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Regional Administration in Late Middle Kingdom Egypt¹

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Abstract: *The review of the evidence provided by surveys of Late Middle Kingdom epigraphic evidence from Thebes and Antaeopolis suggests that the organisation of regional administration in these two regions did not follow a common pattern. Whereas in Antaeopolis the tradition of early 12th dynasty gubernatorial courts continued into the reign of 13th dynasty, at Thebes, a new kind of administration emerged around the reigns of Senwosret III and Amenemhat III. A brief overview of Late Middle Kingdom evidence for high local administrators from other regions shows that regional administration was organised differently at different centres.*

Keywords: *administration, nome, Middle Kingdom Egypt*

1. The state of research

One thing modern scholars know for sure about Late Middle Kingdom regional administration is that it left less monumental evidence than that of the Early Middle Kingdom. In particular, the tradition of richly decorated rock-tombs of local potentates terminated in late 12th dynasty. The disappearance of decorated rock-tombs in the regions has been the subject of numerous essays in Egyptological literature. Its reasons remain controversial, as seen from the most recent analyses by Detlef Franke and Harco Willems.²

Whether caused by the shift of power from the regions to the centre or by developments in funerary culture, this change stripped us of very valuable sources on local administration. Hence, most scholars agree that local administration of the Late Middle Kingdom is poorly documented and remains virtually unexplored. The evidence drawn from the el-Lahun papyri,³ Wahsut seals,⁴ and the few private administrative titles with references to specific localities⁵ is too fragmentary to form a clear picture.

Given the lack of contemporary sources, scholars starting from William C. Hayes⁶ and Wolfgang Helck⁷ have drawn upon the tribute scenes from 18th dynasty tombs of Useramun and Rekhmira⁸ to picture Late Middle Kingdom administration. These idealised organisation charts of the regional administration adjoin the text known as the ‘Duties of the vizier’, which is dated by a number of scholars to the Late Middle Kingdom based

on the institutional analysis.⁹ Students of Late Middle Kingdom documents sought to identify the structure of local administration depicted in the tribute scenes with the organization emerging from the study of the el-Lahun papyri¹⁰ or papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446.¹¹ On the contrary, Wolfram Grajetzki maintained the view that the el-Lahun papyri (as well as Second Intermediate Period stelae from Edfu) evidence no major changes in the local administration as compared to early Middle Kingdom sources. He nevertheless admits that the tribute scenes provide evidence for a reorganization of local administration, which could help explain the absence of the holders of the title *ḥ3tj-ꜥ* in a number of regions.¹²

The aim of this paper is to discuss positive contemporary evidence on the Late Middle Kingdom regional administration obtained from epigraphic sources. The study of local administration based on this material faces two principal obstacles. On the one hand, numerous objects, scattered across dozens museums worldwide, stem from undocumented excavations conducted mainly in the nineteenth century and have no recorded provenance. On the other hand, many objects come from votive zones such as the sacred area at Abydos or the sanctuary of Heqaib on Elephantine and could belong to patrons originating from virtually any region of Egypt. Hence, to study regional administration, one has to establish the origin of private memorial monuments. Two case studies by the present author are based on the corpora of private memorial monuments

¹ This research was supported by the Russian Foundation for Humanities (project no. 14-31-01271).

² FRANKE 1991; WILLEMS 2013: 391–392; WILLEMS 2014: 177–181.

³ LUFT 1982: 129–143; QUIRKE 1990: 160–173; HORVÁTH 2009.

⁴ WEGNER 2007: 353–364.

⁵ QUIRKE 2004: 111–118.

⁶ HAYES 1955: 77, 139.

⁷ HELCK 1958: 214.

⁸ DAVIES 1943: pl. XXIX–XXXV, XL; DZIOBEK 1994: 85–89.

⁹ For the background of the question and the arguments in favour of an early 18th dynasty setting, see VAN DEN BOORN 1982 and VAN DEN BOORN 1988: 333–374. Counterarguments in favour of a Late Middle Kingdom date were put forward in KRUCHTEN 1991; PARDEY 2003; QUIRKE 2004: 23–24; MORRIS 2005: 212–213; QUIRKE 2010: 62 (these arguments mainly concern institutions and toponyms that fell out of use after the Middle Kingdom). However, a recent analysis of the language of the ‘Duties’ testifies the existence of a number of linguistic features that rather cannot antedate the New Kingdom. STAUDER 2013: 191–193.

