

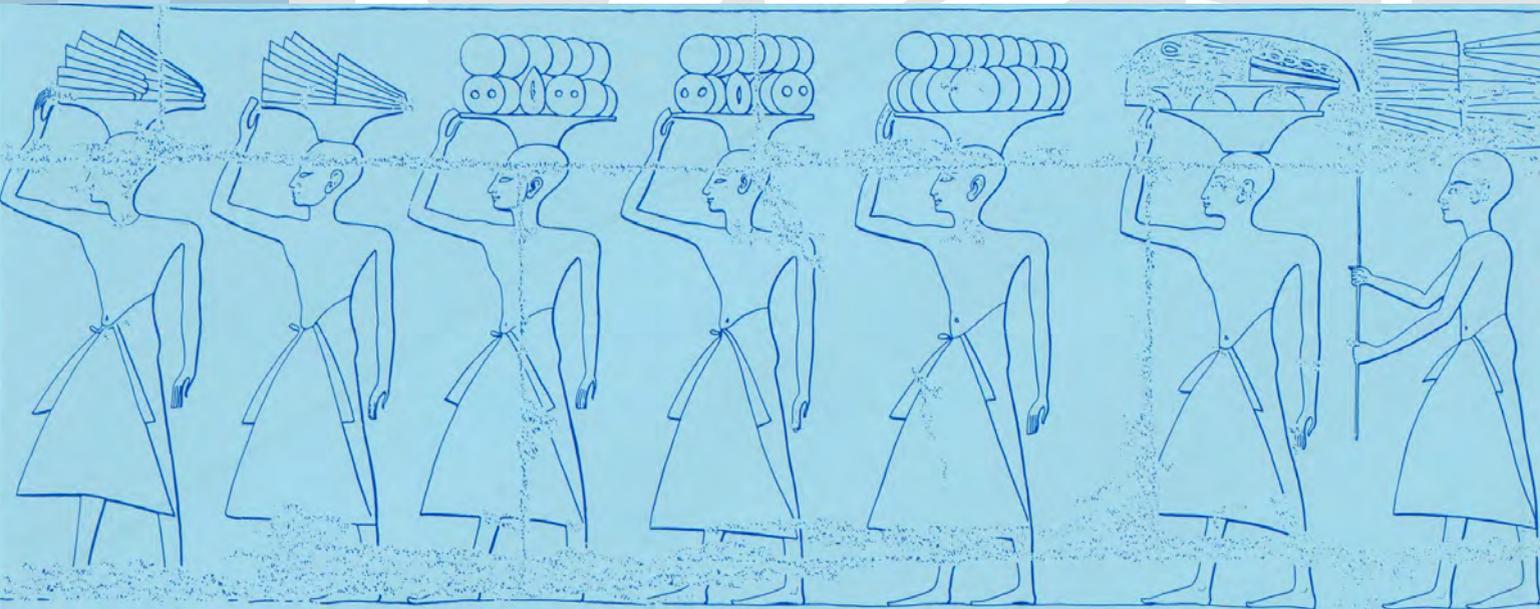


EGYPTOLOGISCHE UITGAVEN • XII

# DIVINE HOUSEHOLDS

ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS  
OF THE NEW KINGDOM ROYAL MEMORIAL TEMPLES  
IN WESTERN THEBES

by  
B.J.J. HARING



NEDERLANDS INSTITUUT VOOR HET NABIJE OOSTEN

LEIDEN

1997

EGYPTOLOGISCHE UITGAVEN

onder redactie van  
J.F. BORGHOUTS, M.S.G.H. HEERMA van VOSS, J. de ROOS en H. te VELDE

XII

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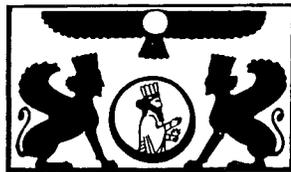
Deze onderzoeken werden gesteund door de Stichting voor Historische Wetenschappen (SHW), die wordt gesubsidieerd door de Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk Onderzoek (NWO)

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1997

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Witte Singel 25  
Postbus 9515  
2300 RA Leiden, Nederland

Haring, B.J.J.

Divine Households: Administrative and economic aspects of the New Kingdom royal memorial temples in Western Thebes /  
by B.J.J. Haring. — Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten. — (Egyptologische uitgaven, ISSN 0927-0043;  
12)  
ISBN 90-6258-212-5  
NUGI 633/644

## PREFACE



Don't let the granary be lacking in barley and emmer,  
for it is on its granary that the house stands firm!  
O. BM 5627 obv., 12-14

In spite of the secluded and elitist character of its cult, the Ancient Egyptian temple was an institution of special public interest. It was important to Egyptian society first and foremost, of course, as a centre of divine worship: it was here that the gods had their home; here they were venerated and cared for by priests. It is known that to some extent it also functioned as a centre of learning and a place of rendering justice, although many aspects of these roles in society still remain to be fully investigated.

The greater temples, controlling substantial amounts of personnel, land, animals and other resources, were also of tremendous economic importance. The daily offerings presented to the gods alone required enormous quantities of agricultural products and luxury commodities, which, after the offering ceremony, were distributed among the entitled priests and officials. But the workforce that produced the necessary items itself also required nourishment, and so did the temple herds. The divine offering cult, in brief, appears to have been the reason for the development of a special type of economic machinery, in which redistribution was the main principle at work.

No attempt will be made here to describe the genesis of this particular type of economic institution. The New Kingdom shrines that form the subject of this work represent a (late) stage in the economic development of the Ancient Egyptian temple. The world of temple priests and officials living, not by what they produced themselves, but by the quota levied from masses of agricultural workers, already had a long history behind it. Consequently, what is presented here is nothing more than a possible model of how the system worked, and in some respects changed, during a particular space of time.

The study and the description of an ancient society are usually restricted to some specific aspects, in order not to be faced continuously with the complexity of that society as a whole. In this sense, it would seem to be no mistake to regard the economy of Ancient Egypt as a separate field of study. Not all Egyptologists, however, would readily agree to such a point of view. It appears that the study of the Ancient Egyptian economy is in particular need of justifying itself with respect to the opinion that the economic behaviour of ancient man should not be viewed as separate

from other aspects of his mentality, such as his views on social distinctions, on ceremonial affairs and on the supernatural. The ongoing discussion of this matter is tremendously important, as it preserves us from an overly one-sided view of ancient economics. In disregarding other aspects of society, one might fail to see motives (social, religious, or otherwise) that play a significant role in economic transactions, and thus fail to explain the phenomena observed.

On the other hand, it is actually possible, and justifiable, to isolate economic data for analysis, especially since the Ancient Egyptians themselves were very well capable of dealing with economic matters as no more than such, in spite of the statements by those who have become too well accustomed to the mythical world-view exhibited by so many ancient documents. Admittedly, much of our information on the economic history of Ancient Egypt comes from inscriptions with a character that is mainly ceremonial or religious, and we have to be very careful when isolating it. Many texts on papyri and ostraca, however, present us with “raw” economic and administrative data, and I think there is no objection to regarding this particular type of text as the reflection of a particular sphere of thinking and acting, which was economically exact and to the point. Of course, theories built upon the data obtained from these sources should ultimately be checked against the information we have on other aspects of Ancient Egyptian society.

But if it is indeed justifiable to study the economy of an entire society by itself, does the same apply to the economy of an Egyptian temple, the *raison d'être* of which was, after all, the divine offering cult? Again I believe that it does. First, because temple administrators will hardly have been less “businesslike” or “to the point” than their colleagues who worked in other sectors of society (for instance, the royal palace, treasury, and granary); second, because it is only by a concentrated study of the economic workings of a temple that its role as a part of the economic infrastructure of the society as a whole becomes a little clearer.

The economic importance of temples in the Ancient Egyptian society has been generally acknowledged by Egyptologists for a long time, and the economic competition between temples and the state has always been a special point of interest. Yet, although certain topics have received due attention over the course of time, few attempts have been made so far to describe the economic structure and transactions of one specific temple, of a group of temples, or of the “typical” Egyptian temple—if such a generalization can be made—at a given time. The present book aims at providing just such a description by presenting the relevant data and a model for the economic workings of a select group of temples: the royal memorial temples of the New Kingdom on the Theban west bank. The description does not proceed from any specific economic, historical, or anthropological theory, but from a collection of documents classified and analysed empirically. The result is therefore not an innovation in terms of its theoretical approach, but the traditional work of an Egyptologist, and is not intended to be anything more than a contribution to the understanding of an important aspect of Egyptian society in the New Kingdom.

This publication is a slightly revised version of my Ph.D. thesis as it was submitted to the University of Leiden, and accepted on January 14th, 1997. The

research work was carried out during a four-year fellowship at Leiden University (February 1992 - January 1996) that had been granted by the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO), and continued by the Foundation for History, Archaeology and Art History (SHW), which is subsidized by the same organization. The promotor and supervisor of the research project was Prof. J.F. Borghouts. The promotion committee also included Prof. H.J.M. Claessen, Prof. P.W. Pestman, Prof. H.D. Schneider, Prof. K.R. Veenhof, Prof. S.P. Vleeming, Dr. G. van Driel, and Dr. A. Egberts.

I sincerely wish to thank Prof. J.F. Borghouts for his willingness to submit the research proposal to NWO, and for his continuous support for the project. I am also grateful to him, as well as to the referee, Dr. A. Egberts, for reading and re-reading a manuscript that was still far from assuming its definitive version, and for their suggestions for improvement. I am grateful to Dr. R.S. Simpson of Oxford for correcting the English (or what tried to pass for it) of the manuscript, and to the editors of *Egyptologische Uitgaven* for their willingness to include my dissertation in this series. The Oriental Institute of The Museum of Chicago kindly permitted me to reproduce the drawings from *Medinet Habu* III, plates 168, 169 and 173 in figures 1 and 3 of chapter IV.

Special thanks are due to Prof. Jac. J. Janssen for reading preliminary versions of Chapters II, VIII, IX, and XI and discussing these chapters with me in his home in London or by mail. I am very grateful for having been able to benefit from the suggestions made by this great specialist in the field of Ancient Egyptian economics. A similar debt of gratitude is due to Dr. R.J. Demarée, who read most of the manuscript and provided me with many useful remarks, especially with regard to the documents from the community of workmen at Deir el-Medina (Chapters VIII and IX). Prof. S.P. Vleeming kindly lent me his photographs of P. Ashmolean 1945.94 (the "Griffith Fragments") and P. Louvre AF 6345, and discussed some problems of this text with me. To my colleague W. Hovestreydt I am grateful for providing me with a copy of his unpublished master's thesis on the Egyptian treasuries in the New Kingdom, and with a preliminary version of his article on private statue endowments that is due to appear in *Lingua Aegyptia*. Needless to say, the help of so many people does not take away my own responsibility for anything that might displease the reader of this book.

I sincerely regret the death of Prof. W. Helck in August 1993. My correspondence with this great scholar, which had scarcely begun, was thus prevented from assuming any substantial form.

The Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) and the Foundation for History, Archaeology and Art History (SHW) not only granted me the fellowship that gave me the opportunity for full-time research during four years; they also financed my stays in Luxor (March 1993), Oxford (November-December 1994) and Turin (April-May 1995), which enabled me to check relevant details in a great number of hieroglyphic and hieratic texts. The stay in Turin was also partly made possible by a grant from the Faculty of Arts of Leiden University.

In Luxor, I had the opportunity to discuss some problems with regard to the New Kingdom memorial temples with several people; I especially wish to mention Dr. Ing. H. Jaritz (Schweizerisches Institut für ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde, Cairo) and Mr. G. Heindl (Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Cairo).

The principal reason to visit Oxford was, of course, to study the notebooks and manuscripts left by Prof. J. Černý. I wish to thank Dr. J. Málek, Dr. D.N.E. Magee, and the assistants of the Griffith Institute for their kindness and help in enabling me to consult this precious material. My stay in Oxford also enabled me to study the Griffith Fragments and other documents kept in the Ashmolean Museum, for which I wish to thank Dr. H.V. Whitehouse. During this period I made a few visits to the British Museum in London, where Dr. S. Quirke kindly made it possible for me to study some of the Museum's hieratic papyri.

I was particularly fortunate in having the opportunity, in April 1995, of studying a great number of New Kingdom hieratic papyri in the Museo Egizio at Turin. I am most grateful to Dr. A.M. Donadoni Roveri for her permission to study these texts, which are so extremely important for our knowledge of New Kingdom Egypt, and yet so poorly published. I also wish to thank the museum assistants for their daily help in getting access to the texts.

It remains for me to express my deepest gratitude to a few people outside the scholarly domain: to my parents Rina and Jan and my sister Mariëtte, who had no difficulties in accepting the early development of my interest in Ancient Egypt as something perfectly normal; to , who in spite of her name is there to remind me, whenever necessary, of a world outside Egyptology.

Leiden, November 1997

# CONTENTS

Preface	V
Contents	IX
Bibliographical abbreviations	XII
Introduction	1
§ 1 - The Egyptian temple: its organization and resources	1
§ 2 - The temples and the Egyptian economy in the New Kingdom	12
§ 3 - The royal memorial temples in Western Thebes: names and religious aspects	20
§ 4 - The Theban memorial temples: previous discussions and the aims of the present study	29
Part One. Ceremonial Texts	37
Chapter I. The economic resources of royal memorial temples according to dedication texts	39
Chapter II. The calendar of feasts and offerings at Medinet Habu	52
§ 1 - Publication and description	52
§ 2 - The calendar as a source of administrative and economic information	56
§ 3 - The endowments of Ramesses III: the decree, lists 1-5 and 53-55	62
§ 4 - The Ramesseum calendar (lists 6-52 and 56-67)	74
§ 5 - The daily and festival offerings presented in the memorial temple	75
§ 6 - The redistribution of the offerings	79
§ 7 - Economic temple departments and external sources of supply	81
Chapter III. Offering-lists of Ramesses III and IV in the Karnak temple	88
§ 1 - The daily offerings established by Ramesses III	88
§ 2 - The festival offerings established by Ramesses IV	95
Chapter IV. Scenes in temples and tombs	102
§ 1 - The offering-processions at Medinet Habu and Abydos	102
§ 2 - The preparation of meat-offerings	119
§ 3 - The "treasury" of Medinet Habu	127

§ 4 - The distribution of incense according to Eighteenth Dynasty private tomb scenes	134
Chapter V. Private endowments to royal memorial temples	142
§ 1 - The Eighteenth Dynasty	142
§ 2 - The Ramesside Period	147
Chapter VI. Papyrus Harris I (P. BM 9999)	156
§ 1 - Discovery and study of the document	156
§ 2 - Date, structure, and function of the text	157
§ 3 - The Theban temples and their mutual relations	161
§ 4 - The lists of the Theban section	173
§ 5 - The resources of the Medinet Habu temple according to P. Harris I	188
Chapter VII. Economic resources of the royal memorial temple according to ceremonial texts	192
§ 1 - Introduction	192
§ 2 - The royal memorial temple and its immediate sources of supply	193
§ 3 - The greater temple estate	199
§ 4 - The royal memorial temples and the king	204
§ 5 - The royal memorial temple and the House of Amun	207
Part Two. Administrative Texts	211
Chapter VIII. Temple personnel and their duties	213
§ 1 - Priests	213
§ 2 - Overseers of temple resources	225
§ 3 - Scribes	230
§ 4 - Deputies, agents, and attendants	236
§ 5 - Temple workmen	237
§ 6 - The producers of foodstuffs	242
§ 7 - Military personnel and police	245
§ 8 - Unspecified temple employees	247
Chapter IX. Resources and revenues of the memorial temples and their supplies to the royal necropolis	249
§ 1 - Deliveries of precious materials to the memorial temples	249
§ 2 - Animals of the temples	253
§ 3 - Deliveries of food to the royal necropolis	256

§ 4 - Deliveries of cakes	259
§ 5 - Beer from "the temples of Western Thebes"	261
§ 6 - Deliveries of copper	263
§ 7 - The temples and striking workmen	268
§ 8 - The temples deprived of their property	273
§ 9 - The end of the Ramesside Period	278
 Chapter X. The administration of temple fields	 283
§ 1 - P. Wilbour, text A: introduction	283
§ 2 - Information on Theban royal memorial temples from P. Wilbour, text A	301
§ 3 - P. Wilbour, text B: introduction	315
§ 4 - Information on Theban royal memorial temples from P. Wilbour, text B	321
§ 5 - The Griffith and Louvre fragments (P. Ashmolean 1945.94 + Louvre AF 6345)	326
§ 6 - The Theban memorial temples in P. Ashmolean 1945.94 + Louvre AF 6345	340
§ 7 - Disputes about temple fields (P. Sallier I 9, 1-9 and P. BM 10373)342	
 Chapter XI. Jar docketts and seal impressions	 346
§ 1 - Hieratic jar docketts	346
§ 2 - Textual information from wine docketts	347
§ 3 - Docketts recording other products	355
§ 4 - The provenance of the docketts	357
§ 5 - Seal impressions	360
 Chapter XII. Economic resources of the royal memorial temple according to administrative texts	 363
§ 1 - Introduction	363
§ 2 - The temple proper and its immediate sources of supply	364
§ 3 - The greater temple estate	372
§ 4 - Relations with the king and his representatives	380
§ 5 - Relations with other temples	383
 Conclusion	 389
 Tables, Appendices, Indices	 397
Tables	399
Appendix 1 - List of "Temples of Millions of Years" in Western Thebes	419
Appendix 2 - Priests, officials and workmen of the royal memorial temples	426
Indices	460

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- BiOr* *Bibliotheca Orientalis*
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- JEOL *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap Ex Oriente Lux*
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- ZÄS* *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*
- ZDMG* *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

# INTRODUCTION

## § 1 - THE EGYPTIAN TEMPLE: ITS ORGANIZATION AND RESOURCES

### THE TEMPLE AS AN ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION

Wolfgang Helck once described the economy of an Egyptian temple as not essentially different from that of a high official's personal household, the resources and personnel of which were organized to sustain the owner of the house and his family.<sup>1</sup> Helck's approach matches with the ancient Egyptian concept of the temple as the home of a principal deity and the various gods and goddesses associated with it. The concept is to be taken not in a symbolic, but in a literal sense: the statues that stood in closed shrines in the dark innermost parts of the temple were not tokens, but living images. They were bodies fashioned by craftsmen, and the gods entered into them in order to "rest" (*hṯp*) in the temple.<sup>2</sup> Priests saw to it that the divine inhabitants would have no lack of attention, veneration, and food. Rituals were performed and food offerings presented according to a fixed daily scheme in order to keep the gods satisfied (which is also expressed by the word *hṯp*). It was actually the religious task of the Egyptian king, the Pharaoh, to take care of the gods and the dead.<sup>3</sup> In his divine capacity he could be in the gods' presence and communicate with them. As it was impossible for him to perform the daily rituals in every Egyptian temple, priests assumed his role. In the scenes depicted on the temple walls, however, it is always the king who makes the offerings to the gods, receiving life, health, and power in return. It is on the same walls, or on special stelae, that we find inscriptions in which the king presents himself as the builder of the temple, the founder of its economic domain, and the establisher of the regular offerings. In this way, the Pharaoh fulfilled his direct obligations as the deity's son.

Temple estates founded during the New Kingdom (1550-1070 BC) included lands—agriculture being the basis of Egyptian economy—animals, workshops and storerooms, ships, and personnel producing and transporting the necessary items. Their revenues served the upkeep of the offering-cult, the temple personnel, and the temple buildings. The estate could be exempted from the requisitions made by government

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<sup>1</sup> W. Helck, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI, 414. See also Sauneron, *Prêtres*<sup>2</sup>, 81 and 82; B.J. Kemp, in: *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, 658.

<sup>2</sup> This does not exclude their manifestation in a different form at the same time. For the theological concepts of cult images, see J. Assmann, *Ägypten. Theologie und Frömmigkeit einer frühen Hochkultur*, Stuttgart etc. 1984, 50-67.

<sup>3</sup> For an explicit statement on this in an Egyptian text, see J. Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester. Ein kosmographischer Begleittext zur kultischen Sonnenhymnik in thebanischen Tempeln und Gräbern (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo. Ägyptologische Reihe 7)*, Glückstadt 1970, 22.

officials, which otherwise might have been quite common.<sup>1</sup> In other texts, the king expressed his wish that the temple founded by him would be everlasting, with all its provisions. The temple estate would thus appear to have been immutable, but the legal and economic reality was often quite different. Indeed, there are administrative reports about fields of one institution taken away by another.<sup>2</sup> The property of a specific foundation was likely to diminish in the course of time.<sup>3</sup> This is also clear from the exemption-decrees, by the details of their case descriptions and the gravity of the punishments they prescribed. In fact, the founder did not expect anything other than that the resources donated would be encroached upon.

Exemption-decrees for temples are known from the late Old Kingdom onwards. They guaranteed that temple personnel would not be summoned to work for the royal residence. It is unclear whether such an exemption was self-evident. In the twenty-third century BC, the personnel of the temple of Min at Coptos were protected by King Pepi II from the obligation to work for the residence.<sup>4</sup> The decree in question, however, was only a renewal of a similar arrangement made in earlier years, which implies that protective measures had to be renewed from time to time. The same king, moreover, had instructed his nomarch Harkhuf, who was leading an expedition in the king's service, to requisition material provisions from the departments of the royal workshop, as well as from the temples, without exempting any of them.<sup>5</sup>

The best information on the economy of Old Kingdom temples is provided by the archives found at Abusir, which relate to the cults and provisions of the funerary temples of kings Neferirkare and Raneferef.<sup>6</sup> It appears from these archives that the revenues of the royal funerary temples did not come from autonomous domains that served only the temples in question, but that they followed a much more complicated pattern. The products of the domains apparently founded for the benefit of the funerary

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the Nauri decree of Sethos I protecting the Nubian resources of his temple at Abydos (F.L. Griffith, *JEA* 13 (1927), 193-206, pls. XXXVII-XLIII; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 45-58); his stipulations for the protection of gold supplies for the same temple from Kanais (Schott, *Kanais*, 184-187; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 67-70); the decree of Ramesses III for the temple of Khnum at Elephantine (Breasted, *Ancient Records* IV, 85-87; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 343-345). See also Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 356-359.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. P. Sallier I 9, 1-9 and P. BM 10373, both treated in chapter X, § 7.

<sup>3</sup> As is effectively shown by text A of the Wilbour Papyrus; see chapter X, § 2.

<sup>4</sup> Decree Coptos B; see H. Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich* (*Ägyptologische Abhandlungen* 14), Wiesbaden 1967, 87-116.

<sup>5</sup> According to an inscription from the tomb of Harkhuf: K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches* (*Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums* I), Leipzig 1932-1933, 131, 4-7; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* I, 27. For the last sentence *n iri(.w) ḥw.t im*, I follow E. Edel, *Altägyptische Grammatik* (*Analecta Orientalia* 34/39), Rome 1955/64, 457 (§ 902): "no exemption is made therein", instead of the relative clause in the translation by Lichtheim.

<sup>6</sup> P. Posener-Kriéger, J.L. De Cenival, *The Abu Sir Papyri* (*Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, Fifth Series), London 1968; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* I and II; P. Posener-Kriéger, in: *State and Temple Economy* I, 133-151; idem, *JSSEA* 13 (1983), 51-57; idem, in: *Ägypten. Dauer und Wandel. Symposium Anlässlich des 75jährigen Bestehens des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo am 10. und 11. Oktober 1982* (*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Kairo. Sonderschrift* 18), Mainz 1985, 35-43, pl. 3; idem, in: *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, 195-210, pls. I-VI; idem, in: *Akten München* 4, 167-176; idem, *CRIPPEL* 13 (1991), 107-112; idem, *MDAIK* 47 (1991), 293-304; S. Allam, *CdÉ* 63 (1988), 36-39.

temple were delivered to the residence and to a solar temple at Abusir, from which they were partly passed on to the funerary temple at the foot of the king's pyramid.<sup>1</sup> Such economic dependence on other institutions may have been a characteristic of royal funerary temples. For the Middle Kingdom, the temple we are best informed about is the funerary (valley) temple of Sesostris II at El-Lahun, which was the centre of a large settlement. Besides its own revenues, it received products from the temple of Sobek at Krokodilopolis (Medinet el-Faiyum).<sup>2</sup> The Eleventh Dynasty temple of King Mentuhotep Nebhepetre at Deir el-Bahri received at least part of its provisions from the temple of Amun at Karnak according to a decree of the later king Sesostris III.<sup>3</sup> By the time of King Thutmosis III of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the royal memorial temples in Western Thebes (in a way the New Kingdom equivalents of the older funerary temples; see below, section 3) received their shares of incense from the royal deliveries (*in.w*) through the treasury of the same Amun temple.<sup>4</sup> The memorial temple of Amenophis III at Memphis was put on the "provision" (*sdfz*) of the temple of the god Ptah.<sup>5</sup> If the term "provision" is to be taken literally, it may express the economic dependence of the royal temple. It may also refer, however, to the administrative control over it by the temple of Ptah.

Some texts from the Second Intermediate Period and the Eighteenth Dynasty seem to imply that temple offerings were requisitioned from individuals and administrative departments of other institutions.<sup>6</sup> From other Eighteenth Dynasty documents, however, and especially from Ramesside temple inscriptions, it becomes clear that the temple was, at least ideally, a self-sufficient economic unit. The Pharaohs stressed the enormous amounts of workmen, animals, and fields which they gave to their newly founded temples. Nevertheless, they continued to bestow additional gifts on the temple estates during their reigns; these gifts consisted mainly of personnel (war-captives) and luxury goods.<sup>7</sup>

#### TEMPLE PERSONNEL

The number of people working in a temple depended on the size of the sanctuary, which in its turn corresponded to the importance of its cult. As the size of temples varied considerably, indications from the documents of Abusir and El-Lahun speak only for those temples, leaving us in the dark about the numbers of people in other sanctuaries,

<sup>1</sup> P. Posener-Kriéger, in: *State and Temple Economy I*, 138-147.

<sup>2</sup> According to P. Cairo JE 71580 (previously Berlin 10005): Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften I*, 266; Borchardt, *ZÄS* 40 (1902/3), 114 and 115. See also Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 166 (read: "Sesostris II", instead of "Sesostris III").

<sup>3</sup> Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple I*, pl. XXIV; Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 166 (read: "Sesostris III", instead of "Sesostris I").

<sup>4</sup> According to the incense-lists of Ineni and Puyemre; see chapter IV, § 4.

<sup>5</sup> According to an inscription on a statue of the chief steward Amenhotep: *Urkunden IV*, 1796, 9-11; R.G. Morkot, *JNES* 49 (1990), 328. See the discussion of *sdfz/sdf* in chapter VI, § 3, pp. 169-173.

<sup>6</sup> Stela Cairo JE 51911 (W. Helck, *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 194-200), and a hieratic writing-board (present whereabouts unknown: P. Vernus, *RdÉ* 33 (1981), 106-118).

<sup>7</sup> See e.g. J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 154 and 155; Schaedel, *Listen*, 51.

and at other times. From data provided by the duty-rosters of the funerary temple of Neferirkare from the Old Kingdom at Abusir, Posener-Kriéger estimated the total personnel attached to this temple at some 250 to 300 individuals.<sup>1</sup> Most members of the personnel, however, functioned only on a part-time basis. They were organized in groups, called *s3.w* in Egyptian, a term corresponding to the Greek *phyle* “phyle” in later texts concerned with temple personnel. The Egyptian phyle system, however, was not confined to temple personnel; it was a general form of organization also applied, for instance, to work-gangs and policemen.<sup>2</sup> The temple phyles in turn consisted of two sections. These sections relieved each other every month. One specific phyle section reappears in the duty rosters after ten months, so there must have been five phyles working in the temple. Thus, the number of people working in the temple at the same time (being the active phyle section plus permanent staff) will rather have been some fifty or more.<sup>3</sup> This still seems quite a lot when compared with Sauneron’s estimate of ten to twenty or twenty-five people in the medium-sized provincial temples of later periods.<sup>4</sup>

The phyle personnel consisted mainly of “god’s servants” (*hm.w-ntr*) and people bearing the title *hnt.y-š*.<sup>5</sup> Both categories appear to have had ritual as well as administrative tasks. It is therefore difficult to distinguish between priestly and non-priestly personnel. Apart from the phyle members, there were a certain number of people who worked throughout the year. Among these were the priests called “*wab*” (*w<sup>c</sup>b*; lit. “pure”), and certainly the “lector-priests” (or “ritualists”, *hr.y.w-hb*) and other personnel.<sup>6</sup> The titles *hm-ntr*, *hnt.y-š*, and *w<sup>c</sup>b* could be held by functionaries outside the temple organization, sometimes even by very high state officials. Apparently, they performed their tasks in the temple on a part-time basis, if they actually performed them at all: some of the temple services required were quite humble. In some cases, the titles may have been only honorary ones, the work connected with them being left to others. Granting an honorary title connected with the royal funerary temple may have been a common way for the king to remunerate his officials.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* II, 573 and 574.

<sup>2</sup> Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* III, 413; W. Helck, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, 371-374. See also A.M. Roth, *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 48)*, Chicago 1991.

<sup>3</sup> That is, 22 phyle(-section)-priests and an additional number of part-time and full-time personnel: Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* II, 573.

<sup>4</sup> Sauneron, *Prêtres*<sup>2</sup>, 60.

<sup>5</sup> Originally a designation for a class of servants in royal funerary temples as well as in the palace, it may have assumed the meaning “gardener” after the decline of the Old Kingdom funerary temples (A.M. Roth, in: *Akten München* 4, 177-186; see also W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches (Ägyptologische Forschungen 18)*, Glückstadt etc. 1954, 107-109; Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* II, 577-581; R. Stadelmann, *BIFAO* 81 (1981), 153-164; S. Quirke, *ZÄS* 118 (1991), 144; C.J. Eyre, *JEA* 80 (1994), 69).

<sup>6</sup> Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* II, 565-588.

<sup>7</sup> Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* II, 576 and 577, 579-581, 588 and 589; Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 66-68.

More or less the same organization can be seen in the Twelfth Dynasty papyri from El-Lahun.<sup>1</sup> From these documents, we learn that the priesthood of a (funerary) temple was still organized in *s3.w* “phyles”, the number of which was reduced to four; it would remain at that number until a fifth phyle was again installed in the Egyptian temples by King Ptolemy III Euergetes in 238 B.C., according to the Canopus decree.<sup>2</sup> At Lahun the four phyles rotated monthly.<sup>3</sup> Together, they made up the *wnw.t* “hour-priesthood”, which is the usual reference to the main body of regular temple priests. In an inscription in the tomb of the Twelfth Dynasty nomarch Djefaihapi at Assiut, individual members of the hour-priesthood are called *w<sup>c</sup>b*,<sup>4</sup> although priests with this title may have formed only a small part of the phyle. A list of regular temple personnel from El-Lahun does not include any persons with the simple title *w<sup>c</sup>b*; it mentions only two “*wab*-priests of the king” (*w<sup>c</sup>b nswt*).<sup>5</sup> Of course, the organization of the priesthood in the funerary temple of Sesostri II may have been different from that in the local gods’ temples at Assiut. In the same list, we find functionaries who did not follow the monthly schedule, such as the overseer of god’s servants and the chief lector priest, but also non-priestly personnel, such as the “doorkeeper” (*ir.y-<sup>c</sup>3*).

*Hm-ntr* and *w<sup>c</sup>b* are the most frequent priestly titles in New Kingdom documents. According to royal and private inscriptions, such priests were appointed by the king from prominent families.<sup>6</sup> In fact, the office was often hereditary.<sup>7</sup> The priests were under the authority of a “high priest” (*hm-ntr tp.y*, literally “first god’s servant”); the greater temples also had second, third, and fourth god’s servants. In a lower rank we find the “lector-priests” (*hr.y-<sup>h</sup>b*) and “god’s fathers” (*it-ntr*). The *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priests with their phyle-service formed the main body of the priesthood. To them must be added the temple administrators (whose tasks were sometimes combined with priestly duties),<sup>8</sup> and the workmen who served the upkeep of the temple and its cults.

It has been remarked above that it is sometimes difficult to draw a line between priestly and non-priestly personnel. Indeed, we cannot define the word “priests” more precisely than as ritually purified personnel having access to the inner parts of the temple and performing ritual tasks.<sup>9</sup> But such ritual acts could very well be combined with

<sup>1</sup> So far, few texts of the archives have been published and discussed in a satisfactory way; see U. Kaplony-Heckel, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* III, 292 and 293. In addition to the references given there, see now also U. Luft, *Das Archiv von Illahun. Briefe 1 (Hieratische Papyri aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin - Preussischer Kulturbesitz I)*, Berlin 1992.

<sup>2</sup> See Spiegelberg, *Priesterdekrete*, 13, 14, and 69; G. Hölbl, *Geschichte des Ptolemäerreiches. Politik, Ideologie und religiöse Kultur von Alexander dem Großen bis zur römischen Eroberung*, Darmstadt 1994, 100 and 101.

<sup>3</sup> As can be inferred from the phrase *im.y 3bd-f* “who is in his month”: L. Borchardt, *ZÄS* 37 (1899), 94; idem, *ZÄS* 40 (1902/3), 114 and 115.

<sup>4</sup> P. Montet, *Kēmi* 3 (1930-35), 55-57; G.A. Reisner, *JEA* 5 (1918), 82 and 83 (contracts I and II).

<sup>5</sup> P. Cairo JE 71580 (previously Berlin 10005): Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften* I, 266; L. Borchardt, *ZÄS* 40 (1902/3), 113-117.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. *Urkunden* IV, 1796, 3; Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 10, 15. See also chapter I, pp. 42-43.

<sup>7</sup> Sauneron, *Prêtres*<sup>2</sup>, 50 and 51.

<sup>8</sup> Sauneron, *Prêtres*<sup>2</sup>, 61-63.

<sup>9</sup> Sauneron’s definition emphasizes the state of ritual purity: *Prêtres*<sup>2</sup>, 60.

administrative or manual work for the same temple, or even with a function outside it. We have seen that priestly functions were exercised by rotating teams (phyles). Ancient Egyptian priests received no ordination for life; they purified themselves each time they were to perform their periodical service. This possibility of having many people attached to the same temple, all working for a limited span of time, may very well be the clue to such combination of functions. Unfortunately, Egyptian documents are never explicit on this point. The higher priests may have been performing ritual tasks throughout the year, but even they could at the same time be fully engaged in daily administrative business. We would be totally unjustified, therefore, in regarding the Egyptian priests exclusively as theologians or ritualists. It is, for that matter, difficult to assess whether or how someone was educated so as to become a priest.<sup>1</sup>

The non-priestly workforce in New Kingdom temples was called *smd.t*. The word generally refers to personnel of a lower rank, or even to subordinates in a wider sense.<sup>2</sup> It is often found as a reference to non-priestly temple personnel.<sup>3</sup> The etymology of the word is uncertain. Černý assumed that it was in some way connected with *smd* (the name of a decan) or with *smd.t* (the fifteenth day of the lunar calendar), thus referring to a period of service.<sup>4</sup>

The decree of Sethos I at Nauri refers to *smd.t* as productive personnel of the king's memorial temple at Abydos:<sup>5</sup>

(line 38) (...) to prevent causing damage to any *smd.t*-member of the Temple (39) of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menma'atre "The-Heart-is-at-Ease-in-Abydos", who is in the land of Kush, being male or female, being guardians (?) of lands, agents, honey-collectors, cultivators, gardeners (*kꜣm.y.w*, *kꜣr.y.w*), (40) ship's crews, ... (?), packers, foreign traders, gold-washing miners(?), or ship-builders, everyone who is carrying out his tasks in the Temple of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Menma'atre (...).

The work performed by the *smd.t* is here referred to as *ḥn.w.t* "tasks". The same word is used in the dedicatory inscription of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, where a section of the temple personnel having "tasks" is distinguished from the priests, who performed ritual acts.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, a literary instruction to a pupil scribe makes clear that *ḥn.t* does not refer only to non-ritual duties: "the god's servant cultivates fields, while

<sup>1</sup> Sauneron, *Prêtres*<sup>2</sup>, 40-49.

<sup>2</sup> Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch IV*, 147, 2-7; Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian III*, 56. *Smd.t* is the usual way of referring to the team supporting the workmen of the royal necropolis at Thebes: Černý, *Community*, 183-190; E.S. Bogoslovsky, *AoF* 8 (1981), 5-21. The word seems to refer to the work-spot of quarrymen in stela Cairo CG 34504 from Manshiyet es-Sadr, lines 10 and 18 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions II*, 361 and 362; see Meeks, *Année Lexicographique* 3 (1979), 255). The meaning "subordinates" is known chiefly from literary texts, e.g. H.O. Lange, *Das Weisheitsbuch des Amenemope aus dem Papyrus 10,474 des British Museum (Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser XI,2)*, Copenhagen 1925, 73; J. Lopez, *RdÉ* 15 (1963), pl. 5 (P. Millingen). Other texts: Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 61, 2; 71, 9; 115, 4.

<sup>3</sup> C.J. Eyre, in: *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 204.

<sup>4</sup> Černý, *Community*, 183-184, rejecting Griffith's etymology *sy-m-dr.t*.

<sup>5</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions I*, 52, 4-9; C.J. Eyre, in: *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 204.

<sup>6</sup> *Medinet Habu III*, pl. 138, col. 46. See chapter I, p. 47.

the *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priest is carrying out tasks (*hn.t*)".<sup>1</sup> The Nauri decree, however, refers to personnel working outside the temple proper, even in locations far away from Abydos. In the great dedicatory inscription of the same temple, Ramesses II said that he had installed "*smd.t* of fields" (apparently referring to agricultural labour), together with the hour-priesthood.<sup>2</sup> Ship's logs from the Ramesside Period provide us with references to temple *smd.t* as incorporated in the crew of a ship.<sup>3</sup>

The calendar of feasts and offerings of Ramesses II at Abydos records "rations" (*di.w*) for the *smd.t* as a separate yearly expense.<sup>4</sup> The passage is part of the introduction to the lists of yearly totals, one of which finds an almost exact parallel in a similar calendar carved on the south wall of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. It records yearly deliveries of incense, wax, moringa-oil, papyrus, firewood and charcoal, all probably from the royal treasury.<sup>5</sup> Separate provisions for the *smd.t* are not mentioned in the Medinet Habu calendar, but they might have been universal among New Kingdom temples. Just like the treasury deliveries, the rations for the *smd.t* were probably distinguished from the divine offerings. They would have been provided, then, from other sources than the priests' daily income, which we will now turn to.

#### THE REDISTRIBUTION OF OFFERINGS

It is a well-known fact that the food presented to the divine statues in ancient Egyptian temples were divided among the priests after the offering ritual. This distribution was the final stage of the "reversion" (*w<sup>d</sup>b.w*) of the offerings. As the practice is important to the understanding of a temple's economic workings, some representative examples of the redistribution of temple offerings may be given here in order to demonstrate that the consumption of divine offerings by the temple personnel was usual throughout the Pharaonic period.

Among the papyri from the Old Kingdom funerary temples of Neferirkare and Reneferef are some royal decrees granting access to the funerary offerings (*pr.t-hrw*).<sup>6</sup> It appears from these texts that temple employees with the titles *w<sup>c</sup>b*, *hnt.y-š*, and *hm-ntr* were the usual beneficiaries of such offerings. The altars placed in the temple courts might have been the places where offerings were distributed.<sup>7</sup> Entitlement to a share in

<sup>1</sup> P. Anastasi II 7, 6 (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 17; Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 51).

<sup>2</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 333, 9-10.

<sup>3</sup> Janssen, *Ship's Logs*, 23-24.

<sup>4</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 529, 9.

<sup>5</sup> List 18, ll. 544-550 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 150; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 140; H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 51). Corresponding list in the Abydos calendar of Ramesses II: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 530 and 531, cols. 57-63.

<sup>6</sup> Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* II, 472-477, 575-576; P. Posener-Kriéger, in: *Mélanges Mokhtar* II, 195-210, pls. I-VI; idem, in: *Akten München* 4, 174 and 175. In the funerary temples of Abusir were presented two types of offerings: funerary (*pr.t-hrw*) and divine offerings (*h<sup>t</sup>p-ntr*). See P. Posener-Kriéger, in: *State and Temple Economy* I, 145 with note 27.

<sup>7</sup> J. Málek, in: J. Baines, T.G.H. James, A. Leahy, A.F. Shore ed., *Pyramid Studies and other Essays Presented to I.E.S. Edwards* (*The Egypt Exploration Society. Occasional Publications* 7), London 1988, 34.

temple offerings could be retained after the holder's death, so that the shares became offerings again, but now in a private mortuary cult, and to be consumed by mortuary priests. Such was the case, for instance, with the overseer of the palace Persen: offerings from the temple of Ptah at Memphis were passed on to the cult of Queen Neferhotpes, part of which were granted to Persen as funerary offerings by King Sahure.<sup>1</sup>

The best examples of the redistribution of offerings can be found in the tomb-inscriptions of the nomarch Djefaihapi at Assiut, who lived during the reign of Sesostris I. Djefaihapi made quite extensive arrangements for his own funerary cult with the priests of the local temples of Wepwawet (in which he himself was "overseer of priests") and Anubis.<sup>2</sup> In a series of ten contracts, it was agreed that part of the daily and festival offerings brought into the temples should be presented to statues of the nomarch in the same temples or at his tomb. The expenses for the nomarch's private funerary cult were recompensed by donations of land and products from his own domains (contracts II, VII, VIII, IX, and X), or by Djefaihapi's own shares of the offerings (contracts I, III, V, and VI). In three cases, the recompense in offering-shares was made by means of the "temple day" (*hrw n ḥw.t-nṯr*), which is defined in contracts III and V as  $\frac{1}{360}$  of the products brought daily into the temple. As a priest (*wꜥb*), Djefaihapi appears to have been entitled to at least 27 temple days, that is, to  $\frac{27}{360}$ , or about  $\frac{1}{13}$  of the daily offerings. The temple day (which refers to a quantity of revenue, and not to a day as a measure of time) seems an ideal way of distributing temple income continuously, without the obligation for the receiver to perform services in the temple every day of the year. It is hard to assess, however, how usual this means of dividing the offerings was. For one thing it must be noted that, fortunately for us, the nomarch emphatically defines the temple day twice, as if he feared that his fellow-priests would not understand, or that they would try to swindle; for another, the temple day is not attested in any other contemporary text. Nor do we meet with it in New Kingdom documents. It is only in demotic and Greek texts from the Ptolemaic Period that we meet with such practice again: people leasing "subsistence days" (*hrw n sꜥnh*) or "sacred pure days" (*hemeraï hierai hagneutikai*), that is, days of temple service with all revenues and costs attached to it.<sup>3</sup> Such days might still represent the same basis of calculation for the distribution of temple revenues as Djefaihapi's "temple days". The nomarch otherwise refers to his share in the offerings by the word *ḥr.t* (contract I). In other Middle Kingdom (and later) texts, the word *ts.t* is used for the same purpose.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> K. Sethe, *Urkunden des Alten Reiches (Urkunden des Ägyptischen Altertums I)*, Leipzig 1932-1933, 37, 10-15; P. Posener-Kriéger, in: *Akten München* 4, 174. See also E. Brovarski, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI, 391.

<sup>2</sup> G.A. Reisner, *JEA* 5 (1918), 79-98; P. Montet, *Kêmi* 3 (1930/35), 52-73; A. Spalinger, *JAOS* 105 (1985), 7-20.

<sup>3</sup> Demotic examples: G. Botti, *L'Archivio Demotico da Deir El-Medineh (Catalogo del Museo Egizio di Torino, First Series, vol. I)*, Florence 1967, *passim*. Greek exx.: *Papiri greci e latini* 9 (*Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana per la ricerca dei Papiri greci e latini in Egitto*), Florence 1929, 25-28 (nos. 1019 and 1020).

<sup>4</sup> Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* V, 409, 6-7.

A list of offerings distributed among the temple personnel at El-Lahun is often cited in connection with the redistribution of daily temple offerings.<sup>1</sup> The text shows how a total amount of daily offerings of bread and beer was divided, the first group of beneficiaries being the mortuary priests (*hm.w-k3*), the second group being the phyle priesthood and the permanent staff. Helck suggested that the individual shares (ten for the nomarch and overseer of the temple, three for the controller of the phyle, six for the chief lector-priest, one plus one-third for the temple scribe, etc.) were temple days,<sup>2</sup> but this is not supported by the figures. The individual shares specified in the second column of figures add up to  $41\frac{2}{3}$  (taking into account the fact that some of the offices were held by more than one person, as is clear from the figures of the preceding column). The scribe rounded off this figure to 42. Through the division of the given amounts of loaves and beer by this figure, he arrived at  $1\frac{2}{3}$  loaves,  $\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{6}$  *st3.t* of beer, and  $2\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{10}$  *hpnw* of beer as the bases of his further calculations (these are the amounts introduced by *sšm.w wd3.t tn*). If the shares represent temple days, the shares reserved for the mortuary priests would be  $360 - 42 = 318$  temple days. Now the total number of loaves of the day is 410. Division of this amount by 360 (temple days) gives 1.14. Multiplication of 1.14 by 42 gives 47.88 loaves. Instead, we have 70. Multiplication by 318 gives 362.52 loaves. Instead, we find 340. The starting-point for the calculation, therefore, cannot have been the temple day, but the given amount of offerings on the one hand, and a fixed hierarchy of shares between the individual members of the temple personnel (running from  $\frac{1}{3}$  to 10) on the other. The scribe added up the individual shares of all persons involved and arrived at 42. He then divided the amounts of bread and beer by 42, and multiplied the resulting figures by the individual shares. The same distribution practice is shown in the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus.<sup>3</sup> If the El-Lahun system used temple days, we would also expect shares to be reserved for people not in service on that particular day (or during that particular month). However, it is clear from the papyrus discussed here that all offerings of the day were distributed to those actually on duty, although it is theoretically possible that the phyle personnel who were not in their month were grouped among the mortuary priests, and received their shares in that capacity.

The redistribution of offerings is also well known from New Kingdom documents. The reversion often followed intricate patterns, the offerings being presented to various divine statues, and often to royal statues as well, before being consumed by the priests. For instance, in a text of Thutmose III relating to the cult in his temple called *sh-mnw* at Karnak, a distinction is made between the hour-priesthood (*wnw.t*) and the

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<sup>1</sup> P. Cairo JE 71580 (previously Berlin 10005); Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften I*, 266. See L. Borchardt, *ZÄS* 40 (1902/3), 113-117; Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 164; W. Helck, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV, 1088; D. Kessler, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI, 367 with note 31; U. Luft, *Oikumene* 5 (1986), 147 and 148. Borchardt and Luft regard the amounts as monthly income, but see line 2: *rh.t q.w r nb*.

<sup>2</sup> Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 164.

<sup>3</sup> Problems nos. 63, 64, 65, and 68: Chace, *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 101, 102, 104, and 105.

mortuary priests as recipients of the offerings,<sup>1</sup> just as in the El-Lahun text discussed above. In addition to these two groups, there was the regular hour-priesthood of the greater Karnak temple. It is emphatically stated that both *wnw.t* were to be treated along the same lines.<sup>2</sup> According to another inscription, Thutmose III also established new offerings for Amun, part of which was given to the hour-priesthood of the Amun temple when the god was satisfied. Another part was brought from the divine statue to a statue of the king, and then transferred to the nearby temple of Ptah. It was the hour-priesthood of that temple that benefited from the offerings presented to Ptah.<sup>3</sup> The system of distribution followed here was by “heaps of offerings” (*ḥꜥ.w n wdn.w*), which reduced the mass of different items to easily countable lots. We know this system also from earlier texts. In the residence accounts of the Thirteenth Dynasty a “heap of offerings equipped with everything” consisted of beer, cakes, vegetables, and fowl.<sup>4</sup> According to a stela from the Second Intermediate Period, someone was rewarded with ten heaps of offerings, which consisted of cakes and meat.<sup>5</sup> Probably, the heaps were laid on separate altars to facilitate distribution among the priests after the offering-ritual. The offerings piled upon the altars in tomb-scenes at Amarna may represent such heaps.<sup>6</sup>

We have seen that offering-shares could be retained by an individual priest after his death (see the examples of Persen and Djefaihapi above). The possibility of receiving part of the divine offerings as funerary provisions was open also to individuals who did not serve in the temple, on the condition that they made recompense for this by means of a donation of land, cattle, or personnel (this subject is treated in chapter V). The chief steward Amenhotep donated land to a newly founded temple of Amenophis III at Memphis. In return, the king granted part of the divine offerings which had been presented to a royal statue in the same temple, to Amenhotep. A *wab*-priest and a lector-priest of the temple were responsible for the transmission of this share of offerings to the tomb of the chief steward.<sup>7</sup> An important passage follows the specification of the offerings:<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cols. 70-75: A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 38 (1952), 16 and 17, pl. VI. The inscription covered the south wall of the *sh-mnw*; some blocks are still in their original position, but the majority are now deposited between the outer wall of the Amun temple and the sacred lake.

<sup>2</sup> Col. 63: [...] *wnw.t ḥw.t-nṯr n.t it-i* [*Imn-R*] *m sh-mnw m tp wꜥ ḥnꜥ t3 wnw.t ḥw.t-nṯr mtr.t n.t pr Imn* [*R* ...]; A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 38 (1952), 16, pl. VI.

<sup>3</sup> Stela Cairo CG 34013, lines 13-18: Lacau, *Stèles*, 27-30, pl. IX; *Urkunden* IV, 768 and 769; *Urkunden Übersetzung Hefte* 5-16, 236 and 237.

<sup>4</sup> P. Bulaq 18: A. Scharff, *ZÄS* 57 (1922), 3\*\* (10), ll. 13-22.

<sup>5</sup> Stela Louvre C 11 of Imenisonb: W.K. Simpson, *The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos: the Offering Chapels of Dynasties 12 and 13 (Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale Expedition to Egypt 5)*, New Haven - Philadelphia 1974, pl. 80 (referred to as C 12); K. Sethe, *Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Gebrauch im akademischen Unterricht*<sup>2</sup>, Leipzig 1928, 76 and 77.

<sup>6</sup> See N. de Garis Davies, *The Rock tombs of El Amarna* (F. Ll. Griffith ed., *Archaeological Survey of Egypt*), London, part I (1903), pls. XI, XII, XXVIII; II (1905), pls. XVIII and XIX; III (1905), pl. XXX.

<sup>7</sup> Statue Ashmolean Museum 1913.163, cols. 22-27 (Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, pl. LXXX; *Urkunden* IV, 1796 and 1797; *Urkunden Übersetzung Hefte* 17-22, 261; R.G. Morkot, *JNES* 49 (1990), 331).

<sup>8</sup> *Urkunden* IV, 1798, 12-19; *Urkunden Übersetzung Hefte* 17-22, 262.

(column 31) I say: “Listen, you *wab*-priests, lector-priests, and god’s servants of United-with-Ptah (= the name of the temple), and any steward of the King (32) who will be in Memphis hereafter: His Majesty has given to you (33) bread, beer, meat, cakes, and all good things, in order to nourish you in (34) His temple of United-with-Ptah with the daily requirements of every day. Do not be greedy (35) for my offering-bread, which my own (?) god ordered for me (?) in order to pour water (36) for me at my tomb.”

Apparently, there existed a real danger that the temple priesthood would withhold the offerings for Amenhotep’s tomb. This abuse would be all the more reprehensible, according to Amenhotep, as the priests were already well taken care of. Similar explicit statements on priests being provided with food in the temple can be found in tomb-inscriptions at El-Amarna.<sup>1</sup>

The practice of redistributing offerings in the temple was still current in the Ptolemaic Period. The Canopus decree from the reign of Ptolemy III Euergetes refers to the priests being entitled to shares of the offerings (called *trophe* in the Greek section, and *htp.w* in the demotic and hieroglyphic sections).<sup>2</sup> An inscription in the temple of Horus at Edfu warns the priests not to touch the offerings before they have been presented to the gods, and permission is given for their redistribution:<sup>3</sup>

(line 4) Do not go freely to steal His (i.e. the god’s) things. Beware, moreover, of foolish thoughts. One lives by the food of the gods, and “food” is called that which comes forth from the offering-table(s) after the god has been satisfied with it.

Many aspects of the system of remuneration of the priests remain unclear. Firstly, there may have been differences between the amounts of daily offerings prescribed and the amounts actually presented. Such discrepancies were noted by Posener-Kriéger in the Old Kingdom temple accounts from Abusir.<sup>4</sup> A considerable difference often occurred between the amount prescribed and what was actually delivered (sometimes, certain items were not delivered at all); the scribes duly entered this as “arrears” (*h3.w hr.y-ꜥ*), but it is unknown whether the arrears were ever made up for. If the priests had no other secure basis of income, their payment may have differed considerably from day to day. Secondly, we may wonder what was to be done with the large quantities of food products earned by higher priests and temple officials. What did the overseer of the temple of Sesostriis II at El-Lahun do with the sixteen loaves and the twenty-five jars of beer he received from the daily offerings?<sup>5</sup> We may assume that high officials had to

<sup>1</sup> Helck, *Urkunden* IV, 2004, 3 and 4; 2012, 9-11; *Urkunden Übersetzung Hefte 17-22*, 354 and 358; Kees, *Priestertum*, 84, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> Spiegelberg, *Priesterdekrete*, 35 and 36, 75 and 76.

<sup>3</sup> E. Chassinat, *Le Temple d’Edfou III (Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de la Mission Française au Caire 25)*, Cairo 1928, 361; Alliot, *Culte d’Horus I*, 184 and 185 (followed by Sauneron, *Prêtres*<sup>2</sup>, 90); cf. H.W. Fairman, *MDAIK* 16 (1958), 90, and D. Kurth, *Treffpunkt der Götter. Inschriften aus dem Tempel des Horus von Edfu*, Zürich 1994, 148. The sign following *m-ht* will be  as a phonogram for *ht* (communication by A. Egberts).

<sup>4</sup> P. Posener-Kriéger, in: *State and Temple Economy I*, 135; see the monthly accounts in Posener-Kriéger, *Archives I*, 255-283.

<sup>5</sup> See L. Borchardt, *ZÄS* 40 (1902/3), 114 and 115, line 10.

sustain large households, but such households usually had their own resources as well. Did they distribute it to subordinates or to other dependents (clients)? On the other hand, could the doorkeepers and workmen of the same temple live on half a loaf, and slightly more than one jar of beer a day, or did these people gain an additional income by performing other tasks in the temple or by cultivating their own fields? Thirdly, what did members of the phyle service do, and what did they earn, during the period (nine months a year) that they were not employed?<sup>1</sup> Perhaps some of the priests had other work to do in the temple, and interrupted this from time to time to fulfil their ritual tasks.<sup>2</sup> But what was their payment during that time? Whoever was entitled to “temple days” could be certain of receiving a part of the temple offerings on every day of the year, but this system was not always applied. According to the Twelfth Dynasty papyri from El-Lahun, the total of one day’s revenues was distributed to personnel in service on that particular day. No doubt the list of questions can be extended further. These questions show the limits of our knowledge about the daily affairs within the walls of the Egyptian temples and without, and even the many sources analysed in this work will not be sufficient to solve all our problems.

## § 2 - THE TEMPLES AND THE EGYPTIAN ECONOMY IN THE NEW KINGDOM

### THE ECONOMY OF NEW KINGDOM EGYPT

After the above survey of the temples’ inner economic workings, we may examine the temples as part of Egyptian society, focussing on the question of how and to what extent they were involved in the larger network of the Egyptian economy. Although it was stated in the previous section that New Kingdom temples were completely self-sufficient economic centres, the resources of which were donated and protected by royal decree, they were certainly not isolated in every respect. However, before we come to the ideas of Egyptologists on the administrative and economic place of the temples in Egyptian society, we must deal with the Egyptian economy in general.<sup>3</sup> I use the word “economy”, here and everywhere in this study, in its general sense: the manner of production, distribution, and consumption of goods in any given society.<sup>4</sup> This definition goes far beyond the study of the structures and processes in modern capitalist economies; it also covers the economic systems operative in present and past non-Western societies. Evidently, we must not expect to be able to describe economic structures of an ancient, non-western society exclusively in the terms we are accustomed to in our own everyday

<sup>1</sup> The same question is posed by S. Quirke, *ZÄS* 118 (1991), 148. *Wab*-priests in New Kingdom temples could have workmen’s titles at the same time; see chapter VIII, § 1, pp. 222-225.

<sup>2</sup> The periodical shift to ritual service and its purification rites are well illustrated by P. Turin Cat. 1887 (the “Indictment Papyrus”) rt. 1, 9-11; 2, 4-9 (Gardiner, *Ramesseide Administrative Documents*, 75 and 76; T.E. Peet, *JEA* 10 (1924), 121 and 122; Peden, *Ramesseide IV*, 110-112).

