

The title wḥb 200 sometimes mentioned alone as in case of ḏḥy, ḫ-ḥsšt, GGī and ḫw / Șmḥ. While in other cases it was associated either with the pr-ḫṣ (palace) as in case of ny-ḥḥ-Ppy or with the pyramid complexes since the end of the fifth dynasty and thereafter as in cases of and or connected with a phyle.

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159 Ward, W., Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, p. 154:1327-1330.
162 Junker, H., Giza VI, p. 15.
163 Fischer, H., Varia Nova, p. 3.
164 Daressy, G., Le mastaba de Mera, Mémoires Présentés à l’Institut égyptien 3, pp. 562, 567.
166 CG 1455, Borchardt, L., Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, p. 142, pl. 35 (left).
167 Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir el-Gebrâwi II, pl. x.
169 Daressy, G., Le mastaba de Mera, p. 567.
170 wḥb 200 Mn-nfr-Ppy, James, T. and Apted, M., The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikheki, p. 10 (33).
171 wḥb 200 Mn-ḥḥ-nfr-kī-Rš, Murray, M., Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom, p. 18; Junker, H., Giza VI, p. 15; Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 142 (134) śdy / ṣḥḥ.
The Offices and Career of D₅w / Šmʒl of Deir El-Gebrawi

It is worth commenting that the translation of the title suggests an obscure group of 200 members. Davies and Goedicke rejected the numerical reading of 200 (šnty). Davies, depending on the pattern of wꜣb + n +deity, suggested that the title refers to a rope god. While Goedicke read the title as wꜣb wty and translated it by “embalmer of the pure one” in which the coil of (wt) means “to embalm” thus the dual form wty means “embalmer”. Goedicke believed that the wGBP element of the title designates Horus, the deceased king, as the pure one.

The title of wꜣb 200 in case of D₅w / Šmʒl may in fact associated with the pyramid of Pepy II as he held many titles associated with that pyramid as hnty-š Mn-ꜣnh-Nfr-kꜣ-R (∞), shd hm(w)-ntr Mn-“nh-Nfr-kꜣ-R (∞), imy-ht hm(w)-ntr Mn-ꜣnh-Nfr-kꜣ-R (∞), as well as it is mentioned in the inscriptions of his tomb at Deir el Gebrawi directly after these priestly mentioned titles.

(9)  hʒty-ꜣ:

The title is composed of two words: which means foremost and which means hand or arm, so it literally means foremost of arm / hand, Wb translated it as “First in Place”, while Faulkner suggested that it means local prince, nomarch or mayor and finally Jones believed in the translation of “count” for the title.

The office was known from the first and second dynasties. It is worth noting that at the early part of the Old Kingdom such office was exclusive for the sons of the sovereign. In fact, the title was one of the most familiar Old Kingdom titles as reflected from its much occurrence in the titularies of the officials during the Old Kingdom which indicates

174 Wilson, A., Pure Ones : the wGBP And wGBH from the Old Kingdom to the end of the Middle Kingdom, p. 80.
176 Goedicke, H., “Gods and Priests by the Hundreds?”, p. 73, n. 3.
179 Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebräwi II, pl. x.
181 FCD, p. 36; Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 133.
182 Wb III, p. 25 [2].
183 FCD, p. 162.
184 Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 496:1858.
186 Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtenstiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, pp. 20-21; Baud, M., Famille royale et pouvoir sous L’Ancien Empire égyptien I, pp. 257-259.
the distinguished social standing of its holder as well as the high administrative role of this office.

It is worth noting that $D^w / \dot{S}m\ddot{b}i$ did not hold the current title while he was alive, a fact that is clear by a passage in his tomb as his son $D^w$ asked the monarch to award the office of the $h3ty-\ddot{c}$ to his father $D^w / \dot{S}m\ddot{b}i$.

\[ \text{iw db\dot{h}.n (i) m-\ddot{c} hm.f} \]
\[ \text{nd b\dot{t} nt h3ty-\ddot{c} n D^w pn} \]

I asked his majesty awarding the office of count to this Djau.

and in a response his majesty issued an order to make him $h3ty-\ddot{c}$ as a $htp-di-nsw$

\[ \text{iw rdi.n hm.f irt wd n rdit.f m h3ty-\ddot{c} m htp-di-nsw} \]

His majesty caused an order to be issued granting him count as an offering which the king gives

Perhaps, the previous request from $D^w$ the son to the king so as to award his father $\dot{S}m\ddot{b}i$ the office of $h3ty-\ddot{c}$ even after his death indicates that such office enhance the status of his father as well as it guaranteed the gaining of material support for his tomb and his funerary cult and may reflected that he practised the charge of this job even without holding its title as indicating from the titles $hry-tp \ddot{c} n 3tfi$ (12), $hry-tp \ddot{c} T3-wr$ (13). Finally, by awarding the king his official $D^w / \dot{S}m\ddot{b}i$ the title of “count” proves the great standing and status of both $D^w / \dot{S}m\ddot{b}i$ and $D^w$ to the king.

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187 Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 147 [13-14].
188 Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 147 [15-16].
The Offices and Career of $\mathcal{D}^{5}w / \mathcal{S}^{m}3i$ of Deir El-Gebrawi

(10) \( \text{hwty-}\mathcal{S}\mathcal{t}: \)

Jones read the title as \textit{hwty-}\mathcal{S}\mathcal{t} and translated it as “one belonging to or member of the great estate or Domain”\(^{189}\). It is worth observing that the title of $\mathcal{D}^{5}w / \mathcal{S}^{m}3i$ was preceded by \( (n) \)\(^{190}\) which made Fischer read the current title as \textit{n(y) hwt \mathcal{S}\mathcal{t}}\(^{191}\) and he suggested that it might be an error or a variant for \textit{hwtt-}\mathcal{S}\mathcal{ty} and translated it as “one belonging to the great domain”\(^{192}\).

Various interpretations have been proposed concerning \textit{hwt \mathcal{S}\mathcal{t}} which had consequences in terms of the social and economic history of the Old Kingdom, \textit{hwt \mathcal{S}\mathcal{t}} was known since the Third dynasty as a large estate or farming estates\(^{193}\). It was a kind of palace playing the role of administrative center of a provincial and productive unit created where the policy of founding farms by the crown was particularly intense\(^{194}\). Garcia noted that \textit{hwt \mathcal{S}\mathcal{t}} might be a sector of the palace where the future leaders (nobility) were educated with the sons of the pharaohs before becoming their advisers and having access to position of responsibility in the Kingdom\(^{195}\). He also mentioned that \textit{hwt \mathcal{S}\mathcal{t}} might be a sanctuary in the sun temple at Heliopolis\(^{196}\).

The inscription of \textit{Mtn} revealed that a single \textit{hwt \mathcal{S}\mathcal{t}} could govern several localities\(^{197}\) and that its presence was dominant in the Delta. But this impression could be induced by the fact that \textit{Mtn} was an official connected with the administration of Lower Egypt and that \textit{hwt \mathcal{S}\mathcal{t}} seem to replace older administrative units such as \textit{prw}. So, \textit{hwtt-}\mathcal{S}\mathcal{t} was the administrative center of a district comprising a variable number of localities and recently founded farms\(^{198}\).