¹⁰ LUFT 1982: 129–135; HORVÁTH 2009: 182.

¹¹ HAYES 1955: 77, 139.

¹² GRAJETZKI 2009: 119–121; see also GRAJETZKI 2013: 228.

of the Late Middle Kingdom attributable to Thebes and to Antaeopolis, the principal city of the 10th Upper Egyptian nome.¹³ These corpora were established based on region-specific personal names distinguishing the dwellers of the Theban region¹⁴ and on artistic features distinguishing the stelae produced at Antaeopolis.¹⁵

2. Antaeopolis: Persistence of governors

The group of Antaeopolite monuments, comprising 52 sources from Late 12th dynasty and 13th dynasty, allows reconstructing the composition and hierarchy of the local officialdom. As indicated by the size of the monuments and the respective position of holders of different titles on stelae, the governors (holders of the title string $h3tj-^c+jmj-r3 hmw-ntr$ 'hatia and overseer of god's servants' occasionally reduced to $h3tj-^c$) were most important among the local officials.

To the second highest rank belong the deputy governor and estate overseers. Among other prominent Antaeopolite officials one finds overseers of the provisioning area, keepers of clothing, overseers of weavers, overseers of sealers, treasurers, and a reporter.

One stela from 13th dynasty gives a perfect snapshot of the Antaeopolite gubernatorial court.¹⁶ It shows the governor sitting on a high chair with a keeper of clothing represented opposite him as an attendant. In lower registers, an estate overseer and an overseer of sealers sit on chairs that are more modest and an overseer of clothing is squatting on one knee.

Judging from this evidence, one may conclude that local administration at Antaeopolis in the Late Middle Kingdom remained confined to the entourage of the governor and the managers of his estates. Specific titles such as 'keeper of clothing,' 'overseer of weavers,' and 'keeper of the measure' as well as the overall structure make the Late Middle Kingdom Antaeopolite administration resemble the administration of Middle Egyptian provinces as reflected in the decoration of monumental rock-tombs at Beni Hasan and el-Bersha from early 12th dynasty and as reconstructed by Stephan Seidlmayer on the basis of the arrangement of tombs in the necropolis of Beni Hasan.¹⁷

Thus, one may say that the administration of Antaeopolis of late 12th dynasty and 13th dynasty has not apparently changed since early 12th dynasty.

3. Thebes: the reporters and god's servants of Amun

On the contrary, the administration of Thebes demonstrates traits of a reformed local administration strikingly different from its Early Middle Kingdom antecedents. It can be reconstructed from a corpus of private inscriptions attributable to Thebes through direct references or through characteristic Theban personal names. Thebes was the second most important administrative centre of Late Middle Kingdom Egypt after the royal residence at Itj-Tawy; hence, the monuments attributable to Thebans are much more numerous than those of Antaeopolites (and they are also larger in size): a study by the present author enumerates 210 Late Middle Kingdom Theban documents with male non-religious titles. They contain over two hundred different titles, of which 25 occur at least four times.¹⁸

There is no sign of governors ruling at Thebes after Amenemhat III in the documentation under study. While early 12th dynasty documents from Thebes attest several governors with the usual title string $h3tj-^c+jmj-r3 hmw-ntr$ 'hatia and overseer of god's servants', starting from Amenemhat III, the same person no longer combined these functions of the head of local administration and of the supreme priest. The overview of the top tier of the local administration suggests that the place of the governor in the administrative and priestly structures now belonged to two different persons.

The $hm-ntr n jmn$ 'god's servant of Amun,' often holding the rank title $htmw bjtj$, emerged as the top religious administrator.¹⁹ The decree of Senwosret III from Deir el-Bahri provides the earliest evidence for the topmost position of the 'god's servant of Amun' among the clergy of a temple.²⁰ It appears that the god's servant of Amun was not only responsible for the temple of Amun, but also overlooked other temples in the Theban area, for the decree orders to provide regular offerings to the cult of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahri. The three known holders of the title string $htmw bjtj+hm-ntr n jmn$ date from 13th dynasty and belong to the highest local officials, judging from their monuments.²¹ The god's servants are the only category of priests (except the holders of the title $jtj ntr$ 'god's father,' some of whom were the fathers of kings, and high priests of other deities holding specific titles), who held a rank title, suggesting their prominent position.²² One may thus argue that the office of the god's servant of Amun in the Late Middle Kingdom was a forerunner of the much-studied office of $hm-ntr tpj n jmn$ 'the first god's servant of Amun,' known from the New Kingdom²³ onwards.

