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Theban Administration in the Late Middle Kingdom

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Summary: The survey of 210 Late Middle Kingdom sources attributable to Theban officials aims to define the highest offices of the local administration in order to describe local administrative structures, and to pinpoint the administrative titles that were predominantly used in the Theban administration, thus distancing it from the administration of the northern residence and other power centers of Late Middle Kingdom Egypt. The paper emphasizes the role of *whmw* “reporters” as top local officials at Thebes and in a number of other regions in the Late Middle Kingdom. The spellings of the word *hnrt* with —→ in administrative titles is only characteristic of Upper Egypt. Among titles used predominantly in Theban and Upper Egyptian administration were *hrp wshyt* “director of the broad court”, *wr mdw šm^cw* “chief of tens of Upper Egypt”, (*s3b*) *r3-nhn* “*sab*, mouth of Hierakonpolis”, *smsw h3yt* “elder of the portal”, *hrj n tm* “master of the *tm*”, *sš n sp3t* “scribe of the nome”, *jmj-ht s3-prw* “security official estate guard”, and *nfw n pr-hd* “treasury captain”.

Keywords: administration MK, Thebes, regionalism

1 The corpus of sources

The period of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties is one of the best-documented in Egyptian history, covered by several thousand royal, and above all, private, inscriptions. However, these three centuries remain an obscure period in the history of Thebes. Thebes of the period between the transfer of the royal residence from Thebes to Itjtawy by Amenemhat I and the foundation of the independent Theban kingdom by the rulers of the Sixteenth Dynasty, when it remained a provincial albeit an important city, figures in modern scholarship primarily as a religious centre. The Theban area was the home of the cults of Amun-Ra at Karnak, of Mentuhotep II at Deir

el-Bahri, and of Montu at Medamud, Armant, and Tod, to which the kings of this era repeatedly paid tribute¹. The role of Thebes as an important administrative center of southern Upper Egypt indicated by fragmentary evidence remains little-studied due to the small number of sources attributable to Theban administrators. Stephen Quirke summarized the current state of knowledge in his study on Late Middle Kingdom administration². All that is available for a student of Theban administration is the few titles explicitly related to Thebes by direct reference to the Southern city or the region “Head of the South”. The range of Theban administrative titles and structures was, however, by no means limited to these few. The objective of the present paper is to give an overview of Theban administration on a broader basis of private inscriptions attributable to Thebes from indirect evidence.

Sources of the Late Middle Kingdom (from Senwosret III to Sebekhotep VII) attributable to Theban officials are listed in Table 1. The list is limited to male titles. It leaves aside the titles of the highest officials: vizier, high steward, and treasurer³, often attested on monuments from all over Egypt. The question whether there was a separate southern vizier at Thebes during the Late Middle Kingdom⁴ will thus not be discussed in the present paper. The purely priestly titles (*w^cb*, *hrj-hb*, *wjt*, *hm-ntr*, *hm-k3*, *jtj ntr*, *mtj n s3*, *hrj sšt3*) and sources featuring only these titles are also left aside.

Among the indices of Theban origin taken into account in the present study are specific Theban personal names that the present author has essayed to establish (Ilin-Tomich 2012a). To the previously established Theban names (*s3(t)-jmn* and derivatives of *hⁿsw*), one should add further names, which occur exclusively in Theban sources during the Late Middle Kingdom: *jwjj* (with its deriva-

1 Cf. Grajetzki 2006, 91–92.

2 Cf. Quirke 2004, 116–118. I generally follow this book for English renderings of administrative titles.

3 For a survey of their holders, see: Grajetzki 2003.

4 Cf. Grajetzki 2009, 22–23.

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tives)⁵, *dd(t)-jmn*⁶, names ending with *-rs(w)*⁷ (except *rn.(s/f)-rs*). To the names characteristic of Upper Egyptian sources (derivates of *nbw*, *j^c(t)-jb*, *nfrw*, *rn.(s/f)-rs*), one should add theophoric names starting with *dd(t)*⁸, names *nfr-htp*⁹, *snb.(s/f)-c^h.(s/f)*¹⁰, and names with the element *nšmt*¹¹. The presence of at least two different character-

istic Theban names or one Theban and one Upper Egyptian name may be considered an ample indication of the Theban origin unless contradicted by other criteria. Theban origin may also be deduced for stelae produced by Theban workshops. Theban stela Workshops 1–4 are referred to as defined in an earlier paper¹². The products of a further workshop (or a sequence of workshops) from the late Thirteenth and early Sixteenth Dynasties, which were erected at Rizeiket and at Thebes¹³, are excluded from the survey unless there is evidence for their Theban origin (as in the cases when traders of antiquities indicated that the object came from Qurna: Firenze 6372, Firenze 6377, Firenze 7601; the necropolis at Rizeiket where most such stelae were installed seems to not have been explored by professional archaeologists).

The main manuscript of Papyrus Boulaq 18 arguably contains a mix of local Theban officials and residential officials accompanying the king from Itjtawy; this issue deserves a separate discussion, and the evidence provided by this papyrus is excluded from the present paper.

Altogether, 210 sources were selected for this study. Over twenty-five different titles occur in this corpus at least five times; fourteen titles occur at least ten times (Table 2). The sources preserve no organization chart; hence, the structure of the Theban administration shall be deduced from indirect observations. Three approaches are useable for establishing the standing of officials bearing different titles. The rank titles combined with ordinary titles act as the primary indicator of importance of officials. Another way to measure the prominence of Theban officials is from the size of their monuments¹⁴. The relative positions of holders of different titles on memorial monuments may betray their subordination: Important officials were ordering stelae depicting their lesser relatives and subordinates. Most valuable for studying the structure of the Theban administration are the blocks and stelae displaying local nobles venerated by numerous local officials (such as Cairo CG 20056, Cairo CG 20360, Cairo CG 20555, Cairo CG 20724, Cairo JE 37507, Firenze 2553, Fitzwilliam E.207.1900+E.273.1900, Louvre C 16+C 17+C 18, Hermitage 1063+1064+1075, Los Angeles M.71.73.44, MMA 63.154, Tübingen 462, Wien ÄS 5897).

5 Eleven instances may be cited (referred to in Table 1 unless stated otherwise): Avignon A 31; Brooklyn 35.1446, verso, l. 82; Cairo CG 20104; Christie's London, July 10–11, 1974, lot 440; Drah Abu-el-Naga K01.12; Oxford QC 1111; coffin rT23mma; Tallinn 3; Trieste O.150; Tübingen 462; Spiegelberg 1921, 967 = Winlock 1941, pl. II no. 8.

6 Twelve instances may be cited: coffin Cairo JE 58819 from Asasif (PM I, 624); the complex Berlin 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 4650; BM 1348; Cairo CG 20150; Cairo CG 20240; Cairo CG 20491; Cairo CG 20555; Edinburgh A.1951.344; el-Masry, Memnonia 17 (2006), no. 1.2; MMA 19.3.1 (from Asasif, MMA website); MMA 19.3.33 (from Asasif; Hayes, 1959, fig. 7); MMA 28.3.16 (from Deir el-Bahri; MMA website).

7 Ten attestations are attributable to Thebes: Avignon A 31; BM 1348; Cairo CG 887; Cairo CG 20056; Cairo CG 20555; Cairo JE 37507; Chiddingstone EDECC:01.2882; Edinburgh A.1951.344; OIM 6739; pBrooklyn 35.1446, verso l. 6. One stems from Gebelein: Karlsruhe H 412 (Spiegelberg and Pörtner 1902, Taf. III, Nr. 5; Anubis the lord of Iumitru in the offering formula) and one from Asfun el-Matana: Moscow I.1.a.5608 (Hodjash and Berlev 1982, no. 38; Horus the lord of Hutsnofru in the offering formula).

8 The list of 80 attestations from southern Upper Egypt is too long to be cited here; by contrast, only two contrary instances are attributable to the Memphite region: Ashmolean 1922.143 (Petrie 1925, pl. XII.7; Franke 1984, 764) and Petrie Lahun papyri UC 32190 and 32143B (Collier, Quirke 2006, 12–13, 250–251).

9 Twenty five attestations from Theban sources may be cited: Aswan 1382; Avignon A 31; Berlin 7300; Bologna KS 1904; Bruxelles E.4339; Cairo CG 20056; Cairo CG 20073; Cairo CG 20145; Cairo CG 20240; Cairo CG 20246; Cairo CG 20491; Cairo CG 20545; Cairo CG 20557; Cairo CG 20574; Cairo CG 20724; Cairo JE 47708+47709; Drah Abu-el-Naga tomb of Neferhotep; Firenze 2529; Hermitage 1062; Los Angeles M.71.73.44; Louvre C 13; Martin 718 (the title “god’s servant of Amun at Thebes”); Tübingen 462; Walters 22.214; Wien ÄS 5897.

Several other attestations are from other centers of Upper Egypt: Alliot, Edfu 1933, pl. XVI.2 (Alliot 1935; Edfu); op. cit., pl. XVII.2 (Edfu); Liverpool E.2801 (Snape 1984, 148–149; from Abydos as indicated by the title “regulator of a watch of Abydos”); Louvre E.20909 (Marée 2009, fig. 8; Edfu).

Only three occurrences are from the Memphis-Fayum region: Dublin UCD 1365 (Quirke 2000, pl. XXXII below; titles “the god’s servant of Ptah” and “the god’s father of Atum, the lord of Heliopolis”), MMA 25.184.1 (MMA website; features characteristic Memphite names *snfrw* and *jmny*), Louvre C 45 (Awad 2007, 60–67; the title “the door-keeper of the temple of Ptah”).

10 Six instances independently attributable to Thebes may be cited: Avignon A 31, Cairo CG 20627, Firenze 2553, MMA 22.3.68, Trieste 150, Wien ÄS 5897 as well as four instances attributable on the basis of other characteristic names: Aswan 1310, Cairo CG 20724, Wien ÄS 163, Wien ÄS 180. One source comes from Edfu: Alliot 1935, pl. XVII.4; and one is attributable to Southern Upper Egypt on the basis of personal names: Cairo CG 20767 (*j^c-jb*, *nbw-jj.tj*).

11 Cf. Ilin-Tomich, 2012b, 80 n. 46.

12 Ilin-Tomich 2012b, 69–84.

13 First noticed by Vernus (1987, 1065–1066), who divided it into several workshops (Atelier I, Atelier III). (I am indebted to Pascal Vernus for the permission to copy his thesis and to Lana Martysheva, who copied it for me.) Later discussed independently from Vernus by Marée (1993, 13 n. 41), Franke (2003, 83 n. 275), Stefanović (2010a, 214; 2015, 116), Ilin-Tomich (2012b, 84).

14 For a similar approach, see: Quirke 2010.

2 The top tier of Theban administration

The holders of the following offices are attested with rank titles in Theban sources (excluding the three top-rank bureaucrats of the state listed above): *jmj-r³ shtjw* “overseer of marshland-dwellers”, *jmj-r³ gs-pr* “overseer of the half-domain”, *jmj-r³ 3hwt (n njwt rsj)* “overseer of fields (of the southern city)”, *hm-ntr n jmn* “the god’s servant of Amun”, *sš c n nsw n hft-hr* “scribe of documents of the king of the presence”, *h3tj-c jmj-r³ hmw-ntr* “hatia, overseer of god’s servants”, *hrp wshyt* “director of the broad court”, *3tw n tt hq3* “commander of the crew of the ruler”, *jmj-r³ hnrt* “overseer of the enclosure”. Some of these titles occur but singularly in Theban sources: *jmj-r³ shtjw* (Berlev 1974, 106–113), *jmj-r³ gs-pr* (BM 893, MMA 22.3.68), *sš c n nsw n hft-hr* (Louvre C 13, Cairo JE 37510). Other titles occur more regularly and will be discussed below.

2.1 Governors in the early Twelfth Dynasty

The title string *h3tj-c+jmj-r³ hmw-ntr* “hatia and overseer of god’s servants”, which commonly designated the highest officials of local administration in the first half of the Middle Kingdom¹⁵, is attested in several Theban sources dating from this period. A certain Mentuhotep known from a stela not predating year 25 of the reign of Senwosret I (UC 14333; Goedicke 1962) held the title-string *jrj-pct+h3tj-c+jmj-r³ hmw-ntr* and claimed to be *mh-jb hm.f m jwnj tpjt sp3wt.f* “satisfying the heart of his majesty at Armant, the topmost of his nomes”. It remains unclear whether his power in the Theban region extended beyond Armant¹⁶.

Another official, Amenemhat, is more reliably attributable to Thebes. His family is known from the stelae of his father, god’s father Amenemhat (Chicago, Art Institute 1920.262), and his mother Hemet (Sotheby’s London July 11, 1988, lot 50). They should have lived under Amenemhat I or Senwosret I¹⁷. Their son Amenemhat initially held the title “lector-priest” (on the Sotheby’s stela) but was later promoted to governor and held a long string of titles, including *jrj-pct h3tj-c+hrj-hb hrj-tp+jtj-ntr+...+jmj-r³ hmw-ntr* “irypat, hatia, chief lector-priest, god’s father, and overseer of god’s servants”, as evidenced by stela

Cairo CG 20359¹⁸. This stela probably dates from the last decade of Senwosret I’s reign or the early years of Amenemhat II¹⁹, though it is likely that the office of the governor (*h3tj-c+jmj-r³ hmw-ntr*) was established in the former capital of the Eleventh Dynasty kingdom under Senwosret I, simultaneously with a number of similar offices throughout Egypt²⁰. The connection between this family and Thebes is clear from the mentions of Amun-Ra on the Sotheby’s stela and of the temple *jpt-swt jmn* on Cairo CG 20359.

The next known governor of Thebes was Nisumontu,²¹ on his stela Louvre C 243²², dating to year 14 of Amenemhat II, he lists the titles *jrj-pct+h3tj-c+smr-wctj+hrj-tp n pr mntw+jmj-r³ hmw-ntr* (irypat, hatia, sole friend, the chief of the temple of Montu, the overseer of god’s servants). There is no evidence for his relation to the family of Amenemhat, though the mention of the female name Hemet on offering table Wien AS 98 and stela Cairo CG 20733 makes it a possible option. A younger relative of Nisumontu was the reporter Montuaa, who mentions Nisumontu on his stela Cairo CG 20733 dating to year 13 of Senwosret III. On this stela, further relatives holding the titles *h3tj-c+jmj-r³ hmw-ntr* are mentioned: Amenemhat, Montuaa, and a further Nisumontu. The stela enumerates several generations of one family, and thus, these officials could have held this office one after another or they could have served at different locations near Thebes.

Two other late Twelfth Dynasty Theban governors with the titles *h3tj-c+jmj-r³ hmw-ntr* are known: Senwosretankh of tomb MMA 211 (Amenemhat III) and Senankh (Petrie 1925, pl. XXIII.2). No governors occur in Theban documents from the Thirteenth Dynasty²³, which suggests the abolishment or the decline of the office of *h3tj-c+jmj-r³ hmw-ntr* at Thebes. This development is in line with the

¹⁸ For the prosopographical connections between the three stelae and references to publications, see: Ilin-Tomich 2014, 142.

¹⁹ As indicated by the later filiation formula *jr.n+(mother’s name)* on his Cairo stela (see n. 17 above)

²⁰ Franke 1994, 13. For the seeming absence of governors on the core territory of the Eleventh Dynasty kingdom, see: Willems 2013, 384–385.

²¹ Franke 1984, 283.

²² Fischer 1972, pl. 7b. The epithet *drp hr w3stj* “he who feeds Horus the Theban” indicates the Theban origin of its owner.

²³ The scarab of the governor Yuymes, BM 21906 (Martin 91), which was said to come from Thebes (Martin 1971, 13) is now considered a fake (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=172652&partId=1 accessed on 12.03.2015). Note the *h3tj-c+jmj-r³ hwt-ntr* “hatia and overseer of the temple” Sagebu in the smaller manuscript of Papyrus Boulaq 18, who could however be a governor of a neighbouring town.

