#### Hieratic Fragment from Medinet Ghurab (P. BM EA 10777)

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**Abstract**: This paper aims to publish the fragment of the hieratic papyrus P. BM EA 10777 stored in the British Museum. It also examines the role and function of the expression *'nht n niwt*. This fragment represents a list of titles and names associated with the royal court. W. Petrie discovered the papyrus at Kom Medinet Ghurab. A. Gardiner donated it to the British Museum in 1958. According to the titles as well as the paleography, this papyrus probably dates back to the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

Keywords: Papyrus, Hieratic, Kom Medinet Ghurab, BM EA 10777, the19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

# كسرة هيراطيقية من مدينة غراب (P. BM EA 10777)

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الملخص: تهدف هذه الورقة البحثية لنشر ودراسة كسرة بردية هيراطيقية (P. BM EA 10777) المحفوظة بالمتحف البريطاني بالإضافة الي دراسة ماهية مصطلح n n n n n n n n م م الاقاب والأسماء التي قد تكون مرتبطة بالقصر، والتي عثر عليها بتري في منطقة كوم مدينة غراب، ثم تبرع بها جاردنر عام ١٩٥٨ إلى المتحف البريطاني. وفقًا للالقاب والسمات الخطية، قد تؤرّخ هذه البردية إلى عصر الأسرة التاسعة عشر.

الكلمات الدالة: بردية، هيراطيقي، كوم مدينة غراب، BM EA 10777، الأسرة التاسعة عشر.

## **1. Introduction:**

This fragment is 28.5 cm high and 18.5 cm wide, written in black on one side only as a single sheet with two columns of writing. The first column consists of nine lines, headed by the word *mr-wr*, while the second one consists of four lines. Although the fragment's surface was cleaned, traces of palimpsest can be seen in six horizontal lines on the recto<sup>1</sup>. The palimpsest traces cannot be read, but the earlier text might be administrative or letter. This papyrus has not been published, although Ranke mentioned some of the names that appeared in it.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\_EA10777. Access in 22/6/2020.

## 2. Content:

This fragment has a list of personnel names and their titles related to Kom Medinet Ghurab (*mr-wr*). Some of them are foreign names that may be associated with another unpublished fragment<sup>1</sup> listing a group of workers belonging to the palace being sent out to work in cultivation in the northern region.<sup>2</sup>

## 3. Dating:

H. Ranke referred to this fragment dating some names on it to the  $18^{th}$  dynasty.<sup>3</sup> He referred to some names, which appeared on this fragment and dated it to the  $18^{th}$  Dynasty. However, the British Museum's database dates it to the  $19^{th}$  Dynasty. According to the list of names and titles, e.g. the title *cnht n niwt* that prevailed in the Ramesside period<sup>4</sup> and the paleography (table. 1), this fragment probably dates to the  $19^{th}$  Dynasty.

	P. BM EA 10777	Moller list <sup>5</sup>	
-		18 <sup>th</sup> dynasty	19 <sup>th</sup> dynasty
A47/48	<b>L</b> Col.2.3	R R	K
B1/61	<b>L</b> Col.1.7	•4	· <b>∠</b>
管 D2/80	<b>Č</b> Col.2.5	73	2
G1/192	<b>Z L</b> Col.2.5 Col.1.4	2 2	2 2
N35/333	<b>2</b> Col.1.3	73	3
S34/534	Col.1.4	111	Ť
W14/502	Col.1.3 Col.1.9	ą	Ŧ

