Abgadiyat

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Abgadiyat

Issue No. 6 - 2011



Issue Nº 6-2011

Scientific refereed annual journal issued by the Bibliotheca Alexandrina Calligraphy Center



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Introduction

During the past five years, the *Abgadiyat* journal has appeared in order to bridge the existing gap in the fields of writings and scripts studies. This gap was not on the local level only, but as well as on the regional level; wherein there was no practical or precise journal concerning the affairs of writings and scripts in the world across the ages. *Abgadiyat* carries the most important goals of the Center for Studies of Writings and Scripts, including the increase of the number of rare specialists among writings and inscriptions that need to be studied and to spreading the consciousness of writings and inscriptions on the level among the non-specialists. Perhaps, this is the main reason for considering the Delegation of Antiquities in the High Council for Universities for *Abgadiyat* as a regional journal.

This issue, specifically, is considered one of the most important issues why *Abgadiyat* is published, and we are greatly pleased — as a team working on the revision of the Journal — when a number of researchers competing in publishing their research within issues in the Journal; where the team revising the Journal came across a number of research from different countries and from all universities. As a result, we helped in upgrading the scientific level of *Abgadiyat*.

Also among the fundamentals that *Abgadiyat* emphasizes is the support of young researchers to publish their research in the Journal. It is known to all that one of the goals of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina is to encourage and support young researchers in all research and practical fields. Thus, the Journal has received research investigations from a number of young researchers, who are hoped to meet the criteria, after the Council of Practical Specialized Ruling has approved their research and recommend their research with the ability, quality and readiness for publishing.

Following the research of the Journal, he finds a great diversity in the research topics that the Journal displays. Despite everything, it carries one goal, the interest in inscriptions and writings; displayed is research dealing with different perspectives. These perspectives include research from the linguistic, historical, and artistic perspectives; leading to a balance to all the axes of practical research.

The sixth issue of *Abgadiyat* overflows with a group of valuable research concerning inscription of the ancient Egyptian language; whether they were found in the Sarabeet al-Khadem, Wadi al-Hammamat or Wadi al-Jawasis areas, or those that date to the second era of transition, or concern administrative nicknames in ancient Egypt, or what some papyri dealt with in writing about the afterlife according to Ancient Egypt, or the efforts of some researchers in the field of the ancient Egyptian language, such as Professor Ahmed Kamal Pasha and his linguistic dictionary concerning the writings from the Coptic age that were dealt with from the artistic perspective stating the shape of icons, from the historical perspective stating the first Copts who wrote in Arabic, and concerning the writings in the Islamic age which dealt with the writings on homes in Damascus during the

Ottoman Era, and inscriptions on rare Islamic coins and writing compositions, such as the royal monogram in the Modern Age, and inscriptions on some mosques.

From here, we can state that this issue might grant the opportunity for young researchers to publish their research, and present a serious, practical study to continue the path the Center of Writings and Scripts had begun nine years ago.

Ahmed Mansour Deputy Director of Calligraphy Center Bibliotheca Alexandrina

Control of the Military Commanders on the Administrative Title $\neg \bigsqcup 3 limy - r k 3wt$

'The Overseer of Works' during Ramesses II Era

سيطرة القادة العسكريين على اللقب الإدارى "المشرف على الأشغال" في عهد الملك رمسيس الثاني Mohamed Raafat Abbas

ملخص:

اتسم عصر الرعامسة الذي يشمل عصر الأسرتين التاسعة عشرة والعشرين (1308 – 1087 قبل الميلاد) بوجود ظاهرة حضارية شملت جانبًا هامًّا من نواحي الدولة في مصر القديمة، ألا وهي تواجد وتغلغل القادة العسكريين في عديد من مناصب الدولة الإدارية المختلفة. ومما لا شك فيه أن وجود هذه الظاهرة يعود إلى طبيعة المرحلة التاريخية التي كانتً تمر بها الدولة في مصر القديمة آنذاك، فنتيجة للحروب الطويلة التي خاضتها مصر على أيام الرعامسة، أصبحت الحياة المصرية تنضح بالروح العسكرية، حتى أخذت مصر مظهر الدولة العسكرية. هذا فضلاً عن أن الملوك الرعامسة الذين كانوا ينحدرون من أُسرِ الضباط المقاتلين قد كانوا متأثرين بالضرورة نفسيًّا بهذه النشأة العسكرية، مما جعل كثيرًا من العلماء والباحثين يرون أن عصر الرعامسة – على وجه الخصوص – قد أصبح بأكمله مصبوغًا بالطابع العسكري العميق في كافة شئونه بوجه عام، وفي إدارة الدولة بشكل خاص.

