

𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑, A New ‘Greatest of the Directors of craftsmen’ (i.e. High-Priest of Ptah at Memphis) from Mit-Rahinah*

Basem Samir el-Sharkawy

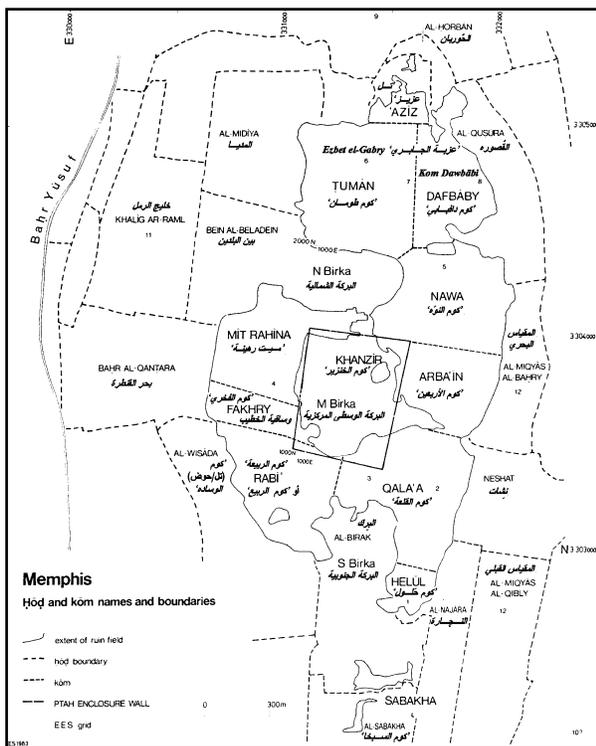
Memphis¹ funds, continuously, add more to our historical and archaeological knowledge. One of the interesting objects recovered during the 1987 season of the EAO's² excavations at the site of ancient Memphis (Mit-Rahinah) is the almost inscribed small limestone object, which was in 'Kom el-Fakhry' كوم الفخري, in the area of 'Saqiet el-Khateeb' ساقية الخطيب and 'Muslims cemetery' جبانة المسلمين (maps 1-2).

The recent study depends on an unpublished excavation report made by the inspectors of EAO at Mit-Rahinah, this report which surprised us with

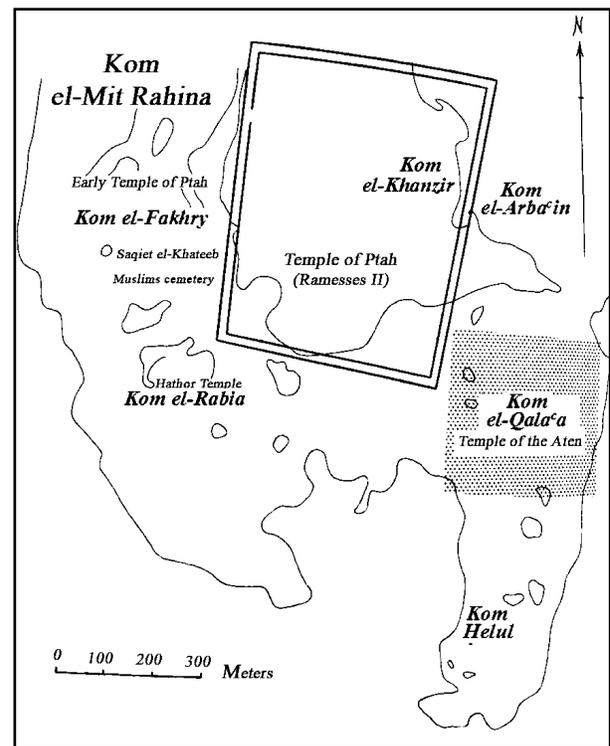
an object, (find No. 3982),³ had never been seen or recorded before. It refers to a new *wr hrp.w hmw.wt*⁴ 'Greatest of the Directors of craftsmen', i.e. *High-priest of Ptah at Memphis* (= HPPM), called 𓆎𓆏𓆐𓆑 *H3tiwy*(?) (Fig. 1), who was not mentioned before in any of HPPM's lists or studies.⁵

Description

The monument which had Number 3982 in the Register Book of the Antiquities Inspectorate at Mit-Rahinah, records that it is a small limestone

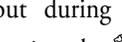
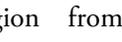
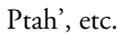
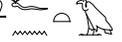


(Map 1) The sites of the ancient Memphis, revised by the author after: D. G. Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis I*, (London, 1985), Pl. 4.