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> An unpublished papyrus (P. BM EA 10776).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Fredrik Hagen & Daniel Soliman, "Archives in Ancient Egypt, 2500–1000 BCE", Alessandro Bausi, et al. (eds.), Manuscripts and Archives, Comparative Views on Record-Keeping, Studies in Manuscript Culture 11 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018): 108.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Ranke Hermann, Die ägyptischen Personennamen, I (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1935).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>O. Ashmolean Museum 0090= Schafik Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri aus der Ramessidenzeit*, (Tübingen: Selbstverl, 1973), 168-169 no. 165; O. Ashmolean Museum 0133= *KRI*, VII, 182-183; O. Berlin P 12630= *KRI*, V, 594-595; O. BM EA 29555= Robert Demaree, *Ramesside Ostraca*, (London: British Museum Press, 2002), 26, pls. 83-84; O. Cairo CG 25572= Jaroslav Černý, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire N°25675-25832 Ostraca hiératiques* (Le Caire:IFAO), 26, pl. XXV-XXXVI; *KRI*, V, 572-573; O. Cairo CG 25583= Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques*, 30, pl. XLIII; *KRI*, IV, 329-330; O. Cairo CG 25677= Černý, *Ostraca hiératiques*, 57, pl. LXXV; *KRI*, IV, 175 and 176; P. DeM 26= Jaroslav Černý, *Papyrus Deir El Medineh*, II, (Le Caire:DFIFAO, 1986) 4, pls. 12-15a; P. DeM 30= Černý, *Papyrus Deir El Medineh*, II, 6, pls. 21 and 21a; P. Turin Cat. 1907 + P. Turin Cat. 1908= *KRI*, VI, 403-409.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Georg Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1909).

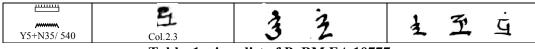


Table. 1: signs list of P. BM EA 10777

In addition to S. Wimmer's study<sup>1</sup>, the following signs may reveal the papyrus date. The form of ligatured  $\stackrel{\text{(b)}}{=}$  is of type (b) which was more common in the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>2</sup>. The three forms of  $\stackrel{\text{(b)}}{=}$  are of type (ba), which was only attested in the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>3</sup>. All examples of  $\stackrel{\text{(b)}}{=}$  are type (a) that was common in dynasties 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th4</sup>.

# 4. Transcription:



<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Stefan Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie der nichtliterarischen Ostraka der 19. und 20. Dynastie*, ÄAT 28, 2 vols (Wiesbaden, 1995).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie*, I, 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie*, I, 261.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie*, I, 281.

# 5. Transliteration and Translation:

## Col.1

<sup>[1]</sup> mr-wr <sup>(a)</sup>	<sup>[1]</sup> <i>mr-wr</i>
$^{[2]}hsw^{(b)}\dots$	<sup>[2]</sup> The singer
<ul> <li>[3] hsw Nfr pry<sup>1</sup> s3 w<sup>6</sup>b Wsrt<sup>2</sup></li> <li>[4] <sup>6</sup>nh(t) n niwt<sup>(c)</sup> It i3<sup>3</sup></li> <li>[5] hwy Krk<sup>4</sup></li> <li>[6] hsw Swm mr n p3 ntr <sup>5</sup></li> <li>[7] <sup>6</sup>nh(t) n niwt Ty<sup>6</sup> s3t Nn3<sup>7</sup></li> <li>[8] <sup>6</sup>nh(t) n niwt <sup>6</sup>wy<sup>8</sup> s3t Rwi-t3t<sup>9</sup></li> <li>[9] hsw <sup>6</sup>3y<sup>10</sup> s3 Wtt mwy<sup>11</sup></li> </ul>	<ul> <li><sup>[3]</sup> The singer Nfr pry the son of the wb priest Wsrt</li> <li><sup>[4]</sup> Citizen It i3</li> <li><sup>[5]</sup> hwy Krk</li> <li><sup>[6]</sup> The singer Swm mr n p3 ntr</li> <li><sup>[7]</sup> Citizen Ty daughter of Nn3</li> <li><sup>[8]</sup> Citizen wy daughter of Rwi-t3t</li> <li><sup>[9]</sup> The singer '3y son of Wtt mwy</li> </ul>
Col.2	
<sup>[1]</sup> gr- <u>t</u> 3	<sup>[1]</sup> gr- <u>t</u> 3
[2]	[2]
<sup>[3]</sup> mniw <sup>(d)</sup> sr idr Mnwy <sup>12</sup>	<sup>[3]</sup> Herdsman of the herd of <i>sr</i> bird <i>Mnwy</i>

<sup>[4]</sup> Herdsman of the herd of *sr* bird G....

<sup>[4]</sup> mniw sr idr G....