<sup>3</sup> See also the survey by J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 127-185.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Samuelson and Nordhaus, as cited by S. Plattner, in: *Economic Anthropology*, 6: “Economics is the study of how men and society end up choosing, with or without the use of money, to employ scarce productive resources which could have alternative uses, to produce various commodities and distribute them for consumption, now or later in the future, among various people and groups in society”.

economic experience. We are often faced with the task of translating and classifying totally unfamiliar terms and categories. The attempts made so far to reconstruct aspects of the ancient Egyptian economy are based on (1) the Egyptian textual and archaeological sources, and (2) the definitions and models developed by disciplines such as economics, economic history, and especially economic anthropology.

Economic anthropology was dominated in the 1960s by the opposition between “formalism” and “substantivism”. The formalists stressed the element of rational choice in means and ends in any economic system as an autonomous process, thus advocating the general applicability of regularities attested in the Western market economy. The substantivists, on the other hand, stressed the inseparability of economic processes from social, political, religious, and other aspects of society. The main instigator of the latter way of thinking was Karl Polanyi, who added the theories of “reciprocity” and “redistribution” to that of “exchange” in an economy of price-making markets. Reciprocity, in short, is the exchange of goods brought about by and serving mutual social obligations; it is connected especially with social patterns. Redistribution is the central collection (physically or only in accounts) of goods serving the upkeep of an elite as well as public expenses, and is mainly connected with political hierarchy.<sup>1</sup> The formalist - substantivist discussion, however, no longer dominates economic anthropology. Instead, there is an eclectic use of theories: it is generally accepted that economic structures and processes are embedded in society, but the existence of autonomous economic processes is not necessarily disregarded.<sup>2</sup> Some of the concepts developed by economic anthropologists will be included in the following survey of the present state of knowledge about the economy of New Kingdom Egypt.

The basis of the ancient Egyptian economy was agriculture, especially the cultivation of grain crops; the diet of rich and poor alike consisted mainly of products prepared from wheat and barley. The arable land yearly fertilized by the Nile, or irrigated artificially, must have been capable of sustaining a large population. Estimates of the Egyptian population in the Ramesside Period vary considerably; those based on Ramesside texts and archaeological data range from three to four and a half million people; those proceeding from the numbers given by classical authors and in surveys of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries vary from five to nine million.<sup>3</sup> The figures based on earlier textual and archaeological data are preferred here: although some of the agricultural conditions prevailing in Ramesside Egypt may have remained the same in much later periods, the workability of the land, and hence the population, may have increased considerably after the introduction of new crops, as well as new irrigation

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<sup>1</sup> See e.g. K. Polanyi, in: K. Polanyi, M. Arensberg, H. Pearson ed., *Trade and Market in the Early Empires. Economics in History and Theory*, Glencoe Ill. 1957, 250-256; H.W. Pearson in: K. Polanyi, *The Livelihood of Man*, edited by H.W. Pearson (*Studies in Social Discontinuity*), New York etc. 1977, xxxiii and xxxiv; R. Müller-Wollermann, *JESHO* 28 (1985), 123-130; M. Römer, *GM* 108 (1989), 15-18.

<sup>2</sup> S. Plattner, in: *Economic Anthropology*, 12-15.

<sup>3</sup> See the convenient survey by Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 128, note 8, and the references given there.

devices: the *shaduf* (hand-operated lever) early in the New Kingdom, and the *saqiya* (animal-driven water-wheel) in the Ptolemaic Period.<sup>1</sup>

Land could be cultivated either on an individual or on an institutional basis. Large institutions (temples, government departments) had their own means of production and transport, and they appear as the predominant landholders in New Kingdom documents. Fields could be held by private individuals as well, although sometimes it may seem that institutionally owned land was so excessive that there was barely room for the private possession of land.<sup>2</sup> Individuals could, however, be the holders of land actually belonging to temples, government departments, or other institutions. What these individuals held was not the land itself, but the right to use it. The Egyptian term *ꜥḥ.t-nmḥ* (“*nmḥ*-field”), which is attested mainly in documents of the Late Period, has long been regarded as an expression of private ownership (either of the land or of the right to use it) as it would have existed also in the New Kingdom.<sup>3</sup> Römer, on the other hand, argued that this term was specifically applied to fields held by people of a less significant social status, as opposed to the holdings of prominent functionaries.<sup>4</sup> It would probably be better to speak of private control of land, rather than private property; the Egyptian language does not seem to have a term that agrees exactly with our concept of private ownership, or indeed of ownership in general.<sup>5</sup> Regardless of how the Egyptians categorized individually held fields, it is clear that land, or the right to use land, could be sold by private individuals. Its generally low price in comparison to other commodities can be explained, according to Baer, by the high costs of cultivation.<sup>6</sup> The documentation on the exchange of goods by individuals instead of public institutions is no more proof of an important role for private property than it is of a dominant market economy.

There existed a market in New Kingdom Egypt that was open to individual and institutional trade, but doubt exists as to how essential this market was to Egyptian economy as a whole.<sup>7</sup> The system of payment was characterized by Janssen as money-barter: exchange was basically in kind, but with reference to an abstract standard of value that could be expressed in amounts of cereals, copper, or silver, these being generally accepted goods (gold, with its high value, was less easily manageable).<sup>8</sup> There was no question, however, of stamping or coinage of such materials by regional or state authorities. The level and fluctuation of prices were determined by the market or by

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<sup>1</sup> See K.W. Butzer, *Early Hydraulic Civilization in Egypt. A Study in Cultural Ecology (Prehistoric Archaeology and Ecology Series)*, Chicago 1976, 82.

<sup>2</sup> Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 334 and 335.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 206; Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 132-134; Helck, *Materialien II*, (262); idem, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 221; J.J. Janssen, *BiOr* 43 (1986), 363.

<sup>4</sup> Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 412-451.

<sup>5</sup> M. Römer, *GM* 108 (1989), 8-10; Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 306-315.

<sup>6</sup> K. Baer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 25-45. See also D.A. Warburton, *ZÄS* 118 (1991), 84, note 26.

<sup>7</sup> M. Römer (*GM* 108 (1989), 10-12) regards its role as marginal. D.A. Warburton (*ZÄS* 118 (1991), 76-85) suggests that the Egyptian state government manipulated the market for grain and labour by means of large-scale building projects.

<sup>8</sup> Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 545-550; J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 77-180. See also Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 270 and 271.

tradition.<sup>1</sup> Professional trade seems to have been entirely in the hands of institutions or the households of high officials: the Egyptian word *šw.t.y* refers to commercial agents in their service, rather than to merchants acting on their own behalf.<sup>2</sup> However, although there may have been no people who supported themselves by regularly making personal profit, this does not mean that the notion of profit was entirely absent. To state that the Egyptian language has no word that can be translated as “profit” would be too simple. Individual bargains may have been of a traditional or an *ad hoc* character, but enough indications exist to show that the building up of reserve stocks and the accumulation of wealth were strong economic motives, just like subsistence or prestige. Institutions, including temples, traded their surplus of production for precious materials.<sup>3</sup> Temple craftsmen might also produce for external demand, it being unclear whether they were doing this for their personal profit or for the temple.<sup>4</sup> In the private sphere, the Eleventh Dynasty documents of Hekanakht and his household provide evidence for the wish to obtain optimal results in economic transactions—although it must be realized that Hekanakht had to provide for a large household in a time of scarcity.<sup>5</sup>

In simple terms, there were two ways of making a living: by cultivating privately held fields, or by working for a larger household or institution. The two possibilities could be combined. Officials were often granted their own fields,<sup>6</sup> but they also received rewards from the king, were entitled to shares of temple offerings, or were perhaps paid for their services in other ways. Productive work for an institution meant the obligation to deliver periodical “produce” (*b3k.w*) to one’s superiors,<sup>7</sup> such as the two hundred sacks of grain that was the fixed quota of an institutional cultivator (*iħw.t.y*).<sup>8</sup> It is not clear whether such a cultivator received an income in return for his work, or the amount required from him was in fact a surplus taken from his personal production, which also served for the sustenance of his own household.

Another example is the community of necropolis workmen in Western Thebes, at the present site of Deir el-Medina. Their *b3k.w* was the cutting out and decorating of the royal tomb, and their superiors regularly came to “receive” (*šsp*) their work as if it consisted of transferable products, but this was of course just the administrative jargon.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 550-558; J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 177-180; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 250-252.

<sup>2</sup> Janssen, *Ship’s Logs*, 101-104; W.-F. Reineke, *AoF* 6 (1979), 5-14; M. Römer, *SAK* 19 (1992), 257-284.

<sup>3</sup> Janssen, *Ship’s Logs*, 102; B.J. Kemp, in: *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, 660 and 661; M. Römer, *SAK* 19 (1992), 276.

<sup>4</sup> D.A. Warburton, *BSEG* 9-10 (1984-85), 346 and 347; C.J. Eyre, in: *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 200.

<sup>5</sup> Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 240.

<sup>6</sup> Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 235 and 236.

<sup>7</sup> For this meaning of *b3k.w*, see J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 174; idem, *SAK* 20 (1993), 88-91.

<sup>8</sup> Examples: S.R.K. Glanville, *JRAS* 1929, 19-26; W. Wolf, *ZAS* 65 (1930), 95-97; Wentz, *Letters*, 118-119. For the word *iħw.t.y*, see C. Barbotin, *DE* 9 (1987), 72-78, and chapter X, § 1, pp. 287-288. The quota is not explicitly referred to as *b3k.w*, but see the expression *b3k.w iħw.t.y.w* in P. Harris I 12b, 3 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 15).

<sup>9</sup> J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 20 (1993), 88 and 89.

In exchange, they received payment. The payment was not in money, not even in the commonly accepted copper or silver, but directly in the materials needed for everyday consumption: wheat, barley, vegetables, fish, oil, firewood, etc.<sup>1</sup> Such payments must be called “rations”, rather than “wages”.<sup>2</sup> Part of these payments in their turn were the produce (*b3k.w*) of a separate workforce attached to the necropolis, which was called *smd.t*, just like the non-priestly personnel of temples (see section 1 above). The grain, and also other goods, however, came from royal granaries and treasuries, being the obligatory produce of other population groups. In both channels (*smd.t* on the one hand, and royal departments on the other), we see the redistribution principle at work. The practice is not essentially different from the levying of tax to cover public expenses in modern Western societies, except for the fact that the transfers were made in kind and not in money. However, to find such a system no more justifies the characterization of the entire society as a redistributive state than a description of the modern tax-offices would do to characterize our own society. Just as the market principles discussed above are no reason to call the Egyptian economy as a whole a “market economy”, the redistribution system apparent in public institutions is no reason to call it a “redistributive economy”. We have to reckon, as Quirke remarked, with a sector of the Egyptian population that “lay outside the official description of Egypt, and yet enjoyed access to resources, and so it casts doubt on that pure official description of Egypt as a monolithic entity, a land monopolized by Pharaoh (= the state)”.<sup>3</sup>

Another anthropological model that has been used to describe the entire system of ancient Egyptian economy is that of the “peasant society”.<sup>4</sup> This is not a purely economic model; it has important social and cultural implications as well. In brief, a peasant society can be characterized as follows. The lowest social stratum in such a society consists of numerous small-scale producers (peasants), living in rural communities and producing for the subsistence of their own household. A (considerable) surplus of their production, however, is reserved for trade in urban centres or for the requirements posed by people of a different social class, who have claims on the land the peasants cultivate.<sup>5</sup> The benefiting, non-productive group, which is socially and culturally different from the peasants, uses the surplus for its own sustenance or for public expenses.<sup>6</sup> The model has many more elements, but what I have outlined here are the most essential features for the present discussion. The applicability of the model to all aspects of Egyptian society in the Ramesside Period was contested by Gutgesell.<sup>7</sup> For the agricultural regime, however, it remains an attractive option. An important problem

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<sup>1</sup> Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 455-493; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 148-157. Payment of the necropolis workforce in precious materials may have become more common towards the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, when the distribution of rations by the authorities was stagnating, and when a market existed in which expensive products could be bought and sold. See Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 152; E.S. Bogoslovsky, in: *Ancient Egypt and Kush*, 96 and 97.

<sup>2</sup> See D.A. Warburton, *ZÄS* 118 (1991), 76, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> S. Quirke, *ZÄS* 118 (1991), 147 (on the society in the Middle Kingdom).

<sup>4</sup> J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 131; idem, *GM* 48 (1981), 59-77.

<sup>5</sup> For the notion of surplus, see also M. Römer, *GM* 108 (1989), 15-18.

<sup>6</sup> J.J. Janssen, *GM* 48 (1981), 62 and 63. In general, see Wolf, *Peasants*, 9 and 10, 37-59.

<sup>7</sup> *GM* 56 (1982), 95-109.

that remains is how to recognize cultivators in Egyptian documents as peasants: are they to be identified with institutional cultivators (*i/hw.t.y*), with small-scale individual landholders, or both?<sup>1</sup> What proportion of the peasants as a social and productive group actually appears in Egyptian administrative documents? The Wilbour Papyrus, a field survey from the reign of Ramesses V, mentions numerous cultivators and tenants working on the fields of temples and other institutions, but it records only a small part of the arable land in the region covered by the survey.<sup>2</sup> Who held the remaining lands, and were any dues to be paid on them? It is clear that we are still far from achieving a convincing synthesis of the ancient Egyptian economy.

#### THE TEMPLE AND THE "STATE"

In Egyptological literature from the earlier part of this century, state and temple in the New Kingdom were often presented as elements opposed, or at least separated, in matters of political and economic interest. This becomes particularly clear in the earlier discussions of the Great Harris Papyrus from the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>3</sup> In later studies, however, this theory has undergone some modifications, which were prompted mainly by the publication of another Twentieth Dynasty text: the Wilbour Papyrus, which shows the intricate relations and shared responsibilities between royal and temple foundations.<sup>4</sup> Modern studies emphasize this administrative interaction.<sup>5</sup> Kemp even characterized the temples as a "branch of government administration".<sup>6</sup> Was there an opposition between state and temple in Ramesside Egypt? The apparent dichotomy is to some extent maintained by the question itself, which proceeds from two tacit assumptions: firstly, that the Egyptian state was a tight organization, under the authority of the Pharaoh, with a common economic interest; secondly, that the temples had interests incompatible with those of the state.

A close look at the Egyptian documents teaches that what we consider a state was actually divided into a number of different institutions, all somehow under royal authority it is true, but with a high degree of economic independence. The degree of centralization of economic power is probably one of the main problems in the study of Egyptian economic history. It has been pointed out that the Egyptian state in the New

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C.J. Eyre, in: *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 207.

<sup>2</sup> H.W. Fairman, *JEA* 39 (1953), 119 and 120; Katary, *Land Tenure*, 23 and 24. See chapter X, p. 284.

<sup>3</sup> See J.H. Breasted, *A History of Egypt from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*, London 1920, 489-496; Schaedel, *Listen*, 70-73, who regarded the temples' growing property as a threat to the state finances. Erman, *Erklärung*, 19, showed himself more moderate in this respect. The polarized view still shows through in e.g. Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 202 and 203.

<sup>4</sup> A.H. Gardiner went so far as to presume that the Theban priesthood of Amun had replaced the state as the main beneficiary of taxes on agricultural production (Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 204 and 208; A.H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs. An Introduction*, Oxford 1961, 297).

<sup>5</sup> J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 180-182; idem, in: *State and Temple Economy* II, 509-511; idem, *BiOr* 43 (1986), 364 and 365; D. O'Connor, in: *Social History*, 227; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 193-197; Kessler, *Heilige Tiere*, 48 and 49; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 94.

<sup>6</sup> B.J. Kemp, in: *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, 659; followed by J.J. Janssen, in: *State and Temple Economy* II, 509.

Kingdom did not have such a thing as an all-embracing tax administration.<sup>1</sup> Instead, public institutions all had their own means of production and transport. The Egyptian language has many terms for the contributions exacted for public expenses: next to the already-mentioned *b3k.w* “produce”, we find *in.w*, *š3y.t*, *šmw*, *htr*, *šdy*, and *tp-dr.t*.<sup>2</sup> They all stand for regular or occasional transfers within or between public institutions. Hence, they are usually brought together under the heading “taxation”, but this only makes it more difficult to distinguish the separate administrative processes they represent. Egyptian institutions had different types of revenue. The Harris Papyrus, for instance, distinguishes the temples’ revenues as *b3k.w*, *š3y.t*, and *in.w*; the former two representing the products of their own estates, while *in.w* stands for gifts by the king (that is, external income).<sup>3</sup> The calendar of feasts and offerings at Medinet Habu contains a list of yearly provisions to the temple from the royal treasury.<sup>4</sup> Transfers, however, could also follow the reverse direction. A type of royal land called *khato* (*h3-t3*) could be part of temple domains, and any institution or official administering such land had to hand over part of its revenues to other authorities, such as the scribe of the royal necropolis or a “chief taxing master” (*č3 n št*).<sup>5</sup> Papyrus British Museum 10401 records the objects collected by, or on behalf of a “chief taxing master” from various temples in Upper Egypt.<sup>6</sup> The word *h3-t3* is not mentioned in this text, but we do find another of the above terms: *tp-dr.t* “head-tax”(?), which is handed over by a priest of the temple at Kom Ombo.<sup>7</sup> In an inscription at Karnak, the high priest of Amun Amenhotep is praised by the king for his diligence, not only in levying the *šmw*, *š3y.t* and *b3k.w* of the temple personnel under his authority, but also in sending the *in.w* and *tp-dr.t*, as well as the “victuals of Amonrasonter”, to the Pharaoh.<sup>8</sup> Calling the above references “examples of temple tax” would be inappropriate because the word “tax” obscures the difference in Egyptian terminology.<sup>9</sup> They effectively show, however, that temples had economic obligations towards other authorities.

<sup>1</sup> Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 201; M. Römer, *GM* 108 (1989), 14; Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 374-376.

<sup>2</sup> Main discussions: W.C. Hayes, in: *Cambridge Ancient History*<sup>3</sup> II.1, 381-390; Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 246-248; W. Helck, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, 3-12; J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 173-177; *SAK* 20 (1993), 91-94; M. Römer, *GM* 108 (1989), 14 and 15; Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 376-411.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter VI, § 4, pp. 179-185.

<sup>4</sup> List 17, and probably 18 as well (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 150; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 140; H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 51). See also chapter II, § 7, p. 85.

<sup>5</sup> As is apparent from P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006 (Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, 36; A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1942), 23 and 24) and P. Valençay I (Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, 72 and 73; A.H. Gardiner, *RdÉ* 6 (1950), 116-124).

<sup>6</sup> J.J. Janssen, *JEA* 77 (1991), 79-94, pl. IV; especially 83 and 84, note b.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 87 and 88, note y.

<sup>8</sup> See W. Helck, *MIO* 4 (1956), 164; *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 248.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. B.J. Kemp, in: *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, 659; Janssen, in: *State and Temple Economy* II, 509 and 510; M. Römer, *GM* 108 (1989), 14.

Janssen listed more observations contradicting the idea that the Egyptian temples were completely self-oriented centres of wealth:<sup>1</sup> according to the Wilbour Papyrus, high state officials and local administrative centres controlled temple fields and their revenues (a/b); the Pharaoh established and re-allotted fields of temple estates (c); the necropolis workmen at Deir el-Medina were paid partly through temples (e).<sup>2</sup> As for (a/b): the fact that non-temple functionaries were responsible for temple fields (indeed, the general employment of officials belonging to one institution for the administration of another) is a striking characteristic of Ramesside agricultural management, and will be discussed in detail in chapter X. (c) That temple domains were not only established, but also adjusted later, by the king is clear from new decrees concerning already existing temple estates. Such decrees may have been the results of inspections by government officials, especially those of the royal treasury.<sup>3</sup> That institutional estates did lose part of their fields in the course of time is sufficiently demonstrated by the Wilbour Papyrus, in which older temples are generally the poorer ones. The temple of Ramesses II in Western Thebes (the Ramesseum), for instance, appears to have had little property left by the middle of the Twentieth Dynasty. This observation strengthens the suspicion, voiced long before by Nelson, that the estate of the temple of Ramesses III must have been established at the cost of the Ramesseum.<sup>4</sup> Such a loss of resources must have been effected, or in any case allowed, by a royal decision. Endowment decrees may contain explicit references to fields transferred from one institution to another.<sup>5</sup> (e) The supplies to the Theban necropolis workmen from the nearby temples have been touched upon in various studies<sup>6</sup> and will be discussed extensively in chapter IX (sections 3-9). To this phenomenon can be added the observation, made in the previous section, that officials not attached to temples could be entitled to shares of the offerings. That makes two ways in which products from temple estates could pass elsewhere. Temple personnel, moreover, could be requisitioned by the king, for mining activities or military service.<sup>7</sup> We can now better understand that the exemption of temples from services to the

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<sup>1</sup> J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 181-182.

<sup>2</sup> The *khato*-fields tilled on behalf of the king (d) have been mentioned here already.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. the inspections of the chief archivist (*hr.y-s3w.t.y-sš.w*) Penpato, the overseer of the treasury Maya, and the royal steward Iot, all discussed by A. Spalinger, *JARCE* 28 (1991), 21-39. Thefts from the treasury of the temple of Khnum on Elephantine in the Twentieth Dynasty were investigated by the overseer of the royal treasury Kha'emtore according to P. Turin Cat. 1887 rt. 2, 1 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 75 and 76; Peden, *Ramesses IV*, 111). The royal treasury and granary appear as offices keeping the records on land and landholders in general in the inscription of Mes (A.H. Gardiner, *The Inscription of Mes. A Contribution to the Study of Egyptian Judicial Procedure (Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens* IV,3), Leipzig 1905, 39) and in P. Sallier I (Caminos, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, 326; see also chapter X, § 7). Perhaps the "scribe of the temples" (*sš n n3 r.w-pr.w*) also played an important role in the central registration of temple property (see chapter VIII, pp. 235-236).

<sup>4</sup> H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 1.

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. Helck, *Materialien* II, (222).

<sup>6</sup> B.J. Kemp, in: *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, 659; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 193; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 458; J.J. Janssen, in: *State and Temple Economy* II, 514 and 515; idem, *GM* 48 (1981), 70; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 155; C.J. Eyre, in: *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 179.

<sup>7</sup> C.J. Eyre, in: *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 182 and 187.

government was probably not self-evident, but a favour established by royal decree (see above, section 1).

Being attached to an Egyptian temple as a priest certainly brought its privileges, as can be inferred from the observations by foreign settlers and visitors. According to Genesis 47:22 and 26, the priests kept their own resources, whereas the other Egyptians sold themselves and their fields so as to become Pharaoh's property. Herodotus (*Histories* II, 37) stressed the fact that the Egyptian priests were quite well off with their abundant food supplies. Important priestly offices could long be held by the same families. As Kemp pointed out, however, the priests did not really constitute a separate social class that was inaccessible to other groups in society. People from other branches of the administration could be appointed as priests, and the function of priest could be combined with other, totally different offices.<sup>1</sup> This agrees with the fact that there is hardly any reference to such a thing as a priestly education from the Pharaonic period.<sup>2</sup> Kemp further argued that the temples played an important economic role in society. Firstly, a temple could be the economic centre of a town. It could even be the *raison d'être* of a newly founded settlement, such as El-Lahun in the Middle Kingdom (see section 1 above), or the Pharaonic settlements in Nubia founded during the New Kingdom.<sup>3</sup> Secondly, the temple played a vital role in the economy of the entire state. It did so, for instance, as a "ready-made self-sufficient unit" for the administration of royal *khato*-fields.<sup>4</sup> By its massive stores of cereals and other products, it may have functioned as an economic "buffer" stabilizing supply (and hence, prices) on a national scale.<sup>5</sup> The question remains *how* important was the economic role of temples within the framework of New Kingdom society, as we have no clear view of that society's economy as a whole. It may be clear from this section, however, that the resources held and exploited by the temples served more purposes than the appetites of gods and priests alone.

### § 3 - THE ROYAL MEMORIAL TEMPLES IN WESTERN THEBES: NAMES AND RELIGIOUS ASPECTS

#### "TEMPLES OF MILLIONS OF YEARS"

The temples chosen as the object of study for the present work are the so-called "funerary" or "memorial" temples built by the New Kingdom Pharaohs on the west bank of the Nile, opposite the modern city of Luxor, ancient Thebes. The first step towards collecting, classifying, and analysing the textual sources available is to establish the names by which these temples were referred to by the Egyptian scribes. This step entails a methodological problem: how to recognize an institution with certainty as

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<sup>1</sup> Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 190, 229, and 230. See also Kees, *Priestertum*, for this aspect of the Egyptian priesthood.

<sup>2</sup> Sauneron, *Prêtres*<sup>2</sup>, 48 and 49.

<sup>3</sup> B.J. Kemp, in: *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, 661-664, 666 and 667.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 667.

<sup>5</sup> Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 194-197 (with figure 69).

belonging to the class of temples selected? The best way to start is to give a brief survey of the relevant Egyptian terms.

The temple names relevant to this study have already been the subject of many discussions.<sup>1</sup> It is fortunate that the royal temples of Western Thebes belonged to a class of temple designated by a specific term: “temple of millions of years” (*ḥw.t n.t ḥḥ.w m rnp.w.t*). We first meet with this term, in the plural, as a reference to temples in a quarry-inscription at Tura from the time of Amenemmes III (a reference sadly neglected by many authors).<sup>2</sup> In the singular, it is applied to a Theban royal temple in a Thirteenth Dynasty private inscription.<sup>3</sup> A quarry-inscription at Maʿsara dated to the twenty-second year of King Amosis of the Eighteenth Dynasty uses the term in the same way as the inscription of Amenemhet III in the quarries of Tura, not far to the north of Maʿsara.<sup>4</sup> However, we do not know whether Amosis, the first ruler of the New Kingdom, actually built a temple in Western Thebes. His tomb, as well as that of his successor Amenophis I, has not been localized with certainty in the Theban necropolis,<sup>5</sup> which was the usual burial ground of the rulers of the Seventeenth Dynasty and the New Kingdom. A temple of Amenophis I in this area has not been identified with certainty either (see appendix 1). The often-heard statement that the latter king was the first to separate the royal tomb and the funerary temple, which had formed an architectural unit during the Old and Middle Kingdoms,<sup>6</sup> is therefore hard to substantiate. Thutmose I is the first king known to have been buried in a hidden rock-tomb in the Valley of the Kings. His temple must have been situated on the west bank. It was called “temple (*ḥw.t*) of

<sup>1</sup> Notably J. Černý, *JEA* 26 (1940), 127-130; G. Haeny, in: *L'Égyptologie en 1979. Axes Prioritaires de Recherches (Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 595)*, Paris 1982, 111-116; idem, in: R. Gundlach, M. Rochholz ed., *Ägyptische Tempel—Struktur, Funktion und Programm (Akten der Ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen in Gosen 1990 und in Mainz 1992) (Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 37)*, Hildesheim 1994, 101-106; Helck, *Materialien* I, (7)-(10), (79)-(117); W. Helck, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI, 363-365; Kessler, *Heilige Tiere* I, 46-52; M.M. Mostafa, *SAK* 19 (1992), 239-247; H.H. Nelson, *JNES* 1 (1942), 127-155; C. Nims, *JNES* 14 (1955), 110-123; Otto, *Topographie*, 44-77, 106-118; Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 4-62; R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 34 (1978), 171-180; 35 (1979), 303-321.

<sup>2</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* IV, 74 (1); Lepsius, *Denkmäler* II, pl. 143 (i); Breasted, *Ancient Records* I, 323. The text has *ḥw.w.t n.t ḥm-ntr (?) pn n.t ḥḥ m rnp.t* “temples of this god’s servant (?) of a million of years”. *Ḥm* seems clear and was also copied by Černý (Notebook 44.49). As the word “priest” (*ḥm-ntr*) hardly fits the context, however, it seems best to discard  $\int$  *ḥm* as a sculptor’s misinterpretation of an ideogrammatical stroke, and to read *ntr pn* “this god” (as was suggested by Breasted, *Ancient Records* I, 323, note f), which probably refers to the king.

<sup>3</sup> Statue Louvre A 125 from Karnak, referring to a temple of a king Sebekhotep (E. Delange, *Catalogue des Statues Égyptiennes du Moyen Empire 2060-1560 avant J.-C.*, Paris 1987, 67; R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 303).

<sup>4</sup> Rock-stela in the limestone quarries at Maʿsara: Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* IV, 74 (6); *Urkunden* IV, 25, 9; K. Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie I. Bearbeitet und Übersetzt*, Leipzig 1914, 13.

<sup>5</sup> E. Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes*, Princeton 1966, 182 suggested that tomb B in the Wadi el-Habl might be ascribed to one of the two kings. Tomb C at Dra Abu el-Naga could be that of Amenophis I (H. Carter, *JEA* 3 (1916), 147-153), or Queen Ahmose Nefertari (Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> I.2, 599 and 600). For the problem of identifying the tomb of Amenophis I, see Schmitz, *Amenophis I*, 205-232.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 305.

Aakheperkare". The type of name is similar to that of the temple of Amenophis I, which was called "temple of Djoserkare". The first certain occurrence of the name "temple of millions of years" as applied to a royal temple in Western Thebes is on a statue of the royal butler Neferperet from the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>1</sup> In documents from that time onwards it is usual to find this designation combined with the king's *prenomen*, that is, the name preceded by the title *n(y)-sw.t bi.t(y)* "King of Upper and Lower Egypt" in the full royal titulary. The full designation was often shortened to "temple" (*hw.t*) + *prenomen*, as in the cases of Amenophis I and Thutmose I above. During the Ramesside Period, the use of the *prenomen* in the temple names came to be reserved for the Theban temples of millions of years. Comparable temples in other cult centres used the *nomen*.<sup>2</sup>

The temples on the Theban west bank are often referred to as "funerary (or: mortuary) temples", especially in older Egyptological literature. The funerary aspect of the temples is sometimes expressed in their inscriptions by the term *hw.t-k3* "ka-temple", which is also known as a term for funerary foundations from earlier periods.<sup>3</sup> Other reasons to regard them as funerary temples are that they were partly fitted up for royal cults, and their location in the Theban necropolis. That the Egyptians somehow regarded the temples as part of the necropolis becomes apparent from the use of the term *3h.t (n.t) nhh* "Horizon of Eternity", which may refer to the royal necropolis as an institution (otherwise called "Place of Truth" or "The Tomb"),<sup>4</sup> to individual tombs,<sup>5</sup> and to royal memorial temples<sup>6</sup> (its use as a term for the royal palace according to the *Wörterbuch* is not substantiated by the references given there).<sup>7</sup> The concept behind this term is illustrated by some texts of Amenophis III. After building his temple in Western Thebes, the king invites the god Amun-Re to come and see it, saying: "You ferry across the sky in order to rest in it".<sup>8</sup> Amun-Re was here imagined as the sun, setting (= dying) in the

<sup>1</sup> Statue Cairo CG 42121, back pillar, lines 7 and 8 (*Urkunden IV*, 1020, 14).

<sup>2</sup> Helck, *Materialien I*, (80); J. Černý, *JEA* 26 (1940), 127.

<sup>3</sup> G. Haeny, in: R. Gundlach, M. Rochholz ed., *Ägyptische Tempel—Struktur, Funktion und Programm (Akten der Ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen in Gosen 1990 und in Mainz 1992)* (*Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge* 37), Hildesheim 1994, 102 and 103. For *hw.t-k3* in general, see Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch III*, 5; P. Kaplony, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie III*, 284-287.

<sup>4</sup> The necropolis scribe Amennakht called himself "King's scribe in the Horizon of Eternity" (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 647, 8 and 9); the chief workman Anherkha'û was "overseer of works/draughtsman in the Horizon of Eternity" (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions VI*, 187, 16 - 188, 1; 190, 2, 7, 13. See also Černý, *Community*, 30 and 31).

<sup>5</sup> Erman, Grapow (*Wörterbuch I*, 17, 21) give two references. The first is P. Abbott rt. 2, 2 (see Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. I), which is a reference to the tomb of king Amenophis I. What exactly is implied in the second reference (P. Harris I 3, 6; Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 3) is uncertain: the king's tomb, the necropolis of Western Thebes, and even the underworld all seem to be possible interpretations.

<sup>6</sup> The high priests of royal temples in Western Thebes may be called "sem-priest in the Horizon of Eternity": Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 409, 9; VI, 540, 12; probably also on a stela discussed by M.M. Mostafa, *SAK* 19 (1992), 246, pl. 16 (read: *Wsr sm m 3h.t nhh m hw.t nswt*). A priest of the temple of Amenophis III was "keeper of secrets in the Horizon of Eternity" (Vandier d'Abbadie, *Deux Tombes Ramessides*, 28, pl. IV, col. x + 6). See also Kees, *Priestertum*, 95, 127, 131 (note 2).

<sup>7</sup> Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch I*, 17, 20: the two references given have only *3h.t*, not *3h.t (n.t) nhh*.

<sup>8</sup> Southernmost of the two stelae still *in situ*: *Totentempel Amenophis' III.*, Falltafel 5 (b), line 2; *Urkunden IV*, 1672, 10.

Theban necropolis after its daily course through the sky. This cosmological view is paralleled on the ritual level by the yearly procession of Amun-Re of Karnak to visit the necropolis on the west bank. Hence, the same temple is called “a place of rest of the Lord of the Gods at His Feast of the Valley; at Amun’s *periplous* of the West, of seeing the gods of the West”.<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere in the same text, this procession is called “His *periplous* of the West of a Million of Millions of Years”.<sup>2</sup> When seen in this way, “Horizon of Eternity” and “Millions of Years” would seem to be parallel references to the place of eternal rest of the kings as well as their father, the creator god. It is significant that the royal necropolis as an institution was referred to in official correspondence also as “The Great and Noble Tomb of Millions of Years of Pharaoh l.p.h.”.<sup>3</sup> The so-called “Beautiful Feast of the Valley” was an important festival for the dead buried in private tombs in Western Thebes, as well as to their descendants who came to celebrate the festival at the tombs.<sup>4</sup> A fragment of a tomb relief even testifies to the active participation of necropolis workmen in the festival procession,<sup>5</sup> although this piece of evidence stands quite alone: in no other sources are the workmen or administrators of the royal necropolis formally connected with the temples on the Theban west bank before their administration merged with that of the Medinet Habu temple at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.

It would be unjust, however, to overemphasize the apparent funerary aspect of the temples of Western Thebes, because they were not the only sanctuaries referred to as “temples of millions of years”. Other temples at Thebes and elsewhere in Egypt—that is, far from the royal tomb—were designated by the same term: theoretically speaking, the Pharaoh could have his temples of millions of years in any Egyptian cult centre.<sup>6</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Stela Cairo CG 34025 “obverse”, line 9 (*Urkunden* IV, 1650, 7 and 8). For this and other references, see L. Gabolde, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 142 and 143.

<sup>2</sup> Line 20 (*Urkunden* IV, 1653, 16).

<sup>3</sup> E.g. P. BN 197 IV rt., 1 (Černý, *Late Ramesside letters*, 13, 2).

<sup>4</sup> See S. Schott, *Das schöne Fest vom Wüstentale. Festbräuche einer Totenstadt (Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 1952, no. 11)*, Wiesbaden 1953, (5)-(11).

<sup>5</sup> Cairo JE 43591 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 403; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 188, fig. 66).

<sup>6</sup> Thebes: the temple of Thutmose III (*ḥt-mnw*) at Karnak (*Urkunden* IV, 607, 4; A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 38 (1952), 14); the temple of Amenophis III at northern Karnak (not at Soleb: *Urkunden* IV, 1655, 1; see Varille, *Karnak* I, 14 and 15, and Brian, in: *Amenophis III. Le Pharaon-Soleil*, Paris 1993, 82 and 83); the Luxor temple (H. Brunner, *Die Südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor (Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 18)*, Mainz 1977, pl. 63, col. 4); a temple of Tutankhamun (if the blocks found at Karnak originate from there and not from the west bank: C. Waillet-Lebrun, *GM* 85 (1985), 74 and 86, note 59; L. Gabolde, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 140-144); perhaps the hypostyle of Sethos I at Karnak (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 216, 5; C. Waillet-Lebrun, *GM* 85 (1985), 73 and 74); the temple of Ramesses II within the Mut precinct (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 48, 12—I owe this reference to Prof. H. te Velde); the chapel of Sethos II at Karnak (Chevrier, *Temple Reposoir*, 25 and 26). The temple of Ramesses III in the first court of the Karnak temple is nowhere called “temple of millions of years” (cf. R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 303, note 9), although the possibility is not to be excluded that it was actually thought of as such. Other places: the temple of Amenophis III in Memphis (*Urkunden* IV, 1795, 5); the temples of Ramesses I, Sethos I and Ramesses II at Abydos (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 51, 1; 109, 11; 148, 6-7, 14, and elsewhere; II, 541, 15 and 16; 542, 8); the temple of Queen Tausert at Piramesse (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 352, 3; cf. A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 44 (1958), 20; Thebes). See Schaedel, *Listen*, 23, for further examples.

phrase “millions of years” itself, for that matter, was also employed in contexts other than those of royal temples and tombs: every king wished for himself or for his successor a reign of “millions of years”.<sup>1</sup> A common characteristic of the cults in the temples of millions of years appears to be the emphasis on the person of the founding king himself in connection with the principal local deity.<sup>2</sup> It is hard to describe the exact character of this mystical concept, and its translation into ritual practice. Ritual highlights were the processions of the father or mother deity to the royal temple associated with his or her cult, as we have seen for Amun-Re and the Theban temples of millions of years.

The funerary character, as far as this can be established for the Theban temples, may only have been brought about by their location in the royal necropolis. Such was not the case with other temples of millions of years (although the temples in Memphis and Abydos were, strictly speaking, situated on old royal burial grounds—the temple of Sethos I at Abydos even had a cenotaph of this king attached to it). To this observation can be added the fact that the building of such a temple was usually started soon after the king’s accession, and that it was functioning long before his death.<sup>3</sup> A purely funerary cult can therefore hardly be the common characteristic of all temples of millions of years. On the other hand, it is clear that the temples were in a way dedicated to the founding king. For this reason, the alternative designation “memorial temples” has been adopted by some scholars.<sup>4</sup> For want of a better name, this term will be employed here as well, if only to avoid the continual use of the elaborate name “temples of millions of years”.

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<sup>1</sup> E.g. *Urkunden* IV, 619, 1; 878, 11; Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 26, 8.

<sup>2</sup> See G. Haeny, in: *L'Égyptologie en 1979. Axes Prioritaires de Recherches (Colloques Internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique 595)* vol. I, Paris 1982, 111-116, and in: R. Gundlach, M. Rochholz, *Ägyptische Tempel-Struktur, Funktion und Program (Akten der Ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen in Gosen 1990 und in Mainz 1992)* (Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 37), Hildesheim 1994, 101-106; K.P. Kuhlmann, *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 355-362; R.G. Morkot, *JNES* 49 (1990), 333-335; H.H. Nelson, *JNES* 1 (1942), 127-155; R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 303-321; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 209.

<sup>3</sup> The temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri received offerings some years before the end of the queen’s rule (M. Marciniak, *BIFAO* 78 (1978), 170). The temple of Thutmosis III was functioning by the king’s sixteenth regnal year or earlier (Ricke, *Totentempel*, 5 and 6); that of Thutmosis IV was also active during his 9-year reign (S. Bickel, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 24 and 25). The building of the Ramesseum must have been well under way by the third year of Ramesses II (R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 34 (1978), 178 and 179). The great temple at Medinet Habu is generally believed to have been finished in the twelfth regnal year of Ramesses III (Grandet, *Ramsès III*, 132), but quarry-inscriptions from year 5 at Gebel el-Silsila already testify to its building (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 227-229; H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 1), and it had to provide the Karnak temple with offerings as early as in the king’s sixth regnal year (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 237, 6-11).

<sup>4</sup> “Gedächtnistempel” (Otto, *Topographie*, 55 and *passim*; R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 34 (1978), 171); “temples mémoriaux” (L. Gabolde, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 127); “memorial temples” (Peden, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions*, 265).

## OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE TEMPLE NAMES

During the New Kingdom, newly founded temples usually received the name of the king himself, and the names of royal memorial temples, being new foundations *par excellence*, were no exception to this rule. The temple of Ramesses II in Western Thebes (the Ramesseum), for instance, was called “temple of Userma‘atre Setepenre”. The association with the main local cult(s) is expressed in the name of the royal temple by adding the phrase *m pr X* “in the House of (god) X”, as in, for example, “House of Ramesses Meriamun I.p.h. in the House of Amun”.<sup>1</sup> In Thebes, the principal deity attested in such names is Amun, but we also find the god Khonsu.<sup>2</sup> In other important cult centres, other gods are mentioned in this way (such as Re in Heliopolis, Ptah in Memphis, Osiris in Abydos). As far as I have been able to ascertain, the earliest examples of this practice may date from the reign of Thutmose IV.<sup>3</sup> Further references can be given from the reigns of Amenophis III,<sup>4</sup> Akhenaten,<sup>5</sup> and Tutankhamun,<sup>6</sup> but it does not seem to have been generally applied before the Ramesside Period. In documents from that period, temples named after the founding king invariably include the phrase “in the House of (god) X” in their full names. See the following section for the administrative incorporation that is generally believed to be expressed by this phrase.

In addition to the word “temple”, or the full designation “temple of millions of years”, an individual temple could be referred to by a specific phrase, e.g. *Hnm.t ḥnḥ* “United with Life” for the temple of Thutmose I. The feminine ending *.t* refers to the word *ḥw.t* “temple”. Such phrases, which could be used as an alternative to, or in combination with, *ḥw.t (n.t ḥḥ.w m rnp.w.t ...)*, remained in use until the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>1</sup>

To all the elements described so far may be added a geographical phrase, such as “to the west of Thebes” (*ḥr Ḳmnt.t W3s.t*) in case of the Theban west bank, to reach the classic compound of five different elements, labelled (a)-(e) in the following example:

<sup>1</sup> P. Wilbour rt. A 44, 3 (Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 142, § 117).

<sup>2</sup> See Helck, *Materialien I*, (62).

<sup>3</sup> TT 77: *ḥw.t Mn-ḥpr.w-Rḥ m [pr Ḳmn]* (*Urkunden IV*, 1599, 13; S. Bickel, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 25, note 13), if the reconstruction proposed by Helck is correct. An alternative possibility may be *m [W3s.t]* “in [Thebes]”, which is a common phrase in texts from the reign of Amenophis II (e.g. *Urkunden IV*, 1353, 7 and 8; 1503, 9; 1563, 17). See Helck, *Materialien I*, (79), 4, and cf. *ibid.*, (10), for a similar use of *ḥw.t Ḳmn*.

<sup>4</sup> TT 266: *ḥw.t Mn-ḥpr-Rḥ [m pr] Ḳmn* (N. de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmose, and Another* (Nos. 86, 112, 42, 226) (*The Theban Tomb Series*), London 1933, 37 (note 3), pl. XLIV).

<sup>5</sup> A jar docket from Amarna mentions “wine of the temple of *Nfr-ḥpr.w-Rḥ* (Akhenaten) in the [House] of Aten” (Frankfort, Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten II*, pl. LVIII, no. 24; Sandman, *Texts*, 181, 15 and 16). A relief from the same site mentions a “House of *Mn-ḥpr.w-Rḥ* (Thutmose IV) in the House of Aten” (Sandman, *Texts*, 162, 3). Cf. the use of the phrase *m pr Ḳmn* in other texts, e.g. Sandman, *Texts*, 76, 14; 80, 16; 82, 19; 156, 5; 159, 15 and 16; 191, CCXLVI.

<sup>6</sup> On a seal stamp on a jar from his tomb: *ḥw.t (?) Nb-ḥpr.w-[Rḥ] (m) pr Ḳmn* (C.A. Hope in: J. Baines ed., *Stone vessels, Pottery and Sealings from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*, Oxford 1993, 107, no. XXXIV).

(a) The Temple (b) of Userma'atre Meriamun (Ramesses III) (c) United with Eternity (d) in the House of Amun (e) to the West of Thebes<sup>1</sup>

Whenever we meet with such an elaborate formula, we can be quite certain as to whether we are dealing with a royal temple on the Theban west bank or not, but, of course, full designations like this one are seldom attested outside the more verbose temple inscriptions. On the other hand, most of the texts dealing with royal memorial temples (inscriptions, administrative and private records) provide circumstantial evidence which enables an identification of the temple in question as one located in Western Thebes. The present book is concerned with the temples of the New Kingdom on the Theban west bank that are referred to by the word *ḥw.t* "temple", and from the reign of Thutmosis III onwards as "temples of millions of years".<sup>2</sup> These terms will serve as the formal criteria for the selection of relevant textual references. As we wish to be sure that the documents discussed really all refer to the same group of temples, references lacking sufficient data for an identification of the temples in question will be left out of consideration for the present study, or will be treated only with the utmost care.

#### *ḥw.t* AND *pr*

The temples that form the subject of this study are referred to exclusively as *ḥw.t* or *ḥw.t-ntr* "temple", and never as *pr* "house".<sup>3</sup> Egyptian documents carefully distinguish between different foundations of one and the same king by using either *ḥw.t* or *pr* in combination with the royal *nomen* or *prenomen*, as well as the additional elements mentioned above. This means, for instance, that the "House (*pr*) of Menkheperure", to which the well-known necropolis scribe Ramose had been attached, is not to be regarded as the Theban memorial temple of Thutmosis IV.<sup>4</sup> The titles of Ramose never show *ḥw.t* (or *ḥw.t n.t ḥḥ.w m rnp.w.t*), but only *pr*. Nor do they contain the addition *m pr Imn*, which is so common in the names of royal temples (including older ones) in Ramesside texts. For these reasons, the "House of Menkheperure" was probably not the memorial temple of Thutmosis IV in Western Thebes, but another foundation of this king, located either on the west or on the east bank of the Nile.<sup>5</sup> The same can be said for the

<sup>1</sup> Full designation of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. See H.H. Nelson, *JNES* 1 (1942), 127, 128, and 131 (fig. 1).

<sup>2</sup> See appendix 1 at the end of this book for a list of the relevant temples.

<sup>3</sup> For both words, see Spencer, *Egyptian temple*, 14-36. Translating *ḥw.t* as "temple" and *pr* as "house" is rather over-simplifying, and it is done here for no other reason than to distinguish between the two Egyptian words. No modern European language can provide equivalents for the entire range of Egyptian temple names (also including, for instance, *ḥw.t-ntr* and *r-pr*).

<sup>4</sup> As was assumed by Černý, *Community*, 317 and 318, and S. Bickel, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 26. See the references given by these authors.

<sup>5</sup> A *pr Mn-ḥpr.w-R* is also mentioned in hieratic jar labels from Malqata: W.C. Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 97, note 173; [45] (fig. 5, no. 31); [46] (fig. 6, no. 45). The office of "scribe of the House of Menkheprure" was held by one Kaemwese, who was also an overseer of cattle and a steward of the House of Amun: S. Bickel, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 25, note 15.

“houses” of Ramesses II and III mentioned in Twentieth Dynasty papyri.<sup>1</sup> None of the personnel known for these institutions can be identified with a person explicitly attached to a memorial temple (*ḥw.t* ...) appearing in the same or in other contemporary documents. One of the references to such royal “houses” even specifies the location as “Thebes” (*Ni.w.t*), which is usually a reference to the Theban *east* bank in papyri and ostraca from Western Thebes.<sup>2</sup> It may even be questioned whether the word *pr* combined with the royal *prenomen* refers to a temple at all, or rather to a palace founded by the king after whom it was called.<sup>3</sup> The only regular way in which the word *pr* could be used as a reference to memorial temples is in *pr pn* “this house”, an anaphoric expression that can refer to *any* type of institution previously mentioned in the same document. For reasons similar to those given in connection with the royal *pr*, the word *qni.w* “palanquin(-chapel)” is probably not to be interpreted as a reference to a royal memorial temple either, despite the suggestion made by Bickel that by losing their property over the course of time, the temples could ultimately be reduced to such chapels.<sup>4</sup>

The designation *ḥw.t* was so typical for the memorial temples that they could even be referred to simply as “the temple of Pharaoh l.p.h.” (*t3 ḥw.t Pr-ꜥ3 ̄.w.s.*), “the Temple of the King” (*t3 ḥw.t nswt*), or even more briefly as “the Temple” (*t3 ḥw.t*). In addition, we come across the name *ḥw.t Imn* “Temple of Amun” (also known with the names of other gods), which must be regarded as an abbreviation of *ḥw.t* + king’s name + *m pr Imn*.<sup>5</sup> The expression “the temple of Pharaoh” (*t3 ḥw.t Pr-ꜥ3*) is attested on the jar docket from the palace of Amenophis III at Malqata on the Theban west bank, as a

<sup>1</sup> P. BM 10068 rt. 4, 29; 5, 1; 6, 15 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. XI and XII); P. Turin Cat. 1906<sup>+</sup> rt. 4, 5 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 627); Cat. 1930/2050 + 2013 rt. 2, 6 (*ibid.*, 601); Cat. 1966 vs., 11 and 16 (unpublished; Černý MSS.3.649).

<sup>2</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1906<sup>+</sup> rt. 4, 5 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 627). Although the phrase *m pr Imn* is absent, the foundation referred to here may actually be identical with the temple of Ramesses III mentioned in P. Harris I 12a, 2: *pr Wsr-M3̄.t-R̄ Mr.y-Imn ̄.w.s. m pr Imn m Ni.w.t* (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 14).

<sup>3</sup> The palace built by Thutmose I in Memphis is referred to as *pr ̄3-ḥpr-k3-R̄* in the restoration-decree of Tutankhamun, line 11 (Lacau, *Stèles*, 227; J. Bennett, *JEA* 25 (1939), 9 and 12, note 25).

<sup>4</sup> S. Bickel, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 28. Cf. also Peden, *Ramesses IV*, 72, note 5; Peden, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions*, 224. For *qni.w*, see A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 22 (1936), 177; *ibid.*, *JEA* 27 (1941), 29, 30, and 69; Helck, *Materialien* I, (119)-(122). A *qni.w* of Amun is referred to in BM 10053 rt. 4, 10 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVIII), and in *Giornale* yr. 17-B rt. 4, 2 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 20); royal *qni.w* in P. Amherst + Leopold II 2, 3 (*m Ni.w.t* “in Thebes”); 3, 14 (J. Capart, A.H. Gardiner, B. Van de Walle, *JEA* 22 (1936), pls. XIII and XV); P. BM 10052 4, 26 and 27; 10, 5 and 6; (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. XXVIII and XXXI); BM 10053 rt. 2, 10 (*ibid.*, pl. XVII); BM 10054 vs. 1, 8 (*ibid.*, pl. VII); P. Turin Cat. 1881 rt. 4, 3 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 612); Cat. 1888 rt. 2, 10 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 67); Cat. 1895 + 2006 rt. 3, 4 and 7 (*ibid.*, 38); of kings whose memorial temples are never referred to: P. BM 10035 vs., 14 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 418) and P. Mallet 3, 2 and 3 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 66); Sethnakht; P. BM 10053 rt. 7, 12 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIX) and BM 10068 rt. 6, 17 (*ibid.*, pl. XII); Ramesses I; of a non-royal person in P. Amiens vs. 6, x + 1 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 13). The object of worship is unknown in P. BM 10052 16, 3 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXXV), P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908 vs. 3, 8 (J.J. Janssen, *JEA* 52 (1966), pl. XIX), and O. Gardiner 134 obv., 3 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 345).

<sup>5</sup> As demonstrated by Helck, *Materialien* I, (10).

way of referring to the nearby temple of the same king,<sup>1</sup> but also in the Wilbour Papyrus from the reign of Ramesses V, where it refers to the Theban temple of the reigning king as well.<sup>2</sup>

More complex is the situation with *t3 hw.t* “the Temple”. Originally, this expression could be used in exactly the same way as “the Temple of Pharaoh”, that is, as a reference to the temple of the living king. As such it is already attested in the Malqata jar docket.<sup>3</sup> The Theban temple of Siptah was referred to during his reign as “the Temple in the House of Amun”.<sup>4</sup> Eyre compared the expression to *p3 hr* “the Tomb” as a reference to the organization of workmen living at Deir el-Medina, who were working on the tomb of the reigning Pharaoh.<sup>5</sup> The use of *t3 hw.t* took a different turn after the reign of Ramesses III. In the Twentieth Dynasty papyri and ostraca from Western Thebes, “the temple” became a fixed expression referring to the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, as was established long ago by Černý.<sup>6</sup> This temple appears to have remained the most important one on the Theban west bank also under later kings, whose temples there were never finished, or not even started. Its reputation, however, was not just of regional importance. The Wilbour Papyrus, which has already been referred to, deals with the land held by temples erected throughout Egypt, but wherever “the Temple” occurs without any further addition, the reference is again always to the Theban memorial temple of Ramesses III.<sup>7</sup> From the two texts on this papyrus, it is also apparent that the temple at Medinet Habu was the most important land-holder in Egypt, even surpassing the main temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak (see chapter X). It seems, therefore, that to Egyptian administrators of the late Twentieth Dynasty, Ramesses III’s memorial temple was in a way “the temple” *par excellence*. The expression “the King’s Temple” (*t3 hw.t nswt*) was thought to be used in the same way as *t3 hw.t* by Mostafa, who stated that this type of reference is attested exclusively in texts from the reigns of Ramesses III and later kings.<sup>8</sup> Against the latter statement can be adduced some examples that date from the Nineteenth Dynasty and which show, moreover, that the term could also be used for the temples of earlier kings.<sup>9</sup> It seems

<sup>1</sup> W.C. Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), [45-47], figs. 5-7, nos. 23, 34, 47, 51, 59.

<sup>2</sup> See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 10 and 132 (§ 58).

<sup>3</sup> W.C. Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), [45], fig. 5, no. 35; [47], fig. 7, no. 70.

<sup>4</sup> According to an inscription dated to Siptah’s third regnal year at Buhen (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* IV, 368, 6 and 7).

<sup>5</sup> C.J. Eyre, *CdÉ* 67/134 (1992), 277 (reacting to R. Ventura, *Living in a City of the Dead. A Selection of Topographical and Administrative Terms in the Documents of the Theban Necropolis (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 69), Freiburg 1986, 1-37). The parallelism between the necropolis and the memorial temples has already been touched upon above.

<sup>6</sup> *JEA* 26 (1940), 127-130.

<sup>7</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 73 and 134 (§ 64). More usually, it is abbreviated as “the Temple in the House of Amun”, which enables it to be distinguished from temples in Memphis (“in the House of Ptah”) and Heliopolis (“in the House of Re”).

<sup>8</sup> M.M. Mostafa, *SAK* 19 (1992), 239-247.

<sup>9</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* I, 335, 3 (reign of Sethos I, temple of Thutmose I); III, 358, 12 (reign and temple of Ramesses II); 374, 16 (idem); Lipinska, *Deir el-Bahri* IV, 27 and 28 (cat. 20: Piay was *sem-priest* in the “King’s Temple”, which appears to be the Ramesseum in the inscription on the back pillar of the same statue).

safer, therefore, to regard *ḥw.t nswt* as a reference, not to one specific temple, but to any royal memorial temple that can be identified by circumstantial evidence.<sup>1</sup>

The conclusions reached in this section on the names of royal foundations can be summarized as follows:

<i>ḥw.t (n.t ḥḥ.w m rnp.w.t) + royal name</i>	royal memorial temple
<i>(t3) ḥw.t Pr-ḥ3 ḥ.w.s.</i>	memorial temple of the living king
<i>(t3) ḥw.t nswt</i>	memorial temple of the living king
<i>(t3) ḥw.t 'Imn</i>	(Theban) memorial temple of the living king
<i>t3 ḥw.t</i>	1) memorial temple of the living king 2) Theban memorial temple of Ramesses III (in texts from his reign and the later Twentieth Dynasty)
<i>pr + royal name</i>	temple or other royal foundation (not a memorial temple)

#### § 4 - THE ROYAL MEMORIAL TEMPLES IN WESTERN THEBES: PREVIOUS DISCUSSIONS AND THE AIMS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The royal memorial temples in Western Thebes can be considered the best documented temples of the New Kingdom because of the excellent state of preservation of some of the monuments themselves (notably those of Hatshepsut, Sethos I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III), and because of the wealth of Ramesside texts on papyri and ostraca from the Theban west bank. Hence, they form the most reliable basis for an analysis of temple economy during that epoch. The information offered by textual sources pertaining to these temples will be used to extend and to modify, wherever possible, the knowledge summarized in the previous sections. I consider the Theban memorial temples representative of New Kingdom temples in general because what can be established about their economic resources and the purpose of these resources does not appear to be essentially different from the scarce information we have on other temples of the

<sup>1</sup> Against Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* (Transl.) I, 219 and 220, who regards *ḥw.t nswt* as a reference to a temple of Amenophis I.

period.<sup>1</sup> In the discussions of New Kingdom memorial temples published so far, however, two characteristic features have been emphasized: (1) their supposed incorporation in a greater temple estate, the “Domain of Amun” (*pr Imn*); (2) the re-allotment of fields and products of memorial temples, which would indicate a special liability to change by the king’s personal decision when compared with the resources of other temples. Special attention will be devoted to these issues here and throughout this work.