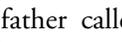


(Map 2) The location of the Memphite Temples. Revised by the author after: J. Malek, in: St. Quirke, *The Temple of Ancient Egypt*, (London, 1997), fig. 2 on 98.

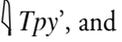
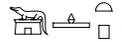
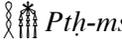
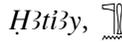
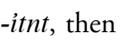
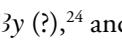
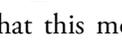
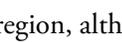
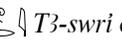
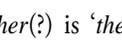
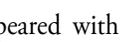
Who he was? Or Under which reign he served?

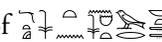
- 1- Saqqara offers to us the eldest evidence about the name in the Memphite region. From one of its tombs we have a Wooden Stick of  H3ti3y, 'the Scribe of the Two Granaries of the Temple of the Aten in Memphis' (*Leiden Mus.* I. 86), Temp. Amenopihs III. or IV.¹²
- 2- Also from Saqqara, but during the nineteenth Dynasty, Four Stelae mentioned  H3ti3y, 'Judge', his wife Èsi (Ist) and his son Kasa (Marseilles, *Musée d'archéologie Stelae Nos.* 240-243).¹³
- 3- Finally in the Memphite region from nineteenth Dynasty, between the Monastery of *Saint Jeremiah* and the enclosure of *Sekhem-khet*, we found the scene with the upper part of the [deceased]  H3ti3y with a wife called  Mrt-Pth,¹⁴ and a text (*Cairo Mus.* Temp. No. 25/6/24/1).¹⁵
- 4- Then in a lintel dated to the reign of Siamun (twenty first Dynasty) found in 'Kom Rabi'a ربيع كوم or 'Kom Rabi' ربيع كوم around Hathor Chapel at Mit-Rahinah (maps 1-2), we know  H3ti3y (Copenhagen, *Ny Carlsberg Glypt. Æ.I.N.* 1012) who was called also  H^c(i)-m-w3s(t)¹⁶ (Bristol, *City Mus.* H 3568-3569), the father of 'God's father, Secretary of Ptah', etc.  'nh.f-ny-mwt'.¹⁷

These are our entire documents for this name and its variants in the Memphite region, however we can also compare it with other monuments that we are not sure about their provenance, which some of them belongs to Memphis or its Necropolis:

- A- In eighteenth Dynasty on *Boulaq Stela* (cf. Mariette, *Cat.* 1054),¹⁸ we have two persons carrying the same name but with different writings: the father called  H3tiwy, i.e.  'the chief of the ir.w hsbdt' (the chief of the workers of lapis lazuli);¹⁹ who were

'his sister, the lady of the house' (= his wife) was  Nfr-iry,²⁰ although 'his son' was called  H3ti3y.

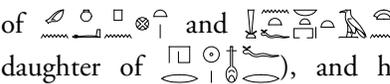
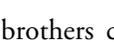
- B- In eighteenth Dynasty, on *Boulaq Stela* 377 (cf. Mariette, *Cat.* 1115),²¹ we have  H3ti3y whose 'his sister, the lady of the house' (i.e. his wife) was  Twfyy. They had one son and two daughters, in ordered: 'his son,  Hnsw', 'her daughter,  Tpy', and 'her daughter,  T3-hsy'.
- C- From the eighteenth Dynasty, particularly in the reign of Thutmose I or later, there is a scribe called  H3ti3y who was the son of 'the keeper of the house of ^c3-hpr-k3-R^c (Thutmose I)'  Sbk-htp from 'his sister, the lady of the house' (i.e. his wife)  Rnnwt.  H3ti3y had one brother on this monument (*Florence Stela* n° 2587) called  Pth-ms who was mentioned without any title.²²
- D- Ramesses II: *Naples Monument*²³ mentioned  H3ti3y,  'the first priest of the god Monthu', is the son of  'sm-priest of Soker temple' called  Min-ms and 'the chantress of Amun' called  Hnwt-mhyt.  H3ti3y had three brothers: his eldest brother  Imn-m-itnt, then  'the chief of bowmen' called  Pi3y (?),²⁴ and  'the overseer of the priests' called  Swry (sic.). The author suggests that this monument came from Memphis and its region, although the provenance is not sited.
- E- Ramesses II or later in nineteenth Dynasty: *Musée Guimet Stela*,²⁵ there is 'the scribe'  H3ti3y, who carried also the title 'the stable master  of the house of R^c-ms-sw'. 'His father' is  P3y (mentioned without any title), 'his mother' is one of 'the chantresses of Amun':  T3-swri called also  T3-mi(t), and his brother(?) is 'the scribe of the army',  P3-nhsy²⁶ appeared with 'his wife,  Mi3'.²⁷