<sup>[5]</sup>  $s_{3w}^{(e)} N_{3}-hrh^{13}...$ 

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>[5]</sup> The guard *N3-hrh* .....

<sup>1 1</sup> min nfr pry : Ranke mentioned that this name appeared in the New kingdom. See: Hermann Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen, I (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1935), 196.6. During the Middle Kingdom, this name appeared in the same form. Cairo CG 20068= Marcel Marée, "A sculpture workshop at Abydos from the late Sixteenth or early Seventeenth Dynasty", M. Marée (ed.), "The Second Intermediate Period (Thirteenth-Seventeenth Dynasties)": Current Research, Future Prospects, OLA 192, (Netherlands: Leuven, 2010): 241–82. <sup>2</sup> See Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, I, 85.6.

<sup>3 = 1</sup> It is Although the determinative of the name It is a male, the name is feminine, confirmed by the title *nh nt niwt*. Perhaps the scribe forgets to add the diacritic mark for the sign.

in ägyptischen Quellen des Neuen Reiches, (Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen, 1992), 202-203. <sup>5</sup>  $\downarrow \in \mathbb{A}$   $\overline{\Xi}$   $\mathbb{A}$   $\uparrow \mathbb{A}$   $\overline{\Xi}$  *Swm mr n p3 ntrw*: Ranke mentioned this name to be *Swm mr*. and he

ignored the second part of the name. Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen, I, 302.6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> See Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen I, 277.22.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* I, 205.3

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen I, 56.28

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> This name is not listed by Rank

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> See Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* I, 58.18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> This name is not listed by Rank.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* I, 151.12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> This name is not listed by Rank.

## 6- Paleographical Remarks:

Col.1.1 : The reading of several groups is uncertain because the lower part of the group is obscured by surface damage. The first sign is certainly  $\overline{1}$  to represent the title *hsw* and followed by the name of the singer who maybe is foreign where the determinative f.

*Col.1.3* : The handwriting of the determinative  $\overset{(1)}{\coprod}$  is similar to the form of hieratic graffiti from Deir el-Bahri  $\boldsymbol{k}^1$ .

*Col.1.4* : This sign may represent the feminine determinative  $\mathcal{L}^{1}$ . In the papyrus understudy, it appeared with the other two forms on lines 7 and 8  $\sim$  .

Col.1.5 • : This sign represents the checkmark that allowed the scribe to ensure that all relevant entries on the document are correct<sup>2</sup>. This dot may represent the presence or absence of the workmen. Checkmarks appeared with different forms as red or black dots, oblique strokes, and some individual hieroglyphic signs.<sup>3</sup>

Col.1.6 : This part of the papyrus is damaged, but the traces may represent  $\downarrow e \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \frac{1}{2\pi} 4$  where the first sign indeed represents  $\downarrow$ .

*Col.1.8*  $\checkmark$ : This sign appeared with an unfamiliar form to represent the determinative  $\bowtie$ . it is similar to the forms  $\checkmark$  -  $\clubsuit$  which common in 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>5</sup>.

Col.2.1  $\sim$ : This part is damaged, but the last signs are  $\sim$   $\sim$   $\sim$   $\sim$ 

Col.2.2 4.1. : At this point, the papyrus is damaged, so it is uncertain.

*Col.2.4* - *Col.2.5* : These signs are an important element to characterize between the title  $s_{3w}$  and *mniw* during the New Kingdom. The word for herdsman is written only with a sign in 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty,<sup>6</sup> and was used frequently almost completely completely supplanting the sign in 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty,<sup>6</sup> and was used frequently almost completely in mantle holding a stick with appendage that different from the form of the sign *mniw*<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Mohamed Nassar, "The hieratic graffiti in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> dynasties: paleographic and linguistic study", part 2 (PhD diss, Fayoum university, 2015), 10. Table.4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Goelet Ogden, "Writing Ramesside Hieratic: What the Late Egyptian Miscellanies Tell us about Scribal Education", *D'Auria, S (ed.) Servant of Mut: Studies in Honor of Richard A. Fazzini*, (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2008): 109.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For more about checkmarks, see: Mohamed Nassar, "Writing Practices in El-Lahun Papyri during the Middle Kingdom", *JARCE*, 55, (2019): 115- 116.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Ranke, Die ägyptischen Personennamen I, 302.6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Wimmer, *Hieratische Paläographie*, II, 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> George Fisher, *Egyptian Studies III, V* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1996), 178, 179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Alan Gardiner, "The Egyptian word for herdsman", ZÄS, 42, (1905): 117-118.