\(^{191}\) Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 72 n. 294.
\(^{192}\) Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 72 n. 294.
\(^{194}\) Moreno Garcia, J.C., Administration territoriale et Organisation de L’espace en Egypte au troisième millénaire avant J.-C. (III-IV): \textit{nwt m\^{3}wt et hwt-}\mathcal{S}\mathcal{t}, pp. 46, 53.
\(^{195}\) Moreno Garcia, J.C., Administration territoriale et organisation de l’espace en Egypte au troisième millénaire avant J.-C. (III-IV): \textit{nwt m\^{3}wt et hwt-}\mathcal{S}\mathcal{t}, pp. 50-51.
\(^{196}\) Moreno Garcia, J.C., Administration territoriale et organisation de l’espace en Egypte au troisième millénaire avant J.-C. (III-IV): \textit{nwt m\^{3}wt et hwt-}\mathcal{S}\mathcal{t}, pp. 51-52.
\(^{198}\) Moreno Garcia, J.C., “Administration territoriale et organisation de l’espace en Egypte au troisième millénaire avant J.-C. (III-IV): \textit{nwt m\^{3}wt et hwt-}\mathcal{S}\mathcal{t}, p. 46.
It is most likely that the term $\text{hw}_t^\text{\$3}t$ indicates that the importance of this institution and the extent of the lands which it controlled exceeded those of a simple $\text{hw}_t$ which would explain why its presence was limited to certain provinces only$^{199}$. The more modest dimensions of the domains attached to the $\text{hw}_t$ allowed these installations to be much more widespread in the provinces, if we judge by the spatial distribution of the holders of the function of $\text{hk}_3^3 \text{hw}_t$ (14) considering that a $\text{hw}_t$ controlled agricultural settlements, estates farms$^{200}$, cattle, $\text{mr}_t$ corvee laborers, houses, trees and livestock$^{201}$.

It is worth noting that $\text{hw}_w^\text{\$3}t$ as farming estates were in charge of catering the requirements of the royal household and to support the projects of the state beside supporting the royal cult$^{202}$. These great royal farming estates were frequently in reference to Heliopolis, most probably the revenue of these estates were used to support the temple and its personnel$^{203}$ which explained its association with the sun temple at Heliopolis.

Thus $\text{hw}_t^\text{-\$3}t$ was a kind of palace that ran vast crown farms including estates, settlements, cattle and workers that were founded in regions that were poorly organized from the administrative point of view or which had great agricultural potential where the crown had an interest in asserting its presence and developing local resources to improve vast exploitations in certain provinces of the country or a sector in the palace acted as a training school for future leaders of the country.

Garcia pointed out that during the sixth dynasty the term $\text{hw}_t^\text{-\$3}t$ was restricted to certain apartments of the royal palace as well as to temple installations and a Heliopolitan sanctuary$^{204}$.

From the previous, one can assume that $D^w / \text{\$m}_3^3i$ was in charge of administrating these crown farms’ estates, cattle and settlements in the territories he overlorded and organising their labor and productivity. Such opinion was based on the titles $\text{imy}_r \text{prw}_r^\text{-\$h}_\text{d}_2^2$ (2), $\text{imy}_r \text{\$n}_1^1t^1$ (6) and $\text{imy}_r \text{\$m}_3^3w$ (4), $\text{hr}_y^\text{-tp}^\text{-\$3} n \text{\$t}_1^1f_t^1$ (12) and $\text{hr}_y^\text{-tp}^\text{-\$3} T_3^1\text{-wr}$ (13) that he held in his titulary.

$^{199}$ Moreno Garcia, J.C., Administration territoriale et organisation de l’espace en Egypte au troisième millénaire avant J.-C. (III-IV): $\text{nwt m}_3^3\text{wt}$ et $\text{hw}_t^\text{-\$3}t$, p. 46.

$^{200}$ Sethe, K., Urk I, pp. 1[15], 3 [11-12].

$^{201}$ Sethe, K., Urk I, pp. 144-145.


$^{203}$ Moreno Garcia, J.C., Administration territoriale et organisation de l’espace en Egypte au troisième millénaire avant J.-C. (III-IV): $\text{nwt m}_3^3\text{wt}$ et $\text{hw}_t^\text{-\$3}t$, pp. 51-53.

$^{204}$ Moreno Garcia, J.C., Administration territoriale et organisation de l’espace en Egypte au troisième millénaire avant J.-C. (III-IV): $\text{nwt m}_3^3\text{wt}$ et $\text{hw}_t^\text{-\$3}t$, p. 48.
The Offices and Career of דวรรณ / Šmذي of Deir El-Gebrawi

Davies translated the title as “He who is over the secrets of sole audience”\(^{205}\), Fischer suggested firstly the translation of “hearing of one i.e. the king”\(^{206}\) but he then changed his mind noting that it means “Master of the secrets of that which one alone judges”\(^{207}\). Finally, Jones believed in the translation of “secretary of that which one alone judges”\(^{208}\).

There are two variants for the current title known during the Old Kingdom, the first is \(\text{ד腳} \text{סשתנ} \text{ edm(t)} \text{ wכ}\) and the second is \(\text{סדם סدمات ונוא} \text{ edm wכ}\) where the ending \(\text{ט} \text{ is restored}\)\(^{209}\).

The title is possibly consisting of two terms or titles: the first is \(\text{ד璺} \text{ סשתנ}\) which is translated as “master of secrets or privy counsellor”\(^{210}\). And the second is \(\text{סדם סدمات wn}\) such reading is confirmed by the Middle Kingdom writing \(\text{סדם סدمات wn} \text{ tt}\)\(^{211}\) but Fischer preferred its reading as \(\text{edm sdm ttt}\)\(^{211}\). Ward translated it as “Judge of hearing alone”\(^{212}\), while Fischer believed in the translation of “priy judging” for the word \(\text{tt}\)\(^{213}\).

Fischer pointed out that there is no evidence to translate “\(\text{סدمات}\)” in the current title as “hearing” as well as there is no evidence for the usage of \(\text{tt}\)\(^{213}\) in the current title as an adverb meaning “alone” and the only case to translate \(\text{סדמ} \text{ as hearing is that for sdm-}\)\(^{214}\). Consequently, the second title is translated according to Fischer as judge of privy judging.

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205 Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrawi II, p. 2 n. 4, pl. x.
211 Fischer, H., “Marginalia II”, p. 69.
212 Ward, W., Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, p. 174:1503.
214 Fischer, H., “Marginalia II”, p. 70; For Old Kingdom titles including \(\text{edm mdw}\) by the meaning of hearing”, \(\text{edm mdw m šst3(w) nb(w)}\) and \(\text{edm mdw št3w n hwrt-wrt}\), Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 986:3643-3644.
The second title $sdmt$ is associated with many legal and judicial contexts as: $hry$s$t³$ $n$ $sdmt$ $w^c$ $m$ $hwtr$-wr$t$ $6^{215}$, where it was in connection with the $hwtr$-wr$t$ institution$^{216}$, and $imy$-$r$ $sdmt$ $nbt$ $s$t$t^i$.$^{217}$

It is worth commenting that the title $imy$-$r$ $sdmt$ $nbt$ which means “overseer of all that is judged”$^{218}$ do not indicate only legal matters but it also indicates secret matters and information. A fact which is confirmed by the cases of $^mathrm{n}h$-$m^-c$-$Hr$ $^{219}$ and $T$-$sfi$ $^{220}$ who were $imy$-$r$ $sdmt$ $nbt$ but without any other legal titles in their titularies. Thus, the word $sdmt$ in their titularies refers to royal confidential matters which designate the king’s trust in them. $sdmt$ was also used during the New Kingdom$^{221}$ as an epithet indicating confidential and secret matters concerning royal trust$^{222}$ and palace confidentiality$^{223}$.

From the previous, one can conclude that the holders of $hry$s$t³$ $n$ $sdmt$ $w^c$ were connected to religious or judicial or palace matters, this differs from case to another according to the contexts and the titulary of every official. For $D^c$/$Smii$ I am inclined to consider that the title reflects a degree of palace confidence or royal trust since he held many titles concerned with the direct contact with the living king as $hry$ $hbt$ $hry$-$tp$, sm.

$$
\begin{align*}
(12) & \ \ hry$-$tp$ $s$ $(n)$ $t^i$ $^{224}
(13) & \ \ hry$-$tp$ $s$ $T$-$tr$-$wr$
\end{align*}
$$

Jones translated the first title as “great overlord of the 12th nome of Upper Egypt”, while he translated the second one as “great overlord of the Thinite nome”$^{225}$.