ولقد كانت إدارة الأشغال واحدة من أهم الإدارات في مصر القديمة على وجه الإطلاق؛ حيث تحملت هذه الإدارة عبه إنشاء المعابد المختلفة، ومقابر الملوك، وبعض مقابر كبار الموظفين، وكذلك ما يتعلق بالأعمال العامة المطلوبة مثل بناء السدود، وحفر الترع، وإنشاء القلاع، والحصون، والإدارات الحكومية المختلفة، ومن ثم فقد عمل الوزراء وكبار موظفي الدولة على السيطرة على اللقب والمنصب الإداري الهام 'المشرف على الأشغال' ألل المن *imy-r k3wt* العرطفي الدولة على اللقب والمنصب الإداري الهام 'المشرف على الأشغال' ألل المن *imy-r k3wt* الي المعاد المول إلى منذ عصر الدولة الحديثة. وخلال عصر الدولة الحديثة نجح القادة العسكريون في الوصول إلى منذ عصر الدولة الحديثة نجح القادة العسكريون في الوصول إلى هذا المنصب الإداري الهام 'المشرف على الأشغال' ألل المع عمل الوزراء هذا المنصب الإداري الهام 'المشرف على الأشغال' ألل المع عمل الوصول إلى الما معد عصر الدولة الحديثة نجح القادة العسكريون في الوصول إلى هذا المنصب الإداري الهام 'المنس فعلى الأشغال' ألل المع عصر الدولة الحديثة نجح القادة العسكريون في الوصول إلى هذا المنصب الإداري الهام الأخرى في الوصول إلى العديد من المناصب الإدارية الهامة الأخرى في الدولة، وقد ناقش هذا المنصب الإداري الهام بعد نجاحهم في الوصول إلى العديد من المناصب الإدارية الهامة الأخرى في الدولة، وقد ناقش أسل منا المعرد المعلم المعرف على الأشغال' ألل المع أسل المعربة لحكر سيما المعار (الت المعار من المعار المعاد العادة العسكريين على اللقب والداري الهام 'المشرف على الأشغال' ألل المعاد ومن ثم فقد تناول البحث أهمية وتاريخ اللقب الإداري 'المشرف على الأشغال' ألل المعاد ومن ثم فقد تناول البحث أهمية وتاريخ اللقب الإداري 'المشرف على الأشغال' ألل المعاد الماد المعاد المالمال الماد المال المال المعاد الما

ومما لا شك فيه أن هذا البحث يلقي الضوء على جانبٍ هامٍّ من الدور التاريخي والحيوي الهام الذي قدَّمه القادة العسكريون في إدارة الدولة خلال عصر الرعامسة بوجه عام، وخلال عصر الملك رمسيس الثاني بوجه خاص.

Introduction

The Ramesside Period (Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties) was characterized by an important historical phenomenon in the field of administration in Ancient Egypt, which is the control of the Military Commanders on a large amount of administrative titles and positions in the State. Most of Egyptologists thought that this historical phenomenon was related to the nature of the historical period that existed in Egypt during that time, where the Ramesside Period characterized by the military activities in the different fields of life in Ancient Egypt, as an outcome to the great number of wars by the Egyptians during that period. Therefore, the administration of the State in the Ramesside Period affected by the militarization of the Egyptian society, and the Military Commanders succeed in controlling many administrative titles and positions, according to their importance in the Egyptian society during that time.

This article discusses the control of the Military Commanders on one of the most important administrative titles in Ancient Egypt, which is time of King Ramesses II (1290-1224 BCE). The importance of this title related to the supervision of its owner on building and construction of different temples of gods and kings, tombs of kings, tombs of high officials and numerous building projects of the State. Hence, the viziers and high officials of the State were proud to carry this important administrative title since the time of the Old Kingdom until the time of the New Kingdom, according to its importance. However, the discussion of this article will highlight the important historical role performed by the Military Commanders in the administration of the State in the Ramesside Period.