¹³ ILIN-TOMICH 2015; ILIN-TOMICH forthcoming.

¹⁴ ILIN-TOMICH 2012a; see also ILIN-TOMICH 2012b.

¹⁵ ILIN-TOMICH 2011.

¹⁶ Lyon: *Musée des Beaux-Arts de Lyon*, H 1576; ILIN-TOMICH forthcoming: fig. 1.

¹⁷ SEIDLMEYER 2007.

¹⁸ ILIN-TOMICH 2015.

¹⁹ ILIN-TOMICH 2015: 124–125.

²⁰ Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 38655; NAVILLE 1907: pl. XXIV.

²¹ ILIN-TOMICH 2015: 124.

²² GRAJETZKI 2000: 110 n. 5.

²³ Lefebvre suggested that this title existed already in the Middle

It remains unclear whether the god's servants of Amun without the rank title *h̄tmw bjtj* occupied the same position at the top of a temple administration. Their monuments are more moderate in size (Trieste 12003 is 46 cm high; Wien AS 152 is 28 cm; Aswan 1356, on which two god's servants of Amun are mentioned by their brother, a great of the southern tens, is 66 cm high²⁴) than those of *h̄tmw bjtj+hm-ntr n jmn* (70 and 86 cm high²⁵) but still suggest that their owners enjoyed a significant position.

As far as the civil administration is concerned, it is argued that the new top office of local civil administration was that of the reporter (*w̄hmw*).²⁶ The title *w̄hmw* is ambiguous; reporters are known to serve as household officials in large estates, as officials for special missions,²⁷ and as regular high local officials. The prominence of the reporters among other Theban officials of the Late Middle Kingdom can be inferred from their monuments, which were particularly large. Besides, they held rank titles unattested for other local officials except the governors, and they controlled a bureau attested in documents.

Holders of such titles as the controller of scribes (of the Southern City), the overseer of fields of the Southern City, and the director of the broad court constitute the next level of local administration. These officials also occasionally bear rank titles indicating their importance. Below these notables stand such middle rank officials as the scribes of the great enclosure. Holders of this specific Theban title owned numerous mid-sized stelae. They are also represented on the monuments of greater officials.

Lower ranking officials usually do not possess their own monuments. One learns about them from the documents of their more successful relatives. To the lower rank

officials at Thebes belong particularly masters of the *tm* (*hrj n tm*) this title rarely occurs outside Southern Upper Egypt. The titles characteristic of gubernatorial courts, such as 'keeper of clothing,' 'overseer of weavers,'²⁸ and 'keeper of the measure' are not attested in Theban documentation.

With the introduction of reporters into the local administration evidenced by the Theban material of the Late Middle Kingdom, its structure becomes closer to that represented in the tribute scenes from 18th dynasty tombs. In these, the local administration is represented by the mayors holding the title '*hatia* of (a town),' the reporters, the scribes of the reporters, rulers of settlements (*hk3 hwt*), district councillors (*knbtj n w*), and district scribes (*sš n w*).²⁹

4. Other regions

The evidence for top officials' titles attested in different regions during the Late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period is summarised in Table 11 (in geographical order, from south to north). As can be seen from the table, there are other regions where the titles 'reporter' and 'god's servant (of the local god)' appear in the Late Middle Kingdom, like at Thebes (Komir, Esna, Lahun, Heliopolis). Notably, in Heliopolis a single person could combine both titles. There are also regions, where the title string *h̄3tj-^c+jnj-r3 h̄mw-ntr* still occurs, like in Antaeopolis (Memphis, Bubastis). In diverse towns of Memphis-Faiyum region, in Lower Egypt, and at Wahsut, a town built at the mortuary complex of Senwosret III at Abydos and supposedly governed by officials from the Memphis-Faiyum region, another title string was more common, *h̄3tj-^c+jnj-r3 hwt-ntr* 'hatia and overseer of temple'.³⁰ Finally, at a number of centres, the title *h̄3tj-^c+(town name)* '*hatia* of a town' was used (Gebelein, Tod, Armant, Koptos, Khanetjerimesut, Sekhemameny, Athribis), but mostly interchangeably with lengthier variants of the title string including the title *hatia*.³¹ In many regions, different titles are mixed, and the scarcity of available sources does not allow making conclusions as to whether the different titles coexisted or replaced one another at a certain time point.