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$^{215}$ privy to the secret of that which one alone judges in the 6 Great courts, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 644:2359.
$^{216}$ For the $Hwtr$-wr$t$ and $Hwtr$-wr$t$ 6, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 176-198.
$^{217}$ Overseer of all secret judgements, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 243:888.
$^{219}$ PM III/2, pp. 512-515. ($^mathrm{n}h$-$m^-c$-$Hr$ / $ssi$).
$^{220}$ Capart, J., Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah II, pl. 73.
$^{222}$ Sethe, K., UrK IV, p. 410 [12], (the case of $s$-$n$-$mw$t).
$^{223}$ Sethe, K., UrK IV, p. 1031 [13], (the case of the vizier $w$-$wr$).
$^{224}$ Jones believed in the reading of $i$t$ rather than the reading $DW$ $f$ $t$, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 651:2383.
It is worth commenting that the title ṣšm tꜣ was used during the fourth and the fifth dynasties so as to indicate the office of nomarch, while during the sixth dynasty it continued in use in the northern area of Upper Egypt i.e. in the 16-22 nomes.

As for the term hry-tp it was introduced by the advent of the sixth dynasty particularly from the reign of king Teti to designate a “nomarch”. It is translated as “one who is in charge”, such term was known earlier than the sixth dynasty as it is attested in the pyramid texts as well as in various titles as ḫry-ḥḥt hry-tp and hry-tp n ḫkrt nsw.

Fischer noted that in the formal titulary of an official the term hry-tp was followed by the adjective ḩ3 then appended by the word “nome” or “the name of the nome” as in case of Dꜣw / Šmšl.

Since the beginning of the sixth dynasty till the end of the Old Kingdom, the phrase hry-tp ḩ3 was the only phrase that was used to assign a nomarch. On the contrary, the term hry-tp was attached to many Old Kingdom titles that its use independently as a less formal designation for nomarch was less noticed.

From the earliest nomarchs who was great overlord was Ḥsi of Edfu who served the monarchs Djedkare, Wenis and Teti respectively. But he became hry-tp ḩ3 during the reign of Teti as reflected from his biography where the current title was mentioned last i.e. after a list of titles he acquired during the reign of Teti, then his son kꜣr took over him in Edfou as great overlord by the time of Merenre. At the same time ḫb, the father of Dꜣw / Šmšl became the nomarch hry-tp ḩ3 of the 12th nome (3tft / ḫwft), but according to

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226 It is translated as leader of the land, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 975:3603.
228 Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 74.
230 Sethe, K., Pyr. 182 a (W, N) as ṣḏty is “overlord of his spwꜣf”.
231 Wb III, pp. 395 [9], 140 [16].
232 Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 74.
234 e.g. hry-tp ḫbt and hry-tp ḫḥb, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, pp. 647:2371, 648:2374.
235 Maurice, A., Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou 1932, p. 22.
236 Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 254 [3-4].
to Fischer he might be assigned as a nomarch for the 8th nome much earlier than that date, i.e. by the time of Pepi I.

The phrase ḫry-tp was followed in the first title of Šm3i by the name of twelfth nome of Upper Egypt ḫtw / Dwft, while in the second title the phrase was followed by the name of the eighth nome of Upper Egypt (Abydos). Consequently ḫtw / Šm3i was great overlord of the eighth and the twelfth nomes of Upper Egypt where he was responsible for administrating and managing both nomes which he was in charge of after the death of Ibi. Finally, it is worth to note that both titles were written fully, each time they were mentioned on the tomb walls, with the emblems of each nome most probably to differentiate between them as both ḫtw / Šm3i and ḫtw were great overlords of the 8th and the 12th nomes.

(14) 𓊥𓊝 hkh3 ḫwt:

Jones suggested several translations for the title: “estate manager”, “property administrator” and “chief of the estate / field district.”

ḥwt indicates an estate or large farm or a major land holdings van den Boorn suggested that ḫwt refers firstly to all the royal funerary foundation or domain possibly surrounded by a girdle wall originally, then the term was used to refer to a private estate. An opinion which was accepted by Piacentini who believed that ḫwwt were private or semi-private estates given as grant or in usufruct.

According to Boorn the main function of the ḫwwt were to supply the mortuary complex of the deceased king.

It is worth commenting that the office ḫkh3 ḫwt was known since the fourth dynasty, as it was attested in the titularies of the viziers and the members of the royal family which

237 Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 74 n. 305.
238 Gauthier, H., Dictionnaire des noms Géographiques contenus dans les textes Hiéroglyphiques VI, p. 117; Wb V, p. 545 [6-7].
239 Gauthier, H., Dictionnaire des noms Géographiques contenus dans les textes Hiéroglyphiques VI, p. 11; Wb V, p. 222 [2]. For the orthography of T3-wr cf., Gauthier, H., Dictionnaire des noms Géographiques contenus dans les textes Hiéroglyphiques VI, p. 11.
241 Jacquet-Gordon, H., Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l’Ancien Empire égyptien, pp. 3-4, 12.
242 Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, pp. 11 n. 53, 98.
243 van den Boorn, G., The Duties of the vizier, Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom, p. 98.
245 van den Boorn, G., The Duties of the vizier, p. 98.
The Offices and Career of $D^5w / Šm\tilde{n}$ of Deir El-Gebrawi

perhaps reflects its great significance$^{246}$. It continued in the fifth dynasty, but during the sixth dynasty it became a very frequent title in the Memphite necropolis$^{247}$ and in the provinces as well$^{248}$.

The title denotes the leader of a royal funerary domain. Firstly it was followed by a name of a monarch or a topographical indication but towards the end of the Old Kingdom it was increasingly in the titularies of the nomarchs$^{249}$ and without appended name$^{250}$, as in case of $D^5w / Šm\tilde{n}$, which indicates a loosening of the ties between the title and the royal funerary system$^{251}$.

$hk\tilde{n}(w)\cdot hwt$ were royal officials$^{252}$ in charge of managing and administrating such lands or farms and that they might be held the responsibility of flowing the revenues to the landlords$^{253}$. $hwt$ here in case of $D^5w / Šm\tilde{n}$ may refer to temple estates depending on the fact that all the nomes contained territories that yielded produce for the cult of this king’s pyramid$^{254}$. Consequently $D^5w / Šm\tilde{n}$ as a nomarch had the responsibility of accounting for the produce from the pyramid estates in his nomes ($8^{th}$ and $12^{th}$ nomes).

Jaromir Malek translated the title as “Tenant of the Pyramid of Pepy II”$^{255}$. The office of $hnty-\tilde{s}$ was known since the late of the fifth dynasty and continued to the end of the Old Kingdom$^{256}$.

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$^{246}$ Murray, M., Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom, pl. XXXIII.

$^{247}$ Jéquier, G., Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II, figs. 68, 80; Jéquier, G., Le monument funéraire de Pépi II, III, figs. 74-75; Drioton, É. and Lauer, J., “Un groupe de tombes à saqqarah: Icheti, Nefer-Khonou-Ptah, Sébek-em-khent et Ânhkhî”, pl. 3.

$^{248}$ as : $Wlw$ and $Mrrw$ of sheikh said, Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Sheikh saïd, pls. 21, 17, 19; $T\tilde{s}wti$ and $Td\tilde{w}$ I of Denderah, Petrie, W., Denderah (with extra plates), pls. 7, 11; $Ts$ of Edfou, Maurice, A., Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933), pp. 22-27; Kanawati, N., The Tombs of El-Hagarsa I, pp. 11, 39.