The Importance of the Administrative Title $\begin{bmatrix} 1 & 1 \\ 1 & 2 \end{bmatrix}$ *imy-r k3wt* 'the Overseer of Works' and its history

Word $\mathbf{k} \stackrel{\textbf{U}}{\sqsubseteq} \mathbf{k} 3t$ was used in the Ancient Egyptian language to refer to works and to the activities connected with agriculture, building, handicrafts and manufacture.1 The administrative title $\neg \Box \Box \Box$ *imy-r* k3wt 'the Overseer of Works' appeared for the first time in the Ancient Egyptian texts in the time of the Third Dynasty.2 This title was considered one of the most important administrative titles in Ancient Egypt since the time of the Old Kingdom, where it had a close relationship with the affairs of the king.³ The holder of this title was supervisor on building and constructing of different temples of gods and kings, tombs of kings, tombs of high officials and numerous building projects of the State.⁴

From the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty, this title was controlled by the viziers and princes,⁵ then the title became controlled by the viziers more than any officials in the State during the time of the Fifth Dynasty.⁶ The controlling of the viziers on the title remained until the time of the New Kingdom.⁷ Also, this title held by the high officials of the State in the times of Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom and New Kingdom.⁸

The Relationship between the Military Commanders and the Administrative Title $\begin{bmatrix} 1 \\ 1 \\ 2 \end{bmatrix}$ *imy-r k3wt* 'the Overseer of Works'

During the time of the New Kingdom, the Military Commanders held this important administrative title, according to the development of their power in the Egyptian society following the great victories of the Egyptian Army in Asia, and the establishment of the Egyptian Empire, they replaced the civil officials who used to control this title.⁹ It seems that the controlling of the Military Commanders on this title during the reign of King Ramesses II was logically according to the following reasons:

- (a) The organizer workmen who are essential for the works of building and constructing existed in the Egyptian Army at that time. Hence, it must be under the supervision of the Military Commanders.
- (b) The Egyptian Army had a great number of captives, who worked in building and constructing.
- (c) The Military Commanders gained excellent scientific experiences at constructing, controlling and engineering during that period.¹⁰

Many scholars believe that the Military Commanders who held the administrative title $\neg \sqcup \mathfrak{A}$ imy-r k3wt 'The Overseer of Works' where chosen during the Ramesside Period from the Commanders who carried the military rank $\cancel{M} \cancel{M} \cancel{M} \cancel{M}$ wr md3yw 'Chief of Medjayu (Police)',11 in order to control the workmen and captives who worked in building, construction and mining.¹² It is important to mention that the duties of Medjayu (Police) troops were concerned with protecting the cemeteries and the royal tombs in Thebes, beside guarding the borders. Also, they served in protecting the Egyptian deserts, and shared in the expeditions of mining; this existed during the Reign of Ramesses IV, where it mentioned that fifty men of Medjayu troops shared in the mining expedition at Wadi Hammamat under the supervision of Ramesses-Nakht.13 Therefore, I think that the practical experience gained by the Chiefs of Medjau (Police) from their work in the deserts and the regions of borders, specially the Eastern Desert and Nubia (the principal regions of mines and sockets in Ancient Egypt), and from their working in the protection of cemeteries and royal tombs in Western Thebes, was the main reason that gave them the ability to control this kind of working, which is required in the administrative and organizational ability.

The Military Commanders who held theAdministrative TitleImp-rWateWate'the Overseer of Works' during the Reign ofRamesses II

1. Amen-em-ent, Chief of Medjau (Police) and Troop-Commander

The military commander Amen-em-ent I = I = I = I = I *Imn-m-int* considered as one of the most important Military Commanders in the time of King Ramesses II, where he held various important military ranks and titles, which were registered on a lot of his monuments found in Thebes, now in many international museums.¹⁴ (Fig. 1)



(Fig.1) Statue of Chief of Police, Troop-Commander and Overseer of Works in the Ramesseum Temple, Amen-em-ent (Luxor Museum, no 227) J. Lipinska, 'List of the Objects found at Deir El-Bahari Temple of Thutmosis III, Season 1961/1962', ASAE 59 (1966), 67, pl. I.

