

## The holders of the title *imy-r ssmt* (Overseer of the horses) in the Ramesside Period

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### Abstract:

This study will focus on one of the most important titles concerning horses in the Ramesside period: "*imy-r ssmt*" "Overseer of the horses". It collects together the majority of officials who hold this title in the Ramesside period. It's very little evidence is on the nature, standing, and activities of the "Overseer of the horses".<sup>1</sup> Many grades of this title are known during the Ramesside Period like "*imy-r ssmt*" "Overseer of the horses", "*imy-r ssmt n nb tAwy*" "Overseer of the horses of the lord of two lands", "*imy-r ssmt nt (wsr mAat Ra stp n Ra) m pr Imn*" "Overseer of the horses of (Ramses II) in the house of Amun, *imy-r ssmt wr*" "Great overseer of the horses", "*imy-r ssmt n tA Hwt wsr-mAat-Ra mry Imn*" "Overseer of the horses of the place (of) Usimare Meriamun". "*Hry ssmt*" "Commander of horses", "*Hry ssmt n nb tAwy*" "Commander of horses of the lord of two lands" and "*imy-r ssmt wr tpy n Hm.f n tA st wsr- mAat-Ra mry Imn*" "Great overseer of the horse of his majesty, of the place of Wsr-mAat-Ra mry Imn". The word *ssmt* appear in Ramesside period in many different types:



These titles were beginning to use in the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and continued to use in the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Persons who held these titles may possibly be members of the military or maybe they are not members. The "Overseer of the horses" title was at the top of the administration concerning horses and infantry in the Ramesside Period.

The "Overseer of the Horses" played an active role in the administration of the royal stable. He is attested at the head of the chariarty portion of the Onomastica list.<sup>7</sup> Most masters of horses held a distinguished title in the Ramesside period like "wpwty nsw r xAswt nb" "King's envoy to all foreign lands". "imy-r mSa wr" "The great overseer of the army". These titles provide information about the higher titles that they got promoted to.

The rise of the Eighteenth Dynasty brought with it changes in the military sphere which amounted almost to a revolution.<sup>8</sup> The earliest physical evidence of horses in Egypt comes from a horse burial found at the fortress at Buhen. In general, domestic horses have been identified in the fourth millennium in the Middle East, outside Anatolia.<sup>9</sup> Horses first appear in the artistic record at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and they are well documented in the Egyptian wars of conquest of that period.<sup>10</sup>

At "Serabit el Khadim" in Sinia, there are four pictorial graffiti, dating to the reign of "Amenemhat III", which depict the concept of riding.<sup>11</sup> There are numerous examples of horses which date to the reign of Ramesses II and Ramesses III.<sup>12</sup> Schulman supports that the ranks which "Officers for horses" attests having held, were either common to both chariarty and infantry.<sup>13</sup> Perhaps the earliest known example of a figure on horseback is found on a plaque of glazed steatite, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.<sup>14</sup>

***Princes and Crown princes who held the title:***

pA-Ra Hr wnm. f or pA Ra Hr wnm. f

He was the third documented son of Ramses II in procession reliefs and in the military relief at Abu Simple.<sup>15</sup> He took a lot of important titles besides imy-r ssmt n nb tAwy <sup>16</sup> "Overseer of the horses of the lord of the two lands" <sup>17</sup> like:

r-pat <sup>18</sup> "Member of the elite".

sA nsw n Xt.f <sup>19</sup> "King's son of his body".

TAY xw Hr wnm- nsw <sup>20</sup> "Fun bearer on the King's right hand".

sS nsw mAa <sup>21</sup> "Indeed Royal Scribe".

kDn tpy n Hm.f <sup>22</sup> "First Charioteer of his majesty".

kDn tpy n it.f <sup>23</sup> "First Charioteer of his father".

tpy n qnyt <sup>24</sup> "First of the valiant ones".

idnw tp n pA mSa "Chief deputy commander of the army".

imy-r mSa wr <sup>25</sup> "The great Overseer of the army".

HAwtY mSa n nsw "Leader of the army of the king".

Ts pDt <sup>26</sup> "Captain of the troops".

HAt mSa n nsw <sup>27</sup> "Leader of the army of the king".

Tpy n qnyw <sup>28</sup> "Chief of the braves".