Kingdom. LEFEBVRE 1929: 63. But this opinion is based on a shabti of a 'second god's servant of Amun' from the reign of Amenhotep III, wrongly dated to the Middle Kingdom. HAYES 1951: 238 n. 464. Lefebvre also pointed out that a contemporary of Ramesses IX claimed that a 'pure dwelling' (*ṯt w^cbt*) of the first god's servants of Amun was originally constructed by Senwosret I (*KRI* VI, 534, 13–15). LEFEBVRE 1929: 60–61. This can however hardly be considered a solid evidence for the existence of the office of the first god's servant of Amun under Senwosret I in the lack of contemporary sources.

Outside Thebes, the only pre-New Kingdom evidence for the title 'the first god's servant' dates from 16th - 17th dynasty and comes from Elkab and Hierakonpolis: tomb of Horemkhauf (DAVIES 2001: pl. 7–8. New York: *Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 35.7.55; HAYES 1947) tomb of Sobeknakht (TYLOR 1896: pl. VII, 1. 18–19, pl. VIII), Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 36824 (KUBISCH 2008: 272–274, pl. 9b), Chicago: *Oriental Institute Museum*, 5032 (QUIBELL 1900: pl. XLVI.1). At Thebes, no attestations antedate 18th dynasty. Statue Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 704 cited as the earliest Middle Kingdom attestation of the title 'the first god's servant' (WARD 1982: no. 936–937, followed by GRAJETZKI 2000: 110 n. 4; QUIRKE 2004: 129; KUBISCH 2008: 274) belongs to the Late Period (VERNUS 1978: 70–71; LEMBKE and VITTMANN 2000: 34 n. 111).

²⁴ For references, see ILIN-TOMICH 2015: Table 1.

²⁵ ILIN-TOMICH 2015: 124.

²⁶ ILIN-TOMICH 2015: 123–124.

²⁷ To this group probably belonged the certain Ameny from the reign of Senwosret I, who was mobilising Upper Egyptians for major expeditions. FAROUT 1994.

²⁸ Two exceptional Theban attestations are the overseer of weavers *s^cnh*, mentioned by his brother, an estate overseer of god's offerings (Cambridge: *Fitzwilliam Museum*, E.207.1900, E.273.1900), and the overseer of weavers *snb* known from a seal from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna (MARTIN 1971: no. 1482).

²⁹ For the overview of the epigraphic evidence for the two latter titles, see RUSSO 2010.

³⁰ Stephen Quirke suggested that the difference between *h̄3tj-^c+jnj-r3 h̄mw-ntr* and *h̄3tj-^c+jnj-r3 hwt-ntr* was that the former official governed a town with more than one prominent temple, whereas the latter ruled a smaller town with only one temple. QUIRKE 2004: 121.

³¹ For this title, see in particular WILLEMS 2013: 373–374. The interchangeability of '*hatia* of a town' with other variants of the title string rather speaks against the Willems's attempt to define this title as 'mayor' as opposed to lengthier titles appurtenant to governors.

5. Conclusion

Recent studies on the early Middle Kingdom regional administration by Harco Willems³² emphasised a high degree of variability across Egypt. Willems criticised earlier approaches based on the presupposition that a uniform structure of local administration existed throughout the Nile valley, emphasising the difference between Middle Egypt and Southern Upper Egypt and the existence of independent lines of development at certain regions.

The evidence discussed in this paper suggests that the same was basically true for the Late Middle Kingdom as

well. The ideal image of the local administration organised uniformly throughout Egypt, which is presented by the New Kingdom tribute lists and commonly adopted by Egyptologists, probably never existed. Instead, a high degree of regional diversity can be observed. In some regions, the local administration was reformed and the top-most positions were occupied by the reporters and high priests. In other regions, the governor's office lasted throughout 13th dynasty and occasionally in the Second Intermediate Period. Often, both patterns were combined.