He held the important administrative title $\mathbf{\tilde{a}} \simeq \underbrace{[]}_{imy-r}^{i} k^{3wt} m mnw nbw n$ hm.f 'Overseer of Works in all the monuments of his Majesty'; this title registered on a monument of his family in the Naples Museum (no. 1069),¹⁵ and on a Doorjamb found at Medinet Habu.¹⁶ This title registered, in a different form on one of his statues found at the Temple of Hathor in Deir El-Bahari, now in Luxor Museum (no. 227),¹⁷ as the following √ 🛄 👼 — imy-r k3wt m mnw.f nb 'Overseer of Works in all of his monuments'. Additionally, Amen-em-ent registered this administrative title, in a different form, on a Doorjamb found at Medinet Habu, this form cleared his administrative specialty as overseer of works in the Ramesseum Temple (the mortuary temple of King Ramesses II).18 This form is as follows *imy-r k3wt m hwt (wsr-m3^ct-r^c stp-n-r^c) m pr Imn* 'Overseer of Works in the Temple of Weser-Maet-Re, Setep-en-Re (Ramesses II) in the Temple of Amun (Ramesseum Temple)'.

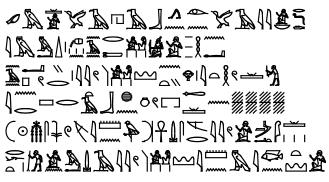
Amen-em-ent held some important military ranks and titles as mentioned previously; they were as follows

- (a) (Police)', this title is considered the principal military title for him, it appeared on a lot of his monuments, such as the monument of his family in Naples Museum (no. 1069),¹⁹ his votive vessel found at Deir El-Bahari,²⁰ his Doorjamb found in Medinet Habu,²¹ and fragments of Red Sandstone Sarcophagus found in West Thebes, now in Cairo Museum (*JdE* 38338).²²
- (b) hry pdt n mš^c 'Troop-Commander of the Army', most of the Egyptologists think that title gives this meaning,²³ but some of them think that it may mean 'Head of

Bowmen'.²⁴ However, this title registered on the monument of his family in Naples Museum (no. 1069),²⁵ and on his statue found at Hathor Temple in Deir El-Bahari, now in Luxor Museum (no. 227).²⁶

- (c) m^{2} (C) (

Additionally, Chief of Police and Troop-Commander Amen-em-ent mentioned in a part of the texts of Papyrus Leyden 348; this part cleared his administrative role as overseer of works in one of King Ramesses II temples;³⁰ this part came as the following



Translation: 'I have received the letter which my Lord sent to (me) saying: 'Give corn-rations to the soldiers and the 'Apiru who are dragging stone to the great pylon of Ramessu-mery-Amun (*lph*) Beloved–of–Maet,³¹ which is under the authority of the Chief of Medjayu (police) Amen-em-ent".

2. Ma'ya, Troop-Commander

Ma^cya m^cy was the overseer of works in many buildings of King Ramesses II, his administrative and military titles registered on his Stela (Fig. 2), in Cairo Museum (no. 14.10.69.1),³² as follows:

imy-r k3wt hry pdt m mnw nb n hm.f m pr-R^c 'Overseer of Works and Troop-Commander in all the monuments of His Majesty in the Estates of Re'.³³ The estates of Re mentioned in this title are the estates of this god found at his cult center in Heliopolis.³⁴

imy-r k3wt hry pdt m 3h (*r^c-ms-sw-mry-imn*) *m hwt-sr* 'Overseer of Works and Troop-Commander in the 'Splendor of Ramessu-mery-Amun' in the mansion of the prince'.³⁵ Splendor of Ramessumery-Amun is a Temple of Ramesses II, in Heliopolis,³⁶ but the mansion of the Prince is the principal sanctuary for the god of Sun in Heliopolis.³⁷

imy-r k3wt hry pdt m Gm (r^{c} -*ms-sw-mry-imn*) *st m pr-R*^c 'Overseer of Works and Troop-Commander in (the mansion called) 'Ramessu-mery-Amun found a place' in the Estates of Re'.³⁸ This mansion is an establishment founded by King Ramesses II in the estates of Re at Heliopolis.³⁹

imy-r k3wt m p3 sb3ty '3 n (r^c-ms-sw-mry-imn) m pr-R^c 'Overseer of Works in the Great Wall of Ramessu-mery-Amun in the Estates of Re'.⁴⁰