¹⁵ For the most recent discussion of the titles of local rulers in Middle Kingdom administration, see: Willems 2013.

¹⁶ See also: Favry 2004, 71–72.

¹⁷ As indicated by the filiation formula *ms.n+(mother’s name)*, which came out of use late in the reign of Senwosret I (Obsomer 1993).

simultaneous disappearance of this title string or with the decline of its holders visible in many other regions²⁴.

2.2 The reporters of Thebes in the Late Middle Kingdom

Who replaced the $h\dot{3}tj\text{-}^c+jmj\text{-}r\dot{3} hmw\text{-}ntr$ as the highest local official at Thebes? It may be argued that the comparable level of administrative power was wielded by the $whmw$ “reporter”,²⁵ while the governor’s role in temple administration expressed in the title $jmj\text{-}r\dot{3} hmw\text{-}ntr$ “overseer of god’s servants” was taken over by $hm\text{-}ntr$ $n jmn$ “god’s servant of Amun”. Another office of local administration, which was regularly used under the Thirteenth Dynasty, the $h\dot{3}tj\text{-}^c n X$ “hatia of (a town)”,²⁶ is not attested for Thebes, while there are attestations referring to the towns of the Theban region: Armant²⁷ and Tod²⁸.

Like many other titles, $whmw$ is ambiguous, and it could be borne by household officials in large estates²⁹, by officials for special missions, and by regular high local officials. The three usages can be differentiated only by the context. It may be suggested that the earliest notable reporter related to Thebes, Ameny from the reign of Senwosret I, was an official for special missions rather than a regular local official, as indicated by his role in mobilizing Upper Egyptians for major expeditions (Farout 1994). The usage of $whmw$ as a regular title of local administration began only in the Late Middle Kingdom. The title $whmw$ is attested with different extensions in Theban documents: $whmw n njwt\text{-}rsw$ “reporter of the Southern City” (Brooklyn 35.1446; insertions B and C), $whmw m w\dot{3}st$ “reporter at Thebes” (Wien ÄS 5051/580), $whmw n t\dot{3}tj$ “reporter of the vizier” (Cairo CG 20102, Louvre C 16+C 17+C 18), and an unintelligible title on Bruxelles E.2521, which could be read as $whmw n jwnj$ “reporter of Armant” or $whmw n jwnyt$ “reporter of Esna”. The reporter of the vizier and the reporter at Thebes are considered two distinct titles

(Quirke 2004, 87–88 and 112–113). However, the fact that the title was usually shortened to simple $whmw$ “reporter” in Theban sources and the evidence that the “bureau of the reporter of the Southern City” was receiving royal decrees addressed to the vizier (Brooklyn 35.1446, insertions B and C) make it possible to suggest that these could be different designations of one and the same office “reporter of the vizier at Thebes” located at Thebes and subordinate to the vizier³⁰.

The following reporters are attributable to Late Middle Kingdom Thebes:

$j^c\text{-}jb/jn\text{-}jtj.f$ (Cairo CG 20429+20430)

$jn\text{-}jtj.f$ (Cairo CG 20733, Wien ÄS 98)

$jn\text{-}jtj.f$ (Cairo CG 20733)

$jn\text{-}hrt\text{-}nht$ (Aswan 1309)

$\dot{3}^c\text{-}n\text{-}jb\text{-}r.f$ (Aswan 1310)

$mntw\text{-}^c\dot{3}$ (BM 100, Cairo CG 20733, Wien ÄS 98; Franke 1984, 257)

$mntw\text{-}^c\dot{3}$ (Cairo CG 20733)

$mntw\text{-}^c\dot{3}$ (Cairo CG 20733)

$rdj\text{-}s^c\text{-}nh$ (Bruxelles E.2521: “reporter of Armant (?)”, Oxford QC 1110, Tübingen 457; Franke 1984, 406)

$rn\text{-}snb$ (Martin 834)

$sbk\text{-}m\text{-}s\dot{3}.f$, reporter at Thebes (Wien ÄS 5051/5801)

$s\text{-}n\text{-}wsrt$, reporter of the vizier (Cairo CG 20102)

$s\text{-}n\text{-}wsrt$, reporter of the vizier (Louvre C 16+C 17+C 18; Franke 1984, 492)

$sn.j\text{-}htp$ (Medamoud 3152)

The prominence of the reporter among other Theban officials can be inferred from indirect observations. A near life-size statue of the $whmw m w\dot{3}st$ “reporter at Thebes” Sebekemsaf (Wien ÄS 5051/5801) is the largest known statue (and the highest known monument) of a Theban official of this period. On stelae showing numerous officials, reporters hold the position of stela owner (Aswan 1310, Cairo CG 20429+20430, Cairo CG 20733) unless mentioned by their children in filiation formulae (Aswan 1309) or as expression of filial piety (Oxford QC 1110 and Tübingen 457). The number of subordinate titles discussed below suggests that the reporter controlled a sizeable administrative staff. The bureau of the reporter was receiving decrees addressed to the vizier (Brooklyn 35.1446, insertions B and C). The rank titles $jry\text{-}p^c\text{-}t+h\dot{3}tj\text{-}^c$ held

³⁰ On the other hand, the evidence of papyrus Boulaq 18 suggests that there could have been two or three reporters at one time at Thebes ($snb\text{-}n.j$ and $jwjj$ in section 74 and possibly $rn\text{-}snb$ in section 11). Still this papyrus could have listed retired office holders, reporters from other regions or reporters not belonging to the local administration.

²⁴ Willems 2013, 390–391.

²⁵ For the previous discussions of the title, see: Helck 1958, 240–241; Quirke 1990, 167; Quirke 2004, 112; Grajetzki 2013, 235–236.

²⁶ For the distinction of the title $h\dot{3}tj\text{-}^c n X$ from that of $h\dot{3}tj\text{-}^c+jmj\text{-}r\dot{3} hmw\text{-}ntr$, see Willems 2013, 373–374, 371. Willems advocates the idea that this position was less prominent than the office of $h\dot{3}tj\text{-}^c+jmj\text{-}r\dot{3} hmw\text{-}ntr$ and that it could refer to the town mayor rather than to the governor of a province. Note however that the $h\dot{3}tj\text{-}^c n X$ could also possess rank titles, as Khnumemhat of the Thirteenth Dynasty, the $irypat$, hatia of the northern and southern Iunyt (Gauthier 1926).

²⁷ Papyrus Boulaq 18, XXI.2.18 (Scharff 1922, 8**) and Louvre E.13053 (Ledrain 1879, pl. XI).

²⁸ Cairo CG 20649.

²⁹ For this usage, see: Berlev 1978, 136, 174.

by one of the first Theban reporters Montuaa in the late Twelfth Dynasty (BM 100, Cairo CG 20733) reinforce the impression that this was the principal official at Thebes at that time, for this combination is otherwise attested for governors³¹ and is rare among other local officials.

High rank titles were also combined with the title “reporter” in late Twelfth or Thirteenth Dynasty sources from Heliopolis (*jrj-p^ct+h³tj-^c+hm-ntr jtm nb jwnw+wdpw n b³w jwnw+wr m³w+jtj-ntr n jwnw+whmw*)³² and from Assiut (*jrj-p^ct+h³tj-^c+rh-nsu+whmw nsw*)³³. One may further cite local reporters from two other regions without ranking titles: the reporter Wahka of Antaeopolis³⁴ (Thirteenth Dynasty) and the reporter of Elephantine (*whmw n ³bw*) Heqaib³⁵ (Thirteenth Dynasty). This evidence suggests that in the late Twelfth and the Thirteenth Dynasties, the title *whmw* designated a regular office in the local administration, attested in different parts of Egypt: at Heliopolis, Assiut, Antaeopolis, Thebes, and Elephantine. The rise of reporters more or less coincided with the decline of the bearers of the title string *h³tj-^c+jmj-r³ hmw-ntr* in a number of regions³⁶. Stela Cairo CG 20733 illustrates the fact that the holders of the older and the newer titles could belong to the same family.

By its very nature and by the evidence of hieratic documents Brooklyn 35.1446, insertions B and C, and Berlin 10470 (Smither 1948), the office of *whmw* was directly connected with the highest power of the king (note that the reporter from Assiut holds the title “king’s reporter”) and of the vizier. It would be tempting to connect the rise of local reporters, more deeply incorporated in the

central administration than other local officials, with the much-discussed shift of power and resources toward the central administration during the Late Middle Kingdom (Franke 1991).

The introduction of reporters into the local administration of the late Middle Kingdom brings its structure closer to that reflected in the tribute scenes from Eighteenth Dynasty tombs of Useramun (Dziobek 1994, 85–89) and Rekhmira (Helck 1958, 211–218). The date of this composition associated with the Instructions to the vizier has long been debated³⁷, but the Late Middle Kingdom evidence for reporters and “*hatia* of (a town)”, who act as the two chief local officials in the tribute scenes, reinforces the opinion that this scene represents a Late Middle Kingdom ideal image of local administration. However, it is doubtful that all the mentioned local offices existed at any time in Egyptian history; the available evidence suggests that in less important regions, different offices tended to be held by the same person. The study of this scene has led researchers to the conclusion that reporters were subordinate to the *hatia* (Helck 1977; Boorn 1988, 326). The Middle Kingdom evidence does not support this view.

2.3 The god’s servants of Amun and Montu

Religious titles remain beyond the scope of the present paper; nevertheless, a short note should be made on the highest religious administrators who purportedly took over the religious power from the former governors combining the topmost position in local administration with the title of the overseer of god’s servants. While rank titles were rarely combined with purely priestly titles in the Middle Kingdom, a new class of rank titleholders emerged in the Late Middle Kingdom: the *hm-ntr* “god’s servant” of a specific god with the rank title *htmw-bjtj* or occasionally other rank titles. At Thebes, all the three known holders of the title string *htmw-bjtj+hm-ntr n jmn* obviously belonged to the highest local officials. One was the grandfather of the well-known vizier Ankhu (Cairo CG 42034). Another dedicated a large stela (86 cm high) to his father, the vizier Samentu (Cairo CG 20102), mentioning several other local officials. The third is known from his stela (70 cm high) spotting a number of lower-rank officials in subordinate position (Cairo JE 37507). Under the Thirteenth Dynasty, high priests of other deities from different regions with the same title-string are attested: Hathor of Dendera (Walters 22.209; Steindorff 1946,

³¹ In inscriptions from Elephantine, Hierakonpolis, Antaeopolis, Assiut, Meir, Bersheh, Beni Hasan, Bubastis, Ezbet-Rushdi and Thebes proper (Cairo CG 20359).

³² Sehel, graffito SEH 201 (Gasse and Rondot 2007, 113).

³³ Liverpool 1966.178 (Bourriau and Quirke 1988, no. 55).

³⁴ Berlin 21822 (Steckeweh 1936, 53–54).

³⁵ Leather roll Berlin 10470 (Smither 1948).

³⁶ However attractive this connection would be, it should be borne in mind that the number of the holders of the “obsolete” title string *h³tj-^c+jmj-r³ hmw-ntr* in the sources of the Thirteenth, Sixteenth and Seventeenth dynasties is still greater than the number of attestations of the “new” title *h³tj-^c n X* and of the new regular title *whmw*. Of the five regions where reporters are attested, Antaeopolis and Elephantine feature the bearers of the title-string *h³tj-^c+jmj-r³ hmw-ntr* securely datable to the Thirteenth Dynasty (Abydene stela of Wahka from Antaeopolis, Torino Cat. 1547; for Elephantine, see: Franke 1994, 49). Note however that while Sixteenth Dynasty governors of Elkab cited as the most prominent late holders of the old title string (Willems 2013, 391) use *h³tj-^c+jmj-r³ hmw-ntr* in their own private tombs, in the more official context of the Juridical Stela their office is designated just as “*hatia* of Elkab” (Lacau 1949). It might suggest that the use of the more prestigious old string could not always reflect the official designation of the position.

³⁷ For the summary of the discussion, see: Willems 2013, 365–369.

no. 35), Ptah (Louvre AF 9917; Delange 1987, 224³⁸), and Sobek (Leiden V. L. D. J. 2; Boeser 1909, no. 34). No holders of priestly titles other than *hm-ntr* display a comparable level of prominence under the Thirteenth Dynasty (with the exception of the fathers of kings with the title *jtj-ntr*), which suggests that this title string was regularly used as a designation of topmost priests at different temples across Egypt.

A comparable position can be deduced from the size of the monument for the god's servant of Montu at Medamoud Dedusebek, who held no rank title: He is represented standing before a procession of Theban officials, most of whom were his relatives, on his stela Wien ÄS 5897 (88 cm high). The owner of the tomb at Ramesseum (Quibell 1898, pl. VIII–IX), the god's servant Sehetepibre should also be mentioned in this context.

2.4 Controllers of scribes (of the Southern City)

On the next level of administrative hierarchy, one of the most prominent officials at Thebes was the “controller of scribes” (*shd sšw*), who often held the prefix *s3b*³⁹. As established by W. Grajetzki (2005, 65–66), much of the Late Middle Kingdom evidence for controllers of scribes relates to Thebes. Three controllers of scribes are mentioned in papyrus Boulaq 18⁴⁰, but as in other cases, this cannot be taken as decisive evidence confirming the co-existence of several offices at Thebes.

The office of a “controller of scribes” was not exclusively Theban and existed at the northern residence, as evidenced by the reference in a Lahun papyrus UC 32114 (Collier and Quirke 2002, 28–29), a scarab of Ameny from Lisht (Martin 840), stela Rio de Janeiro 635 + 636 from a Memphite workshop (Ilin-Tomich 2015), and stela Genève D 48 (Wiedemann and Pörtner 1906, pl. II no. 2; Memphite names *kkj* and *htp*). The title also occurs in the administration of the Buhen fortress (Philadelphia UM E.10984), which implies that it could have been occasionally used in the regional administration of smaller centres of the Late Middle Kingdom.

The full title of the Theban controller of scribes, *s3b+shd sšw n njwt-rsj* “*sab*, controller of scribes of the Southern City”, is only attested for one official (BM 254, Louvre C 43, Rio de Janeiro 646). On one occasion, a

Theban controller of scribes held a string with ranking titles *jrj-p^ct+h3tj-^c+s3b+shd sšw* (Chiddingstone EDECC: 01.2882). The following Theban titleholders are known:

nhw (Cairo CG 20724)

p3-ntj-n.j (BM 254, Louvre C 43, Rio de Janeiro 646)

nfr-htp (Louvre C 13)

s3-jmn (Chiddingstone EDECC:01.2882)

sbk-htp (Cairo CG 20337)

Two further officials that likely date already to the reign of Dynasties 16–17 arguably also served in the Theban realm:

nfr-htp (Petrie, Abydos II, pl. XXX.2)

nfr-htp (Cairo CG 20084)

2.5 The overseers of fields of the southern city

There are several occurrences of *jmj-r3 3hwt* “overseers of fields” (Quirke 2004, 91; Grajetzki 2009, 86–91) in the Theban Late Middle Kingdom documentation, and the full form of the title *jmj-r3 3hwt n njwt rsj* “the overseer of fields of the Southern City” (Brooklyn 35.1446, insertion C) leaves no doubt that this was a regular title in the Theban administration. All Theban overseers of fields bear the rank title *htmw-bjtj*, and they are owners of monuments on which they appear. It is tempting to suggest that the Theban overseers of fields in the Late Middle Kingdom had authority over the same territory as *jmj-r3 3hwt m tp-rsj t3-wr* “the overseer of fields of the Head of the South and Taur” known from the reign of Senwosret I (Leiden AP 7, Boeser 1909, no. 3). This suggestion is reinforced by the fact that a Theban overseer of fields ordered a stela in the workshop located on Elephantine (Liverpool M.13907). There is also abundant evidence for northern overseers of fields from the vicinity of the northern residence.