$^{249}$ van den Boorn, G., The Duties of the vizier, p. 100.

$^{250}$ Martin-Pardey, E., Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches, p. 137.

$^{251}$ Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 98; van den Boorn, G., The duties of the vizier, p. 100.

$^{252}$ Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, pp. 113, 126 n. 39; Martin-Pardey, E., Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches, pp. 137-139.

$^{253}$ Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, pp. 79, 126; Eyre, C., “Feudal tenure and absentee landlords”, p. 127.

$^{254}$ Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 98 n. 448.

$^{255}$ Malek, J., “Princess Inti, the companion of Horus”, p. 240.

$^{256}$ Baud, M., “La date d’apparition des $hnti.w.\tilde{s}$”, pp. 13-49.
\( hnty-\) was a land tenant or attendant of various pyramids\(^{257} \), for (\( S \)) Junker noted that it was a land species with a special name in Egypt in the protected area of the royal pyramid towns on the edge of the cultivated land which the king gave to a kind of tenant for management\(^{258} \). Fischer believed that it may refer to gardens or plantation basins\(^{259} \).

The office of \( hnty-\) appears in a various variety of contexts\(^{260} \). One of these contexts is relating to a temple functionary\(^{261} \) as in case of \( Sm\). The rank \( hnty- Mn-n\-Nfr-k\-R\) was held by men as well as by women\(^{263} \).

Abusir Papyri reflect the responsibilities of \( hnty(w)-\) as they were in charge of performing the daily rituals as well as guarding the temple at night, beside adorning, wearing and purifying the statue in the rituals for the divine image\(^{264} \). \( hnty(w)-\) were also responsible for fetching the royal funerary equipments\(^{265} \), a task which appears in the inscriptions of \( Dw\’s \) tomb and bringing the temple provisions as well\(^{266} \).

\( Dw \) as reflected from this title served in the cult temple of Pepy II, where he was a \( hnty-\) priest serving in the cult temple of Pepy II\(^{267} \). It is worth commenting that the office of \( hnty-\) did not appear during the Old Kingdom associated with private mortuary cult or cult places of gods and goddesses\(^{268} \).

It may be one of the earliest offices \( Dw \) occupied during his long resplendent career.

\(^{258}\) Junker, H., Giza VI, p. 15.
\(^{261}\) as the king or the pyramid town, Junker, H., Giza VI, p. 15.
\(^{262}\) Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 171.
\(^{263}\) For female holders of the title \( hnty- Mn-n\-Nfr-k\-R\), CG 1519, Borchardt, L., Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, p. 221 (\( nbt / bbi\)); Malek, J., “Princess Inti, the companion of Horus”, p. 240.
\(^{265}\) Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 146 [11-13]; Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebräwi II, pl. XIII.
\(^{266}\) Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 171.
The Offices and Career of $D^w / \dot{S}m\dot{z}l$ of Deir El-Gebrawi

(16) $hrp \, \dot{s}nd(w)t \, nb(w)t$

The sign was used as an ideogram or as a determinative $\dot{S}ndyt$ and $\dot{S}ndwt$.

The word $\dot{s}nd(w)t$ was translated by Wb and Hannig as “apron” or “the king’s apron”. Wb translated the title as “director of all aprons” Gardiner suggested the meaning of “master of every apron”. Helck remarked that the title means “director of all clothes”. Jones believed in the meaning “director of every kilt”. Hannig pointed out that it means “overseer of all aprons”.

The title designates the responsibility of its holder for the royal wardrobe and the clothing of the king.

The $hrp \, \dot{s}nd(w)t \, nb$ most probably made its first appearance during the fourth dynasty. The prince $snb-snf\,rw$, who is dated by PM to the middle of the fourth dynasty up to the early of the fifth dynasty while Strudwick assigned this prince between the reign of Khafre to that of Menkaure, may be the first holder of the title. Then it was held by $ny-k3-nswt$, who is dated by PM to the early of the fifth dynasty while Strudwick suggested earlier date as he dated him to the end of the fourth dynasty and the early of the fifth dynasty.

The current title was held firstly by princes most likely due to the very close connection of its holder with the sovereign whom the holder of the title was attending on him with special affirmation on the royal wardrobe and the king’s wearing then by the time it was held by viziers and senior officials.

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269 Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 507 (S 26).
270 Wb IV, p. 522 [1]; Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 899.
271 Wb IV, p. 522 [6].
272 Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 409.
273 Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtenstiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, p. 35.
274 Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 751.2737.
275 Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 899.
276 Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtenstiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, p. 35.
277 PM III/1, p. 125.
278 Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 39.
279 PM III/1, p. 78.
280 Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 78.
281 Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtenstiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, p. 35; Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 100-101 (68), 125-126 (109), 154-155 (151).
During the fifth dynasty it was common as it was held by \( \text{ny-}m\text{r}_t-R \)\textsuperscript{282} while during the sixth dynasty it was quite familiar either in the Memphite necropolis\textsuperscript{283} or in the provinces\textsuperscript{284}.

It is worth commenting that all the holders of \( hrp \text{ sn}d(w)t \ nbt \) were without any exception sm priests \textsuperscript{285}. The two former offices were always associated with two other offices which were \( hry-\text{hbt} \) \textsuperscript{18} and \( hry-\text{hbt} \ hry-\text{tp} \) \textsuperscript{19}. Such association between these four titles reflects the close and intimate link with the king.

As for \( Dw \ / \ Šm\text{ti} \) he may spent part of his life with direct contact with the sovereign Pepy II playing the role of arranging his wardrobe and dressing him.

\textsuperscript{282} PM III/1, p. 480.

\textsuperscript{283} \( k\text{i-}gm\text{ni} / m\text{mi} \) (early reign of Teti), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 154-155 (151).

\textsuperscript{284} mrrw-\( k\text{i} / \text{mr}l \) (end reign of Teti), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 100-101 (68).

\textsuperscript{285} nfr-\( ssm-\text{pth} / s\text{ši} / \text{wd3-h3-} \text{ttl} \) (reign of Teti to early reign of Pepy I), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 111 (87).

\textsuperscript{286} mrrw-\text{hpr} / \text{hpr} (middle to late reign of Pepy I to early reign of Pepy II), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 113 (90).

\textsuperscript{287} mrrw-\text{hpr} / \text{hpr} / \text{hpr} (middle to late reign of Pepy II to early reign of Pepy III), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 96-97 (62).

\textsuperscript{288} s\text{šbw-} \text{pth} / \text{ibbi} (middle of the reign of Pepy II to early reign of Pepy III), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 130-131 (117).

\textsuperscript{289} \( \text{f}-\text{b3w-}\text{bn} \text{mnw} / \text{b3w} \) (third quarter of the reign of Pepy II to early reign of Pepy III), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 121-122 (102).

\textsuperscript{290} t\text{ti} (end of the reign of Pepy II to early reign of Pepy III), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 157-158 (156).

\textsuperscript{291} t\text{tw} (dated from the seventh dynasty to the tenth dynasty), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 160-161 (160).

\textsuperscript{292} It was attested in Abydos where it was held by \( Dw \), CG 1431 (Borchardt, L., Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, pp. 111-112) and \( n\text{ht-Ppy} \), CG 1573 (Borchardt, L., Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II, pp. 51-52, pl. 75 (top left).

- It was also noted at Akhmim as it was held by \( \text{psl-psm-min} / \text{hni} \), Kanawati, N., The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, the cemetery of Akhmim II, p. 7 and by \( \text{tlt-k3-hb} \), Kanawati, N., The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, the cemetery of Akhmim III, p. 8.