Fig.2. Stela of Overseer of Works and Troop-Commander, Ma^cya (Cairo Museum, no. 14.10.69.1) G.A. Gaballa, 'Some Nineteenth Dynasty Monuments in Cairo Museum', BIFAO 71 (1972), pl. XXIII.

imy-r k3wt m hwt-ntr ht-hr n (r^c-ms-sw-mry-imn) nbt š dšr 'Overseer of Works in the Temple of Hathor of Ramessu-mery-Amun, mistress of the red pool'.⁴¹

imy-r k3wt m t3 hwt nt rnpwt n (r^c-ms-sw-mry-imn) m pr-R^c 'Overseer of Works in the mortuary Temple of Ramessu-mery-Amun in the Estates of Re'.⁴²

imy-r k3wt m mnw nb m pr (r^c-ms-sw-mry-imn) ^c3 nhtw ^cOverseer of Works in all

the monuments of the House of Ramessumery-Amun, Great of Victories'.⁴³ It is known that the House of Ramessu-mery-Amun is the famous capital founded by King Ramesses II in the Eastern Delta.⁴⁴

imy-r k3t m mnw nb n nsw m pr-Pt<u>h</u> 'Overseer of Works in all the monuments of the King in the Temple of Ptah'.⁴⁵

Additionally, there is another Stela for the Troop-Commander Ma^cya in The Louvre Museum. He registered on it some of his previous administrative titles.⁴⁶ Also₉ he registered the following title, in a Graffiti found at Sehel in Aswan:

ḥry pdt imy-r k3wt m pr-R^c m pr-Imn m pr-Ptḥ 'Troop-Commander and Overseer of Works in the Temple of Re, the temple of Amun and the Temple of Ptah'.⁴⁷

3. Hatiay, Troop-Commander of Bowmen

Hatiay $\frac{1}{2}$ $h_{3}ti_{3}y$ was one of the Military Commanders during King Ramesses II. He registered his military and administrative titles on his limestone Stela found in Qurna.⁴⁸ He held the administrative title $\sqrt{k} \int \sqrt{k} dt = \frac{1}{2} imy - r k^3 t m st m^3 t$ 'Overseer of Works in the place of Truth (cemetery)'. This form $\neg \bigsqcup _{a} my - r k t$ was found in the titles of many officials, who held this title in the New Kingdom,⁴⁹ H.W. Helck notes that there is no difference between this form of the same title, but they have the same administrative functions.⁵⁰ About the military title of Hatiay, he held the important military title $pdty n ms^{\circ} imy-r$ mš^c kni 'Troop-Commander of the army, the brave General'.

4. Penre, Chief of Medjau (Police) and Troop-Commander

The important military titles held by Penre \square \bigcirc \square \square \square $pn-r^c$ showed that he was one of the important Military Commanders in the time of King Ramesses II. Additionally, he held a very important administrative title, the overseer of works in the Ramesseum Temple (the mortuary Temple of King Ramesses II). He registered his administrative and military titles on a lot of his monuments found in various places, now in many international museums.⁵¹

The administrative titles which stated his function as overseer of works in the Ramesseum Temple are as follows:

imy-r k3t m hwt (wsr-m3^ct-r^c stp-n-r^c) 'Overseer of Works in the Temple of Wesermaet-Re, Setep-en-Re (Ramesses II)'. This title registered in this form on his Stela in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (no. 10494).⁵² (Fig. 3)

imy-r k3wt m t3 hwt (wsr-m3^c*t-r*^c *stpn-r*^c) 'Overseer of Works in the Temple of Weser-maet-Re, Setep-en-Re (Ramesses II)', this title registered in this form on his fragmentary statue in Cairo Museum (CGC 1146),⁵³ and on his limestone statue found in West Thebes.⁵⁴

imy-r k3wt m t3 hwt (wsr-m3^ct-r^c stp-n-r^c) m pr-Imn 'Overseer of Works in the Temple of Weser-maet-Re, Setep-en-Re (Ramesses II) in the Temple of Amun (Ramesseum temple)', this title registered in this form on his Stela