³² WILLEMS 2013; WILLEMS 2014: 33–53.

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Administrative centre	<i>ḥ3tj-ꜥ+jmj-r3 ḥmw-ntr</i> 'hatia and overseer of god's servants'	<i>ḥ3tj-ꜥ+jmj-r3 ḥwt-ntr</i> 'hatia and overseer of temple'	<i>ḥ3tj-ꜥ+(town name)</i> 'hatia (of a town)' or <i>ḥꜥtj-ꜥ</i> 'hatia' without further titles	<i>wḥmw</i> 'reporter'	<i>ḥm-ntr</i> 'god's servant'
Elephantine	a series of governors are attested at the sanctuary of Heqaib, ending with <i>ḥnmw-ḥtp</i> around the reign of Sobekhotep IV ³³		a <i>hatia</i> of Elephantine is mentioned in an administrative document from 13th – 17th dynasty; he is said to be informed of an action ³⁴	a reporter of Elephantine occurs in the same ³⁵ document; he communicates directly with the vizier and acts at his order	
Edfu	a series of governors are attested on stelae from the tomb of Isi from 13th dynasty onward ³⁶		a person supposedly of the same rank is once referred to simply as <i>hatia</i> of Edfu ³⁷		god's servants of Horus of Edfu occur under 13th dynasty ³⁸ and 16th – 17th dynasty ³⁹
Elkab and Hierakonpolis	governors of Elkab are referred to as <i>hatia</i> and overseers of god's servants in their tombs from 16th dynasty ⁴⁰		the same persons are referred to simply as <i>hatia</i> of Elkab in other contexts ⁴¹		first god's servants of Horus of Nekhen occur under 16th dynasty ⁴² ; one is known from the same period without the epithet 'first' ⁴³ ; besides, a god's servant of Osiris, who is in Hierakonpolis, is known from 13th – 17th dynasty ⁴⁴
Komir				a reporter appears on the stela of a god's servant from Late 13th – 17th dynasty ⁴⁵	a god's servant of Horus in Komir appears on the same stela
Esna			a <i>hatia</i> of Esna is known from 13th dynasty ⁴⁶	a reporter owned a tiny 13th – 17th dynasty stela found at Esna ⁴⁷	a god's servant is attested on a scarab from Esna ⁴⁸

³³ FRANKE 1994: 90.

³⁴ Leather roll Berlin: *Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung*, 10470; HELCK 1988; QUIRKE 1990: 203–207.

³⁵ This table is to be read from left to right.

³⁶ VERNUS 1987: 837–849.

³⁷ Cairo: *Egyptian Museum, JE 46200*; KUBISCH 2008: 234–238, pl. 7c.

³⁸ ALLIOT 1935: 33 (13), pl. XVII.2. Warsaw: *Muzeum Narodowe*, 141262; MARÉE 2009: fig. 7.

³⁹ ALLIOT 1935: 34 (15), pl. XIX.2. Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20530. Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 45704; VERNUS 1987: no. 60. Hildesheim: *Roemer und Pelizaeus-Museum*, 4589; KUBISCH 2008: 185–191, pl. 3. MARÉE 2009: fig. 16. Warsaw: *Muzeum Narodowe*, 141295; MARÉE 2009: fig. 10.

⁴⁰ Tomb of Sobeknakht; TYLOR 1896.

⁴¹ Tomb of Renseneb; DAVIES 2010: 227. Cairo: *Egyptian Museum, JE 52453*; LACAU 1949. Khartoum: *National Museum of Sudan*, 1087; WELSBY and ANDERSON 2004, no. 75.

⁴² See footnote 23 of the main text.

⁴³ Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 52453; LACAU 1949.

⁴⁴ New York: *Brooklyn Museum*, 16.580.154; JAMES 1974: no. 114.

⁴⁵ Cambridge: *Fitzwilliam Museum*, E.199.1899; MARTIN 2005: no. 25. The toponym was read by Franke. FRANKE 1994: 77.

⁴⁶ GAUTHIER 1926; Date betrayed by the epithet *nb ḥnh tḥwj*, unattested in the offering formula before Amenemhat IV.

⁴⁷ DOWNES 1974: 83 fig. 46 (340E).

⁴⁸ DOWNES 1974: 58, 63 (245E).