## 1. THE “DOMAIN OF AMUN”

In the discussion of the names of Theban memorial temples in the previous section, we came across the phrase *m pr Imn/Rc/Pth* “in the House of Amun (Re, Ptah, etc.)” as a typical element in the names of temples founded in the late Eighteenth Dynasty and in the Ramesside Period. The phrase is therefore common in the names of royal memorial temples of that time. Most Egyptologists do not regard *m pr Imn* as a purely religious notion.<sup>2</sup> It is generally assumed that its implications were rather of an administrative or a legal character: *m pr* + divine name would express the administrative inclusion in, or the economic dependence on, a larger temple of the deity of that name. In Thebes, that larger temple would be the temple of Amun-Re, “King of the Gods”, at Karnak. This temple would be the centre of a complex domain containing various satellite temples, including the memorial temples on the west bank, all of which were “in the Domain (or: Estate) of Amun”. The situation would be analogous with the “Houses” or “Domains” of gods elsewhere in the country. Many authors have subscribed to this view.<sup>3</sup> Only a few scholars have discussed the problems of such a theory, or made efforts to describe the supposed administrative incorporation in more exact terms. Helck assumed that *m pr* + divine name stands for an economic dependence or administrative control that is also expressed by the word *sdfz* or *sdf*, which is derived from the verb *sdfz* “to feed”, and may refer to the provisioning of one institution by another.<sup>4</sup> According to Menu, the use

<sup>1</sup> See the survey of relevant information by Helck, *Materialien* I, (24)-(144); II, (149)-(200).

<sup>2</sup> An exception is the theory of Kemp, according to which “the Estate of Amun” is the name of the cultic *ensemble* formed by Theban temples and the processional routes connecting them (*Ancient Egypt*, 203 (fig. 71), 210, and 211). Very similar to this view is that of Mallinson, who regards *m pr Imn* as a reference to a “sacred landscape” (in: *Amarna Reports* VI, 205; reference due to Prof. J.J. Janssen).

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. Breasted, *Ancient Records* IV, 107 and 108 (§§ 176-178); A.H. Gardiner, in: Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, 35; Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* I, 513; H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 38, 40, 45; Schaedel, *Listen*, 20, note 5; H.H. Nelson, *JNES* 1 (1942), 128; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 12 and 130 (§ 51); Otto, *Topographie*, 17 and 18; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 96, note 1; idem, *Materialien* I, (8)-(10); Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 5-10, 17, and 19; Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 239; R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 34 (1978), 173; J.J. Janssen, in: *State and Temple Economy* II, 511; Drenkhahn, *Elephantine-Stele*, 28; Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 20; R. Stadelmann, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI, 706-708; C.J. Eyre, in: *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 190, 191, and 194; Gasse, *Données Nouvelles*, 25 (note 11), 170, 175, 176, 217, 223, 224, and 235; S. Bickel, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 25, 29, and 32; R.G. Morkot, *JNES* 49 (1990), 328-330; W.J. Murnane, Ch.C. Van Siclen III, *The Boundary Stelae of Akhenaten (Studies in Egyptology)*, London - New York 1993, 168, 211, and 212 (note 57); Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. I, 92 and 93.

<sup>4</sup> Helck, *Materialien* I, (8) and (9). For *sdfz/sdf*, see chapter VI, § 3, pp. 169-173.

of the expression “House of Amun”, instead of the more elaborate version “House of Amonrasonter”, indicated that a material notion was meant, rather than a religious one.<sup>1</sup> The economic dependence of Ramesses III’s memorial temple at Medinet Habu on the temple of Amun at Karnak would account for the fact that the latter received no new personnel in the Great Harris Papyrus, whereas the newly established temple of Ramesses III received over 62,000 people: even as a separate donation to the royal memorial temple, they would be at the service of the domain’s central temple at Karnak.<sup>2</sup> Gasse regards a group of agricultural accounts from the Third Intermediate Period as documents pertaining to the “Domain of Amun” as a hierarchical complex of Theban temples.<sup>3</sup> The temples appearing in the so-called Griffith Fragments, and the Louvre fragments belonging to the same text, would be the intermediaries of the Karnak temple, this institution itself being absent from the document. The latter assumption, however, is highly debatable.<sup>4</sup> Kessler arrives at a quite complex structure by regarding the temple of the local god Amun, together with other temples (*r.w-pr.w*), as embraced by a state domain (*pr*) of the supra-regional god Amun.<sup>5</sup> The true character of an incorporation as expressed by *m pr ’Imn*, however, remains hard to grasp, as is frankly admitted by Bickel.<sup>6</sup> Morkot draws attention to the problem posed by the Nubian temples, which were far removed from Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis, while still being in the “*pr*-domain” of Amun, Ptah, or Re.<sup>7</sup>

When starting the research project that resulted in the present work, I was inclined to follow the theory of administrative incorporation.<sup>8</sup> At a later stage, however, I became more cautious about this interpretation of *m pr ’Imn*. Grouping together the temples of the major cult centres seems to be justified by the order in which they are listed in the Harris and Wilbour papyri. It cannot be denied that certain economic ties existed between the temples that are supposed to be part of a greater “Domain”. The Amiens Papyrus (also from the Twentieth Dynasty) shows that a number of Theban temples (all characterized by *m pr ’Imn*) organized the transport of their agricultural revenues together.<sup>9</sup> Some inscriptions from the Eighteenth Dynasty even prove the economic dependence of temples, especially the royal memorial temples, on the main local temple. One example is the text on a statue of the chief steward Amenhotep, from the reign of Amenophis III; the others are the lists of distribution of incense to various Theban temples by the treasury of the main temple of Amun at Karnak.<sup>10</sup> In this respect,

<sup>1</sup> Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 8. This point is weakened, however, by the use of the phrase *with* epithets in a similar context by P. Harris I, 61a, ll. 5, 7, 12; 61b, l. 3 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 71 and 72).

<sup>2</sup> Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 6 and 7.

<sup>3</sup> Gasse, *Données Nouvelles*, 170, 175, 176, 217, 223, 224, and 235. Cf. S. Allam, *CdÉ* 70 (1995), 139 and 140.

<sup>4</sup> See chapter X, § 5, pp. 328-332.

<sup>5</sup> Kessler, *Heilige Tiere*, 46-52.

<sup>6</sup> S. Bickel, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 25.

<sup>7</sup> R.G. Morkot, *JNES* 49 (1990), 328-330.

<sup>8</sup> B.J.J. Haring, *GM* 132 (1993), 44-48.

<sup>9</sup> See A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1942), 41.

<sup>10</sup> Text of Amenhotep: statue Ashmolean Museum 1913.163; see chapter VI, § 3, p. 169 (a). For tomb scenes showing the distribution of incense, see chapter IV, § 4.

the temples may have followed the tradition of funerary temples depending on other institutions in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, which has been noted in section 1. But is this material dependence, or another type of administrative connection, really expressed by the phrase *m pr 'Imn*, as Helck assumed? From the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards, when the phrase became common, such an economic dependence can no longer be demonstrated for the Theban memorial temples. In the Ramesside Period, these institutions clearly were economically and ritually related to the temple at Karnak, but the character of the relations was not one of economic dependence, as has been remarked by Stadelmann.<sup>1</sup> Besides, the Theban temples of Mut, Khonsu, Ptah, and Montu were no less dependent on the treasury of the Amun temple in the Eighteenth Dynasty incense-lists, and some of these temples were grouped in the Harris and Wilbour papyri under the temple of Amonrasonter, but the phrase “in the House of Amun” was never applied to them.

The question is not whether *pr* “house” may in itself refer to an (economic) domain or not. *Pr* undoubtedly has that connotation in a number of texts, while retaining the value “house” (as a building) in others.<sup>2</sup> Any type of institution with its own economic resources could be referred to as *pr pn* “this house” in administrative documents, even if the institution itself was called *ḥw.t*. It seems to me, however, that insofar as *pr* received the connotation “estate”, that connotation was never consciously separated from the owning institution itself or the building that institution was housed in, so as to form a distinction between a “temple” or “house” and its “estate”.<sup>3</sup> If the Egyptians wanted to refer explicitly to a temple estate and its products, instead of the temple proper, they rather used the word *ḥtp-nṯr* “divine offering”.<sup>4</sup> For this reason, the possibility of translating *pr* as “estate” or “domain” offers no support for the translation of *m pr 'Imn* as “in the Domain/Estate of Amun”. *Pr* combines the notions “house” (as an institution or as a building) and “estate” as two inseparable aspects of one and the same unit. For this reason, I have chosen to use the neutral translation “house” for *pr*

<sup>1</sup> MDAIK 34 (1978), 173. See also B.J.J. Haring, *GM* 132 (1993), 46 and 47 (C). The transfers of offerings between Theban temples will be investigated in chapters II and III of this study.

<sup>2</sup> See Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 14-20; Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 9 and 10; Helck, *Materialien* III, (337); W.C. Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 97 and 98.

<sup>3</sup> At a certain moment in the story of “Khonsemhab and the spirit”, the principal character finds himself in “the temple of the House of Amun” (*ḥw.t-nṯr n.t pr 'Imn*; Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 94, 4). However, *pr 'Imn* may refer to the temple enclosure at Karnak, rather than to the administrative estate of the main temple.

<sup>4</sup> Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 348-352. The word *ḥtp-nṯr* may be a reference to the objects actually presented to the gods, but it often denotes the temple estate including its economic resources. As such it is found in demotic texts (see Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 339; G.R. Hughes, *Saite Demotic Land Leases (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 28)*, Chicago 1952, 21, § j). According to the stela of Sheshonk from the Twenty-first Dynasty, *ḥtp-nṯr* included fields, people, cattle, and gardens (line 4 of the inscription: A.H. Blackman, *JEA* 27 (1941), 84, pl. X). An offering-list of Amenophis II distinguishes a granary, fowl-yards, gardeners and fields of *ḥtp-nṯr* from those of “Pharaoh l.p.h.” (*Urkunden* IV, 1341 and 1342). The title “steward of the divine offering” (*im.y-r pr n ḥtp-nṯr*) is known from Middle Kingdom inscriptions (W.A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, Beirut 1982, 26, nos. 169-173).

throughout this study. The English word “house” and Egyptian *pr* appear to be parallel terms in many respects, although they do not necessarily cover the same semantic range. The word “domain” is reserved for the translation of Egyptian *rmny.t* as a term in agricultural administration.<sup>1</sup>

The phrase “in the House of Amun (Re, Ptah, etc.)” cannot be simply a reference to the location of temples in Thebes, Heliopolis, Memphis, or other cult centres, although it may have served as a distinctive mark for that purpose in some administrative documents.<sup>2</sup> Amun, Re and Ptah also occur in the names of Nubian temples.<sup>3</sup> In Piramesse, in the eastern Nile delta, may have stood a temple of Queen Tausert “in the House of Amun”, and one of Ramesses II “in the House of Re”.<sup>4</sup> These temples were not necessarily part of an administrative domain that had its centre in Thebes or in Heliopolis. Such seems actually to have been the case with a temple of Ramesses III in northern Egypt, which is mentioned in the Theban section of the Harris Papyrus. Its administrative status, however, is indicated by the word *sdf*, whereas the phrase *m pr Imn* is absent here.<sup>5</sup> An important observation must still be made with respect to the evidence presented by Nubian temple inscriptions. A temple of Ramesses II at Wadi el-Sebua, for instance, was called “Temple of Ramesses Meriamun in the House of Amun, Enduring like the Horizon”.<sup>6</sup> The deities worshipped here were Ptah and Amun “of Ramesses Meriamun in the House of Amun”,<sup>7</sup> as well as the king himself or his statues, which were equally said to be “in the House of Amun”.<sup>8</sup> Similar examples can be given with the phrase “in the House of Re” in the temple of Derr, and “in the House of Ptah” in that of Gerf Hussein.<sup>9</sup> We learn from these inscriptions that during the Ramesside Period, the phrase was not only applied to temples, but also to the names of the king, of the gods, and of cult-statues. The possibility that its first and foremost implication was local and religious, rather than administrative, is therefore at least worthy of consideration. This track, however, will not be pursued here any further. Instead, we will focus on the administrative and economic relations between the Theban memorial temples and other institutions, and afterwards consider again whether the evidence discussed is enough to justify the theory of their incorporation in a “Domain of

<sup>1</sup> A convention also followed by Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 23, note 3 (note, however, the translation “Domaine d’Amon” for *pr Imn*, which is regarded there as a reference to a domain embracing various Theban temples).

<sup>2</sup> See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 134, § 64: “(...) those words helped to emphasize the location at Thebes”. See also S. Allam, *CdÉ* 70 (1995), 139 and 140.

<sup>3</sup> R.G. Morkot, *JNES* 49 (1990), 329 and 330.

<sup>4</sup> According to inscriptions found in the region of Qantir. Tausert: W.C. Hayes, *Glazed Tiles from a Palace of Rmesses II at Kantir (The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Papers 3)*, New York 1937, pl. I (below); Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 352; Drenkhahn, *Elephantine-Stele*, 25-30. Ramesses II: M. Hamza, *ASAE* 30 (1930), 37 and 38; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 443; Schaedel, *Listen*, 23. As the name of the latter temple is part of a personal title, it is not certain that it was located at the site where the inscription was found. According to Schaedel, the temple belonged to the Heliopolitan estate of Re.

<sup>5</sup> P. Harris I 8, 2-12; 10, 12 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 9-11, 13). See chapter VI, pp. 169 (c) and 173.

<sup>6</sup> *Hw.t-ntr R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw Mry-Imn m pr Imn mn ni zḥ.t* (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 736, 11).

<sup>7</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 734, 14; 737, 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 726, 16; 737, 13; 738, 7 and 8.

<sup>9</sup> See Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 718-725; 738-746.

Amun". After all, even if the implications of *m pr Imn* are mainly religious, this does not preclude the phrase from having some administrative relevance, since it is often used in administrative texts, if only to distinguish between institutions founded by, and hence bearing the name of, the same king at different locations. Note, however, that the names of some temples had the extension "Beloved like Ptah/Re", which distinguished them from other temples of the same kings "in the House of Ptah/Re".<sup>1</sup>

## 2. THE ROYAL MEMORIAL TEMPLES AS STATE RESOURCES

It has been realized for a long time that the resources of the royal memorial temples at Thebes were also at the disposal of other institutions. This is not surprising in view of what has been said about the economic obligations of temples in section 2, but such outward obligations are especially well documented for the temples in Western Thebes by the deliveries of food-supplies to the workmen of the royal necropolis who lived at what is nowadays the site of Deir el-Medina. Attention has been drawn to this practice mainly by Janssen and by Kemp, the former regarding it as "proof of the inseparability of State and Temple in Egypt".<sup>2</sup> Kemp saw the temple of Medinet Habu in the late Twentieth Dynasty as the economic centre of a settlement, just like the Nubian temple-towns.<sup>3</sup> From the enormous storage capacity of the Ramesseum, he concluded that one memorial temple could provide for the population of a middle-sized town, and that only one temple could have been fully in use at one time.<sup>4</sup> In spite of these observations, no systematic study has yet been made of the deliveries by the temples in Western Thebes to the local population. This will be attempted in chapter IX.

As the time of the building and the initial endowment of the memorial temples in Thebes, Heliopolis, and elsewhere is always clear from the name of the founding king, it is possible to follow their "fortunes" through the centuries. The appearance of memorial temples in the papyri and ostraca from the workmen's settlement in Western Thebes tells us something about the "life-span" of the individual institutions: some disappeared quite soon, others remained in use for centuries.<sup>5</sup> The Wilbour Papyrus and later land-registers give us information about the extent of memorial-temple estates after a certain time, some of them being left with only a few acres. Bickel suggested that the level of economic prosperity during the reign of the founding king may have been decisive for the endurance of his funerary domains.<sup>6</sup> It is possible, however, though difficult to prove, that the domains of earlier memorial temples, however prosperous, were reduced

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* IV, 60.

<sup>2</sup> Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 458 and 471 (there is, in fact, no proof that bread of the types *bi.t* and *psn* came from temples, as was the case with *š.t*-cakes and beer); J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 182; idem, in: *State and Temple Economy* II, 514 and 515; idem, *GM* 48 (1981), 74 and 75; B.J. Kemp, in: *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, 659 and 660.

<sup>3</sup> B.J. Kemp, in: *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, 664-666. The end of the Twentieth Dynasty, however, was an exceptional episode in the Theban region; see chapter IX, § 9.

<sup>4</sup> Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 192-195 (with figs. 68 and 69).

<sup>5</sup> See Helck, *Materialien* I, (117)-(119).

<sup>6</sup> S. Bickel, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 32.

for the benefit of new ones.<sup>1</sup> It is even harder to substantiate the idea that the king could change the estates of (older) memorial temples more easily than those of other temples:<sup>2</sup> perhaps the process is just illustrated more clearly by them. Similar doubt may be raised against Helck's theory that the estates of royal memorial temples added to the king's personal economic power, and thus served as a counterweight to the wealth of the great temples of Karnak, Memphis, and Heliopolis.<sup>3</sup> This more or less contradicts the theory of the same scholar about the administrative control by the House of Amun over the king's temple, as it is described in his *Materialien* (see above, no. 1). Were the royal and divine administrations integrated in the complex way described by Kessler,<sup>4</sup> or did they actually represent conflicting spheres of interest?<sup>5</sup>

It will become clear that there is actually no proof that the memorial temple endowments followed their own specific rules, except for the fact that each king would establish his own memorial temple estates, instead of adding resources to those of his predecessors, as was the usual practice with temples of important local or national deities. The resources of royal memorial temples may have diminished relatively soon just because few donations were later added to them,<sup>6</sup> whereas the gradual crumbling away of other temple estates would be compensated by the endowments of later pharaohs.

#### ABOUT THE STRUCTURE OF THIS STUDY

The documents analysed in order to describe the administration and economy of the Theban memorial temples are classified according to genre, every source or type of source being treated in a separate chapter. Apart from the classification of specific genres, the total corpus of texts can be divided in two main groups.

The first group consists of inscriptions and scenes on the walls of temples and private tombs. These sources (dedication-texts, offering-lists, scenes of the preparation and transport of offerings and the storage of precious goods) share the "typical" (timeless and idealistic) view of administrative procedures as represented in a ritual or ceremonial context. This group includes a discussion of the Great Harris Papyrus, which presents Ramesses III's donations to the Egyptian temples in a similar ceremonial way, although its lists of figures probably originate from administrative sources. The part

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<sup>1</sup> H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 1, 44-46; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 135 (§ 69); J.J. Janssen, in: *State and Temple Economy II*, 509.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. D. Kessler, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie VI*, 366, note 12; Kessler, *Heilige Tiere*, 48.

<sup>3</sup> Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 202.

<sup>4</sup> *Heilige Tiere*, 46-52.

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. S. Bickel, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 32: "(...) est-ce que le clergé d'Amun aurait eu de plus de pouvoir pour protéger ses domaines et obliger les rois à ne pas réutiliser d'anciennes dotations pour leurs temples, mais de trouver des financements nouveaux et additionnels?"

<sup>6</sup> There may have been exceptions: Ramesses II completed the temples of Sethos I in Western Thebes and in Abydos, providing the latter with the necessary economic resources as well (see W.J. Murnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies (Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 40)*, Chicago Ill. 1977, 70-76). The restorations of some Theban memorial temples by later Pharaohs may have gone together with economic restorations as well.

devoted to this first group of sources is concluded by the description of the temple's economy as it appears in a ceremonial perspective (chapter VII).

The second group of sources consists of papyri and ostraca informing us about the temples' agricultural management, the organization of their personnel, and the destinations of products from their estates. These texts originate in the administrative or the private sphere, their common characteristic being that they are concerned with everyday reality. These documents, which are discussed in the chapters of the second part of this work, will be used to modify or to complement the model arrived at in the first part.

Distinguishing between the two main groups, and the different genres within these groups, has the disadvantage that it obscures the chronological distribution of sources over the period of the New Kingdom. Diachronic aspects, however, will be taken into consideration as much as possible in the discussions of the separate chapters. The documents discussed here cover altogether a period of over four hundred years, and this period must have witnessed many administrative changes—probably many more than can be reconstructed from the evidence preserved.

This study is intended to be complete in its collection of the material relevant to the economic aspects of the New Kingdom royal memorial temples of Western Thebes. Not all of the features presented by this material, however, will be studied systematically. There will be no systematic analysis, for instance, of all known titles of temple personnel. Such an investigation should be the subject of a separate study of considerable extent involving, among others, a comparison with the titles borne by the personnel of other temples. Even so, they would provide only an indirect clue to actual administrative responsibilities. As we will see, the same economic or administrative matters were not necessarily attended to by individuals bearing the same specific titles. Titles will certainly be taken into consideration, especially in the discussion of temple personnel in chapter VIII, but only if the persons bearing them are shown in a relevant (that is, economic or administrative) context. All titles relating to the Theban memorial temples which have come to my knowledge have been collected in appendix 2. That list will be referred to incidentally, but it will not be used in a systematical way.

Another aspect that will remain untreated is the building of the memorial temples. Although this is an important economic topic in itself, and a relatively well-documented one (chiefly by the Eighteenth Dynasty ostraca from Deir el-Bahri and by quarry-inscriptions), I wished to concentrate here on the description of temples as fully operational economic units.

Throughout this book, the emphasis will be on institutional rather than personal matters; official and priestly careers largely fall outside its scope. My chief aim is a general outline of regular structures and processes, rather than a description of the fortunes of individual persons or temples. Of course, the scope of such an approach is limited, because the importance of personal motives and influence may have been considerable in everyday administrative practice.

PART ONE  
CEREMONIAL TEXTS



## CHAPTER I

### THE ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF ROYAL MEMORIAL TEMPLES ACCORDING TO DEDICATION TEXTS

#### THE DEDICATION TEXTS AS SOURCES OF INFORMATION

The word “dedication text” here refers to a type of temple inscription in which the Egyptian king addresses the gods, drawing attention to the temple newly built (or restored) and equipped. The term was applied by Maspero to Ramesses II’s inscription on the temple of his father Sethos I at Abydos, the best known and most elaborate example of a New Kingdom dedication text.<sup>1</sup> Texts of this type carved on the walls of, or on stelae erected in, Egyptian temples provide us with general but useful information on the economic resources of the temples. In addition to their accounts of the building and furnishing of the temples, the pharaohs usually refer to the provisions for the material requirements of the temple cults, that is, means of production, revenues, and personnel. Five dedication texts from Theban memorial temples provide relevant information for this chapter:

1. stela Cairo CG 34.025 from the temple of Amenophis III, re-used by Merenptah and found in the latter’s temple on the Theban west bank;<sup>2</sup>
2. the “southern quartzite stela” in the temple of Amenophis III;<sup>3</sup>
3. the “northern stela” in the same temple;<sup>4</sup>
4. the “poetic speech” preceding the calendar of feasts and offerings on the south wall of Ramesses III’s temple at Medinet Habu;<sup>5</sup>
5. The south “rhetorical” stela on the first pylon of the same temple.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> H. Gauthier, *La Grande Inscription Dédicatoire d’Abydos (Bibliothèque d’Étude 4)*, Cairo 1912, ii.

<sup>2</sup> Lacau, *Stèles*, 47-52, pls. XV-XVI; *Urkunden IV*, 1646-1657; *Urkunden Übersetzung Hefte 17-22*, 194-199; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature II*, 43-48; Davies, *Egyptian Historical Records IV*, 1-5.

<sup>3</sup> G. Haeny, in: *Totentempel Amenophis’ III.*, 70-78, folder 5 (b and c); *Urkunden IV*, 1671-1677; *Urkunden Übersetzung Hefte 17-22*, 206-208; Davies, *Egyptian Historical Records IV*, 11-13.

<sup>4</sup> G. Haeny, in: *Totentempel Amenophis’ III.*, 78-83, folder 5 (a); *Urkunden IV*, 1955-1958; *Urkunden Übersetzung Hefte 17-22*, 333-334; idem, *ZÄS* 120 (1993), 36-42; Davies, *Egyptian Historical Records VI*, 1 and 2.

<sup>5</sup> *Medinet Habu III*, pls. 137-138; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 116-118; H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 8-15; Leeuwenburg, *JEOL* 7 (1940), 328-330.

<sup>6</sup> *Medinet Habu II*, pl. 107; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 72-74; Edgerton, Wilson, *Historical Records*, 129-132.

The texts are similar in style and in contents: the king addresses his father Amun, reporting on the building activities he has undertaken and recommending the sanctuaries to the attention and care of the god. A passage of the same character, and also referring to a royal memorial temple at Thebes, can be found in the Great Harris Papyrus, and will be discussed in the chapter on that document.<sup>1</sup>

### THE TEXTS OF AMENOPHIS III

The stela of Amenophis III in the Cairo museum (which is not exclusively concerned with the king's temple on the west bank, but also mentions buildings of the king at Luxor and Karnak),<sup>2</sup> contains the following remarks on the economic resources of the memorial temple:<sup>3</sup>

(l. 6) (...) its workshop being filled with male and female slaves, (7) being chiefs' children of all foreign countries from the war-spoil of His Majesty, while its storehouses contain good things, the number of which is unknown; (the temple) being surrounded by Syrian towns (*dml.w n Hr*), populated with chiefs' children. Its herds (8) are like the sand of the shore; they amount to millions. The pro-rope of Upper Egypt is with it, (as well as) the stern-rope of Lower Egypt.

As is usual with this type of text, the information is not of an exact kind; the statements about the temple's resources are rather exaggerated, as is shown by the verbs *mḥ* "to fill", and *ʿrf* "to contain". The number of cattle is overstated as "millions". Nonetheless, the text provides us with some basic information: the temple had its own workshop (*šnʿ*)<sup>4</sup>, its storerooms (*wḏz.w*), and its herds (*mnmn.w.t*). The last sentence may imply that the temple had possessions in Upper as well as Lower Egypt; perhaps it refers to the temple fields.

Production in the workshop was the task of "slaves" (*ḥm.w/ḥm.w.t*). People called *ḥm(.t)* also occur in New Kingdom texts as servants owned, bought, or inherited by private individuals. Hence, its meaning approaches that of our word "slave", most clearly in a domestic context.<sup>5</sup> Its exact meaning as a term for institutional workers, however, is difficult to establish, it being unclear what was the difference between *ḥm.w* and *mr(.t)* "serfs" (occurring in a text of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu; see below).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See chapter VI, § 5, pp. 188-189.

<sup>2</sup> The sanctuary called *H<sup>c</sup>-m-Ms<sup>c</sup>.t* will be the temple erected by Amenophis in Karnak North (Varille, *Karnak I*, 14-15), rather than his temple at Soleb (cf. *Urkunden IV*, 1654). See also R.G. Morkot, *JNES* 49 (1990), 330 (notes 51 and 52); B.M. Bryan, in: *Aménophis III. Le Pharaon-Soleil*, Paris 1993, 82-83.

<sup>3</sup> *Urkunden IV*, 1649; *Urkunden Übersetzung Hefte 17-22*, 196; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature II*, 44; Davies, *Egyptian Historical Records IV*, 2.

<sup>4</sup> For *šnʿ* "workshop", see D. Polz, *ZÄS* 117 (1990), 44-47, and chapter II, § 7, p. 86.

<sup>5</sup> See Bakir, *Slavery*, 29-34; W. Helck, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie V*, 982-987; C.J. Eyre, in: *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 208-211.

<sup>6</sup> W. Helck, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie V*, 985.

The text specifies the slaves as “chiefs’ children”.<sup>1</sup> This term may actually refer to the children of foreign leaders, but perhaps also to foreign prisoners in a general sense.<sup>2</sup> The foreigners were settled in “Syrian towns” (*dml.w n Hr*), which informs us about their identity.

After describing other building activities, the king hears the answer of Amun, with the same imperialistic bias. The foreign people of the four winds of heaven are delivered to the king; when the *Tḥnw* of the west are mentioned, further information is given on the temple personnel:<sup>3</sup>

(l. 29) I direct my face to the west, and I shall perform a miracle for you: I shall make you grasp the *Tḥnw*: there is no escape for them, being walled in in this fortress<sup>4</sup> in the name of (30) My Majesty, it being surrounded by a great enclosure wall that reaches the sky, and populated with chiefs’ children of the Nubian Bowmen.

Again, foreign prisoners are mentioned as workers attached to the temple. This time, reference is made to people of the west (*Tḥnw*), and of the south (“Nubian Bowmen”, *Ṭwn.t.y.w-Sti*). The Syrians have been mentioned previously in the same text (see above), and so the main foreign groups are all represented among the temple personnel. The groups of different ethnic origins had their own settlements in the neighbourhood of the temple, as can be inferred from the mention of “Syrian towns” surrounding the temple of Amenophis III (see above). This idea is supported by some small stelae found among the remains of the temple of his predecessor Thutmosis IV in Western Thebes.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the fact that the *ms.w-wr.w* alone are mentioned as the inhabitants of the Syrian towns, I conclude that they and the “slaves” are identical, rather than two separate groups (cf. G.A. Gaballa, *JEA* 63 (1977), 122 and 123 with note b; E. Feucht, *SAK* 17 (1990), 192 with note 51; S. Allam, *SAK* 19 (1992), 8). The preposition *m* might alternatively be regarded here as a repetition of the previous *m* (of *mḥ m* “to fill with”), but this is less likely in view of other references: a stela of Tutankhamun in the Karnak hypostyle hall (*Urkunden* IV, 2036, 17), the decree of Sethos I at Nauri (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 48, 16), and stela Cairo JE 28569 (G.A. Gaballa, *JEA* 63 (1977), 122, pl. XXII, l. x + 6).

<sup>2</sup> *Ms.w* is interpreted literally as “children” by E. Feucht, in: *Festschrift Jürgen von Beckerath zum 70. Geburtstag am 19. Februar 1990 (Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge 30)*, Hildesheim 1990, 46-48; as “population groups” or even “products/contributions” by S. Allam, *SAK* 19 (1992), 1-13.

<sup>3</sup> *Urkunden* IV, 1656, 13-17; *Urkunden Übersetzung Hefte 17-22*, 198; Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 47; Davies, *Egyptian Historical Records* IV, 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Qd(.w)* can hardly be an active participle (cf. *Urkunden Übersetzung Hefte 17-22*, 198; Davies, *Egyptian Historical Records* IV, 4), because it is separated from its supposed antecedent *Tḥn.w* by the clause *nn hn-sn*. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature* II, 47, apparently regards *qd(.w)* as a passive *sdm(.w)-f*, and the following *m* as a phonetic complement of *mmnw*. The problems with this interpretation are (1) the exceptional writing of *mmnw*, and (2) the separation of the section *qd(.w) ... Ṭwn.t.y.w-Sti* from the preceding sentences, dividing the strophe on the people of the west in two parts unrelated in content. The translation given here is based on an interpretation with three old perfectives (*qd(.w) ... phr.w ... grg.w*); the first referring to the *Tḥnw*, the second and third to the temple.

<sup>5</sup> Two were found in 1896: Petrie, *Six Temples*, 9, pl. I (nos. 7 and 8); Stewart, *Egyptian Stelae* I, 4, pl. 3 (no. 1); E. Bresciani, *EVO* III (1980), pl. VII (c and d). A similar stela, as well as a fragment of another one, was found by the Italian expedition in 1979: E. Bresciani, *EVO* III (1980), 8, pl. VII (a and b). See also B.M. Bryan, *The Reign of Thutmose IV*, Baltimore-London 1991, 189 and 190.

These stelae probably record the populating of newly founded settlements with Syrians and Kushites:

The populating (*grg.t*) of “Menkheprure”<sup>1</sup> with the Syrians [of] the plunder of His Majesty from the town of Gezer (1 stela)

The settling (*grg*) of miserable Kush, which His Majesty has brought back from his victories (2 stelae)

The purpose of these stelae is not clear. The ones discovered more recently come from the southern part of the temple precinct, close to the remains of a bakery. Perhaps they commemorate the founding of settlements, or else they might be a kind of dedication made on behalf of the foreigners working there.<sup>2</sup> Reference must be made to the founding of towns similar to those recorded by Amenophis III. They provide firm evidence for the presence of groups of foreign captives as temple personnel.<sup>3</sup>

Of the two stelae erected in the peristyle court of the temple of Amenophis III, the southernmost is preserved quite well, and it is now re-erected in its original position. The text speaks in very general terms about the sanctuary and its endowments, but it contains information of some importance. The king addresses the main deity worshipped in his new temple, Amun-Re (line 2). He receives an answer from this god and from the Ennead, who also “rest” in it (lines 20, 22). In lines 12-13, the king mentions the establishment of the regular offering-cult and the priests involved:<sup>4</sup>

(l. 12) (I) established for You a divine offering, being the daily requirement of every day (and of?) the calendar dates;<sup>5</sup> the offerings of their days and the festival offerings of Your temple.<sup>6</sup> Its god’s servants and its *wab*-priests are (drawn) from those who are outstanding; from the choice of (13)

<sup>1</sup> The hieroglyphic writing refers to a surrounding wall.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. Bresciani, *EVO* III (1980), 8 and 10. The author’s conclusion, that the Kushites worked in the bakery south of the temple, and the Syrians in the “wine-house” to the north, is difficult to substantiate because we do not know whether any stelae were found in the northern part of the precinct. The description by Petrie, *Six temples*, 9 (no. 19), seems to imply that the stelae found during his campaign come from the back part of the temple proper.

<sup>3</sup> For this topic in general, see also C.J. Eyre, in: *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 188-190.

<sup>4</sup> *Urkunden* IV, 1674; *Urkunden Übersetzung Hefte 17-22*, 207; G. Haeny, in: *Totentempel Amenophis’ III*, 75; Davies, *Egyptian Historical Records* VI, 12. The translation given here differs considerably from that of Helck; this is partly due to the corrections by Haeny.

<sup>5</sup> *Ḥr.t-hrw n.t Rꜥ nb tp-tr.w*. Helck translated: “täglich an den Kalenderfesten”, but it is just as possible that daily and festival offerings are contrasted here.

<sup>6</sup> Preferring *ḥb.t* “festival offerings” (G. Haeny, in: *Totentempel Amenophis’ III*, 75, 12.b) to *ḥtb* (for *ḥtm* “to provide”; *Urkunden* IV, 1674, note a). The lacuna after it might have contained , and the indirect genitive marker *n.t*. The traces of *ḥb.t* clearly show *b*; not *m*. Reading *ḥtm* not only requires a correction of the word itself, but also the emendation of the preposition *m*, in order to translate “[I] provided Your temple <with> ...” (cf. Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* III, 196-197).

the entire land. I did not put (anyone) in it, if he was not from the father of a father, as a noble one, that is, as one from one (?), for (?) [...].<sup>1</sup>

A regular offering-cult was established in the new temple, probably for every day of the year. Moreover, a special priesthood was attached to the cult, consisting of god's servants (*hm.w-ntr*) and *wab*-priests (*w<sup>c</sup>b.w*; lit. "pure ones").

The text is paralleled by the "northern stela" dedicated to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. The inscription is shorter, and less informative where the economic aspects of the cult are concerned. Nonetheless, some indications are given in lines 8-10, the subject of which is apparently the establishing of offerings. Following the reconstruction by Helck, the passage may be translated as follows:<sup>2</sup>

(l. 8) [His Majesty made (or: established ?) a divine offering for Ptah-(9)Sokar]-Osiris, His Ennead, and His Followers likewise, surpassing what was done [by the ancestors (?) ...], (10) His heart being glad. I provided His house for ever and always [...]

According to these lines, the deity was the head of a separate group of deities receiving offerings, who were referred to as the "Ennead" and as the "followers" of the god. Line 10 even suggests that he had his own chapel within the temple precinct; this information is confirmed by archaeological investigation, as well as other textual references.<sup>3</sup> A stela of King Haremhab from the temple of Amenophis III records new monuments for Amonrasonter as well as for Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.<sup>4</sup>

### THE TEXTS OF RAMESSES III

Notwithstanding the fact that it dates from about two centuries later than the texts discussed so far, the dedication text that precedes the calendar of feasts and offerings at Medinet Habu resembles them in contents and style. Ramesses III addresses his father

<sup>1</sup> The passage is translated as follows by Helck: "(...), wobei ich nichts vernachlässigt habe. Nicht gibt es einen (?), der für den Vater des Vaters mehr der heilige und Allereinzige ist (...)"; no alternative is offered by Haeny. It seems to me that a new sentence is started by *n didi=i im*, which contains an imperfective verb form that requires a stressed adjunct. This is provided by the following *nn sw ...*, a negated circumstantial clause with adverbial predicate. The following adverbial phrases reminds one of formulae used to describe priestly descent, e.g. *Urkunden* IV, 1796, 3; Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes* III, 32; Lacau, *Stèles*, 228; J. Bennett, *JEA* 25 (1939), 10 and note 36. For the expression *w<sup>c</sup> sz w<sup>c</sup>*, see K. Janssen-Winkeln, *GM* 123 (1991), 53-56.

<sup>2</sup> W. Helck, *ZÄS* 120 (1993), 37 and 40; cf. *Urkunden* IV, 1955 and 1956; G. Haeny, in: *Totentempel Amenophis' III.*, 81-82, folder 5 (a); Davies, *Egyptian Historical Records* VI, 1 and 105 (note 1).

<sup>3</sup> Helck, *Materialien* III, (101); G. Haeny, in: *Totentempel Amenophis' III.*, 31-37; S. Bickel, *BIFAO* 92 (1992), 1-13; H. Jaritz, S. Bickel, *BIFAO* 94 (1994), 277-285. In brief, the arguments for the existence of a separate Sokar-temple are: (1) the references to a *hw.t* or *pr* of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, also in the text discussed here (ll. 10, 22); (2) priestly titles connected with the temples of Amenophis III and of Sokar, borne by the same persons (see appendix 2); (3) the blocks, probably belonging to a Sokar-temple, which were found in the northern part of the temple precinct or in the adjacent temple of Merenptah.

<sup>4</sup> See G. Haeny, in: *Totentempel Amenophis' III.*, 65-70, pl. 14; Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte* 6, 2, 71 and 72 (no. 44).

Amonrasonter. After praising the god, the text continues with the building of the memorial temple in columns 28-32:<sup>1</sup>

(col. 28) I built for You my temple of millions of years in the Holiness of Thebes, the Eye of Re.<sup>2</sup> I fashioned Your noble statues that rest in its interior. The Great Ennead are in their holy shrines (29) in their chapels. I sanctified Ptah-Sokar and the *hnmw*-bark on the *mft*-sledge. Osiris-Onnophris approaches Your place. I have made Him appear (30) in my temple at the introduction of Sokar. I embellished His offerings, His prescriptions, and His rituals, like those for the festival requirements of the temple of Ptah, in order to make expenses (?) for the yearly [requirement?],<sup>3</sup> for I know (31) that You have given the lands in order to provide His offering-loaves, Min-Amun in Your beautiful forms. He appears on His days, just as You wish. I have placed [His] statue [among] Your retainers, like (32) Your Ennead. You are the one who makes him divine and makes him jubilate continuously.

Considerable importance is attached to the cult of Ptah-Sokar, just as in the texts of Amenophis III. According to the inscription of Ramesses III, however, the god is not housed in a temple of his own, but in a room within the memorial temple proper; it can even be located in the Medinet Habu temple as it is preserved.<sup>4</sup> The cult of Ptah-Sokar involved its own rituals and festival offerings, which are recorded by lists 42-51 of the calendar.<sup>5</sup> The provisions of Ramesses III for this cult must represent the continuation of a tradition that reaches back to the time of Amenophis III or earlier.<sup>6</sup>

The text continues with the offerings for Amun (cols. 32-38):<sup>7</sup>

(col. 32) I established for You a divine offering of the daily requirement; I fixed the feasts of the sky on their days. I have [given] attention to Your (33) statue in the morning. The Ennead which is in my temple is festive every day. I made Your fixed portion festive with bread and beer. Cattle and desert animals are slaughtered in Your slaughterhouse. I provided for (34) the offering-tables before the Ennead. I doubled the divine offering in every respect. The provision of the Ennead is in accordance with their number. Wine, fruit, and incense are pure before You. I fashioned Your jar-stands for You (35) of gold and silver, in order to present libations to You from the lake that I have

<sup>1</sup> *Medinet Habu III*, pl. 138; Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions V*, 116; H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 9; L. Leeuwenburg, *JEOL 7* (1940), 328 and 329.

<sup>2</sup> For *Ir.t R<sup>c</sup>* as a reference to Thebes, see L. Leeuwenburg, *JEOL 7* (1940), 328, note 5 (referring to A. De Buck, *De Egyptische Voorstellingen betreffende den Oerhevel* (diss.), Leiden 1922, 43 and 44, note 2); cf. Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch I*, 107, 11. Hoffmeier's hypothesis, that *qsr.w* "holiness" refers to the Karnak temple precinct, is unlikely in this context (J.K. Hoffmeier, *Sacred in the Vocabulary of Ancient Egypt. The Term DSR, with Special Reference to Dynasties I-XX* (*Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis* 59), Göttingen 1985, 193).

<sup>3</sup> For *hni.t* "expense", see Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch III*, 289, 17; A.H. Gardiner, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, Paris 1916, 106 and 107. The word also occurs in the introduction to calendar list 17 (*Medinet Habu III*, pl. 150, l. 542), in the expression *hni.t n(t) hr.t-rnp.t*, which is perhaps to be reconstructed here as well.

<sup>4</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography II*<sup>2</sup>, 506 (room 4).

<sup>5</sup> *Medinet Habu III*, pls. 158-160; Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions V*, 161-172.

<sup>6</sup> Ptah-Sokar-Osiris is already mentioned in private funerary inscriptions from that region antedating the New Kingdom, and his cult had already been introduced in the Karnak temple by Thutmose III (G.A. Gaballa, K.A. Kitchen, *Orientalia* 38 (1969), 27 and 28; C. Graindorge-Hérel, *Le Dieu Sokar*, 156-167).

<sup>7</sup> *Medinet Habu III*, pl. 138; Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions V*, 116 and 117; H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 9-12; L. Leeuwenburg, *JEOL 7* (1940), 329.

dug. God's servants of the best, and god's fathers will offer them to Your Ka, so that You may be satisfied with them. I made a festival-hall<sup>1</sup> (36) in my temple for Your festival requirement, so that You may appear in it on all Your festivals. I established for You the calendar dates of the Feast of Opet and the Feast of the Valley;<sup>2</sup> there is no omission among them. All Your festivals (37) [...] in the yearly schedule (?)<sup>3</sup> at Ipet-sut, which is in accordance with what Re does.<sup>4</sup> I established them (i.e. the dates) in my temple for ever, in order to let Your statue appear on them in my noble temple, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma'atre Meriamun being in the bark, (38) following his Father. Whenever You appear in my temple, he follows You. I am the one who clears the road for the Lord of the Gods, Amun-Re, at His Feast of Millions of Years. I am a conductor of festivals, pure of arms, making great offerings (38) before the One who begot me.

This section can be divided in two parts: one concerned with the regular (daily) offerings, and one with the festivals. The god is to appear in the "festival hall" (*ḥb.y.t*) on the occasion of "all" his feasts. Further specification shows that the festivals of Opet and of the Valley are meant in the first place, the latter being resumed in column 38 as "Feast of Millions of Years".<sup>5</sup> Both feasts seem to be of great importance to the memorial temple. From the older portion of the calendar, we learn that the Feast of Opet was celebrated there on a grand scale for 24 days.<sup>6</sup> The old calendar lists dealing with the Feast of the Valley are missing, but the amounts of offerings presented on this important occasion, which was initiated by the visit of Amonrasonter from the east bank,<sup>7</sup> must have equalled or exceeded those of the Opet festival.

The deity addressed in this text is Amun as the principal god of Thebes, whose main sanctuary was the great temple at Ipet-sut (*Ip.t-s.w.t*), the present Karnak.<sup>8</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> Although the word lacks the appropriate determinative, it is clear that a location (a room or hall) must be meant. Reference to the same room is probably made in the introduction to list 36 of the calendar (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 156, col. 860), a list of offerings to be presented in the "festival hall" during the 24 days of the Opet-feast (the determinative is unclear there). The word may be an abbreviation of *wšḥ.t ḥb.y.t*, a reference to the second open court of the temple (*Medinet Habu* V, pl. 356 (D); Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 84).

<sup>2</sup> According to the *Medinet Habu* calendar, the starting-date of the Feast of Opet was II *ḫ.t* 19 (col. 743; *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 154; Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* V, 148). The beginning of the Feast of the Valley depended on the date of the new moon within the second month of *šmw* (col. 135; *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 142; Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* V, 123).

<sup>3</sup> *Im.y(t) rnp.t*, lit. "what is in the year". *Im.y rnp.t* is known from priestly titles; see Meeks, *Année Lexicographique* 1, 217; 2, 223. The signs at the top of col. 37 are erased except for some traces. The drawing suggests traces of a sistrum (?), but I do not know what were the grounds for Nelson's translation "all thy feasts which are celebrated" (*Work in Western Thebes*, 12).

<sup>4</sup> I.e. the solar year as the basis of the festival calendar? See H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 12.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. l. 20 of the first text of Amenophis III discussed above (*Urkunden* IV, 1653), where the two festivals are mentioned as well, the first being called *ḥn.t=f nfr.t n ḥb=f n Ip.t*, the second *ḥn.t=f n.t imnt.t n.t ḥḥ.w n ḥḥ.w m rnp.w.t*. The context there is the construction of the bark *Imn-m-wsr-ḫz.t*.

<sup>6</sup> Lists 28-38: *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 154-156; Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* V, 147-159.

<sup>7</sup> As appears from the headings of calendar lists 3 and 4: *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 142; Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* V, 123-125.

<sup>8</sup> The god is called Amonrasonter ("Amun-Re, King of the Gods") in col. 1, and Amun-Kamutef ("Amun, Bull of His Mother"), Lord of Ipet-sut (i.e. Karnak), in col. 51. In col. 44, the actual temple (*ḥw.t mtr.t*) of the god appears to be the temple of Thebes (*Wz.s.t*), or perhaps even "Thebes" itself in a metaphorical sense.

royal temple on the Theban west bank housed its own statue of Amun, which is usually referred to in the calendar lists as Amonrasonter or shortly as Amun-Re, and once as “Amun in the temple of Userma‘atre Meriamun (Ramesses III)”.<sup>1</sup> In other inscriptions at Medinet Habu, the god of the temple is called “Amun of United-with-Eternity” (*Imn Hnm.t-nhh*).<sup>2</sup> Amun of Karnak and Amun of Medinet Habu were essentially one and the same god, which explains how Ramesses III could say that he fashioned the statues of Amonrasonter in his new temple, although the reference may actually have been to specific statues of Amun as the lord of that temple.

Now when the god is said to appear in the temple’s festival court on his feasts, there are two alternative possibilities. Either a procession from Karnak brought Amonrasonter to the memorial temple (which was certainly the case with the Feast of the Valley, whereas no proof for this exists for the Feast of Opet), or a statue (or bark) of Amun as worshipped in the memorial temple itself was brought to appear in the temple court at these (and other?) festival occasions. If the second theory is correct, the temple on the west bank must have had its own processions or “appearances”, running parallel to the liturgical events at Karnak, and such a practice actually seems to be implied in columns 36 and 37, where the yearly schedule (*im.y.t rnp.t*) at Karnak is referred to. On the occasion of the Feast of the Valley, then, processions of statues from the two temples would have coincided. Did these two statues (of essentially the same god) actually meet each other? The calendar lists distinguish yet another cult-statue: that of the king in his bark (the “protected image”, *sšm hwi*). It is uncertain whether a distinction is to be made between the royal and the divine bark. At the end of the text, in column 50, the king mentions two statues of his, which are called *sšm* and *hn.t.y*, as co-recipients of offerings.<sup>3</sup> In the section translated above, the king is said to be in a ship (*wi3*), and following Amun (columns 37 and 38), but this still leaves open the two possibilities that the statues of the king and of Amun were represented on the same bark, or that they had separate barks. In both cases, however, the god appearing in the festival hall would seem to be a deity residing in the memorial temple itself, since the king is said to follow, and not to meet this god.

The theological excursus made above merely serves to demonstrate that the newly built memorial temple had its own regular group of divine images receiving offerings throughout the year. Although Amun of Karnak and Amun of Medinet Habu were identical on an abstract, theological level, they were separate deities in the ritual practice.

The next section of the text moves from the offerings to the temple’s economic resources:

(col. 39) I placed my temple under Your authority, my Noble Father; I recorded its possessions (*h.t-s*) in documents, which are held tight in Your grasp. I made a property-deed (*im.y.t-pr*) for

<sup>1</sup> In the heading of list 15 (col. 464), which gives the totals of the preceding lists 7-14. See *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 150; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 137.

<sup>2</sup> See H.H. Nelson, *JNES* 1 (1942), 127-155.

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 138; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 118; Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 14; L. Leeuwenburg, *JEOL* 7 (1940), 330.

You with regard to all my possessions; they exist (40) forever, enduring in Your name. I conduct the Two Lands to You, being my entire inheritance, because You gave them to me from the time that You gave birth to me.<sup>1</sup> I built farms<sup>2</sup> in Your name in the Beloved Land (41) (and) in the country of Nubia, as well as in the country of Asia. I charged them with their produce (*b3k.w*) as a yearly requirement.<sup>3</sup> All towns whatsoever<sup>4</sup> are brought together with their *in.w*, in order to send them to Your Ka. (...) (45) Your food (*k3.w*) is brought inside it (the temple), Your nourishment (*hn.w*) to its shrine. Your Ba and Your Birth-stone increase its children (?);<sup>5</sup> they are *wab*-priests and god's fathers for You, in order to call You to Your meals (46) (and) to adore Your Ka. Others are at their tasks (*hn.w.t*) in every work, in order to provide for Your fixed portion of daily requirements. I collected for You herds of all kinds of animals, fields, gardens and high grounds, (47) *iw=f-nri*-grounds and marshes.<sup>6</sup> The birds that descend in the swamps are slaughtered in order to make Your offerings festive with nourishment and game (*hb*). I filled Your workshop with the spoil of my force. Your granary is overflowing (48) with grain;<sup>7</sup> Your treasuries are spitting out gold and silver. Things of all lands are entering it.

The temple personnel consisted of priests and “others”, i.e. agricultural and manufacturing workmen, including the foreign captives in the workshop. The temple was provided with its own herds, and territories in Egypt and abroad. The products of its estate were stored in its granary and its treasury-departments. Two types of revenue are

<sup>1</sup> So with L. Leeuwenburg, *JEOL* 7 (1940), 329: *dr ms-k wi*, rather than \**dr ms.kwi* “since I was born” (H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 12). For *msi* “to give birth”, by a male deity, see Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 138 (translated there as “to beget”).

<sup>2</sup> H.H. Nelson in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 12, translated “strongholds”. For *bhn* as a reference to a (fortified) country residence or farm, see Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 34; Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 140, 141, 410-419; D. Meeke, in: *Hommages Sauneron* I, 252 and 253 (note 64).

<sup>3</sup> P. Grandet initially translated: “I provided them with *b3k.w*, which are due to them yearly” (*JEA* 69 (1983), 112), but he afterwards rejected this in favour of an interpretation similar to the one given here (*Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 64, G). Although *htr* sometimes has the meaning “to provide” or “to distribute” (*ibid.*, 64 and 65), it is the more usual meaning “to charge” (*m* or *hr* “with”) that is required in this passage, which describes the temple revenues as consisting of the *b3k.w* paid by farms and the *in.w* from towns (see the discussion on *b3k.w* and *in.w* below).

<sup>4</sup> For *m* (*n*, *hr*) *rn=f*, see Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 427, 17; Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, 62, 16 (with note a); Faulkner, *Concise Dictionary*, 150; F. Daumas, in: P. Naster, H. de Meulenaere, J. Quaegebeur, *Miscellanea in Honorem Josephi Vergote (Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica 6/7)*, Leuven 1975/76, 122.

<sup>5</sup> *B3-k ms hn.t=k hr s'33.t ms.w=s*. L. Leeuwenburg, *JEOL* 7 (1940), 329: “(...) Your soul and Your birthplace are there. Its personnel are numerous (...)” (*b3-k ms hn.t=k hr=s 33 ms.w=s*); sim. H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 14. For personnel of the temple as its “children” (*ms.w=s*), see e.g. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* I, 68, 10; Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees* I, 13, note 7 (also referring to *ms hr* for young necropolis employees); 18, note 69; A. Kamal, *Stèles Ptolemaïques et Romaines I (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire)*, Cairo 1905, 104, l. 9.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. similar lists of temple lands in: *Urkunden* IV, 171, 16 - 172, 3; 207, 5-7; 746, 2. *3h.t* refers to fields usually sown with grain (Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 79); *hntš* (probably from *hnt.y-š*) denotes gardens producing vegetables and flowers, or orchards (Hugonot, *Jardin*, 16 and 17; C.J. Eyre, *JEA* 80 (1994), 69); *q3y.t*, lit. “high land”, was the most common type of agricultural land (C.J. Eyre, *JEA* 80 (1994), 69 and 70; see also chapter X, § 1, p. 290); the type of land referred to by *iw=f-(m/n)-nri*, lit. “it comes in the return of the year”(?), is obscure (Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 12<sup>1</sup>); *š3.w* may refer to marshland as the source of fish and birds.

<sup>7</sup> *W3h.t* expresses abundance of grain; see Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 415 and 416.

distinguished here: the “produce” (*bꜣk.w*) delivered by Egyptian and foreign farms (*bḥn.w*), and the *in.w* presented by towns (*dmi.w*). As far as I know, farms are otherwise unknown as administrative units serving a temple, unless the topographical name “The *Bḥn.w* of the Temple of Seth” in text A of the Wilbour Papyrus refers to farms, and not to pylons, as was assumed by Gardiner.<sup>1</sup> Their administrative position therefore remains unclear. The descriptions of privately owned *bḥn.w* in P. Lansing stress their agricultural resources.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, the farms mentioned here may have controlled the temple fields, gardens and herds. The words *bḥn.w* and *dmi.w* must refer to different institutions or places,<sup>3</sup> since their names, as well as the types of revenue they had to deliver, are different. Although much is still unclear about the terms *bꜣk.w* and *in.w* (as well as on other terms referring to institutional revenues),<sup>4</sup> the least we can say is that they probably represent different and complementary types of income. The idea that *in.w* (from *ini* “to bring”) stands for the tribute of conquered peoples receives some support from temple inscriptions with their imperialistic bias, but this interpretation is not tenable for other sources.<sup>5</sup> Bleiberg’s descriptions of *in.w* as personal income of the king, and of *bꜣk.w* as the revenues and expenses of temples, both mainly based on Eighteenth Dynasty inscriptions, are probably too rigid.<sup>6</sup> It seems to me that hieratic administrative documents are much more reliable sources for the classification of *in.w* and *bꜣk.w* as administrative terms. In such texts, *in.w* appears to have the meaning “additional/occasional contribution”.<sup>7</sup> The lists of the Great Harris Papyrus distinguish between *bꜣk.w* and *šꜣy.t* on the one hand as the revenues of the temple estates, and *in.w* on the other as the additional royal donations to the temples.<sup>8</sup> As long as the proper administrative uses of these and associated terms for institutional revenues have not been studied exhaustively, it is difficult to say whether the distinction made in the Great Harris Papyrus can be extended to any other context.<sup>9</sup> Even if we were justified in making such a generalization for administrative papyri and ostraca, it would still be quite a step to do

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 34.

<sup>2</sup> P. Lansing 11, 3 - 13a, 4 (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 110-112; Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 410-419).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. P. Grandet, *JEA* 69 (1983), 112 and 113. The ideas expressed there must be reconsidered in view of his later abandonment of the interpretation of *ḥtr* in the same passage; see above.

<sup>4</sup> See Introduction, § 2, pp. 17-18.