The following overseers of fields are attributable to the Theban administration:

j^c-jb (Deir el-Bahri tomb 204)

jmn-m-h3t (Liverpool M.13907)

snb-hn^c.f (Bologna B.1839, MMA M3C 315 [?])

dd.tw (Louvre C 58, Odessa 52970)

The evidence of papyrus Harageh 3 (Smither 1941) and stela Leiden AP 7 indicates that the title *sš n tm3* “scribe of the mat” was borne by subordinates of the overseer of fields (Quirke 2004, 92) who could eventually become the overseers themselves. Several holders of this title are attested in the Theban corpus:

jwjj (Aswan 1310)

³⁸ For the Thirteenth Dynasty date, see: Franke 1994, 69.

³⁹ Cf. Quirke 2004, 90.

⁴⁰ *snb.tj.fj* in section 60; *mrj* in sections 11 (?) and 74, and *nfr-htp* in sections 11 (?) and 27.

nb.j-pw (Petrie, Tombs of the Courtiers, pl. XXII [lower right])
s3-jmn (BM 209)
snb.f-n.j (Edinburgh A.1951.344)
ddw-jmn (Cairo CG 20555)
ddw-jmn/rs-snb (Cairo CG 20056, Cairo CG 20240; Franke 1984, 399)
ddw-sbk/jnw (Cairo CG 20555, son of the above)
ddw-sbk/s3-nfrt (Cairo CG 20555, brother of the above).

While papyrus Harageh 3 testifies the presence of scribes of the mat in the northern part of Egypt, the inscriptional evidence suggests that only in the Theban realm these officials were significant enough to slip into the monumental evidence, albeit only as associates of their more prominent relatives (no holder of the title has erected a stela).

Another title related to the overseer of fields, *sš n 3hwt* “scribe of fields”, appears twice in Theban sources:
mnw-nht (Firenze 2529)
sbk-ḥh (Martin 1387).

2.6 Directors of the broad court

Although W. Grajetzki (2003, 164-167) connects the office of *hryw wshyt* “director of the broad court” with central administration, which is justified by the close connection of several holders of this title with viziers, almost all evidence for the title comes from the Theban region or Upper Egypt. The holders of the title regularly combined it with the rank title *hymw-bjtj*. One director of the broad court was the patron of one of the largest Theban stelae (MMA 63.154, 120 cm). The directors of the broad court occur in subsidiary positions on the stelae of the god’s servants (Cairo JE 37507, Wien ÄS 5897). Otherwise, they appear as patrons or dedicators of stelae, including one mentioning other officials (MMA 63.154). In one instance, the title is combined with another highest Theban title *whmw* (Martin 557). The functions of the director of the broad court remain unclear.

The following directors of the broad court are securely attributable to Thebes:

jmn-m-s3.f (Cairo JE 37507)
nfr-htp (Wien ÄS 5897)
rn-snb (MMA 63.154; holds a different title *3tw n tt ḥq3+htmw-bjtj* on Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 964, Franke 1984, 373)
snb (Leiden H.III.RR.3)
snb-ḥn^c.f (Aswan 1309, Aswan 1328, MMA 22.3.307; Franke 1984, 661)

To this list, one can add the following examples from Upper Egypt:

jj-mrw (Heidelberg 274; Aswan 1349; L. Habachi, BIFAO 81 suppl. [1981], pl. VIII-IX; all attestations are on Upper Egyptian monuments of his son, the vizier Iymeru, see: Franke 1984, 25)
hnsu (Liverpool 16.11.06.13, Grajetzki 2010, 8–9, pl. III, X; origin not certain, but the name *hnsu* speaks in favor of Thebes).

No examples are known from the Memphis-Fayum region, which suggests that this title was used exclusively in Upper Egypt and probably only at Thebes.

3 Theban institutions

3.1 The bureau of the reporter

Stephen Quirke (2004, 112–113) suggested that most known subordinates of a reporter could have been attached to the reporter of Thebes stressing that further research on the origin of their inscriptions was needed to clear this up. The material assembled in the present paper partly confirms Quirke’s suggestion.

The following attestations of titles subordinate to the reporter are attributable to Thebes:

3tw n whmw “commander (of the forces) of the reporter”:
 Cairo CG 20545
sš n whmw “scribe of the reporter”: Cairo CG 20574, Cairo CG 20695, Edinburgh A.1951.344.

The following person, however, likely stems from a different region:

sš wr n whmw “great scribe of the reporter”: Rio de Janeiro 630 [2422] (Kitchen 1990, no. 6), Torino 1613 (Turin 1988, no. 151; Memphis-Fayum region as indicated by the names *jjj*, *hntj-m-s3.f*), sealing Wegner 2007, 345 fig. 155 no. 34 (Abydos).

Two more examples are not attributable to any region at the present state of research:

3tw n whmw: BM 210 (Franke 2013, 38–44)
qnbjtj n whmw “councilor of the reporter”: Rio de Janeiro 630 [2422].

3.2 The great enclosure of Thebes

The best-documented Theban institution, the *hnrt wr* “great enclosure”, was admittedly responsible for mobilizing and (or) controlling corvée labour forces as appears from papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 (Hayes 1955; Quirke 1988; Quirke 1990, 130–140). The titles connected with the great enclosure are among the most common in the Theban corpus of sources (*jmj-rʒ hnrt wr* “overseer of the great enclosure”: three attestations; *sš n hnrt wr* “scribe of the great enclosure”: twenty-six attestations). From the Brooklyn papyrus, it follows that the institution located at Thebes was responsible for the territory of nine southernmost nomes of Upper Egypt, which is believed to coincide with the limits of the region named *tp-rsj* “Head of the South” in the Late Middle Kingdom (Hayes 1955, 138).

There is documentary evidence for at least one other institution called *hnrt wr* at the northern residence (Quirke 1988, 96–98). Still, the majority of preserved epigraphic evidence refers to the Theban one.

The chief problem connected with the epigraphic evidence for *hnrt* concerns the two variant spellings of the term, which emerged from the similarity of the hieratic sign M 491 = \rightarrow with M 90 = 𓄏 . Both signs are used for *hnrt* (as evidenced by scarab Martin 1578 and graffito Petrie, Season in Egypt 287, which spell the title of one and the same person [Franke 1984, 652] with \rightarrow in the first case and with 𓄏 in the other, and by stela Sinopoli Egi 06 referred to in Table 3 below, which combines both spellings). However, the latter sign is also used for *hntj* “outer palace”, which leads to a confusion between *sš n hnrt* “scribe of the enclosure” and *sš n hntj* “scribe of the outer palace”. The now widely accepted solution for this problem was offered by Stephen Quirke (1988, 83–84), who proposed to read all instances of the title accompanied by *wr* as *sš n hnrt wr* and those without *wr* as *sš n hntj*. In so doing, Quirke rejected the only example of *sš n hnrt* written with \rightarrow without *wr* in his survey (Reisner 1923, no. 98) as possibly a result of an inaccurate publication (Quirke 1988, 100 n. 56). Another instance of the same spelling of *sš n hnrt* is Aswan 1485 (although the location is damaged, the photograph confirms the absence of *wr*). Beside these two exceptions, the solution has another weak point, for the title *jmj-rʒ hnrt* is only exceptionally written with *wr* (Marée 2014), and while its attestations with \rightarrow most likely refer to *hnrt*, the spellings with 𓄏 remain ambiguous.

The examination of the spellings of titles with *hnrt* and *hntj* in inscriptions attributable either to Upper Egypt and Thebes or to the northern residence, reveals a consistent pattern: The spellings with \rightarrow tend to be Theban

or Upper Egyptian, while all spellings with 𓄏 or 𓄏𓄏 are attributable exclusively to the Memphis-Fayum (except for two cases from Middle Egypt).

Table 3 summarizes the occurrences of the titles *jmj-rʒ hnrt*, *sš n hnrt (wr)*, *sš n hntj (wr)*, and related titles in Middle Kingdom sources attributable to any particular region. First the spellings with \rightarrow are presented arranged according to the likely place of origin. Then follow the spellings with 𓄏 and 𓄏𓄏 .

All Theban instances of these titles are spelled with \rightarrow , which indicates that there was only the *hnrt*-institution at Thebes, but not the *hntj*-institution. The scribal title being but once written with *wr* and the overseer’s title never having this extension, these titles in Theban sources should all be connected with the same institution (moreover, the connection between the two titles is confirmed by their co-occurrence on Cairo CG 20724 and Wien ÄS 5897).

The evidence from the Memphis-Fayum region is more ambiguous. On the one hand, all instances of the scribal title with 𓄏 having the extension *wr* are attributable to the Memphis-Fayum region (Berlin 1198, Cairo CG 20520, Sinopoli Egi 06)⁴¹, and these should, according to Quirke’s rule, be attributed to the Memphite great enclosure, along with the five Memphite instances of *sš n hnrt wr* with \rightarrow (Berlin 1624, Cairo CG 410, Cairo CG 20562, Louvre C 289, Sinopoli Egi 06). This suggests that the spelling of *hnrt* with 𓄏 was characteristic of the northern scribal tradition. It is also clear that numerous titles spelled with 𓄏𓄏 , or more fully $\text{𓄏𓄏} \Delta \text{𓄏} \square$ should all refer to *hntj* “the outer palace”, which, judging from the available evidence, was located at the royal residence at Itjtawy and occasionally occurred also at the palaces of the governors of Middle Egypt. However, the reading of other titles with 𓄏 remains doubtful.

At any rate, the inscriptional evidence for the officers of the Theban great enclosure is much more numerous than for its northern counterpart, which suggests that it played a much greater role in the local administrative system. From the evidence presented in Table 3, it follows that instances of titles *sš n hnrt wr* and *jmj-rʒ hnrt* spelled with \rightarrow and not otherwise attributable to a particular region (Table 4) are more likely to belong to the Theban administration than to any other region.

The overseers of the *hnrt* were important local officials, and the scribes of the *hnrt* occupied a middle position in the local administration, as can be judged from their monuments. The Theban overseers of *hnrt* occasionally bore the rank title *htm-w-bjtj* (Grajetzki 2003,

⁴¹ To these add the following examples not attributable to any region: Durham EG515 (ex 1939) (Birch 1980, pl. 8) and Petrie, 1988, 287.

158–163; Grajetzki 2009, 85–86) (BM 1348, BM 38084 and a number of seals); their sons occasionally became viziers (BM 38084) and overseers of scribes (Cairo CG 20724). Two statues of the overseers of *hnrt* are known (Aswan 1343 and Walters 22.166) and one of the scribe of *hnrt* (Reisner, Kerma IV–V, no. 98). Several scribes of the *hnrt* were ordering mid-sized (40 to 70 cm) stelae, where other officials were named (Edinburgh A.1951.344, Guimet C 8, Firenze 2553, Marseille 226, Marseille 228, Tübingen 462). They are also shown in secondary positions on stelae of greater officials, such as a reporter (Aswan 1310), a controller of scribes (Chiddingstone EDECC:01.2882), an overseer of fields (Liverpool M.13907), an estate overseer, an accountant of grain (Magdeburg), a commander of the crew of the ruler (Tallinn 3), a scribe in charge of the seal of the section (of the Head of the South) (Cairo CG 20056), a god's servant of Montu (Tübingen 462), a great of the southern tens (Cairo CG 20145), and a follower who follows (Firenze 2503).

The scribes of the *hnrt* were occasionally involved in administrative activities not directly related to the functions of the institution *hnrt*. In papyrus Boulaq 18, XX.13, a local *sš n hnrt wr* accompanies an interior-overseer of the Inner Palace (apparently one of the court officials, who arrived to Thebes together with the king) on a trip to Medamoud (Scharff 1922, 7**). In the text of the Sixteenth Dynasty Juridical stela, the *sš n hnrt wr* acts for a scribe of the reporter to formalize the transfer of an office (Lacau 1949).

4 Distinctive Theban titles







The following administrative titles are characteristic of Theban administration, as they occur exclusively or predominantly in the Theban sources during the Late Middle Kingdom.

4.1 The three unspecific titles

The three indefinite titles that would later dominate the Second Intermediate Period documentation, *wr mdw šm^cw* “chief of tens of Upper Egypt”, (*sšb*) *rš-nhn* “*sab*, mouth of Hierakonpolis”, and *smsw hšyt* “elder of the portal” (Grajetzki 2003, 262–263; Franke 2003, 78; Quirke 2009), have been analysed within the diachronic framework as characteristic signs of inscriptions dating from the Thirteenth Dynasty to the Second Intermediate Period (Vernus 1974, 112–114). The corpus of Theban sources discussed in the

present paper provides another perspective on these titles. During the Thirteenth Dynasty, these titles occur mainly in Upper Egyptian sources with 114 attestations only from Thebes, while they are almost completely absent from the documentation relating to the Memphis-Fayum region. Available northern attestations are cited in Table 5: There are ten attestations of *wr mdw šm^cw* and five attestations of *smsw hšyt*; (*sšb*) *rš-nhn* is unattested in the north (these titles can thus serve as further indicators of Upper Egyptian origin for monuments otherwise not attributable to any particular region). Detlef Franke (2013, 87) suggested that the title *wr mdw šm^cw* “chief of tens of Upper Egypt” was only originally associated with Upper Egypt and was later used for officials at the royal court administration; the analysis of the available material suggests that the title remained associated with Upper Egypt throughout the Late Middle Kingdom.

4.2 Master of the *tm*

The *hrj n tm* “master of the *tm*” is one of the obscure Middle Kingdom titles (Berlev 1978, 265). Quirke's (2004, 95–96) attempt to interpret the title as designating the guards of the enclosure basing on its co-occurrences with the *sš n hnrt wr* (Aswan 1485, Marseille 228, Sinopoli Egi 06) and the guards holding the title *jmj-ht sš-prw* (Boston 1970.630, Cairo CG 20035, Cairo CG 20073, Cairo CG 20104, Liverpool M.13927 [Sams 1839, pl. 12], Sinopoli Egi 06, Wien ÄS 180) is not quite compelling, for these co-occurrences can be explained just by the fact that these titles were common in the Theban administration. The attempt to interpret *tm* as equivalent to *tm³* known from the title *sš tm³* related to land administration (for which see above) (Helck 1988, 38) is even less plausible. The attested spellings of *tm* with the signs , , and  do not intersect with the known spellings of *tm³*  and , although the spelling of the title *hrj tm* on stela Cairo CG 20430 with the land determinative  may indeed indicate its connection with the land (Fischer 1996, 129). The full version of the title *hrj tm n njwt-rsj* “mater of the *tm* of the Southern City” (Martin 236) testifies its appurtenance to the local administration.

Judging from the monuments, the position of masters of the *tm* in the hierarchy of officials was modest. They are mostly attested on monuments set up by greater officials: a reporter (Cairo CG 20429 + 20430), a scribe of the great enclosure (Marseille 228), a director of the broad court (MMA 63.154), a store overseer of provisioning-area (Oxford QC 1111), a keeper of items (Cairo CG 20436), a commander-in-chief of the city regiment (Wien ÄS 163),

a great of the tens of Upper Egypt (Hermitage 1086), a mouth of Nekhen (Wien ÄS 180), a king's acquaintance (Cairo CG 20104). Their own monuments are mostly below 40 cm (Cairo CG 20073, Firenze 6377) and do not witness other officials. On stelae Cairo CG 20074, Firenze 2520, and MMA 63.154, the masters of the *tm* are attending upon the patron of the stela. However, they also possessed their own household menials (Boston MFA 1970.630, Berlin 10470).

Beyond Thebes with its twenty attestations, the masters of the *tm* are attested from other regions of Upper Egypt: Elephantine (Berlin 10470), Edfou (Alliot, Edfou 1933, pl. XVII.2, and Louvre E.20909 [Marée 2009, 44 fig. 8]), Gebelein (Vernus, RdE 26 [1974], 100–114), and Ballas (Martin 103).