His appearance in the military reliefs and pervasive use of military titles suggest that he was actively involved in the military and the managing of horses,<sup>29</sup> although he may have been too young to participate in his father's early battles. Concerning the title TAY xw Hr wnm n nsw, it seems that the role of royal fan bearer was more significant than that of official fan-bearer.

Schulman believes that the title "imy-r ssmt n nb tAwY" express an actual position in the charity held by the prince<sup>30</sup> because the occurrence of depictions in a chariot at the battle of Kadesh.<sup>31</sup> It seems that this title is related with other title "kDn tpy n Hm.f" "First Charioteer of his majesty". The most frequently occurring are kDn tpy n Hm.f" and "imy-s ssmt."<sup>32</sup>

From the New Kingdom onward, "imy-r ssmt" was crucial because of the importance of chariots in battle.<sup>33</sup>

The most titles occurred are "kDn tpy n Hm.f" and "imy-r ssmt". It is apparent that the prince held a command in the army. "imy-r ssmt" refering more specially to the chariotry.<sup>34</sup> and the managing of horses, which required skilled and personal service to the king.<sup>35</sup> While "kDn tpy n Hm.f" must have been the person who drove the royal chirot for the king.. Besides that, the title "Fan bearer on the king's hand" was also attributed to particular sons of Ramesses II. The role of royal fan bearer was more significant than that of official fan bearer.<sup>36</sup> The title "tpy n

qnyt " maybe refers to that the prince's role at Kadesh.<sup>37</sup> The title imy-r mSa wr always follows sS nsw when used by the first three sons of Ramesses II. It occurs only once for pA-Ra Hr wnm. f<sup>38</sup>.

**MnTw-Hr xpS.f or MnTw Hr wnm.f**

The fifth documented son of Ramses II. The fifth prince was called by two different names in Luxor Temple: Montuhirkhopshef and Montuhirwenemef.<sup>39</sup> He took one military title: kDn tpy n it.f "First Charioteer of his Majesty".<sup>40</sup> This title, associated with a depiction of Montuhirkhopshef holding some horses, may document a specific function and gives him military status whether or not he performed actual military services.<sup>41</sup> Indeed, to this title, Mpntuhirkhopshef, took another important title "sS nsw".<sup>42</sup> "The Royal Scribe" and maybe this title does not indicate an actual position.<sup>43</sup> Besides that, he took a lot of titles like:

sA nsw<sup>44</sup> "The king's son".

kDn tpy n it. f<sup>45</sup> "First Charioteer of his father".

imy-r ssmt n nb tAwy<sup>46</sup> "Overseer of the horses of both lands".

imy-r ssmt n it.f<sup>47</sup> "Overseer of the horses of his father". This title is a rare title in the Ramesside period. The title "First charioteer of his majesty" associated with a depiction of Montuhirkhopshef holding some horses, may document a specific function and gives him military status whether or not be performed actual military service.<sup>48</sup>

**Imn Hr xpS.f son of Ramesses III: (future *Ramesses VI*):**

In his tomb number 55 in the valley of queens imn Hr xpS.f took a lot of titles like:

sS nsw<sup>49</sup> "Royal Scribe".

imy-r ssmt n tA st Wsr-mAat-Ra mry Imn "Overseer of the horse of the place (of) wsr mAat Ra mry Imn"

sA nsw n Xt.f<sup>50</sup> "King's son of his body".

r-pat "Member of the elite"

HAty-aA "The Mayor".

Hr tp tAwy <sup>51</sup> "Chief of both lands".

Imy-r ssmt wr tpy n Hm.f n tA st wsr- mAat-Ra mry Imn <sup>52</sup>  
"Great overseer of the horse of his majesty, of the place of Wsr-mAat-Ra mry  
Imn".

It's remarkable that Imn Hr XpS.f took the title by two different forms.

### ***Ra-mss stx-Hr xpS.f Son of Ramesses III: Ramesses VIII:***

He was the son of Ramses III. The future king Ramses VIII. His tomb number 43 valleys of queens. He had numerous and important titles, showing the prominent position which he occupied in his father's life and after that.<sup>53</sup>

r-pat "Member of the elite".

HAty-aA "The Mayor".

it nTr <sup>54</sup> "Father of the god".

sm n nTr nfr <sup>55</sup> "The sm-priest of the kind god".

sA nsw smsw <sup>56</sup> "Senior King's son".

kDn tpy n Hm.f <sup>57</sup> "First charioteer of his Majesty".

kDn tpy n pA iHw aA n (wsr-mAat Ra mry Imn) n Xnw  
"Charioteer of the great stable of Usimare Meriamun of the residence".