<sup>5</sup> For *in.w* as “tribute”, see A. Gordon, *The Context and Meaning of the Ancient Egyptian Word in.w from the Proto-Dynastic Period to the End of the New Kingdom*, Ann Arbor 1983, 309-310, 380-382; Boochs, *GM* 71 (1984), 61-66; idem, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI, 762-764. Cf., however, M. Liverani, *Annali dell’ Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 26 (1979), 13 and 14; R. Müller-Wollermann, *GM* 66 (1983), 81-91.

<sup>6</sup> E.L. Bleiberg, *JARCE* 21 (1984), 155-167; idem, *JARCE* 25 (1988), 157-168; cf. J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 20 (1993), 93 and 94.

<sup>7</sup> So in P. Bulaq 18 from the Thirteenth Dynasty (A. Spalinger, *SAK* 12 (1985), 192 with note 11); in P. IFAO A + B from the Twentieth Dynasty (Y. Koenig, in: *Hommages Sauneron* I, 210, note ii); perhaps also in the Old Kingdom Abusir papyri (see Posener-Kriéger, *Archives* I, 222 with note 1).

<sup>8</sup> See chapter VI, § 4, pp. 179-185; § 5, pp. 189-191. As opposed to the running texts in this document, its lists are of a truly administrative character.

<sup>9</sup> See also the discussion on the “storehouse of *in.w*” in chapter II, § 7, p. 84.

the same for temple inscriptions. Dedicatory inscriptions are not exactly the type of text we are justified in calling “administrative”. Their emphasis is on the splendour of pious endowments and the income from foreign conquests as the fulfilment of the king’s obligations towards the gods, and hardly on the exact use of administrative terms such as *in.w* and *b3k.w*. This character of the inscriptions as a *genre* explains why the terms often appear in them as parallel notions (and why the translation “tribute” suggests itself for *b3k.w* as well as for *in.w*),<sup>1</sup> just as in the text we are presently concerned with, but that certainly does not make them synonyms. There is no reason, therefore, to equate *in.w* with *b3k.w*, or “towns” (*dmī.w*) with “farms” (*bhn.w*). The fact that the products of the farms were called *b3k.w*—if the word is used here in its proper administrative sense—would qualify them as administrative units within the temple estate, as opposed to the towns.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the farms are said to have been built in the name of the god (*hr rn=k*), whereas the towns are characterized by the phrase *m rn=f* “whatsoever” (lit. “in its (own) name”), which also suggests that they were not attached to the temple estate.

The foregoing description of the temple organisation and its revenues is closely paralleled by a passage from the south “rhetorical” stela on the first pylon of Medinet Habu:<sup>3</sup>

(l. 15) I filled it (the temple) and I completed it with my victories, (16) which I accomplished in every country with my great force. Its treasuries (*r-hd.w-s*) contain gold, silver, all types of linen, incense, *nhh*-oil, and honey, like the sand of the shore. (17) I equipped it with every work, exceeding that which has been accomplished before:<sup>4</sup> god’s fathers and *wab*-priests doing their duties, serfs, (18) fields, and herds without limit, good and enduring grain (? *nfr w3h.t*) in heaps reaching the sky.

The extra information offered by this passage is the specification of goods stored in the treasury, and the mention of *mr(.t)* “serfs” as personnel of the estate; no doubt these people are the same as the “others” (*ktḥ.w*) referred to in the text cited previously. The word *mr(.t)* as mentioned together with land and cattle, or when referring to temple

<sup>1</sup> See W. Boochs, *GM* 71 (1984), 61; idem, *VA* 3 (1987), 207-209.

<sup>2</sup> It should be noted here, however, that a temple estate could also include towns delivering *b3k.w*. In his annalistic inscriptions at Karnak, Thutmose III says: “My Majesty has given to Him (i.e. to Amun) those towns in upper *Rtnw* (the names of the towns follow), charged with *b3k.w* of the yearly requirement for the divine offering of my father Amun (*Urkunden* IV, 744, 3-8). The Syrian and Kushite towns mentioned in the Theban list a of P. Harris I, 11, 11 also belonged to temple estates, but they may actually have been towns in Egypt inhabited by foreign temple workers, just like the towns mentioned by inscriptions of Amenophis III and Thutmose IV (see above).

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu* II, pl. 107; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 74; Edgerton, Wilson, *Historical Records*, 132.

<sup>4</sup> *M k3.t nb.t r.ir(.t) hr ḥ3.t*. This interpretation, which was suggested to me by Prof. J.F. Borghouts, does not require the emendation that is necessary for the translation “every (type of) service to be done before <the god>” (Edgerton, Wilson, *Historical Records*, 132, n. 17a; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 74, n. 7a).

personnel of low status in general,<sup>1</sup> is to be distinguished from *mr(.t)* “weavers”.<sup>2</sup> The present context makes it sufficiently clear that the former are referred to here. In view of the fact that they were owned and exchanged by institutions and individuals, Bakir regarded both groups called *mr(.t)* as slaves, the first mainly having agricultural, the second domestic tasks (including weaving).<sup>3</sup> Helck, on the other hand, regarded *mr(.t)* as “serfs”: a social class of (agricultural) workers dependent on a higher class, and usually assigned to temples and state institutions.<sup>4</sup> When *mr(.t)* refers to institutional workers, as it does here, it is hard to say whether the status implied was essentially different from that of “slaves” (*hm.w*) in the workshops of Amenophis III (see above). In other texts, Ramesses III refers to the personnel of the workshop of Amun as *hm.w* and *hm.w.t*.<sup>5</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The texts discussed in this chapter were composed in different periods. Those of Amenophis III predate the text from Medinet Habu by two centuries, and there may be considerable differences between the cultic practices and the administrative system of the Eighteenth Dynasty and those of the later Ramesside Period. Nonetheless, the dedication texts cited are strikingly similar. Does the traditional character of the formulae employed reflect equally traditional practice? Judging from these texts alone, the character of the material equipment of the royal memorial temples remained essentially the same for hundreds of years.

The texts of both Amenophis III and Ramesses III emphasize the income from military campaigns, a feature that is partly due to the character of temple inscriptions as a genre. However, the spoil of war really seems to have been an important source of income, especially for the temple treasury. Judging from the text of Amenophis III, the

<sup>1</sup> Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 106, 11-17 (cf. 98, 2-6); cf. Bakir, *Slavery*, 22-25; usually written with . See e.g. Sh. Bedier, in: M. Minas and J. Zeidler ed., *Aspekte spätägyptischer Kultur. Festschrift für Erich Winter zum 65. Geburtstag (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 7)*, Mainz am Rhein 1994, 46 (fig. 1, l. 5); *Urkunden* IV, 1796, 14-16; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 50, 4. It has been suggested that the word is a derivative of *mr* “to bind” (M. Görg, *GM* 27 (1978), 23 and 24; K.A. Kitchen, *UF* 11 (1979), 457).

<sup>2</sup> Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 106, 19 and 20 (cf. 96, 15 - 97, 2); cf. Bakir, *Slavery*, 25-29; usually written with . See e.g. Davies, *Rekh-mi-Rê* II, pl. LVII; *Urkunden* IV, 742, 10-15 (the translation of this passage in Bakir, *Slavery*, 23, is incorrect: the text does not refer to *mr.t* performing agricultural labour, but to weavers and cultivators (*ihw.t.y.w*) as two different groups; see *Urkunden Übersetzung Hefte 5-16*, 227); Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 333, 9 and 10; Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 78, 3-8. For *hr.y-mr(.t)* “chief weaver”: Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. XVIII (rt. 4, 15; 5, 3) and XIX (rt. 6, 10); *sš n nš mr(.t)* “scribe of the weavers”: *ibid.*, pl. XVIII (rt. 4, 3); Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 19 (rt. 3, 6).

<sup>3</sup> Bakir, *Slavery*, 22-29.

<sup>4</sup> Helck, *Verwaltung*, 119, note 6; Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 222; W. Helck, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, 1235-1237. See also F. Steinmann, *AoF* 5 (1977), 25. For privately owned *mr(.t)*, see Bakir, *Slavery*, 22 and 26 (c).

<sup>5</sup> P. Harris I, 6, 2 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 6; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. I, 229); dedication text at Karnak (*Reliefs and Inscriptions* I, pl. 23 (A), col. 21; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 225, 5 and 6).

people captured during the campaigns and living in settlements in the immediate surroundings of the temple made up a substantial part of its personnel. The matter is less prominent in the texts of Ramesses III, although we know from the Great Harris Papyrus that this king actually assigned several thousand foreign captives to Theban temples.<sup>1</sup> Although it was their traditional task, not all pharaohs could claim to have fought many battles against foreign enemies. The campaigns of Thutmosis III as recorded in the annalistic inscriptions at Karnak had a regular character; therefore, they may have been quite important for the temples from an economic point of view. The military campaigns of other kings, by contrast, will have represented no more than a source of occasional donations of personnel and valuable materials.

The temple revenues consisted of regular/internal *b3k.w*, and occasional/external *in.w*. To the former belonged the revenues from lands and cattle; the latter included the spoil of military campaigns. Nonetheless, the war-booty plays a central role in dedication texts because it confirms the military role of the king and his continuous efforts to add to the wealth of the house of his divine father.

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<sup>1</sup> P. Harris I 10, 8 and 15 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 12 and 13).

## CHAPTER II

### THE CALENDAR OF FEASTS AND OFFERINGS AT MEDINET HABU

#### § 1 - PUBLICATION AND DESCRIPTION

The best-preserved royal memorial temple on the Theban west bank is that of king Ramesses III of the Twentieth Dynasty at Medinet Habu. This temple probably represents the major building project by this king; it was started at the beginning of his reign and finished by his twelfth regnal year (1172 BC according to the current middle chronology).<sup>1</sup> Its south wall is covered by a long inscription consisting mainly of offering-lists, which is usually referred to as the “calendar of feasts and offerings”, the “West Theban calendar of festivals”, “offering calendar”, “festival calendar”, or simply “the calendar”.<sup>2</sup> Without doubt this text is the most informative hieroglyphic inscription with respect to the economy of the Theban memorial temples.

Although well-edited, the text has seldom been discussed at length. The principal edition, with drawings and photographs, is the third volume of *Medinet Habu*, by the Epigraphic Survey of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.<sup>3</sup> The text has been supplied in a more compact form by Kitchen.<sup>4</sup> A description of the text and a discussion of its contents and background by Nelson appeared in 1934.<sup>5</sup> Partial translations with brief comments were given by Breasted and Leeuwenburg.<sup>6</sup> The various items in the lists and their quantities have been studied systematically by Helck.<sup>7</sup> Finally, the text has been commented upon by Janssen.<sup>8</sup>

The calendar occupies the part of the south wall between the west end (its starting-point) and the second pylon, and its last lists have been carved on the wall between the first and second pylons.<sup>9</sup> The length of the wall west of the second pylon is slightly less than a hundred metres, and the last lists cover about eight metres of the length of the wall between the pylons, so that the total length of the inscription is well

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<sup>1</sup> See Grandet, *Ramsès III*, 132 with note 103, and the discussion on the decree preceding the first calendar-lists in § 3 below, pp. 63-64.

<sup>2</sup> See Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 516-517 (no. 186).

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu* III. The preface to this edition also refers to the earlier work on the calendar.

<sup>4</sup> *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 115-184.

<sup>5</sup> H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 1-63.

<sup>6</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records* IV, 82-85; L. Leeuwenburg, *JEOL* 7 (1940), 327-340; idem, *JEOL* 8 (1942), 619 and 620.

<sup>7</sup> *Materialien* III, (368)-(412).

<sup>8</sup> In: *State and Temple Economy* II, 511-515.

<sup>9</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, figs. 2 and 4, pls. 133 and 134.

over a hundred metres.<sup>1</sup> It has been described as “the longest Egyptian hieroglyphic inscription extant”.<sup>2</sup> In the present study, the text will be referred to by means of the sections, lists, columns and lines as they were numbered by the Epigraphic Survey in *Medinet Habu* III. The reader is advised to consult the text in its original layout, which will prove to be important for understanding it in some cases.

The division of the text into sections is a modern convention established by the editors of *Medinet Habu* III. The word “sections” refers to parts of the text occupying its entire height, and separated by the ancient sculptors by means of vertical lines. The editors distinguished 40 sections. Section 1 is a scene representing the king before the Theban Triad and the goddess Ma‘at.<sup>3</sup> Section 2 is the “poetic” speech by the king to Amun, which has been discussed in the previous chapter.<sup>4</sup> Section 3 is a royal decree, and probably the introduction to the following five lists,<sup>5</sup> which together make up sections 4 to 8.<sup>6</sup> Section 9 is again a scene representing the king before the Theban Triad, marking a clear division between the preceding lists and the following continuous series of lists 6 to 58.<sup>7</sup> List 58 is discontinued half-way through; it is resumed some 40 metres to the east in sections 37 and 38 (immediately to the west of the first pylon), which also contain lists 59 to 64.<sup>8</sup> The last sections, containing lists 65 to 67,<sup>9</sup> were carved just east of the second pylon. Thus, the west-east sequence of the general layout is disturbed by the last four sections. The curious positions of these sections, which are pressed against the pylons protruding from the south wall, can be explained by the former presence of the mud-brick temple palace.<sup>10</sup> This, however, does not account for their relative order, which creates a somewhat unorganized impression. This, and the fact that the last lists of the calendar are missing (see below), shows that the decoration of the south wall of the temple was arranged quite carelessly.

The first five lists of the calendar were composed in the reign of Ramesses III; the rest of the inscription was copied from the south wall of the older temple of Ramesses II (the Ramesseum). The new lists enumerate daily offerings for the evening and the morning (lists 1 and 2), for the Feast of the Valley (lists 3 and 4), and for the celebration of a victory over an enemy that has remained unspecified (list 5). A similar festival is recorded in section 35, which contains three lists of offerings for the celebration of the victory over the Meshwesh (lists 53 to 55), carved over the list of the *Nḥb-k3*-festival (list 52).<sup>11</sup> That the list of this second feast of victory is not found

<sup>1</sup> See Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu* IV, fig. 1; *Medinet Habu* V, plan preceding pl. 251; *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 165 and 167.

<sup>2</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, vii.

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 135 and 136.

<sup>4</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 137 and 138; see chapter I.

<sup>5</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 139 and 140; see below, § 3, pp. 62-65.

<sup>6</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 140 and 142.

<sup>7</sup> Sections 10-36; *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 145-163.

<sup>8</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 164 and 165.

<sup>9</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 166 and 167.

<sup>10</sup> In its first phase, as reconstructed by Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu* III, pl. 5. When the palace had been rebuilt later (*ibid.*, pl. 8), lists 58-67 were no longer visible.

<sup>11</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 161 and 163.

together with the group of additional endowments is explained by the fact that the victory over the Meshwesh took place in the eleventh regnal year. By that time the temple must have been finished, or almost finished, and the south wall completely decorated, so that no more empty space was available.

Lists 6 to 67 have been copied from the south wall of the temple of Ramesses II (the Ramesseum). That wall is now entirely destroyed, its blocks having been re-used in the Graeco-Roman Period for the pylon, portico and court in front of the smaller temple at Medinet Habu.<sup>1</sup> The original inscriptions on some of these blocks correspond to columns and lines of calendar-lists 6 to 51.<sup>2</sup> The number of fragments that can be "fitted into" the Medinet Habu version is 38, while a further five have not been identified, either because they belong to the lists omitted by Ramesses III, or because the earlier text may have been different from the new version in some points.<sup>3</sup> The only things Ramesses III had to change were his names, and the date of his accession to the throne. Thus he copied the regulations made for the Ramesseum, which in its turn may have been taken over from earlier temples: we cannot be sure whether the calendar was an original composition by Ramesses II, or he also had copied an already existing text. The calendar cannot, however, have assumed its final form much before his reign.<sup>4</sup>

The Ramesseum calendar begins with the daily offerings for the memorial temple (list 6), followed by the lunar feasts (*hb.w n.w p.t.*; lists 7-14), the yearly totals of which are calculated in list 15. The section is completed by list 16 (offerings for the "august staff" of the king), and lists 17 and 18 (additional deliveries to the temple). After this begin the lists of calendar feasts (*hb(.w) tp-tr.w*). We would expect the offerings for the accession anniversary (lists 19-22) to be endowments for a new feast, but its lists were probably also copies of those of Ramesses II (with, of course, a change of the king's name and date of accession).<sup>5</sup> List 23 gives the first true calendar feast: the rising of Sothis in the first month of *ꜥḥ.t*, "on her day". The last calendar feast mentioned is "the feast of Amun of the first month of *šmw*". The feasts of the last three months of *šmw* have been left out because of the lack of space.<sup>6</sup> Among them would have been the Feast of the Valley (taking place in II *šmw*), which must have been a feast of outstanding importance to the memorial temples and to the Theban necropolis as a whole. It is mentioned in the new lists 3 and 4, but these lists can only record additions to its offerings: their totals of 10½ sacks of grain for each of the two days (see table 1) would not

<sup>1</sup> See Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 461-463.

<sup>2</sup> See *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 187-190.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment no. 43 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 189), for instance, might have belonged to list 19 of the accession anniversary, or another list preceded by a text longer than one column, but only if the disposition of lists was at some points different from that of the Medinet Habu version. We cannot be sure, moreover, that the four lists of the accession anniversary (which together cover one entire section) really occupied the same position at the Ramesseum as they did at Medinet Habu.

<sup>4</sup> See below, § 2, pp. 58-59.

<sup>5</sup> The accession-date of Ramesses II was III *šmw* 27 (W. Helck, *SAK* 17 (1990), 205-207); that of Ramesses III was I *šmw* 26 (according to column 553 of the calendar: *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 152; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 140).

<sup>6</sup> See above. H.H. Nelson (in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 24 and 25) was not entirely sure if the calendar is incomplete. L. Leeuwenburg (*JEOL* 8 (1942), 619) assumed that it is complete.

even make the festival rank among the six most important feasts of the calendar, as they are enumerated by Nelson,<sup>1</sup> and this is hard to accept. But the Feast of the Valley is not the only festival that is missing: where are the epagomenal days and the celebration of the New Year? It is clear that a number of important lists have been omitted, simply because no more space was available on the wall. Perhaps some unplaced fragments of the Ramesseum calendar belong to the missing lists of the last calendar months.<sup>2</sup>

The layout of almost every separate list follows the same pattern. The introduction consists of one or more columns mentioning the occasion for which the offerings were required and their recipients. The list itself consists of two parts, the first one enumerating bread types, beer and other cereal products, followed by their baking-value (*p<sub>sw</sub>*), that is, the number of items to be obtained out of one standard grain measure.<sup>3</sup> This is followed by a pictorial representation of the item, and the number of items needed. The first part of the list is then terminated by the grand totals of items and grain. The total of “grain” (*šsr.w*) is the sum of the (sub)totals of two different types of grain, which are referred to as *Šm<sup>c</sup>(.y)* “Upper-Egyptian grain” and *Mh(.y)* “Lower-Egyptian grain”. These two names probably stand for barley and wheat (emmer) respectively.<sup>4</sup> The second part is a (usually smaller) list of miscellaneous items (non-cereals), such as meat, wine, incense, vegetables and flowers.

<sup>1</sup> In: *Work in Western Thebes*, 18-20. See below, § 4.

<sup>2</sup> For these fragments, see *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 189.

<sup>3</sup> For *p<sub>sw</sub>*, see Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 124. As can be deduced from the calculations made in the lists, the standard corn-measure referred to by the baking-value is one quarter of a sack (*h<sub>sr</sub>*), i.e. the quadruple *hekat* (*hq<sub>3</sub>.t*) or the *oipe* (*ip.t*), equalling about 19.22 litres (see W.-F. Reineke, *MIO* 9 (1963), 152-163). The corn-measure is not spelled phonetically as *ip.t* in any of the calendar lists; it is always written with  only. *Oipe* is attested in its full writing only as a measure of capacity for liquids and charcoal in list 6 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 146, ll. 280, 282-289, 292), with  as its determinative, and corresponding to 40 *hin* (*hnw*). The size of the *hin* is known from inscribed vessels (G.P.G. Sobhy, *JEA* 10 (1924), 283-284, pl. XXII; A. Lucas, A. Rowe, *ASAE* 40 (1940), 69-92, pls. X-XIII), and the ratio *hin* : (single) *hekat* can be established with the help of the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus from the Thirteenth Dynasty (Gardiner, *Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, 199), as 1:10. It follows that 1 (single) *hekat* = ¼ *oipe*, and so the *oipe* must be the equivalent of the quadruple *hekat*. The values of the corn measures maintained in the present study are given in table 11. However, even if the standard corn-measure of the Medinet Habu lists and the *oipe* have the same capacity, this does not mean that we may read  phonetically as *ip.t* (cf. W. Helck, *JEA* 59 (1973), 95-97). The lists of Ramesses III at Karnak also employ ¼ sack as the standard corn-measure (*Reliefs and Inscriptions* II, pl. 108), but it is written there as , which is perhaps to be read as “(quadruple) *hekat*”.

<sup>4</sup> Helck, *Materialien* IV, (612)-(614). The writings resemble those of *it Šm<sup>c</sup>* “Upper-Egyptian barley” and *it Mh* “Lower-Egyptian barley”: Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, 482 (M 25) and 483 (M 33). For the latter pair of terms, R. Müller-Wollermann suggested the alternative translations “thin barley” and “full barley”, referring to *hordeum tetrastichum* and *hordeum hexastichum* respectively (*VA* 3 (1987), 39-41; reference due to Prof. J.J. Janssen). In the Medinet Habu calendar,  and  are never preceded by *it* “barley”, which we do find with the references to Upper- and Lower-Egyptian barley in e.g. Eleventh Dynasty papyri (T.G.H. James, *The Heḫanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition XIX)*, New York 1962, pl. 1, col. 7; pl. 24, col. 8), and in an inscription of Thutmose III (*Urkunden* IV, 195 and 196). The latter text distinguishes two types of grain: *it Šm<sup>c</sup>* and *bd.t* (Helck, *Materialien* IV, (612)). Now *bd.t* is the usual term for emmer (*triticum dicoccum*) in

## § 2 - THE CALENDAR AS A SOURCE OF ADMINISTRATIVE AND ECONOMIC INFORMATION

## THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CALENDAR

The calendar of feasts and offerings at Medinet Habu, and the Ramesseum calendar of which it is largely a copy, represent a type of inscription carved on the exterior of Egyptian temple walls from as early as the Old Kingdom onwards. The lists of offerings included in such calendars are entirely different in character from the lists usually found in the inner rooms of temples and private tombs,<sup>1</sup> which will be referred to here as "ritual offering-lists". The standardized forms of the latter remained unchanged throughout the Pharaonic period, even maintaining words that had since long become unusual in everyday language, whereas the appearance and contents of the calendar lists carved at different moments and places show considerable differences. Indeed, it seems doubtful whether all temple calendars recording offerings represent a common tradition. Another major difference between the two types of offering-lists is that the calendars concentrate on the totals, rather than on the individual items presented. For instance, whereas the ritual offering-lists include a detailed series of meat-portions (such as *spr* "rib", *šr.t* "roast", *mis.t* "liver", and *nn-šm* "spleen"),<sup>2</sup> the calendars simply give the amounts and types of cattle required. In doing so, they emphasize rather the resources needed: for a particular piece of meat, an animal was to be slaughtered, and all products resulting from this will have been used. In this way, the calendar lists stood closer to the administrative reality of temple offerings. They will therefore be referred to here as "administrative offering-lists".

The earliest examples of administrative offering-lists are found on blocks of the solar temple of Niuserre at Abu Ghurob, and of the funerary temple of Sahure at Abusir.<sup>3</sup> Their columns give a continuous list of lunar and calendrical feasts and the offerings established for them, and perhaps of daily offerings as well. The order of items more or less corresponds to that of the Medinet Habu calendar lists: we can distinguish bread and beer, followed by meat, fowl, honey, milk, and figs.<sup>4</sup> Some royal decrees of

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Late Egyptian administrative texts, and not *Mh(y)*, but it would be odd not to find emmer in the calendar lists, because economically it was at least as important as barley (see Germer, *Flora*, 211 and 212; idem, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI, 1209 and 1210; W. Helck, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, 587; Wild, *ibid.*, 554; D. Samuel, in: *Sesto Congresso* (Acts) I, 130 and 133). *Bd.t* is actually recorded in list 1, which distinguishes *bi.t-it* and *bi.t-bd.t* in ll. 62-71. Unfortunately, we cannot check whether the total of emmer for *bi.t*-loaves was included in the total of Lower-Egyptian grain in ll. 100 and 101 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 140; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 119-121). The interpretation of Upper-Egyptian grain as barley and Lower-Egyptian grain as emmer would nicely fit the use of these cereals in all the lists as established by Helck, *Materialien* III, (370): barley would have been used for beer (and for some other products), emmer for most types of bread.

<sup>1</sup> Offering-lists of this type have been described in Barta, *Opferliste*.

<sup>2</sup> See Barta, *Opferliste*, 49.

<sup>3</sup> See the references given by Kitchen, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, 191 and 192.

<sup>4</sup> W. von Bissing ed., *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures)* III, Berlin 1928, pls. 28-32 (esp. frgts. 432, 446, 458, 459, 487, 491, 499). The place of *šc.t*- and *psn*-cakes in this sequence (frgts. 432, 462, 484, 487, 509, 510) is difficult to establish.

the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period are accompanied by lists of offerings.<sup>1</sup> From the New Kingdom, several offering-lists of an administrative type are preserved.<sup>2</sup> They are concerned with festival, as well as with daily, offerings. By this time, the lists had become more precise, not only in distinguishing the different kinds of loaf, but also in giving the baking-values (*psw*) of bread and beer. The custom of summing up the totals of cereals required appears to have been introduced in the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

The ritual lists are not entirely without economic relevance. Broadly speaking, the items of ritual offering-lists can all be found, albeit sometimes under another name, in the calendar lists (but not the other way round: the calendars record many items that we do not find in any form in the ritual lists).<sup>4</sup> The old types of ritual list (Barta's types A, B, and C) were still being "revised" during the New Kingdom,<sup>5</sup> and new types emerged as well (Barta's types D and E, and the "anomalous" lists).<sup>6</sup> Such new ritual lists are also found in the royal memorial temples on the Theban west bank.<sup>7</sup> The older types are represented in these temples as well.<sup>8</sup> In a way, the ritual offering-lists might even have been included in the lists of the calendars. Some lists of the Ramesseum calendar as copied at Medinet Habu incorporate series of offerings with their own headings: "offering-provision" (*dbh.t-htp*, with lunar feasts); "equipped opening-of-the-

<sup>1</sup> E.g. the decree of Sesostri III for the funerary temple of Nebhepetre, listing additions to the daily offerings presented there (Naville, *Xlth Dynasty Temple I*, pl. XXIV; Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 166), and the decree of Sebekhotep IV from Karnak (W. Helck, *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 194-200). Offerings are also established in an inscription of Amenemmes II from Memphis: H. Altenmüller, A.M. Moussa, *SAK* 18 (1991), 1-48 (reference due to A. Egberts).

<sup>2</sup> See the texts collected in Helck, *Materialien* III, (349)-(414), to which add the fragments of lists of Amenophis I at Karnak (see A. Spalinger, *Three Studies on Egyptian Feasts and their Chronological Implications*, Baltimore 1992, 1-30), a stela of Thutmose III from Tell el-Fara'in (Sh. Bedier, in: *Aspekte spätägyptischer Kultur. Festschrift für Erich Winter zum 65. Geburtstag (Aegyptiaca Treverensia 7)*, Mainz 1994, 35-50, pl. 6), and a list of offerings of Amenophis IV (R. Saad, L. Manniche, *JEA* 57 (1971), 70-72, pls. XXI A and B; W. Helck, *JEA* 59 (1973), 95-99).

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. the endowments of Thutmose III at Semna: *Urkunden* IV, 195 and 196; Helck, *Materialien* III, (361) and (362); IV, (612) and (613).

<sup>4</sup> Honey is mentioned regularly in the festival calendar of Sahure, but it is not found in the ritual lists before the Middle Kingdom (Barta, *Opferliste*, 107 and 111). *bi.t* and *psn* were the most common types of loaf in calendar lists of the New Kingdom, but only the latter is found in the ritual lists, with the exception of an occasional occurrence of *bi.t* in a ritual list of an "anomalous" type at Medinet Habu (Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 510 (148); *Medinet Habu* VI, pl. 447; not in Barta, *Opferliste*). Vegetables and flowers are recorded in the calendar lists, but not in ritual lists. Water, on the other hand, which usually figures in the ritual lists, appears to have been irrelevant to the calendars.

<sup>5</sup> Barta, *Opferliste*, 106-107, 119-123.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 135-151.

<sup>7</sup> A list of type D in the central sanctuary of the temple of Hatshepsut (Naville, *Deir El Bahari* V, pls. CXXI, CXXII; according to Barta, *Opferliste*, 136-140, this type belongs to a ritual celebrated with the festival processions of Amun); a list of type E on a block of the temple of Thutmose III (A. Weigall, *ASAE* 7 (1906), 139-140 (G); Barta, *Opferliste*, 140, n. 29); "anomalous" lists in the temples of Sethos I and Ramesses III (Barta, *Opferliste*, 149, notes 63 and 65; *Medinet Habu* VI, pl. 44; VII, pl. 529).

<sup>8</sup> In the temples of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (Naville, *Deir El Bahari* I, pls. VI, VII; IV, pls. CIX, CX, CXII, CXIII; V, pls. CXXXV, CXXXVI; Lepsius, *Denkmäler* III, pl. 19, 1a, c, 2a, c; Ricke, *Totentempel*, pl. 3 (d); Barta, *Opferliste*, 104, 117).

mouth” (*wp.t-r pr.w.t*, with calendar-feasts, including some of the festivals of Sokar); “(great) basket of carrying things (i.e. offerings)” (*hṭp.t (ʿz.t) n fʿi.t ḥ.t*, with Sokar-feasts).<sup>1</sup> The main items of these sublists are fruits, but we also find honey, wine, milk and meat. Their contents are closely reminiscent of the ritual offering-lists, and it is tempting to see them as such ritual lists incorporated in the calendar, although they are not completely identical with any type of ritual list as described by Barta.

Considering the foregoing information, we are probably justified in regarding the offering-lists on the outside of the temples as the administrative “translations” of the offering-cults going on inside, being copies on stone of papyrus documents that may with good reason be called “ritual”, but which incontestably have administrative aspects as well.<sup>2</sup>

Earlier versions of the calendar of feasts and offerings as it is known from Medinet Habu and from blocks of the Ramesseum have not been preserved. It appears from these monuments that the south wall of the temple was the appropriate place for offering-lists.<sup>3</sup> The remains of the exterior walls of the temple of Sethos I at Qurna, however, show no trace of a calendar. Although the south exterior wall is now almost completely destroyed, there is reason to assume that Ramesses II had entirely covered it with ritual scenes.<sup>4</sup> Earlier memorial temples in Western Thebes do not show any calendar lists. If we try to establish the date of the original composition of the Ramesseum calendar with the help of its administrative terminology, we have to bear in mind that offering-lists use terms for products and measures that are different from those employed in contemporary administrative papyri and ostraca. We have already seen in the previous section that emmer wheat, which is called *bd.t* in Ramesside hieratic texts, is referred to as *Mḥ(.y)* “Lower-Egyptian grain” in the calendar. The corn-measure employed in daily administration during the New Kingdom was probably called *oipe* (*ip.t*), but hieroglyphic offering-lists continued to use  “(quadruple) *hekat*” as a reference to the same measure of capacity at least until the Amarna period, and I think we cannot be entirely sure whether the new writing  as employed in the calendar is

<sup>1</sup> See Helck, *Materialien* III, (406) and (407).

<sup>2</sup> Examples: (1) offerings established by an unknown (Ramesside?) king for the Feast of the Valley (P. Cairo CG 58088; Černý Notebook 142. 61 and 62, meant to be published in a sequel to W. Golénischeff, *Papyrus Hiératiques I. Textes Religieux (Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire Nos. 58001-58036)*, Cairo 1927, which never appeared; see M. Trad, *ASAE* 70 (1984/85), 356); (2) text of a temple ritual, including lists of offerings, from the reign of Ramesses II or later (P. Turin Cat. 2049/141; G. Botti, in: *Reale Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*, 5th series, vol. XVII, fasc. IV, Rome 1923, 149-161; cf. G. Farina, *Aegyptus* 4 (1923), 298-303; parts of some lines in Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 636, 5-8).

<sup>3</sup> This is also supported by the temple of Ramesses III in front of the second pylon at Karnak. This temple is oriented north-south; hence, its east wall corresponds to the south wall of the temples in Western Thebes, which are laid out on an east-west axis. The east wall is decorated mainly with ritual scenes, but some room has been reserved at the south end of the wall for lists of offerings newly established by the king (*Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak* II, fig. 1, pls. 80 and 108). These lists will be discussed in chapter III, § 1.

<sup>4</sup> See J. Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos' I. in Gurna. Die Reliefs und Inschriften I (Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 20)*, Mainz am Rhein 1977, 30, pl. 18.

indeed to be read as *ip.t*, as is usually assumed.<sup>1</sup> Another example is the measure of capacity called *men* (*mn*), which is used as a measure with a fixed value in New Kingdom offering-lists, whereas it appears as a vessel of varying capacity in contemporary papyri and ostraca.<sup>2</sup> It will be clear from these examples that the development of the terms employed in offering-lists cannot be established by a direct comparison with contemporary administrative documents, but should be seen in its own context. The writing of the corn-measure referred to above is an important criterion in this respect, because it shows a development that is proper to hieroglyphic offering-lists of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Because the corn-measure has been written with , the calendar as carved on the Ramesseum and at Medinet Habu can hardly have been composed before the Amarna period. This is confirmed by the arrangement of the lists, which is dominated by long horizontal lines recording products, amounts, and calculations, combined with columns containing introductory texts. The offering-lists from the reign of Thutmosis III still preferred a more compact tabular form with squares and short lines.<sup>3</sup> It is unlikely, in view of the above considerations, that the calendar as preserved on blocks from the Ramesseum assumed its shape much before the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty; it cannot even be ruled out that it was composed early in the reign of Ramesses II.

#### THE CALENDAR AS A SOURCE OF INFORMATION

Turning to the questions of what might have been the function, and what is the informative value, of the Medinet Habu calendar with regard to actual administrative practice, we must first call to mind how carelessly the Ramesseum version was copied on the south wall of the temple at Medinet Habu. The wall did not offer enough space between the five new lists of Ramesses III and the second pylon,<sup>4</sup> and I can hardly imagine that the copyists were still unaware of that fact when they started carving the first Ramesseum lists. But it is not only the copying that betrays a certain degree of indifference with regard to the contents of the calendar. Whereas the new lists of

<sup>1</sup> See W. Helck, *JEA* 59 (1973), 95-97; idem, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* III, 1201 and 1202; A. Spalinger, *SAK* 14 (1987), 304-309. See also the note on the corn-measure above, p. 55, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> From a Ramesside endowment-text (stela MMA 54.185) it appears that the capacity of a *men* was twenty times that of a *hin* or a *nms.t* (Helck, *Materialien* III, (366); idem, *Das Bier im Alten Ägypten*, Berlin 1971, 46, note 10). Accordingly, the *men* would be the equivalent of 20 *hin*, or about 10 litres. An offering-list of Thutmosis IV also uses the *hin* as a subdivision of *men* (*Urkunden* IV, 1553, 17; Helck, *Materialien* III, (363)). In texts from Deir el-Medina, however, the contents and prices of a filled *men* vary considerably: Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 337-342. A capacity of 30 *hin*, or about 15 litres, was suggested by S. Ahituv,

*JEA* 58 (1972), 302. In hieratic texts, *men* is invariably written with , although it is a masculine word (see e.g. P. Louvre E 27151 rt., 10; P. Posener-Kriéger, *JEA* 64 (1978), 87, note m). The determinatives of some writings of *mn* in the Medinet Habu calendar seem to represent an amphora-like vessel (see *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 165, ll. 1349, 1366, 1367, 1415).

<sup>3</sup> See the references in Helck, *Materialien* III, (349)-(362). For the layout of New Kingdom offering-lists, see also W. Helck, *Altägyptische Aktenkunde des 3. und 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. (Münchner Ägyptologische Studien 31)*, Berlin 1974, 49-52.

<sup>4</sup> See above, pp. 53-55.

Ramesses III strongly resemble the Ramesseum lists in their appearance, a close study reveals that they employ a number of different words and writings. The word for “fruit”, for instance, is written *dq(r).w* in the Ramesseum lists, but in lists 1 and 2 it appears in the later form *dgz.w*.<sup>1</sup> Likewise, where the Ramesseum lists record *dqw t ḥd* “flour, (in the shape of) white bread” (?), the new lists have *q(z)w t ḥd*.<sup>2</sup> P. Harris I shows that *dgz.w* and *q(z)w t ḥd* are indeed the later forms.<sup>3</sup> Nelson has already drawn attention to the fact that the writings of the new lists and those of the hastily executed lists on the wall between the pylons have much in common.<sup>4</sup> This can be further demonstrated by, for instance, the writing of *ḥtp-ntr* “divine offering” without the loaf and jar as determinatives, the hieratic form of  $\text{†} \text{ ḥzr}$  “sack”, and the writing of *ḥnq.t* “beer” without  $\text{~~~~}$ .<sup>5</sup> It is clear from these observations that the Ramesseum calendar, when copied on the wall of the temple of Ramesses III, was not adjusted to the current administrative language, but at the end of the inscription, where the work became somewhat disordered, the sculptors chose more current forms of some terms, with which they were more familiar.

It is clear, in sum, that the Ramesseum calendar was simply copied by Ramesses III, not updated. The addition of new lists by Ramesses III (lists 1-5) cannot be seen as an adjustment, either: probably none of the offerings recorded by them was presented to the deities of the Medinet Habu temple itself (see the following section), and the offerings for the Feast of the Valley must have been relatively small additions to the endowments made in the Ramesseum calendar.

An example of similar copying practice at an earlier stage of the calendar tradition is offered by the lists pertaining to the festivals of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris (lists 42-51). The importance of this Memphite deity in the liturgy of the Theban memorial temples has already become apparent in chapter I. His cult must have been introduced in

<sup>1</sup> For *dgz.w*, see *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 140 (l. 115) and 142 (l. 134). For *dq(r).w*, see the references given by Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 156 (l. 890) and 158 (l. 924) (*dqw t ḥd*), and pls. 140 (l. 86) and 142 (l. 147) (*q(z)w t ḥd*). Cf. *q(z)w bnb/brbr*, which is attested in the old as well as in the new lists: *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 140 (l. 116) and 146 (l. 279). For *dqw* and *qz.w*, see Von Deines, Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 512 and 513, 583; Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 221; J.J. Janssen, *JEA* 77 (1991), 86, note m (*dqw t ḥd* “white bread made of date-flour”). *Dqw* of dates is known from medical texts (see refs. in Wallert, *Palmen*, 43, note 4). Helck’s translation “Früchteweißbrot” (*Materialien* III, (370); IV, (679)) is probably incorrect.

<sup>3</sup> *Dgz.w*: P. Harris I 18b, 15 - 19a, 2 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 22); *q(z)w t ḥd*: P. Harris I 18a, 2; 35a, 10; 37 b, 10 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 22, 40, 43). K. Piehl, *Dictionnaire du Papyrus Harris No. 1*, Vienne 1882, 94, read \**qwnk*, and he was followed by Erichsen, as well as by Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* V, 21, 8, and Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 94, note 349. On the analogy of the writings of *q(z)w t ḥd* in the Medinet Habu calendar, however, the group read  $\text{☞}$  in \**qwnk* will rather be  $\text{☞}$ , although this

means that  $\text{☞}$  is duplicated in 35a, 10 and 37b, 10. \**Qwnk*, the only references for which come from P. Harris I, thus appears to be nothing but a ghost-word. Helck, *Materialien* IV, (679), justly recognized it as a variant of *dqw t ḥd*.

<sup>4</sup> H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 24.

<sup>5</sup> See e.g. lists 4 and 65 for the late forms (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 142, ll. 184-186; pl. 167, ll. 1424-1427), and list 6 for the older variants (ibid., pl. 146, ll. 248-251, 257 and 258).

Western Thebes during the reign of Amenophis III or even earlier, and was still quite prominent at the time of Ramesses III. The calendar lists referring to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris are connected, not only by the dates<sup>1</sup> and the recipient of the offerings (who is Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, instead of Amun-Re), but also by their own administrative customs: the different *psw*-figures, the greater accuracy with fractions, and the different proportions of emmer and barley.<sup>2</sup> They appear to represent an administrative practice different from that of the other lists, and which may have originated at Memphis, just as the festivals themselves did. It is clear, in any case, that lists 42-51 have been inserted among the other lists without any attempt to make the whole more homogeneous. It is hard to imagine that calculations of a different mode and a greater accuracy would have been made only during the ten-day period occupied by the Sokar festivals!

That the Ramesseum calendar followed mainly local tradition in its layout and in its accounting procedures is clear from a comparison with another festival calendar that is partly preserved on the south wall of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos.<sup>3</sup> Its first obvious difference from the Ramesseum calendar is its vertical arrangement in columns and squares, instead of columns combined with horizontal lines. The organization of the lists seems to be different, too: the last great section of the calendar, which follows the inserted speech of the goddess Seshat,<sup>4</sup> appears to be concerned with the yearly totals of the preceding lists. Among these totals is included a list of yearly supplies of incense, moringa-oil, wax, papyrus, charcoal, and firewood; this is clearly an equivalent of list 18 of the Medinet Habu calendar.<sup>5</sup> The names of the items have not been preserved at Abydos, and their order must have been different from that at Medinet Habu. What is left are the units of measure (*deben* for incense and wax; *hin* for oil; scrolls for papyrus; *oipe* for charcoal; branches for firewood), and the totals. With four out of six items, the totals are half those recorded at Medinet Habu, and the amounts of the remaining two items are also less at Abydos.<sup>6</sup> Now the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos happens to be considerably smaller than the Ramesseum or the Medinet Habu temple, so that the quantities in the lists may very well correspond to the size of the temples, as we have every reason to expect. The often carelessly copied calendar lists must therefore to some extent reflect administrative reality, which must have been different in some respects at Abydos and in Western Thebes. Such a difference is also attested by the mention of

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<sup>1</sup> The festival of "Hacking the Earth" on IV *zht* 22 (list 43) is attested also on a fragment of a festival calendar of Thutmose III at Karnak, but it is not clear which deity was the recipient of the offerings (see A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 38 (1952), pl. VIII (d); Schott, *Festdaten*, (90)). For the festival in general, see W. Guglielmi, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, 1261-1263. The festivals mentioned before and after it on the Karnak fragment do not seem to correspond to those recorded at Medinet Habu.

<sup>2</sup> Helck, *Materialien* III, (411).

<sup>3</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* VI, 39; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* II, 513-531; Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 2 and 30.

<sup>4</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* II, 529-531.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 530-531. Cf. *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 150, ll. 545-550.

<sup>6</sup> So for incense, wax, oil, and firewood (with the latter item not exactly: 365 branches at Abydos against 720 at Medinet Habu). The Abydos list records two scrolls of papyrus and twelve *oipe* of charcoal, as against three scrolls and seventy-two *oipe* in the Medinet Habu list.

“rations for the *semdet*” (*dī.w n smd.t*) in the Abydos calendar,<sup>1</sup> a type of information that is absent at Medinet Habu.

The conclusion of this section is that calendar lists, as we know them from the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu and from blocks from the Ramesseum, as well as from the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, must be treated with caution when used as a source of administrative and economic information. They are the results of the repeated copying of an original text, with the occasional addition of other lists. In contrast with the ritual type of offering-lists in the temple interiors, however, they are clearly concerned with administrative aspects of the offerings. In view of their layout and their accounting procedures, their original versions cannot be so old as to be considered entirely outdated, and the amounts they record are in keeping with the size of the temple for which they were presumably used. We are therefore justified in using the Medinet Habu calendar as a source for the reconstruction of the administrative and economic aspects of the daily and festive offerings presented in the temple, albeit with the necessary reservations. Although we cannot entirely trust their accuracy, the figures in the offering-lists inform us at least roughly about the administrative practice regarding the regular temple offerings, the magnitude of their amounts, and their sources.

### § 3 - THE ENDOWMENTS OF RAMESSES III: THE DECREE, LISTS 1-5 AND 53-55

#### THE DECREE (COLUMNS 53-61) AND LIST 1

The decree of Ramesses III immediately follows the “poetic address” (for which see chapter I) and precedes the first lists of offerings.<sup>2</sup> Its state of preservation is not too good; it is therefore hard to establish its structure and its exact meaning. We may begin our efforts to analyse it with a translation:

(col. 53) Regnal year <...>,<sup>3</sup> first month of *šmw*, first day. Appearance of the king on the throne of Horus, he having received the regalia of his father Re, in order to make millions and hundreds of thousands of jubilees, under the Majesty of the Living Horus, Victorious Bull, [Great in Kingship], (Lord of) the Two Ladies, (54) Great in Jubilees like Tatenen, Horus of Gold Strong in Years like Atum, the Sovereign Protecting Egypt, Who Subdues the Foreign Countries, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma'atre Meriamun, Son of Re, Ramesses Ruler of On. (55) [His] Majesty orders that a divine offering be established for (his) father Amonrasonter in Ipet-sut, (and)

<sup>1</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* II, 529, 9. For *smd.t*, see the Introduction, § 1, pp. 6-7.

<sup>2</sup> Third section, cols. 53-60: *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 139 and 140; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 119; H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 15; L. Leeuwenburg, *JEOL* 7 (1940), 330; Helck, *Materialien* III, (368).

<sup>3</sup> The regnal year was perhaps never carved (H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 15). G. Daressy read “regnal year 12” (*RT* 19 (1897), 17; followed by Breasted, *Ancient Records* IV, 83), presumably by mistake (see *Medinet Habu* I, 2 and 3, note 16). The possible reconstruction of the year will be discussed below, pp. 63-64.

for his fathers, [...]<sup>1</sup> (and) for] the Protected Image of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma'atre Meriamun in the Temple (56) of Millions [of] Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma'atre Meriamun, United with Eternity in the House of Amun, being the fixed portion of every day, enduring and established forever; [the divine offering?]<sup>2</sup> which (57) [the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma'atre Meriamun], Son of Re, Ramesses Ruler of On, has established for his father Amonrasonter in Ipet-sut, and also (for) the jar-stand that [His] Majesty has established anew (58) [for his father Amonrasonter, being the fixed portion of] every [day]; the grain of it coming from the granary of Amonrasonter for ever and always,<sup>3</sup> redoubling that which existed (59) [before. His Majesty has established a divine offering for] his noble father Amonrasonter from the pure workshop, for the evening, at the time of dusk, (60) the grain coming from the domains of cultivators<sup>4</sup> [of the House of] His Majesty anew for his father Amonrasonter, according to the decree of regnal year 4, second month of *pr.t*, (61) by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma'atre Meriamun, in accomplishing things for his Father Amun.

The text, or the last part of it, is a rendering of a royal decree issued in regnal year 4, in the second month of *pr.t* (column 60). The regnal year changed on the accession-date of Ramesses III, which is I *šmw* 26.<sup>5</sup> The missing regnal year in column 53 must therefore be 5 or higher. The *terminus ante quem* is regnal year 11, I *šh.t* 28, which is the date of

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 15: "for the fathers, the divine Ennead"; L. Leeuwenburg, *JEOL* 7 (1940), 330: "voor zijn vaderen" (i.e. for the Ennead); Helck, *Materialien* III, (368): "den Göttern" (omitting *it.w=f*). A row of three figures is represented, the middle figure probably wearing a sun-disc on its head, which is engraved quite deep as usual. The other figures may have had headdresses as well, but no sun-discs. Beneath this group might have been another row of three figures, which is now completely destroyed. Perhaps every figure had its own particular attributes, which does not exclude the possibility that they stand for one collective notion, such as *ntr.w ntr.w.t* "gods and goddesses" (for which cf. Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions* I, 193, 16; II, 529, 9). Reading "Ennead" (*psd.t*) or "Gods of the Ennead" (*ntr.w psd.t*) presents difficulties.

<sup>2</sup> See L. Leeuwenburg, *JEOL* 7 (1940), 330: "--- die [de koning van Boven- en Beneden-Egypte (...)] gewijd heeft"; cf. Helck, *Materialien* III, (368): "Ferner stiftete der König (...), allerlei Normalopfer". The lacuna preceding *wšh.n* in col. 56 must be the starting-point of a new phrase or sentence. On the analogy of *wšh.n* in col. 87, a relative form is the most likely interpretation of *wšh.n* here as well. The preceding lacuna must have contained its antecedent; perhaps *hṭp-ntr* "divine offering", although little space is available for that reconstruction. The phrase *hnꜥ pꜣ hnt.y wšh.n hm=f* in col. 57 would seem to suggest that another offering-table is mentioned earlier, but the lacuna is too small to contain such a reference. No predicate appears before the beginning of a new sentence in col. 59: [*wšh.n hm=f* ...]; perhaps the phrase [*hṭp-ntr?*] *wšh.n nswt blt.y ... wn m-[bšh]* (cols. 56-59) was meant simply as an announcement.

<sup>3</sup> Correction of an earlier version, which ran: "The grain of it coming from the granary of the mansion of millions of years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Userma'atre Meri <amun ... >". This version was never finished, as is demonstrated by the total absence of traces of  (of *Imm*), which would have been carved quite deep. Traces of  (of *qb*), on the contrary, can still be seen. The correction must therefore have taken place while the sculptors were still busy carving the text.

<sup>4</sup> *Rmny.t ihw.t.y.w*; see also I. 123 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 140; Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions* V, 122, 9). The signs  and  are identical in New Kingdom hieratic (see Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*<sup>2</sup> II, nos. 268 and 463). For this reason, they probably came to be confused in the hieroglyphic writing of *ihw.t.y* "cultivator" (see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, 478, no. M 2).

<sup>5</sup> See col. 553 of the calendar (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 152; Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions* V, 140, 15), and Helck, *Analecta Biblica* 12 (1959), 124.

the introduction to lists 53-55.<sup>1</sup> As these lists were carved over an already existing section, the calendar must have been finished before this date.<sup>2</sup> The text of columns 53-61 should not be dated too late within the time-span thus demarcated, for the following reasons:

1. The decree mentioned in column 60 was issued some three months before the accession-date. It would seem appropriate to make it public not long after the date of issue.
2. The jar-stand (*hnt.y*) mentioned in column 57 is probably identical with the one mentioned in column 124 of list 2 (see below), and with one of the two stands mentioned in a decree with an offering-list of Ramesses III at Karnak, which is dated to regnal year 6.<sup>3</sup> As only one such stand is referred to here, the text discussed here should antedate the Karnak decree.

In view of the above considerations, the decree was probably carved on the temple wall in year 5 or year 6. Perhaps the place for the regnal year was left blank in order to be filled in when the entire calendar had been completed, but if so, the sculptors must have forgotten about it later. It is the heading of the text, with date, royal titles, and the introductory clause *wḏ hm=f ...* in column 55, that justifies its classification as a royal decree. On the other hand, columns 53-61 hardly form a single, coherent text. It seems as if an attempt has been made to integrate different texts into a whole, but the result of this “cut-and-paste” practice is not a success. The text clearly falls apart into four sections:

1. date; the king’s accession and titles (columns 53 and 54);
2. establishing daily offerings for Amonrasonter at Karnak, other gods, and the king’s protected image in the memorial temple in Western Thebes (columns 55 and 56: *wḏ hm=f ... ḏt*);
3. establishing daily offerings for Amonrasonter at Karnak (again), among others those for a newly created jar-stand (*hnt.y*); grain provided by the granary of Amonrasonter (columns 56-59: [*hṯp-nṯr*] ... *m-[bʒh]*);
4. establishing evening offerings for Amonrasonter, prepared in the pure workshop; grain provided by royal domains, according to a decree of regnal year 4 (columns 59 and 60: [*wʒh.n hm=f*] ... *ʒbd-2 pr.t*).

At first sight, the reference to the decree of regnal year 4 would seem to apply to the whole text of columns 53-61, and to the following lists. Syntactically, however, the adverbial phrase *m wḏ.t ...* is attached only to the last sentence (presuming that a new

<sup>1</sup> Col. 1223: *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 163; Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* V, 173, 14.

<sup>2</sup> The temple as a whole was completed in regnal year 12 at the latest, this being the date of the latest inscriptions on the façade of the first pylon (K.C. Seele, in: *Ägyptologische Studien*, 308, note 6; Grandet, *Ramsès III*, 132 with note 103).

<sup>3</sup> *Reliefs and Inscriptions* II, pl. 108, ll. 47-52; Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* V, 237, 6-11. See the discussion of calendar list 2 below, as well as chapter III, § 1, p. 93.

sentence is indeed started on top of column 59). Moreover, list no. 1 needs an introduction. It is reasonable to assume, therefore, that the decree of year 4 (i.e. the text of columns 59 and 60) is concerned with the offerings of list 1 only, and that it is incorporated here into a text dealing with a whole group of lists in general. By mentioning the occasion for presenting the offerings, as well as their sources, columns 59 and 60 have essential elements in common with the usual introductory columns of the calendar lists. On the other hand, the character of a decree is maintained by the reference to regnal year 4, and by the presumed formula [*w3h.n hm=f . . .*] in column 59.

Nelson assumed that the text of columns 53-61 deals with "the endowments of the temple and especially the new offerings which were the Pharaoh's own creation".<sup>1</sup> It would apply, in other words, to the entire calendar, and to the first five lists in particular. As no other (older) decree precedes list 6, the text may, in a sense, indeed be meant to introduce the whole calendar, announcing the newly established offerings and at the same time reconfirming the calendar lists copied from the Ramesseum. It is stated twice, however, that the offerings are established for Amonrasonter in his temple at Karnak (*m Ip.t-s.w.t*; columns 55 and 57). A group of other gods, and the king's protected image (*sšm hwi*) in the Medinet Habu temple, are mentioned as further recipients of the offerings in one section (columns 55 and 56) only. It is clear that the text as a whole is concerned mainly with offerings for Amonrasonter at Karnak. Nelson regarded the recipients in columns 55 and 56 as identical with the usual group of recipients appearing in the (Ramesseum) calendar lists. He assumed that the Amonrasonter referred to here was a deity worshipped at Medinet Habu, disregarding the fact that the text says "in Ipet-sut", not "of Ipet-sut".<sup>2</sup> I believe that the group of recipients in columns 55 and 56 requires a different explanation, which will be offered below, after the discussion of the new offering-lists of Ramesses III.

No reference is made to the Medinet Habu temple in the introduction to list 1, nor does it appear among the delivering institutions in the list itself: the grain (over 68 sacks daily; see table 1) came from royal domains (column 60: *rmn.y.t-ihw.t.y.w n pr n hm=f*); the wine from royal gardens (line 102: *n3 k3m.w [n pr n] hm=f*); various items were supplied by one or more temples of Ramesses III "in the House of Amun" (lines 105, 111, 118-122; further specified in lines 119 and 120 by the phrase *Shb W3s.t* "Making Thebes Festive"), by the treasury of Pharaoh (lines [112]-114), by the treasury of the House of Amun (lines 115-117), and by domains of the House of Amonrasonter (line 123).<sup>3</sup> The temples of Ramesses III "in the House of Amun" were regarded by Nelson as other names for the king's memorial temple.<sup>4</sup> However, in view of the distinctive use of *pr*, instead of *hw.t*, the reference will be to other foundations,<sup>5</sup> perhaps to the temples of Ramesses III in the precincts of Amun and Mut at Karnak.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 15. Similarly G. Daressy, *RT* 19 (1897), 17; Breasted, *Ancient Records* IV, 83. Helck, *Materialien* III, (368), considered it the introduction to list 1 only.

<sup>2</sup> H.H. Nelson, *JNES* 1 (1942), 140 and 141; followed by R.G. Morkot, *JNES* 49 (1990), 328.

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 140; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 119-122.

<sup>4</sup> Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 40.

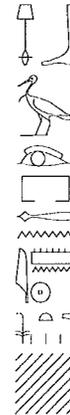
<sup>5</sup> The temples of Ramesses III "Making Thebes Festive" (ll. 119 and 120) have been identified by some scholars with the temples of this king that still stand in Karnak (Schaedel, *Listen*, 49 with note 2;

## LISTS 2-5

List 2 is preceded by two introductory columns, which run as follows:<sup>1</sup>

(col. 124) [The divine offering (?)<sup>2</sup> which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands (?) Usermaʿatre Meriamun [has established] anew for his Father Amonrasonter, being the fixed portion of every [day], on the great offering-stand of gold that his Majesty made anew in the (125) [Great (?) *Wbꜣ* of Amonrasonter<sup>3</sup> ...] in the morning,<sup>4</sup> from the workshop of the House of Amonrasonter; the corn [for it coming from] the granary of the Temple of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaʿatre Meriamun in the House of Amun.