Only seven instances of the title may be attributed to the Memphis-Fayum region, Berlin 7286, (names *kkw*, and *hṭp*; Simpson 1974, pl. 28), Cairo CG 20159 (*sḏ-sbk* and *mkt*), Cairo CG 20742 (Snofru in the offering formula), Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (*hntj-hṭy-hṭp* and *kkj*; Martin 2005, no. 28), Liverpool M.13927 (*snfrw* and *sḏ-sbk*), Rio de Janeiro 627 [2419] (Kitchen 1990, no. 1)⁴², and Sinopoli Egi 06, as compared to twenty examples attributable to Thebes, which may again be interpreted as a sign of the higher importance of the title holders at Thebes than in the vicinity of the northern residence.

4.3 The scribes of the nome

The title *sš n spḏt* “scribe of the nome” appears to be present exclusively in Upper Egypt. On one occasion, the title explicitly refers to Thebes: *sš spḏt n njwt rsj* “scribe of the nome of the Southern City” (Cairo CG 20557); another title refers to Tod: *sš spḏt n drtj* “scribe of the nome of Tod” (Marseille 225 [Capart 1902, pl. XXXI]). It could be suggested that the scribes of the nome served at the bureau of the nome probably referred to in the title *jmj-rḏ ḥnwtj n hḏ spḏt* “interior overseer of the bureau of the nome” (Cairo CG 20102), but this reading is just a guess.

The following Theban titleholders are known:

nfr-jmntt (Oxford QC 1110)
hnmw-hṭp (Oxford QC 1110)
sḏ-jmn (Cairo CG 20557)
sḏ-hwt-hr (Trieste O.149)
sn^{cc}-jb (Oxford QC 1110).

Besides, one may cite the following Upper Egyptian attestations:

jw.f-n.j-psš (Marseille 225, Tod, Second Intermediate Period)

jn-hrt-wr (Louvre C 173⁴³, origin unknown, but could be from Abydos, as suggested by numerous names derived from the name of Onuris)

jn-hrt-nḥt (Louvre C 173, could be from Abydos)

jn-hrt-nḥt (Wadi el-Hôl, 17 [Darnell et al. 2002, 129–135])

mntw-wsr (Marseille 225, Tod, Second Intermediate Period)

nḥt (Louvre C 173, could be from Abydos)

rn-jqr (Louvre C 228 [Vernus 1987, 385 pl. 73a], El Kab, Second Intermediate Period)

ḥqḏ-jb (Louvre C 173, could be from Abydos)

hnmw-hṭp (Downes, Esna, 71–72, Esna)

sn.j-rs (Karlsruhe H 412 [Spiegelberg and Pörtner 1902, no. 5], the vicinity of Gebelein, as indicated by the epithet *nb jw-mjtrw* in the offering formula)

Only two examples may originate from the Memphis-Fayum region: *ḥḥ* mentioned on seal Martin 1145 from Harageh and *jmj-m-hḏt* on stela Cairo CG 20285 produced by Rita E. Freed's (1996, 327) workshop 10⁴⁴.

5 Theban military, security, and naval officers

The title *jmj-rḏ mš^c* “overseer of army” is absent from Theban sources (sole attestation: Guimet C 8). The topmost military and security officials at Thebes were the *ḏtw n tt ḥqḏ* “commander of the crew of the ruler”, the *ḏtw ḥḏ n njwt* “commander-in-chief of the city regiment”, the *shḏ šmsw* “controller of followers”, and *jmj-hṭ sḏ-prw* “security official estate guard”.

5.1 Commander of the crew of the ruler

Based on the available fragmentary evidence, it may be argued that the most prominent position in the Theban military organization belonged to the *ḏtw n tt ḥqḏ* “commander of the crew of the ruler”, a high naval officer, according to Oleg D. Berlev (1967). This is the only Theban security title whose owner held a rank title (*hṭmw-bjtj* on Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 964), although he most likely acquired this privilege as a civil official, the director of the broad

⁴³ http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Egypte_louvre_259_stele.jpg (accessed on 25.03.2014).

⁴⁴ For it possible location, see Ilin-Tomich 2015.

⁴² For the origin, see Ilin-Tomich 2015.

court⁴⁵. Three stelae commissioned by the Theban commanders of the crew of the ruler are known, ranging from 47 to 132 cm in height (BM 1348, Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 964, Tallinn 3). The evidence of the stela of the commander of the crew of the ruler Seniredu from Asfun (Moscow I.1.a.5608 [Hodjash and Berlev 1982, no. 38]) suggests that two other high Upper Egyptian military titles, *ꜥꜣw ꜥꜣ n njwt* “commander-in-chief of the city regiment” and *shꜥ ꜥꜣmsw* “controller of followers”, were less prominent than that of the commander of the crew of the ruler, as their holders are represented as secondary characters. As concerns the controllers of followers, they are also portrayed as less important officials on stelae of the commanders of the crew of the ruler: Carlsberg ÆIN 964 and Torino Cat. 1545 (Turin 1988, fig. 146).

However, on five occasions, the commanders of the crew of the ruler are themselves mentioned as secondary figures on monuments of greater officials such as a scribe of documents of the king of the presence (CG 887), a controller of scribes (Chiddingstone EDECC:01.2882, Louvre C 43), and an overseer of fields (Odessa 52970).

5.2 Security official estate guard

The title *jmj-ht sꜣ-prw* “security official estate guard” is the third most widespread security title in Thebes after the ubiquitous *ꜥꜣmsw* “follower” and *ꜥꜣhꜥ n njwt* “officer of the city”. The title emerged in the Old Kingdom (as the designation of guards serving in large estates), then reappeared under the Theban kingdom of the Eleventh Dynasty (referring to officers providing security to expeditions)⁴⁶ and from then on was predominantly used in the Theban area and the wider southern Upper Egypt. Under Senwosret I a security official estate guard is attested in the Hammamat inscription G 61 (Goyon 1957, 82, l. 5) commemorating the expedition led by the Upper Egyptian reporter Ameny discussed above. In the Late Middle Kingdom, the twenty-three Theban attestations are complemented by seven examples from Upper Egypt: BM 250 (Table 4); Alliot, Tell Edfou 1933, p. 35 no. 21 (Edfu); Firenze 7581 (Bosticco 1959, no. 51, Naqada); DAIK K8135 + Kyoto 36 (Franke 2001, 25–32; Elephantine); Van Nijl tot Schelde, no. 92 (Rizeikat); Gebel Tjauti graffiti 14–16 (Darnell et al. 2002,

56–58); Wien ÄS 167 (Hein and Satzinger 1989, 107–113, Upper Egypt, probably Edfu)⁴⁷. Only seven occurrences of the title are attributable to the Memphis-Fayum region: København 1655 (Mogensen 1918, 16–17; the spelling of *sꜣt* with ꜥꜣ), Leiden AP 5 (Boeser 1909, no. 45; *jpj* and *kkw*), Liverpool M.13927, Rio de Janeiro 631 [2423] (Kitchen 1990, no. 7; *rn.f-ꜥꜣhꜥ* and *sꜣt-jpj*), Sinopoli Egi 06, papyrus UC 32116C (Collier and Quirke 2002, 34–35; Lahun), Vernus, RdE 25 (1973), 255–256 (the title “god’s father of Sebek of Shedet”).

Some security officials estate guards held a notable position as evidenced by their monuments. One of them was the patron of a small granite statue (Cairo CG 42043) set up at Karnak with an offering table (de Rougé, MAEA 1, 36). Several other titleholders ordered stelae ranging from 45 to 90 cm in height: Boston 1970.630, Cairo CG 20545, Cairo CG 20255, Hermitage 1078, Vaticano 22784. But in most cases they occur on stelae set up by different patrons: an overseer of fields (Louvre C 58, Odessa 52970), a king’s acquaintance (Cairo CG 20104), a mouth of Nekhen (Wien ÄS 180), an elder of the portal (Leiden AP 41), an overseer of ploughlands (Peet, Loat, Cemeteries of Abydos III, pl. XIII.2), a master of *tm* (Cairo CG 20073), an overseer of the half-domain (MMA 22.3.68).

5.3 Treasury captain

Among the titles attested only in Theban sources is the naval title *nfw n pr-hꜥ* “treasury captain” (Hayes 1955, 58; Quirke 2004, 59–60). The following titleholders occur in the Theban corpus:

wꜥ-dj-ntr (?) (Leiden AP 33)

nb-ꜥꜣꜥw (Zagreb 6)

nnj (Bruxelles E.4339)

hwt-hr-hr (Bruxelles E.4339).

The two other attestations of the title are *mntw-htp*, active in southern Upper Egypt according to papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446 rt 58d (Hayes 1955, 58), and *hnmw*, mentioned on a stela of unknown origin (UC 14598 [Stewart 1979, no. 118]).

⁴⁵ For the other monument of this person, MMA 63.154, see: Franke 1984, 373. The third monument, Cairo CG 20612 belongs to a later date, attests a different title of the official and a different name of his father and thus shall be excluded from this dossier.

⁴⁶ The history of the title and the evolution of its meaning was studied by J. Yoyotte 1952.

⁴⁷ The origin is betrayed by the Upper Egyptian name *ddt-nbw* and the name *jsj-ꜥꜣhꜥ*, characteristic for Edfu.

6 Titles not attested in the Theban administration

To conclude with the overview of the Theban administration as distinctly different from the administration centred at the royal residence at Itjtawy, it may be worthwhile to discuss titles and administrative institutions absent from the Theban corpus of sources. Above all, these are the offices connected with the king's palace and its entities well-represented in the corpus of titles from the Memphis-Fayum region, such as *jpt nsw* "private rooms of the kings" (Quirke 2004, 26–27), *k3p* "inner palace" (Quirke 2004, 27–30)⁴⁸, *ꜥrryt* "palace-approach" (Quirke 2004, 32–33, 105)⁴⁹, *hntj* "outer palace" (Quirke 2004, 32–34), *ꜥh* "palace" (Quirke 2004, 45–47)⁵⁰, and *pr-ꜥ3* "great house" (Quirke 2004, 47).

Of the titles referring to the activities of the treasurer, the Theban corpus lacks attestations for *hnmw kꜥ3-jb* "trustworthy sealer"⁵¹ and *hnmw hrj-ꜥ* "sealer and assistant" (Quirke 2004, 52–53).

The titles relating to the provisioning-sector, which are among the best represented in the documentation attributable to the royal residence, are relatively rarely attested at Thebes and mainly as servants in private estates or temples. The *jrj-ꜥt* "chamber keepers", *wꜥꜥw* "cupbearers", *jhms* "assistants", and *jmj-r3 st* "store overseers" are attested as attendants of a god's servant (Cairo JE 37507, Quibell, The Ramesseum, pl. VIII–IX), a vizier (Cairo CG 20102), a commander of the crew of the ruler (Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 964), an estate overseer of divine offerings (Fitzwilliam E.207.1900+E.273.1900), a security official estate guard (Boston 1970.630), a disputes overseer (Leiden H.III.RR.3), an elder of the portal (Leiden AP 41), and a royal acquaintance (Cairo CG 20104). The titleholders also occur as members of the temple personnel (Cairo CG 20311; Cairo CG 20695; Cairo JE 25656; Christie's London, July 10–11, 1974, lot 440; Wien ÆS 135). Only on several occasions do the servants of the royal provisioning-sector (Magdeburg, MMA 26.7.1438, and Oxford QC 1111+ Tübingen 459) or similar staff of unknown affiliation (Berlin 7300, Hannover 2932, Padova Oi-1, Toulouse 49.267, Wien ÆS 181, all stelae produced by the same workshop) occur in Theban documentation. This contrast with the abundant evidence from the royal residence indicates

that only royal chamber-keepers, cupbearers, and store overseers held the position high enough to be mentioned in monumental inscriptions or even to commission own monuments. In the absence of the royal court at Thebes such titles were held only by servants at private estates, who, with rare but notable exceptions, were not able to set up their own monuments.

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⁴⁸ The only attestation of *jmj-r3 ahnwtj wr k3p* "great interior overseer of the inner palace" on Louvre C 13 may refer to a member of an Upper Egyptian family serving at the residence.

⁴⁹ The only exception: *šmsw ꜥrryt* on Firenze 2553.

⁵⁰ The only exception: *jrj ꜥt n ꜥh* on Magdeburg.

⁵¹ With a possible exception of Wien ÆS 136 referred to in Table 4.

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Table 1: The sources

Doc. no.	Type	Reference	Grounds for a Theban attribution	The title(s) of the owner(s) (and the dedicator if present)	Subsidiary male administrative titles
1	stela	Assiut TL 210 (Mahfouz 2013, 193–199)	the names <i>jtj-rs</i> and <i>j^c-jb</i>	<i>s3b+rmnj+hrj</i> <i>hnwt+[???]+hrj</i> <i>wḏhw</i>	<i>wr-mḏw-šm^cw</i> <i>s3b</i>
2	stela	Aswan 1309 (Habachi 1985, no. 43)	after MMA 22.3.307 (Franke 1984, 661)	<i>htm-w-bjtj+hrp wshṯ</i>	
3	stela	Aswan 1310 (Op. cit., no. 80)	the names <i>s3t-jmn</i> and <i>jwjj</i> (fashioned and set up on Elephantine)	<i>whmw</i>	<i>ss n hnrt wr</i> <i>ss n tm3</i> <i>3tw n njwt</i> <i>šmsw</i>
4	statue	Aswan 1328 (Op. cit., no. 42)	after MMA 22.3.307 (Franke 1984, 661)	<i>htm-w-bjtj+hrp wshṯ</i>	
5	stela	Aswan 1356 (Op. cit., no. 85)	the titles “god’s servant of Amun”, “god’s servant of Montu at Medamoud”	<i>wr mḏw šm^cw</i>	<i>jmj-r3 šnt</i>
6	stela	Aswan 1382 (Op. cit., no. 53)	Amun, the lord of the two lands, in the offering formula	<i>ss hr htm n w^crt</i> <i>tp-rsj</i>	<i>wr mḏw šm^cw</i>
7	stela	Aswan 1485 (Sadek 1980, 48–50 [WH 23]; photo: Sadek 1985, pl. XI)	the title “bearer of the scribe in charge of the seal of the Head of the South” (among the persons on the stela, only he and his father are taken into account)		<i>3tw n ss hr htm n w^crt</i> <i>tp-rsj</i> <i>ss n hnrt</i>
8	stela	Avignon A 31 (Foissy-Aufrère 1985, 76–78)	Hathor, who is in Thebes, in the offering formula and the title “female god’s servant of Amun”	<i>jmj-r3 pr ḥsb dpwt</i>	<i>wr mḏ šm^cw (father)</i> <i>jmj-r3 ḥnwtj pr-hḏ</i> <i>jmj ht</i> <i>rhṯj</i>
9	tomb equipment	Berlev, JEA 60 (1974), 106–113	from Thebes (could date from SIP)	<i>htm-w-bjtj+rh-nsw+</i> <i>jmj-r3 shṯjw</i>	
10	tomb	Berlin 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 4650 (Steindorff 1896)	from Thebes	<i>jmj-r3 pr</i>	
11	statue	Berlin 2285 (Roeder 1913, 147)	after Wien ÄS 5051/5801 (Franke 1984, 563, 765)	<i>jmj-r3 šnwt</i>	<i>wr mḏ šm^cw</i>
12	stela	Berlin 7300 (Op. cit., 188)	Theban Workshop 3	<i>jḥms n ḥt hnqt</i>	<i>smsw ḥ3yt</i> <i>shm^c</i>
13	stela	Berlin 7731 (Op. cit., 206)	after Berlin 7732 (Franke 1984, 516, 517)	<i>shḏ šmsw (dedicator)</i>	<i>3tw 3 n njwt</i> <i>smsw ḥ3yt (father)</i>
14	stela	Berlin 7732 (Op. cit., 205–206)	Amun-Ra in the offering formula	<i>shḏ šmsw</i>	<i>smsw ḥ3yt (father)</i>
15	statue	BM 100 (Hieroglyphic Texts 1914, pl. 4)	after Cairo CG 20733 (Franke 1984, 257)	<i>jrj-p^ct+ḥ3tj-^c+hrj-</i> <i>ss3 n sḏmt w^cjw</i> <i>rwṯj+whmw+rh-nsw</i> <i>m3^c</i>	
16	obelisk	BM 177 (Franke 2013, 19–22)	after Leiden L.XI.2 (Franke 2013, 20)	<i>jmj-r3 mš^c n</i> <i>hrtjw-ntr</i>	