(Fig.3) Stela of Chief of Police, Troop-Commander and Overseer of Works in the Ramesseum Temple, Penre (the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, no. 10494) C.F. Nims, 'A Stele of Penre, Builder of the Ramesseum', *MDAIK* 14 (1956), pl. IX.

found in Coptos, now in Ashmolean Museum (no. 1894.106).⁵⁵ (Fig. 4)

The military ranks and titles of Penre are as follows

- (a) hry pdt 'Troop-Commander', this title registered on his Stela in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (no. 10494).⁵⁶
- (b) A D A kdn tpy n hm.f 'First Charioteer of his Majesty', this important military title registered on his Stela in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (no. 10494),⁵⁷ and on his Stela found in Coptos, now in Ashmolean Museum (no. 1894.106).⁵⁸



(Fig.4) Stela of Chief of Police, Troop-Commander and Overseer of Works in the Ramesseum Temple, Penre (Ashmolean Museum, no. 1894.106) S. Gohary, 'The Remarkable Career of a Police Officer', *ASAE* 71 (1987), Fig. 1.

- (c) W W Md3yw 'Chief of Medjayu (Police)', this title registered on his Stela in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (no. 10494),⁵⁹ his limestone statue found in West Thebes,⁶⁰ and his Stela found in Coptos, now in Ashmolean Museum (no. 1894.106).⁶¹
- (d) $\bigwedge_{\square + 1}^{\square} imy r h 3swt$ 'Overseer of the desert', this title registered on his Stela in the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (no. 10494).⁶²

5. Neb-nakht, Overseer of the Fortress and Troop-Commander

Notes

- 1 Wb. V, 98–99.
- 2 H. W. Helck, 'imi-r3', ZÄS79 (1954), 76 f.;N. Strudwick, The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, The Highest Titles and Their Holders (London, 1985), 217.
- 3 Strudwick, The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, The Highest Titles and Their Holders, 224.
- سمير أديب: موسوعة الحضارة المصرية القديمة (القاهرة، ٢٠٠٠)، ٥٢. 4
- 5 Strudwick, The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, The Highest Titles and Their Holders, 110.
- 6 N. Kanawati, *Governmental Reforms in the Old Kingdom* of Egypt (Warminster, 1980), 11–12.
- 7 Urk. IV, 1171: 4; 1172: 4; N. G. Davies, The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes, (New York, 1943), 27 f., pls. 58, 62.
- 8 Strudwick, The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, The Highest Titles and Their Holders, 224-228; W.A. Ward, Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, (Beirut, 1982), 51; J.A. Taylor, An Index of Male Non-Royal Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the 18th Dynasty, (London, 2001), 52–59.
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- صبحي عطية أحمد يونس، كبار موظفي الأشغال في مصر القديمة خلال عصر الدولة 10 الحديثة (رسالة ماجستير غير منشورة، جامعة القاهرة، ١٩٨٩)، ٣٣٠ – ٣٣١.
- 11 Medjayu: This term was held by some Nubian tribes who served in the Egyptian Army in the times of the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom. In the time of the New Kingdom, this term was held by the Egyptian Military Troops, which represented the police troops. See A. R. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom* (Berlin, 1964), 25.
- 12 C. F. Nims, 'A Stele of Penre, Builder of the Ramesseum', *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 149.
- 13 AEO, I, 73 ff.; L. Christophe, 'La stèle de l' an III de Ramsès IV au Ouâdi Hâmmamât (No. 12)', BIFAO 48 (1949), 20.
- 14 K*RI*, III, 272 f.
- 15 K*RI*, III, 273: 11.
- 16 K*RI*, III, 276: 4.
- 17 KRI, III, 275: 3; J. Lipinska, 'List of the Objects found at Deir El-Bahari Temple of Thutmosis III, Season 1961/1962', ASAE 59 (1966), 67, pl. 1.