The word *wbꜣ* in column 125 is as good as certain; on top, traces are visible of  and , while the lower traces must be those of  and  in the name 'Imn-Rꜥ nswt nꜥr.w.<sup>5</sup> The upper part of column 125 may be reconstructed as follows:



Otto, *Topographie*, 30, 39 and 40; Peden, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions*, 132; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 24, note 103; 25, note 111; 89, note 325). H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 41, and Helck, *Verwaltung*, 96, note 1; *Materialien* I, (58), did not associate the name with any structure preserved. As Otto observed, the phrase *Shb Wꜣs.t* occurs a few times in the inscriptions of the temple of Ramesses III in front of the second pylon of the great temple of Amonrasonter (see *Reliefs and Inscriptions* I, pl. 16, XVIII/10; pl. 42 D, 17), but this temple was not finished before regnal year 22 (see chapter III, § 1). In the same year, Ramesses III established the festival called “Usermaʿatre Meriamun l.p.h. Making Thebes Festive for Amun”, according to P. Harris I (see chapter VI, § 4, on list e). Medinet Habu list 1, however, must already have been composed early in his reign (see below). Lines 119 and 120 of this list, therefore, refer at best to one or two structures that have now disappeared, or which have been replaced by the later buildings of Ramesses III at Karnak.

<sup>6</sup> Schaedel, *Listen*, 49; Otto, *Topographie*, 30; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 96, note 1. See pp. 26-29 above.

<sup>1</sup> Cols. 124-125: *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 142; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 122.

<sup>2</sup> [*htp-nꜥr* (?) *wꜣh.n* ...]. The reconstruction [*mꜣꜥ n 'Imn-Rꜥ nswt nꜥr.w* ...] (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 122, 11) finds support in the similar formulae of cols. 136, 159, 191, but is rather long in view of the space available, and repeats the name of the recipient deity.

<sup>3</sup> This reconstruction will be accounted for below. Helck, *Materialien* III, (369), translated “im Vorhof”, probably reading *wbꜣ* as well.

<sup>4</sup> Helck, *Materialien* III, (369): “[... am Abend] und am Morgen”.

<sup>5</sup> Compare these traces to those of “Amonrasonter” in column 124 on the photograph in *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 141.

The epigraphical evidence, which in itself is strong enough, is confirmed by another source. The offering-list of regnal year 6 of Ramesses III at Karnak, which has already been referred to above in connection with the decree preceding list 1, is introduced as follows:<sup>1</sup>

(line 47) Regnal year 6. His Majesty orders that a divine offering be established for his father Amonrasonter on the two great jar-stands (*hnt.y.wy*) of silver and gold (48) which His Majesty has made anew in the Great *Wb3* of [...] Amonrasonter

The descriptions of the spot where the offerings were to be presented are not entirely identical in both texts. The lacuna after *wb3 n* in the Karnak list covers the space of two groups of signs (traces of some vertical strokes can be seen to the right). On the other hand, the expression in column 125 of the Medinet Habu list may not have included  *3*, and there remains a lacuna there after “Amonrasonter” (perhaps *m Ip.t-s.w.t* “in Karnak?”). The reconstruction “*wb3* of Amonrasonter”, however, still draws our attention to Karnak, rather than to Medinet Habu. The word *wb3* is often translated as “forecourt”, but its general meaning is hard to establish.<sup>2</sup> “The (Great) *Wb3* of Amonrasonter (or: Amun)”, however, must be a reference to a specific part of the Karnak temple; possibly the great hypostyle hall.<sup>3</sup>

In the Karnak list of year 6, mention is made of two offering-stands, which had the same shape as the one in list 2 at Medinet Habu. The offerings listed at Karnak consist of the same items as in the Medinet Habu list, and the amounts of loaves and beer given there are exactly twice as much. Nelson’s hypothesis was that the items and numbers in both texts represent the regular provisions for a jar-stand (*hnt.y*),<sup>4</sup> but other sources on regular provisions for this type of stand in the Ramesside Period are unknown. In fact, the implication of the corresponding stands and their provisions in the Karnak and Medinet Habu lists can hardly be anything other than that one of the stands recorded at Karnak was identical with the one mentioned in Medinet Habu list 2! The jar-stand referred to in list 2, in other words, stood in the Karnak temple, possibly in the hypostyle hall. At the time list 2 was drawn up (in any case before regnal year 6), Ramesses III had provided the Karnak temple with a new offering-stand of gold, and this stand was soon to be joined by another one made of silver.

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 47 and 48: *Reliefs and Inscriptions* II, pl. 108; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 237. See also H.H. Nelson, *JAOS* 56 (1936), 232-236; J. Quaegebeur, *RdÉ* 45 (1994), 167 and 168. The lists of Ramesses III at Karnak will be discussed in detail in chapter III, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> See Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 4-13; C. Wallet-Lebrun, *GM* 85 (1985), 67-88.

<sup>3</sup> Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 13; C. Wallet-Lebrun, *GM* 85 (1985), 74 and 75. In addition to the inscriptions dealt with in the present section, the following references can be given: inscription of Ramesses VI (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 322, 1); inscription of the high priest Amenhotep (W. Helck, *MIO* 4 (1956), 162 (3rd col. from left) and 164); P. Abbott rt. 7, 1 and 2 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. IV); *Giornale* yr. 17-B rt. 1, 21 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 15).

<sup>4</sup> H.H. Nelson, *JAOS* 56 (1936), 234.

The workshop in which the offerings of list 2 were to be prepared was the “workshop [of the House] of Amonrasonter”, which was probably the same institution as the “workshop” mentioned in the introduction to list 1 (columns 59-61), that is, a part of the temple area at Karnak, rather than at Medinet Habu: the workshop belonging to the latter temple was called “workshop of the divine offering of the Temple in the House of Amun to the West of Thebes”, or “workshop of this House”.<sup>1</sup> The grain for the bread and beer, however, was to come from the granary of the king’s memorial temple, like the grain for the offerings listed at Karnak.<sup>2</sup> The designation “temple of millions of years” in combination with the king’s *prenomen* can hardly be interpreted otherwise than as a reference to the royal memorial temple in Western Thebes, that is, to the Medinet Habu temple itself.<sup>3</sup> Apparently, the newly founded temple of millions of years on the west bank was an additional source of provisions for the temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak. According to line 131 of the list, the grain needed amounted to two *oipe*, or about 38 litres daily.<sup>4</sup> This amount would be doubled in regnal year 6 according to the Karnak list mentioned above. The temple was also expected to provide the fowl, incense, and fruit (*dgꜣ.w*) of list 2.<sup>5</sup>

In lists 3 and 4, recording Ramesses III’s additional endowments for the Feast of the Valley, the temple itself is again the main source of the offerings. Translations of their introductions will be given first:<sup>6</sup>

(column 135) Presented to Amonrasonter [as festival offerings (*hb.t*) for His Feast of the Valley, which occurs] in the second month of *šmw*—it is the new moon that determines (lit. brings) it—on the first day of resting by this Noble God Amonrasonter (136) in the Temple of Million(s) of [Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma’atre Meriamun in the House] of Amun. Its grain comes from the granary of the Temple of Million(s) of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma’atre Meriamun in the House of Amun.

(column 159) Presented to Amonrasonter as festival offerings (*hb.t*) of the second day in the second month of *šmw* of resting by this Noble God Amon[rasonter in] the [Temple of] Millions [of Years] of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma’atre Meriamun United with Eternity in the House of Amun to the West of Thebes.<sup>7</sup> (160) Its grain comes from the granary of the Temple of Millions of Years [of the King of Upper] and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Userma’atre Meriamun United with Eternity in the House of Amun to the West of Thebes for ever, (line 161) in order to

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<sup>1</sup> List 19, col. 553; list 36, col. 860: *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 152 and 156; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 140, 5; 156, 14.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter III, § 1, p. 94.

<sup>3</sup> See the discussion of the term “temples of millions of years” in the Introduction, § 3, pp. 20-24.

<sup>4</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 142; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 122, 16.

<sup>5</sup> Lines 132-134: *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 142; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 123, 1-3.

<sup>6</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 142; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 123 and 124.

<sup>7</sup> The full version of the name of a royal memorial temple; see Introduction, § 3, pp. 25-26.

provide for the offerings,<sup>1</sup> [...], festival offerings, (162) divine offering, anew for his Noble Father, Lord of the Gods (163) Amonrasonter, at His beautiful appearance at the Feast of the Valley (164) in [the Temple of Millions] of Years of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Usermaʿatre Meriamun (165) United with Eternity [in] the House of Amun to the West of Thebes, in every second month of *šmw* (166) that occurs. May He give millions of jubilees and hundreds of thousands of years (167) for ever in joy to His bodily son, whom He loves, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands (168) Usermaʿatre Meriamun, [Son of Re, Beloved] of the Gods, Lord of Appearances Ramesses Ruler of On, given life.

In these texts, the deity referred to is clearly Amonrasonter of the Karnak temple, whose cult statue actually crossed the Nile and “rested” in the king’s memorial temple in Western Thebes during the Feast of the Valley. The offerings recorded were probably to be presented in the temple he temporarily reposed in. This list, in other words, is the first one that actually records offerings for the temple on which the calendar lists are inscribed. It is therefore not surprising that this temple was also the source of the grain required (see table 1: 21 sacks, or about 1,614 litres, for the two days together). The flowers for the offerings, however, came from gardens of the “House of Usermaʿatre Meriamun in the House of Amun”,<sup>2</sup> which is one of the temples referred to as sources of offerings in list no. 1 (see above).

The fifth and last list of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu is introduced as follows:

(column 191) Presented to Amonrasonter as festival offerings (*hb.t*) which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Usermaʿatre Meriamun has established for his father Amonrasonter on the day of the [victory?] which the strong arm of Pharaoh I.p.h. accomplished<sup>3</sup> over the enemies of <...>, (192) which occurred in regnal year <...>, third month of *šmw*, day 16. Its grain comes from the granary of the divine offering of the House of Amonrasonter for ever and always.

Both the people defeated and the regnal year are omitted. Nelson thought that reference might be made here to the victory over the Libyans in regnal year 5, or to that over the Peoples of the Sea in year 8.<sup>4</sup> The authenticity of the wars of Ramesses III in these

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<sup>1</sup> R (?) *sdfz* ʿ**sb.t**. Cf. Helck, *Materialien* III, (371): “um zu versorgen”. The vague traces above  of *sdfz* (see *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 141 and 142) are probably those of . The scratch through the right end of this sign may have been made by the sculptor by accident, or it may be later damage. Cf. the parallel phrases *r sdfz imn.y.t=k* in col. 46 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 138; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 118, 5), and *r sdfz pzy=k htp-ntr* (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 37, 1-3).

<sup>2</sup> Lines 158 and 190: *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 142; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 124 and 125.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Helck, *Materialien* III, (371) and (372): “Opfer für Amonrasonter am Fest, das König W. in seinem Tempel gestiftet hat, da er die starke Macht für Pharaon machte unter den Feinden, (...)”; reading *pr[=f]* “his temple” instead of *hrw* “day” (although the round sign below it is probably , and discarding altogether the word below it, which must refer to the king’s victory (perhaps *nh?*?). In lists 53-55, the word *smz* “to slaughter” is used to denote the victory over the Meshwesh (see below).

<sup>4</sup> H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 43-44.

years, however, is not beyond all doubt, to say the least.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it is likely that reference is made to a military campaign in the early years of Ramesses III, when the carving of lists 1-5 took place (it has been demonstrated above that list 2 must have been composed before regnal year 6). The location of the festival is not mentioned, but the source of all the products is the House of Amonrasonter, and not the king's temple of millions of years, which is entirely absent here as an economic source. It is not very likely that departments of the temple of Amonrasonter yearly supplied the Medinet Habu temple with 20 sacks of grain (as well as flowers and incense) for this particular occasion, while depending on the grain supplies of the memorial temple for the daily offerings of list 2.

#### LISTS 53-55

Lists 53, 54 and 55 record offerings for the celebration of the victory over the Meshwesh in the king's eleventh regnal year.<sup>2</sup> These lists also represent new endowments of Ramesses III, and do not form part of the original calendar. The south wall had probably been entirely inscribed and decorated by the eleventh year, so the lists had to be carved over a section of the calendar. The reason why list 52 (of the *Nḥb-k3*-feast) fell victim to this practice was probably the fact that this was the only festival list that occupied the entire height of one section, so that no more than one list would be lost when the new text was carved over it.<sup>3</sup> The sequence of festival dates, however, was disturbed by this: the festival of *Nḥb-k3* (I *pr.t* 1) occupied its proper position between lists 51 (IV *ḏḥ.t* 30) and 56 (I *pr.t* 6),<sup>4</sup> but the secondary list no. 53 replaced I *pr.t* 1 by I *ḏḥ.t* 28! The introduction to list 53 runs as follows:

(column 1191/1223)<sup>5</sup> Regnal year 11, first month of *ḏḥ.t*, day 28: the killing of the Land of Meshwesh which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma'atre Meriamun has accomplished. Presented to Amonrasonter and His Ennead, (and) the Protected Image of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma'atre Meriamun, as festival offerings (*ḥb.t*)<sup>6</sup> of this day. [Its grain] comes from the granary of the House of Amonrasonter [...] temple of Userma'atre Meriamun in the House of Amun to the West of Thebes.

<sup>1</sup> L.H. Lesko, *Serapis* 6 (1980), 83-86. Lesko suggested that the Medinet Habu texts and scenes pertaining to these wars might have been copied from originals (now lost) in the memorial temple of Merenptah, just as other texts and reliefs were copied from the Ramesseum (see C. Nims, in: *Studies Hughes*, 169-175).

<sup>2</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 162 and 163; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 173-176.

<sup>3</sup> H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 59 and 60.

<sup>4</sup> The original sequence of lists was 51-52-56, later replaced by 51-53-54-55-56. The reader must not be misled by the modern numbering of the lists.

<sup>5</sup> Nos. 1191 and 1223 refer to the same column. The columns and lines of list 52, as far as could be reconstructed, have been numbered 1191-1222; those of lists 53-55 have the numbers 1223-1286 (*Medinet Habu* III, pls. 162 and 163).

<sup>6</sup> Read *ḥb(.t)*, as elsewhere. The sign  $\text{𐀀}$  is only written in the introductions to lists 4 and 5 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 142, cols. 159 and 191), and list 58 (*ibid.*, pl. 165, l. 1330).

According to the reconstruction of the original text of this column by the editors of *Medinet Habu III*, only the top of the column would have been changed. The text below line 1199/1232 would simply be the same as that of the introduction to list 52,<sup>1</sup> which clearly refers to the deities residing in the memorial temple, just as the other lists of the old Ramesseum calendar do. Lists 54 and 55, however, are separate endowments for “Mut, [the Great One, Mistress of Isheru]” (line 1252), and for “his (the king’s) Father Khonsu” (line 1269).<sup>2</sup> Together, lists 53-55 are concerned with offerings for the Theban Triad. The question as to whether the offerings of lists 53-55 were presented at Karnak or at Medinet Habu cannot be answered with certainty by this fact alone, nor can it be established with the help of the divine epithets.<sup>3</sup> Still, the Theban Triad is an unusual group of deities in the calendar. A further indication as to the location of the offering-cult is the source of its supplies, which is again the “granary of the House of Amonrasonter”, possibly together with that of the memorial temple (see below, section 6). As with list 5 (see above), this circumstance may support the possibility that the offerings of lists 53-55 were presented at Karnak, and not at Medinet Habu, although the latter temple would have been a splendid setting for the important feast of victory.

#### CONCLUSION ON THE ENDOWMENTS OF RAMESSES III

From the observations on the individual lists above, I conclude that the first five lists (and possibly also lists 53-55) of the calendar of feasts and offerings at Medinet Habu are connected, not only by being new endowments of Ramesses III, but also by listing, all of them, offerings for Amonrasonter of the Karnak temple. The offerings of lists 1, 2 and 5 were to be presented there, while the offerings of lists 3 and 4 were presented in the king’s temple of millions of years, but to the same god Amonrasonter, who was residing there during the first two days of the Feast of the Valley. The arguments supporting this view may be briefly resumed here:

1. The text preceding the first five lists emphatically states that the offerings are presented to Amonrasonter *in Karnak* (columns 55 and 57). The addition *m Ip.t-s.w.t* will be a locative adverbial phrase, rather than an epithet. Amonrasonter is the recipient of offerings in the majority of calendar lists, but his name is never “Amonrasonter *in Karnak*”. Instead, we find “Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, *foremost of (hnt.y) Karnak*”.<sup>4</sup> The royal bark (“protected

<sup>1</sup> The same is not necessarily true for the source of the grain: see below, § 6, pp. 82-84.

<sup>2</sup> *Medinet Habu III*, pl. 163; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions V*, 175.

<sup>3</sup> The epithets “Great One, Mistress of Isheru” of Mut refer to her cult at Karnak, but they can also accompany the goddess’s name at Medinet Habu. In one of the scenes on the roof-terrace above the first hypostyle hall she is represented together with Amonrasonter and Khonsu (*Medinet Habu VII*, pl. 538). The latter bears his usual Karnak epithet “in Thebes Neferhotep”, but this is followed by: “sojourning in (*hr.y-ib*) the temple of Userma’atre Meriamun United with Eternity in the House Of Amun”. In this way, Khonsu is referred to as a deity worshipped at Medinet Habu, and the same will be true for Amun and Mut.

<sup>4</sup> Once in the calendar: *Medinet Habu III*, pl. 167, l. 1451. See also *Medinet Habu V*, pls. 251 (D), 260 (A), 261 (A), 269 (A, B), 270 (B), 305 (A), 308 (C).

image"; *sšm hwi*), on the contrary, was in (*m*) the temple of millions of years. A contrast emerges between the two beneficiaries and their residences. In this way, the text implies that the following lists enumerate offerings to be presented at Karnak as well as Medinet Habu, the latter location perhaps only at the Feast of the Valley, when both Amonrasonter and the royal bark received offerings (although the bark is not mentioned as a recipient in lists 3-4).

2. According to the decree and lists 5 and 53, the source of the cereals was the granary of Amonrasonter. In the decree, it has even been carved as a correction over the name of the king's memorial temple (column 58). If the festivals had taken place in the royal memorial temple in Western Thebes, the grain for their offerings would have been transferred from the granary of the temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak to Medinet Habu. This, however, is contradicted by list 2 and by the offering-lists of Ramesses III and IV at Karnak, from which it is certain that the grain and other items for daily and festival offerings at Karnak were supplied by the royal memorial temple.<sup>1</sup> Transporting the same product in opposite directions would hardly make sense.

3. The *wbꜣ* and the workshop (*šn*) of Amonrasonter in list 2 (column 125) point unambiguously to Karnak as the location of the offering-cult. The workshop where the offerings were prepared before entering the temple proper (see section 6) was probably situated within the temple precinct. The raw materials (cereals, birds, incense, and fruit), however, were supplied by the royal temple on the west bank.

Another argument is provided by a study of the quantities of offerings involved. Lists 1 and 2 record endowments for the daily offering-cult.<sup>2</sup> As such, they can only have been additions to offerings already established. It has been assumed that the quantities of these lists must therefore be added to the daily offerings of list 6 (the list of daily offerings of the old Ramesseum calendar).<sup>3</sup> This theory, however, would have some peculiar consequences. The total of list 1 of Ramesses III's new endowments is 3,357 loaves of bread (line 98). The total amount of grain required is not preserved, but must be some 68 sacks or more (see table 1). According to list 6, the daily offerings as established for the Ramesseum included over 2,222 loaves, and they required only  $30\frac{1}{2}$  sacks of grain.<sup>4</sup> If we consider the amount of 68 sacks (new daily offerings established by Ramesses III) an addition to the old quantity of  $30\frac{1}{2}$  sacks (old calendar list of daily offerings), we would accept that Ramesses III augmented the daily offerings by more than 200%.<sup>5</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> See above, p. 68, and chapter III.

<sup>2</sup> References to daily offerings are the terms *imn.y.t n.t R' nb* in cols. 56, 58, 124, and *m mn.t* in ll. 104-107, 112-118, 120-123 (followed by the calculation of the yearly total in l. 104).

<sup>3</sup> H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 46 and 48; Schaedel, *Listen*, 65; L. Leeuwenburg, *JEOL* 8 (1942), 619; J.J. Janssen, in: *State and Temple Economy II*, 512; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 193.

<sup>4</sup> *Medinet Habu III*, pl. 146, ll. 257-258; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions V*, 128, 5 and 6.

<sup>5</sup> The yearly total of grain required by list 1 (24,911 sacks or more) would be even more than twice the amount of the yearly totals of all the lists of the Ramesseum calendar together (12,562 sacks or more; see the end of table 1)!

enlarged amount of daily offerings would have been presented in the temple of Medinet Habu, which was not even as large as the Ramesseum, where the total of daily offerings must have been that of list 6. Whereas an increase of 200% to the daily offerings of whatever temple seems unlikely, the total of list 1 would probably be a fitting addition to the daily offerings of Amonrasonter at Karnak. The daily offerings established by Thutmosis III for Amun at Karnak "in excess of what was before" included 3,305 loaves,<sup>1</sup> and the total amount of offerings might even have increased since his reign, so that the 3,357 loaves of list 1 would have been an "additional" endowment indeed at the time of Ramesses III. If meant as an endowment for Medinet Habu, the offerings of list 1 would make the daily evening ritual much more prominent than the one celebrated in the morning, which seems to have been the most important daily ritual throughout the Pharaonic period.<sup>2</sup> At Karnak, however, the amount of evening offerings would probably still rank below those of the morning ritual, as we would expect. We know, moreover, that evening offerings had been established there already by Thutmosis III.<sup>3</sup>

It is unlikely, for the above reasons, that the offerings of list 1 should be regarded as additions to those of list 6, that is, to the offerings daily presented in the royal memorial temple in Western Thebes. It seems, then, that Ramesses III took over the stipulations for the daily offerings from the Ramesseum without any change, declaring them to be his own endowments in the introductory column to list 6.<sup>4</sup> This means that, according to the calendar, the daily offerings at Medinet Habu were the same as those presented in the temple of Ramesses II during the reign of that king. List 1, as well as lists 2 and 5 of Ramesses III, record the offerings for Amonrasonter presented at Karnak. During the Feast of the Valley (lists 3 and 4), this deity stayed in the royal memorial temple at Medinet Habu on the west bank, and received his offerings there. It was only on this occasion that the royal temple functioned as the location where the offerings newly established by Ramesses III were presented to the god.

Why, then, were lists 1-5 all inscribed on the walls at Medinet Habu, and not at Karnak? The reason for doing this may have been that at the time the offerings were established, no space was available on the walls of the Karnak temple where the lists could be carved. The building of Ramesses III's temples in the precincts of Amun and Mut had probably not yet started.<sup>5</sup> Instead of erasing an already decorated wall, or setting up a great stela inscribed with the royal decree and the lists, the king had the records of his new endowments carved on the south wall of his memorial temple, the decoration of which still had to be started. After all, the type of information would match perfectly with the lists of the Ramesseum calendar, which were to be copied on the same wall. The *ad hoc* (?) decision to let the king's own lists precede the Ramesseum calendar

<sup>1</sup> See *Urkunden* IV, 754, 8; Helck, *Materialien* III, (350), no. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Vergote, *De Godsdienst van het Oude Egypte (Inforiënt-reeks 7)*, Leuven 1987, 53-58; Alliot, *Culte d'Horus* I, 121 and 123 (note 3); W. Barta, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* III, 841 and 842.

<sup>3</sup> See *Urkunden* IV, 748, 5-8; 754, 15 - 755, 11; Helck, *Materialien* III, (350), nos. 3 and 4.

<sup>4</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 146, l. 219; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 126, 15.

<sup>5</sup> Some inscriptions on his temple in front of the second pylon of the great temple of Amun mention the regnal years 16 and 22. Although these years do not necessarily refer to the date of its building, they may indicate that the temple was built later in the king's reign (see *Reliefs and Inscriptions* I, vii).

disturbed the organization of texts on the south wall as originally planned: the last lists of the calendar, which otherwise perhaps might have fitted quite well within the section of the south wall between the west end and the second pylon, now had to be omitted (see above, section 2). On the other hand, the initial position of lists 1-5 gave prominence to the king's own endowments (albeit mainly for another temple), and in that way prevented the whole Medinet Habu calendar from becoming a mere copy of its original on the Ramesseum.

#### § 4 - THE RAMESSEUM CALENDAR (LISTS 6-52 AND 56-67)

##### RECIPIENTS OF THE OFFERINGS

The lists copied from the Ramesseum are basically of the same type as the new lists of Ramesses III. Each separate list is preceded by its own introductory column(s). In addition to this, lists 7-15 (the "feasts of the sky", or lunar feasts) and lists 19-52 and 56 ff. (the calendar feasts) have been grouped under common headings.<sup>1</sup> The information given in the introductions is rather concise; it mentions the occasion and the divine recipients of the offerings (see table 1 for this information). The main beneficiary is Amun-Re, or more fully Amonrasonter (so in lists 7, 8, 10-12, 23, 24, 52/53). According to the introduction of list 15, the offerings of the lunar feasts were presented to Amun in "the Temple of Userma'atre Meriamun in the House of Amun",<sup>2</sup> and by this information we can be certain that the recipient was the main deity of the memorial temple of Ramesses III in Western Thebes. The king's "protected image" (*sšm ḥwt*) and the Ennead "which is in the temple of Ramesses III", make up the rest of the three parties usually involved. It seems that these are the recipients in the majority of lists. Not every one of them, however, is always mentioned. If little space is available for the introduction, we only find Amun-Re. If the introductory column is longer, either the Ennead or the royal bark may be mentioned, and if possible, both of them (see table 1). In all cases, however, the offerings were probably presented to all three parties permanently residing in the memorial temple. Lists 16 and 20 record offerings for another divine image, the royal staff (*mdw šps*). Some lists do not record offerings for divine images, but other requirements: lists 17 and 18 are concerned with provisions for the temple in general; lists 22 and 37 with the supplies for the priests' drinking-parties. The offerings of lists 42-51 were presented to Ptah-Sokar-Osiris.

##### SOURCES OF THE OFFERINGS

The source of the grain is not mentioned in every separate list. However, the shared introductory columns of the lunar and calendar feasts provide the necessary information. In both cases, the source of the grain was the "granary of the Temple of Userma'atre

<sup>1</sup> Cols. 293 and 551 (*Medinet Habu* III, pls. 148 and 152; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 130 and 140).

<sup>2</sup> Col. 464 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 150; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 137, 4).

Meriamun".<sup>1</sup> The same granary is referred to in the introductions of two separate lists as "granary of the divine offering of the Temple ..." (lists 38, 47);<sup>2</sup> we also find this indication with two lists of daily offerings.<sup>3</sup> As opposed to lists 1-5, the sources of non-cereal products are usually not mentioned in the Ramesseum calendar. List 17 (as well as perhaps list 18) records yearly deliveries from the "treasury of Pharaoh l.p.h."<sup>4</sup> List 22, which enumerates the provisions for the priests' drinking-party at the anniversary of the king's accession, records the sources of vegetables, salt, natron and moringa-oil as being the temple gardeners, its "storehouse of *in.w*" (*wḏz n in.w*), and its treasury respectively.<sup>5</sup> This exceptional piece of information led Nelson to the idea that list 22 represents a new feast created by Ramesses III, on the analogy of lists 1-5 and 53-55.<sup>6</sup> Fragments of a corresponding Ramesseum list are indeed lacking, but this is far from decisive. The arrangement of list 22 and the surrounding lists seems to have remained unchanged.<sup>7</sup> Moreover, the writings of *ḥtp-ntr* "divine offering" and *ḥsr* "sack" show that list 22 matches epigraphically with the other Ramesseum lists; the lists of Ramesses III show different forms.<sup>8</sup> It remains difficult to explain, then, why the sources of non-cereals are mentioned here in detail (as opposed to the source of the grain, about which we are not informed). A comparable list, which is concerned with a priestly drinking-party at the occasion of the Opet festival, does not tell us where the moringa-oil required for the party came from.<sup>9</sup>

## § 5 - THE DAILY AND FESTIVAL OFFERINGS PRESENTED IN THE MEMORIAL TEMPLE

### THE DAILY OFFERINGS

Following the arguments of section 3, we must henceforth regard only lists 6-52 and 56-67 as records of the offering-cult in the royal memorial temple on the Theban west bank. That is, Ramesses III made no additions to the endowments for the memorial temple as recorded by the Ramesseum calendar, except for the additional offerings for the Feast of the Valley (lists 3-4). This means that in theory, the material provisions for the offering-cult at Medinet Habu were the same as those established formerly for the Ramesseum. We can never be certain that the exact amounts recorded by the lists were kept to in both temples (in view of the copying tradition; see section 2), but the calendar probably

<sup>1</sup> Cols. 293 and 551 (*Medinet Habu* III, pls. 148 and 152; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 130 and 140).

<sup>2</sup> Cols. 876 and 1025 (*Medinet Habu* III, pls. 156 and 160; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 158, 1; 166, 1).

<sup>3</sup> Lists 6 and 16; cols. 219 and 531 (*Medinet Habu* III, pls. 146 and 150; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 127, 1; 139, 12). In the latter instance: "granary of the divine offering of this house (*pr pn*)".

<sup>4</sup> L. 542 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 150; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 140, 3).

<sup>5</sup> Ll. 624-628 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 152; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 144, 1-4).

<sup>6</sup> H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 44.

<sup>7</sup> See *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 190 (B, left).

<sup>8</sup> Ll. 620, 621, and 624 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 152; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 143 and 144). See above, § 2, p. 60.

<sup>9</sup> List 37, l. 873 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 156; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 157).

presents us with the theoretical framework of the offering-cult in a royal memorial temple throughout the year, and the amounts of offerings actually presented to the gods must at least have been in agreement with the order of magnitude of its figures.

According to list 6, the quantity of grain required for the daily offerings was  $30\frac{1}{2}$  sacks, or about 2,345 litres. This was used for the production of over 2,222 loaves of various types, 144 jars of beer, and 50 other items.<sup>1</sup> Many other products were required as well: 30 birds of various species (*ꜥꜥꜥ*)—cattle was used for festival offerings only—some jars of wine, 10 baskets of fruit, 100 bundles of vegetables, 20 bulbs of onion,  $8\frac{2}{3}$  *hin* (or 4 litres) of honey, about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  litres of fat (for *š<sup>c</sup>.t*-cakes), and many more items.<sup>2</sup> Significantly, only one *oipe* (almost 20 litres) of charcoal (*d<sup>c</sup>b.w*) was needed, presumably for the small quantity of items that were to be burned on special altars, or for burning incense.<sup>3</sup> The offerings did not all perish in flames (which would have been impossible to accomplish in view of the quantities involved), but were chiefly to be redistributed among the participating priests (see Introduction, section 1). We do not know how many people benefited from this, and what was the size of the individual shares. Attempts to reconstruct these will be made in the following section.

To the daily requirements recorded in list 6 we must add the offerings to the “August Staff” (*mdw šps*) of Ramesses III.<sup>4</sup> This cult-object was dedicated to Amun, as is apparent from the ram’s head on top of it, but it was especially associated with the king as well, since it also received special offerings on the anniversary of the accession date, according to list 20. The grain for the bread and beer daily presented to the staff amounted to 1 *oipe* (=  $\frac{1}{4}$  sack) daily (list 16). It may have formed the income of one or more special priests connected with the royal staff,<sup>5</sup> or an addition to the regular income of others. Lists 17 and 18 record some extra provisions for the temple on a yearly and monthly basis: moringa-oil, wine, fruit, incense, wax, papyrus, firewood, and charcoal.<sup>6</sup> The introductions to these lists do not mention the recipient(s) of these items; perhaps they were not intended for the offerings, but for some other general purpose (the papyrus sheets in line 548, for instance, may have served the temple administration).

#### THE FESTIVAL OFFERINGS

After the daily offerings follow the requirements for the “feasts of the sky” (lists 7-15), the dates of which were determined by the lunar months.<sup>7</sup> Each lunar month brought eight such feasts. The length of the lunar (synodic) month varies; on average it is  $29\frac{1}{2}$

<sup>1</sup> List 6, ll. 257-259 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 146; Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* V, 128, 5-7).

<sup>2</sup> List 6, ll. 260-292 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 146; Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* V, 128-130).

<sup>3</sup> Six more *oipe* of charcoal and 60 units of firewood were provided each month according to list 18, ll. 549 and 550 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 150; Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* V, 140, 8 and 9).

<sup>4</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 150; Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* V, 139 and 140.

<sup>5</sup> See H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 50 (fig. 21).

<sup>6</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 150; Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* V, 140.

<sup>7</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 148 and 150; Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* V, 130-139.

days, which is half a day shorter than the Egyptian calendar month of 30 days.<sup>1</sup> This means that in the course of the year, lunar dates shifted with respect to calendar feasts (*tp-tr.w*), which are recorded in the last and greatest part of the Medinet Habu calendar (lists 19-67). All lunar feasts must have occurred 12 times during the fixed calendar year, and in some years even 13 times, if the dates of the feasts directly depended on the natural phenomena observed. In list 15, however, all offerings of the lunar feasts are converted to yearly amounts by means of the factor 12; an occasional 13th full moon (or other moon phase) was apparently disregarded.

The amounts of offerings presented at the lunar feasts were modest in comparison to the daily requirements: most of the feasts only required 1 sack of grain. Lists 9 and 12, which represent the feasts of the new moon and of the sixth day respectively, have totals of 5 sacks, besides considerable quantities of additional items, among which we also find beef. Still, the festival offerings must have had an additional character only.<sup>2</sup> The quantity of cereals nowhere reaches the number of list 6 (the daily offerings, with a total of  $30\frac{1}{2}$  sacks), and we can hardly assume that the daily offerings were *replaced* by smaller quantities at festivals. Besides, the fact that the daily amounts in list 6 are converted to yearly quantities through multiplication by 365 makes it clear enough already that the offerings were presented every day (including the *epagomena*), and that the daily offerings cannot have been skipped occasionally because of the lunar feasts. This means that six times a month, the grain needed for the day's offerings amounted to  $30\frac{1}{2} + 1 = 31\frac{1}{2}$  sacks, and twice a month to  $30\frac{1}{2} + 5 = 35\frac{1}{2}$  sacks (see table 1 for the separate amounts). In this way, the offerings of the lunar feasts may have formed a redistributable income in addition to the daily offering-shares.

The daily offerings were probably also augmented by the offerings of the calendar feasts (lists 19-67).<sup>3</sup> On some occasions, the amount of grain required equalled or surpassed that of the daily offerings,<sup>4</sup> but in most cases, it was quite modest, just like the amounts for the lunar feasts. The liturgical "highlights" of the Ramesseum calendar, on which the festival provisions of grain superseded the usual daily amounts, were the following (in order of diminishing totals of offerings):

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<sup>1</sup> See Parker, *Calendars*, 2.

<sup>2</sup> Same opinion by J.J. Janssen, in: *State and Temple Economy* II, 513.

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 152-167; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 140-183.

<sup>4</sup> See table 1: lists 21, 22, 47, 52, 53, 60, 61.

feast(s)	amount of grain (sacks)	lists
feast of Sokar (I <i>zḥ.t</i> 26)	$166\frac{1}{4}$	6 + 47
accession anniversary (I <i>šmw</i> 26)	147	6 + 19 + 20 + 21 + 22
<i>Nḥb-kz</i> festival (I <i>pr.t</i> 1)	$80\frac{1}{2} + x$	6 + 52
Lifting up the sky (II <i>pr.t</i> 29 - III <i>pr.t</i> 1) and Entering the sky (III <i>pr.t</i> 29 - IV <i>pr.t</i> 1)	$72\frac{3}{4}$ daily	6 + 60a/b/c or 61a/b/c

This list corresponds to those given by Nelson,<sup>1</sup> but it does not include the festival of victory over the Meshwesh (lists 53-55) because it is a new endowment of Ramesses III; nor does it include the feast of *Nṯr.y* (IV *zḥ.t* 25), which requires a great amount of (tiny) loaves, but only a small quantity of grain. Nelson's ordering is based on the number of loaves, cakes and jugs of beer, whereas the ordering made here is based on the amounts of grain required for these items. The omission of the very important festival of Opet is caused by its relatively small daily amounts offerings. If we took all days of this festival together, it would head the list, as in the last sequence established by Nelson. In the present discussion, the quantities of the individual days have been taken as the point of departure. The absence of the Feast of the Valley is explained by incomplete state of the calendar (see above, section 1); we are only informed about Ramesses III's addition of twice  $10\frac{1}{2}$  sacks to this festival (lists 3-4).

Could the requirements of the lunar and the calendar feasts both be added to the daily offerings? The amounts of grain for some of the calendar festivals remain below the 5 sacks of lists 9 and 12 (feasts of the new moon and the sixth day of the lunar month). We may therefore use the same argument as above: it is unlikely that the provisions for the lunar feasts were replaced by the smaller quantities of calendar feasts. This means, for instance, that if the feast of Sokar coincided with the day of the new moon, the total of grain needed for the offerings of that day would not be  $166\frac{1}{4}$ , but  $171\frac{1}{4}$  sacks (lists 6 + 9 + 47: daily offerings, new moon, and Sokar festival). Only in this way could the yearly amount of grain for the offerings remain constant: if no festival provision was replaced by another, the yearly quantities of all lists (daily and festival) can be added up together. If, however, the 5 sacks of grain needed for the new moon festival were to be neglected because of the much larger amount of the Sokar feast, the total yearly requirement would also be diminished by 5 sacks. As lunar and calendar feasts must have coincided quite often, but irregularly, there would have been

<sup>1</sup> In: *Work in Western Thebes*, 18 and 19.

considerable differences between the amounts of offerings in one month and those in another. Of course, we cannot entirely exclude the possibilities that, when lunar and calendar festivals coincided, either the provision for the former was preferred, or whichever amount was larger. In either case, however, the offering requirements, and hence the income of people entitled to offering-shares, would have shown considerable irregularities over the course of time.

## § 6 - THE REDISTRIBUTION OF THE OFFERINGS

The provisions for the daily cult must have formed a regular source of income for the people involved in the redistribution of offerings. Occasional additions to this income were provided by the offerings of the lunar and calendar feasts. Attempts to determine the number of people benefiting from the offerings, however, must remain largely speculative. A clue may be offered by list 22, which records the requirements for a drinking-party of the hour-priesthood at the anniversary of Ramesses III's accession to the throne.<sup>1</sup>

(column 615): Arrangements of drinking for the hour-priesthood which I(?) brought together(?)<sup>2</sup> before the statue of appearance-of-the-king of Userma'atre Meriamun

The participants are referred to as "hour-priesthood", that is, the group of priests performing their tasks according to a rotating schedule. In the introduction to a similar list, the same priests are called *w<sup>c</sup>b.w.*<sup>3</sup> List 22 is not really an offering-list, although the loaves and beer are described as *h<sup>t</sup>p-n<sup>t</sup>r* "divine offering" in line 620. The first recipient of the food may have been the statue of the king (although it is not mentioned as such), but the quantities seem rather to have been established with regard to the number of people involved. The loaves were presented in baskets, the total number of which was 150. Wine and meat were available "for the duration of this day" in unspecified amounts, whereas the bundles of vegetables and the bricks of salt and natron amounted to 300 and 150 respectively; their distribution was again determined by the number 150. Nelson assumed that this was also the number of priests attending the ceremony and sharing the food.<sup>4</sup> These priests, however, were regarded by him as only part of the

<sup>1</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 152; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 143 and 144.

<sup>2</sup> *ḥb.n=i?* Although the text is damaged at this point, the traces of the squatting man can be seen clearly after *ḥb.n*. The sign is not a royal figure (it shows no uraeus, beard or sceptre), but perhaps it might be a 1 sg. suffix pronoun, the speaker being the king himself (in what is, after all, a royal endowment text). The word *ḥb* itself means "to collect" (Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* I, 40). Cf. H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 52: "provision that is made for the lay priests of the temple who officiate (...)"; L. Leeuwenburg, *JEOL* 7 (1940), 334: "Wat gemaakt wordt [als] proviand (?) voor de leekepriesters en de *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priesters (?) (...)"; Helck, *Materialien* III, (378): "Trinkgelage für die Stundenpriesterschaft, das abgehalten wird (...)".

<sup>3</sup> List 37, col. 869 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 156; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 157, 6). See the Introduction, § 1, p. 5, for *w<sup>c</sup>b* as the title of individual members of the hour-priesthood. The nisbe *wnw.t.y* "hour-priest" does not refer to a member of the *wnw.t* "hour-priesthood", but has the more specific meaning "hour-observer", "astronomer" (Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* I, 317, 9; Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 61\*-63\*).

<sup>4</sup> H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 53.

temple priesthood (the “lay priests”); the regular priesthood, who received shares of the offerings recorded by the preceding list (no. 21), were not involved in this party. Janssen likewise assumed that the higher priestly and administrative ranks, as well as the non-priestly personnel (*smd.t*), were not part of the “hour-priesthood”.<sup>1</sup>

Another way to approach the problem is to compare the amounts of grain recorded with individuals’ or families’ requirements as they can be established from other sources. The necropolis workmen living at Deir el-Medina received  $5\frac{1}{2}$  sacks ( $\pm$  423 litres) of grain as their monthly allowance.<sup>2</sup> This, however, was a relatively high income for individual workmen, since a monthly grain ration of  $1\frac{1}{4}$  sack ( $\pm$  96 litres) would still have been enough for a family of four.<sup>3</sup> Janssen used the generous rate of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  sacks to calculate the number of families that could live from the daily temple offerings, admitting that “ $5\frac{1}{2}$  sacks is a good income, too good indeed to assume that every lower temple servant got it”.<sup>4</sup> Adding the daily offerings established by Ramesses III (list 1) to those of the Ramesseum calendar (list 6), he arrived at a total of 3,300 sacks monthly, which would correspond to monthly rations of  $5\frac{1}{2}$  sacks for 600 families. As I hope to have demonstrated in section 3, list 1 is not concerned with the daily offerings at Medinet Habu, but with those at Karnak; we are thus left with the amounts of list 6 as the totals of daily offerings presented in the royal memorial temple. The  $30\frac{1}{2}$  sacks it records for the daily offerings amounts to a total of 915 sacks per month, which would provide 166 family rations. This number is remarkably close to the number of 150 offering-shares in list 22 (see above).

Still, both figures (150 and 166) cannot be more than very rough indications for the number of people actually involved. Some considerations should prevent us from associating the quantities mentioned in the offering-lists too directly with the number of temple personnel benefiting from them. (1) A Twelfth Dynasty papyrus from El-Lahun shows that there may have been big differences between the shares of people who held different positions in the temple hierarchy.<sup>5</sup> The total amount of offerings was divided into a number of shares, the total of which was  $34\frac{1}{3}$ . A “chief lector-priest” (*hr.y-hb tp.y*), for instance, received six of such shares; a “royal *wab*-priest” only two. The 150 shares of Medinet Habu list 22 may have been divided in a similar way. (2) The offerings may have made up only part of someone’s income, because (lower) priestly

<sup>1</sup> J.J. Janssen, in: *State and Temple Economy* II, 513.

<sup>2</sup>  $4\frac{1}{2}$  sacks of emmer and 1 sack of barley; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 460.

<sup>3</sup>  $1\frac{1}{4}$  sack being the lowest wage rate in Ramesside Deir el-Medina; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 460. See also Helck, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, 206 and 207; C.J. Eyre, in: *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 201, and especially R.L. Miller, *JESHO* 34 (1991), 257- 263.

<sup>4</sup> J.J. Janssen, in: *State and Temple Economy* II, 512 and 513.

<sup>5</sup> P. Cairo JE 71580 (formerly P. Berlin 10005; L. Borchardt, *ZÄS* 40 (1902/3), 113-117); see the Introduction, § 1, p. 9. For similar distribution practice, see the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, problems 63, 64, 65, and 68 (Chace, *Rhind Mathematical Papyrus*, 101-105).

functions could be part-time jobs.<sup>1</sup> (3) Other persons or institutions may have depended on the temple's flow of provisions: part of the offerings may have found its way towards private (funerary) cults for temple statues or tomb chapels.<sup>2</sup>

Yet another problem presents itself when we try to establish the number of people sharing in the daily offerings. The items of the second part of list 6 (after the grain products) must have been distributed as well, but who were the ultimate consumers of two cups of grapes, or one jar of wine?<sup>3</sup> There must have been a detailed distribution system that specified not only the quantities, but also the kind of items to which each individual person or group was entitled. It will thus be clear that we can form only a rough idea of the number of people involved. The actual number may have been smaller or larger than the figures arrived at by the calculations in this section. Even the limited value of these figures, however, stands or falls on the question of whether the entitled personnel really had to sustain their families entirely with offering-shares.

## § 7 - ECONOMIC TEMPLE DEPARTMENTS AND EXTERNAL SOURCES OF SUPPLY

### NAMES OF THE TEMPLE

The memorial temple is referred to in the calendar as the "Temple of Millions of Years of King Userma'atre Meriamun in the house of Amun to the West of Thebes", or by a shorter version of this name. In the section of the Medinet Habu calendar that was copied from the Ramesseum, the temple can also be referred to as *pr pn* "this house".<sup>4</sup> The designation *pr pn* is also used in a new list of Ramesses III, where it refers to the preceding expression *t3 hw.t* "the temple" (i.e. the royal memorial temple).<sup>5</sup> *Pr pn* could thus be used to refer to an institution that was usually called *hw.t*. In the apparent combination *\*pr t3 hw.t n.t hh(.w) m rnp.w.t*, "the house of the Temple of Millions of Years", however, *pr t3 hw.t ...* will rather be a mistake for *hr t3 hw.t ...* "from the Temple ...".<sup>6</sup>

Otherwise, a careful distinction is made by the calendar between *hw.t* and *pr*. There is, for instance, a clear difference between *hw.t* + royal name and *pr* + royal name. The latter type of institution occurs in lists 1, 3, and 4 of the calendar: the herds and gardens of a house (*pr*) of Ramesses III are mentioned in these lists as sources of

<sup>1</sup> This is especially true for the *wab*-priesthood; see chapter VIII, § 1, pp. 222-225. The high priest Bakenkhonsu, for instance, may have been a stablemaster and a *wab*-priest at the same time at an earlier stage in his career (K. Jansen-Winkel, *JNES* 52 (1993), 223 and 224).

<sup>2</sup> See chapter V.

<sup>3</sup> List 6, ll. 262 and 267 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 146; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 128).

<sup>4</sup> Col. 531, ll. 625 and 626, and col. 860 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 150, 152, and 156; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 139, 12; 144, 1 and 4; 156, 14).

<sup>5</sup> List 55, ll. 1285 and 1286 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 163; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 176, 3-5).

<sup>6</sup> List 55, l. 1284 (*Medinet Habu*, pl. 163; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 176, 2). Similar combinations of *pr* and *hw.t* in administrative lists of houses or institutions are due to the erroneous repetition of *pr* at the beginnings of the entries (see e.g. Gardiner, *Ramesseum Administrative Documents*, 26, 12; Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIV, vs. 2, 4).

certain items for daily and festival offerings for Amonrasonter of Karnak.<sup>1</sup> In lists 3 and 4, a “House” of Ramesses III seems to be contrasted with the “Temple of Millions of Years”, the memorial temple of the same king, which provided the grain for the festival offerings of the Feast of the Valley. In list 2, the king’s memorial temple is the single supplier of all items for the daily morning offerings presented at Karnak.<sup>2</sup> The grain of list 1 is said to come from the *rmn.y.t-ihwt.y.w [n pr n] hm=f*, “the domains of cultivators [of the House of] His Majesty” (column 60).<sup>3</sup> The term *pr n hm=f* “House of His Majesty” is not a reference to the royal memorial temple, but rather to the king’s own domains.<sup>4</sup>

The royal memorial temple is twice referred to as *r-pr pn*, “this temple”.<sup>5</sup> In column 544, the temple itself is referred to: “Given for the equipment of this temple of the yearly requirement” (*dldl.t r t3 spr.t n r-pr pn n hr.t-rnp.t*). In column 876, its granary is involved: “The grain comes from the granary of this temple” (*iw šsr.w hr šnw.t r-pr pn*).

#### THE TEMPLE GRANARY

According to the lists of the Ramesseum calendar, the yearly amount of grain required for the daily and festival offerings presented in the royal memorial temple was at least 12,562 sacks, or about 965,767 litres.<sup>6</sup> It was the granary of memorial temple itself that supplied this entire amount. In the new lists (nos. 1-5 and 53-55), the granary of the memorial temple plays a minor role; it only supplied the grain for modest additions to the daily morning-offerings at Karnak (list 2) and to the offerings for the Feast of the Valley (lists 3 and 4). Together, lists 2-4 represent an additional yearly demand on the temple granary of  $203\frac{1}{2}$  sacks or about 15,645 litres.<sup>7</sup>

The granary of the temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak was the supplier of grain for the offerings of list 5, and also for lists 53-55.<sup>8</sup> The editors of *Medinet Habu III* assumed that the lower part of column 1191/1223 was not changed when list 53 was carved over list 52 (the offerings of the *Nhb-k3*-festival), and that both versions of the column mentioned the granary of the temple of Amonrasonter as well as the memorial temple of Ramesses III. The consequence of this assumption, however, is that list 52 would have been the single Ramesseum list mentioning the granary of the Karnak temple as the source of its grain supplies. This granary otherwise occurs only in the lists of

<sup>1</sup> List 1, ll. 105 (also [106] and [107]?), 111, 118-122; list 3, l. 158; list 4, l. 190 (*Medinet Habu III*, pls. 140 and 142; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions V*, 121 and 122; 124, 2 and 3; 125, 7).

<sup>2</sup> Ll. 132-134 (*Medinet Habu III*, pl. 142; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions V*, 123, 1-3).

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu III*, pl. 140; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions V*, 119, 11.

<sup>4</sup> See Hölck, *Verwaltung*, 89-108.

<sup>5</sup> Cols. 544 and 876 (*Medinet Habu III*, pls. 150 and 156; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions V*, 140, 6; 158, 1).

<sup>6</sup>  $3,257 + x$  sacks of barley and  $9,305 + x$  sacks of emmer; see tables 1 and 2 (A).

<sup>7</sup> See table 1.

<sup>8</sup> Cols. 192 and 1191/1223 (*Medinet Habu III*, pl. 163; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions V*, 125, 12; 173, 15).

Ramesses III. The old lists of the copied Ramesseum calendar refer only to the granary of the royal memorial temple. The name of the Karnak granary is followed in *Medinet Habu* III by the reconstruction [*im.y.t t3*] *hw.t* “which is in the Temple ...”,<sup>1</sup> implying a connection between the two institutions. This, however, is quite a step. There are no traces supporting this reconstruction: it is even contradicted by a vertical stroke at the place where *m* of *im.y.t* is reconstructed, as indicated in the drawing of plate 162. It can still be seen clearly on the spot. Apart from this epigraphic detail, however, a major problem is the implication that a granary of the temple of Amonrasonter, or an annex of such a granary, was situated within the temple precinct at Medinet Habu. That theory lacks support: the institutions are contrasted, rather than identified with each other.<sup>2</sup> In the decree and in list 5 of Ramesses III’s new endowments, the granary of the House of Amonrasonter is said to be the source of the grain. If the offerings of these lists had been presented in the memorial temple, as has been assumed in previous studies, then we would perhaps have a reason to situate that granary or a dependency of it within the precinct of the same temple. Once this idea is abandoned (see above, section 3), there is no longer any reason to connect the institutions in this way. Helck translated: “(...) indem das Getreide dafür aus der Scheune des Amuntempels *und* des Totentempels kommt”,<sup>3</sup> probably reconstructing [*hn<sup>c</sup> t3*], instead of [*im.y.t t3*]. Though perhaps a more likely reconstruction from the epigraphical point of view, the double indication of source remains peculiar.

It is true that column 1191/1223 seems to have escaped the fate of the lower lines of list 52, which were erased to the bases of the signs.<sup>4</sup> The text at the end of the column (“Temple of Userma<sup>c</sup>atre Meriamun in the House of Amun to the West of Thebes”) therefore probably belongs to the old introduction to list 52, but the words immediately above it may be new: the signs between *iw* and *hw.t* are slightly smaller than the other signs in this column, and they seem to have been squeezed together in a small space.<sup>5</sup> The phrase “from the granary of the House of Amonrasonter” (*hr šnw.t pr Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nswt n<sup>r</sup>.w*) might therefore be secondary. The question remains, then, why the name of the king’s temple was not erased and written over when lists 53-55 were carved. If it was cancelled by covering it with plaster, it is difficult to explain why the reference to the Karnak granary was indicated with such tiny signs, instead of being spread over the rest of the column. The indication of two institutions as sources of grain supplies would therefore seem to have been the intention of the sculptors who transformed list 52 into list 53. It is difficult to say exactly what the original version (column 1191) and the changed version (column 1223) looked like, except that they *may* have been different, and that they probably *were*, because list 52 would have stood quite alone within the Ramesseum calendar in having its grain supplied by the granary of the Karnak temple. I

<sup>1</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 163 (followed by Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 172, 11 and 12; 173, 16).

<sup>2</sup> As is apparent from the recarved column 58; see Schaedel, *Listen*, 27 and 28, and above, § 3, p. 63.

<sup>3</sup> Helck, *Materialien* III, (387).

<sup>4</sup> See H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 60.

<sup>5</sup> This can be seen clearly on the photograph in *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 161.

would suggest that the original version mentioned the granary of the royal memorial temple at Medinet Habu as the only source of the grain supplies.

#### THE SOURCES OF THE OTHER ITEMS

So much for the grain. For the additional items, a number of different departments, belonging to the memorial temple itself, to the Karnak temple, or to the “House of His Majesty”, were called on. According to the calendar, the memorial temple had its own treasury, its gardens, its cattle, and its storehouses (see table 2(B)). List 22 is the only list of the old Ramesseum calendar that specifies some of these departments; the other Ramesseum lists mention only the source of the grain. List 22, then, records the memorial temple treasury (*pr-ḥd*) as the department providing moringa-oil for the priests’ drinking-party at the anniversary of the accession date.<sup>1</sup> Salt and natron were supplied for the same occasion from the temple’s “storehouse of *in.w*” (*wḏz n in.w*).<sup>2</sup> As salt and natron are both products of the desert, this storehouse may have contained the revenue from expeditions outside the Nile valley. The word *in.w* seems to classify the products as (occasional) supplies from external sources, as distinct from the produce of the temple’s own estate.<sup>3</sup> From a decree of Ramesses III for the temple of Khnum on the island of Elephantine, it may be inferred that the temple in question had its own gatherers (or brick-makers?) of salt and natron.<sup>4</sup> These materials would thus seem to have been produced by temple personnel, but such was not necessarily the case for all Egyptian temples. In the lists of the Great Harris Papyrus (Ramesses III/IV), salt and natron (as well as some other materials) are recorded exclusively among the *in.w* presented to the temples by the king, and not among the products of their own estates.<sup>5</sup> For this reason, it is likely that the word *in.w* represents a separate administrative channel in that document as well as in the reference to the “storehouse of *in.w*” discussed here. The storehouse may have had a character quite similar to that of a treasury; perhaps it even formed a specific part of the temple treasury. A scene in the tomb of the vizier Rekhmire shows storerooms of the treasury of the temple of Amun; among them is a “temple storehouse” (*wḏz n ḥw.t-ntr*) which contains the same types of product as the adjoining treasury building.<sup>6</sup>

The lists of Ramesses III give further information on temple departments supplying products other than grain. The gardens (*kzm.w*) of the Medinet Habu temple

<sup>1</sup> Ll. 627 and 628 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 152; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 144, 2 and 3).

<sup>2</sup> The expression also occurs in administrative texts; see chapter IX, § 9, p. 281, note 1.

<sup>3</sup> See the discussion of *in.w* and *bzk.w* in chapter I, pp. 47-49.

<sup>4</sup> *Šht-ḥmz.t/ḥsmn*: Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 344, 3 and 4; Breasted, *Ancient Records* IV, 86. For *šht* “to gather”, see Meeks, *Année Lexicographique* 2, 347 (no. 78.3782). However, the word *šht* “to form (bricks)” (Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* IV, 263, 13) may be meant here as well, in view of the fact that salt and natron were usually counted in bricks (*db.w.t*), as in Medinet Habu list 22 here discussed. For bricks or lumps of salt actually found, see Lucas, Harris, *Materials and Industries*<sup>4</sup>, 269; Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh 1934-1935* III, 221, fig. 109.