TAY xw hr wnmy n nsw <sup>58</sup> "The fan-bearer on the right of the King".

imy-r ssmwt wr <sup>59</sup> "Great overseer of the horses".

Imy-r mSa wr "Great overseer of the army".

### ***Important Officials:***

**Hwy:**

Hwy is one of the most important officials in Ramesses II region. He took a lot of important titles such as:

r-pat "Hereditary Prince".

HAty-aA "The Mayor".

sA-nsw n kS <sup>60</sup> "The son of the king in Kush" (Viceroy of Kush).

rA-Hry m (TA-) sty "The high authority in Nubia.

TAy-xw Hr wnm n nsw <sup>61</sup> "The fan-bearer on the right of the King".

Hsy n nTr nfr "The praised by the good God".

Hry -pDt "Troop Commander".

imy-r ssmt "The overseer of the horses".

idnw n Hm.f m t-nt Htri "The deputy of his majesty in the chariorty".

TAy xw hr wnmy n nsw "The fan-bearer on the right of the King".

Hry-pDt m TARw "Troop Commander of Tharu".<sup>62</sup>

wpwty-nsw Hr xAst nbt <sup>63</sup> "King's envoy to the Foreign Land".

imy-r xAswt rsynt "Overseer of the Southern Desert lands".

Hry iHw Xnw n pA (Ra mss- mry Imn) <sup>64</sup> "Stablemaster of the Residence of Ramesses"<sup>65</sup>.

imy-r xAswt nbw n Imn <sup>66</sup> "Overseer of the Countries of gold of Amun".

From this list of titles, it can be clearly seen that Huy was a very important man.<sup>67</sup> In addition to the usual titles describing him as "Prince" and "Governor", he is given many other titles which emphasize his distinguished position in Nubia. He is once styled "Viceroy", and often referred to as "Viceroy of Kush", the latter title being sometimes accompanied by the other honorary titles given to viceroys such as "Overseer of the Countries of Gold of Amun" and also very unusual title like "The foremost authority in Nubia".<sup>68</sup>

He also took a lot of military titles more than given to any of his colleagues. He took titles like "Hry iHw Xnw n pA (Ra mss- mry Imn) "Stablemaster of the Residence of Ramesses".<sup>69</sup> This title connects Hwyt to the stable, maybe in

Piramesse. In addition, he held the important military titles "imy-r ssmt" and "Hry-pDt" which shows him to have been the chief of that section of the army.

The title naming him wpwty-nsu Hr xAsu nbt "King's envoy (messenger) to every Foreign Lands" seems to have been of particular importance to him. He was one of the royal ambassadors undoubtedly shuttled between Pi-Ramesses and Hattusas many times until a satisfactory treaty was agreed.<sup>70</sup> This title is followed by the words: The one who comes from the (land of) Khatti, who brings its great one,<sup>71</sup> referring to his accompanying queen (*Maat-Hor-Neferure*) when she came to Egypt in year 34<sup>72</sup> after 13 years passed until the first of the two Hittite marriages took place.<sup>73</sup> Maathorneferure soon started to appear on royal monuments as a fully-fledged Egyptian queen. Maathorneferure lived for a time at the palace of Pi-Ramesses.<sup>74</sup> In late fall of 1246 B.C., the Hittite princes left her homeland accompanied by ambassadors, dignitaries and soldiers who guarded not only this retinue but also, according to one of the commemorative stelae later erected, "a very great tribute of gold, silver, copper, in great quantities, slave, horses without limit, cattle, goats and sheep by the ten thousand", and Ramesses II send his envoys to meet the Hittites and regally escort them to Egypt. The text of the "Marriage Stela" has been found at Karnak, on the Isle of Elephantine at Aswan, Abu Simbel, and Amara West.<sup>75</sup> The Hittite princess was only one of seven women who gained the status of "Great Royal Wife" during Ramesses very long reign of sixty-seven years.<sup>76</sup> The second no later than regnal year 39 when Hattusilis died.<sup>77</sup> So, Huy that the man who accompanied the princess on her journey from her country to Egypt<sup>78</sup> was promoted to be the next Viceroy of Nubia. Huy describing himself as a "the one who reports where Khatti is has never existed",<sup>79</sup> that means Huy was the one who reported the arrival of the princess in Egypt to be conducted to his sovereign, an event which was interpreted by Huy as having been a great one, since nobody knew where the land of Khatti was.<sup>80</sup> That might explain the keenness of Huy to record this special event as an unusual trend of the relevant diplomats of his title.<sup>81</sup>

### *High Stewart Rwrw:*

Rwrw took a lot of titles like

r-pat "Hereditary noble".