- 18 KRI, III, 276: 4, 10.
- 19 K*RI*, III, 272: 4, 8, 9.
- 20 K*RI*, III, 275: 11; J. Lipinska, 'List of the Objects found at Deir El-Bahari Temple of Thutmosis III, Vth Season of Excavations 1966', *ASAE* 60 (1968), pl. 13, Fig. 22.
- 21 K*RI*, III, 276: 6.
- 22 KRI, III, 276: 14, 16; 277:1.
- 23 R. O. Faulkner, 'Egyptian Military Organization', JEA 39 (1953), 45; AEO, I, 112 f.
- 24 A. Badawi and H. Kees, *Handwoerterbuch der Aegyptischen Sprache*, (Kairo, 1958), 88.
- 25 KRI, III, 273: 1.
- 26 KRI, III, 274: 14 15, 275: 6; Lipinska, ASAE 59, 67, pl. 1.
- 27 A. Al-Ayedi, Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom, (Ismailia, 2006), 211–212; L. H. Lesko, A Dictionary of Late Egyptian, I, (California, 1982–1990), 107.
- 28 KRI, III, 276: 7.
- 29 KRI, III, 273: 13.
- 30 A. Gardiner, LEM, (Bruxelles, 1937), 134;
- 31 Ramessu-mery-Amun (*lph*) Beloved–of–Maet: it seems to be a temple according to the sentence of the text *B blint* 3 *n* (the great pylon of). Mostly, the missing word in this part of text is *pr* or *hwt ntr*. See: Caminos, *LEM*, 494.
- 32 KRI, III, 280: 6 ff.; G. A. Gaballa, 'Some Nineteenth Dynasty Monuments in Cairo Museum', *BIFAO* 71 (1972), 129 – 133, Fig. 1, pls. 23–25.
- 33 K*RI*, III, 280: 11 12.
- 34 AEO, II, 142.
- 35 K*RI*, III, 280: 12.
- 36 H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, (Le Caire, 1931), 1,7.
- 37 P. Montet, *Géographie de l' Égypte ancienne*, *I*, (Paris, 1957), 159.
- 38 KRI, III, 280: 13.
- 39 Gaballa, BIFAO 71, 132 133, fig. 1.
- 40 KRI, III, 280:13 14.
- 41 KRI, III, 280:14.
- 42 KRI, III, 280:15.
- 43 K*RI*, III, 280:15 16.

- 44 AEO, II, 171.
- 45 KRI, III, 281:1.
- 46 S. Sauneron, 'Le Chef de Travaux Mây', *BIFAO* 53 (1953), 59 f., fig. 2; K*RI*, III, 281.
- 47 Sauneron, *BIFAO* 53, 62, fig. 3; K*RI*, III, 281: 14 15; L. Habachi, 'Grands Personnages en mission ou de passage à Assouan, I , Mey, attaché au Temple de Rê', *CdE* 29 (1954), 211, fig. 24.
- 48 K*RI*, III, 202: 12 13; *PM*, I: 2, 813.
- 49 Al-Ayedi, Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom, 135 ff.
- 50 H.W. Helck, Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches (Glückstadt, 1954), 99.
- 51 K*RI*, III, 268 270.
- 52 KRI, III, 269:5; Nims, MDAIK 14, 146 147, pl. 9.
- 53 L. Borchardt, Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten, Vol. IV, (Berlin, 1934), 80 – 81; KRI, III, 269:12.

- 54 KRI, III, 270:4.
- 55 KRI, III, 271:1, 8, 13; S. Gohary, 'The Remarkable Career of a Police Officer', ASAE 71 (1987), 97 – 100, fig. 1; W. Petrie, *Koptos* (London, 1896), pl. 19.
- 56 K*RI*, III, 269:5.
- 57 KRI, III, 269:5; Nims, MDAIK 14, 146 147, pl. 9.
- 58 KRI, III, 271:13; Gohary, ASAE 71, 97 100, fig. 1.
- 59 K*RI*, III, 269: 5–6.
- 60 KRI, III, 270: 4.
- 61 KRI, III, 271:8, 12; Gohary, ASAE 71, 97–100, Fig. 1; Petrie, Koptos, pl. 19.
- 62 K*RI*, III, 269:5.
- 63 K*RI*, III , 261:1, 4; PM, V, 251.