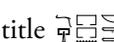
F- In the limestone stela from nineteenth Dynasty (*Brit. Mus. Stela 156*)²⁸ of  ‘the overseer of the harem of the great royal wife, the Lady of the Two Lands’,  P3y²⁹ and his wife  Rpt,³⁰ ‘his son’  H3ti3y who carried the title  ‘the stable master’ appeared twice, once in the central register and the second in the bottom register. He had six brothers³¹ and three sisters.³² And one of them (Mh), because of his title (‘the scribe of the treasury of the temple of Ptah’), the stela might be from Memphis or its necropolis, although stela’s provenance is not recorded.

(*) The author may conclude that  mentioned in both documents (E) and (F) is the same person because he had the same title (‘the stable master’) and father’s name  P3y), despite of the difference in his mother’s name (!)

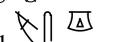
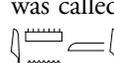
G- In the limestone stela of ‘the scribe of accounts of the divine offerings of all the gods’,  Hwyt³³ (*Brit. Mus. Stela 315*) from nineteenth Dynasty,³⁴ his parents are [‘the judge’?]  H3ti3y and  Mi3.

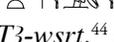
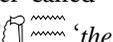
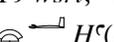
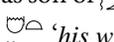
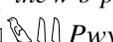
H- From the New Kingdom, we have a monument which includes three variant writings of the name(s) and titles:³⁵

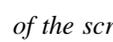
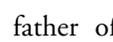
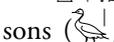
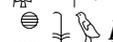
h1- The first is ‘the scribe’  H3tiw son of  (son and daughter of ) and he had five brothers called  Hk3-nhtw,  Rnfr,  Hrw-nfr,³⁶  Mh,³⁷ and  P3-Rc.³⁸

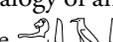
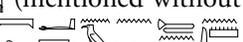
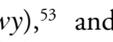
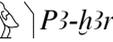
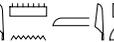
h2- The second is  H3tiw who carried the title  and ‘his wife, the lady of the house, the chantress of Amun’ called  Twi3.³⁹

h3- While the third one who called  H3ti3, was  ‘the first priest of the goddess Isis’, ‘his wife, the lady of the house, the chantress of Horus

lord of  Mi3m (a town in lower-Nubia)⁴⁰ was called  Mrt-sgr,⁴¹ and ‘his son’ was  Imn-m-ipt.⁴²

I- Also on (*Wien Stela 40*)⁴³ from the New Kingdom, there is one mentioned without any title called  H3ti3y, his sister called  T3-wsrt,⁴⁴ and he was son of  ‘the w^cb-priest’,  Hc(i)⁴⁵ from  ‘his wife’  Pwy.⁴⁶

J- (*Louvre Stela [C 50]*)⁴⁷ from the New Kingdom (the eighteenth Dynasty? – the nineteenth Dynasty), which includes the names of king  (Amenophis I) and queen  (Ahmos-Nefertary), mentioned  ‘the overseer of the scribes of the buildings of Amun’  H3ti3y,⁴⁸ whose ascendants carried the same title of the father of his grand grandfather,  P3-dj-Bcr (Pethw-Baal),⁴⁹ who carried also the title  ‘judge’.  was the father of (*D37*)  Ddi⁵⁰ (Dedia), who carried the same title of his father in addition to the title ‘Chief of Draughtsman-Painters in Karnak’, and served the Vizier Paser, who was engaged in directing the construction and decoration of buildings commissioned by King Seti I.⁵¹ In addition to Dedia,  had from his wife  S3-Mwt twice, and  Hns who carried the title ‘the scribe of buildings’.