- As well as in Deir el-Gebräwi where it was held by \( \text{hm-r3} / \text{t\text{isi} } \), Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El-Gebräwi II, pl. XVII.

- also in Meir where it was appeared in the titles of \( Ppy-\text{nh} / \text{Hry-hb} \), Blackman, A., The Rock Tombs of Meir IV, pp. 1-3; and \( Ppy-\text{nh} / \text{Hni-khm} \), Blackman, A. and Apted, M., The Rock Tombs of Meir V, pp. 1-2.

\textsuperscript{293} Gardiner, A., AEO I, pp. 40*-41*; Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamntiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, p. 35.

\textsuperscript{294} Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 41*; Kees, H., “Der Sogenannte Oberste Vorlesepriester”, pp. 119-139.
The Offices and Career of ḫmty / Šmî of Deir El-Gebrawi

(17) 𓊛 𓊜 𓊙 𓊛 𓊜 𓊙 𓊛 𓊜 𓊙 𓊛 𓊜 𓊙

Jones translated the title as “sealer of the king of Lower Egypt”\(^\text{287}\). Different opinions were raised among scholars concerning the reading of the current title, Wb did not specify a reading for that title\(^\text{288}\). Boochs offered two readings for it, the first was ḫmt bity and the second was ṣdˁwty bity\(^\text{289}\). Fischer suggested firstly the reading of ḫmtty-bity\(^\text{290}\). Then he confirmed that reading as he debated that such differences in the reading of the title is due to the absence of major evidence for the phonetic writings of both signs (S 19) and (S 20)\(^\text{291}\) in the titles of the Old Kingdom as both signs were interchanged\(^\text{292}\). Strudwick noted that the current title was written in the dynasty four as while in the dynasties five and six the writing was more usual\(^\text{293}\). But Fischer indicated that the only known evidence for the reading ḫtm or ḫmtt is that both signs were followed by the phonetic complement \(^\text{294}\). Such phonetic complement let Fischer approved the reading of the title as ḫmtty bity\(^\text{295}\).

Boochs translated the title as “keeper of the seal of king of Lower Egypt”, in case of the reading ḫmtty and the second translation was “treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt”, in case of the reading ṣdˁwty\(^\text{296}\). Fischer adopted the second translation offered by Boochs “treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt”\(^\text{297}\). Jones preferred the translation of “sealer of the king of Lower Egypt”\(^\text{298}\) and Finally, Hannig pointed out to two translations which are “keeper of the crown seals” and “keeper of the seals of the king of Lower Egypt”\(^\text{299}\).

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\(^{288}\) Wb I, p. 435 [8].
\(^{289}\) Boochs, W., Siegel und Siegeln im Alten Ägypten, pp. 66, 106, 116.
\(^{290}\) Fischer, H., Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom, A supplement to Wm.Ward’s Index, p. 77:1472.
\(^{291}\) Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 506 (S 19) and (S 20).
\(^{292}\) Fischer, H., Varia Nova, p. 50.
\(^{293}\) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 79.
\(^{294}\) Fischer, H., Varia Nova, p. 50.
\(^{295}\) Fischer, H., Varia Nova, p. 253.
\(^{296}\) Boochs, W., Siegel und Siegeln im Alten Ägypten, pp. 66, 106, 116.
\(^{297}\) Fischer, H., Varia Nova, p. 253.
\(^{298}\) Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 763:2775.
\(^{299}\) Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 675.
Wb indicated that it was an old title for distinguished persons. The title made its first occurrence during the reign of king Den as it was held by Ḥmrk. Hannig believed that it was the third highest court title. The title ḥtmty bity was common during the fourth dynasty but less sporadic in the fifth dynasty, while it became very frequent during the sixth dynasty in Memphis as well as in the provinces.

The title appeared in many provinces where it was attested in Abydos, Deir el Gebrawi and Sheik Said.

Uphill noted that the title designates an office rather than a rank. The office was quite spread in the whole state in order to store the various sorts of food and raw materials. These materials were stored and secured in large stores and warehouses by ḥtmty-bity and under the direct overseeing of the local chief. This fact made the office of ḥtmty-bity was always needed.

It is worth commenting that there was a common connection between the holders of the title ḥšty- and those of ḥtmty-bity. Such connection was confirmed by the fact that ḥtmty(w)-bity were mentioned in the second place directly after the ḥšty(w)- in Weni’s list of the army and also by Margaret Murray who pointed out that the officials with the title ḥšty- had the rank of sdḥwty-bity. Such relationship or connection between the office of ḥšty- and that of ḥtmty-bity rose from the local chiefs’ responsibility to maintain the security of these stores.

Given that Ṣmḥ who was ḥšty-, even after his death, ḥry-tf ḫ3 ṯ3-wr, ḥry-tf ḫ3 ṯ3tf and ḥtmty-bity most probably was the direct supervisor of the stores of the 8th and 12th nomes of Upper Egypt, such responsibility may gave his son Dfw the courage to ask the king Pepy II to award his father Ṣmḥ the title ḥšty- even after his death as he really executed the job.

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300 Wb I, p. 435 [8].
301 Petrie, W., The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty (I), pls. 14 (12), 15 (16); Emery, W., Archaic Egypt, p. 75.
302 Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 675.
303 Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 310.
304 CG 1579, Borchardt, L., Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II, p. 60.
305 Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrawi I, p. 9 (31); II, p. 1 (8), pl. X.
308 Uphill remarked that it was very common and sporadic than to be held by an official or two at the same time, Uphill, E., “The Office sdḥwty bity”, p. 250.
310 Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 102 [3].
311 Murray, M., Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom, pp. LIX-LXI.
312 Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 147 [15-16].
The Offices and Career of D\textsuperscript{5}w / Śm\textit{\breve{a}l} of Deir El-Gebraii

responsible without bearing the title and finally according to \textit{imy-r śm\textsuperscript{5}w} he may had
the responsibility of supervision of the whole stores of Upper Egypt.

\begin{equation}
\begin{array}{c}
\begin{tikzpicture}
\node at (0,0) {\text{hry-\textit{ḥbt}}};
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{array}
\end{equation}

Jones translated the title as “lector priest” and “He who carries the ritual book”\textsuperscript{313}. For the
reading of the title, Sethe remarked that it is read as \textit{ḥrw-ḥbt}. He pointed out that the two
uniliteral signs \(\begin{tikzpicture}
\node at (0,0) {\text{ḥ}};
\end{tikzpicture}\) and \(\begin{tikzpicture}
\node at (0,0) {\text{ḥ}};
\end{tikzpicture}\) as well as the biliteral sign \(\begin{tikzpicture}
\node at (0,0) {\text{ḥr}};
\end{tikzpicture}\) were an abbreviated
writing for the full writing of the title which is \(\begin{tikzpicture}
\node at (0,0) {\text{ḥr}};
\end{tikzpicture}\). Sethe also
quoted that the second word, in the current title, was usually spelt as \textit{ḥbt} with the
omission of the ending \(\begin{tikzpicture}
\node at (0,0) {\text{ḥ}};
\end{tikzpicture}\).

\textit{ḥry-ḥbt} was attested from dynasty two as it was ordinarily held by the crown prince\textsuperscript{316}. Then by
the advent of the third dynasty it was recognized in the titles of the high officials\textsuperscript{317}.