Table 1 (continued)

Doc. no.	Type	Reference	Grounds for a Theban attribution	The title(s) of the owner(s) (and the dedicator if present)	Subsidiary male administrative titles
17	stela	BM 209 (Op. cit., 33–37)	the names <i>nfrw-hnsw</i> and <i>s3-jmn</i>	<i>sš n t3tj</i>	<i>sš n pr-hd</i> <i>sš n t3m3</i> <i>jrj pdt</i> (father)
18	stela	BM 234 (Op. cit., 82–84)	Amun-Ra in the offering formula	<i>nh n tt hq3</i>	<i>hrj n tm</i> (father)
19	stela	BM 248 (Op. cit., 123–125)	the names <i>s3-jmn</i> and <i>jwjj</i> , but note a title possibly referring to Lahun <i>jdwn n h3-(s-n)-wsrt</i>	<i>jdwn n hnww</i>	<i>jdwn n h3-(s-n)-wsrt</i> <i>nh n njwt</i> <i>jdwn n hnww</i> <i>sš n hnww</i> <i>hnw</i> <i>hrj pr</i>
20	stela	BM 254 (Op. cit., 138–140)	the title “controller of scribes of the Southern City”	<i>s3b+shd sšw n njwt-rsj</i>	
21	naos	BM 471 (Op. cit., 159–161)	after Wien ÄS 5897 (Franke 1984, 55, 767)	<i>sš n ns w s3tw</i>	
22	stela	BM 851 (Stefanović 2010b, 59–62)	the title “w ^c b-priest of Amun”	<i>sš w</i>	<i>sš w</i> (father) <i>rhty</i>
23	stela	BM 893 (website BM)	reportedly from Thebes	<i>htmw-bjtj+jmj-r3</i> <i>gs-pr</i>	
24	stela	BM 1348 (Bourriau and Quirke 1988, no. 45)	Amun-Ra in the offering formula; the title “keeper of secrets of Amun”	<i>3tw n tt hq3</i> <i>htmw-bjtj+jmj-r3</i> <i>hnrt</i> (dedicator)	<i>s3b r3-nhn</i> <i>wr mdw smcw</i> <i>šmsw</i> <i>jmj-r3 šnt hwt-ntr</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr n dwt</i> <i>hbs bw mn3w</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr n 3ht</i>
25	coffin	BM 35016 (Grajetzki 2006, 1–12)	from Thebes	[...] <i>tt hq3</i>	
26	statue	Bologna B.1839 (Pernigotti 1980, no. 4)	after MMA 22.3.307 (Franke 1984, 661)	<i>htmw-bjtj+jmj-r3</i> <i>3hwt</i>	
27	stela	Bologna KS 1904 (Bresciani 1985, 24–25)	Theban Workshop 1	<i>sh3m-c</i>	
28	stela	Boston 1970.630 (Leprohon 1985, 160–163)	Theban Workshop 1	<i>jmj-ht s3-prw</i>	<i>hrj n tm</i> (father) <i>wdpw</i>
29	stela	Boston 72.768 (Op. cit., 6–8)	Amun-Ra in the offering formula	<i>sh3m-c</i>	
30	papyrus	Boulaq 18, the smaller manuscript (Quirke 1990, 196–197)	based on contents and origin		<i>h3tj-c+jmj-r3 hwt-ntr</i> <i>sš wr n t3tj</i> <i>ftj</i> <i>psj</i> <i>mnjw tsmw</i>
31	papyrus	Brooklyn 35.1446, insertion B (Hayes 1955, pl. V)	based on contents and origin		[<i>w3mw</i>] <i>n njwt rsj</i> <i>smsw h3yt</i>
32	papyrus	Brooklyn 35.1446, insertion C (Op. cit., pl. VI)	based on contents and origin		<i>w3mw n njwt rsj</i> <i>htmw-bjtj+jmj-r3</i> <i>3hwt n njwt rsj</i>

Table 1 (continued)

Doc. no.	Type	Reference	Grounds for a Theban attribution	The title(s) of the owner(s) (and the dedicator if present)	Subsidiary male administrative titles
33	papyrus	Brooklyn 35.1446, verso (Op. cit, pl. VIII–XIV)	from Thebes (Quirke 1990, 147–149)		<i>hrj-pr</i> <i>ʿfj</i>
34	statue	Bruxelles E.2521 (Speleers 1923, no. 94)	after Oxford QC 1110 (Franke 1984, 406)	<i>wḥmw n jwnj (?)</i>	
35	stela	Bruxelles E.4339 (Petrie 1909, pl. X, B.45)	from Qurna	?	<i>nfw n pr-ḥd</i> [...] <i>pr-ḥd</i>
36	statue	Cairo CG 406	Amun-Ra in the offering formula	<i>jmj-r3 ʿḥnwtj n ʿtj</i>	
37	statue	Cairo CG 887	from Thebes	<i>jrj-p^ct+ḥ3tj-^c+sš^c n</i> [<i>nsw</i>]	<i>r3-nḥn</i> <i>3ḥw n ʿt ḥq3</i>
38	statue	Cairo CG 970	Amun in the offering formula	<i>jmj-r3 pr</i>	
39	stela	Cairo CG 20056	the title “ <i>w^cb</i> -priestess of Khonsu”	<i>sš ḥr ḥtm n w^crt</i>	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i> <i>sš n ʿtm3</i> <i>smsw ḥ3yt</i> <i>sš n mš^c</i> <i>sš n pr-ḥd</i> <i>sš w</i> <i>hrj-pr</i>
40	stela	Cairo CG 20073	after Cairo CG 20436 (Franke 1984, 672)	<i>hrj n tm</i>	<i>jmj-ḥt s3-prw</i> <i>šmsw</i> <i>ʿnḥ n njwt</i>
41	stela	Cairo CG 20079	the names <i>s3-jmn</i> and <i>ddt-jmn</i>	<i>ḥsbw n pr-ḥd</i>	
42	stela	Cairo CG 20102	the title “god’s servant of Amun”	<i>ḥtmw-bjtj+ ḥm-ntr n</i> <i>jmn</i> (dedicator) <i>jmj-r3 njwt+ʿtj</i>	<i>jmj-r3 pr+sš</i> <i>ḥtmw-bjtj+ḥm-ntr</i> <i>n jmn</i> <i>sš+hrj-pr</i> <i>hrj pr</i> <i>wḥmw n ʿtj</i> <i>jmj-r3 ʿḥnwtj n ḥ3</i> <i>sp3t (?)</i>
43	stela	Cairo CG 20104	Theban Workshop 4	<i>jrj-^ct+wdpw n ʿt jwf</i> (dedicator) <i>rḥ-nsw</i>	<i>3ḥw ʿ3 n njwt</i> <i>wdpw n ʿt t</i> <i>wdpw</i> <i>šmsw</i> <i>jmj-ḥt s3-prw</i> <i>hrj n tm</i> <i>jmj-r3 st</i> <i>hrj-pr n pr-ʿ3</i> <i>jrj-^ct n mdt</i> <i>jrj ḥnkwt</i> <i>nfw</i>
44	stela	Cairo CG 20133	after BM 234 (Franke 1984, 750)	<i>jmj-r3 gsw</i>	<i>hrj n tm</i> <i>šmsw</i>
45	stela	Cairo CG 20145	Theban Workshop 4	<i>wr mḏw šm^cw</i>	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i> <i>jrj pdt</i> <i>šmsw</i>
46	stela	Cairo CG 20210	Amun-Ra in the offering formula	<i>ʿnḥw n ḥ3 tpj</i>	

Table 1 (continued)

Doc. no.	Type	Reference	Grounds for a Theban attribution	The title(s) of the owner(s) (and the dedicator if present)	Subsidiary male administrative titles
47	stela	Cairo CG 20240	the title “female god’s servant of Khonsu, the lord of Thebes”	<i>sš hr hn w^{crt} tp-rsj</i>	<i>sš n tm3</i>
48	stela	Cairo CG 20246	after Cairo CG 20056 and 20240 (Franke 1984, 321)	<i>sš hr htm hrj pr</i>	
49	stela	Cairo CG 20250	after Wien ÄS 5897 (Ilin-Tomich 2014, 143)	<i>wr mdw šm^{cw}</i>	<i>jrj pdt</i> (father) <i>smsw h3yt</i>
50	stela	Cairo CG 20255	the names <i>s3t-jmn</i> and <i>j^c-jb</i>	<i>jmj-ht s3-prw</i>	<i>nh n njwt</i> (father) <i>šmsw</i>
51	stela	Cairo CG 20311	the title “interior-overseer of the sector of the head of the south” (could date from SIP)	<i>jmj-r3 hnwtj n w^{crt} tp-rsj</i>	<i>wr mdw šm^{cw} smsw h3yt jrj-^ct n šn^{cw} n htp-ntr</i>
52	stela	Cairo CG 20322	the names <i>rrj-rs, j^c-jb</i> , and <i>nbw-h^c.s</i>	<i>jmj-r3 tbww</i>	<i>s3b s3b+r3-nhn sš n hnrt wr 3tw n tt hq3</i>
53	stela	Cairo CG 20337	Amun-Ra in the offering formula	<i>shd sšw</i>	
54	stela	Cairo CG 20360	after Cairo CG 42043 (Franke 1984, 759)	?	<i>sš n hnrt wr jmj-ht s3-prw</i>
55	stela	Cairo CG 20378	the title “commander of the (regiment) of the Southern City, northern district” (fashioned on Elephantine)	<i>3tw n njwt-rsj w^{crt} mh^{tt}</i>	
56	stela	Cairo CG 20426	the names <i>hnsw, s3-jmn</i> , and <i>j^c-jb</i>	<i>3tw 3 n njwt</i>	<i>sš n t3tj jrj pdt šmsw</i>
57	stela	Cairo CG 20429 + 20430	from Qurna	<i>whmw</i>	<i>hrj n tm sš qdwt rh^{tj}</i>
58	stela	Cairo CG 20436	the names <i>s3-jmn</i> and <i>nfrw</i> (could date from SIP)	<i>jrj-ht</i>	<i>hrj tm nh n tt hq3</i>
59	stela	Cairo CG 20450	the title “w ^c b-priest of Amun”	<i>w^cb jmn</i> (dedicator) <i>s3-nsw</i>	
60	stela	Cairo CG 20476	from Qurna	<i>wr mdw šm^{cw}</i>	
61	stela	Cairo CG 20491	from Qurna	?	<i>jmj-r3 mdwt n w^{crt} tp-rsj jmj-r3 hnwtj n pr-hd smsw h3yt nh n njwt 3m</i>
62	stela	Cairo CG 20540	after Odessa 52970 (Franke 1984, 220, 479)	<i>wr mdw šm^{cw}</i>	<i>qnb^{tj} n w wr mdw šm^{cw} sh^m c</i>

Table 1 (continued)

Doc. no.	Type	Reference	Grounds for a Theban attribution	The title(s) of the owner(s) (and the dedicator if present)	Subsidiary male administrative titles
63	stela	Cairo CG 20545 (Russo 2010, pl. XII)	the title “district overseer of the provisioning sector of Amun”	<i>s3-prw</i>	<i>jmj-r3 w n šnꜥw n jmn</i> <i>jrj ꜥt n šnꜥw</i> <i>3ꜥw n whmw</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr</i> <i>jrj hnt</i>
64	stela	Cairo CG 20555	a mention of Medamud	?	<i>sš n tm3</i> <i>jmj-r3 šnwt n hwt-ntr</i> <i>n mntw m m3dw</i> <i>sš [...]</i>
65	stela	Cairo CG 20557	the title “scribe of the district of the Southern City”	<i>mtj n s3 (dedicator)</i> <i>nhꜥt hrw</i>	<i>sš sp3t n njwt rsjt</i>
66	stela	Cairo CG 20574	the names <i>s3t-jmn</i> and <i>ddt-nbw</i>		<i>sš n whmw</i> <i>hrj pr n pr-hꜥ</i>
67	stela	Cairo CG 20618	the names <i>s3t-jmn</i> and <i>ddt-nbw</i>	<i>mꜥhw</i>	
68	stela	Cairo CG 20626	from Thebes	<i>hsw</i>	
69	stela	Cairo CG 20627	after Trieste 150 (Franke 1984, 292) and Brooklyn 37.97 from Thebes (Franke 1984, 534)	<i>šmsw pr-ꜥ3</i>	
70	stela	Cairo CG 20661	the title “god’s servant of Montu” (could date from SIP)	<i>wr mꜥw šmꜥw</i>	<i>wr mꜥw šmꜥw</i> <i>s3b</i>
71	stela	Cairo CG 20677	Theban Workshop 4	<i>wr mꜥw šmꜥw</i>	<i>sš htmw-ntr n jmn</i> <i>jrj pꜥt</i> <i>wr mꜥw šmꜥw</i> <i>sš n mšꜥ</i> <i>šmsw</i>
72	stela	Cairo CG 20695	the title “wab-priest of Amun”	<i>sš n pr-hꜥ</i> <i>jrj-ꜥt+wꜥb-jmn</i>	<i>sš n whmw</i>
73	stela	Cairo CG 20724	the names <i>hnsw</i> and <i>s3t-jmn</i>	?	<i>s3b</i> <i>htmw-ntr</i> <i>sš htmw ntr</i> <i>h3tj-ꜥ+htmw-ntr</i> <i>h3tj-ꜥ n 3bdw</i> <i>h3tj-ꜥ</i> <i>hrj h3wt</i> <i>r3-nhn</i> <i>wr mꜥw šmꜥw</i> <i>sš n hnrt wr</i> <i>jmj-r3 hnrt</i> <i>shꜥ sšw</i>
74	stela	Cairo CG 20733	after Louvre C 243 (Franke 1984, 283)	<i>jrj-pꜥt+h3tj-ꜥ+whmw</i>	<i>h3tj-ꜥ+jmj-r3 hmw-ntr</i> <i>jmj-r3 hmw-ntr</i> <i>whmw</i> <i>wr mꜥw šmꜥw</i> <i>jmj-r3 šnt wr</i>
75	stela	Cairo CG 20768	after Leiden L.XI.2 (Franke 1984, 401)	<i>jmj-r3 mšꜥ n</i> <i>hrtjw-ntr</i>	<i>jmj-r3 mšꜥ n hrtjw-ntr</i>

Table 1 (continued)