K- (*Brit. Mus. Stela 303*)⁵² from the New Kingdom, gives us the genealogy of another one of those who carried the name  (mentioned without any title). He was son of  ‘Chief of the office(?) (of) the offerings of Amun’,  K3hw (from ‘his sister, the lady of the house’  Ndm-phwy),⁵³ and had four brothers, two ( P3-h3rw and (*U7*)  Mry-Rc) before him, and the other two ( and  Imn-m-ipt) after him.

This stela mentioned also two person (𐀀𐀁𐀂 Hwꜣ and 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃) carried the title 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃 'son' without any clear family relationship.

L- (Leiden Stela V. 1)⁵⁵ is also from the New Kingdom.⁵⁶ Its [1] 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃 H3ti3y carried the title 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅 'Chief Vizier of the Lord of the Two Lands', 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃 'his father' (nht) 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅, and 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃 'his mother' called 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃. He had ten brothers⁵⁷ and ten sisters,⁵⁸ while the eleventh is his wife [14] 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃 Pwny who carried the special title among the others: 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄𐀅𐀆𐀇𐀈𐀉𐀊𐀋 'his sister, his beloved, (who) upon the throne of his heart, the lady of the house', as much special as his sister [13] 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃 who carried the title 'his sister, his beloved'.

M- (Leiden Stela V. 52)⁵⁹ from the Late Period,⁶⁰ shows a different writing of the name, i.e. 𐀀𐀁𐀂 H3ti3, which appeared also on *Brit. Mus.* 772; *Leiden K* 15; and Florence, *Schiaparelli* 1616 in the New Kingdom.⁶¹ 𐀀𐀁𐀂 who carried the title 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃𐀄 'wꜥb-priest', appeared also side by side with the 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃 'wꜥb-priest' called 𐀀𐀁𐀂 H3t⁶² and the 𐀀𐀁𐀂𐀃 'chantress' called 𐀀𐀁𐀂.

Conclusion

Except for the recent object (find No. 3982), published above, this paper referred to twenty four monuments, and focused on seventeen documents mentioned twenty persons who carried the name in its various writings: Four documents (1, A, B, and C) from eighteenth Dynasty, three documents (2, 3, and G) from nineteenth Dynasty, two or three documents (D, E, and maybe F) from the reign of Ramesses II., five documents (H, I, J, K, and L) from the New Kingdom without any specific dating, and finally two documents (4, and M) from Twenty first Dynasty and the Late Period.

It is clear from all monuments mentioned above that the name was carried by males especially during the New Kingdom, except in one or two examples,

one of them (Doc. 4) goes back to the Twenty first Dynasty in the Third Intermediate Period and the other (Doc. M) to the Late Period without any specific dating.

According to all documents mentioned above, and to the order of the 𐀀𐀁𐀂 H3tiwy (katkout) (or 𐀀𐀁𐀂 H3ti3y)'s priestly titles, i.e. 𐀀𐀁𐀂 wr hꜣrp(w) hꜣmw(w)t 'Greatest of the Directors of craftsmen' (i.e. the High-priest of Ptah at Memphis) and then 𐀀𐀁𐀂 'the sm-priest'⁶³ (Figure 1), we shall conclude that he is one of those who carried this name and lived under the reign of Ramesses II, not in its beginning but in its middle or end.