Gardiner and Jones adopted the translation of “He who carries the ritual book”\textsuperscript{318}. A fact
which made the lector priest depicted in the scenes of the mortuary temples and the
private tombs as well, therefore the \textit{ḥry-ḥbt} was a distinguished member in the
ceremonies\textsuperscript{319}. Wilson pointed out that the \textit{ḥry-ḥbt} was responsible for reciting and
leading of the daily rituals in both the royal mortuary temples and the private tombs\textsuperscript{320}. In
some instances the \textit{ḥry-ḥbt} was depicted burning incence and scenting the offerings
in front of the deceased by sprinkling the aromatic incense grain into the brazier, a job
which was always performed by the \textit{hm(w)-k}\textsuperscript{321}. Beside the previous tasks the \textit{ḥry-ḥbt}
spirit was in charge of performing the int-rd rite\textsuperscript{322}. Finally, Strudwick indicated that the
office of \textit{ḥry-ḥbt} might had developed a type of courtly function which was very
restricted to high ranked officials. Such function was different than the functions carried

\textsuperscript{313} Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 781:2848.
\textsuperscript{314} Sethe, K., “Miszelle”, p. 134.
\textsuperscript{315} Sethe, K., “Miszelle”, p. 134.
\textsuperscript{316} Kaplony, P., Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der Aegyptischen Frühzeit, p. 518.
\textsuperscript{317} Kaplony, P., Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der Aegyptischen Frühzeit, pp. 403-404, 449-450.
\textsuperscript{319} Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 55*.
\textsuperscript{320} Wilson, J., “Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom”, pp. 215-216.
\textsuperscript{321} James, T. and Apted, M., The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekihi, pl. XXI; Kanawati, N. and El-Khouli, A.,
\textsuperscript{322} James, T. and Apted, M., The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekihi, pl. XIV (upper).
out by those officials (ḥry-ḥbt) who were represented in Abusir Papyri\textsuperscript{323}. But Strudwick did not determine that function performed by those highly ranked officials.

In the sixth dynasty, the title ḥry-ḥbt was very frequent in the titularies of many overseers of Upper Egypt either in the Memphite necropolis or the provinces as well.

I know at least four imy-r šmʾw buried in the capital and were ḥry(w)-ḥbt as: ny-kšw-issi\textsuperscript{324}, kš-gmn.i / mmn\textsuperscript{325}, ḥšw\textsuperscript{326} and ḥsy\textsuperscript{327}. It was also widespread in the provinces as it was attested in Sheikh Said in the cases of: ṭw / ṣyw\textsuperscript{328} and mrw / bḥi\textsuperscript{329}. In Meir as the cases of ny-ṣnh-ppy / sbk-hṭp / ḫpy km\textsuperscript{330}, ppy-ṣnh / mṛy ṭ-ṣnh ḥry-ḥb / nfr-kš / ḫni\textsuperscript{331} and ppy-ṣnh / ḫni km\textsuperscript{332}. In Dandarah as in the titularies of ṭdw I\textsuperscript{333} and ṭdw II\textsuperscript{334}. Also in sharuna by ppy-ṣnh / ḫwi\textsuperscript{335}. In Edfou by mṛy ṭ (Ppy)-nfr / kšr\textsuperscript{336} and in Qubbet el Hawa as it was held by ḥr-ḥw.f\textsuperscript{337} and sibni I\textsuperscript{338}. From the previous, one can conclude that ḥry ḥbt was very common in the provinces as well as in the capital.

\textbf{(19)} ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp:

Jones presented two translations for the current title: the first is “chief lector priest” and the second is “lector priest in charge”\textsuperscript{339}.

ḥry-tp as a term was recognized since the pyramid texts and continued in appearance till the end of the Old Kingdom\textsuperscript{340}.

\textsuperscript{323} Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 226.
\textsuperscript{324} Kanawati, N. and Abder-Raziq, M., The Teti cemetery at Saqqara VI, The tomb of Nikauisesi, pp. 1-10.
\textsuperscript{325} Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 154 [151].
\textsuperscript{326} Altenmüller, H., Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara, pp. 34-37.
\textsuperscript{327} El-Khouli, A. and Kanawati, N., Excavations at Saqqara, North-West of Teti’s Pyramid II, pp. 18-22, pls. 10-12.
\textsuperscript{328} Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd, pls. 17, 21, 23, 29.
\textsuperscript{329} Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd, pls. 19-21.
\textsuperscript{330} Blackman, A. and Apted, M., The Rock Tombs of Meir V, pp. 1-2, pls. 4-14.
\textsuperscript{333} Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 93 (15).
\textsuperscript{334} Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 101.
\textsuperscript{336} El-Khadragy, M., “The Edfu offering Niche of Qar in the Cairo Museum”, pp. 203-228.
\textsuperscript{338} Edel, E., Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbat el-Hawa bei Assuan, I / I, QH 25 / 26, pp. 221-222, pls. 1-2, 7-15.
\textsuperscript{339} Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 784:2860.
\textsuperscript{340} Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 74.
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Fischer pointed out that it was not used as an independent title\(^3\) but it was attached to many different titles\(^4\). The former title hry-hbt was followed by several additions as imy rnrf\(^5\), pr-df\(^6\), smsw\(^7\) or attached to towns as kıs\(^8\), while the most frequent one was the addition of the term hry-tp after it\(^9\). The title hry-hbt hry-tp was often attested in the titularies of princes as well as the highest civil officials\(^10\), particularly the viziers other than the holders of any other administrative title\(^11\).

Goedicke remarked that the term hry-tp within the title hry-hbt hry-tp indicates a position of responsibility and entrustment not a rank with commanding authority and power\(^12\). Such opinion was accepted by Brovarski who stated that the current title does not reflect a degree of command but it reflects a long extent in the service\(^13\). Consequently, it designates a leadership position other than a position of Authority.

As for Dsw / Šmśli one can conclude that he was hry-hbt and after a long extent in the service he was promoted to the hry-hbt hry-tp most probably due to his great experience which qualified him to be hry-tp.

Finally, Dsw / Šmśli according to his titles hry-hbt, hry-hbt hry-tp, hrp šnd(w)t nbt (16) and sm (20) was in a direct connection with the sovereign and he took the responsibilities of hry-hbt and hry-hbt hry-tp in the palace, a fact which was confirmed by the absence of any particular cult temple attached to these four titles, therefore Dsw / Šmśli was in charge of reciting the appropriate spells on the sovereign (Pepy II) during his clothing and dressing as reflected from the title hrp šnd(w)t nbt (18) as well as reciting him during the various stages of his ornamenting as sm priest (20).

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\(^3\) Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 74.
\(^4\) As: hry-tp ldr c’t, hry-tp n Btt, hry-tp mdw n wd’ mdw št(š)(w) n hw’t-wrt, hry-tp mdw št(š)(w) n hw’t-wrt, hry-tp Nhbj, hry-tp Nhbj n itj, hry-tp n spjt, hry-tp sšr, hry-tp dš’t, hry-tp dš’t m hw’t-ntr, hry-tp dš’t m hw’t-ntr m Ṭnhrt and hry-tp dš’t n Hwt-Br nbt Twnt, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, pp. 647-650:2370-2381.
\(^5\) hry-hbt imy rnft, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 781:2849. (lector priest who is in the year of duty).
\(^6\) hry-hbt pr dt, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 782:2853 (lector priest of the funerary estate).
\(^7\) hry-hbt smsw, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 785:2863. (senior lector priest).
\(^8\) hry-hbt m kıs, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 786:2866. (lector priest in Qusaya).
\(^9\) For further additions to hry-hbt, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, pp. 781-786:2849-2866.
(20) s(t)m:

Jones translated it as “sem priest”\(^ {352} \). The title was usually written phonetically in three different ways as: \( \begin{array}{c}
\text{i} \\
\text{a}
\end{array} \), \( \begin{array}{c}
\text{a}
\end{array} \) and \( \begin{array}{c}
\text{a} \\
\text{a}
\end{array} \) \(^ {353} \). Thus led scholars to disagree concerning its reading, Wb suggested the reading of \( sm \)\(^ {354} \). James believed in the reading \( smt \)\(^ {355} \). Both Baer and Fischer adopted the reading \( stm \)\(^ {356} \), while Jones and Hannig suggested two readings for it without advocating any of them the first is “\( sm \)” and the second is “\( stm \)”\(^ {357} \).