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P. BM EA 10777	<b>K</b> <i>Col.2.4</i>	<b>C</b> ol.2.5
Moller <sup>1</sup>	Ľ	ぼ

Table. 2: Signs A33and A47

# 8- Discussion:

<sup>(a)</sup>  $\underline{\pi} \otimes \underline{\tilde{\pi}} mr$ -wr: this word appeared with different forms as  $\underline{\pi} \otimes \underline{\tilde{\pi}} \otimes \underline{\tilde{\pi}}^2$ ,  $\underline{\pi} \otimes \underline{\tilde{\pi}^2}$ ,  $\underline$ 

*the Fayoum*<sup>\*\*4</sup> or *"Great Channel*". It represents the name of Kom Medinet Ghurab.<sup>5</sup> Next to this channel, either the Bahr Yusef or a branch, the town was constructed.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Möller, Hieratische Paläographie, II, 4.47,48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Wb II, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Heinrich Brugsch, "Der Möris-See", ZÄS, 30, (1893): 72

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Wb II, 97; Ibrahim Abdelsattar& Osama Ibrahim, "Names Allocated to the Fayoum Region in Ancient Egypt", *Abgadiyat 8*, (2013): 31.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Alan Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus*, II, (Oxford: the Brooklyn Museum, 1941), 30; Alan Gardiner& Harold Bell, "The Name of Lake Moeris", *JEA*, 29 (1943): 37.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Wb III, 164-165.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Saphinaz-Amal Naguib, *Le clergenfeminin de Amon Thebain a la21e dynastie, OLA 38* (Peeters Press: Leuven, 1990), 232.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Raymond Faulkner, A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian (Oxford: Griffith Institute 1962), 177.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup>Emily Teeter, "Inside the Temple: The Role and Function of Temple Singers", Emily Teeter& Janet Johnson (eds.) *the life of Meresamun: A Temole Singer in ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 2009): 25.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup>Emily Teeter, "Female Musicians in Egypt", Kimberly Marshall (eds.), *Rediscovering the Muses: Womens Musical Traditions* (Boston, 1993): 86.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Silvana Fantechi& Andrea Zingarelli, "Singers and Musicians in New Kingdom Egypt", *GM*, 186 (2002): 28.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Emily Teeter, "Celibacy and Adoption Among God's Wives of Amun and Singers in the Temple of Amun: A Re-Examination of the Evidence", Emily Teeter & Jone Larsen (eds.), *Gold of Praise: Studies in Honor of Edward F. Wente* (Chicago: OIP, 1999): 405- 415; Alessio Corsi, "The Songstress Diesehebsed in the "Chapel of Osiris-Onnophris in the Persea Tree' in Karnak", Luca Bombardieri, et al. (eds.), *Identity and Connectivity: Proceedings of the 16<sup>th</sup> Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology, Florence, Italy, 1–3 March 2012* (Oxford, England : Archaeopress, 2013): 573.

himself by clapping in his hands or by playing a stringed instrument harp.<sup>1</sup> sometimes the *hsw*-singers is  $blind^2$ .