Although, the author thinks that it is more reasonable to consider him the same person 𐀀𐀁𐀂 called also 𐀀𐀁𐀂, who was the father of 'God's father, Secretary of Ptah', etc. 𐀀𐀁𐀂 of document [4], and lived under the reign of Siamun (Twenty first Dynasty).⁶⁴ That because it was found in 'Kom Rabi'a' كوم ربيعة (*Kom Rabia* or *Kom Rabi'* (كوم ربيع) (maps 1-2) around Hathor Chapel at Mit-Rahinah, which is so close to our recent object, found a little bit in the north, in 'Kom el-Fakhry' كوم الفخري, in the area of 'Saqiet el-Khateeb' ساقية الخطيب and 'Muslims cemetery' جبانة المسلمين (map 2). If that was true, he would be also, according to the recent object (*Register Book of the Antiquities Inspectorate at Mit-Rahinah*, No. 3982: Figure 1), the father of a man who carried a common name in this period which is '[H]r-(s3)-Ist', and served in the office of 'the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands', the king [Siamun] whose name was lost among its remaining inscriptions.

Notes

- * My sincere thanks are tendered to Professor Gaballa A. Gaballa, *Ex. Secretaty General of Supreme Council of Antiquities*, who gave me the permission in December 11th, 1997 to photocopy the report of the recent object which enabled me to publish this paper, and my deep appreciation to all *the officails of the Antiquities*

Inspectorate at Mit-Rahinah, especially for their very kind assistance. It might also be noted here that the object may never have actually entered the Cairo Museum's storerooms but may still be housed in one of the magazines of the Antiquities Department in Saqqara and Mit-Rahinah.