Doc. no.	Type	Reference	Grounds for a Theban attribution	The title(s) of the owner(s) (and the dedicator if present)	Subsidiary male administrative titles
76	offering table	Cairo CG 23018	after Cairo CG 42043 (Franke 1984, 759)	<i>jmj-r3 w</i>	
77	offering table	Cairo CG 23045	the names <i>s3t-jmn</i> , <i>ddw-jmn</i> , and <i>ddt-sbk</i> and prosopographical links with Petrie, Tombs of the Courtiers, pl. XXIII.2 (Franke 1984, 81, 90, 285, 388, 404, 405, 703, 744); however, the Memphite name <i>hpr-k3-r^c</i> may speak against the Theban attribution	<i>h3tj-^c+htmw-ntr</i>	<i>jmj-r3 tm3</i> <i>h3tj-^c+htmw-ntr</i> <i>h3tj-^c</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr n šnwt</i> <i>sš hwt-ntr</i> <i>qstj</i>
78	offering table	Cairo CG 23210	after Leiden L.XI.2 (Franke 1984, 401)	<i>jmj-r3 mš^c n</i> <i>hrjfw-ntr</i>	
79	coffin	Cairo CG 28126	from Thebes	<i>3tw n tt hq3</i>	
80	statue	Cairo CG 42034	the title “god’s servant of Amun”	<i>jmj-r3 njwt+t3tj</i> (dedicator) <i>jrj-p^ct+h3tj-^c+smr</i> <i>w^ctj</i>	<i>htmw-bjtj+h^m-ntr</i> <i>n jmn</i>
81	statue	Cairo CG 42043	from Karnak	<i>jmj-ht s3-prw</i>	
82	statue	Cairo CG 42048	from Karnak	<i>sš n pr-^c3 [...]</i>	
83	block	Cairo JE 25656 (Maspero 1885, 185)	from Tod	<i>hrj-hb hrj-tp n</i> <i>mntw m drtj</i>	<i>jmj-r3 st</i>
84	stela	Cairo JE 37507 (El-Enany 2010, 1–23)	from Karnak (could date from SIP)	<i>htmw-bjtj+h^m-ntr</i> <i>n jmn</i>	<i>sš htmt ntr</i> <i>wr mdw šm^cw</i> <i>r3-nhn</i> <i>hrp wsh^t</i> <i>jrj ^ct</i> <i>hrj-pr</i>
85	stela	Cairo JE 37510 (Legrain 1907, 249–250)	from Karnak	<i>sš ^c n nsw n</i> <i>hft-hr+jtj-ntr+w^cb</i> <i>jmn</i> <i>wr mdw šm^cw</i>	
86	stela	Cairo JE 43461 (Simpson 1974, pl. 64)	Theban Workshop 4	<i>hsw</i>	
87	statue	Cairo JE 43927 (Franchet 1917, 106–107 pl. IV; Verbosek 2004, Taf. 5a)	from Karnak	<i>s3b r3-nhn</i>	
88	statue	Cairo JE 43928 (Terrace and Fischer 1970, 88–92)	from Karnak	<i>jmj-r3 pr</i>	
89	statues from a tomb	Cairo JE 47708+47709 (TT 316; Winlock 1923, 21 fig. 14)	from Thebes	<i>jrj pdt</i>	
90	coffin and mirror	Carnarvon and Carter, Five Years’ Explorations, 54–55	from Thebes, pit tomb 25	<i>wr mdw šm^cw</i>	

Table 1 (continued)

Doc. no.	Type	Reference	Grounds for a Theban attribution	The title(s) of the owner(s) (and the dedicator if present)	Subsidiary male administrative titles
91	stela	Chiddingstone EDECC:01.2882 (Grajetzki 2005, 57–68)	Amun Ra and the gods and goddesses that are in Thebes in the offering formula	<i>jrj-p^ct+h3tj-c</i> <i>+s3b+shd sšw</i>	<i>sš n hnrt wr</i> <i>sš wr n jmj-r3 htmt</i> <i>wr mdw šm^cw</i> <i>s3-nsw</i> <i>3tw n tt hq3</i>
92	stela	Christie's London, July 10–11, 1974, lot 440	Montu the lord of Armant in the offering formula	<i>jrj-c^t n šn^cw n jwnj</i> (dedicator) <i>jrj-c^t n šn^cw n jwnj</i>	
93	stela	Cologne 20 (Chappaz and Vuilleumier 2001, 76–79)	after Rouen 348 (Grajetzki and Stefanović 2012, no. 33)	<i>šmsw šms</i>	<i>cnh n njwt</i> (father)
94	tomb	Deir el-Bahri tomb MMA 61: coffin (Miniaci 2011, 310) and statue MMA 23.3.38 (Grajetzki 2003, 22)	from Deir el-Bahri, dated by Miniaci to Dyn. 13	<i>jmj-r3 njwt</i>	
95	coffin	Deir el-Bahri tomb 204 (Grajetzki 2003, 136; PM I, 654)	from Deir el-Bahri	<i>htmw-bjtj+[jmj-r3]</i> <i>3hwt</i>	
96	tomb	Deir el-Bahri tomb MMA 211 (PM I, 654)	from Deir el-Bahri	<i>h3tj-c+jmj-r3</i> <i>h^mw-ntr</i>	
97	stela	Drah Abu-el-Naga K01.12 (Polz and Seiler 2003, Taf. 2)	from Thebes	<i>wr mdw šm^cw</i>	<i>jmj-r3 šnt</i>
98	tomb	Drah Abu-el-Naga tomb of Neferhotep (Miniaci and Quirke 2009, 339–383)	from Thebes	<i>sš n hnrt wr</i>	
99	stela	Edinburgh A.1951.344 (Fischer 1997, frontispiece)	Theban Workshop 4	<i>sš n hnrt wr</i> (dedicator) <i>sš n hnrt wr</i>	<i>sš n whmw</i> <i>sš n tm3</i> <i>sš dpwt (?)</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr</i> <i>wr mdw šm^cw</i>
100	stela	Firenze 2503 (Bosticco 1959, no. 31)	Theban Workshop 2	<i>šmsw šms</i>	<i>sš n hnrt wr</i> <i>jmj-r3 s3 n jkjjw</i> <i>t3w n sš hr htm</i>
101	stela	Firenze 2529 (Op. cit., no. 48)	the names <i>hnsw</i> and <i>ddt-nbw</i>	<i>sš 3hwt</i>	
102	stela	Firenze 2553 (Op. cit., no. 34)	from Thebes	<i>sš n hnrt wr</i>	<i>šmsw šms</i> (father) <i>šmsw crryt</i> <i>smsw h3yt</i> <i>jrj pdt</i> <i>sš wr n jmj-r3 šnwt</i> <i>smsw h3yt</i> <i>wr mdw šm^cw</i> <i>sh^m-c</i> <i>3tw c3 n njwt</i>
103	stela	Firenze 6372 (Op. cit., no. 55)	said to come from Qurna	<i>šmsw</i>	
104	stela	Firenze 6377 (Op. cit., no. 57)	said to come from Qurna	<i>hrj tm</i>	
105	stela	Firenze 7599 (Op. cit., no. 44)	said to come from Qurna	<i>[qnb^{tj}] n w</i>	
106	stela	Firenze 7601 (Op. cit., no. 60)	said to come from Qurna	<i>w^cb n sbk</i>	<i>jmj-r3 pr</i>

Table 1 (continued)

Doc. no.	Type	Reference	Grounds for a Theban attribution	The title(s) of the owner(s) (and the dedicator if present)	Subsidiary male administrative titles
107	statue	Firenze 7657 (Pellegrini 1898, 96–97 [31])	the mention of Montu the lord of Thebes	<i>s3-nsw+^cq+h3tj-^c</i>	
108	stela	Fitzwilliam E.59.1926 (Petrie 1925, pl. XXIX 5; Martin 2005, 52–53)	after Cairo CG 20102 (Ilin-Tomich 2014, 143)	?	<i>jmj-r3 pr</i>
109	stela	Fitzwilliam E.207.1900+E.273.1900 (Garstang 1901, pl. VI, top left)	Theban Workshop 1	<i>rh-nsw+jmj-r3 pr n htp-ntr</i>	<i>jmj-r3 mrw 3m 3m+wdpw wdpw mnjw</i>
110	stela	Galerie G. Maspero April 1968 (Clère MSS ⁵² 04.01 ANT-68-, neg. T 504/60, T 505/70)	the title “w ^c b-priest of Amun”	<i>jmj-r3 pr n sn^cw</i>	
111	stela	Geschenk des Nils 1978, no. 155	Amun-Ra and Mentuhotep II in the offering formula	<i>smntj</i>	<i>smntj</i>
112	stela	Guimet C 8 (Moret 1909, pl. VII)	Theban Workshop 4	<i>sš n hnrt wr</i>	<i>jmj-r3 htm jmj-r3 hnwtj šmsw šms šmsw wr mdw šm^cw jmj-r3 mš^c ^cnh n tt hq3 [...] 3 n njwt jrj pdt</i>
113	stela	Hannover 2932 (Munro, 1971, 24–25 [15])	Theban Workshop 3	<i>jmj-r3 st n ^ct hnqt</i>	<i>jmj-r3 st n ^ct t jdnw m sdm rmt</i>
114	stela	Hermitage 1062 (Bolshakov and Quirke 1999, no. 12)	after Oxford QC 1110 (Franke 1984, 375)	<i>sš hsb jhw</i>	<i>šmsw</i>
115	group of stelae	Hermitage 1063+1064+1075 (Op. cit., no. 21–23)	relates to Theban household of the vizier Ankhu (Quirke 1990, 197)	<i>htmw n t3tj+hrj pr n t3tj</i>	<i>htmw hrj pr sf ^cfj</i>
116	stela	Hermitage 1065 (Op. cit., no. 3)	the names <i>s3-jmn</i> and <i>s3-nbw</i> (fashioned on Elephantine)	<i>jmj-r3 pr</i>	<i>jmj-r3 pr hsb jt jmj-r3 pr</i>
117	stela	Hermitage 1069 (Op. cit., no. 4)	the names <i>s3t-jmn</i> and <i>ddw-jmn</i>	<i>s n dpt 3</i>	
118	stela	Hermitage 1078 (Op. cit., no. 17)	the names <i>s3t-jmn</i> , <i>rn.s-rs</i> and <i>j^c-jb</i>	<i>jmj-ht s3-prw</i>	<i>jrj-3 n hwt-ntr wb3 n ^ct jwf šmsw</i>
119	stela	Hermitage 1086 (Op. cit., no. 8)	Theban Workshop 4	<i>wr mdw šm^cw</i>	<i>hrj tm wr swnw t3w n sm3yt sh^m-^c</i>

⁵² Griffith Institute archive. This stela should be added to the dossier of Theban Workshop 4 thus strengthening the evidence for its Theban ties.

Table 1 (continued)

Doc. no.	Type	Reference	Grounds for a Theban attribution	The title(s) of the owner(s) (and the dedicator if present)	Subsidiary male administrative titles
120	statue	Karnak ME 4A (Le Saout et al. 1987, 308–310, 322)	from Karnak	<i>ḥ3tj-^c+ḥtmw-bjt-j+smr-w^ctj [...]</i>	
121	stela	Leiden AP 33 (Boeser 1909, no. 49)	the names <i>s3-jmn</i> and <i>ddw-nbw</i>	<i>šmsw n rmn tpj</i>	<i>s n dpt^{c3} jmj-r3 ḥwt-ntr jrj-ḥt n sdm nfw n pr-ḥd</i>
122	stela	Leiden AP 41 (Op. cit., no. 27)	Theban Workshop 3	<i>smsw ḥ3yt</i>	<i>jmj-ḥt s3-prw šmsw šms ^cnḥ n njwt jmj-r3 st</i>
123	stela	Leiden AP 48 (Op. cit., no. 42)	Theban Workshop 2	<i>ḥrj pr n t3tj</i>	
124	stela	Leiden H.III.RR.3 (Op. cit., no. 31)	Theban Workshop 3	<i>jrj-^ct wdpw (dedicator) jmj-r3 šnt</i>	<i>ḥrp wsh^t (father) šmsw sš n t3tj</i>
125	stela	Leiden L.XI.2 (Op. cit., no. 50)	Theban Workshop 2	<i>jmj-r3 mš^c n ḥrtjw ntr</i>	<i>t3w n ḥft-ḥr t3w jmj-r3 pr jmj-r3 gs n ḥrtjw ḥrtj ntr</i>
126	stela	Leprohon, Studies Simpson, 523-531	Theban Workshop 1	<i>3tw^{c3} n njwt</i>	<i>^cnḥ n njwt</i>
127	stela	Lille A 712 + Saint-Omer 4741 (Seillier and Yoyotte 1981, no. 101)	the names <i>s3-jmn</i> and <i>ddt-nbw</i>	<i>jmj-r3 whw</i>	
128	stela	Lisboa MNA E 39 (Antiguidades 1993, no. 60)	the names <i>s3-jmn</i> , <i>nbw-n-jb</i> and <i>nfrw</i>	<i>^cnḥ n tt ḥq3</i>	
129	stela	Liverpool E.77 (Amer 1999)	the names <i>ḥnsw</i> and <i>ddw-snb</i>	<i>w^cb ḥrt pr [...]</i>	<i>rḥtj</i>
130	stela	Liverpool M.13907 (Sams 1839, pl. 25)	the title “scribe in charge of the seal of the head of the south” (fashioned on Elephantine [Franke 1994, 110])	<i>ḥtmw-bjtj+jmj-r3 3ḥwt</i>	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr sš ḥr ḥtm n w^crt tp-rsj wr mdw šm^cw</i>
131	stela	Los Angeles M.71.73.44 (Stefanović 2011, 15–31)	the names <i>ḥnsw</i> and <i>j^ct-jb</i>	?	<i>wr mdw šm^cw s3b r3-nḥn 3tw n tt ḥq3 šmsw ḥrj pr</i>
132	stela	Louvre C 13 (Spalinger 1980, 95–116.)	the names <i>ḥw.f-ḥnsw</i> , <i>nbw-m-3ḥt</i> , and <i>j^ct-jb</i>	<i>jrjt-p^ct+ḥmt-nsw wrt+ḥnmt nfr ḥd^t</i>	<i>wr mdw šm^cw jmj-r3^c ḥnwtj wr n k3p ḥtmw-bjtj+sš^c n nsw n ḥft-ḥr s3b r3-nḥn jrj pdt jdnw sdm rmt s3b+shd sšw</i>

Table 1 (continued)

Doc. no.	Type	Reference	Grounds for a Theban attribution	The title(s) of the owner(s) (and the dedicator if present)	Subsidiary male administrative titles
133	group of stelae	Louvre C 16+C 17+C 18 (Boreux 1930)	Theban Workshop 2	<i>whmw n tjtj</i>	<i>jmj-r3 mdwt</i> <i>jmj-r3 w'rt n rhjtjw</i> <i>qdw</i> <i>hrj pr</i> <i>ḥnh n tt hq3</i> <i>ḥnh n njwt</i> <i>ʕ3m</i> <i>ʕfj</i>
134	stela	Louvre C 43 (Awad 2007, 53–67)	the title “controller of scribes of the Southern City”	<i>s3b+shd ssw n</i> <i>njw-rsj</i>	<i>3tw n tt hq3</i> <i>šmsw</i>
135	stela	Louvre C 58 (Awad 2003, 43–48).	the title “master of the altar of Amun”	<i>h3mw-bjtj+jmj-r3</i> <i>3hwt</i>	<i>hrj h3wt n jmn</i> <i>smsw h3yt</i> <i>3tw ʕ3 n njwt</i> <i>jmj-ht s3-prw</i>
136	stela	Louvre C 139 (Awad 2010, 31–38).	the names <i>s3-jmn, jwj</i> and <i>rn.f-rs</i>		<i>šmsw n hq3</i> <i>šmsw</i>
137	stela	Magdeburg (Simpson 1974, pl. 42)	Amun in the offering formula and the title “keeper of secrets of Amun”	<i>jmj-r3 pr hsb jt</i>	<i>sš n hnrw wr</i> <i>sš n ?</i> <i>jrj pdt (father)</i> <i>jrj-ʕt ʕh</i> <i>wr mdw šmʕw</i>
138	stela	Mahmed Mansour January 1928 (Clère MSS 04.01 ANT-28- [MM 13], neg. A 10/23)	said to come from Qurna	<i>šmsw</i>	
139	stela	Mahmed Mansour 1935 (Clère MSS 04.01 ANT-35-, neg. A 17/43)	the names <i>h3nsw</i> and <i>jʕ-jb</i>	<i>qstj</i>	
140	stela	Marseille 228 (Op. cit., 117 [28] and own photograph)	the title “w ^c b-priest of Amun”	<i>sš n hnrw wr</i>	<i>hrj tm</i> <i>ḥnh n njwt</i> <i>šmsw</i>
141	seal	Martin 236	from Thebes	<i>hrj tm n njwt-rsj</i>	
142	seal	Martin 561	from Thebes	<i>rh-nsw</i>	
143	seal	Martin 639	from Thebes	<i>jmj-ht n pr-hd [...]</i>	
144	seal	Martin 834	from Thebes	<i>whmw</i>	
145	seal	Martin 875	from Thebes	<i>jmj-r3 w'rt n jrjw</i> <i>whmt</i>	
146	seal	Martin 1123	from Thebes	<i>s3b r3-nhn</i>	
147	seal	Martin 1387	from Thebes	<i>sš n 3hwt</i>	
148	seal	Martin 1482	from Thebes	<i>jmj-r3 mrt</i>	
149	seal	Martin 1577	from Thebes	<i>smsw h3yt</i>	
150	seal	Martin 1671	from Thebes	<i>sš n hnrw wr</i>	
151	stela	el-Masry, Memnonia 17, no. 1.2	from Qurna, el-Tarif	?	<i>šmsw</i> <i>ḥnh n njwt</i>