 $(c) \stackrel{\frown}{\uparrow} \stackrel{\frown}{\oplus} o \stackrel{\otimes}{\frown} \stackrel{\frown}{\square} \stackrel{\frown}{\square$ appeared on only three categories (letters- accounts- legal texts) in the Hieratic sources. It did not appear on the monuments and Hieroglyphic scripts. B. Lesko related it to administrative and judicial texts.<sup>5</sup> This title widely appeared with different forms as  $\frac{9}{1}$   $\otimes$   $\frac{6}{9}$   $\frac{1}{9}$   $\otimes$   $\frac{7}{9}$  since the Middle Kingdom, when it was exclusively used in the male form<sup>8</sup>. Leprohon<sup>9</sup>, O. Berlev<sup>10</sup>, and S. Quirke<sup>11</sup> translated and related it with the army to to mean "a designation of soldiers". In the New Kingdom, it was used as a feminine title only <sup>12</sup> with different forms  $\uparrow = \dots = 1$ ,  $\downarrow = \dots$  $f = O[\Delta I I I], I^4$   $f = \Delta I I, I^5$   $f = O[\Delta I I I], I^6$   $f = \Delta I I^7, f = \Delta I \Delta I^{-18}$  to mean "Citizeness"<sup>19</sup>. Černý understood this title to represent "a free woman", not a servant<sup>20</sup>, while Bakir explained it as a servant who possesses the land<sup>21</sup>. S. Katary adopted a literal translation to mean "Townswomen or a living being of the city"<sup>22</sup>. Gardiner argued that the title means  $lady^{23}$ .

<sup>8</sup> Janssen, "A Marital Title from The New Kingdom":185.

<sup>12</sup> Janssen, "A Marital Title from The New Kingdom": 185.

<sup>15</sup> O. Ashmolean Museum 0133= *KRI*, VII, 182-183.

<sup>19</sup> William Ward, Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom (Beirut: American University Beirut, 1982), 74. 604.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup>Emerit Sibylle, "Music and Musicians", Willeko Wendrich (ed.), UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology (2013): 8.

Ana Ruiz, The Spirit of Ancient Egypt (New York: Algora Publishing, 2001), 61.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Gay Robins, Women in Ancient Egypt (London: Harvard University Press, 1993), 115.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Janet Janssen, "A Marital Title from The New Kingdom", Emily Teeter & Jone Larson (eds.), Gold of Praise Studies on Ancient Egypt in Honor of Edward F. Wente, SAOC 58 (Chicago, 1999): 185-190.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Barbara Lesko, "Rank, Roles, and Rights", Leonard Lesko, (ed.), *Pharaoh's Workers: The Villagers of* Deir el-Medina (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994): 154.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Stelae CG20151= Hans Lang& Heinrich schafer, Grab- und Denksteine des mittleren Reichs, 4 vols. Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire Nos 20001-20780, I (Berlin, 1902), 178-179.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Dilwyn Jones, An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles: epithets and phrases of the Old Kingdom, I (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 2000), 353/1313.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Ronald Leprohon, "Administrative Titles in Nubia in the Middle Kingdom", JAOS, 113 (3), (1993): 432.129. <sup>10</sup> Oleg Berlev, "Les prétendus « citadins » au Moyen Empire", *RDE*, 23, (1971): 286-288.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Stephen Quirke, *Title and Bureaux of Egypt 1850-1700 BC* (London: Golden House, 2004), 100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Wb I, 200- 201.

 $<sup>^{14}</sup>$  O. Ashmolean Museum 0090= KRI, III, 683.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> O. BM EA 65930= *KRI*, IV, 315-317.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> O. Cairo C.G. 25572= KRI, V, 572-573.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Pap. Gurob II, 1,3= Alan Gardiner, "Four Papyri of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty from Kahun", ZÄS, 43 (1906): 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Jaroslav Černý, "The will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents", JEA, 31 (1945): 44.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Abdel-Mohsen Bakir, Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt. Supplément aux Annales du service des antiquités *de l'Égypte 18* ( Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1952), 85-86. <sup>22</sup> Sally Katary, "Land-Tenure in the New Kingdom: The Role of Women Smallholder and the Military",

Allan Bowman& Eugene Rogan (ed.), Agriculture in Egypt from Pharaonic to Modern Times, Proceeding of the British Academy 96 (1999):71; Jones, An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom, 353,1313.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Gardiner, *The Wilbour Papyrus*, 76.

According to the texts that widely appear in Deir el-Medina and Ghurab during the New Kingdom, this title was applied to women who played different roles, mainly:

#### - A married (or widowed) woman in general:

Pestman reported that the title (nh) n niwt was related to a married or widowed woman<sup>1</sup>. In O. DeM 225<sup>2</sup>, the woman *ii* who bears the title (nh) n niwt is a widow of *hwy hwy* 

Citizen *ii*, the wife of *hwy* who is dead

In the Turin Strike Papyrus, <sup>3</sup>it is applied to married women (*hmwt t3yw*).