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Gebelein			a <i>ḥ3tj-ꜥ n</i> [...] occurs on a stela from 13th dynasty ⁴⁹		
Tod			a <i>hatia</i> of Tod is attested on a stela from 16th –17th dynasty ⁵⁰ ; a stela by the same workshop belonged to a <i>hatia</i> ⁵¹ ; a further <i>hatia</i> , who was also a commander of Tod, appears on another stela from the same period ⁵²		
Armant			a <i>hatia</i> of Armant appears in papyrus Boulaq 18 ⁵³ ; a servant of a titleholder is known from 16th –17th dynasty ⁵⁴		
Thebes	the latest attested governor dates from the reign of Amenemhat III ⁵⁵			a number of reporters and members of their apparatus in the period are attested from Senwosret III to Nebererau ⁵⁶	three god's servants of Amun are known with the rank title <i>ḥtmw bjtj</i> and four without it (see above)
Medamoud					two god's servants of Montu at Medamud are known from th 13th dynasty ⁵⁷
Koptos			a <i>hatia</i> of Koptos known from 17th dynasty ⁵⁸ is also once referred to simply as <i>hatia</i> ⁵⁹		
Dendera				two reporters occur among the ancestors of an estate overseer of Dendera ⁶⁰	

⁴⁹ DARESSY 1898: 72 (CXLVIII bis).

⁵⁰ Cairo: *Egyptian Museum, CG 20649*.

⁵¹ London: *Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology*; UC 14551; STEWART 1979: no. 121.

⁵² Pittsburgh: *Carnegie Museum of Natural History*, 9007-57; KUBISCH 2008: 302–303, pl. 10b.

⁵³ SCHARFF 1922: line XXI.2.18.

⁵⁴ Paris: *Musée du Louvre*, E.13053; LEDRAIN 1879: pl. XI.

⁵⁵ Deir el-Bahri tomb 211; PM I, 654.

⁵⁶ Ilin-TOMICH 2015.

⁵⁷ Aswan: *Aswan Museum*, 1356 and Vienna: *Kunsthistorisches Museum* ÄS 5897. References in Ilin-TOMICH 2015: 135 (5), 148 (209).

⁵⁸ Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 30770 bis; POLZ 2007: pl. 13. REGEN and SOUKIASSIAN 2008: no. 14 (Gebel Zeit 549).

⁵⁹ Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 44737; POLZ 2007: 43 fig. 13.

⁶⁰ Hanover: *Museum August Kestner*; 1926.191; CRAMER 1936: no. 7.

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Wahsut	several governors are attested with the title string 'hatia and overseer of god's servants' ⁶¹	the same persons and some further officials are attested with the title string 'hatia and overseer of temple' ⁶²		a sealing of a <i>sš wr n whmw</i> 'great scribe of a reporter' ⁶³ was found at Wahsut, though it could be attached to an item from elsewhere	
Abydos		a <i>hatia</i> and overseer of the temple, who was also a commander of Abydos, is attested under 17th dynasty ⁶⁴	a <i>hatia</i> of Abydos is known from 13th dynasty ⁶⁵		
Antaeopolis	governors' tombs date from early 12th dynasty to Amenemhat III; governors' stelae are known from late 12th and 13th dynasty ⁶⁶		the same officials were occasionally referred to as <i>hatia</i> of Antaeopolis ⁶⁷	a reporter owned a 13th dynasty stela attributable to Antaeopolis ⁶⁸	
Asyut	a tomb inscription likely dating from year 22 of Amenemhat III mentions a <i>hatia</i> and overseer of god's servants of Wepwawet, the lord of Asyut and great chief (<i>hrj-tp</i> Ⲉ) of the 13th UE nome in its entirety ⁶⁹			a <i>whmw nsw</i> 'king's reporter,' bearing the rank titles <i>jrj-p</i> Ⲉ+ <i>h3tj-ꜥ</i> + <i>rh-nsw</i> is known ⁷⁰	
Meir, Hermopolis, and Beni Hasan	local lines of governors terminate around the reign of Amenemhat III ⁷¹		a <i>hatia</i> of the Hare nome is attested on a scarab ⁷²		
Herakleopolis		a <i>hatia</i> and overseer of temple is attested from 13th dynasty ⁷³			

⁶¹ WEGNER 2007: 336 (3, 5, 8); WEGNER 2001: FIG. 11.