- 1 See: Christiane M. Cache-Zivie, 'Memphis', in: *LÄ IV* (1982), 24-41; David G. Jeffreys, *The Survey of Memphis I, The Archaeological Report, EES* (London, 1985); Jaromir Malek, 'The temples at Memphis. Problems high-lighted by EES survey', in: Stephen Quirke, *The Temple of Ancient Egypt, New discoveries and recent research* (London, 1997), 90-101; Jeffreys, 'Memphis', in: K.A. Bard, *Encyclopaedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt* (London-New York, 1999), 488-490; Jeffreys, 'Memphis', in: D. B. Redford, *The Oxford Encyclopaedia of Ancient Egypt* (Cairo, 2001), II, 373-6; Basem Samir El-Sharkawy, *The Ancient Capital Memphis Series from the Flourish to the Decline (3100 BC to 640 AD), A Historical, Cultural, and Archaeological Study*, First Part: *Memphis: The City of Gods and Goddesses in Ancient Egypt* [In Arabic with English Contents and Abstract], supervised and presented by Prof. Dr. Abd El-Halim Nur El-Din, (Cairo, 2007).
- 2 *Egyptian Antiquities Organization* (EAO) is recent *Supreme Council of Antiquities* (SCA).
- 3 *Unpublished report of Excavation during the season of 1987 kept in the archive of the Antiquity Inspectorate at Mit-Rahinah, the Register Book there was signed by 'Mohamed Rashed Hammad'* 'محمد راشد حماد', who was the general of inspectors of the site at that time.
- 4 It is recently translated as 'Greatest of the Directors of craftsmen' or 'great director of craftsmen', this title which is not equal with the title (*imy-r hmww wr*) 'the great overseer of craftsmen' carried for example by ⲓⲛⲁⲙⲓⲛ Penamun in 18th Dyn. on his stela from Saqqara (*Brooklyn Museum 37.1486E*); T. G. H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum, I: From Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVIII*, The Brooklyn Museum (New York, 1974), 177, pls. XIII and LXXXVI (D). For further readings and translations of the title, see: *Wb. I*, 329: 12; *Wb. III*, 86: 1-3; *AEO I* (1947), 38' and 269' [*wr hrpw hmt*]; William A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, (Beirut, 1982), 88, nos. 729-730 (*wr hrp hmw.t [m pr.wy]*); Dilwyn Jones, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, 2 vols., *BAR International Series 866 (I & II)* (Oxford, 2000), vol. 1, 391-392 (no. 1450), 393-394 (nos.1452-1453): [Dilwyn Jones; PM III²] (*wr hrp.w hmw.wt*) *Greatest of*
- the Directors of craftsmen*, [Dilwyn Jones] *great director of craftsmen*, [Helck] *oberster Leiter der Handwerker*, [Eyre] (*wr hrp hmwt*) *great controller of craftsmen*, [Ward] *Chief Director of Craftsmen*, [Fischer] *Greatest of those who command the artisans/ greatest of the director of the craftsmen*, [De Meulenaere] (*hmww wr shm*) *l'artisan du Très Puissant*, [Maystre] (*wr hrp hmw*) *le grand des chefs des artisans/ 'le grand de' plus exactement 'le plus grand de'*, [Goedicke] (*wr hrp hmw*) *great leader of the artists*, [Drenkhahn] *Großer Leiter der Handwerker*, [te Velde] *greatest of the directorate of the arts*, [Gardiner; Brovrski] *Greatest of those who direct the craftsmen*, [Doret] (*wr hrp hmwt*) *Master-Craftsman*, [Devauchellee] (*wr hmww(it)*) *sceptre-our de l'artisan / sceptre-our de le corporation des artisans*, [Kahl] (*wr hrp.w hmw.tiw*), [Pfirsch] (*wr hrp hm.wt*) *grand des commandants des artisans*, [Piacentini] (*wr hrp hmwt*) *Grand commandant des artisans*; (*wr(?) 'b3 hmw(t)*, *Großer der Leiter der Handwerkerschaft ?*); see also: Basem Samir Louis Yacoub El-Sharkawy, *The Memphite Priesthood till the Beginning of the Ptolemaic Period* [in Arabic with English Index and Abstract] (M.A. diss. Ain-Shams University, 2003), Part I, 199-200 and footnote no 111. The title had been read before as *uer kherp uba* (*wr hrp wb3*) by: Jacques de Rougé, *Géographie ancienne de la Basse-Égypte*, J. Rothschild, Éditeur, Droits réservés (Paris, 1891), 7. And it had been read also either as (*wr shm hmw*) or mainly as (*hmww wr shm*) by: Herman de Meulenaere, 'Le Grand-Prêtre Memphite Séhétepiabrè-Ankh', in: *Festschrift zum 150 jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptisches Museum, Mitteilungen aus der ägyptische Sammlung VIII*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Berlin, 1974), 183-184.
- 5 Charles Maystre, *Les grands prêtres de Ptah de Memphis* (Ph.-D., 1948) published in: *OBO 113*, Universitätsverlag Freiburg-Schweiz, Vandenhock & Ruprecht (Göttingen, 1992); W. Peremans, E. van 't Dack, Herman de Meulenaere, and IJsewijn, *Prosopographia Ptolemaica III*, *Studia Hellenistica* 11, E. Nauwelaerts Louvain, E. J. Brill (Leiden, 1956), 47-48 f.; Dieter Wildung, 'Hoherpriester von Memphis', *LÄ II* (1977), 1256-1264; J. Quaegebeur, 'The Genealogy of the Memphite High Priests Family in the Hellenistic Period', in: Dorothy J. Crawford, J. Quaegebeur, and W. Clarysse, *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis, Studia Hellenistica* 24 (Louvain, 1980), 43-81; PM III², part 2, fascicle 3 (Oxford, 1981), 916-918; E. A. E. Reymond, *Records of Priestly Family from Memphis*, *ÄA* 38, vol. 1 (1981); Basem S. El-Sharkawy, *The Memphite Priesthood*, [in Arabic] Part I, 190-316; Part II, inscriptions nos 1-189 on 504-642, figs. 134-231 on 872-1008, the new list of HPPM made by the researcher is on I-XIX after page 880.