Then, he copulated-with three married women: citizen Mn<sup>ct</sup>. She was with Knn3, citizen T3 -*iw*- *n.s*, she is with *Nht*- *Imn*, citizen T3 -*wrt*-*htp.ti*, and she is with *P*-*n*-*t3*-*wrt*.

#### - She is a wife or a widow of a controller:

According to P. Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 4167<sup>4</sup>, three women appeared as waives of soldiers and controllers.

(5) Month 3, Akhet, day 13 Given to the citizen *Titi*, the wife of the controller *Iry iry* 

#### - A rural smallholder:

During the New Kingdom, this title denoted a woman smallholder. *'nht nt niwt* appeared in P. Wilbour lists as Socio- professional categories. She is one of the high-frequency occupations among Wilbour smallholders after the cultivator, soldier and priest<sup>5</sup>. She has only 10.8% of the total number of plots.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Pieter Pestman, Marriage and Matrimonial Property in Ancient Egypt: A Contribution to Establishing the Legal Position of the Woman (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1961), 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> O. DeM 225= Jaroslav Černý, *Catalogue des ostraca hiératiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médinéh* (nos 190-241) (Le Caire: IFAO, 1937).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Alan Gardiner, *Ramesside administrative documents* (London: Oxford University Press, 1948), 57, 14-16.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Fredrik Hagen, "A Ramesside Administrative Document (P. Cambridge University Library MS. Add. 4167) ", ZÄS, 135 (2008): 36, Taf. III.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Jean-Christophe Antoine, "Social position and the organization of landholding in Ramesside Egypt An analysis of the Wilbour Papyrus", *SAK*, 43 (2014): 20; Katary, "Land-Tenure in the New Kingdom: The Role of Women Smallholder and the Military", 68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Sally Katary, "O. Strasbourg H 106: Ramesside Split Holdings and a Possible Link to Deir el-Medina", R. J. Demarée & A. Egberts (eds.), Deir el-Medina in the third millennium AD: A Tribute to Jac. J. Janssen (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut Voor Het Nabije Oosten, 2000):175.

### - A witness at a local court:

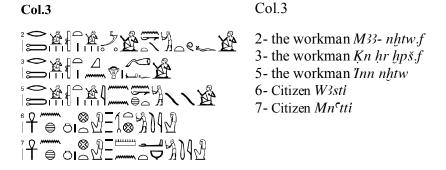
Some women titled *'nht nt niwt* appeared on Pap. Cairo 65739<sup>1</sup> among witnesses of a local court



The number of witnesses named by the soldier  $N_3hy$  before the court: The chief of police *mini*, the mayor of the west *R<sup>c</sup>*-*msw*, the web priest *hwy-p*3..., the elder brother of the superintendent of the district S3 *mwt*, the citizen K3fy the wife of the chief of police *Pšd*, who is dead, the citizen *Wrt nfrt*, the citizen *hwt i*3, and the elder sister of the citizen *B3k*-*mwt*. It is a total of three men and three women; the total is six.

#### - A feminine equivalent to *rmt-iswt*:

According to the will of Naunakhte<sup>2</sup>, his daughters were called rh *nt niwt* while the sons were called *rmt iswt*. *Cht nt niwt* might be the other face of the title *rmt iswt*.



(d)  $\overset{\infty}{H} \overset{\infty}{\to} mniw$ : Herdsman or Shepherd, it appeared with two different forms. The first one with the sign  $\overset{\infty}{H}$  (A47) which appeared during the Old Kingdom. It continued to be used in this title until the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty<sup>3</sup>. The second form with the sign  $\overset{\infty}{H}$  (A33), which appeared from the period of the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty and later<sup>4</sup>.