⁶² WEGNER 2007: 336–337. Wegner also notes that the same persons also used the title string *h3tj-ꜥ+hmtj-ntr* 'hatia and god's sealer.' WEGNER 2007: 339.

⁶³ WEGNER 2007: 352.

⁶⁴ Paris: *Musée du Louvre*, E.13057; FRANKE 1985: 175–176.

⁶⁵ Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20724.

⁶⁶ ILIN-TOMICH forthcoming.

⁶⁷ MARTIN 1971: no. 1159. Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20022.

⁶⁸ Berlin: *Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung*, 21822; STECKEWEH 1936: 53–54, pl. 18.

⁶⁹ Tomb M12.3; KAHL *et al.* 2015: 117–121.

⁷⁰ Liverpool: *World Museum*, 1966.178; for the reference see ILIN-TOMICH 2015: n. 33. However, J. J. Clère, who saw the object at an antiquities trader before it entered the Liverpool collection, considered the inscription to be a modern addition. J. J. Clère archive files ANT-64-66 and ANT-66-22 at the Louvre, accessed through the kindness of Patricia Rigault.

⁷¹ WILLEMS 2014: 179–180.

⁷² MARTIN 1971: no. 406; WILLEMS 2014: 181.

⁷³ Saint Petersburg: *State Hermitage, 1082*; BOLSHAKOV and QUIRKE 1999: no. 7. Origin betrayed by the title 'great of the temple of Herishef'.

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Establishments connected with the pyramid of Senwosret II at Lahun		a number of <i>hatia</i> and overseers of temple of Hotep-Senwosret and Sekhem-Senwosret are attested on papyri and sealings from late 12th dynasty ⁷⁴	occasionally these officials are referred to simply as <i>hatia</i> of Hotep-Senwosret ⁷⁵ or just <i>hatia</i> ⁷⁶	a reporter is referred to in the Lahun papyri as a top administrator ⁷⁷	a god's servant is known from a statue from Lahun ⁷⁸
Khanetjerimesut			a <i>hatia</i> of Khanetjerimesut is attested under late 12th dynasty ⁷⁹		
Crocodilopolis	two holders of the title string ' <i>hatia</i> and overseer of god's servants of Sobek of Shedet' are known from 13th dynasty stelae ⁸⁰	two holders of the title string ' <i>hatia</i> and overseer of temple' are known from a 13th dynasty stela ⁸¹	a <i>ḥ3tj-ꜥ n š rsj</i> ' <i>hatia</i> of Faiyum' is attested on a late 12th dynasty offering table ⁸² ; another official from 13th dynasty is called <i>hatia</i> ⁸³ ; both bear the name <i>w3d-wr</i> and evidently belong to the same family as the earlier governor <i>w3d</i> , who held the titles <i>hatia</i> , overseer of god's servants and overseer of the temple ⁸⁴		a god's servant of Sobek with the rank title <i>ḥtmw-bjtj</i> occurs under 13th dynasty ⁸⁵ ; besides, two god's servants from late 12th dynasty ⁸⁶ and one of uncertain Late Middle Kingdom date ⁸⁷ are known
Mortuary establishments at Lisht		a <i>hatia</i> and overseer of the temple is attested on a scarab ⁸⁸			
Sekhemameny			a <i>hatia</i> of Sekhemameny is attested in an inscription from Sinai ⁸⁹		

⁷⁴ MARTIN 1971: nos. 732, 1544, 1544A. LUFT 1982: 103–112.

⁷⁵ MARTIN 1971: no. 442, 1254, 1255, 1256, 1618.

⁷⁶ London: *Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology*, UC 7317; STEWART 1979: no. 95).

⁷⁷ LUFT 1982: 133; QUIRKE 1990: 167; HORVÁTH 2009: 182.

⁷⁸ Manchester: *Manchester Museum*, 287; PETRIE 1891: pl. XII.10.

⁷⁹ Paris: *Musée du Louvre*, C 24; GAYET 1886: pl. XXV.

⁸⁰ Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, CG 20562. Moscow: *Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts*, I.I.a.5350; HODJASH and BERLEV 1982, no. 36. The same person holds the title string '*hatia* and overseer of god's servants' on Durham: *Oriental Museum*: EG513, accessible on the museum website. FRANKE 1984: dossier 85.