Table 1 (continued)

Doc. no.	Type	Reference	Grounds for a Theban attribution	The title(s) of the owner(s) (and the dedicator if present)	Subsidiary male administrative titles
152	graffito	Medamoud 3152 (Bisson de la Roque and Clère 1928, 106)	Medamoud	<i>wḥmw</i>	
153	naos	MMA 22.3.68 (MMA website; Hayes 1953, fig. 134)	from Deir el-Bahri	<i>ḥtmw-bjtj+jmj-r3</i> <i>gs-pr</i>	<i>jmj-ḥt s3-prw</i> <i>smsw ḥ3yt</i>
154	stela	MMA 22.3.307 (Winlock 1922, 33 fig. 23)	from Deir el-Bahri	<i>ḥrp wshḥt</i> (dedicator) <i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>	
155	box	MMA 26.7.1438 (Carnarvon and Carter 1912, pl. XLVIII–XLIX)	from Thebes	<i>jrj-t wdpw</i>	
156	stela	MMA 63.154 (Fischer 1996, pl. 26)	after Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 964 (Franke 1984, 179, 373, 753)	<i>ḥtmw-bjtj+ḥrp wshḥt</i>	<i>ḥrj tm</i> <i>ḥrj pr</i> <i>shḏ šmsw</i> <i>ḥnh n njwt</i> (father) <i>rthtj</i> <i>wb3w</i>
157	stela	MMA 69.30 (Fischer 1996, pl. 21)	Amun-Ra in the offering formula	<i>s3b+r3-nḥn</i>	
158	statue	MMA 1976.383 (Op. cit., pl. 24)	Amun-Ra in the offering formula	<i>s3b+r3-nḥn</i>	
159	stela	MMA archive M3C 215, TC Thebes 1479 (MMA Tomb 211)	from Deir el-Bahri	<i>ḥtmw-bjtj+jmj-r3</i> <i>3ḥwt (?)</i>	
160	statue	Moscow I.1.a.5129 (Berlev and Hodjash 2004, no. 25)	Amun-Ra in the offering formula	<i>sš ḥtpw-ntr n jmn</i>	<i>wr mḏw šmḥw</i> (father)
161	stela	Moscow I.1.a.5649 (Hodjash and Berlev 1982, no. 38)	the names <i>ddw-jmn</i> and <i>nfr-ḥtp</i>	<i>wr mḏw šmḥw</i>	<i>ḥnh n njwt</i>
162	stela	Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 964 (Madsen 1907, 218-220)	Amun-Ra in the offering formula	<i>ḥtmw-bjtj+3ḥw n</i> <i>tt ḥq3</i>	<i>shḏ šmsw</i> <i>šmsw</i> <i>ḥnh n njwt</i> <i>ḥrj pr</i> <i>wdpw</i> <i>hsw</i> <i>ḥfj</i>
163	stela	Ny Carlsberg ÆIN 965 (Jørgensen 1996, 194-195)	the names <i>ḥnsw</i> and <i>nfr-ḥtp</i>	<i>jmj-ḥt s3-prw</i>	
164	stela	Odessa 52970 (Berlev and Hodjash 1998, no. IV.4)	after Louvre C 58 (Franke 1984, 769); could date from SIP	<i>ḥtmw-bjtj+jmj-r3</i> <i>3ḥwt</i>	<i>qnbḥt n w</i> <i>jmj-ḥt s3-prw</i> <i>wr mḏw šmḥw</i> <i>s3b r3-nḥn</i> <i>3ḥw n tt ḥq3</i>
165	stela	OIM 6739 (Teeter 2003, no. 15)	Theban Workshop 4	<i>mtj n s3</i>	<i>ḥntj (?)</i> <i>ḥfj</i>
166	stela	Oxford QC 1110 (Smither and Dakin 1939, 160–163)	Amun-Ra in the offering formula	<i>šmsw</i>	<i>wḥmw</i> (father) <i>sš sp3t</i> <i>sš 33tj</i> <i>šmsw</i>

Table 1 (continued)

Doc. no.	Type	Reference	Grounds for a Theban attribution	The title(s) of the owner(s) (and the dedicator if present)	Subsidiary male administrative titles
167	stela	Oxford QC 1111 (Op. cit., 159–163)	Theban Workshop 4	<i>jmj-r3 st n šn^cw pr-^{c3}</i>	<i>jmj-r3 st n ^cb3 ht jmj-r3 hmtjw hrj tm jrj-wd3 sβ (?)</i>
168	stela	Padova Oi-1 (Siliotti 1987, 101–102).	Theban Workshop 3	<i>jmj-r3 st n ^ct t</i>	<i>smsw h3yt ^cnh n njwt</i>
169	stela	Peet and Loat, The Cemeteries of Abydos III, pl. XIII.2	the names <i>s3-jmn</i> and <i>ddt-nbw</i>	<i>jmj-r3 pr n 3h3yt jmj-r3 hbsw</i>	<i>jmj-ht s3-prw s3-prw jmj-r3 w</i>
170	stela	Petrie, Tombs of the Courtiers, pl. XXII [lower right]	the names <i>s3t-jmn</i> and <i>j^c-jb</i>	?	<i>sš n tm3</i>
171	offering table	Op. cit., pl. XXIII.2	the names <i>s3-jmn</i> and <i>ddt-nbw</i>	<i>h3tj-^c+jmj-r3 hmw-ntr</i>	<i>h3tj-^c [jmj-r3] pr n pr-hd sš hwt ntr hm-nsw</i>
172	coffin	Polz, Für die Ewigkeit geschaffen, fig. 38, 79, 80, 104, 106	from Thebes	<i>s3b</i>	
173	tomb	Quibell, The Ramesseum, pl. VIII–IX	from Thebes	<i>hm-ntr</i>	<i>hrj-hb hrj-tp h3tmw-ntr sm šmsw hm-ntr wdpw</i>
174	papyrus	Ramesseum III, verso (Barns, 1956, pl. 24–25)	from Thebes		<i>nfw</i>
175	papyrus	Ramesseum D, verso (Gardiner 1947, pl. VIa)	from Thebes		<i>sš</i>
176	stela	Reims 1 (Maspero 1889, 142–143)	the names <i>h3nsw</i> and <i>jb-j^c</i>	<i>jmj-ht s3-prw (dedicator) ^cnh n njwt</i>	<i>^cnh n tt hq3</i>
177	stela	Rio de Janeiro 629 [2421] (Kitchen 1990, no. 4)	after Cairo CG 20145 (Franke 1984, 533)	<i>wr mdw šm^cw</i>	
178	stela	Rio de Janeiro 646 [2436] (Op. cit., no. 18)	the title “scribe of the district of the Southern City”	<i>s3b+shd sšw n njwt-rsj</i>	<i>sš ^c n nsw n sm3yt jmj-r3 pr n jmj-r3 htmt</i>
179	stela	Roccati, in: Discovering Egypt from the Neva, 118–119	Theban Workshop 4	<i>rt3tj n htp-ntr (dedicator) hrj mr</i>	<i>hrj mr</i>
180	stela	Rouen 348 (Aufrère 1985, 33–40)	the names <i>rn.f-rs</i> and <i>jwj</i>	?	<i>hrj jhw n htp-ntr smsw h3yt ^cnh n njwt</i>
181	offering table	de Rougé, MAEA 1, 36 (Legrain 1903, 223–224)	from Thebes, Karnak	<i>jmj-r3 w (Franke 1984, 759)</i>	

Table 1 (continued)

Doc. no.	Type	Reference	Grounds for a Theban attribution	The title(s) of the owner(s) (and the dedicator if present)	Subsidiary male administrative titles
182	stela	Sharpe, Egyptian Inscriptions (Second Series), pl. 58 [bottom middle]	Amun-Ra in the offering formula	<i>wr mḏw šmꜥw</i>	
183	graffito	Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 931 = Winlock, AJSL 58, pl. II no. 8	near Thebes	<i>wꜥb n nb-ḥpt-rꜥ</i>	<i>jmj-r3 ḏ3w (?) (father)</i>
184	graffito	Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 934 = Winlock, AJSL 58, pl. II no. 9	near Thebes	<i>wꜥb n nb-ḥpt-rꜥ</i>	<i>jmj-r3 pr (father)</i>
185	graffito	Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 982a = Winlock, AJSL 58, pl. V no. 69	near Thebes	<i>wꜥb+sš</i>	
186	stela	Stockholm NME 34 (Peterson 1969, fig. 5)	Theban Workshop 4	<i>ḥsw m bnt</i>	<i>ḥrtj-ntr (father) mriw (?)</i>
187	stela	Strasbourg 1296 (Spiegelberg and Pörtner, 1902, no. 15)	from Draḥ Abu-el-Naga	?	<i>wr mḏw šmꜥw ꜥnh n tt ḥq3 šmsw</i>
188	stela	Tallinn 3 (Muinainen Egypti 1970, fig. 17)	Theban Workshop 3	<i>s3b r3-nḥn 3tw n tt ḥq3</i>	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr šmsw smsw ḥ3yt</i>
189	stela	Torino S. 18124 (Stefanović 2013, 9–12)	after Tübingen 462 (Grajetzki and Stefanović 2012, no. 36, 106, 202)		<i>jmj-r3 pr ḥsb jt wr mḏw šmꜥw s3b r3-nḥn shḏ šmsw</i>
190	stela	Toulouse 49.267 (Ramond 1977, no. 1)	Theban Workshop 3	<i>jmj-r3 st n ꜥt dqrw (dedicator) jmj-r3 st n ꜥt ḥnqt</i>	
191	stela	Toulouse 49.268 (Op. cit., no. 4)	after Moscow I.1.a.5649 (Franke 1984, 28, 265)	<i>wr mḏw šmꜥw</i>	<i>ꜥnh n njwt</i>
192	stela	Trieste 149 (Dolzani 1950, 219–221)	the title “god’s servant of Amun”	<i>sš sp3t</i>	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr (father) r3-nḥn</i>
193	stela	Trieste 150 (Op. cit., 221–224)	Theban Workshop 4		<i>ḥrj tm šmsw</i>
194	stela	Tübingen 457 (Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981, 83–84)	after Oxford QC 1110 (Franke 1984, 375)	<i>šmsw</i>	<i>whmw (father)</i>
195	stela	Tübingen 458 (Op. cit., 87–88)	Theban Workshop 4	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr (father)</i>
196	stela	Tübingen 459 (Op. cit., 85–86)	Theban Workshop 4	<i>jmj-r3 st n šnꜥw pr-ꜥ3</i>	<i>jmj-r3 st n ꜥb ḥwt nhḏ ḥrw</i>

Table 1 (continued)

Doc. no.	Type	Reference	Grounds for a Theban attribution	The title(s) of the owner(s) (and the dedicator if present)	Subsidiary male administrative titles
197	stela	Tübingen 462 (Op. cit., 88–90)	Theban Workshop 4	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i> (dedicator) <i>jmj-r3 pr ḥsb jt</i>	<i>jmj-r3 ḥnwtj</i> <i>wr mḏw šmḥw</i> <i>s3b r3-nḥn</i> <i>jmj-r3 pr</i> <i>jrj pḏt</i> <i>jmj-s3</i> <i>šḥḏ šmsw</i> <i>šmsw</i> <i>ḥfj</i>
198	stela	Vaticano 22784 (Botti and Romanelli 1951, no. 132)	after Hermitage 1078 (Franke 1984, 303)	<i>jmj-ḥt s3-prw</i>	<i>jmj-r3 ḥnwtj n ḥ3 ḫtj</i> <i>šmsw</i> (father)
199	graffito	Wadi el-Hôl 28–30 (Darnell et al. 2002, 144–146)	the names <i>ddw-jmn</i> and <i>jḥ-jb</i>	<i>ḥrj n tm</i>	
200	statue	Walters 22.214 (Steindorff 1946, no. 34)	Mentuhotep II in the offering formula	<i>smsw ḥ3yt</i>	<i>ḥ3mw</i> (father)
201	stela	Washington A279281 (Peet and Loat 1913, pl. XIV.2)	after Cairo CG 20426 (Franke 1984, 302, 515)	<i>s3b r3-nḥn</i> (dedicator)	<i>wr mḏw šmḥw</i> (father)
202	altar	Wien ÄS 98 (Seipel 1989, 145)	after Cairo CG 20733 (Franke 1984, 257, 283)	<i>whmw</i> <i>wr mḏw šmḥw</i>	<i>ḥ3tj-ḥ</i> <i>whmw</i>
203	stela	Wien ÄS 135 (Hein and Satzinger 1989, 44–47)	Theban Workshop 3	<i>jmj-r3 st ḥq</i> (dedicator) <i>s3-nsw</i>	<i>smsw ḥ3yt</i> <i>3ḫw mnjw ḫsmw</i>
204	stela	Wien ÄS 152 (Hein and Satzinger 1993, 71–75)	the title “god’s servant of Amun”	<i>ḥm-nṯr n jmn</i>	<i>wb3w</i>
205	stela	Wien ÄS 163 (Hein and Satzinger 1989, 93–96)	Theban Workshop 3	<i>3ḫw ḥ3 n njwt</i>	<i>ḥrj tm</i>
206	stela	Wien ÄS 180 (Hein and Satzinger 1993, 103–111)	the names <i>ḥnsw, jwj, and s3-jmn</i> (could date from SIP)	<i>s3b r3-nḥn</i>	<i>wr mḏw šmḥw</i> (father) <i>s3-nsw</i> <i>sš ḥwt-nṯr</i> <i>jmj-ḥt s3-prw</i> <i>šmsw</i> <i>ḥnh n njwt</i> <i>ḥrj tm</i>
207	stela	Wien ÄS 181 (Hein and Satzinger 1989, 133–136)	Theban Workshop 3	<i>jmj-r3 st n ḥt dqrw</i> <i>jmj-r3 st</i>	
208	statue	Wien ÄS 5051/5801 (Jaroš-Deckert 1987, 39–48)	the title “reporter at Thebes”	<i>whmw m w3st</i>	<i>wr mḏw šmḥw</i> (father)
209	stela	Wien ÄS 5897 (Hein and Satzinger 1993, 153–157)	the title “god’s servant of Montu at Medamud”	<i>ḥm-nṯr n mntw m m3dw</i>	<i>jmj-r3 ḥnrt</i> <i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i> <i>jrj pḏt</i> <i>smsw ḥ3yt</i> <i>ḥtmw-bjtj+ḥrp wshḫt</i>
210	stela	Zagreb 6 (Monnet Saleh 1970, no. 6)	the names <i>nbw-rdj.s</i> and <i>ddw-jmn</i>	<i>nfw n pr-ḥḏ</i>	<i>nfw</i> <i>ḥ3m</i>