HAty-aA "The Mayor".

sDAwty bity n nb tAwy "Seal-bearer of the Lower Egyptian King"

sS nsw mAa "Real king's Scribe"

imy-r pr wr <sup>82</sup> "High Stewart of the king".

sm m tA (wsr mAat hrwy) Setem-Priest in the Temple of Menmare Happy.

imy-r ssmt n nb tAwy" "Overseer of the horses of the lord of two lands".

### ***Royal Envoy Sety***

Sety took a lot of titles like:

sS nsw <sup>83</sup> "Royal scribe"

imy-r ssmwt n nb tAwy "Overseer of horses of the lord of the two lands".

wpwty nsw r xAst nb "King's envoy to the Foreign Land".

He might have reached the position of "Troop commander" in his career and the "First charioteer of his majesty" after being "Overseer of Chariotry".<sup>84</sup> His charity titles, however, refer to characteristic military service in the company of the king, later on, diplomatic missions during the prelude to the treaty most likely in the first two decades of Ramses II.<sup>85</sup>

### ***Chief of works Imn-m- Int***

The career of Imn-m-Int was dominated by several military posts. He was "Charioteer and superintendent of horses" under Ramses II when he became a lord. His first promotion after this way as "Principle troop commander" in the warrior years 1-10 of Ramses II. His next promotion in this text was a "Royal envoy to all foreign countries". This period well has been about 10-20 years, So, Amenemone may have shared in this diplomacy efforts. After that, the Pharaoh appointed Amenemone to a civil post as "imy-r kAwT nb mnw. After being chief of works at the Ramesseum, Amenemone finally was appointed "Soul-priest of the royal statue", his equivalent of a pensionary post.<sup>86</sup> All of these titles and promotions have fallen between the 30s to 40s years of Ramesses II's reign. All of his titles appear in his cube-shaped statue from the temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahari found broken in three pieces. On the right side of *Imn-m- Int* is 11 vertical columns of hieroglyphic inscription containing the



autobiography of the deceased. On the left side are 10 columns of prayer to goddess Hathor <sup>8788</sup>:

ink Smsw n Hm.f iw.f m Xrd rdi.n.i wi  
r kDn Hry-ssmwt iw.f m nb Hsi.n wi nb.i  
Hr mnx.i rdi.n.f wi r Hry-pDt aAt n  
pA[y].f mSa Hsi,n wi nb.i Hr ip.i hAb.n.f  
wi r wpwty-nsw r xAswt nbwt wHm.n (.i) n.f  
xAswt m-qi.sn nb wHm.n.f Hs(w)t.i Hr mnxt.i  
rdi.n.f wi r imy-r kAwt m mnw nb  
wHm.n.f Hs(w)t.i Hr Ax.i rdi.n.f wi r imy-r  
kAwt m Hwt.f nt HHw m rnpwt nswt-bity (Wsr-  
mAat-Ra stp-n-Ra) | m Pr-Im ink wa mnx Ax n  
nb.f rdi.n.f wi r Hnk\* n twt.f ir.n.f xwt.i  
m Ss nb ir.n.f wi r Hry-pDt m mSaw aSAw  
Imn-m-Int mAa xrw ms n Smat n Imn-Ra m  
Ipt-swt Ist mAat xrw

I am the one who followed his Majesty when he was a youth, he appointed to be a Charioteer and Overseer of the horse, when he was a lord. My lord praised me because of my efficiency, he appointed me to be principle Troop- Commander of his army. My lord praised me because of my intelligence, he disputed me to be royal envoy to all foreign countries in their every aspect. He again praised me because of my efficiency, he appointed me to be chief of works in all his monuments".

He again praised me because of my usefulness, he appointed me to be a chief of works in the Temple of Millions of years (of) the king of S&N Egypt, Usimare Setepenre, in the Estate of Amun. I was one uniquely efficient and useful to his lord, he appointed me as a soul-priest for his statue, he provided me with property in every respect, ... The Troop Commander with the infantry, Amenemone, justified, born of (the chief of the Harim of Amen-Re- in Karnak.<sup>89</sup> Actually, Anemone's family background and its several dignitaries would explain his long and distinguished career.