(e)  $M \otimes 3w$ : The term *s*<sup>3</sup> meaning 'protection', 'guard', 'watch', translated as the Greek translation 'phyle', in the literature texts is primarily associated with priestly service<sup>5</sup>. it

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Alan Gardiner, "A Lawsuit Arising from the Purchase of Two Slaves", JEA, 21 (1935): 142, pl. XV.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Jaroslav Černý, "The Will of Naunakhte and the Related Documents", JEA, 31 (1945): 29-53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Wb. II, 75; Urk. IV, 1477 [9], Urk. IV, 512 [11]; Norman Davies & Laming Macadam, Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones (Oxford: University Press, 1957), no. 212.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup>Urk. IV, 2174 (7) For more about this title see: Gardiner, "The Egyptian word for herdsman" :116-125. <sup>5</sup> Katalin Kóthay, "Phyles of Stone-Workers in the Phyle System of the Middle Kingdom", *ZÄS*,134, (2007): 138.

appeared with different forms  $M D e^{\pi} M D e^{\pi} M^1$ ,  $M D P M^2$ ,  $M N N^3$ ,  $M P^3$ . During the Old Kingdom the word  $M e^{\pi}$  appears to be used for the herdsman or guardian. Sometimes it appears in a fully written  $\overline{P} D P M^3$  to indicate any other reading than *mniw*, in the Middle Kingdom it appears with the same distinctions<sup>4</sup>. This title related with the tomb (the guardian of the tomb) throughout the Ramesside period<sup>5</sup>.

# period<sup>5</sup>.

# **Conclusion:**

According to the paleography, this papyrus dates back to the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. The word for herdsman which appears in col.2.3,4 is written only with a sign  $\aleph$  in 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty as well as the title *nht n niwt* which more common in the Ramesside Period. The papyrus has a list of unfamiliar personnel names which don't appear on another papyri from Ghurab, and some of these names are foreign names who have living in Ghurab society during this period. The title *nht n niwt* until now is not clear in terms of social status or the role, but we can note this woman maybe play a role in the palace where this papyrus represent a group of workers belonging to the palace.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Jaroslav Černy, A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period, BdE 50 (Cairo: IFAO, 1973), 149.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ward, Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles, 146.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Abdul Rahman Al-ayedi, Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the new kingdom (Egypt: Ismailia, 2006), 484

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Gardiner, "The Egyptian word for herdsman": 117-118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Černy, A Community of Workmen at Thebes in the Ramesside Period, 149-150.

Plates

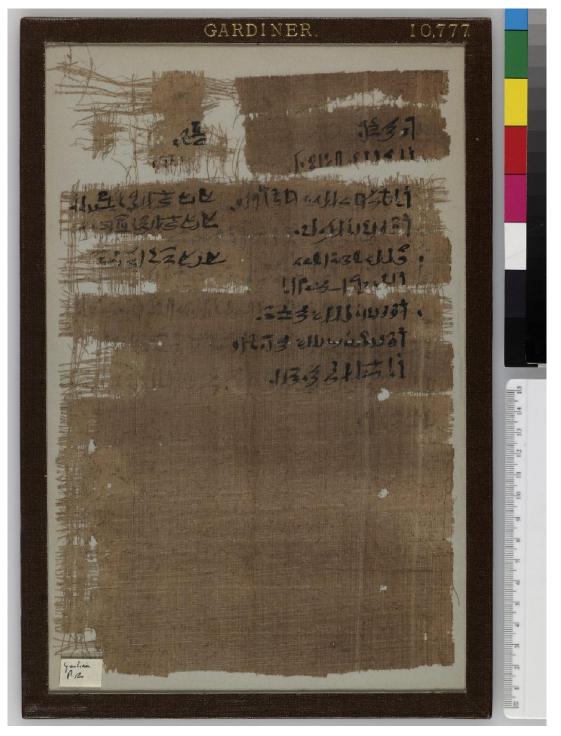


Fig. 1 P. BM EA 10777 Copyright of the British Museum

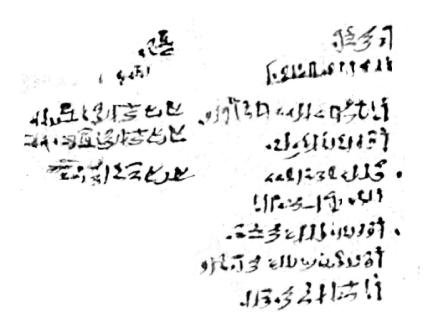


Fig. 2 Facsimile of P. BM EA 10777

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