For such differences in the reading of the title, James debated that various readings noting that \( smt \) was the late version of the title \( stm \) and the early forms reveal that \( smt \) was the original reading of the title\(^ {358} \).

For the orthography of the title, it was ordinarily written with the two uniliteral signs \( \begin{array}{c}
\text{i} \\
\text{a}
\end{array} \) and \( \begin{array}{c}
\text{a}
\end{array} \)\(^ {359} \) without any specific determinatives\(^ {361} \).

Despite the absence of determinatives following these two uniliteral signs, there are some allusions for determinatives following this writing, the temple of Ne-User-Re, sixth monarch of the fifth dynasty\(^ {362} \), displays two determinatives following the s and m. The first is a standing man holding a staff and the second is a standing priest with leopard skin\(^ {363} \). A third allusion derives from the biography of \( R^c-wr \), who is dated to the reigns of Sahure and Neferirkare\(^ {364} \), from his tomb at Giza where the phonetical writing was followed by a standing priest grasping a baton\(^ {365} \).

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\(^ {352} \) Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 885:3241.

\(^ {353} \) Wb IV, p. 119.

\(^ {354} \) Wb IV, p. 119.

\(^ {355} \) James, T. and Apted, M., The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi, p. 9 (7).

\(^ {356} \) Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 220; Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 137 n. 600.


\(^ {358} \) James, T. and Apted, M., The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi, p. 11.

\(^ {359} \) Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 507 (S 29).

\(^ {360} \) Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 469 (G 17).


\(^ {362} \) von Beckerath, J., Handbuch der ägyptischen königsnamen, p. 55.


\(^ {364} \) Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 232.

\(^ {365} \) Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 232 [6].
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For the nature and responsibilities of sm, Wb quoted that it was a priestly function\(^{366}\) was known as early as the First Dynasty\(^ {367}\).

It is worth commenting that the association of this priest with the ritual of “opening the mouth”\(^{368}\) was not known in the Old Kingdom although the ritual was attested iconographically, as far as I know, only once in the Old Kingdom tomb scenes which is depicted in the tomb of Mtn\(^ {369}\). Since then, it was barely noticed in the Old Kingdom private tombs.

The sm priest in the Old Kingdom was responsible for many aspects for the king either after his death or in his daily life. For the dead king sm priest was a participant in performing ceremonies for him\(^ {370}\).

A job which is represented in the scenes of Pepy’s II temple where a “sm” is represented executing the ritual of “pouring of water” infront of the king who is represented seated at a table of offerings\(^ {371}\).

While the sm priest was performing many aspects for the living king as he acted as the king’s priest\(^ {372}\). Some of these aspects took part outside the palace whilst the others were inside it. For the missions that sm priests carried out outside the palace, He served as the king’s delegate or representative while offering to gods\(^ {373}\) which most likely reflects his duty in directing and leading of the processions. “sm” was also a regular companion to the king in Sed festivals\(^ {374}\). This role is approved through Rê-wr’s unusual biography that represent the sm priest carrying the ceremonial items as scepters\(^ {375}\). As well as the title of

\(^{366}\) Wb IV, p. 119 [3-5].


\(^{369}\) LD II, Abt. II, pls. 4-5; The ritual of opening of the mouth was part of the mortuary ritual as early as the fourth dynasty tomb of Mtn, Roth, A., “The Psš-kf and the “opening of the mouth” ceremony: A Ritual of Birth and Rebirth”, p. 117 n. 23.

\(^{370}\) Wb IV, p. 119 [4].

\(^{371}\) Jéquier, G., Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II, II, Le Temple, pls. 81, 87.

\(^{372}\) von Bissing, F. and Kees, H., Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures), II, pls. 6 no. 13, 12 no. 32, 13 no. 33a, 16 no. 39, 17 no. 42, 18 no. 44c, 19 nos. 45 a-b, 22 nos. 51-52, 23 no. 58.

\(^{373}\) Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 41*.


\(^{375}\) von Bissing, F. and Kees, H., Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures), II, pls. 16 no. 39, 18 nos. 44 a, c-d; Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 232.
sbky from the Sixth Dynasty indicates the responsibility of sm for other royal items as the double crown. Beside fitting the king’s royal appearance.

Inside the palace “sm” was taking charge of clothing, dressing the king and putting on his clothes. Thus, he was in charge of adorning the sovereign and adjusting his outfit. This responsibility was confirmed by the fact that all “sm” priests were at the same time hrp ñd(w) t nbt (16). As he was responsible for the royal wardrobe (hrp ñd(w) t nbt) and clothing the king and his outfit as well as his overall look. Also interprets the usual appearance of the title hry-hbt and hry-hbt hry-tp with these former titles as such official was in charge of reciting the appropriate spells during clothing the sovereign.

Such duty of dressing and clothing the king made the “sm” priest a permanent member inside the palace as well as in Sed festivals outside the palace.

The sm priest was rarely attested in the Old Kingdom private tombs, there is only an Old Kingdom provincial example for a sm priest represented in an Old Kingdom private tomb at Hamra Dom where he is represented participating in the rituals performed before the table of offerings at the last step of the burial.

As for Dsw / Sm3i depending on the titles hrp ñdwt nbt (16), hry-hbt and hry-hbt hry-tp (18, 19) and sm (20) he performed his career in Memphis in the royal palace and according to sm title, he was responsible for dressing and clothing the king inside and outside the palace and directing the processions most likely according to his priestly titles (7, 8, 14, 15, 22).

Wb and Hannig translated it as “sole friend”, while Fischer and Jones translated it as “sole companion”.

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376 as he held the title st(m) shny. Daressy, G., “La nécropole des grand prêtres d’Heliopolis sous L’Ancien Empire”, p. 199, which is translated by Jones as “se(t)e)m-priest of the Double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 887:3249.
378 Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamten titeln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, p. 18; Schmitz, B., “sem (priester)”, pp. 834-835.
379 Which is dated back to the late of the Old Kingdom, Säve-Söderbergh, T., The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra Dom (El Qasr wa Es-Saiyad), p. 46, pl. 20.
380 Wb I, p. 278 [18]; Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 766.
Smr wꜣty was known as a title since the early of dynasty four. Ḥm-ʻwnw, son of the vizier Nfr-mꜣw of Meidum\(^{382}\), who is dated back to the middle to later reign of king Khufu, most likely was the first holder of the title in the Old Kingdom\(^{383}\). Since then, the title \(\text{smr wꜣty}\) became widely common in both the Memphite necropolis and provinces till the end of the Old Kingdom\(^{384}\) and continued in occurrence in the Middle Kingdom\(^{385}\).

Wb quoted that \(\text{smr wꜣty}\) was a very common title since the Old Kingdom for the highest persons particularly princes and viziers\(^{386}\). On the contrary, Strudwick pointed out that it was common with all classes and categories of officials\(^{387}\).

For the nature of \(\text{smr-wꜣty}\), Strudwick noted that it was an honorific title expressing high status and connection with the king other than implying a specific career or office\(^{388}\). Fischer rejected that opinion given by Strudwick believing that it represented the lowest of the titles of rank\(^{389}\). Eyre depending on the royal decrees indicated that \(\text{smr}(w)\)-\(\text{wꜣty}(w)\) performed the charge of the royal envoys\(^{390}\). A Middle Kingdom allusion from the tale of Sinuhe confirming that point of view suggested by Eyre that the \(\text{smr}(w)\) of the palace were sent to let the prince \(\text{S-n-wsrt}\) know the incident which took place in the palace i.e. the death of the king Amenemhat I\(^{391}\).