Table 2: The most widespread titles in the surveyed Theban sources

Title	Translation	Number of occurrences
<i>wr mꜣw šmꜥw</i>	chief of tens of Upper Egypt	60
<i>šmsw</i>	follower (guard)	37
<i>sꜣb rꜣ-nḥn</i> or <i>rꜣ-nḥn</i>	dignitary, mouth of Hierakonpolis	31
<i>ꜥnh n njwt</i>	officer of the city	30
<i>smsw ḥꜣyt</i>	elder of the portal	27
<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>	scribe of the great enclosure	26
<i>jmj-ḥt sꜣ-prw</i> or <i>jmj-ḥt</i> or <i>sꜣ-prw</i>	security official estate guard	24
<i>jmj-rꜣ pr</i>	estate overseer	22
<i>ḥrj n tm</i>	master of the tm	20
<i>wḥmw</i>	reporter	20
<i>hrj pr</i>	domestic servant	19
<i>shꜣ šmsw</i>	controller of followers (guards)	16
<i>jrj pꜣt</i>	bowman	12
<i>ꜣꜣw n ꜣꜣ ḥꜣꜣ</i>	commander of the crew of the ruler	11

Table 3: Hieroglyphic spellings of *ḥnrt* or *ḥntj* in administrative titles attributable to any particular region

Source	Origin	Grounds for attribution	Title
Spellings with —>			
Aswan 1310	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>
Aswan 1485	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n ḥnrt</i>
BM 1348	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>jmj-rꜣ ḥnrt</i>
Cairo CG 20056	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>
Cairo CG 20145	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>
Cairo CG 20322	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>
Cairo CG 20360	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>
Cairo CG 20724	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>jmj-rꜣ ḥnrt</i> <i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>
Cairo JE 52453 (Lacau 1949)	Thebes (Second Intermediate Period)	from Karnak	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>
Chiddingstone EDECC:01.2882	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>
Edinburgh A.1951.344	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>
Firenze 2503	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>
Firenze 2553	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>
Guimet C 8	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>
Liverpool M.13907	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>
Magdeburg	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>
Marseille 228	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n ḥnrt wr</i>

Table 3 (continued)




















Source	Origin	Grounds for attribution	Title
Martin 1671	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n hnr̄t wr</i>
MMA 22.3.307	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n hnr̄t wr</i>
Tallinn 3	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n hnr̄t wr</i>
Trieste 149	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n hnr̄t wr</i>
Tübingen 458	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n hnr̄t wr</i>
Tübingen 462	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n hnr̄t wr</i>
Wien ÄS 5897	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>jmj-r̄3 hnr̄t</i> <i>sš n hnr̄t wr</i>
Drah Abu-el-Naga tomb of Neferhotep	Thebes	see Table 1	<i>sš n hnr̄t wr</i>
Cairo CG 23027	Upper Egypt	after Walters 22.166 (Grajetzki 2003, §VIII.1)	<i>jmj-r̄3 hnr̄t</i>
Marseille 226	Upper Egypt	the names <i>snb.s-ḥ</i> and <i>jḥ-jb</i>	<i>sš n hnr̄t wr</i>
Martin 1578	Upper Egypt	from Naqada	<i>sš n hnr̄t wr</i>
Walters 22.166	Upper Egypt	said to come from Upper Egypt	<i>jmj-r̄3 hnr̄t</i>
Bersheh tomb 2 (Newberry 1893, pl. XXVII)	Middle Egypt	Bersheh	<i>jmj-r̄3 hnr̄t</i> (most likely, in an older, meaning, Quirke 1988, 101–102)
Berlin 1624 (Roeder 1913, 151–152)	Memphis-Fayum region	said to be from Memphis, but the name <i>s3-jmn</i> could rather indicate a Theban origin	<i>sš n hnr̄t wr</i>
BM 828	Memphis-Fayum region (early Twelfth Dynasty)	produced by Rita E. Freed's (1996, 327) Workshop 10, which most likely operated at the royal residence (Ilin-Tomich 2015)	<i>sš n hnr̄t n sdm, sš hnr̄t 3t</i>
BM 905	Memphis-Fayum region	the title “estate overseer of divine offerings of Sebek of Shedet”, fashioned on Elephantine for Fayum officials	<i>hrp k3wt n hnr̄t</i>
Cairo CG 410	Memphis-Fayum region	from Mit-Rahineh	<i>sš n hnr̄t wr</i>
Cairo CG 20562	Memphis-Fayum region	the title “overseer of god's servants of Sebek of Shedet”	<i>sš n hnr̄t wr</i>
Louvre C 186 (Sharpe 1849, pl. 108)	Memphis-Fayum region	the Memphis-Fayum origin is indicated by the spelling of <i>s3t</i> with 	<i>sš n hnr̄t sdm</i>
Louvre C 289 (Ledrain 1879, pl. VIII)	Memphis-Fayum region	the title “wab-priest of Sebek of Shedet”	<i>sš n hnr̄t wr</i>
Sinopoli Egi 06 (Roccati 2003, pl. 7)	Memphis-Fayum region	the names <i>s3-sbk</i> and <i>kkj</i>	<i>sš n hnr̄t wr</i> features both spellings with  and 
Sotheby Sale Cat. Dec. 12, 1988, No. 85	Memphis-Fayum region	the names <i>jmny</i> and <i>rn.s-ḥ</i>	<i>jmj-r̄3 hnr̄t</i>
Spellings with 			
Berlin 1198 (Exhibition 1988, no. 117)	Memphis-Fayum region	can be deduced from the biographic phrases	<i>sš n hntj/hnr̄t wr</i>

Table 3 (continued)

Source	Origin	Grounds for attribution	Title
Cairo CG 20231	Memphis-Fayum region	the names <i>ppj</i> and <i>hntj-wr</i>	<i>sš n hntj</i> (both signs  and 
Cairo CG 20520	Memphis-Fayum region	the title “god’s father of Ptah” and the silhouette style	<i>sš n hntj/hnrt wr</i>
Cairo CG 20718	probably, Memphis-Fayum region	the silhouette style ⁵³	<i>sš n hntj/hnrt</i>
Firenze 2506 (Bosticco 1959, no. 32)	Memphis-Fayum region	names <i>rn.f-^cnh</i> , <i>kkj</i> , and <i>hntj-hty-mr</i>	<i>sš n hntj</i> (both signs  and 
Genève D 48 (Wiedemann and Pörtner 1906, no. 2)	Memphis-Fayum region	after Cairo CG 20720 featuring names <i>snfrw</i> , <i>jppj</i> , and <i>sšt-sbk</i> (Franke 1984, 37 and 188)	<i>sš n hntj/hnrt</i>
Fitzwilliam E.1.1840 (Martin 2005, no. 28)	Memphis-Fayum region	the names <i>hntj-hty-htp</i> , <i>kkj</i> , <i>jmny</i> , and <i>sšt-sbk</i>	<i>sš n hntj</i> (both signs  and 
Leiden AP 32 (Boeser 1909, no. 32)	Memphis-Fayum region	the names <i>shtp-jb-r^c</i> , <i>sšt-ppj</i> , and <i>rn.s-^cnh</i>	<i>jrj ^c3 n hntj/hnrt</i>
Sinopoli Egi 06	Memphis-Fayum region	the names <i>sš-sbk</i> and <i>kkj</i>	<i>sš n hnrt wr</i> features both spellings with  and 
Wien ÄS 91 (Hein and Satzinger 1993, 12–16)	probably, Memphis-Fayum region	the names <i>jmny-wšh</i> and <i>ppj</i>	<i>šw n hntj/hnrt</i>
Wien ÄS 142 (Hein and Satzinger 1989, 62–67)	probably, Memphis-Fayum region	the silhouette style	<i>sš n hntj</i> (both signs  and 
Beni Hasan tomb 3 (Newberry 1893, pl. XXX)	Middle Egypt	Beni Hasan	<i>jmj-rš hntj/hnrt</i>
Cairo CG 28040	Middle Egypt (early Twelfth Dynasty)	Meir	<i>jmj-rš hntj/hnrt</i>
Spellings with 			
Cairo CG 20023	probably, Memphis-Fayum region	the silhouette style	<i>sš n hntj</i>
Cairo CG 20147	Memphis-Fayum region	the names <i>mkt</i> , <i>jppj</i> , and <i>sšt-ppj</i>	<i>sš n hntj</i>
Cairo CG 20160	Memphis-Fayum region	the names <i>sšt-sbk</i> , <i>jmny</i> , and <i>kkw</i>	<i>sš n hntj</i>
Cairo CG 20231	Memphis-Fayum region	the names <i>ppj</i> and <i>hntj-wr</i>	<i>sš n hntj</i> (both signs  and 
Cairo CG 20266	Memphis-Fayum region (?)	the names <i>kkj</i> and <i>jmny</i>	<i>sš n hntj</i>
Cairo CG 20334	probably, Memphis-Fayum region	the silhouette style	<i>jmj-rš st n hntj</i>
Cairo CG 20716	Memphis-Fayum region	after statue Wild, BIFAO 69, pl. XXI-XXII mentioning Sebek of Shedet (Franke 1984, 368)	<i>sš n hntj</i>
Cairo CG 23047	Memphis-Fayum region	the names <i>sšt-shtp-jb</i> , <i>jmny-^cnh</i> , and <i>htp</i>	<i>jmj-rš hntj</i>
Dublin UCD 1365 (Quirke 2000, pl. XXXII below)	Memphis-Fayum region	the titles “the god’s servant of Ptah” and “the god’s father of Atum, the lord of Heliopolis”	<i>sš n hntj</i>
Firenze 2506	Memphis-Fayum region	the names <i>rn.f-^cnh</i> , <i>kkj</i> , and <i>hntj-hty-mr</i>	<i>sš n hntj</i> (both signs  and 

53 A. Ilin-Tomich, paper “Beyond Workshops: Local Traditions in the Production of Private Late Middle Kingdom Stelae”, presented at the conference “(Re)productive Traditions in Ancient Egypt” (The University of Liège, February 7, 2013). To be included in the forthcoming monograph.

Table 3 (continued)

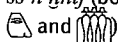
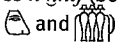
Source	Origin	Grounds for attribution	Title
Fitzwilliam E.1.1840	Memphis-Fayum region	the names <i>hntj-hty-htp</i> , and <i>kkj</i>	<i>sš n hntj</i> (both signs )
Louvre C 45 (Awad 2007, 60–67)	Memphis-Fayum region	the title “the doorkeeper of the temple of Ptah”	<i>sš n hntj</i>
Martin 1344	Memphis-Fayum region	from Harageh	<i>sš n hntj</i>
Stockholm NME 18 (Peterson 1969, 25–26)	Memphis-Fayum region	names <i>shtp-jb</i> and <i>htp</i>	<i>sš n hntj</i>
Wien ÄS 142	probably, Memphis-Fayum region	the silhouette style	<i>sš n hntj</i> (both signs )
Wien ÄS 160 (Hein and Satzinger 1993, 79–86)	Memphis-Fayum region	the title “ <i>w^cb</i> -priest of Atum” and names <i>kkj</i> and <i>jpp</i>	<i>sš hntj</i>

Table 4: Further instances of *sš n hnr* *wr* and *jmj-r3 hnr* spelling *hnr* with —> (numbering continued from Table 1)

Doc. no.	Type	Reference	The title(s) of the owner(s) (and the dedicator if present)	Subsidiary male administrative titles
211	statue	Aswan 1343 (Habachi 1985, no. 41)	<i>jmj-r3 hnr</i>	
212	stela	BM 250 (Franke 2013, 130–133)	<i>sš sphr</i> <i>šw n sš n hnr wr</i>	<i>jmj-r3 pr</i> <i>nh̄t hrw</i> <i>sh̄d šmsw</i> <i>šmsw</i> <i>jmj-ht s3-prw</i> <i>nh̄ n njwt</i> <i>šw n sš qdw</i>
213	stela	BM 38084 (Petrie 1903, pl. XXVI)	<i>jmj-r3 njwt š3tj</i>	<i>jmj-r3 hnr</i> (father)
214	stela	Cairo CG 20477	<i>sš n hnr wr</i>	
215	stela	Cairo CG 20570	<i>jmj-r3 njwt š3tj</i> <i>jmj-r3 šnt</i>	<i>sš n hnr wr</i> <i>sš n tm3</i> <i>whmw</i>
216	seal	A number of scarab seals without provenance published by Martin (1971)	<i>sš n hnr wr</i> <i>htmw-bjtj+jmj-r3 hnr</i>	
217	graffito	Petrie, A Season in Egypt, no. 86		<i>sš n hnr wr</i> (other persons may be from other regions)
218	statue	Reisner, Excavations at Kerma IV–V, no. 98	<i>sš n hnr</i>	
219	seal	Tell el-Dab'a Inv. Nr. 9441T (Marée 2014, 75–77)	<i>jmj-r3 hnr wr</i>	
220	stela	Trento 5220 (Bissing 1903)	<i>sš n hnr wr</i>	
221	stela	Tübingen 455 (Brunner-Traut and Brunner 1981, no. 17)	<i>sš n hnr wr</i>	<i>jmj-r3 šnwt</i> <i>htmw-bjtj+hrp wsh̄t</i>
222	stela	Wien ÄS 136 (Hein and Satzinger 1989, 48–54)	<i>htmw kf3-jb n hrp k3wt</i>	<i>sš n mdwt</i> <i>htmw-bjtj+sš hrj-^c nsw n hft-hr</i> <i>hrj-^c nsw n s3tw</i> <i>sš n hnr wr</i> <i>jrj šspt</i>

Table 5: Attestations of the titles *wr mḏw šmꜥw* “chief of tens of Upper Egypt”, (*sšb*) *rš nḥn* “dignitary, mouth of Hierakonpolis”, and *smsw ḥꜣyt* “elder of the portal” attributable to the northern residence

Source	Grounds for attribution	Title
BM 101 (Blackman 1935, 1–9)	the inscription implies that its owner served at the royal residence	<i>jrj nfr-ḥꜣt+šmsw pr-ꜣ+wr mḏw šmꜥw</i>
Cairo CG 20045	the names <i>jmny-snb</i> , <i>jppj</i> , and <i>šḥtp-jb</i>	<i>wr mḏw šmꜥw</i>
Cairo CG 20282	the names <i>sš-sbk</i> and <i>ḥntj-ḥty-ḥtp</i>	<i>smsw ḥꜣyt</i>
Cairo CG 20455	the names <i>šḥtp-jb-rꜥ</i> , <i>jmny</i> , and <i>rn.s-ꜥnḥ</i>	<i>wr mḏw šmꜥw</i>
Cairo CG 20520, Firenze 2559, and Firenze 2561	the title “god’s father of Ptah” and the silhouette style	<i>wr mḏw šmꜥw</i> (Franke 1984, 336)
Cairo CG 20628	produced at the same workshop as Gauthier-Laurent, RdE 1 (1933), 75–80, featuring the title “estate overseer of divine offerings of Sebek of Shedet”, and Moscow I.1.a.5350, featuring the title “overseer of god’s servants of Sebek of Shedet”	<i>wr mḏw šmꜥw</i>
Leiden AP 5 (Boeser 1909, no. 45)	the names <i>jppj</i> and <i>kkw</i>	<i>wr mḏw šmꜥw</i>
Liverpool M.13927 (Sams 1839, pl. 12)	the names <i>snfrw</i> and <i>sš-sbk</i> (despite the onomastic evidence, the repertoire of titles on this stela suggests an Upper Egyptian origin)	<i>smsw ḥꜣyt</i>
Martin 471	from Lisht	<i>smsw ḥꜣyt</i>
Martin 1269	from Lisht	<i>wr mḏw šmꜥw</i>
Martin 1688a	from Lisht	<i>wr mḏw šmꜥw</i>
Martin 1777	from Lisht	<i>wr mḏw šmꜥw</i>
Rio de Janeiro 627 [2419] (Kitchen 1990, no. 1)	from a workshop located at the royal residence (Ilin-Tomich 2015)	<i>smsw ḥꜣyt</i>
Sotheby Sale Cat. Dec. 12, 1988, No. 85	the names <i>jmny</i> and <i>rn.s-ꜥnḥ</i>	<i>wr mḏw šmꜥw</i>
Stockholm NME 17 (Peterson 1969, 23–25)	the names <i>šḥtp-jb</i> , <i>sš-ḥntj</i> , and <i>sš-jppj</i>	<i>smsw ḥꜣyt</i>