### ***The Royal Envoy Mn-xpr***

On a graffito at sehel, Mn-xpr took 2 titles:





xrw sA sAb imy-r pr imy-r mSa imy-r kAwT Hry pDt n nb  
tAwy iwrxyA mAa xrw.'''

" An offering which the king gives (to) Osiris, lord of Abydos, and all the gods of the Sacred Territory, that they may give veneration and the good fortune of their spirits, for the spirit of the royal scribe, steward, general, superintendent of works, superintendent of horse of the lord of both lands, festival leader of Amen-Re, pure of hands fair of face, Yupa, justified, son of the dignitary, steward, general, superintendent of works, troop commander of the lord of both lands, Urhiya, justified.

Yupa's career is bracketed within close limits by the mention of him in years 5 and 54 of Ramesses II, spanning 50 years. It is evident that he was a man of very senior standing when in year 54 he carried by royal decree the proclamation of Ramesses II's Ninth Jubilee throughout the land. So, At the time of Battle of Qadesh, Yupa was just a lad in the training –stables. But half a century later, Yupa himself had risen to be High Steward of both King and Ramesseum, and had the honor of proclaiming his sovereign's ninth jubilee in year 54. In turn, Yupa's son Hatiay became a "Chief of Medjay" and assisted the High Priest of Amun, Bakenkhons, in building the Eastern Temple at Karnak.<sup>101</sup>

## Conclusions:

We may sum up on the study of the remarkable "Overseer of the horses" as follows:

1- There are many princes hold title "imy-r ssmt" in the Ramesside Period. This indicates the importance of this title, especially in the Ramesside period.

### 2- *Grades of the Title in the Ramesside Period:*

There are many grades of this title in the Ramesside Period:

"imy-r ssmt " "Overseer of the horses "

"imy-r ssmt n nb tAwy" "Overseer of the horses of the lord of the two lands

"imy-r ssmt nt (wsr mAat Ra stp n Ra) m pr Imn" "Overseer of the horses of (Ramesses II) in the house of Amun"

Imy-r ssmt wr "Great overseer of the horses".

"Imy-r ssmt n tA Hwt Wsr-mAat-Ra mry Imn" "Overseer of horses of the place (of) Usimare Meriamun".

"Hry ssmt" "Commander of horses"

"Hry ssmt n nb tAwy" "Commander of horses of the lord of the two lands"

"Hry tp ssmt"

**3- Differences between "Hry-iHw" "Stablemaster" and "imy-r ssmt" "Overseer of the horses" :**

- The stable master had command over the people working inside the stable.
- In P. Turin a "Stable master" is stated to have some connection which is not clear, with ships of the house of Amun-Re<sup>102</sup>.
- In P. Anastasi III a "Stable master" carrying dispatches for a "garrison-officer and an "adjutant"<sup>103</sup>.
- The stable master was responsible for the grazing and well-being of the horses.<sup>104</sup>.
- In P. Anastasi II the "Stable master" is shown working in the fields with the horse team.
- The overseer of horses played an active role in the administration of the stable.
- He was responsible for the horses and acted as a commander for the younger stable master.
- He also controlled the "Scribes of the Horses and Stable".

4- The title "Hry ssmt n nb tAwy" "*Commander of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands*" attested once had to do with the charity, The Hry element of the title implies that its bearer held a command function in relation to horses.<sup>105</sup>

5- In some cases, the title "Hry-ssmwt" was the way to promotion. For example, "Imn-m-int" the chief of works in Ramses II region, says that Ramses II appointed him as a "Hry ssmt" "Superintendent of horses" when "Ramses II" was a lord. After that he made him "wpwty nsw r xAst nb" "Royal Envoy to all foreign countries", and again he appointed him as a "imy-r kAwt m mnw nb" "Chief of works in all his monuments" and finally "imy-r kAwt m Hwt.f nt HHw m rnpwt nswt-bity (Wsr-mAat-Ra

stp-n-Ra) m pr-Im "Chief of works in his temple of Millions of Years (of) the king of S & N Egypt in his state of Amun".<sup>106</sup>

- 6- The title "Hry ssmt" attest once in Ramesside Period with "Imn-m-int" in the region of Ramses II.<sup>107</sup>

There are many masters of horses especially in the region of Ramesses II worked as king's envoys.