<sup>5</sup> See chapter VI, pp. 184 and 190, as well as table 7 at the end of this book.

<sup>6</sup> Davies, *Rekh-mi-Rê* II, pl. XLVIII.

are mentioned as the source of vegetables and flowers for the newly established offerings of Ramesses III,<sup>1</sup> but they probably had the same function with regard to the traditional offerings in the memorial temple itself. The vegetables of list 22 were supplied by the “gardeners of the divine offering” (*k3r.y.w n htp-ntr*),<sup>2</sup> who probably worked in the gardens of the memorial temple as well. Herds (*mnmn.w.t*) of the temple, which were “under the authority” (*r ht*) of its own “house superior” (*ʿ3 n pr*), provided cattle, milk and fowl according to lists 1 and 55.<sup>3</sup> According to the latter list, cattle for the festival of victory over the Meshwesh were also supplied by the herds of the House of Amun.<sup>4</sup>

Sometimes the source of supplies is referred to simply as “the temple of millions of years ...”,<sup>5</sup> or “the temple”,<sup>6</sup> without any specification of the department. The sources of the products in the last seven lines of table 2(B) are not mentioned more precisely, but on the analogy of items with sources specified we may assume that the fowl came from its “herds” (*mnmn.w.t*), the fruit and incense from its treasury, and the wine from its gardens. The non-cereal products in the Ramesseum lists will also have been supplied by the various departments of the memorial temple as listed above, and apparently this went without saying.

The “Treasury of Pharaoh l.p.h.” was the source of moringa-oil, wine and fruit in list 17.<sup>7</sup> It may also have been the source of the extra monthly supplies recorded in the following list 18: the source of these supplies is not specified, but the introduction to the list (“given for the equipment of this temple of the yearly requirement”)<sup>8</sup> suggests that they came from a department outside the memorial temple. It was the supplier of incense and moringa-oil for Ramesses III’s new endowments.<sup>9</sup> It is the only external source that occurs in the Ramesseum calendar. Apart from the royal treasury, departments of external institutions are mentioned only in the new lists, which are all concerned with offerings for Amonrasonter of Karnak. This means that apart from the modest deliveries of lists 17 (and perhaps those of list 18), the memorial temple was entirely self-sufficient.

There are no indications for departments of the “House of Amun” (i.e. the Karnak temple) supporting the offering-cult in the memorial temple.<sup>10</sup> As sources of supplies, departments of this temple are attested in the new lists only, that is, as sources

<sup>1</sup> List 53, l. 1251; list 55, l. 1286 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 163; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 174, 15 and 16; 176, 4).

<sup>2</sup> List 22, l. 624 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 152; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 144, 3).

<sup>3</sup> Ll. 105, 118, 1286 (*Medinet Habu* III, pls. 140 and 163; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 121, 7; 122, 4; 176 4 and 5). The herds are said to belong to “this house” (*pr pn*). This must be a reference to the memorial temple, which is the last institution mentioned before *pr pn*.

<sup>4</sup> L. 1284 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 163; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 176, 2).

<sup>5</sup> List 2, ll. 132-134 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 142; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 123, 1-3).

<sup>6</sup> List 55, l. 1285 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 163; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 176, 3).

<sup>7</sup> L. 542 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 150; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 140, 3).

<sup>8</sup> Col. 544 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 150; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 140, 6).

<sup>9</sup> List 1, ll. 113 and 114; list 53, l. 1250 (*Medinet Habu* III, pls. 140 and 163; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 121, 15 and 16; 174, 14).

<sup>10</sup> Against H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 40. See the Introduction, § 4, against his translation “estate of Amon” for *pr 'Imn*.

of offerings for the Karnak temple itself.<sup>1</sup> As we have seen, the memorial temple also provided materials for the offerings at Karnak. Its granary supplied grain for the bread and beer of list 2.<sup>2</sup> The “herds” of the memorial temple provided cattle, milk and fowl for the offerings of lists 1 and 55, its treasury incense and fruit (same lists), its gardens wine (list 55); all this applies to the offerings presented at Karnak. Further evidence for such intra-institutional deliveries is given by the Karnak inscriptions of Ramesses III and Ramesses IV.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE TEMPLE WORKSHOP

One more temple department remains to be mentioned: the “workshop” (*šn<sup>c</sup>*), or “pure workshop” (*šn<sup>c</sup> w<sup>c</sup>b*). This department is mentioned in the introductions to lists 1 and 2 of the calendar, where it refers to a temple workshop at Karnak.<sup>4</sup> In two Ramesseum lists, however, the workshop of the memorial temple is mentioned: according to list 36, it provided the offerings to be presented in the “festival hall” (*ḥb.y.t*) of the temple; according to list 19, it was responsible for the offerings presented at the anniversary of the king’s accession to the throne.<sup>5</sup> It is never mentioned as the source of the grain or other materials, but rather as a department where the offerings were prepared and stored before they entered the temple. We have seen in chapter I that dedication-texts stress the number of personnel in such departments: the pharaohs filled the workshops of their memorial temples with “slaves” (*ḥm.w/ḥm.w.t*).<sup>6</sup> We probably have to conceive of such a workshop as a building or a series of buildings (bakeries, breweries, storerooms, etc.) within the temple precinct.<sup>7</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

We may conclude from the foregoing discussion of temple departments and their supplies that royal memorial temples such as those of Ramesses II and III were large, self-sufficient economic units, powerful enough to meet their own requirements and to contribute to the offering-cult in the great temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak as well. The calendar lists contain more or less detailed references to the immediate sources of supplies for the offering-cult in the temples of Western Thebes and Karnak. By recording only the owning institution and its departments, however, they leave the sources of materials and finished products somewhat vague: “the workshop” of the

<sup>1</sup> Domains of cultivators of the House of Amun in list 1, l. 123; its treasury in ll. 115-117; its herds in list 55, l. 1284 (*Medinet Habu* III, pls. 140 and 163; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 122, 1-3 and 9; 176, 2).

<sup>2</sup> Col. 125 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 142; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 122, 13).

<sup>3</sup> See chapter III.

<sup>4</sup> List 1, column 59 (*šn<sup>c</sup> w<sup>c</sup>b*); list 2, column 125 (*šn<sup>c</sup> [n pr] 'Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nswt ntr.w*): *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 140 and 142; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 119, 10; 122, 13.

<sup>5</sup> Cols. 553 (*šn<sup>c</sup> n ḥtp-ntr n t(š) ḥw.t m pr 'Imn ḥr 'Imnt.t Ws.t*) and 860 (*šn<sup>c</sup> n pr pn*): *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 152 and 156; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 140, 16; 156, 14.

<sup>6</sup> Stela Cairo CG 34.025, l. 6 (*Urkunden* IV, 1649, 8; see chapter I, p. 40); P. Harris I, 6, 2 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 6, 16 and 17).

<sup>7</sup> See the discussion of the location of temple workshops in chapter IV, § 1, pp. 116-119.

temple, “the granary” of the temple, “the herds” and “the gardens” of the temple, etc. No reference is made to geographically specified fields or gardens, or to the exact location and amounts of cattle. What is indicated is just the typical administrative framework. The fact that Ramesses III took over the calendar of feasts and offerings from the Ramesseum, therefore, does not necessarily mean that he did the same with the estate and revenues of Ramesses II’s memorial temple, as was suggested by Nelson.<sup>1</sup> The economic and liturgical “framework” may have been backed by new temple donations. The references to economic resources in the calendar lists leave enough room for this possibility. Of course, an older temple such as the Ramesseum may have suffered considerably from the establishment of a new temple of the same scale in its vicinity, and other sources suggest that it actually did.<sup>2</sup> However, not all the resources of the Ramesseum can simply have been appropriated by Ramesses III for his new endowments at Medinet Habu: as Nelson admitted, the temple continued to exist and to function throughout the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>3</sup> It is therefore hard to believe that Ramesses II’s memorial temple would have been entirely deprived of its revenues by the endowments of his later namesake.

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<sup>1</sup> *Work in Western Thebes*, 44-46. Cf. L. Leeuwenburg, *JEOL* 8 (1942), 619.

<sup>2</sup> Especially text A of the Wilbour Papyrus: see chapter X, § 2, pp. 304-305.

<sup>3</sup> This also speaks against Schaedel’s theory (Schaedel, *Listen*, 48) that a new memorial temple usually took over the possessions of older ones, by this also assuming the administrative responsibility for the temples themselves.

## CHAPTER III

### OFFERING-LISTS OF RAMESSES III AND IV IN THE KARNAK TEMPLE

#### § 1 - THE DAILY OFFERINGS ESTABLISHED BY RAMESSES III

##### THE TEMPLE OF RAMESSES III IN FRONT OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF AMUN

Judging from the lists of new foundations in the Great Harris Papyrus, the building activity of Ramesses III in Thebes was by no means restricted to his memorial temple on the west bank: the Theban section of this text also mentions a number of other temples, presumably at Karnak and Luxor.<sup>1</sup> One of these is the excellently preserved temple which now stands in the first court of the great temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak. The name given to this temple in P. Harris I, as well as in the inscriptions on the building itself, is "House of Ramesses Ruler of On in the House of Amun" (*pr R<sup>c</sup>-ms-s(w) Hq3 Iwnw m pr Inn*).<sup>2</sup> The temple is situated on the south side of the court, in front of the second pylon, which in the Twentieth Dynasty must have been the outer gateway of the great temple of Amun (the first court and the first pylon were constructed in the Third Intermediate Period).<sup>3</sup> In other words, it stood outside the temple proper, and probably played a role in the festival processions as a repository chapel for the divine barks of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu.<sup>4</sup> In all likelihood, the temple was erected later in the reign of Ramesses III: the latest date mentioned in its inscriptions contains the regnal year 22,<sup>5</sup> so that its decoration cannot have been finished before that time. It cannot, of course, be ruled out that the building of the temple was started earlier, or that the decoration was finished later, than year 22.<sup>6</sup> The late start of Ramesses' building activity at Karnak, however, would account very well for the fact that a number of lists recording offerings

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<sup>1</sup> See especially list a (pages 10 and 11): Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 12-14; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 235 and 236. For the identification of the foundations with the monuments preserved, see *Reliefs and Inscriptions I*, vii, note 9; Schaedel, *Listen*, 16-31.

<sup>2</sup> *Reliefs and Inscriptions I*, vii, note 9; Schaedel, *Listen*, 23 and 24; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 24, note 103. Another version is: "House of Ramesses Ruler of On who finds a place in the House of Amun" (*gm s.t m pr Inn*): *Reliefs and Inscriptions I*, pl. 8 (G and K). Otto (*Topographie*, 30) wondered if the epithet "Making Thebes Festive" (*Shb W3s.t*), which occurs in some inscriptions of the temple, was also part of its name.

<sup>3</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* 2 II, 27-34, plan VII.

<sup>4</sup> Chevrier, *Temple Reposoir*, 1-3.

<sup>5</sup> *Reliefs and Inscriptions I*, vii, pl. 23 (A), col. 1.

<sup>6</sup> See K.C. Seele, in: *Ägyptologische Studien*, 309; E.F. Wente, *JNES* 20 (1961), 255, note 14.

established earlier for Amonrasonter were inscribed on the walls of the temple at Medinet Habu.<sup>1</sup>

The texts that form the subject of this section are three decrees with offering-lists carved on the east wall of the temple, which are dated to the years 6, 7 and 16 of Ramesses III.<sup>2</sup> The decrees and their introduction together form a square section on the temple wall; the layout of this section makes them into one textual unit. As the latest date within this unit is the second month of *šmw* in regnal year 16,<sup>3</sup> the section as a whole must have been carved in that year or later. This perfectly agrees with the above assumptions about the dating of the temple and its decoration. The information given by the Karnak offering-lists is therefore of a later date than the information provided by the Medinet Habu calendar lists of Ramesses III, but it is of the same type. Reference has already been made in the previous chapter to the decree and list of regnal year 6.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE INTRODUCTION AND THE DECREE OF YEAR 16

The actual decrees and offering-lists are preceded by a number of columns with introductory text:<sup>5</sup>

(column 1) Horus [Victorious Bull] Great in Kingship, (Lord of) the Two Ladies Great in Jubilees like Tatenen, Horus of Gold Strong in Years like Atum, the Sovereign Protecting Egypt, Who Subdues the Foreign Countries, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Usermaʿatre Meriamun, Son of Re, Lord of Appearances Ramesses Ruler of On, Given Life Forever. (2) May the Good God live, the Son of Amun, Creation of the Lord of the Gods. His father, Amun-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, has ordered (for him) millions of years on the place of Horus, food in his mouth [...] after him. Renenut has joined his limbs [...] (3) great and noble provision [...] Nepri is abundant in grain. The inundation comes to him as a conqueror of the mountains [...] any (kind of) flowers for his heart, who causes things to exist which were removed from the land, barley [...] like (sand of) the shores, in order to provide for the altars of the gods [...] (4) as meals. He is kind to them, the lord of fat (?) *hw3*-cattle (and) birds, offerings, and tens of thousands and thousands of benefactions of the King of Upper- and Lower-Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Usermaʿatre Meriamun. His Majesty has ordered that a divine offering be established for [his] father [Amun-Re] (5) anew on His great and noble offering-table<sup>6</sup> (called) "Great of Provisions",<sup>7</sup> which stands firm in front of Him every day, and which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Usermaʿatre Meriamun has made for Him. His Majesty has filled the granary of the divine offering of his Father Amonrasonter with the grain of Egypt; its heaps [...] (6) His Majesty has ordered that a divine offering be established anew for my Father

<sup>1</sup> See chapter II, § 3.

<sup>2</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 33 (118), plan VII. Drawing and photograph in *Reliefs and Inscriptions* II, pl. 108. Text also in Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 234-237. The main discussion of the decrees is that of H.H. Nelson, *JAOS* 56 (1936), 232-241. The economic information offered by them is summarized in Helck, *Materialien* III, (366)-(368).

<sup>3</sup> *Reliefs and Inscriptions* II, pl. 108, l. 8; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 235, 11.

<sup>4</sup> See the discussion on Medinet Habu list 2 in chapter II, § 3, pp. 66-68. For the offering-lists on temple walls as economic sources in general, see § 2 of the same chapter.

<sup>5</sup> *Reliefs and Inscriptions* II, pl. 108, cols. 1-7; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 234 and 235; partial translation by H.H. Nelson, *JAOS* 56 (1936), 238 and 239.

<sup>6</sup> *Htp*, according to the writing in col. 6, where the same table is probably referred to.

<sup>7</sup> Interpreting *Wr Df3.w* as the name of the offering-table; see H.H. Nelson, *JAOS* 56 (1936), 237, n. 13.

Amonrasonter on His great offering-table of silver (called) "Great of Provisions", which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Userma'atre Meriamun, Son of Re, Lord of Appearances Ramesses Ruler of On, has made for Him, which he has made in addition (7) to what was before, <being> the fixed portion of every day. I have done this for my father Amun, inasmuch as He is greater than any god, and inasmuch as He has given to me numerous victories over the Nine Bows, subdued [under] the sandals<sup>1</sup> of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Userma'atre Meriamun, Son of Re, Lord of Appearances Ramesses Ruler of On, [Given Life] for ever.

The royal decision to establish offerings is expressed twice (columns 4 and 6); in both cases, reference is made to an offering-table of silver made by Ramesses III and named "Great of Provisions" (*Wr Dfz.w*).<sup>2</sup> The repetition of what seems to be essentially the same statement reminds one of the decree introducing the new lists of the Medinet Habu calendar, and may indicate an historical accumulation, or incorporation, of different decrees with the same object. As Nelson assumed, the arrangement referred to in columns 6 and 7 must be that of a later decree establishing additional offerings for the offering-table mentioned in column 4.<sup>3</sup> The original offerings for the newly made table, then, would have been established in an earlier decree, which is not carved on the temple wall because it was invalidated by a later one, in which a greater quantity of offerings was established for the same table. The later decree must be that of regnal year 16, the actual text of which follows directly, using almost exactly the same words as in column 6.<sup>4</sup>

(line 8) Regnal year 16, second month of *šmw*. His Majesty orders that a divine offering be established for (his) father Amonrasonter on His great offering-table (*hṭp*) of silver (called) "Great of Provisions", which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands [...] has made for Him.

This line is followed by a long list of offerings,<sup>5</sup> which is quite similar to the lists of the calendar of feasts and offerings at Medinet Habu. The items are the same as those we met with in the calendar, especially in the new lists (nos. 1-5). The terms employed and their writings show features we have come to know as distinctive for the calendar lists of Ramesses III.<sup>6</sup> Some differences, however, may also be noted. The baking-value is expressed in a slightly different formula, and the grain-measure itself is written

<sup>1</sup> The text has *hr ḫb.w.t-st* "under their sandals" (sic)?

<sup>2</sup> A great offering-table (*hṭp*) of silver made by Ramesses III is also mentioned in P. Harris I 5, 12: Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 6; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 229.

<sup>3</sup> H.H. Nelson, *JAOS* 56 (1936), 240.

<sup>4</sup> *Reliefs and Inscriptions* II, pl. 108, l. 8; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 11.

<sup>5</sup> *Reliefs and Inscriptions* II, pl. 108, ll. 9-41; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 235 and 236.

<sup>6</sup> See chapter II, § 2, p. 60. Just as in the new Medinet Habu lists, the word *hṭp-nṯr* is written without the loaf- and jar-determinatives (ll. 8, 28, 42, 46, 47), and the lists probably have *q(z)w t-ḫd*, instead of *dqw t-ḫd* (l. 21: probably to be restored as  $\frac{\Delta}{\text{D}}$ ). "Fruit", however, is written *dq(r).w*, and not *dgz.w* (ll. 34 and 51).

The writing of *ḫzr* "sack" takes the form of  $\frac{\text{H}}{\text{D}}$ , which has the same shape as  $\frac{\text{H}}{\text{D}}$  in hieratic (ll. 28, 46, 51).

differently as well.<sup>1</sup> Unlike the Medinet Habu calendar, the Karnak list of year 16 gives a preliminary total of *bi.t*-loaves in line 14; the reason for this may be that these loaves were made out of barley (“Upper-Egyptian grain”), whereas the *psn*-loaves subsequently recorded were produced from emmer (“Lower-Egyptian grain”).<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, other items made of barley (e.g. beer) do not have separate totals, and the two kinds of grain are not separated in the grand total of line 28, as they would have been at Medinet Habu.

The offerings of the list were to be presented daily (line 28: *hr.t-hrw*). The amount of grain required for them was 20 sacks, or about 1,538 litres. On a yearly basis, this would amount to 7,300 sacks, or about 561,224 litres. Although no small amount, it is less than the daily offerings once established for the Ramesseum according to Medinet Habu list 6 (30½ sacks), and only about a quarter of the daily evening-offerings that Ramesses III established for Karnak according to Medinet Habu list 1 (see table 1). Therefore, it can have made up only a small part of the total amount of offerings presented daily in the great temple of Amun. The daily offerings established in year 16 also included one or two cows or bulls (line 30: [*wn*]d*w*). The items further required were the usual ones: fowl, wine, fruit, incense, honey and fat (for *šc.t*-cakes), flowers and vegetables. All products were to be supplied by the memorial temple of Ramesses III on the west bank (see below).

The heading of the list would have us believe that all offerings were to be presented on the offering-table (*htp*) of silver made earlier for Amun in the king’s name, the original endowment for which may be referred to in columns 4 and 5 of the introductory text (see above). Such a thing, of course, would have been physically impossible in view of the sheer amounts involved. In all likelihood, only a selection of offerings was actually put on the table. The representations of the table in reliefs on the west and east walls of the temple show it heavily loaded with various items recorded in the list.<sup>3</sup> Most of the loaves and other items, however, must have been kept somewhere else in order to be redistributed after the offering-ritual.

The same offering-table is probably mentioned in the decree of regnal year 7 (see below). Accordingly, it will have been made in or prior to that year. For this reason alone, it is unlikely that the table was meant as part of the equipment of the Karnak temple of Ramesses III, which was built later, as we have seen.<sup>4</sup> The offering-table, after all a precious silver object, will rather have stood somewhere inside the temple of

<sup>1</sup> Whereas the Medinet Habu lists have “baking-value x from 1 *oipe/hekat*” (*psw x m ip.t/hq3.t 1*), the Karnak lists have “baking-value (with regard to) *oipe/hekat x*”. For the corn-measure, only  is used at Medinet Habu, with one or four strokes beneath indicating whether the number of items is obtained out of one or four measures of grain. At Karnak, the strokes are absent, and the sign for the corn-measure is , which might be read as *hq3.t*, rather than *ip.t* (see H.H. Nelson, *JAOS* 56 (1936), 232-234: *hq3.t*; cf. Helck, *Materialien* III, (367) and (368): “oipe”).

<sup>2</sup> See Helck, *Materialien* III, (370). For “Upper-” and “Lower-Egyptian grain” as the names of barley and emmer respectively, see pp. 55-56, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Reliefs and Inscriptions* II, pls. 94 and 109; Nelson, *JAOS* 56 (1936), pl. III. The signs in column 5 and line 43 show a table with only round loaves on it.

<sup>4</sup> H.H. Nelson, *JAOS* 56 (1936), 241.

Amonrasonter itself. Besides, if the temple of Ramesses III indeed served as a repository chapel for the barks of the Theban triad during festival processions, it can hardly have been the place where great amounts of *daily* offerings would have been presented. For these reasons, the decree does not seem to have been of particular relevance to the temple on which it was carved. In any case, the offerings established for the *hṯp*-table may have formed the income of a considerable group of priests and their families. Reckoning from a family income of 5½ sacks of grain monthly,<sup>1</sup> the 20 sacks of the daily offerings established by Ramesses III would have been quite sufficient to sustain 110 families throughout the year. Of course, this calculation must be regarded with the same reservations as those applied to the Medinet Habu lists in the previous chapter. However, even if the number of priests actually involved was different, it would still have been excessive in view of the modest size and function of the small temple of Ramesses III as it stood before the pylon of the great Karnak temple.

#### THE DECREE AND OFFERING-LISTS OF REGNAL YEARS 6 AND 7

The decree of regnal year 7 is introduced as follows:<sup>2</sup>

(line 42) Regnal year 7. His Majesty orders that a divine offering be established which are presented<sup>3</sup> to (his) father Amonrasonter on the arm of the statue (43) of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Userma'atre Meriamun, Son of Re, Lord of Appearances Ramesses Ruler of On, which is near the great offering-table (*hṯp*) of Amonrasonter.

The endowment is a modest one, consisting of loaves with very small baking-values (i.e. high *psw*-numbers), which means that they were tiny loaves that could be placed upon a dish carried by the royal statue. The statue, which stood beside the offering-table, is depicted in a scene on the west wall of the temple.<sup>4</sup> The total of cereals amounted to 1 *oipe* or (quadruple) *hekat* daily.<sup>5</sup> On a yearly basis, this requirement would have amounted to 91 sacks (over 7,000 litres), which was again to be supplied by the king's temple of millions of years.

The earliest decree, although mentioned last here, is from regnal year 6, and it is concerned with two other cult-objects:<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See chapter II, § 6, p. 80.

<sup>2</sup> *Reliefs and Inscriptions II*, pl. 108, ll. 42 and 43; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions V*, 237, 1 and 2.

<sup>3</sup> Although the word is determined here with a knife, it is probably not the word *mꜣꜥ* "to slaughter", but rather *mꜣꜥ* "to be sent/presented" (of offerings; Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch II*, 22, 5).

<sup>4</sup> *Reliefs and Inscriptions II*, pl. 94. For this and similar statues, see H.H. Nelson, *JAOS* 56 (1936), 236 and 237.

<sup>5</sup> The daily requirement can be calculated from the amounts and baking-values of the separate items as 5/40 *oipe* of barley and 36/40 *oipe* emmer; together making 1 1/40 *oipe* of grain (see Helck, *Materialien III*, (366)-(368); cf. *ibid.*, (370)).  in line 46 must therefore be read as *ip.t/hqꜣ.t* 1 (the remaining 1/40 was apparently disregarded); the middle sign, if not a mistake, functions as a determinative of the corn measure. Cf. line 51, where the same group is to be read as "1 sack".

<sup>6</sup> *Reliefs and Inscriptions II*, pl. 108, ll. 46 and 47; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions V*, 237, 6 and 7.

(line 47) Regnal year 6. His Majesty orders a divine offering to be established for (his) father Amonrasonter on the (two) great jar-stands of silver and gold<sup>1</sup> (48) which His Majesty has made anew in the Great *Wb3* of [...] Amonrasonter.<sup>2</sup>

The tables mentioned here are called *hnt.y* “jar-stand”. These objects are fully discussed by Nelson.<sup>3</sup> The list introduced by the decree enumerates loaves of “white bread” in three different sizes, and beer presented in golden *sty*-jars.<sup>4</sup> The correspondence between this list and list 2 of the Medinet Habu calendar has been discussed in the previous chapter.<sup>5</sup> The items exactly correspond to those of list 2 at Medinet Habu; the amounts of loaves and beer given there are half those recorded in the Karnak list. This is not true for the non-cereal products: the Medinet Habu list requires 2 birds, 3 (or 4 ?) baskets of incense, and 4 baskets of fruit. The Karnak list only records 4 baskets of incense and 4 baskets of fruit; the birds are omitted altogether. It can hardly be doubted, however, that the endowment recorded by the Karnak list is to be regarded as a revision and extension of the earlier arrangement recorded in Medinet Habu list 2.<sup>6</sup> The older endowment had been made for one jar-stand (*hnt.y*) in the Karnak temple, which was made of gold.<sup>7</sup> In his sixth regnal year, the king added a silver jar-stand, and he replaced the decree composed formerly by a new text, which established the daily offerings on both stands. This revision entailed an exact doubling of the loaves and beer, but a reduction of the other items. The source of the grain required for the bread and beer is not mentioned in the Karnak text, but this will have been the granary of the king’s memorial temple in Western Thebes, just as in the Medinet Habu list. The incense and fruit came from the treasury of that temple.

<sup>1</sup> The mineral determinatives follow only after the “gold”-sign. One might therefore hesitate between reading *hḏ nbw* “silver and gold”, or only *hḏ* “silver”. The latter, however, is written  in col. 6 and l. 8. Cf. also *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 322: the line of text between the objects depicted shows a writing similar to the one under discussion. In the columns left of it, the king mentions both gold and silver. The same sequence silver-gold is found in *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 328, cols. 9 and 15; pl. 333, line over metal ingots. The reverse sequence gold-silver is attested as well: e.g. *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 138, col. 48; V, pl. 325, l. 12 and col. 15. On such sequences in general, see J. Černý, *Cahiers d’Histoire Mondiale* I (1953/54), 904.

<sup>2</sup> The traces preceding “Amonrasonter” can hardly be those of  *hw.t-nṯr* (see Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* V, 237, note a to l. 7; H.H. Nelson, *JAOS* 56 (1936), 232). *Hw.t* would miss its base line, and its form is  instead of  throughout the lists.

<sup>3</sup> *JAOS* 56 (1936), 232-235. See also J. Quaegebeur, *RdÉ* 45 (1994), 167 and 168.

<sup>4</sup> The text has \**snky.t*, which is due to a misinterpretation of  in hieratic (Nelson, *JAOS* 56 (1936), 234, note 7; see Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie* 2 II, no. 167).

<sup>5</sup> Chapter II, § 3, p. 67. See *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 142, cols. 124 and 125, ll. 126-134; Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* V, 122 and 123.

<sup>6</sup> See chapter II, § 3, p. 67 (against H.H. Nelson, *JAOS* 56 (1936), 234).

<sup>7</sup> Curiously enough, P. Harris I (dating from the beginning of Ramesses IV’s reign) mentions only one jar-stand (in 6, 1), which was made of gold: Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 6; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 229.

## THE SOURCE OF THE SUPPLIES

We have seen that the royal memorial temple was also the source of supplies for the later endowments of regnal years 7 and 16. Its granary provided the grain for the daily offerings as recorded in line 29; its herds supplied the cattle required according to line 30; its gardens supplied the vegetables of line 40. The treasury of the memorial temple was looked to for wine (line 33), fruit (34 and 51), and incense (35 and 51), as well as honey and fat for the production of *š<sup>c</sup>.t*-cakes (lines 36 and 37).<sup>1</sup> The temple is also mentioned, without specification of departments, as the source of fowl (lines 31 and 32) and flowers (38 and 39) in the list of year 16. From the Medinet Habu calendar, we know that the usual temple departments delivering birds were the “herds” (*mnmn.w.t*), while flowers came from the temple gardens (*kzm.w*), just like the vegetables (see table 2B).

In the previous chapter, it was concluded from list 2 of the Medinet Habu calendar that the royal memorial temple was a source of supplies for the offerings of Amonrasonter at Karnak.<sup>2</sup> The Karnak lists discussed in this section confirm this conclusion: the endowment of Medinet Habu list 2 is extended by the decree of regnal year 6, while even further requirements for daily offerings were made from the Medinet Habu temple in the decrees and lists of years 7 and 16. The king’s statement in column 5 of the introductory text, that he has filled the granary of Amonrasonter with “the grain of Egypt”, seems actually to refer to the transfer of grain from the granary of his own temple on the west bank to the granary at Karnak. The endowments of the years 6, 7 and 16 thus drew from the resources of another temple. The grain for the daily offerings at Karnak as established in regnal year 4 (Medinet Habu list 1) also came from an external source: the “House of His Majesty”.<sup>3</sup>

Did the royal memorial temple receive extra resources (land, cattle, personnel) to meet these extra demands? The grain required for the daily offerings established in year 16 amounted to 7,300 sacks a year. This was more than half the amount of sacks needed yearly for the offerings presented in the memorial temple itself, which means that the temple’s expenses were raised by 50%. If it did not receive new sources of revenue to meet these demands, the decree of year 16 (as well as the earlier decree replaced by it) might even have been effected at the cost of the regular offerings in the Medinet Habu temple itself, that is, of the revenues of people entitled to shares of these offerings.

Another piece of textual evidence, however, may shed light on this problem. Some inscriptions in the temples of Karnak, Tôd, El-Kâb, Edfu and Elephantine testify to an inspection of temples and their provisions in regnal year 15 of Ramesses III, by the “chief archivist” of the royal treasury Penpato.<sup>4</sup> The chief archivist was to inspect (*šip*)

<sup>1</sup> For honey and fat as ingredients of *š<sup>c</sup>.t*, see also calendar list 6 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 146, ll. 282 and 287; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 129, 14; 130, 3).

<sup>2</sup> See chapter II, § 3, p. 68.

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 140, col. 60; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 119, 11. See chapter II, p. 65.

<sup>4</sup> Editions: Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 232-234, 349; P. Baret, *BIFAO* 51 (1952), 99-101; P. Grandet, *RdÉ* 41 (1990), 95-97. Translations: Peden, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions*, 187-194. Discussion: A. Spalinger, *JARCE* 28 (1991), 22-26; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 95-98. The dates of the longer

the temples “from Memphis to Elephantine”, their treasuries, their granaries, and their offerings, and to protect (*hwi*) their people and herds. According to the text on the Ramesside pylon of Edfu, the divine offerings were to be doubled, “exceeding what was before”.<sup>1</sup> Now such will not have been the result of the inspection for all temples involved; it should be noted that none of the temples where Penpato left his inscriptions is recorded among the insitutions benefiting from Ramesses III’s new endowments in the Great Harris Papyrus.<sup>2</sup> Nor was the establishing of new offerings the immediate task of Penpato himself. However, the inspection of year 15 might have been the reason for the king’s decision, not more than eight months later<sup>3</sup> in regnal year 16, second month of *šmw*, to increase the daily offerings at Karnak.<sup>4</sup> The longer inspection-texts at Karnak and Tôd refer to an earlier decision in regnal year 5, first month of *pr.t*. Is this a reference to an earlier temple inspection resulting, among others, in the new endowments for the gold and silver jar-stands at Karnak in regnal year 6?<sup>5</sup> The temple-inspections in the reign of Ramesses III might thus have been the cause of additions to the offerings, and the reference to inspections of temple treasuries, granaries, personnel and cattle may indicate that the resources needed for the offerings were accordingly adjusted. This means that the material resources of the royal temple at Medinet Habu may have been extended in order to provide for the offerings newly established at Karnak. Instead of being impoverished by the heavy demands made by the offerings, the temple may as well have become an even more powerful economic source.

## § 2 - THE FESTIVAL OFFERINGS ESTABLISHED BY RAMESSES IV

### THE FESTIVAL OF “WRITING THE KING’S NAME”

Among the Twentieth Dynasty texts in the *Cour de la Cachette* at Karnak is a fragmentary inscription of Ramesses IV, later usurped by Ramesses VI, commemorating the “writing of the king’s name on the *išd*-tree” at Heliopolis and Memphis.<sup>6</sup> The main

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inscriptions at Karnak and Tôd are destroyed, and it is not at all certain that these texts really refer to the same inspection (Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 129, note 23). The inspection is perhaps alluded to in the double stela of Ramesses III at Karnak, from regnal year 20: see Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 242, 4-6; 246, 9-13; Peden, *Historical Inscriptions*, 115, 123, and 131.

<sup>1</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 233, 8.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter VI, § 2, p. 161. Cf. Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 96.

<sup>3</sup> From the dates preserved in some of Penpato’s inscriptions, it is clear that the inspection started in Elephantine in the first month of *šh.t*, and that Edfu and Tôd were reached in the second month of that season (P. Grandet, *RdÉ* 41 (1990), 96). It will have taken at least a few more months before the inspection was finished.

<sup>4</sup> A. Spalinger, *JARCE* 28 (1991), 24.

<sup>5</sup> One of the possibilities suggested by A. Spalinger, *JARCE* 28 (1991), 23. Grandet, on the other hand, assumes that the inspection by Penpato had been decreed already in year 5, but not carried out before regnal year 15 (*Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 97).

<sup>6</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* 2 II, 131, (485). See also F. Le Saout, in: *Cahiers de Karnak* VII, 244 (6e). Edition and discussion by W. Helck, *ZÄS* 82 (1957), 98-140, pl. V; Helck, *Materialien* I, (114); III, (412)-(414). Collated edition by Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 3-9; recent translation by Peden, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions*, 133-150.

text (lines 1-33), which is concerned with the festivities at Heliopolis and at Memphis, will not be discussed here. The last three lines (31-33) no doubt made the connection between these occasions and Thebes,<sup>1</sup> but almost nothing of this section of the text now remains.

A Theban festival connected with the writing of the king's name on the *išd*-tree at Memphis is also known from the calendar of Medinet Habu (list 56):<sup>2</sup>

First month of *pr.t*, 6th day: day of the festival of Amun, which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma'atre Meriamun established after the leaves of the *išd*-tree had been inscribed with the name of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma'atre Meriamun in the House of Ptah. Presented to Amun-Re and His Ennead as the festival offering of this day.

In fact, the festival had already been established on this calendar date by Ramesses II, or perhaps even by an earlier king: the list belongs to the part of the calendar that was copied from the Ramesseum.<sup>3</sup> Lines 1 and 33 of the text of Ramesses IV probably contained the regnal year and calendar date of the establishment of offerings for the festival by this king, but both lines are entirely destroyed.<sup>4</sup> A date has been preserved, however, in the second column of the offering-lists, line 36: regnal year 1, second month of *šmw*, 23rd day.<sup>5</sup> As Helck remarked, the date is almost a year later than the king's accession to the throne (III *šmw* 15); the festival of writing the king's name, and the offering-lists, can therefore hardly have been directly connected with that event.<sup>6</sup> The same is true for the date of list 56 of the Medinet Habu calendar: I *pr.t* 6 is not related to the accession-date of either Ramesses II (III *šmw* 27) or Ramesses III (I *šmw* 26). Indeed, it does not agree with any of the accession-dates known for New Kingdom pharaohs.<sup>7</sup> For this reason, Helck conjectured that the festival was not permanently fixed on a calendar date, but expected to occur at a given moment in the king's first regnal year.

Le Saout remarked that II *šmw* 23 was the date of the Festival of the Valley.<sup>8</sup> But was this festival always celebrated on the same date of the civil calendar? The introduction to list 3 of the Medinet Habu calendar informs us that the Valley festival took place in the second month of *šmw*, its exact date depending on the date of the new moon.<sup>9</sup> Thus, it may in theory have fallen on any day of the month. It cannot be ruled out, however, that the festival actually took place on a fixed calendar date. Some hieratic ostraca and a graffito in Western Thebes mention II *šmw* 25 as the date of the "crossing

<sup>1</sup> Lines 31 and 32: [...] *Wšs.t r đd* [...] (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 8, 2).

<sup>2</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 163, cols. 1287-1288; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 176, 7 and 8; W. Helck, *ZÄS* 82 (1957), 129 (no. 11).

<sup>3</sup> Although corresponding blocks from the Ramesseum for lists 52, and 56-67 have not been identified; see *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 190.

<sup>4</sup> See Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 4, 13; 8, 3.

<sup>5</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 8.

<sup>6</sup> W. Helck, *ZÄS* 82 (1957), 140.

<sup>7</sup> See Von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 117.

<sup>8</sup> *Cahiers de Karnak* VII, 244.

<sup>9</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 142, col. 135; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 123, 5.

of Amun (to Thebes)".<sup>1</sup> Such references to the return of Amun to Thebes after a sojourn of two days on the west bank (see lists 3 and 4 of the Medinet Habu calendar) would again place the beginning of the Festival of the Valley on the 23rd day of II *šmw*. On the other hand, references to the Feast of the Valley in similar sources also contain other dates.<sup>2</sup> The question of whether the festival started on a fixed date or if it was determined by the lunar month cannot be settled here. If we allow for the possibility that the Valley Festival started on II *šmw* 23 in the first regnal year of Ramesses IV, it may have been the occasion for a royal visit to Thebes (an event that may have become rare in the course of the Twentieth Dynasty),<sup>3</sup> and hence for the establishing of the feast of "writing the king's name" at Thebes.

#### THE GENERAL HEADING OF THE OFFERING-LISTS

In his edition of the text, Helck assumed that a general heading of two lines (numbered 34 and 35) was carved over columns I-III only, whereas column IV would have had two separate lines of text, introducing the list of offerings below, at the same height.<sup>4</sup> Kitchen, however, suggested that the two lines over columns I-III were possibly continued above column IV. Both possibilities are indicated in his edition of the text.<sup>5</sup> In my opinion, the following objections can be made to Helck's reconstruction, one epigraphic and one regarding the contents of the inscription. (1) In line 35, above column III, Helck restored "their produce comes from the [pure] workshop [of the House of Amun]".<sup>6</sup> Kitchen expressed his doubts, stating that there is barely room for that reconstruction.<sup>7</sup> A close study of the original makes it clear that, if a vertical line indeed separated columns III and IV in lines 34 and 35 (no trace of which now remains), there would be no room at all for that reconstruction: the space left before the imaginary division-line would just leave room for the determinatives of *šnꜥ*. This being a curious point for the introductory heading to stop, it seems more plausible that the text continued after this word, and that it terminated with *mn wꜣḥ n dt* at the end of line 35. (2) Column IV can hardly be considered a separate offering-list, as the heading reconstructed on top of it by Helck (line 34: "[Presented to Amonraso]nter ...") would suggest. In fact, only

<sup>1</sup> O. Cairo CG 25538, 3 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques CG*, 34\*; Schott, *Festdaten*, (107)); O. Gardiner 11 obv., 11 (Černý, Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. XXV, no. 2; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions VI*, 249); graffito Deir el-Bahri no. 31, l. 1 (Marciniak, *Inscriptions Hiératiques*, 88).

<sup>2</sup> II *šmw* 12: O. Turin CG 57034 obv., 7 (López, *Ostraca Ieratici I*, pl. 23). II *šmw* 20: graffito Deir el-Bahri no. 32, l. 4 (Marciniak, *Inscriptions Hiératiques*, 89). II *šmw* 28: O. Turin CG 57044 rev., 9 (López, *Ostraca Ieratici I*, pl. 28); graffito Deir el-Bahri no. 3, l. 9 (Marciniak, *Inscriptions Hiératiques*, 60). III *šmw* 9: graffiti Deir el-Bahri nos. 9 (l. 7) and 10 (l. 1) (Marciniak, *Inscriptions Hiératiques*, 68 and 69).

<sup>3</sup> A visit to Thebes for this festival is known for Ramesses VI: A.A.M.A. Amer, *JEA* 71 (1985), 66, note 4. Royal visits to Thebes were probably more frequent during the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties; see W.J. Murnane, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie IV*, 576, note 26.

<sup>4</sup> W. Helck, *ZÄS* 82 (1959), 8, pl. V (ll. 34 and 35).

<sup>5</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions VI*, 8 (notes to ll. 4 and 5), 9 (note to l. 2). Both versions are followed by Peden, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions*, 141-143, 148 and 149.

<sup>6</sup> *Iw ḥsk.t-w ḥr šnꜥ* [*wꜥb n pr ḥnn*] (W. Helck, *ZÄS* 82 (1959), 109, pl. V; Helck, *Materialien I*, (414)).

<sup>7</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions VI*, 8, notes a-b to l. 5.

the grand totals of one or more previous lists seem to be recorded: totals of loaves,<sup>1</sup> *šc.t*-cakes,<sup>2</sup> beer, grain, and cattle. Are these numbers the totals of the amounts in columns I-III? A brief calculation of the numbers preserved there shows that this is indeed possible (see table 6): the number of loaves in column I is at least 474; the total of grain required for them is 10½ sacks. Column II: 4,140 loaves, 112 *šc.t*-cakes, which makes about 165½ sacks. Column III: 30 *šc.t*-cakes, which makes 1 sack.<sup>3</sup> The total amounts are thus at least 4,614 loaves and 142 *šc.t*-cakes, making 177 sacks of grain. These figures easily fall within the totals recorded in column IV: 5,533 loaves, 172 *šc.t*-cakes, and 226 sacks. The differences still leave room for the numbers from lost parts of the lists (together some 76 lines), among which we would also have found the amounts of beer and cattle.

In view of these objections, it seems best to follow Kitchen's edition for lines 34 and 35.<sup>4</sup> On the analogy of the headings of the separate lists, the first half of line 35 must have contained an elaborate designation for the granary of the royal memorial temple, including the word *šnw.t* "granary", the term "temple of millions of years", two cartouches (the second of which is preserved) and royal epithets, which together would more or less make up for Kitchen's estimate of 17 lost groups. The two lines may be partially reconstructed as follows:

(line 34) [... Ramesses] Meri[amun ...<sup>5</sup> for/to(?) Amonraso]nter as the festival offering<sup>6</sup> of this day. The grain for it comes from (35) [the granary of the Temple of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Userma'atre Setepenre, Son of Re, Lord] of Appearances Ramesses [Meriamun]<sup>7</sup> in the House of Amun. Their produce<sup>8</sup> comes from the [pure] workshop [of Amonra]sonter in the House of Amun, enduring and established forever.

<sup>1</sup> Line 36 in col. IV is to be restored as [t *šbn*] n *ḥtp-ntr* ... "[various loaves] of the divine offering ...". Two groups are missing at the beginning; cf. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 9, 3; W. Helck, *ZÄS* 82 (1959), 105.

<sup>2</sup> The word preceding the number "172" in col. IV, l. 37 must be *ipd*; *p* is quite clear on the original (cf. Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 9, 3). *Ipd* is the common form in which the total of *šc.t*-cakes of various shapes is recorded. See col. III, ll. 37 and 38 for its writing.

<sup>3</sup> The total of *šc.t* recorded in col. III, l. 38, includes 12 cakes, or about 1½ sacks, of the previous column.

<sup>4</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 8, 3-5.

<sup>5</sup> Helck's *mšc* is possible, but not as the beginning of separate list in col. IV. Another possibility is *wḏ ḥm=f r wš ḥtp-ntr*, or a similar sentence.

<sup>6</sup> Read *ḥb(.t)* "festival offering" on the analogy of the Medinet Habu calendar lists, where *ḥb.t* is occasionally written with *t* (cols. 159 and 191, line 1330: *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 142 and 165; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 124, 5; 125, 10; 178, 1). For the word, see Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* III, 61, 5-9; P. Vernus, *RdÉ* 33 (1981), 111 (c).

<sup>7</sup> The original text must have had this name here; it was carved over by Ramesses VI (see Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 8, note d to l. 4).

<sup>8</sup> *Bšk.t=w*; the plural suffix pronoun referring to *ḥb.t* "festival offering" as a collective notion? It cannot refer to *šsr.w* "grain", because that word is absent before the occurrence of *bšk.t=w* in col. II, l. 39. Another possibility might be *mšc*, which is perhaps to be reconstructed at the beginning of the heading. This, however, is contradicted by the fact that *mšc* never shows the plural strokes in offering-lists; for this reason, I have translated it everywhere as a verb with the meaning "to be presented" (of offerings; Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 22).

## THE FESTIVAL OFFERINGS AND THEIR SOURCES

The source of the offerings was repeated above all lists; it is preserved in three places. In column II, lines 38 and 39, it is said that offerings come from the royal memorial temple, and that their "produce" (*b3k.t*) comes from the "pure workshop of the House of Amun" (*šn<sup>c</sup> w<sup>c</sup>b n pr Imn*). Without doubt, this means that the raw materials (grain, and perhaps also cattle and/or fowl, wine, incense, fruit, flowers and vegetables) were drawn from departments of the memorial temple, and that the loaves, cakes, beer and other items were prepared in the "workshop" at Karnak, whence they were carried to the temple. The same heading occurs in column III, lines 41 and 42. Line 61 of column II more accurately mentions the granary of the royal memorial temple as the source of the grain. Helck's assumption that column IV mentioned the granary of the temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak as the source of grain<sup>1</sup> is to be dismissed in view of the reconstruction of lines 34 and 35 proposed above.

Although the text of every heading mentions the "festival offering of this day" (*ḥb(.t) hrw pn*),<sup>2</sup> the possibility that more than one festival is referred to by the lists perhaps cannot be excluded altogether. The same items (white bread, *š<sup>c</sup>.t*-cake, incense) occur in different lists, which would be peculiar if the offerings were all established at the same time and for the same occasion (the lists do not mention different places or recipients). The totals of offerings recorded in column IV constitute another reason to assume that the offerings were presented at more than one occasion. A total of 226 sacks is far more than the highest amount of grain for festival offerings recorded in the Medinet Habu calendar: the festival of Sokar, requiring  $135\frac{3}{4}$  sacks a year.<sup>3</sup> Such quantities gain even more significance if we realize that festival offerings were established over and above the regular daily ones.

On the other hand, the festival offerings at Karnak were probably on a far bigger scale than those of the temples on the west bank,<sup>4</sup> and so we cannot entirely dismiss the possibility that all offerings of the lists were actually required for the festival of "Writing the King's Name" in the temple of Amonrasonter. The amount of  $135\frac{3}{4}$  sacks for the Sokar festival at Medinet Habu (or the Ramesseum) represents an endowment for a royal memorial temple which may have been modest when compared with the offerings established for the Karnak temple, even if it was concerned with a festival of great importance to the Theban necropolis. Whether they are the totals of requirements for one festival, or more than one, the amounts recorded in column IV probably represent yearly requisitions made by the Karnak temple from the royal memorial temple of Ramesses IV on the west bank. The king's temple had to supply at least 226 sacks of grain yearly, and probably additional products (including cattle) as well. The only other source of supplies mentioned in the lists is the royal treasury (*pr-ḥd n Pr-ꜥ3*; column III, line 62). This department was responsible for the curious delivery of

<sup>1</sup> W. Helck, *ZÄS* 82 (1959), 109; Helck, *Materialien* I, (414).

<sup>2</sup> General heading, l. 34; col. II, l. 38; col. III, l. 41 (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 8 and 9).

<sup>3</sup> See table 1, list 47.

<sup>4</sup> See the remarks on the daily offerings at Karnak in chapter II, § 3, pp. 71-73.

260 falcon-feathers, and perhaps some other items as well, for the festivities in the Karnak temple. Just like the offerings established at Karnak by Ramesses III according to lists 1 and 2 of the Medinet Habu calendar,<sup>1</sup> those of Ramesses IV were to be prepared in the “pure workshop” at Karnak. The headings of some of the lists repeat the statement made in the general heading (see above): “their produce comes from the pure workshop of the House of Amun” (*iw b3k.t=w hr šn<sup>c</sup> w<sup>c</sup>b n pr 'Imn*).<sup>2</sup>

#### THE TEMPLE OF RAMESSES IV IN WESTERN THEBES

In all probability it is Ramesses IV who refers, a self-glorifying text on P. Turin Cat. 1882 *recto*, to the building of his temple in Western Thebes, opposite Karnak (*hr hft-hr n 'Ip.t-s.w.t*).<sup>3</sup> The name “Temple of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lord of the Two Lands Userma'atre Setepenamun in the House of Amun” is associated in Egyptological literature with three sites on the Theban west bank where foundation-deposits of Ramesses IV have been found.<sup>4</sup> The most impressive remains are those of the so-called “Ramesside temple” at Assâsîf. It is supposed that this structure was started as a memorial temple by Ramesses IV but never finished by him, and continued by Ramesses V and VI, whose names are mentioned on stone blocks of the temple.<sup>5</sup> The king also started another building at Assâsîf,<sup>6</sup> and yet another to the north of Medinet Habu,<sup>7</sup> but the purpose of both buildings remains unclear.<sup>8</sup> The scarabs, plaques, etc., which were found in the foundation-deposits of all these structures mention only the king's names; not those of the buildings. They show two different royal prenomen: (1) Userma'atre Setepenamun, which is the name current in the king's first regnal year (and hence in the Karnak lists discussed above); (2) Hekama'atre Setepenamun, the prenomens that came into use later in the reign.<sup>9</sup> Both names are also used in the inscriptions of Ramesses IV in the great temple of his father at Medinet Habu.<sup>10</sup> One of these (with the name Hekama'atre) even seems to suggest that the king

<sup>1</sup> See chapter II, § 3, pp. 62-68.

<sup>2</sup> Column II, line 39; probably in column III, line 42 as well (see Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 8 and 9; Peden, *Egyptian Historical Inscriptions*, 145 and 147).

<sup>3</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1882 rt. 3, 10 - 4, 1 (A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 41 (1955), pls. IX and X; *JEA* 42 (1956), 11; Peden, *Ramesses IV*, 53 and 54, 104-109).

<sup>4</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* 2 II, 424-426; 454. The structures are traditionally referred to as “colonnaded temple of Ramesses IV”, “Ramesside temple”, and “temple of Ramesses IV” respectively. See appendix 1, s.v. Ramesses IV.

<sup>5</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 132 and 133; Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* II, 372.

<sup>6</sup> The “colonnaded” temple: Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* II, 372.

<sup>7</sup> Hölscher, *Excavations Medinet Habu* II, 115-117.

<sup>8</sup> C.A. Keller (in: *For His Ka*, 148-151) suggests that the two structures at Assâsîf were parts of one complex at the entrance to the valley of Deir el-Bahri, while the building of Ramesses IV at Medinet Habu might have been a “modest mortuary chapel” built adjacent to the temple of Ramesses III in order to stress the link with his father and predecessor.

<sup>9</sup> See J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (*Münchner Ägyptologische Studien* 20), Berlin 1984, 246 and 247; Peden, *Ramesses IV*, 15.

<sup>10</sup> See Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 53-57.

regarded this monument as his own memorial temple.<sup>1</sup> Which temple is referred to in Ramesses IV's Karnak inscription?

From the remains of the great temple at Assâssîf comes a hieratic jar-docket recording wine from a garden of a royal temple of millions of years.<sup>2</sup> The royal name is lost, but the supreme official responsible for the delivery was the *sem*-priest Hekamaʿatrenakht, who is known from a graffito at Deir el-Bahri as a *sem*-priest of the memorial temple of Ramesses IV.<sup>3</sup> From this administrative source, and because of its sheer size, the great Assâssîf temple has every chance of having been the actual memorial temple of Ramesses IV in Western Thebes, at least during the king's lifetime. Later developments are unclear: as stated above, the temple seems to have been usurped by Ramesses V and VI. On the other hand, the Wilbour Papyrus from the reign of Ramesses V still mentions a Theban memorial temple of Ramesses IV as distinct from that of the reigning pharaoh, and as an important land-holding institution.<sup>4</sup>

For these reasons, it remains uncertain whether it is really the great Assâssîf temple that is referred to in the Karnak inscription of Ramesses IV, or another temple on the Theban west bank. What is clear, however, is that the royal memorial temple, the building of which had just begun, was called on as early as the king's first regnal year for supplies of grain and other products for the festival offerings established by Ramesses IV at Karnak. Although still unfinished, the temple must already have been economically active to a considerable extent. The inscription of Ramesses IV is also important because it shows a situation that is very similar to the one underlying the lists of Ramesses III discussed in the previous section. Although the offerings recorded by those lists were to be presented daily, and therefore required considerably more on a yearly basis than the festival offerings of Ramesses IV, we may conclude that during the reigns of both kings, the royal memorial temple was an important and regular economic source for the offerings presented in the temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak.

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<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 55 (H).

<sup>2</sup> Bietak, *Theben-West*, 19, pl. IX (c); Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 49.

<sup>3</sup> Graffito no. 129 (Marciniak, *Inscriptions Hiératiques*, 152, pl. LXXXV). See appendix 2.

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 133; Helck, *Materialien* I, (114). See chapter X, § 2, pp. 306-308.

## CHAPTER IV

### SCENES IN TEMPLES AND TOMBS

#### § 1 - THE OFFERING-PROCESSIONS AT MEDINET HABU AND ABYDOS

##### LOCATION AND COMPOSITION OF THE SCENES

Beneath the calendar of feasts and offerings at Medinet Habu is a relief representing a row of persons carrying offerings (fig. 1).<sup>1</sup> Interrupted halfway by the doorway leading to the second open court of the temple, the total length of the scene is about 25½ metres. The group includes priests, carriers, administrators, and gardeners; in all 57 men. A similar relief is carved inside the (originally second) court of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (fig. 2). The lowest register of the decoration on the inside of the south (or south-east) wall of this temple is still preserved, and in this register are represented two processions of offering-bearers, with a total length of approximately 23 metres.<sup>2</sup> Another procession is depicted on the south-eastern part of the second pylon.<sup>3</sup> This probably belongs to the festival scenes in a higher register, some traces of which are still visible. The procession only includes a few festival offerings, and will not be discussed here. The scenes of meat-offerings on the north-west wall of the court will be dealt with below, in section 2. Being a “Temple of Millions of Years”, the Abydos temple of Ramesses II must have had much in common with the memorial temples of Western Thebes.<sup>4</sup> For this reason, the inclusion of the offering-procession of its second court in the present discussion seems appropriate. The scene itself, moreover, shows much resemblance to the one at Medinet Habu. Its inclusion will prove to be valuable because its captions make it much more informative. Another offering-procession is depicted in a relief from the reign of Ramesses II in the first court of the Luxor temple.<sup>5</sup> Although this

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<sup>1</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 516 and 517 (186); *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 168 and 169 (A). Inscriptions in Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 185. Discussion by H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 30-33; B. Haring, in: 3. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 73-89.

<sup>2</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* VI, 34 (6) and (7), (9) and (10); Naville, *Détails Relevés*, pls. XXVI-XXVIII; Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, pls. 186 and 187. Inscriptions in Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* II, 532-535; idem, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* (Transl.) II, 343-345. Discussions by H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 30-33; Helck, *Materialien* V, (745)-(747); B. Haring, in: 3. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 73-89.

<sup>3</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* VI, 34 (4) and (5).

<sup>4</sup> For the religious aspects of this temple, see K.P. Kuhlmann, *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 355-362. For the “Temples of Millions of Years” in general, see Introduction, § 3, pp. 20-24.