⁸¹ Leiden: *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*, V. L. D. J. 2; BOESER 1909: no. 34.

⁸² PETRIE 1890: pl. XI.14.

⁸³ GAUTHIER-LAURENT 1933.

⁸⁴ BRESCIANI 1998.

⁸⁵ Leiden: *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*, V. L. D. J. 2; BOESER 1909: no. 34. Two further god's servants on the same stela bear no rank titles.

⁸⁶ Cairo: *Egyptian Museum*, JE 43093; VERBOVSEK 2004: 454–455, pl. 10c. Yverdon-les-Bains: *Musée d'Yverdon et région*, [A]; VERBOVSEK 2004: 458–459.

⁸⁷ MARTIN 1971, no. 1238.

⁸⁸ MARTIN 1971: no. 1730.

⁸⁹ GARDINER and PEET 1952: no. 94, pl. XXIX (a); the title was restored by O. D. Berlev in his slip index of titles.

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Memphis	a <i>ḥ3tj-ꜥ4jmj-r3 ḥmw-nṯr n mn-nṯr</i> 'hatia and overseer of god's servants of Mennefer' is attested on a scarab ⁹⁰				a god's servant of Ptah with the rank title <i>ḥtmw-bjtj</i> occurs under 13th dynasty ⁹¹ ; two other are known from the same period without the rank title ⁹²
Heliopolis		a <i>hatia</i> and overseer of the temple of Heliopolis is attested on a scarab ⁹³	a <i>hatia</i> of Heliopolis is attested on a scarab ⁹⁴	a reporter, who was also a god's servant of Atum, the lord of Heliopolis, occurs under 13th dynasty ⁹⁵	a god's servant of Atum, the lord of Heliopolis, occurs under 13th dynasty ⁹⁶ ; another one from the same period was also a reporter ⁹⁷
Athribis			a <i>hatia</i> of Athribis is attested on a scarab ⁹⁸		
Bubastis	a <i>hatia</i> and overseer of god's servants of Bastet is known from a late 12th dynasty statue ⁹⁹		a <i>hatia</i> without additions to this title is known from a statue ¹⁰⁰		a god's servant of Bastet was also a <i>hatia</i> and overseer of god's servants of Bastet ¹⁰¹
Ezbet Rushdi		a <i>hatia</i> and overseer of the temple is known from a statue ¹⁰²			
Mendes			two <i>hatia</i> are known ¹⁰³		

Table 11. The occurrence of the titles of *hatia*, reporters, and god's servants across the centres of Late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period Egypt¹⁰⁴⁹⁰ MARTIN 1971: no. 182.⁹¹ Paris: *Musée du Louvre*, AF 9917; DELANGE 1987: 224; for the date see FRANKE 1994: 69).⁹² Paris: *Musée du Louvre*, C 289; LEDRAIN 1879: no. 16. Leiden: *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden*, L.XI.10; BOESER 1909: no. 26. Dublin: *Classical Museum*, University College Dublin, 1365; QUIRKE 2000: pl. XXXII.⁹³ MARTIN 1971: no. 309.⁹⁴ MARTIN 1971: no. 637.⁹⁵ GASSE and RONDOT 2007: no. 101.⁹⁶ Cairo: *Egyptian Museum, CG 20030*.⁹⁷ GASSE and RONDOT 2007: no. 101.⁹⁸ MARTIN 1971: no. 183. For the reading of the title, see BERLEV 1989: 309.⁹⁹ Herriat-Raznah: *Sharqeya National Museum*, H 850; BAKR, BRANDL, and KALLONIATIS 2014: no. 10.¹⁰⁰ Zagazig: *Museum of Zagazig University*, B 513; BAKR, BRANDL, and KALLONIATIS 2014: 13 fig. 16.¹⁰¹ Herriat-Raznah: *Sharqeya National Museum*, H 850.¹⁰² ADAM 1959: 213–214, pl. VIB, VIIC.¹⁰³ SOGHOR 1967: 25 (2M11). DE MEULENAERE and MACKAY 1976: pl. 16 (39).¹⁰⁴ In the course of the work on this table, the slip index of Middle Kingdom titles by Oleg D. Berlev was consulted in his archive at the Institute of Oriental Manuscripts (Saint Petersburg) through the kindness of Ivan V. Bogdanov.

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