### Endnotes:

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<sup>1</sup> A, Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, MÄS 6, (1964), 72.

<sup>2</sup> KRI, V, 8:8.

<sup>3</sup> KRI, II, 286:16.

<sup>4</sup> KRI, V, 57, 14.

<sup>5</sup> KRI, V, 16:16.

<sup>6</sup> Erichsen, W., *Papyrus Harris I*, BAe 5, 1933, 77:4.

<sup>7</sup> A, Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, 72.

<sup>8</sup> R.O., Faulkner, *Egyptian Military Organization*, *JEA* 39, (1953), 41.

<sup>9</sup> C, Grigson, "The Earliest Domestic Horses in the Levant? New Finds from the Fourth Millennium of the Negev". *Journal of Archaeological Science* 20, (1993), 652.

<sup>10</sup> S, Redford, S., "Equines", in: *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt*, I, Oxford, (2001), 478:479.

<sup>11</sup> A, Schulman, "Egyptian representations of horsemen and riding in the New Kingdom", *JNES* 16, (1957), 263.

<sup>12</sup> H, Leibowitz, "Horses in New Kingdom Art and the date of an Ivory from Megiddo", *JARCE* 6, (1967), 133.

<sup>13</sup> A, Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, 76.

<sup>14</sup> A, Schulman, "Egyptian Representations of Horsemen and Riding in the New Kingdom", *JNES* 16, No. 4 (Oct., 1957), 264.

<sup>15</sup> M, Fisher, *The Sons of Ramesses II, I: Text and Plates*, Wiesbaden, (2001), 87.

<sup>16</sup> A, Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft: Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, SAGA 17, Heidelberg, 1996, 81.

<sup>17</sup> PM, II, 442.

<sup>18</sup> PM, VII, 113.

<sup>19</sup> KRI, II, 871:4.

<sup>20</sup> Fisher, *the sons of Ramesses II*, 85.

<sup>21</sup> K, Kitchen, "Some New Light on the Asiatic Wars of Ramesses II", *JEA* 50, (1964), 61.

<sup>22</sup> Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft: Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, 81.

<sup>23</sup> J, Thomson, "A Statue of Prehirwennef, Son of Ramesses II", *JEA* 73, (1987), 85.

<sup>24</sup> M, Fisher, *the sons of Ramesses II*, 85.

<sup>25</sup> P, Chevereau., *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, Paris, 1994, 47.

<sup>26</sup> M, Fisher, *the sons of Ramesses II*, 87.

<sup>27</sup> J, Thomson, *JEA* 73, 221.

<sup>28</sup> J, Thomson, *JEA* 73, 221.

<sup>29</sup> M, Fisher, *The Sons of Ramesses II, I: Text and Plates*, Wiesbaden, 2001, 88.

<sup>30</sup> Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, 46.

- <sup>31</sup> Fisher, *the sons of Ramesses II*, 86.
- <sup>32</sup> Thomson, *JEA* 73, 220-24.
- <sup>33</sup> M, Fisher, *The sons of Ramesses II*, I, 129.
- <sup>34</sup> J, Thomson, *JEA* 73, 223.
- <sup>35</sup> M, Fisher, *The Sons of Ramesses II*, 129.
- <sup>36</sup> M, Fisher, *The sons of Ramesses II*, 85.
- <sup>37</sup> M, Fisher, *The sons of Ramesses II*, 86.
- <sup>38</sup> M, Fisher, *The sons of Ramesses II*, 86.
- <sup>39</sup> M, Fisher, *The Sons of Ramesses II*, I, 107.
- <sup>40</sup> E, Naville, *Bubastis*, London, (1891), Pl.38: C.
- <sup>41</sup> Fisher, *The Sons of Ramesses II*, 107.
- <sup>42</sup> KRI, II, 899: 10.
- <sup>43</sup> A, Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft: Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, 83.
- <sup>44</sup> P, Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, 47.
- <sup>45</sup> A, Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft: Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, 83.
- <sup>46</sup> PM, IV, 31; KRI, II, 899:9, P, Chevereau, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, 51.
- <sup>47</sup> E, Naville, *Bubastis (1887-1889)*, London, 1891, Pl.38; Ranke, PN 1, 154:20.
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