<sup>5</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* II<sup>2</sup>, 306, (17) and (18), 3rd register. Published in part by M.A. Muhammad, *ASAE* 60 (1968), 275, pls. LXI and LXII (c); texts in Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* II, 347 and 348; idem, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* (Transl.) II, 184.

temple could also be called a “Temple of Millions of Years”,<sup>1</sup> its religious function may have been different in essential points from that of the temples on the Theban west bank,<sup>2</sup> and much is still unclear about its administrative workings.<sup>3</sup> Hence, we must be careful when drawing additional information from this source. A similar procession of offering-bearers, heading for the temple of Amun, is shown in the tomb of vizier Rekhmire.<sup>4</sup>

A close study reveals that the processions depicted at Medinet Habu and at Abydos show many differences. In the first place, there are in fact *two* processions at Abydos, whereas only one seems to be represented at Medinet Habu (although we will see that this row of persons can be divided in two processions as well). The Medinet Habu procession is preceded by a priest burning incense and a man carrying a royal statue, as are both processions at Abydos (fig. 1, nos. 1 and 2; fig. 2, nos. 3 and 4), but the god’s servant and the scribe of the divine offering who receive the offering-bringers in the Abydos relief (fig. 2, nos. 1 and 2) are absent at Medinet Habu. The two processions at Abydos each have a different purpose: the first row (fig. 2, nos. 3-23) carries offerings on dishes, and the items are specified by the inscriptions as belonging to the *wn-hr* “Opening-the-Sight”; a term referring to the opening of the god’s shrine in the daily temple ritual as well as on festivals.<sup>5</sup> The determinative  of the word as it occurs here does not help us to decide whether the daily or the festival ritual is referred to.<sup>6</sup> In the Nauri decree, Sethos I says that he has appointed priests who daily perform the “Opening of the Sight”.<sup>7</sup> P. Harris I informs us that Ramesses III has built “workshops of Opening-the-Sight” (again determined by ), equipped with various items “as the daily requirement, in excess of the fixed portion that existed formerly”.<sup>8</sup> Such workshops will not have been built for the preparation of festival offerings only. That the first procession at Abydos really is a festival procession, however, is very likely because of the distinction between it and the second row (fig. 2, nos. 26-64), in which the offerings are carried not on dishes but on trenchers, which are kept in balance with ropes. The second row is also longer: it consists of 35 men carrying items or leading animals, whereas the festival procession has only 19 men carrying offerings. This fact is in accordance with the relative proportions of daily and festival offerings that can be established from the Medinet Habu calendar.<sup>9</sup> A text-column to the right of the longer

<sup>1</sup> H. Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor* (Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 18), Mainz 1977, pl. 63, col. 4.

<sup>2</sup> For the religious significance of the Luxor temple, see L. Bell, *JNES* 44 (1985), 251-294.

<sup>3</sup> The information collected by Helck, *Materialien* I, (72)-(74), seems scarce when compared with its religious importance and its architectural size.

<sup>4</sup> TT 100; De Garis Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Ré* I, 38 and 39; II, pl. XXXVIII.

<sup>5</sup> Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* I, 313, 6; Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian* I, 115; Alliot, *Culte d’Horus*, 78; A. Lohwasser, *Die Formel “Öffnen des Gesichts”* (Beiträge zur Ägyptologie 11), Vienna 1991, 28-31; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 27, note 121 (with further refs.).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, pl. 187, who translates *n wn-hr* as “für das Fest”.

<sup>7</sup> See Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 48, 11 and 12.

<sup>8</sup> P. Harris I 6, 2 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 6 and 7; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 229).

<sup>9</sup> See chapter II, § 5.

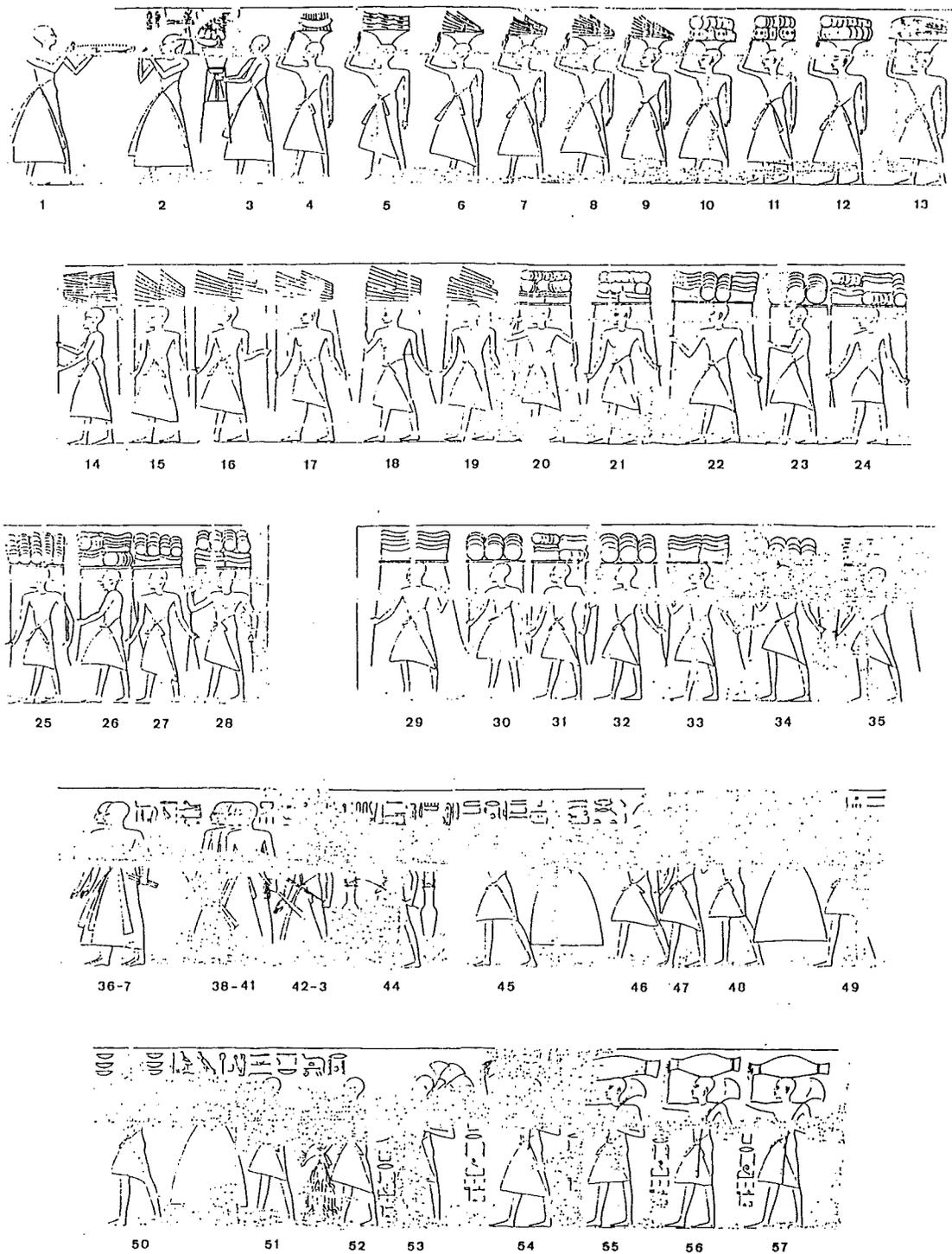


Figure 1: Offering-procession on the south wall (exterior) of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (from: *Medinet Habu III*, pls. 168 and 169; courtesy of The Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago)

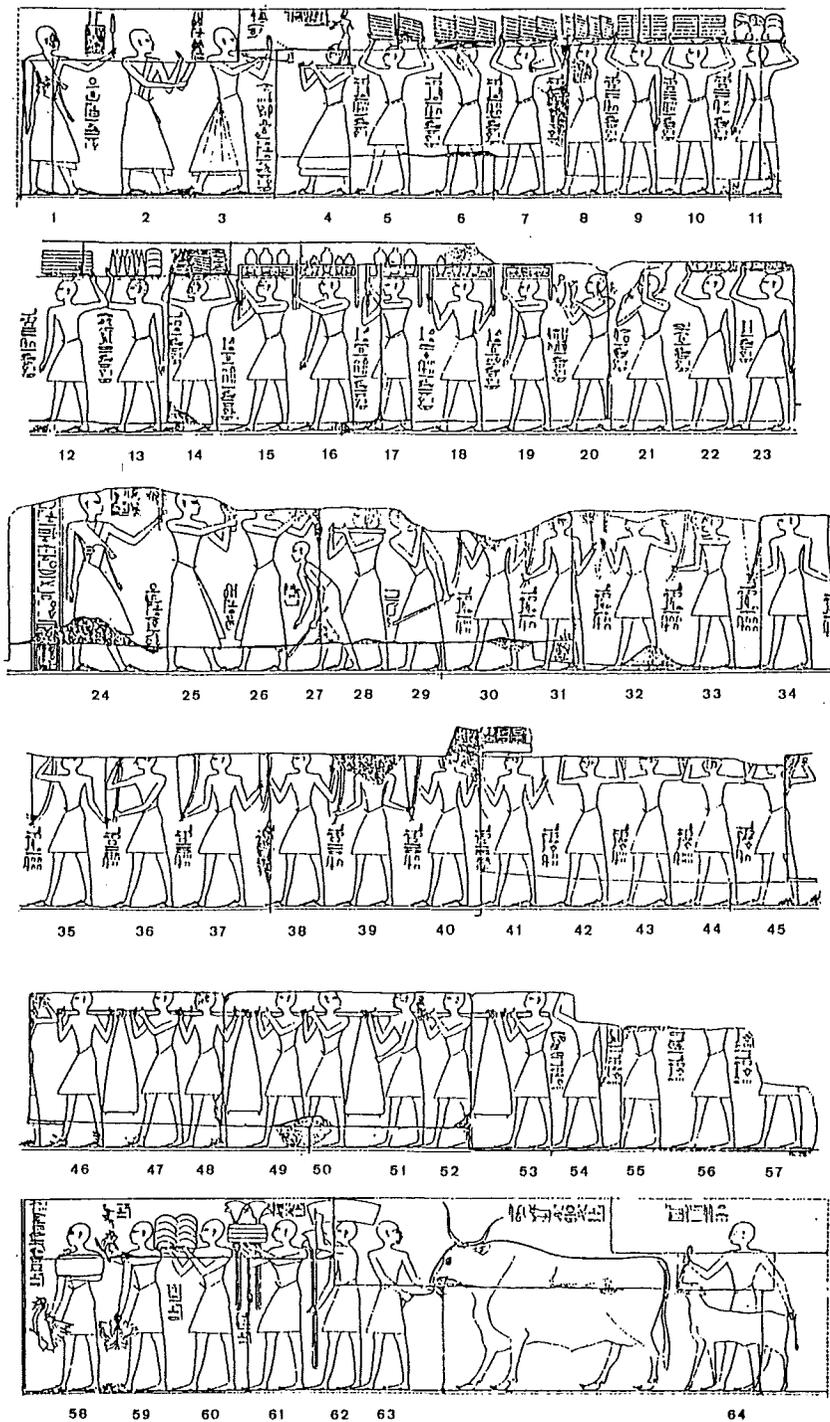


Figure 2: Offering-procession on the south wall (interior) of the second court of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (from: Naville, *Détails Relevés*, pls. XXVI-XXVIII)

row reads: “[presenting (*hnp*)?] the divine offering of the fixed portion of every day” (*n imny.t n.t R<sup>c</sup> nb*),<sup>1</sup> and no further indications are given for the occasion of presenting the offerings (except for the captions above the ox and calf at the end, for which see below). The men of the second procession therefore probably carry the daily offerings, the amount of which was larger than that of the festival requirements. At Medinet Habu, we see a similar distinction within the long row of figures (fig. 1). The 10 foremost carriers of offerings (nos. 4-13) also have items on dishes, whereas the following 22 persons (nos. 14-35) have trenchers. The row with dishes (which are mainly filled with loaves) is terminated by a man carrying various objects (no. 13: cups, loaves, and some twisted materials), after which begins a new (and quite long) row of persons carrying loaves (nos. 14-35).

The second row of men carrying loaves is followed, at Medinet Habu, by a group of administrators (fig. 1, nos. 36-43). In the inscription above them, the title “superiors of the workshop” (*hr.y.w-šn<sup>c</sup>.w*) is preserved.<sup>2</sup> Other titles may have been written between it and the beginning of the blessing formula *ssnb Pr-ḥz* ... “Keep Pharaoh healthy ...”.<sup>3</sup> The row of offering-carriers is resumed by the man immediately following the administrators, who carries two jars by means of a yoke. The workshop superiors and other functionaries thus divide the procession of daily offerings in two parts: the men before them carrying the loaves and those behind them with the remaining grain products and other items. Again, similarities as well as differences appear if we compare this last section of offering-bearers (nos. 44-57) with the corresponding section at Abydos (fig. 2, nos. 42-64). Medinet Habu shows 14 persons where Abydos has 23. Some of the items are carried in sacks, every sack being carried by two men. At Medinet Habu we see three of these sacks; at Abydos there are four of them. The Abydos-scene is closed by men leading an ox (*iwz*) and a calf, which are absent at Medinet Habu. On the other hand, the Medinet Habu procession shows four men carrying bundles of vegetables (fig. 1, nos. 54-57), and the man with jars already mentioned.

From the above observations, we may conclude that the procession at Medinet Habu is a combination of festive and daily offering-processions. The distinction between the festival and daily offerings, which are neatly separated at Abydos, is indicated only by the dishes and trenchers for carrying the items at Medinet Habu; at the latter location, the procession of daily offerings is not shown as being received separately by a priest and a scribe. The two processions have become one. Apart from this, the Medinet Habu

<sup>1</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* II, 533, 15.

<sup>2</sup> The plural strokes occur twice in *hr.y.w-šn<sup>c</sup>.w*, as is usual with compound nouns (cf. e.g. *hr.y.w-pd.w.t* “troop commanders” and *r.w-pr.w* “temples”). Therefore, there is no need to translate “overseers of workshops”; the fact that the temple workshop is everywhere else referred to in the singular speaks against such a translation.

<sup>3</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* V, 185, 4 and 5. For the blessing formula cf. e.g. the decree of Sethos II at Karnak (Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* IV, 263-266; esp. 266, ll. 5 and 6). The complete formula at Medinet Habu runs as follows: “Keep Pharaoh healthy, Amun, conduct [Him] to eternity, bring to [Him] victory [...] power over the north [...] illuminating (? *thn*?) all lands and all [deserts], he being a great ruler of every land forever and always”.

scene shows fewer persons (57 in all, as against 64 at Abydos), and it has hardly any explanatory texts. It would seem as if the sculptors at Medinet Habu were economizing with their space, and tried to squeeze the festival and daily processions into one row of persons, omitting the receiving priests and the inscriptions. One wonders, therefore, what the Ramesseum original may have been like, but no fragments of similar scenes from the temple of Ramesses II seem to have been identified.<sup>1</sup>

#### THE ROUTE OF THE PROCESSIONS

Although the positions of the reliefs at Medinet Habu and Abydos are not quite the same, they agree in one respect: both occur on the south wall of the open court that precedes the hypostyle hall, and which was called “court” (*wšḫ.t*) or “festival court” (*wšḫ.t ḥb.y.t*).<sup>2</sup> We find the procession on the outside of the wall at Medinet Habu, and on the inside at Abydos. At both locations, the reliefs are interrupted by the doorway leading from the outside to this court. The latter fact suggests that this doorway was the one through which the offering-procession came into the temple, to be received there by the god’s servant and the scribe of the divine offering. Hölscher regarded the doorway in the north wall of the second court (i.e. the doorway at the north end of the portico) as the entrance through which the food-offerings were brought in.<sup>3</sup> His argument is an inscription on the west jamb of that doorway, which runs as follows:<sup>4</sup>

(Col. 1) The Good God, abundant of fowl, who makes festive the treasuries with good things, who fills his temple with any (kind of) food, (2) with gold, and any (kind of) noble valuable stone, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma’atre Meriamun, Son of Re Ramesses Ruler of On.

The temple of Ramesses II at Abydos had a doorway in the corresponding position, at the north-west end of the portico.<sup>5</sup> The Ramesseum also had an entrance in the north corner of the second court (as well as one in the south wall, just like Medinet Habu), but this doorway led to the portico of the adjoining chapel.<sup>6</sup> It is therefore less likely that the offering-procession reached the court by this entrance. In the remains of the temple of Merenptah, no doorways to the second court can be located with certainty.<sup>7</sup> In the temple of Sethos I at Qurna, however, the offerings may have been brought in through the north-east entrance to the second court.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 30.

<sup>2</sup> For Medinet Habu: Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu* III, 8, note 24; Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 84, note 212. The court of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (which was originally the second court, the first now being largely destroyed) is nowhere called *wšḫ.t ḥb.y.t*, but it may be referred to as *wšḫ.t* (see below, § 2). See Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 84, for *wšḫ.t* as a possible abbreviation of *wšḫ.t ḥb.y.t*.

<sup>3</sup> Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu* III, 9 and 14.

<sup>4</sup> *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 306 (B).

<sup>5</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* VI, 32.

<sup>6</sup> Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu* III, pl. 10.

<sup>7</sup> H. Jaritz, B. Dominicus, H. Sourouzian, *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 60, fig. 1.

<sup>8</sup> R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 33 (1977), 128.

In the Ptolemaic temple of Edfu, food-offerings were brought in through an entrance in the east wall,<sup>1</sup> directly into the hypostyle hall. One of the names of this hall was *wsh.t hb.y.t* “festival hall”.<sup>2</sup> Apparently, the Ptolemaic hypostyle hall at Edfu had a position and a function similar to the second court of the Ramesside temples discussed here, at least as far as the offering ritual was concerned. The doorway through which the offerings were actually brought in, in that case corresponds rather to the north-east entrance of the second court of the temples in Western Thebes. Still, the reliefs representing offering-processions on the south wall of the second court of the temples of Ramesses II (Abydos) and III (Medinet Habu) may very well be indicative of the usual route of the daily and festival offering-processions in Ramesside temples.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE ITEMS OF THE FESTIVAL OFFERINGS

Having described the context and similarity of the procession-scenes at Medinet Habu and Abydos, we now turn to a more detailed analysis of the persons involved, the offerings they carry, and the inscriptions. The first row, which we will call the “festival procession”, consists of 11 carriers with offerings at Medinet Habu (fig. 1, nos. 3-13), and 19 at Abydos (fig. 2, nos. 5-23). Both rows are preceded by a priest burning incense, who, according to the inscription at Abydos, is a “lector-priest who is in his month” (*hr.y-hb im.y zbd=f*). His action is described as “burning incense by the lector priest before the divine offering of Opening-the-Sight”. Behind this priest is a man carrying a royal statue. The king is thus represented at the offering-ritual as its nominal conductor. The accompanying text gives only royal names: one cartouche at Abydos, preceded by *ntr nfr* “The Good God”, and two cartouches without epithets at Medinet Habu.<sup>4</sup> It is tempting to identify this statue with the one depicted in the “treasury” of Medinet Habu, which bears the epithet *sšm hb* “conductor of festivals”.<sup>5</sup> This epithet would seem to imply that the statue was carried in festival offering-processions only. However, the daily (second) procession at Abydos shows a royal statue as well (fig. 2, no. 28), which may or may not be the same as the one carried by no. 4. The carrier of the statue is not indicated by a title, as opposed to the corresponding person in the second row (fig. 2, no. 28), who appears to be a “superior of *wab*-priests” (*ʿz n wʿb*). The presence of this priestly superior implies that at least some of the persons carrying offerings are *wab*-priests, but the scene does not provide further evidence for this. The few inscriptions at Medinet Habu mention “superiors of the workshop” and “gardeners of the divine offering”, who are not referred to as *wab*, although we cannot entirely exclude the possibility that they were actually (part-time) *wab*-priests.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> H.W. Fairman, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 37 (1954/55), 178; Alliot, *Culte d'Horus*, 31-34, and plan following page xx.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 169, note 3; no. 5 on plan.

<sup>3</sup> As I advocated in: 3. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 82.

<sup>4</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 533, 2; V, 185, 3.

<sup>5</sup> *Medinet Habu* V, pls. 322 and 331. See below, § 3, pp. 130-131.

<sup>6</sup> See the discussion on *wab*-priests in chapter VIII, § 1, pp. 222-225.

The superior of *wab*-priests is followed immediately by the first man with offerings. At Medinet Habu, this man (no. 3) carries a small table with a selection of offerings on top of it. It consists mainly of fruit and flowers, and the representation of flames on top of them indicates that they are roasting or burning. This selection was perhaps the only part of the offerings that were presented before the divine statue in the sacrosanct room of the temple.<sup>1</sup>

The first row of men carrying dishes with offerings (almost all of them containing loaves) amounts to 10 at both locations (fig. 1, nos. 4-13; fig. 2, nos. 5-14). The items and their sequence, however, are slightly different. At Abydos, the loaves can be identified by the inscriptions. It appears that the first four dishes are filled with *bl.t* (conical loaves made of barley), the next four with *psn* (flat, circular loaves made of emmer wheat), each with different baking values (*psw*).<sup>2</sup> The texts say, for instance: "room (*ḥ.t*) of *bl.t*-loaves, baking-value 5, of Opening-the-Sight".<sup>3</sup> By the use of the word *ḥ.t*, as well as by the specification of baking-values, the relief seems to convey administrative notions, which we would hardly expect in temple reliefs. It is remarkable, for instance, that most of the inscriptions refer to the departments from which the carriers and their items come, rather than to the carriers themselves.

The inscriptions are absent at Medinet Habu, but we can identify the *bl.t*- and *psn*-loaves by their shapes. The loaves of the *psn*-type are depicted as if seen from above, and thus have a round form (fig. 1, nos. 10-12). On all but one of the dishes at Abydos, the loaves are seen from the side, and by this we see that the loaves were flat (fig. 2, nos. 5-12). The two types are carried at Medinet Habu in four and three dishes respectively (fig. 1, nos. 6-9, 10-12). These dishes probably contain loaves with different baking-values, just as in the Abydos procession, where we see *bl.t* with baking-values 5, 10, 20 and [x]; *psn* with baking-values 10, 5, "mixed" (*šbn*), and again 10.<sup>4</sup> Some of the *psn*-loaves have two dots or holes, and can be identified by these with an item known from the Medinet Habu calendar.<sup>5</sup> It seems to be a typical festival item because it is not mentioned in list 6 (daily offerings of the memorial temple). This supports the hypothesis that the first procession is concerned with festival offerings. This type of loaf is absent in the second procession.

In addition to the *bl.t*- and *psn*-loaves, various other types of bread are carried in the festival processions. At Medinet Habu, the first dish contains conical objects, held together by a ring (?) (fig. 1, no. 4). The second dish (no. 5) holds rectangular objects with notches. At Abydos, the man immediately behind the last carrier of *psn*-loaves also has a dish with conical objects, here together with semicircular ones (fig. 2, no. 13).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Sauneron, *Prêtres*<sup>2</sup>, 89.

<sup>2</sup> The *psw* indicates the number of items produced from one standard measure of grain. The measure referred to is a quarter of a "sack", which is called (quadruple) *hekat* or *oipe*, and which equals 19.22 litres. See the remark on the corn-measure on p. 55, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 533, 4-7.

<sup>4</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 533, 3-7.

<sup>5</sup> *Psn nfr n qḥ* (?) "good *psn*-loaves of *qḥ*-bread (?)", recorded by lists 9, 12, 15, 19, 52, and 57. See the determinatives in lists 19 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 152, l. 561) and 52 (pl. 163, l. 1200); Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 141, 8; 173, 1.

According to the inscription, these are *dqw* and *ʒh*.<sup>1</sup> The exact nature of these materials is uncertain, but they always belong to the cereal items in the calendar lists. *Dqw* “flour” is to be distinguished from *dq(r).w* “fruit”, although it is often written in the same way. It is represented in the calendar lists in the form of *t ḥd* “white bread”,<sup>2</sup> a designation referring to its shape, rather than to its composition, in view of the fact that incense could also be presented in the form of “white bread”.<sup>3</sup> The shape of *t ḥd* may be either conical, or rectangular (with concav sides).<sup>4</sup> The first two dishes depicted at Medinet Habu may therefore contain either “*dqw* in the shape of white bread”, or real “white bread”, in conical as well as rectangular forms. Dish no. 13 at Abydos probably contains *dqw* (shaped like white bread). The item *ʒh* on the same dish is also attested in the calendar, where it is measured in *ndʒ* “slabs” of a rectangular form.<sup>5</sup> Such slabs may be depicted here as well, but with a semicircular form. We will see these slabs again as a measure for dates at the end of the daily offering-procession. *ʒh* may have been a material quite similar to *dqw*.<sup>6</sup> In the daily procession, both *dqw* and *ʒh* are attested one more time, and they are said there to come from the “room of beer” (fig. 2, nos. 54 and 55; see below). Both, then, might be substances obtained from grain, and connected with the production of beer.

The last dish carried in the festival procession at Medinet Habu (fig. 1, no. 13) has its exact parallel at Abydos (fig. 2, no. 14), where it is the last dish preceding the men carrying beer. The inscription reads: *ʕ.t-bni.t n wn-ḥr* “room of sweets of Opening-the-Sight”.<sup>7</sup> This department is also mentioned at the end of the daily procession at Abydos, as the supplier of *ʒʕ.t*-cakes and dates (fig. 2, nos. 56 and 57), but it is written there with jar and plural strokes. These signs are absent in no. 14, but the reconstruction of  is supported by the traces extant. What product from the room of sweets, then, might be carried in this dish? The Medinet Habu variant shows cups, loaves with the same shape of *bi.t*-bread, and a kind of twist. The corresponding dish at Abydos carries the same loaves and twists, as well as cups with covers (or with contents rising out of the cups?).<sup>8</sup> If we look for corresponding objects in the calendar lists, we see that at the end of the sections recording grain products, some items occur that are connected with dates, or other sweet products: *ʒʕ.t bi.t* “*ʒʕ.t*-cake in the form of *bi.t*-loaves”, and *bni.w/bni.t*

<sup>1</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* II, 533, 7.

<sup>2</sup> See the note on *dqw t ḥd* in chapter II, § 2.

<sup>3</sup> Calendar list 50: *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 160, l. 1159; Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* V, 171, 6. Also in P. Bulaq 18: A. Scharff, *ZÄS* 57 (1922), 53 and 54.

<sup>4</sup> This is true for *dqw t ḥd*, as well as for *t ḥd* itself. For the latter, see *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 146, l. 240 (rectangular), and pl. 148, l. 310 (conical); Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* V, 127, 7; 131, 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 146, l. 247; Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* V, 127, 14.

<sup>6</sup> Von Deines, Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 5-7.

<sup>7</sup> Naville’s drawing is somewhat misleading here; see *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 169 (B); Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, pl. 187; Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* II, 533, 8.

<sup>8</sup> The last dish of the procession in the tomb of Rekhmire contains conical loaves (?) and cups as well: Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rê* II, pl. XXXVIII.

“dates”/“date-drink” (?); the latter being presented in *mḥ.t*-cups.<sup>1</sup> The pictures representing *bni.w/bni.t* or its containers in the calendar lists of Medinet Habu and Abydos are similar to the objects represented in the offering-processions.<sup>2</sup> It is difficult, however, to establish whether date-drink or dates in a dry form are depicted in the offering-processions and in the calendar lists alike. The twists have been identified already by Nelson as *hniꜣy*.<sup>3</sup> This item, the exact nature of which is obscure, is also met with in the Medinet Habu calendar lists, in the sections dealing with items not produced from grain (see table 3). In lists 6 and 15, it is even resumed together with *šꜥ.t*-cake, *bni.t*, and *q(ꜣ)w*, as an item sweetened with honey.<sup>4</sup> Concluding this detailed discussion of the items carried in dish no. 13 at Medinet Habu and dish no. 14 at Abydos, it seems justified to regard these items as products of the “room of sweets” (*ꜥ.t-bni.t*). “Sweets” is perhaps a better translation of *bni.t* here than “dates”,<sup>5</sup> because we have seen that (a) *šꜥ.t*-cakes and *hniꜣy* are not associated with dates in the Medinet Habu calendar, and that (b) the calendar lists mention honey, not dates, as the means of sweetening these and other items. A scene in the tomb of vizier Rekhmire shows slaves of the room of sweets sifting flour.<sup>6</sup>

The Abydos procession continues with the carriers of the beer and the non-cereal items (fig. 2, nos. 15-23), unlike the Medinet Habu version, which omits these and places here the first persons carrying loaves of the daily offerings (fig. 1, nos. 14 ff.). The jars of beer depicted at Abydos are carried in special stands. The inscriptions between the men who carry them do not mention a specific department, but only the beer, the type of jars (*špn.t* and *ds*), and the baking-values.<sup>7</sup> The *špn.t*-jar has baking-value 4, the *ds*-jar 5. In the Medinet Habu calendar, the *špn.t* also has lower baking-values, but the difference from *ds*-jars is usually greater there: whereas the number of *špn.t* out of one *oipe* is expressed often in numbers below ten, the baking-value of *ds* is always given in tens.<sup>8</sup>

The item following the beer at Abydos is wine (fig. 2, nos. 20 and 21), in the two qualities we know from offering-lists: normal (without specification) and “excellent” (*nfr-nfr*).<sup>9</sup> The latter kind is presented in *nms.t*-jars: small libation-vessels that may have

<sup>1</sup> Lists 1, 6, 15, and 60: *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 140, ll. 92-96; pl. 146, ll. 241-244, 252; pl. 150, ll. 483 and 484; pl. 165, ll. 1359-1360; Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* V, 120, 12-16; 127, 8-11; 138, 1 and 2; 179, 7 and 8.

<sup>2</sup> Medinet Habu calendar: *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 140, l. 95; pl. 146, l. 244; pl. 165, l. 1360; Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* V, 120, 16; 127, 11; 179, 8. Abydos calendar: Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* II, 525, 3; 526, 6 (ll. 120 and 138 of the inscription). The examples from the Abydos calendar are taken from positions no doubt occupied by [*bni.w/bni.t*].

<sup>3</sup> From the offering-lists and reliefs on the temple of Ramesses III at Karnak: *JAOS* 56 (1936), 240, note 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 146, ll. 282-285; pl. 150, ll. 528-529; Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* V, 129, 14 - 130, 1; 139, 8 and 9.

<sup>5</sup> For the shift of meaning of *bni* from “date” to “sweet”, see Wallert, *Palmen*, 44-48.

<sup>6</sup> TT 100: Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rê* I, 44; II, pl. L.

<sup>7</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* II, 533, 9-11.

<sup>8</sup> See Helck, *Materialien* III, (398)-(401).

<sup>9</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* II, 533, 12.



The row starts with six men carrying *bi.t*-loaves (nos. 30-35), just like the daily procession at Medinet Habu (fig. 1, nos. 14-19), against only four men with *bi.t*-loaves in both versions of the festival procession (see above). They are followed at Abydos by another group of six from the “room of *psn*-loaves” (fig. 2, nos. 36-41), but at this point the Medinet Habu procession shows no less than 16 men with different types of bread (fig. 1, nos. 20-35). Among these, we recognize loaves of the *psn*-type, but also of the *bi.t*- and “white bread” types. According to list 6 of the Medinet Habu calendar, 10 different types of bread were included in the daily offerings apart from *bi.t*- and *psn*-loaves.<sup>1</sup>

Next in the Abydos procession are 4 men with beer, indicated by their departments (fig. 2, nos. 42-45). The upper part of the relief showing the jars is destroyed. When discussing the festival procession, we have seen that baking-values are associated with different types of vases: baking-value 4 with the *špn.t*, and baking-value 5 with the *ds*. The baking-values attested here are 4, 5, 8, and 10, i.e. those of the festival procession and their doublings, so that the vases depicted in the daily procession will have been *špn.t* (baking-values 4 and 8) and *ds* (baking-values 5 and 10). The baking-value does not necessarily indicate the size of the vessels: it could indicate the strength of the beer.<sup>2</sup>

In the corresponding position in the daily procession at Medinet Habu (that is, after the carriers of bread and the officials) we see only one man with vessels, which he carries by means of a yoke (fig. 1, no. 44). By the absence of other possible representations of beer-jars in this procession, we would be tempted to regard the figure as a carrier of beer, if the appearance of the man himself and of his jars did not decidedly contradict this. The shape of the two vessels is clearly that of *mehen* (or *meher*)-jars, which were used for milk-offerings according to the Medinet Habu calendar lists.<sup>3</sup> A similar figure is included in the Luxor procession; it is now destroyed except for the milk-jars suspended from the yoke and the accompanying caption: “*meher*-jars of the fixed portion”.<sup>4</sup> The preceding sign, which is in fact a miniature of the figure itself, must be regarded as a variant of , to be read as *mni.w* “herdsman”.<sup>5</sup> Temple herdsmen may generally have been the suppliers of dairy products; according to hieratic jar-

<sup>1</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 146, ll. 231-240; Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions* V, 127.

<sup>2</sup> See Helck, *Materialien* IV, (683).

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 140, l. 118 (list 1); pl. 148, ll. 360 and 433 (lists 9 and 12); pl. 158, l. 972 (list 43); pl. 160, l. 1068 (list 47); Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions* V, 122, 4; 133, 6; 135, 14; 162, 10; 167, 13 and 14. See especially the determinative of *mhn* in lists 1, 43, and 47.

<sup>4</sup> Muhammad, *ASAE* 60 (1968), 275, pl. LXII (c); Ch. Kuentz, *La face sud du massif est du pylône de Ramsès II à Louxor (Centre de Documentation et d'Études sur l'Ancienne Égypte. Collection Scientifique)*, Cairo 1971, pl. XXI; Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions* II, 348, 3.

<sup>5</sup> The sign is quite similar to the one used to write *mni.w* in the royal epithet *mni.w nfr* “good shepherd” in Kanais inscription A, col. 2 (Schott, *Kanais*, 140 (notes b and 4), pls. 14 and 19; Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions* I, 65, 5). For the sign, see H.G. Fischer, *Varia Nova (Egyptian Studies III)*, New York 1996, 177-179; for the expression *mni.w nfr*, see D. Müller, *ZÄS* 86 (1961), 126-144. Cf. the translations “milkman” by Kitchen (*Rameside Inscriptions* (Transl.), 184) and “bearer of milk bottles” (*hr.y mhr.w*) by Fischer (*op. cit.*, note 22).

dockets, they were responsible for deliveries of curds (*smi*).<sup>1</sup> Figure no. 44 in the Medinet Habu procession must have been a herdsman as well, the more so since he holds a typical herdsman's attribute, the stick. Milk is recorded among the daily offerings established by Ramesses III at Karnak,<sup>2</sup> but it occurs only among the offerings of lunar- and Sokar-feasts in the calendar section pertaining to the royal memorial temple.<sup>3</sup> If the artists did not place the figure of the herdsman among the carriers of daily offerings by mistake, the Medinet Habu offering-procession seems to suggest that milk was presented daily in the memorial temple after all. The herdsman is absent from the festival and daily processions at Abydos.

The sacks carried by the following men (fig. 1, nos. 45-51; fig. 2, nos. 46-53) may contain grain or grain products. At Abydos they are part of the row of men carrying grain products. The same sacks are depicted in the offering-procession at Luxor, and they are described by Porter and Moss as "sacks of grain for beer on poles".<sup>4</sup> Indeed, the captions above the scene mention the "room of beer".<sup>5</sup> There are no accompanying texts at Abydos, but the inscriptions with the men before and after the carriers of the sacks all refer to the "room of beer", so that it is likely that the product has a connection with beer-production there as well. At Medinet Habu, one man among those who carry the sacks seems to keep a trencher in balance on his head (fig. 1, no. 47). One arm holding a rope can be seen to his left; the elbows visible just below the damaged upper part of the relief belong to the men beside him. We can only guess what objects were depicted on the trencher, but they might have been *ꜥḥ* and/or *dqw* (see above). These products are carried by the last two men of the beer department at Abydos (fig. 2, nos. 54 and 55), and they may have their parallel in the man with the trencher at Medinet Habu. Thus the products of the beer department seem to include grain (in sacks), *dqw* "flour", and *ꜥḥ* (a kind of dough?).<sup>6</sup> Such words seem to denote ingredients or stages of production, rather than finished products. Are the ingredients for the preparation of beer represented here, instead of beer itself? These might then have been distributed among the people attending the offering-ritual, who would use them to prepare their own beer at home, which might have been the most practical thing to do since the keeping qualities of ancient Egyptian beer do not seem to have been particularly good.<sup>7</sup> In view of the uncertainty about the exact nature of items, however, this cannot be more than a suggestion.

In the Medinet Habu version, the row of grain products ends with the sacks from the beer department, and gives way to a figure carrying birds (fig. 1, no. 52). Not so, however, at Abydos, where two further figures precede the men with birds (fig. 2,

<sup>1</sup> Koenig, *Étiquettes* I, pl. 18, nos. 6157 and 6160. See chapter XI, § 3, p. 356.

<sup>2</sup> Medinet Habu list 1: *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 140, l. 118; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 122, 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 148, ll. 360 and 433 (lists 9 and 12); pl. 158, l. 972 (list 43); pl. 160, l. 1068 (list 47); Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 133, 6; 135, 14; 162, 10; 167, 13 and 14. In most cases, milk is part of incorporated ritual lists with separate headings; see chapter II, § 2, pp. 57-58.

<sup>4</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 306, (18), III.

<sup>5</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 347, 14-16: *ꜥ.t-ḥq.t n imny.t n šnꜥ n sz*.

<sup>6</sup> Von Deines, Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 6 and 7: "ꜥḥ-Brei".

<sup>7</sup> See Helck, *Materialien* IV, (680).

nos. 56 and 57). These persons come from the “room of sweets” (*ḥ.t-bni.t*). They are carrying *šḥ.t*-cakes and dates or date-drink (see above). The items not associated with grain are limited to birds, flowers and vegetables in the Medinet Habu procession (fig. 1, nos. 52-57). The corresponding section of the Abydos procession is more diverse: apart from the birds, specified as geese (*r.w* and *sr.w*) and mixed fowl (*ḥpd ḥšš*), we see “fresh dates” (*bni.w wšd.w*), presented in slabs (probably the *nḏš* known from the calendar lists), flowers and vegetables, and animals (fig. 2, nos. 58-64).<sup>1</sup> The ox (*iwš*) is not a daily offering-item, but an offering for the feast of the new moon (*psdn*).<sup>2</sup> The calf behind it, however, is probably to be slaughtered for the daily ritual, according to the caption: “calf of the fixed (daily) portion (*imny.t*)”. From the Medinet Habu calendar, we know that offerings of cattle were reserved for festivals. List 12 indeed records “one ox (*iwš*)” as the first non-cereal item of the offerings for the feast of the new moon.<sup>3</sup> It is peculiar, however, to find a calf among the daily offerings. In the offering-procession in the temple of Luxor, we see bulls specified as *iwš* (or *kš*) *n imny.t* “ox (or bull) of the (daily) fixed portion”.<sup>4</sup> The reliefs at Abydos and Luxor, however, show us the offering-practice that prevailed in the temples they were carved on, and these customs were not necessarily the same as in the temples of Western Thebes.

The captions at Abydos specify the last items as belonging to the *ḥtp-nṯr* “divine offering”; only with the birds, a specific department is indicated once more: the “fowl-yard (*mḥwn*) of the divine offering”.<sup>5</sup> That such a fowl-yard could be situated within the temple precinct is exemplified by a structure at Karnak, which can be identified as a temple fowl-yard with the help of a stela from the reign of Sethos II found among its remains.<sup>6</sup> At Medinet Habu, the last five men are called *kšr.y.w n ḥtp-nṯr* “gardeners of the divine offering” (fig. 1, nos. 53-57).<sup>7</sup> These persons are found in the calendar as well: for the drinking-party at the accession anniversary, they delivered 300 bundles (*ḥrš*) of vegetables according to list 22.<sup>8</sup> Such bundles must also be depicted here on the heads of the gardeners. A somewhat different rendering of such a bundle is seen with figure no. 62 at Abydos (fig. 2).

<sup>1</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* II, 534, 16; 535, 1 and 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 169 (B). The sign for *psdn* can clearly be recognized on the photograph, and the festival sign after *n* is a determinative. Nelson’s translation “ox of the day of the feast for the divine offering” (*Work in Western Thebes*, 33) is therefore incorrect.

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 148, l. 351; Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* V, 132, 13.

<sup>4</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* II, 348, 2.

<sup>5</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* II, 534, 16.

<sup>6</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 222. Stela: H. Ricke, *ZÄS* 73 (1937), 124-131; collated text in Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* IV, 289-291. For a pictorial representation of a fowl-yard, see Wreszinski, *Atlas* I, pl. 395. Another word for fowl-yard is *ḥm.w* (= *ḥš.t-r-mw* “descending to the water”; D. Meeks, *RdÉ* 28 (1976), 92-95).

<sup>7</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* V, 185, 6.

<sup>8</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 152, l. 624; Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* V, 144, 3.

## THE TEMPLE WORKSHOP AND ITS DEPARTMENTS

The procession-scenes at Medinet Habu and Abydos may be regarded as “illustrations” to the calendars of feasts and offerings, which we find in their immediate neighbourhood both at Medinet Habu and at Abydos. The items carried generally follow the same order as that of the offering-lists. In this way, the reliefs call to life the dreary administrative accounts and allow us a glimpse of the daily and festival offering-practice. As a part of the temple decoration, just like the calendars, they present an ideal image of the customs connected with the offering cult. Notwithstanding this idealistic character, they provide information of a very exact type. They clearly distinguish between festival and daily offerings, indicating the relative proportions of both. Their inscriptions even specify the departments and the persons involved.

The source of the offerings appears to be the workshop (*šn<sup>c</sup>*). In the Medinet Habu procession, the superiors of the workshop (*hr.y.w-šn<sup>c</sup>.w*) accompany the offering-bearers; in the tomb of Rekhmire, the carriers of loaves and sweets are followed by an “overseer of the workshop” (*im.y-r šn<sup>c</sup>*).<sup>1</sup> At Abydos, the text column between the festival- and daily processions informs us that the offerings came from the “outside (?) workshop” (*šn<sup>c</sup> n s3*). The workshops referred to must be the same as those we have come across in the discussions of the Medinet Habu calendar, the Karnak offering-lists, and the dedication-texts.<sup>2</sup>

Without firm indications about the exact location of temple workshops of the New Kingdom, we cannot be sure whether the expression *šn<sup>c</sup> n s3* in the Abydos and Luxor inscriptions is to be translated as “workshop of the rear”,<sup>3</sup> or as “outside workshop”. The latter translation was preferred by me in a recent discussion of the procession-scenes, be it without explanation.<sup>4</sup> Now *s3* “rear” seems to be much more common than *s3* “outside”,<sup>5</sup> but the translation “workshop of the rear” suggests that the workshop was located at the back (i.e. the west end) of the temple. This is hard to believe, since the main blocks of rooms for work and storage usually lay to the north and south of the temples in Western Thebes. The smaller temples in this area (Sethos I, Merenptah), as well as the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, had no such buildings at all at the west end, where only a narrow path ran between the enclosure wall and the temple proper. For these reasons, the workshop will rather have been beside the temple. This hypothetical location is also supported by the location of “pure workshops” beside temples in the Late Period.<sup>6</sup> Remains of temple bakeries of the New Kingdom have been found to the south of the temple of Thutmose IV in Western Thebes,<sup>7</sup> in the southern

<sup>1</sup> Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rê* I, 39; II, pl. XXXVIII. For the titles *hr.y šn<sup>c</sup>* and *im.y-r šn<sup>c</sup>*, see D. Polz, *ZÄS* 117 (1990), 43-60, and chapter VIII, § 6, pp. 242-243.

<sup>2</sup> See chapters I (p. 40), II (§ 7, p. 86), and III (pp. 99-100).

<sup>3</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* (Transl.) II, 184: “stores of the rear”; *ibid.*, 344: “workshop-stores of the rear”; Meeks, *Année Lexicographique* 3, 238: “magasin arrière”.

<sup>4</sup> B. Haring, in: *3. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung*, 80.

<sup>5</sup> See Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* IV, 12 and 13; Meeks, *Année Lexicographique* 1, 302.

<sup>6</sup> See C. Traunecker, *RdÉ* 38 (1987), 147-162; especially the maps on pp. 159 and 160.

<sup>7</sup> E. Bresciani, *EVO* III (1980), 7-10.

part of the precinct of Montu in northern Karnak,<sup>1</sup> outside the *temenos* wall of the Great Temple in central Amarna,<sup>2</sup> and inside an enclosure wall at Kom el-Nana.<sup>3</sup> Generally speaking, the archaeological evidence does not support the translation “rear workshop”.

The inscriptions of Abydos also mention “rooms” (ꜥ.t) as the sources of the offerings:

- ꜥ.t-*bi.t* “room of *bi.t*-loaves” (differentiated by baking-values 5, 10, 20, 30, 40);
- ꜥ.t-*psn* “room of *psn*-loaves” (baking-values 5, 10, 20, [30 ?]);
- ꜥ.t-*hnq.t* “room of beer” (baking-values 4, 5, 8, 10), also supplier of flour (*dqw*), *ꜥh*, and grain (?);
- ꜥ.t-*bni.t* “room of sweets”: supplier of *šꜥ.t*-cakes, date-drink, and probably also *šꜥ.t-bi.t* and *hniꜥy*.

The rooms were probably subdivisions of the workshop.<sup>4</sup> The captions of the offering-procession at Luxor are explicit on this point: “room of item x of the (daily) fixed portion of the outside (?) workshop (*n šnꜥ n sꜥ*)”.<sup>5</sup> By the captions alone, it is hard to assess whether ꜥ.t refers to a work-room or merely to a storehouse. We have seen, however, that dedicatory texts usually emphasize the personnel (“slaves”) working in the *šnꜥ*,<sup>6</sup> and that the offering-lists inscribed on temple walls mention the “(pure) workshop” (*šnꜥ (wꜥb)*) as the source of the finished products of the offerings.<sup>7</sup> The primary function of the workshop-departments must therefore have been the production rather than storage of the items. The production and the subsequent transport to the temple were supervised by the superiors of the workshop. The plural *hr.y.w-šnꜥ.w* in the caption to the Medinet Habu procession makes it clear that the workshop had more than one “superior” (*hr.y*). Perhaps reference is made here to the superiors of the separate “rooms”?

The different baking-values specified for bread and beer may refer to different rooms, in which every specific type of loaf or beer could be produced in large quantities.<sup>8</sup> Perhaps such rooms can even be identified with the brick rooms of temple bakeries referred to above. No traces of baking or brewing activities (ovens, bread moulds), however, were attested in the brick service buildings of the Ramesseum and

<sup>1</sup> J. Jacquet, *BIFAO* 71 (1972), 154 and 155, pls. XXXIV and XXXV; idem, *BIFAO* 78 (1978), 46.

<sup>2</sup> Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, 29-32, pls. XII and XXVIII (5 and 6).

<sup>3</sup> Kemp, in: *Amarna Reports* VI, 435 (fig. 15.14), 437 and 438.

<sup>4</sup> See also Helck, *MDAIK* 24 (1969), 197, note k.

<sup>5</sup> Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions* II, 347, 14-16.

<sup>6</sup> See chapter I, p. 40.

<sup>7</sup> See chapter II, § 7, p. 86; chapter III, § 2, pp. 99-100.

<sup>8</sup> Two types of bread-moulds, used for the production of the conical *bi.t*-loaves and the flat, round *psn*-loaves, have been found in the area of the temple of Thutmosis IV in Western Thebes (M.C. Guidotti, in: *Sesto Congresso* (Acts) I, 227-231), as well as on the site of the Rameside bakeries in Northern Karnak (J. Jacquet, *BIFAO* 71 (1972), 154; *BIFAO* 78 (1978), 46). For conical bread-moulds from New Kingdom temple sites, see also H. Jacquet-Gordon, in: D. Arnold ed., *Studien zur Altägyptischen Keramik*, Mainz am Rhein 1981, 19-21. For the production of bread in “industrial” quantities, see Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 289-291.

Medinet Habu. On the other hand, it is not plausible that all these structures only served the purpose of storing grain. According to a calculation by KEMP, the brick rooms to the north and west of the Ramesseum alone would have had enough capacity to store 16,522,000 litres of grain, or 226,328 sacks.<sup>1</sup> The corresponding rooms at Medinet Habu were considerably smaller, but from a calculation along the same lines it appears that they would still have been able to store some 56,972 sacks,<sup>2</sup> which is only about a quarter of the Ramesseum capacity, but still more than four times the amount of grain needed according to the Medinet Habu calendar (see table 1). Although the amount of grain actually required was probably higher than the total requirements recorded by the calendar,<sup>3</sup> we can also imagine that some of the large brick galleries were used for the storage of other items, while other rooms (south of the temple?) served as workshops for the production of bread, beer, and pastry.

One of the captions at Luxor also mentions a “room of wine” (*ḥ.t-irp*) of the workshop.<sup>4</sup> The item wine is absent from the daily procession at Abydos, and the captions with the wine-bearers in the festival procession there do not mention a specific department. However, we cannot conclude from this that a “room of wine” was absent at Abydos: the “room of beer”, which was certainly involved, is left unmentioned also in the festival procession there. The source of wine as recorded in the Medinet Habu calendar was the gardens and treasury of Pharaoh, and the offering-list of regnal year 16 of Ramesses III at Karnak mentions the treasury of the memorial temple as such.<sup>5</sup> Was the “room of wine” of the Luxor temple only a storehouse for the wine produced in the temple gardens or transferred from the treasury of other institutions? Then why should it belong to the workshop, and not to the temple treasury, as we would expect? A similar problem is posed by the twisted objects called *hniꜣy* from the “room of sweets”, and the flour (*dqw*) from the “room of beer”. According to the first calendar list at Medinet Habu, these products came from the temple treasury.<sup>6</sup> The introduction to the same calendar list, however, suggests that all offerings came from the “pure workshop of Amonrasonter”. It seems, then, that the workshop not only housed the items actually produced there, but also products that ultimately came from other sources, such as the gardens or the treasury, perhaps in order to establish their proper quantities or to give

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<sup>1</sup> Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 192 (fig. 68) and 195. Kemp apparently proceeds from 1 sack (*ḥꜣr*) = 73 litres. On the basis of a sack of 76.88 litres, as is done elsewhere in the present book, the amount of sacks would be 214,906.

<sup>2</sup> See Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu III*, 60: storehouses G, H, I, K, L, M. My calculation is based on the plan in Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu I*, pl. 2. The surface of the storehouses is approximately 2,190 m<sup>2</sup>; with grain stored to a depth of 2 metres, they would contain 4,380,000 litres, or 56,972 *ḥꜣr* (with *ḥꜣr* = 76.88 litres).

<sup>3</sup> It may also have included, for instance, the payment of (*smd.t*) personnel not entitled to shares in the offerings.

<sup>4</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions II*, 347, 14.

<sup>5</sup> *Medinet Habu III*, pls. 140 (l. 102) and 150 (l. 543); *Reliefs and Inscriptions I*, pl. 108, l. 33; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions V*, 121, 4; 140, 3 and 4; 236, 7. See tables 2 (B) and 4.

<sup>6</sup> *Medinet Habu III*, pl. 140, ll. 116 and 117; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions V*, 122, 2 and 3. For *dqw* and *q(ꜣ)w* as identical products, see the remarks on *dqw* in chapter II, § 2, p. 60.

them another final treatment before they would be carried in procession to the “festival court”.

For other products, the workshop was bypassed altogether: the meat came directly from the slaughterhouse (see below, section 2); flowers, dates, and vegetables came from the gardens; birds from the fowl-yard. In the offering-processions at Abydos and Medinet Habu, the men carrying these items form a section of their own: at Medinet Habu, they walk behind the superiors of the workshop, and some of them are called “gardeners of the divine offering” (*kꜣr.y.w n ḥtp-ntr*). At Abydos, the captions to the corresponding group mention a “fowl-yard” (*mḥwn*), and not a workshop department, as the source of birds.

## § 2 - THE PREPARATION OF MEAT-OFFERINGS

### THE RELIEFS AT ABYDOS AND IN WESTERN THEBES

The reliefs that will be discussed in this section are carved in the same temples as the offering-processions treated above, and they offer information of a similar type. Scenes at Medinet Habu (temple of Ramesses III) and Abydos (temple of Ramesses II) show persons slaughtering animals and bringing meat-portions to the temple, where they are received by priests. At Medinet Habu, the scenes are found in room 5 of the temple’s so-called “slaughterhouse”, north of the hypostyle hall (fig. 3).<sup>1</sup> At Abydos, they cover the north wall of the open court of the temple of Ramesses II, opposite the offering-processions (fig. 4).<sup>2</sup> Comparable scenes (including representations of the production of fat) can be found in the temple of Sethos I at Abydos,<sup>3</sup> and the temple of the same king at Qurna must have had a similarly decorated “slaughterhouse” as well.<sup>4</sup> The relief fragment preserved shows a scribe with a writing-palette, a scribe or a lector priest with a scroll and one hand raised, and two men bringing an ox and an antelope.<sup>5</sup>

In the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (fig. 3), the sequence of the registers is curious: the bringing of the bulls is depicted in the third register, whereas it should precede the other scenes chronologically. It is also oriented to the left, as opposed to the two upper registers. No doubt, this emphasizes the (symbolic) function of this room, where the bulls are to be brought in, and the meat-portions are brought out: the

<sup>1</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 506, (126), II-IV; *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 173. Brief discussion by H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 33-37. Texts in Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* V, 185.

<sup>2</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* VI, 34, (11)-(14); Wreszinski, *Atlas* II, pl. 188; Naville, *Détails Relevés*, pls. XXXI and XXXII; texts in Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* II, 535-537; idem, *Ramesse Inscriptions* (Transl.), 345 and 346; Helck, *Materialien* V, (747).

<sup>3</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* VI, 26 and 27, (243)-(249); Naville, *Détails Relevés*, pls. I, III, and IV. Texts in Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* I, 193.

<sup>4</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 420, (124) (room XXXIX). Instead of the three rooms (XXXIX-XLI) reconstructed by Porter and Moss, there actually seems to have been a square court with pillars, similar to the slaughterhouse at Medinet Habu; R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 33 (1977), 130 and 131, pl. 40 (b).

<sup>5</sup> Unpublished; seen on the spot in March 1993.