One can conclude that the title \(\text{smr wꜣty}\) referred to a real rank in which the holder of it was very close to the king that let the latter allowed him to perform the responsibility of the royal envoy at the end of the Old Kingdom.

It is worth to note that most of the holders of \(\text{hry-hbt}\) title (18) in the Old Kingdom were \(\text{smr wꜣty}\)\(^{392}\). A fact which is attested in the case of \(\text{Dꜣw} / \text{Ṣmꜣl}\), most likely \(\text{smr wꜣty}\) in his titulary represented the very special status he enjoyed during the reign of Pepy II and the intimate relationship with that sovereign.

The titles \(\text{imy-r prwꜣy-hd}\) (2) and \(\text{imy-r Šnwty}\) (6) were found in the provinces in the titularies of viziers and non-viziers at the second half of dynasty six\(^{393}\). It is worth

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\(^{383}\) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 117 (96).

\(^{384}\) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 310 tb. 30. (232 holders in Memphis and 90 holders in the provinces).

\(^{385}\) Ward, W., Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, p. 151 [1299].

\(^{386}\) Wb IV, p. 138 [111].

\(^{387}\) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 225.

\(^{388}\) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 175.

\(^{389}\) Fischer, H., The Tomb of I’p at El Saff, p. 21.

\(^{390}\) Eyre, C., “Weni’s Career and Old Kingdom Historiography”, p. 110.

\(^{391}\) Sethe, K., Aegyptische Lesestücke, p. 3; Lichtheim, M., Ancient Egyptian Literature I, p. 224.

\(^{392}\) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 226.

\(^{393}\) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 326.
commenting that all the sixth dynasty holders of the title ìmy-r prwy-hd (2) were smr wâty at the same time 394. As well as the holders of ìmy-r ñwty were principally at least smr wâty and hmtty bity 395. The title hmtty-bity was usually attested alongside with h3ty-c or smr wâty or both of them, as in case of Šmï, consequently the five titles ìmy-r prwy-hd, ìmy-r ñwty, h3ty-c, smr wâty and hmtty bity were in a very close connection or relationship with each other, which may suggest a real office for smr wâty other than a honorific title.

Conclusion:

(1) The offices and titles of D*s w / Šmï represent three distinguished groups of titles. The first group associated him with the territorial (nome) administration which are the titles 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14 and 17. The second group of titles was priestly titles linked him with the cult temple of Pepy II which are the titles 7, 8, 15 and 22. The last group of titles linked him with the direct and close service of the monarch Pepy II inside the court, whom he was contemporary with him, which are the titles 11, 16, 18, 19, 20 and 21.

(2) D*s w / Šmï spent many years in the Memphite capital serving in the mortuary temple of Pepy II and the royal palace before he was moved to manage the Eighth and Twelfth nomes of Upper Egypt.

(3) After several years Šmï spent in the temple of Pepy II, he was moved to serve the monarch inside the palace where he carried out the responsibilities of the third group of titles.

(4) The second group of titles which consists of the following four titles: ìmy-ht hm(w)-ntr Mn-cnh-nfr-kâ-Rc (7), shd hm(w)-ntr Mn-cnh-nfr-kâ-Rc (22), hnty-š Mn-cnh-nfr-kâ-Rc (15) and w*b 200 (8) shows his connection with the cult temple of Pepy II. The three firstly mentioned titles show such association frankly. Consequently, he might carried out the responsibilities of the fourth profession inside the same temple.

(5) D*s w / Šmï climbed the ladder of the cult temple of Pepy II from the very beginning. I believed that hnty-š Mn-cnh-nfr-kâ-Rc (15) was the first career in Šmï’s long list of offices that he entered the cult temple performing the duties of such office then he held the title w*b 200 (8). Thereafter he became shd hm(w)-ntr Mn-cnh-nfr-kâ-Rc (22) and ìmy-ht hm(w)-ntr Mn-cnh-nfr-kâ-Rc (7).

(6) D*s w / Šmï was promoted inside the temple of Pepy II from shd hm(w)-ntr Mn-cnh-nfr-kâ-Rc (22) to ìmy-ht hm(w)-ntr Mn-cnh-nfr-kâ-Rc (7).

(7) The third group of titles reflects the direct link and connection of D*s w / Šmï with the sovereign Pepy II as he was in charge of clothing and dressing him “sm” (20), arranging his wardrobe “hry snq(w)t nb” (16), reciting him during his clothing “hry-hbt, hry-hbt hry-tp” (18) and (19). His sincerity in his work was a reason for

394 Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 286.
the king to award him the title “hry-sšt3 n sdmnt w3” (11). Such loyalty made the king choose him as a “smr w3ty” (21).

(8) Šm3i was promoted inside the court from hry-hbt (18) to hry-hbt hry-tp (19). I suggest that hry-hbt (18) was the first career for Dsrw / Šm3i inside the royal palace.

(9) The three titles hṛp šnd(w)t nbt (16), hry-hbt hry-tp (19) and sm (20) indicated Dsrw / Šm3i’s attending in Pepy’s II royal suite.

(10) Dsrw / Šm3i depending on the title smr w3ty (21) may had carried out the responsibilities of the royal envoy.

(11) Dsrw / Šm3i, according to his sincerity and loyalty in his work, was moved to the Eighth and the Twelfth nomes of Upper Egypt respectively as an overlord for these two distinguished administrative nomes at the end of the Old Kingdom to inherit the professions of his father and predecessor Ibi.

(12) As a h3ty (9) and a nomarch of Abydos and Deir el Gebrawi (13) and (12), Dsrw / Šm3i was responsible for running these nomes as well as managing the economic investment for the state as indicated from the titles imy-r šswy (3), hwt r3t (10) and hkb3 hwt (14) He was also as a nomarch in charge of administrating all the divisions of offerings which came through land holders, serfs and priests as represented from the title imy-r wpwt hšp(w)t-nṯr m prwy (1). Beside the supply of food, granaries and collecting land revenue and taxes as pointed out from the title imy-r šnwty (6). Such responsibility made him in charge of the stores and magazines of these nomes as shown from the title htmty bity (17). All of these responsibilities contribute in the revenues of the state as Dsrw / Šm3i took the charge of the treasuries and collecting the revenues of his nomes as marked from the title imy-r prwy-hd (2) and then that of Upper Egypt as shown from the titles imy-r šmsrw (4) and imy-r šmsrw mrr (5).

(13) Most likely Dsrw / Šm3i’s success allowed the king to appoint him as imy-r šmsrw (4) and imy-r šmsrw mrr (5).

(14) Dsrw / Šm3i was highly trusted by the king Pepy II, therefore he appointed him as a nomarch of the Eighth nome of Upper Egypt. As Abydos was a great important pivotal administrative nome located between the middle and the southern groups of Upper Egypt’s nomes. In addition to the connection between the Thinite nome and the residence throughout the Old Kingdom.

(15) The title hry-tp 33 T3-wr was the most frequently mentioned title for Dsrw / Šm3i from his tomb then the title h3ty-r then smr w3ty and after that the titles hkb3 hwt, htmty bity and imy-r šmsrw.

(16) The titles imy-r wpwt hšp(w)t nṯr m prwy, imy-r prwy hd, w3b 200 and hry sšt3 n sdmnt w3 are the least known titles attested on the walls of his tomb.

(17) The sequence of titles hṛy-hbt hṛy-tp, sm and hṛp šnd(w)t nbt reflects their link with each other and with the service of the king.

(18) The sequence of titles imy-r šnwty, imy-r prwy-hd and imy-r šswy confirms their relationship with the revenues of the state and its exploitation.
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