- 6  after Ranke, *PN I* (Glückstadt, 1935), 233: 5, but as  after: J. Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch*, librairie??(Leipzig, 1892), 325 (n° 998); and: T. G. H. James, *British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae Etc.*, Part 9 (London, 1970), 33 (line 3), pl. XXVIII (n° 156).
- 7 Ranke, *PN I*, 233: 5, note (1): ‘Ob Versehen des Steinmetzen?’.
- 8 Ranke, *PN I*, 233 (1-7, compare with 10); cf. J. Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch*, 104 (n° 316), 155 (n° 464), 183 (n° 553), 224 (n° 674), 275 (n° 846), 292 (n° 905), 302 (n° 939), 318 (n° 985), 325 (n° 998), 776 (n° 2007), 784 (n° 2033), 821 (n° 2153); *PM III*², part 2 (Oxford, 1978-1981), 669, 745, 775, 853-854.
- 9 Ranke, *PN I*, 233: 1.
- 10 Although J. Lieblein (*Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch*, 275: n° 846) read the name on Leiden Stele V. 52 as *H3ti3*, H. Ranke (*PN I*, 233: 4) read it as *H3tiw* and considered it from the Late Period.
- 11 Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch*, 318 (n° 985).
- 12 *PM III*² (1981), 775; Mohamed Ibrahim Aly, ‘New Kingdom Scattered Blocks from Saqqara’, *MDAIK* 56 (2000), 225 (footnote no. 58); Basem S. El-Sharkawy, ‘Aton at Memphis: his Priesthood and Temple’ (in Arabic), *CASAE* 34/III (2005), 47.
- 13 *PM III*², 745.
- 14 Ranke, *PN I*, 158: 22; cf. 156: 9, 160: 14, 161: 19.
- 15 *PM III*², 669.
- 16 Ranke, *PN I*, 263: 19.
- 17 *PM III*², 853-854.
- 18 Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch*, 784 (n° 2033).
- 19 He had three sons and three daughters, in ordered: ‘his son, the scribe’  (Ranke, *PN I*, 55: 16) *Iw3*, ‘his son, the scribe’  *Imm-ms* (*PN I*, 29: 8), (*H3ti3y* and then), ‘his daughter’,  *Nfrt rnpt* (cf. Ranke, *PN I*, 197: 18), ‘his daughter’  *Mrt-Pth* (Ranke, *PN I*, 158: 22), and finally ‘his daughter’  *Nfrt-iry* (Ranke, *PN I*, 201: 16).
- 20 Cf. Ranke, *PN I*, 201: 16.
- 21 Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch*, 776 (n° 2007).
- 22 Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch*, 104 (n° 316).
- 23 Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch*, 292 (n° 905).
- 24 Ranke, *PN I*, 129: 25.
- 25 Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch*, 821 (n° 2153).
- 26 Ranke, *PN I*, 113: 13.
- 27 Cf. Ranke, *PN I*, 146: 1 and 7.
- 28 Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch*, 325 (n° 998). See: T.G.H. James, *British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae Etc.*, Part 9, 32-33, pl. XXVIII (n° 156).
- 29 Ranke, *PN I*, 129: 4.
- 30 Ranke, *PN I*, 222: 3.
- 31 The eldest one is ‘the scribe of the treasury of the Lord of the Two Lands’,  *Nb-Imnt.t.*; the others are in ordered: ‘the scribe of the treasury of the temple of Ptah’,  *Mh*; (*H3ti3y* then) ‘the bow-carrier of the Lord of the Two Lands’,  *Rc-msw*; and at the end  *Mnn* (in the central register); ‘the infantryman of the ship’s contingent’, ... [no name is cut; if it were written in ink, it has now disappeared] and (*H3ti3y* then) ‘the herdsman of Amun’,  *B3wy* (in the bottom register).
- 32 They are  *Mwt-m-wi3*,  ... *pw*, and  *Nfr.t-iry* (in the central register), and may be four sisters if we considered the woman called  *Nnn* in the bottom register.
- 33 Cf. Ranke, *PN I*, 233: 18.
- 34 James, *Brit. Mus. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae Etc.* 9, 63, pl. XLVIII (2. n° 315).
- 35 *LD III*, 229-232; Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch*, 318 (n° 985).
- 36 Ranke, *PN I*, 231: 4.
- 37 Ranke, *PN I*, 163: 13.
- 38 Ranke, *PN I*, 114: 11.
- 39 Ranke, *PN I*, 379: 6.
- 40 Cf. H. Gauthier, *DG III*, 11: 2; *LD III*, 229 b; H. Brugsch, *ZAS* 20, 21.
- 41 Cf. Ranke, *PN I*, 157: 27.
- 42 Cf. Ranke, *PN I*, 27: 18 ff.
- 43 Lieblein, *Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch*, 155 (n° 464).
- 44 Ranke, *PN I*, 355: 22.
- 45 Ranke, *PN I*, 263: 7.
- 46 Ranke, *PN I*, 130: 21-22.