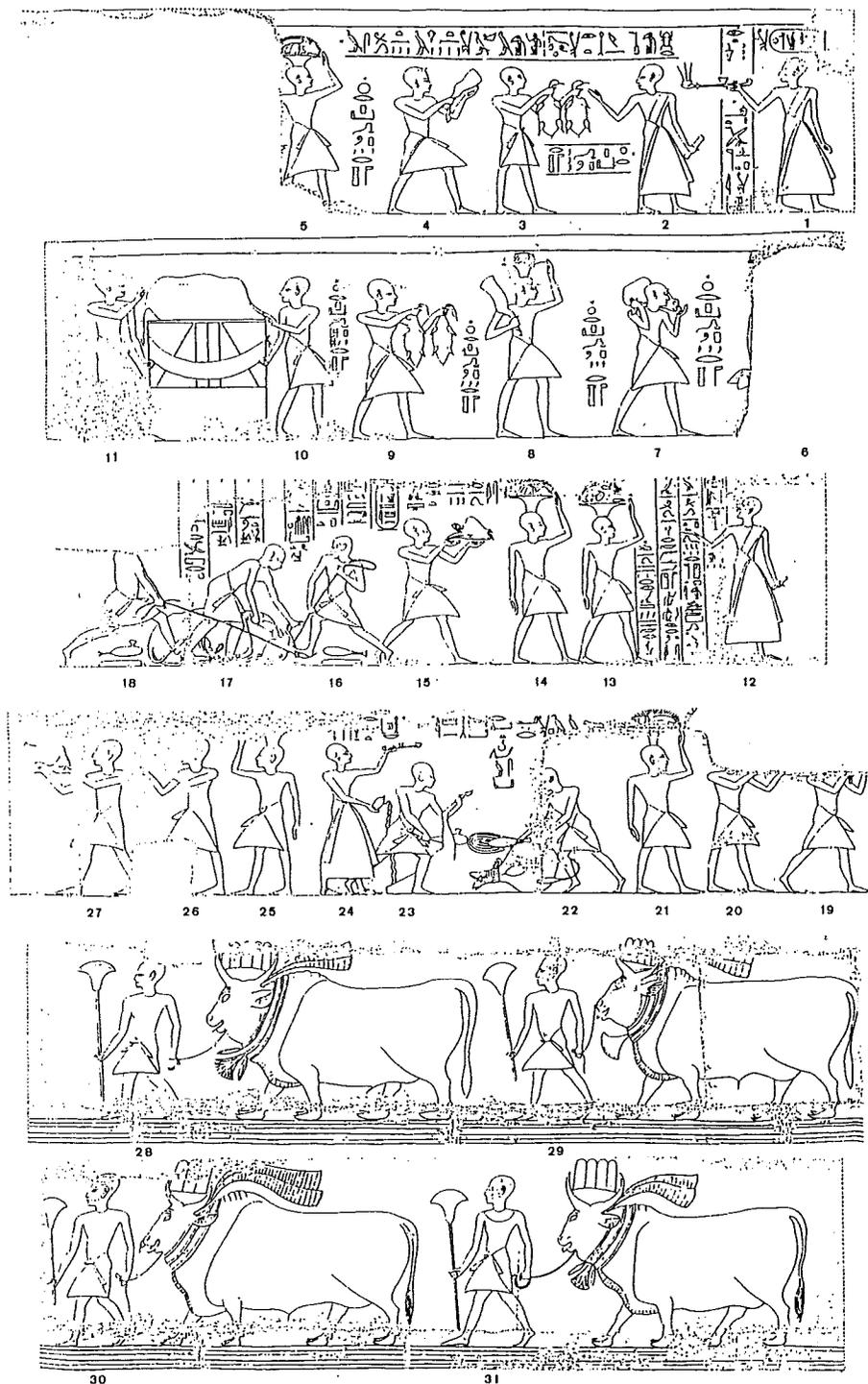


Figure 3: Slaughtering cattle and presenting meat-offerings at Medinet Habu  
 (from: *Medinet Habu III*, pl. 173; courtesy of The Oriental Institute of The University of Chicago)

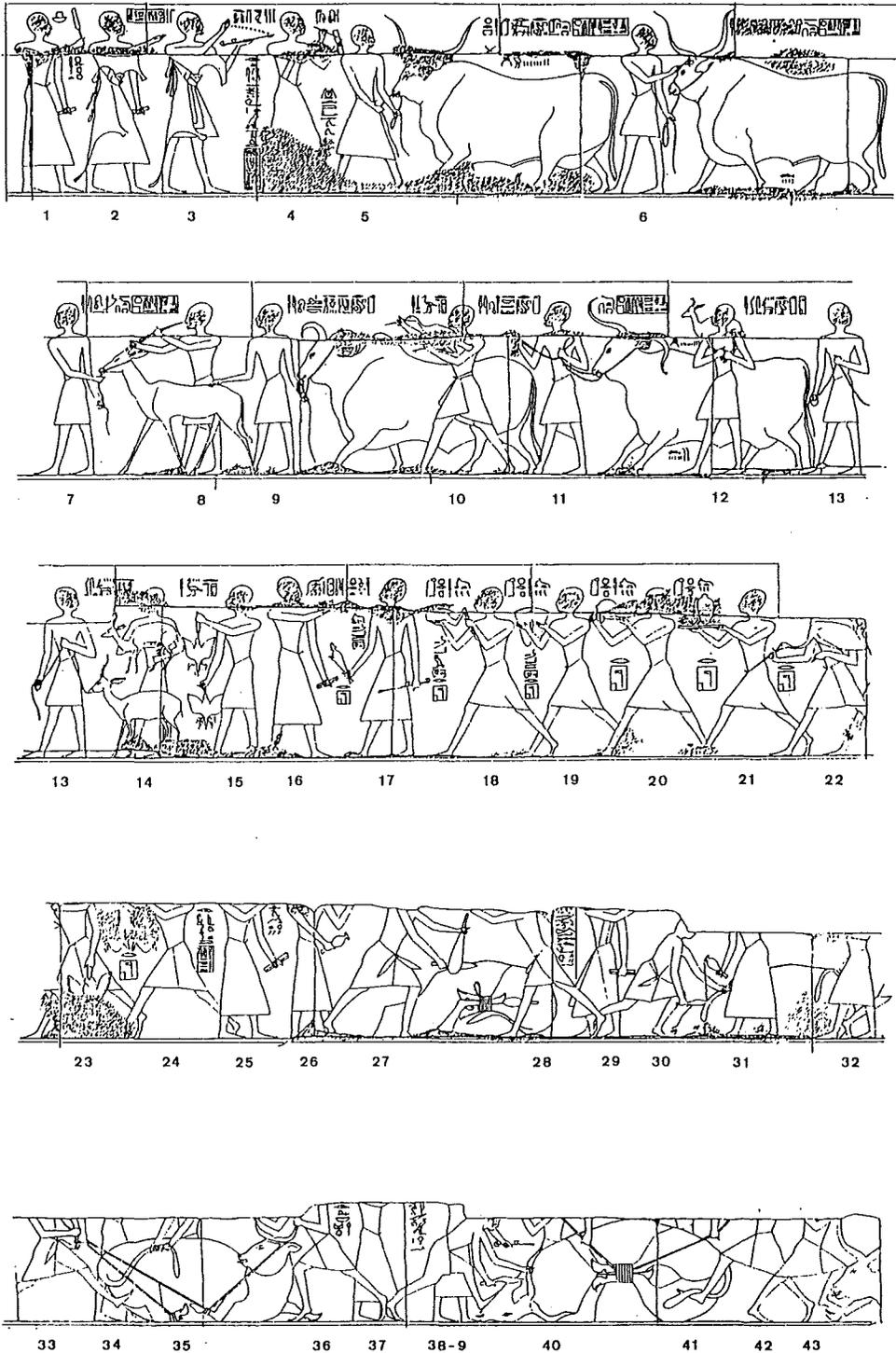


Figure 4: Slaughtering cattle and presenting meat-offerings at Abydos  
 (from: NAVILLE, *Détails Relevés*, pls. XXXI and XXXII)

carriers of meat-portions are mainly oriented towards the right, i.e. towards the entrance of the room. It is hard to believe, however, that this room really served the purpose of slaughtering the animals during or before the offering-ritual: its function was probably a symbolic or ritual one (see below).

From the lists of the Medinet Habu calendar we know that cattle were not required for the daily offerings; the only meat daily presented in the Ramesside memorial temples in Western Thebes was fowl.<sup>1</sup> It was only the festival offerings that included cattle, and desert animals like antelopes and gazelles. The offering-procession at Abydos shows a calf that may have been part of the daily requirements, but the ox preceding it was meant to be slaughtered for the feast of the new moon.<sup>2</sup> Do the slaughter-scenes at Abydos and Medinet Habu—each showing no less than four oxen—refer to specific festivals? One inscription in the Medinet Habu relief informs us that the roasts were meant for Sokar,<sup>3</sup> so that one of the feasts of this god may be referred to. However, none of the calendar lists pertaining to the Sokar feasts required the slaughtering of four head of cattle. The central feast of Sokar (list 47) had the richest offerings of animals, but even on this occasion only three head of cattle were required, besides one antelope, one gazelle, and a great quantity of fowl.<sup>4</sup> The four oxen represented in the “slaughterhouse” at Medinet Habu were therefore probably not required for a particular occasion, but rather stand for the (desired) abundance of meat,<sup>5</sup> or they are an eclectic representation of meat-offerings for festival occasions, and the same will be true for the scenes at Abydos.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MEAT-OFFERINGS

The men bringing in the animals at Abydos are received by a group of four officials (fig. 4, nos. 1-4):<sup>6</sup> a lector-priest (*hr.y-ḥb*), a god’s servant (*ḥm-nṯr*) of the royal memorial temple, a god’s servant of Osiris (presumably as a deity worshipped in the same temple),<sup>7</sup> and a “scribe of the god’s sealed things” (*sš ḥtm(.w).t-nṯr*).<sup>8</sup> This group is different from the one awaiting the offering-processions on the south wall (see fig. 2,

<sup>1</sup> Calendar list 6, ll. 260 and 261 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 146; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 128, 8 and 9). See also table 3.

<sup>2</sup> See fig. 2, nos. 63 and 64; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 535, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 185, 13.

<sup>4</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 160, ll. 1058-1060; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 167.

<sup>5</sup> Similarly Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungsbräuche*, 134.

<sup>6</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 535, 15 - 536, 2.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. the caption to no. 25 (presumably a scribe): [...] *Wsr ḥnt(.y) imnt(.y.w) m ḥw.t R<sup>c</sup>-ms-s(w) Mry ḥmn.*

<sup>8</sup> For *ḥtm* as the preferred reading of  and , see P. Vernus, in: S. Allam ed., *Grund und Boden in Altägypten (rechtliche und sozio-ökonomische Verhältnisse). Akten des internationalen Symposiums Tübingen 18.-20. Juni 1990 (Untersuchungen zum Rechtsleben im alten Ägypten 11)*, Tübingen 1994, 251-253, and H.G. Fischer, *Varia Nova (Egyptian Studies III)*, New York 1996, 50-52. For the title, see S. Sauneron, *BIFAO* 51 (1952), 137, note 2; compare the writings with *ḥtm(.w).t* in e.g. Davies, *Puyemrê I*, pls. XXXII, XXXV, XL and XLIII; Dziobek, *Grab des Ineni*, 113, pl. 40 (e).

nos. 1-3),<sup>1</sup> which consists of a god's servant of the temple, a lector-priest, and a "scribe of the divine offering" (*sš ḥtp-ntr*). It is especially the scribe's title that indicates another branch of the administration of offerings. The title *sš ḥtm.w.t-ntr* was probably connected with the temple treasury: scribes with the same title occur in scenes depicting the treasury of Amun in the tomb of Puyemrê (see below, § 4), and the treasury of the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos was called "house (?) of the god's sealed things" (*pr (?) n ḥtm(.w).t-ntr*).<sup>2</sup> Further to the right in the relief under discussion we see a "temple scribe" (*sš ḥw.t-ntr*; fig. 4, no. 16), urging the bringers of meat-portions to hurry. He is wearing a sash, just like scribe no. 4, but Naville forgot to indicate it in his drawing. No. 25, holding a scroll in his left hand, looks like a scribe but may rather be a lector-priest.<sup>3</sup> Scribes or lector-priests are also attested at Medinet Habu (fig. 3, nos. 2 and 12), but their titles are not given there. They have a scroll of papyrus in their left hands, and they are wearing sashes, just like the scribes at Abydos. Their right hands are raised in a gesture that indicates speech. Their exhortations to the men carrying meat are rendered in the accompanying inscriptions (see below).

According to the Medinet Habu calendar, the cattle required were taken from the temple herds (see chapter II, § 7, and table 2 (B)). The same inscription has already informed us that the offering of cattle was restricted to festivals (see above); the animals were probably more valuable than the items presented in the daily offering-ritual. A separate administration for meat-offerings, involving scribes of the temple treasury, is therefore not surprising. The inscriptions at Abydos give further information on the sources of the animals. The caption above the antelope mentions the cattle-shed (*md.t*) of the royal temple as its provenance (fig. 4, nos. 7 and 8).<sup>4</sup> To the cattle-shed belonged the "pure slaughterhouse" (*šḥw w<sup>c</sup>b*) according to the caption over the first ox (no. 5).<sup>5</sup> External sources are quoted for other animals: one ox (*iwṣ*) and some gazelles belong to the *in.w* of His Majesty (nos. 9, 13 and 14); another ox is called "first bull of Kush" (no. 11; note the characteristic forms of the horns of this ox and the preceding one).<sup>6</sup> The animals referred to by such expressions were probably part of the plunder from the king's foreign campaigns, tribute from foreign people, or cattle from royal estates. The term *in.w* makes it clear that they came from sources outside the temple estate.

#### THE TEMPLE SLAUGHTERHOUSE AND ITS LOCATION

The destination (or destiny) of these animals was the pure slaughterhouse, which seems to have been a department of the temple's cattle-shed (*šḥw w<sup>c</sup>b (n) md.t ḥw.t ...*). A

<sup>1</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions II*, 532, 14-16.

<sup>2</sup> Room VIII (Q): Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography VI*, 32 and 37, (50); K.P. Kuhlmann, *MDAIK 38* (1982), 358. Text: Mariette, *Abydos II*, pl. 20 (h); Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions II*, 547, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Kitchen saw traces of  (*Ramesse Inscriptions II*, 537, 6), but he does not read it as part of the title *ḥr.y-ḥb* (*Ramesse Inscriptions (Transl.)*, 346).

<sup>4</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions II*, 536, 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 536, 3.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 536, 7, 9, and 10.

room that could be regarded as such is absent in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, so that we have to assume that it was a separate structure. An inscription in the “slaughterhouse” of Sethos I at Abydos actually identifies that room as a “pure slaughterhouse”,<sup>1</sup> and it is not entirely impossible that cattle were really slaughtered there,<sup>2</sup> although this would mean that the animals had to be brought in through doorways not much wider than one metre. This slaughterhouse is part of the stone temple building, but it is not to be regarded as an integral part of the traditional Egyptian temple layout: it belongs to a series of rooms that served the preparation and storage of offerings and cult attributes, and which formed a separate wing to the south-east of the temple.<sup>3</sup> Butchery in itself being an impure activity, the view from the temple into the slaughterhouse was blocked by a screen wall.<sup>4</sup>

The impurity of slaughtering activities was probably the reason for building the real slaughterhouse outside the temple proper. It must have been located outside the temples in Western Thebes. It is very unlikely that animals were slaughtered in the rooms of the temple at Medinet Habu traditionally called “slaughterhouse”, because of their location, the narrowness of their entrances, and the lack of water supply and drainage.<sup>5</sup> Apart from these considerations, the idea that cattle would have been slaughtered in narrow, decorated temple rooms is in itself unlikely. The same circumstances forbid us to regard the corresponding room in the temple of Sethos I at Qurna as being a real slaughterhouse: if cattle were to be brought in there, they would have to be led through narrow corridors and doorways to the back of the temple, which seems quite impossible.<sup>6</sup> If such rooms had any practical purpose at all, it will rather have been the storage of dried or roasted meat, or its “consecration”.<sup>7</sup>

The temple of Ramesses II at Abydos does not contain a (ritual) slaughterhouse. The scenes of preparing meat-offerings were carved on the north wall of the second court. The court itself would offer enough space for these activities, but again, the impurity associated with butchery makes it unlikely that this was the actual location of slaughtering. Arnold, who warned that the function of a temple room should not to be deduced directly from its decoration, assumed that the actual location of butchery generally formed a separate structure within the temple precinct.<sup>8</sup> The reliefs from some tombs at Amarna are eloquent witnesses of this practice,<sup>9</sup> which is also confirmed by the

<sup>1</sup> *Bandeau*-text: Naville, *Détails Relevés*, pl. III; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions I*, 193, 14 - 194, 4.

<sup>2</sup> Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungsbräuche*, 132 and 133.

<sup>3</sup> See Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography VI*, 22 (map), 26 and 27.

<sup>4</sup> Arnold, *Wandrelief*, 89.

<sup>5</sup> Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu III*, 14; H.H. Nelson in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 33. The same is true for the remains of the slaughterhouse of the temple of Merenptah in Western Thebes (see H. Jaritz *et al.*, *MDAIK 52* (1996), 209-211 with fig. 2).

<sup>6</sup> See Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, plan XL; Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungsbräuche*, 133; Arnold, *Wandrelief*, 90 and 91.

<sup>7</sup> Arnold, *Wandrelief*, 93; Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungsbräuche*, 133 and 134. Remains of a slaughterhouse from the Fifth Dynasty at Abusir show that meat was roasted immediately after the slaughtering, which must have made it possible to keep it for some time; M. Verner, *MDAIK 42* (1986), 181-189.

<sup>8</sup> In discussing the “slaughterhouse” at Medinet Habu: *Wandrelief*, 93.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 89; Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungsbräuche*, 131 (note 2) and 132.

location of an Old Kingdom slaughterhouse discovered at Abusir.<sup>1</sup> It has already been said that the reliefs at Abydos must be understood as an illustration of the temple's wealth. Elaborating on this idea, one might regard the "slaughterhouses" at Medinet Habu, as well as those of Sethos I at Abydos and Qurna, as three-dimensional illustrations of the same idea: as symbolic representations of actual slaughterhouses further removed from the sacrosanct area, having the same structure and relative proportions, but a smaller scale.<sup>2</sup>

Some men depicted at Abydos are running with pieces of meat in their hands. The captions say: "wab-priest; taking the meat-portions (presented in the court) to the temple" (*hrp stp.w (mꜣꜥ m wsh.t) r ḥw.t-ntr*; fig. 4, nos. 18-24).<sup>3</sup> The writing of *mꜣꜥ* without determinative allows the reading *mꜣꜥ* "to be presented", as well as *mꜣꜥ* "to be slaughtered" (which is usually written with ). *Mꜣꜥ* "to be slaughtered", however, is less likely because it would mean that the animals were slaughtered in the second court of the temple. This would bring us back to the assumption that the butchery actually took place in the temple proper, which is to be rejected for various reasons (see above).

#### THE SLAUGHTERING

The scenes of butchery and the transport of the meat-portions form a new episode in the reliefs. At Medinet Habu, this stage occupies the two uppermost registers; at Abydos it is introduced in the same register by another scribe and a lector-priest (fig. 4, nos. 16 and 17). The former says: "bring the meat-portions" (*stꜣ stp.w*), and the caption to the latter reads: "burning incense and making libations, [...] the meat-portions offered in the court to the temple".<sup>4</sup> Curiously enough, the crane taken to the temple together with the cut pieces of meat in the Abydos version still looks very much alive, and other fowl also look the same as in the previous scenes (fig. 4, nos. 22 and 23; cf. nos. 10 and 15). Only the birds carried by no. 24 seem to have been plucked, just like the birds of nos. 3 and 9 at Medinet Habu (fig. 3). Were some of the birds taken to the temple alive?

A realistic aspect of the scenes of carrying away the meat-portions is the hurry. The men carrying the meat are running, being urged to make haste by scribes and priests. This must be due to the nature of the offerings: meat is subject to quick deterioration, and must therefore soon be roasted or consumed. Scribes or lector-priests supervise the transport of meat-pieces at Medinet Habu, in both registers (fig. 3, nos. 2 and 12). In the first register, a censuring lector-priest (no. 1) takes precedence. The following lector-priest or scribe exhorts the men behind him, saying: "Hurry up,

<sup>1</sup> M. Verner, *MDAIK* 42 (1986), 181-189.

<sup>2</sup> A wooden model of a slaughterhouse from the Eleventh Dynasty tomb of Meketre is comparable to the ritual slaughterhouses of Medinet Habu and Qurna, but its scale is probably too small in relation to the figures of people working in it (see H.E. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt (Publications of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition XVIII)*, Cambridge, Mass. 1955, 23-25, 86 and 87, pls. 18 and 19; A.S. Gilbert, *JEA* 74 (1988), 78-82).

<sup>3</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* II, 536, 15 - 537, 2.

<sup>4</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* II, 536, 13 and 14. The reconstruction [*hr*] *stp.w* in 14 seems doubtful: the adverbial phrase *r ḥw.t-ntr* would rather support the reconstruction of either [*hrp*] or [*stꜣ*].

forward you servants; the time of carrying out (your) task has come!”.<sup>1</sup> The other captions in this register record the stereotype “taking meat-portions to the temple”. The scribe in the second register (no. 12) says: “Hurry up! <Take> the meat-portions to the temple, which is open (?). Come and carry out (your) tasks”. The servants to the right of him reply: “Hurry up, forward! May it fill the temple (?). They are waiting for us to make the roasts for Sokar!”, and: “Wait for us to make the roasts!” The meat-portions are not only to be put before Sokar: “Taking meat-portions in front of Ramesses Meriamun” (over no. 16).<sup>2</sup> The inscriptions over the rightmost butchers are much damaged (fig. 3, nos. 16-18); they seem to have included their proper names: Ramessesnakht, [...].mehteni, and [Ramesses]emperamun.<sup>3</sup> The caption to the slaughtering-scene further to the left runs: “butcher (*imnh*);<sup>4</sup> lifting up the *ngzw*”,<sup>5</sup> and: “slaughtering” (*hws*).<sup>6</sup> The scribes or priests in the Abydos relief confine themselves to the short utterance “take the meat-portions” (*stꜣ stꜣ.w*; fig. 4, nos. 16 and 25).<sup>7</sup> We see some remarks on the butchery with nos. 29 and 37: “[...] on it; cut off its meat-pieces; take out its heart!”, and: “[...] cut (?) behind its head”.<sup>8</sup>

The bringers of the meat-offerings are called *sdm.w* “servants” at Medinet Habu (fig. 3, caption over nos. 2-4).<sup>9</sup> At Abydos, however, the corresponding men bear the title *wab* (fig. 4, nos. 18-21):<sup>10</sup> they seem to be priests. Are we to think of such persons as temple workmen, some of whom held the title *wab* at the same time? Another possibility that is worth considering presents itself. In Old Kingdom tomb reliefs, slaughtering activities are frequently attended by a *wab*-priest. In those scenes, the title appears to be an abbreviation of *wꜥb Shm.t*, “*wab*-priest of Sekhmet”.<sup>11</sup> The arrival of such a priest caused excitement on the part of the butchers because he came to control their activity. If he approved, he confirmed that the meat was pure (*wꜥb*). His function thus seems to have been to ascertain the ritual purity of the offering-meat.<sup>12</sup> A similar practice is known from the Graeco-Roman Period. The title *wꜥb Shm.t* occurring in demotic texts from that period seems to be the Egyptian equivalent of the Greek *moskhosphragistes*. Priests with this title inspected the animals that were to be sacrificed, and attached a seal to them if they were found to be appropriate for that purpose.<sup>13</sup> In a model letter from the Nineteenth Dynasty, a *wab*-priest of Sekhmet is advised to take

<sup>1</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 185, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 185, 11-13.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., 185, 10 and 11.

<sup>4</sup> Probably a word for “butcher” in a ritual context: Eggebrecht, *Schlachtungsbräuche*, 143 and 144; P. Montet, *BIFAO* 7 (1910), 46 and 47.

<sup>5</sup> Kind of cattle; see Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 349.

<sup>6</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 185, 14.

<sup>7</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 536, 13; 537, 7.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 537, 8 and 9.

<sup>9</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 185, 15.

<sup>10</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 536, 15 - 537, 2.

<sup>11</sup> Von Känel, *Prêtres-ouâb*, 239 and 240. Similarly in some magical texts: P. Vernus, *RdÉ* 33 (1981), 97 (y). The title was brought to my attention in this context by Prof. Borghouts.

<sup>12</sup> Von Känel, *Prêtres-ouâb*, 255-264.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 265-275.

great care of the grain and cattle for the offerings in the temple of Amenophis III.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the *wab*-priests depicted in the scenes of preparing meat-offerings at Abydos are “*wab*-priests of Sekhmet” as well: the Ramesside ostrakon referred to above shows that such priests were included in the personnel of the memorial temples of Western Thebes.

## CONCLUSION

The most important information obtained from the scenes of meat-offerings is about the organization of the work. The actual slaughtering was done in the “pure slaughterhouse” by “butchers” (*imnh*; fig. 3, no. 23), while the priests secured the ritual purity of the meat by means of incense and libations. The portions were then carried to the temple by “servants” (*sdm.w*) or priests (*w<sup>c</sup>b*, of Sekhmet?). Throughout this process, the personnel were supervised and urged to hurry by priests and scribes. The only specification of scribal titles is found at Abydos, where we see a “scribe of the god’s sealed things” (*sš htm(.w).t-ntr*; fig. 4, no. 4), who was attached to the temple treasury, and a temple scribe (*sš h<sup>w</sup>.t-ntr*; no. 16). Apparently, the administration of meat-offerings was separated from the control over the other items required, which was in the hands of a “scribe of the divine offering” (*sš htp-ntr*), as we have seen in the daily offering-procession. The memorial temples (at least, those of Abydos) thus had a separate administration for its offerings of cattle, desert animals, and fowl, as well as separate locations for preparing them: the “pure slaughterhouse” (*shw w<sup>c</sup>b*) and the “cattle-shed” (*md.t*). At least some of the cattle and desert animals for the offerings at Abydos were royal *in.w* (*in.w n hm=f*). This designation is not attested among the sources of meat-offerings in the calendar of feasts and offerings at Medinet Habu: there, we find only temple herds (*mmn.t*). We cannot be sure, however, whether this is due to the difference in time (between Ramesses II and III), in location (Abydos and Medinet Habu), or to the difference between the calendar and the temple reliefs as documentary sources.

## § 3 - THE “TREASURY” OF MEDINET HABU

### RITUAL TEMPLE TREASURIES

To the south of the first hypostyle hall in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, opposite the “slaughterhouse”, lies a series of rooms generally referred to as the “treasury”.<sup>2</sup> Actually, only five of these rooms have decorations that show temple treasures (rooms 9-13).<sup>3</sup> They are separated by the bark-chapel of Ramesses II (room 14) from a “clothing room” (no. 16), which hardly deserves its name, as only two of the

<sup>1</sup> O. BM 5627 obv., 10 - rev., 2 (Gardiner, Černý, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. XC; Von Känel, *Prêtres-ouâb*, 66-69; Wente, *Letters*, 126).

<sup>2</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 507 and 508 (rooms 9-16).

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu* V, pls. 318-333; texts in Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 318-323.

nine scenes preserved show the king offering pieces of cloth to the gods.<sup>1</sup> Part of the façade of the complex formed by rooms 9-13 (i.e. the south wall of the hypostyle hall) has an appropriate decoration that shows the king presenting precious vases and other objects to Amun, as *in.w* which the king has brought back from his military campaigns.<sup>2</sup> That the group of rooms 9-13 was conceived of as a “treasury” (*pr-ḥd*) is evident from the decorations and inscriptions of the rooms. The words *pr-ḥd* and *r-ḥd* are used in the texts accompanying scenes in rooms 11, 12, and 13.<sup>3</sup> Similar “treasuries” can be seen in the temples at Abydos<sup>4</sup> and elsewhere; their general significance has been discussed by Arnold.<sup>5</sup> We must regard such rooms as symbolic or ritual treasuries, rather than treasuries in the administrative sense. As we have seen in the previous chapters, the goods regularly supplied by the temple treasury for the offerings were fruit, wine, incense, moringa-oil, and *q3w*-flour,<sup>6</sup> none of which is mentioned in the decorations and texts of the rooms under consideration. The rooms in which such valuable, but often perishable, materials were stored, must have been situated in one of the brick service-buildings outside the temple proper.<sup>7</sup>

On the other hand, the ritual or symbolic function of the rooms does not exclude the possibility that they were actually used. The objects depicted on their walls (gold, silver, copper and lead in various forms, semi-precious stones, gold and silver vessels and furniture, jewels, ointment and gum), may have constituted a separate category of treasury-items, being the most valuable, and (apart from ointment and gum) least perishable things needed for the temple cult. Indeed, it is very likely that such objects were not kept in one of the brick buildings outside, but within the temple proper, the stone walls of which provided a much safer place for valuables. Moreover, some of the objects were probably used in the daily or festival temple rituals, and as such they must have been at hand when required. Arnold even compared the treasuries within Egyptian temples to the sacristies of Christian churches.<sup>8</sup> In this section, an attempt will be made to extract some economic information from the treasury scenes and their inscriptions.

<sup>1</sup> *Medinet Habu* VI, pls. 443 (A) and 444 (A); cf. Arnold, *Wandrelief*, 82.

<sup>2</sup> *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 317; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 317 and 318.

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu* V, pls. 325, ll. 12 and 13; 327, col. 7; 328, col. 11; 333, line between chests and bars of metal below; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 320, 5 and 8; 321, 3 and 12; 323, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Sethos I: Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* VI, 27; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* I, 196-198. Ramesses II: Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* VI, 37 (room VII); K.P. Kuhlmann, *MDAIK* 38 (1982), 358; it was called a *pr (?) ḥtm(.w).t-ntr* (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* II, 547, 5; see above, § 2, p. 123).

<sup>5</sup> *Wandrelief*, 83-88.

<sup>6</sup> See chapters II (§ 7, p. 85) and III (p. 94), and table 2.

<sup>7</sup> Hölscher assumed that storehouse N at Medinet Habu was built for such a purpose: *Excavation of Medinet Habu* III, 65.

<sup>8</sup> Arnold, *Wandrelief*, 83.

## ROOM 9: "GOLD FROM ITS COUNTRY"

Room no. 9 contains one informative scene.<sup>1</sup> It shows the king presenting gold to Amun, and Thoth measuring a heap of gold and some gold *šn*-rings on the scales. The accompanying text says:<sup>2</sup>

(Column 9) Said by King Userma'atre Meriamun to his father (10) Amun-Re who sojourns in the Temple of United-with-Eternity: "I have come to (11) You, so that I may present You with a report on the gold of the Land of Nubia, (12) (as) it is You who made the mountains and every kind of valuable stone in order to make (13) Your beauty shine. I am weighing it out for You on (14) the scales of discernment (*mḥs.t wḏ<sup>c</sup>.t*); I am collecting it for You as millions of *šn*-rings, inasmuch as it is You who have made me (?) (*ntk ir.n t(w)=i?*)."

These actions are exactly what is represented: on the scales of Thoth we see a heap of "gold from its country" (*nbw ḥr ḥs.t=f*) on the left, and "a million *šn*-rings" on the right. The rings must be the final form in which the gold was presented, and the fact that the scales are in perfect balance shows that not a drop of the raw material was lost when it was melted into this form. The expression "gold from its country" (also occurring in rooms 11 and 12) has been discussed by Harris,<sup>3</sup> and should be interpreted as "gold from its (particular) region". The expression is also known with silver and copper.<sup>4</sup> The contexts of its occurrences suggest that it stands for the metal as it was obtained from the mines (though not for the ore: otherwise the scales in the present scene would not be in balance), in a transportable and presentable form (nuggets or bars),<sup>5</sup> representing the stage between the extraction from the mine and the final production of metal objects.<sup>6</sup> A similar phrase (*n ḥs.t=f*) is used with cedar-wood, referring to logs for the construction of the bark of Amun.<sup>7</sup>

Alternatively, it could be suggested that "gold from its (particular) country" refers to the purity of the metal, which may differ considerably from one region to another. Such an indication would be very important because until the Persian Period, gold could not be refined.<sup>8</sup> In that case, however, one would expect a specification of the

<sup>1</sup> *Medinet Habu V*, pl. 320.

<sup>2</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions V*, 318, 8-10.

<sup>3</sup> *Lexicographical Studies*, 34.

<sup>4</sup> Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch III*, 235, refs. 15-17.

<sup>5</sup> The weighing-scene at Medinet Habu, as well as P. Harris I, 33a, 5 (Erichsen, *P. Harris I*, 38), show that "gold from its country" was the form in which the material could be weighed out. In *Medinet Habu V*, pl. 328, we see that the gold in question had the form of grains, or "nuggets". A Ramesse ostrakon mentions a bar of copper "from its country" among other objects, showing that in this form the metal could find its way into everyday economic traffic (Černý and Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. LXXV, l. 3). The copper plate used as a target for the archery of Amenophis II was also "copper from its country" (H. Schäfer, *OLZ 32* (1929), 236; H. Brunner, *Hieroglyphische Chrestomathie*, Wiesbaden 1965, pl. 16).

<sup>6</sup> For objects made from "gold/silver from its country", see P. Harris I, 46, 7 (Erichsen, *P. Harris I*, 51); *Medinet Habu V*, pl. 327, l. 6 (to be discussed below); and the *šn*-rings in the weighing-scene under consideration.

<sup>7</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions VI*, 8, 1.

<sup>8</sup> Lucas, Harris, *Materials and Industries*<sup>4</sup>, 229

region, but this is hardly ever found: from the references given above, it appears that “from its country” was a sufficient indication in itself. On the other hand, the interpretation “from whatever desert” (similar to the expression *m/hr rn=f*)<sup>1</sup> is excluded because some references can be given in which the gold “from its country” is actually specified as coming from the region called *mw*.<sup>2</sup> The expression is also different from *nbw n ḥꜣs.t*, which seems to refer to mined gold as distinct from alluvial gold.<sup>3</sup> “Gold from its country” could also be alluvial gold, as appears from an inscription at Luxor: “Gold from its country of *mw*, as obtained from the water of the mountains”.<sup>4</sup> For these reasons, I consider the expression “gold from its country” to be a reference to raw gold worked up into a form convenient for transport. It is to be doubted if raw gold was really stored in this room, which is a hall giving access to the four storerooms (10-13). The other room in which raw gold is depicted is room 12, but even there the quantities of the items concerned would have to be very small if they really were to be kept there (see below).

#### ROOM 10: TEMPLE FURNITURE AND JARS OF OINTMENT

Room no. 10 has two scenes showing cultic objects. On the north wall we see a number of different objects made of gold, as indicated by their yellow colour.<sup>5</sup> The action of the king is described as follows:<sup>6</sup>

Presenting chests<sup>7</sup> of silver and gold to his Father Amonrasonter.

What is represented is actually shrines, and other objects: a standing royal statue, a harp, a kneeling figure of the king presenting flowers, and three vases. These objects, which may be the contents of the two shrines on the left, were probably used in temple rituals. This is true at least for the royal statue, which is probably identical with the one represented in room 13.<sup>8</sup> There, it is called “Usermaatre Meriamun, who conducts the

<sup>1</sup> See p. 47, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 237, 8; Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 34, notes 8 and 9. For the location of *mw* (south of Egypt), see H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des Noms Géographiques Contenus dans les Textes Hiéroglyphiques* I, Cairo 1925, 143; K. Zibelius, *Afrikanische Orts- und Völkernamen in hieroglyphischen und hieratischen Texten* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients B.1), Wiesbaden 1972, 99.

<sup>3</sup> See *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 328, where one sack contains *nbw hr ḥꜣs.t*, the other one *nbw n mw* (see below).

<sup>4</sup> Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* (Refs.) 3, 73 (235, 15).

<sup>5</sup> *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 322.

<sup>6</sup> Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions* V, 319, 1.

<sup>7</sup> The word *tp.w* is to be identified with  *dp.w* in P. Harris I, 27, 1 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 31, 4); see Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 117, note 480. Cf. the former translation of *dp.w* as “(cargo) boats” (Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* V, 446, 18; L.-A. Christophe, *ASAE* 55 (1958), 21). Reference is made in the Harris Papyrus to wooden chests containing *in.w* of gold and silver.

<sup>8</sup> *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 331.

festival, offering incense”.<sup>1</sup> A similar statue is carried in the offering-procession beneath the calendar on the south wall of the temple.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the same statue is depicted in all of these scenes.

The opposite wall in room 10 is decorated with a scene in which vases of myrrh-ointment (*ntyw*) are presented to Amun-Kamutef and Amaunet.<sup>3</sup> The king says:<sup>4</sup>

(Column 4) Said by the Son of Re Ramesses Ruler of On to his father Min-Amun: “I bring to You myrrh for Your temple, a (statue) kneeling on the floor and *hnty*-statues (5) of gold and every kind of valuable stone, and *bs*-vases of gold from Asia (*St.t*), in order to make ointment (*md.t*) for Your Majesty in my temple which is in Thebes. May You cause my name to be in it as (in) the sky beneath the sun-disc (6) every day, it (the temple) being as the horizon, firm under Your name, provided with food for ever.”

Myrrh is mentioned only once in the calendar, on the occasion of the feast of Sokar, as *ntyw šw* “dry myrrh” (as distinct from ointment).<sup>5</sup> It is not attested among the yearly supplies from the royal treasury (lists 17 and 18). It was probably part of the royal *in.w*, just like the other precious materials and objects depicted in the Medinet Habu treasury. “Dry myrrh” is mentioned in the Theban list of royal *in.w* in the Great Harris Papyrus.<sup>6</sup>

#### ROOM 11: GOLD, SILVER, AND SEMI-PRECIOUS STONES

The scenes of room 11 again show various objects presented by the king. On the north wall, we see four chests with sphinxes on their lids.<sup>7</sup> According to lines 11 and 12, the chests (*hnw.w*) are “packed” with gold, silver, and copper, and according to line 14, also with “real valuable stones”. In columns 15-18, the king says to Amun:<sup>8</sup>

(Column 15) “Accept the gold and silver like sand of the shores. I extract it for You (16) from the Nun (and from) the mountains. I conduct it to You in heaps on the ground, (as) ornaments of Your Majesty every day. I drag to You lapis lazuli, (17) turquoise, and every kind of valuable stone in chests (*hnw.w*) (18) of *dm*-gold<sup>9</sup>. I made for You numerous *udjat*-eyes of every noble kind of valuable stone.”

<sup>1</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 322, 11.

<sup>2</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 168; see above, § 1, p. 108. As the statue has its face towards the left there, the right arm holding the *hnp*-sceptre is rendered as if stretched, thus preventing it from partly disappearing behind the left arm holding the censer. In the Abydos counterpart of this procession-scene (*ibid.*, pl. 169, B), a royal statue of the same type is oriented towards the right, and it looks the same as the one depicted in the Medinet Habu treasury.

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 324.

<sup>4</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 319, 11-14.

<sup>5</sup> List 47: *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 160, l. 1058; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 167, 16.

<sup>6</sup> P. Harris I 14a, 4-7 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 17; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 241).

<sup>7</sup> *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 325.

<sup>8</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 320, 10-12.

<sup>9</sup> In New Kingdom texts, *dm* refers to native electrum or to a similar but artificial alloy of gold, silver and copper; see Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 44-50.

The chests contain precious metals and stones, the latter in the shape of amulets (*wḏḏ.t*), the former in their “raw” form (see above) or as *šn*-rings. These are the forms in which unworked materials could be presented, perhaps as a token, to the gods. The opposite scene shows libation-jars, cups, and stands for these.<sup>1</sup> The speech of the king is as follows:<sup>2</sup>

(Column 6) I send for You monuments<sup>3</sup> to Your temple, of *ḏm*-gold of the (desert-)countries, gold from its country (7) of *mnw*, from the (craftsmen’s) workshops of the One South of His Wall. The work of *Rtnw* is as *in.w* in front of You, in order to provide for Your temple, in order to flow to Your treasury, (8) being things selected from every country. I fill Your temple with the *in.w* of my force, with my strength in every land.”

The vessels of *ḏm* and gold have been fashioned in craftsmen’s workshops (*hmnw.w.t*), which stood under the patronage of the god Ptah, “South of His Wall”. The word “work” (*bḏk*; for *bḏk.w* or *bḏk.t*?) in the expression “work of *Rtnw*” does not necessarily have the administrative meaning “(regular) produce” (from an institution’s own resources); it may also refer to the materials or the manufacture of the objects.<sup>4</sup> If so, the expression *bḏk Rtnw* would mean that the objects were made in, or the raw materials extracted from, the Syro-Palestinian region. The completed objects were presented to Amun (i.e. to the temple) as *in.w*, a term which in this case refers to donations on the part of the king. Cultic objects made of precious materials are also classified as royal *in.w* in the lists of the Great Harris Papyrus.<sup>5</sup>

#### ROOMS 12 AND 13: VARIOUS PRECIOUS MATERIALS AND OBJECTS

Room 12 only has a relevant scene on its south wall.<sup>6</sup> The king presents various materials to Amonrasonter: libation-vessels, sacks and heaps of gold, silver, lapis lazuli and turquoise, metal bars (which may be silver, copper, or lead),<sup>7</sup> and gum (*qmy.t*) in various shapes. One of the eight sacks contains “lapis lazuli of *Tfrr.t*”. The others contain various kinds of gold: “gold, 1,000 *deben*”; “gold of Kush”, “gold of water (i.e. alluvial gold), 1,000 *deben*”, “gold of the desert” (i.e. gold from the rock), “gold of Ombos, 1,000 *deben*”, “gold of Edfu”, and “gold of Koptos”. The indication of quantity (“1,000 *deben*”) must probably be understood for all varieties of gold; it would amount

<sup>1</sup> *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 327.

<sup>2</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 321, 1-3.

<sup>3</sup> To be understood as “monumental acts”, referring to the vessels. For this meaning of *mnw*, see G. Vittmann, *WZKM* 69 (1977), 21-32.

<sup>4</sup> See also the passages on temple furniture and building elements collected by E. Bleiberg, *JARCE* 25 (1988), 161 and 162. The feminine *bḏk.t* predominates there (7 out of 9 references; no. 2 in fact also has *bḏk.t*). In the offering-lists of Ramesses IV, *bḏk.t* refers to the finished products of the temple workshop. Perhaps read *bḏk(t)* here as well?

<sup>5</sup> See chapter VI, § 4, pp. 183-186.

<sup>6</sup> *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 328.

<sup>7</sup> According to the inscriptions on similar objects in room 13: *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 333.

to about 91 kilogrammes for each.<sup>1</sup> Although the amounts would not be excessive in temple donations,<sup>2</sup> the round figures clearly have a fictive character.

More informative are the references to the source of the gold. The Great Harris Papyrus distinguishes “good gold”, “gold of the desert of Koptos” (i.e. from the Eastern Desert), and “gold of Kush” as the revenues of Theban temple estates,<sup>3</sup> and gold was still extracted from the Eastern Desert by Theban temples in the late Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>4</sup> Although the revenue from the temples’ own expeditions will have been more substantial in the Twentieth Dynasty than the king’s gifts of precious materials, the king is presented here as the one who personally brings all the materials to the temple. The scenes of the Medinet Habu treasury thus present us the temple’s wealth in an idealistic, royal perspective, which is not, however, entirely incompatible with the administrative reality. After all, it must have been the king who officially granted the temples access to the natural resources, and who guaranteed their rights to exploit them.

In room 13, the emphasis is again on finished objects: statues (the “conductor of the festival” mentioned above, as well as statues holding libation-vessels), jars, and necklaces on the south wall;<sup>5</sup> heaps of gold, lapis lazuli, and turquoise; chests and bars of silver, copper, and lead (*dh.t.y*) on the north wall.<sup>6</sup> The accompanying texts are not very informative. Again, the scenes show a variety of different objects and materials, which makes it difficult to say whether anything was stored in the room at all, and if so, what exactly was to be found there.

## CONCLUSION

If we regard the decoration of the treasury rooms as information on their contents, the rooms should have housed the following items:

- room 10: furniture and jars of ointment;
- room 11: chests containing precious metals and stones, and libation-vases;
- room 12: ritual staffs<sup>7</sup> and a selection of (raw) materials (?);
- room 13: libation-vases and necklaces, statues and chests, and a selection of raw materials (?).

The ordering of materials and objects throughout the rooms seems chaotic. Nonetheless, we cannot exclude the possibility that the products mentioned were actually stored in them, although the raw materials may only have been depicted with the symbolic purpose of indicating the availability of costly materials for the temple. The materials

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Grammar*<sup>3</sup>, 200.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 12a, 6-11; 13b, 16; 14a, 1, etc..

<sup>3</sup> P. Harris I 12a, 6-9 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 15; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 238). See also chapter VI, § 4 (p. 180), and table 7.

<sup>4</sup> According to P. IFAO A + B (see chapter IX, § 1, pp. 250-252).

<sup>5</sup> *Medinet Habu V*, pl. 331.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 333.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. 330.

may have been used by the temple workshops to produce the objects. The things presented by the king to Amun according to the inscriptions included raw materials as well as finished objects; the latter are classified as *in.w* in one of the texts. The personal address by the king to the gods and the formulae employed give these scenes and their texts the same mood as the dedication-texts discussed in chapter I. The scenes must be regarded as having a higher degree of abstraction than the scenes of offering-processions and the slaughtering of cattle discussed in the previous sections. The picture they present of the temple's economic resources is highly idealistic and timeless. Their message is "real" insofar as the temple's wealth of precious goods was actually meant to be everlasting. In everyday reality, however, things worked out otherwise.<sup>1</sup>

#### § 4 - THE DISTRIBUTION OF INCENSE ACCORDING TO EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY PRIVATE TOMB SCENES

##### THE TOMBS OF INENI AND PUYEMRE

The tombs of Ineni at Assâssîf (TT 81)<sup>2</sup> and Puyemre at Khôkha (TT 39)<sup>3</sup> were completed about the same time. The former probably died during the reign of Hatshepsut, and had been overseer of the granary and treasury of the temple of Amun (among many other functions).<sup>4</sup> The latter must have been buried when Thutmose III was already sole monarch; during his lifetime he had occupied the position of second god's servant (*hm-ntr snw*) of Amun.<sup>5</sup> The dating of these tombs to the reigns respectively of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III partly follows from the royal names attested in their inscriptions; that of Puyemre provides additional evidence in the form of a list of royal memorial temples, which will be discussed below. A reason for dating the burials of Ineni and Puyemre some years apart<sup>6</sup> is the fact that in the tomb of Puyemre, elements reminiscent of the reign of queen Hatshepsut have been erased,<sup>7</sup> whereas such is not the case in Ineni's tomb.<sup>8</sup> From this it can be concluded that Ineni, after a long career under Amenophis I, Thutmose I and II, Thutmose III and Hatshepsut, died before the end of Hatshepsut's reign. His tomb must have been closed before Thutmose's resentment against the officials of his illegitimate predecessor could leave its traces in it. Puyemre, on the other hand, lived too long to escape the acts of persecution, and his tomb was damaged by Thutmose's agents. The scenes in the tombs of these Eighteenth Dynasty officials antedate the reliefs of Ramesses II discussed in sections 1 and 2 by almost two centuries. Still, their inclusion in this chapter seems appropriate because they

<sup>1</sup> See chapter IX, §§ 8 and 9.

<sup>2</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> I.1, 159-163; Dziobek, *Grab des Ineni*.

<sup>3</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> I.1, 71-75; Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê I and II*.

<sup>4</sup> Dziobek, *Grab des Ineni*, 122 and 123.

<sup>5</sup> For the titles of Puyemre in general, see Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê I*, 26-31. For *hm-ntr snw*, see *ibid.*, II, pl. LXVIII (leftmost column).

<sup>6</sup> Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê I*, 93; Dziobek, *Grab des Ineni*, 39.

<sup>7</sup> Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê I*, 23-26.

<sup>8</sup> Dziobek, *Grab des Ineni*, 98.

are pictorial representations, just like the temple reliefs discussed previously, and although they belong in the sphere of private monuments, their character is hardly less idealistic and timeless than that of the temple scenes.

#### INSPECTING THE TREASURY OF AMUN

The functions of both Ineni and Puyemre involved regular inspections in the treasury of the great temple of Amun, and impressions of this activity are part of the decorations of their tombs. One of the inspection-scenes represent the weighing of incense for the temples of Thebes, including that of Amun at Karnak.<sup>1</sup> In each of the tombs, the relevant scene fits into the wider context of the expenses of the treasury of the temple of Amun, which probably formed a sequel to the reception of royal supplies (*in.w*) by the same department.<sup>2</sup> The deliveries to the treasury are described as “Nubians given as selected war-captives to the divine offering (estate) of Amun after the defeat of wretched Kush, and the *in.w* of all desert-countries, which His Majesty has given to the temple of Amun as a yearly allowance (*ḥtr r ṯnw rnp.t*)”,<sup>3</sup> or as “*in.w* of *Rṯnw*, *in.w* of The Road of Horus, and *in.w* of the Southern and Northern Oases, which the Lord has taken to the temple of Amun”.<sup>4</sup>

In a scene following the delivery of *in.w*, we see that quantities of gold, costly stones and incense are weighed out by scribes of the treasury (“scribes of the god’s sealed things”, *sš ḥtm(.w).t-ntr*).<sup>5</sup> We have met with this title already in the scenes of meat-offerings at Abydos (see above, § 2). The gold and jewels are presented to the temple, and the destination of the incense beneath is made clear by a whole list of institutions. The captions to the scene are:

<sup>1</sup> Dziobek, *Grab des Ineni*, 38-40, pls. 5 and 6; Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê I*, 93-96, pl. XL.

<sup>2</sup> Dziobek, *Grab des Ineni*, 33-40, pls. 1-6; Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê I*, 79-104, pls. XXX-XLIII. The location of the scenes within the tombs are somewhat different; with Ineni, we find them in the west part of the portico (north wall); Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> I.1, 159, (3)-(5), plan on p. 160. In the tomb of Puyemre, they occupy the south end of the hall beyond the portico; *ibid.*, 71, (5), and 72, (6).

<sup>3</sup> Dziobek, *Grab des Ineni*, 33 and 34. The translation of the two-sided word *ḥtr* (Dziobek: “tax”) remains uncertain here (see Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 62-66, note 229). Both “charge” (requirement from the foreign countries), and “allowance” (for the receiving temple) seem to be possible. The latter option is favoured here because of the preceding phrase *r ḥw.t-ntr n.t ṯmm*, which refers to the beneficiary. The expression *ḥtr r ṯnw rnp.t* also occurs in TT 86: “Receiving the gold of the desert of Koptos together with the gold of wretched Kush as yearly allowance by the king’s sealbearer, the high priest of [Amun] Menkheperasonb” (N. de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmose, and Another (The Theban Tomb Series Memoirs 5)*, London 1933, pl. IX). The benefiting institution (presumably the treasury of Amun) is not mentioned, but neither are the foreign countries as the suppliers of the gold, which may therefore also be the produce of Egyptian exploits. See also the expression *ḥtr-rnp.t* in list B of P. Harris I (chapter VI, § 4, pp. 179-180).

<sup>4</sup> Davies, *Puyemrê I*, 79 and 80, pl. XXX.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. XL; Dziobek, *Grab des Ineni*, pl. 5. The title *sš ḥtm(.w).t-ntr* only occurs in the scenes of Puyemre (Davies, *Puyemrê I*, pls. XXXII, XXXV, XL); in those of Ineni, the scribes are simply called *sš*.

(Ineni) Inspecting the [silver] and gold [...] turquoise [...] incense of the monthly requirement [...] for the Ennead [...] *ḡm*-gold [...] by [the overseer of the treasury ...] Ipet-[sut ...] of Amun [...]<sup>1</sup>

(Puyemre) [Counting/weighing?] incense for the temples (*r.w-pr.w*) which are in the retinue of the House of Amun, in the treasury of the temple<sup>2</sup>

The incense (*sntr*) must be part of the *in.w* that were received by the treasury in the previous scenes, as is assumed by Davies.<sup>3</sup> However, the only word attested in those scenes that might have anything to do with incense is *ntyw* “myrrh”.<sup>4</sup> *Sntr* and *ntyw* are not the same materials,<sup>5</sup> nor can we say that one was used for the production of the other.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, the deliveries from Punt must have comprised “incense” (*sntr*) as well as myrrh; the incense distributed by the treasury can hardly have been produced in Egypt.<sup>7</sup>

### THE RECEIVING TEMPLES

Before we discuss the administrative status of the temples with respect to the House of Amun as described in the caption to the weighing-scene in the tomb of Puyemre (see above), we will deal with the temples as enumerated in the lists (see table 6), concentrating on those probably situated in Western Thebes. For the identification of the entire series of institutions in the lists, the reader is referred to previous discussions.<sup>8</sup> Although the list of Ineni is heavily damaged, and that of Puyemre has been corrupted by later restorations, they can be reconstructed reasonably well because they must have been similar for the most part. All temples mentioned in the list of Ineni probably also

<sup>1</sup> Dziobek, *Grab des Ineni*, 37 and 38; *Urkunden* IV, 70 and 71.

<sup>2</sup> Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê* I, 92, pl. XL. Instead of “the temples which are in the retinue of the House of Amun”, Davies translated: “the temples of the associate-gods of Amon” (probably reading *im.y.w ht [n.w] 'Imn*, instead of *im.y.w ht [pr] 'Imn*). The following list, however, records temples, not deities. Although the possibility that temples were conceived of as being in Amun’s retinue cannot be excluded altogether, we would expect the name of an institution rather than that of a deity after *im.y.w ht*. See the translations by Otto, *Topographie*, 14; Kessler, *Heilige Tiere*, 47.

<sup>3</sup> *Puyemrê* I, 92.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pl. XXXII, upper register (probably twice); translated as “frankincense” by Davies (pp. 84 and 85).

<sup>5</sup> See Lucas, Harris, *Materials and Industries*<sup>4</sup>, 90-94; R. Germer, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI, 1167-1169; Helck, *Materialien* IV, (708)-(714). For *sntr* “incense” (resin of *terebinthaceae*), see N. Baum, *RdÉ* 45 (1994), 17-39.

<sup>6</sup> According to an inscription in the “treasury” of Medinet Habu, myrrh was used for the production of “ointment” (*mq.t*) (*Medinet Habu* V, pl. 324, ll. 4 and 5; see above, p. 131). According to Eighteenth Dynasty inscriptions, myrrh was the basis of scented bullets (*tz.w*), ointment (*nwd*) and gum (*qmy.t*) (P. Lacau, *ASAE* 52 (1954), 186, 192, and 197). See also Lucas, Harris, *Materials and Industries*<sup>4</sup>, 93.

<sup>7</sup> R. Germer, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI, col. 1168. Incense and myrrh are both mentioned, together with other products, in the scenes of Hatshepsut’s expedition to Punt: Naville, *Deir El Bahari* III, pl. LXXIV.

<sup>8</sup> Davies, *Puyemrê* I, 93-96; II, 78-86; Dziobek, *Grab des Ineni*, 39 and 40; Otto, *Topographie*, 13-16.

occur in the list of Puyemre. In addition to the incense-lists in TT 39 and 81, we have contemporary and later lists recording the same temples.<sup>1</sup>

The institutions among which we may expect to find memorial temples situated on the west bank are the last three of the list of Ineni, and the temples which occur only in the list of Puyemre (with the exception of the “House of Amaunet” and the “Shrines of Opet”). They are:

1. <i>Mn-s.w.t</i>	“Enduring of Places”
2. <i>ꜥḥ-s.w.t</i>	“Deserving of Places”
3. <i>Hr=i-ḥr-Imn</i>	“(My) Face is towards Amun”
4. <i>Dsr-dsr.w-Imn</i>	“Holy of Holies of Amun”
5. <i>Hꜥ-ꜥḥ.t-Imn</i>	“Appearance of the Horizon of Amun”
6. <i>Hnk.t-ꜥnh</i>	“Endowed with Life”
7. <i>Hnm.t-ꜥnh</i>	“United with Life”
8. <i>Hnm.t-mn</i>	“United with Endurance”
9. <i>Hw.t-kꜣ n Iꜥḥ-ms-Nfr.t-ir.y</i>	“Ka-temple of Ahmose-Nefertari”

Nos. 4, 6, and 7 can be identified as the memorial temples of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III, and Thutmose I respectively.<sup>2</sup> The fact that the temple of Thutmose I (*Hnm.t-ꜥnh*) is absent from the list of Ineni can be explained, not by the fact that it was still unimportant,<sup>3</sup> or that it had ceased to exist as a separate temple,<sup>4</sup> but rather by the circumstance that Ineni’s list is shorter, and less concerned with Western Thebes in general: perhaps it does not list any memorial temple of a New Kingdom pharaoh. *ꜥḥ-s.w.t* (no. 2) is the temple of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep from the Middle Kingdom in Deir el-Bahri.<sup>5</sup> *Hꜥ-ꜥḥ.t-Imn* must be the name of a temple built by Hatshepsut somewhere about the same place, but its exact location is unknown.<sup>6</sup> The foundation called *Hr=i-ḥr-Imn* must have been situated on the west bank as well, as is suggested by its name, but

<sup>1</sup> To the documents referred to by Otto (*Topographie*, 15-17) can be added the procession of foundations on the chapel of Hatshepsut at Karnak (Lacau, Chevrier, *Chapelle d’Hatchepsout* I, 73-83), and a small stone tablet in Oxford, Ashmolean Museum no. 1892.812 (unpublished: Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 536; Helck, *Materialien* I, (23), (77), (81), (86), (90), and (97)). I was able to study the tablet during my stay in Oxford in december 1994. It is probably not concerned with the duties of a offering-servant (cf. Helck), but with an invocation of offerings similar to those in the tombs of Rekhmire and Imiseba (Otto, *Topographie*, 14-17).

<sup>2</sup> If we are justified in using this term; for the early Eighteenth Dynasty, we have no evidence for the royal temple being called “temple of millions of years” (see Introduction, § 3). For the identification of the temples in question, see Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê* I, 95; Otto, *Topographie*, 14; Helck, *Materialien* I, (88)-(91), (92)-(97); R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 34 (1978), 172 and 173.

<sup>3</sup> As suggested by H.E. Winlock, *JEA* 15 (1929), 66.

<sup>4</sup> Suggested by Dziobek, *Grab des Ineni*, 40. The temple of Thutmose I is still attested in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties, albeit without the name *Hnm.t-ꜥnh*: see chapter IX, § 4 (O. DM 447); chapter X, § 2, p. 303 (P. Wilbour, text A). See also Helck, *Materialien* I, (88)-(91), and appendix 2.

<sup>5</sup> Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê* I, 95; Helck, *Materialien* I, (81).

<sup>6</sup> Lacau, Chevrier, *Chapelle d’Hatchepsout* I, Cairo 1977, 74 and 75 (no. 119); Helck, *Materialien* I, (93).

exactly when and where it was founded has not yet been established.<sup>1</sup> Gitton regards the expression as a reference to an area;<sup>2</sup> Davies and Otto associated it with Deir el-Bahri.<sup>3</sup> Could this be the royal palace represented in the geographical procession on the chapel of Hatshepsut in Karnak?<sup>4</sup>

Many a page has been devoted to the temple called *Mn-s.w.t* (also *Mn-s.t*). The sanctuary had already been identified at the end of the previous century with a site at Dra Abu el-Naga. A detailed study of its remains was made by Van Siclen.<sup>5</sup> The temple has been connected with Amenophis I as well as with his mother Ahmose-Nefertari. According to Ramesside texts, the cult of the latter, and that of Amun, were prominent there.<sup>6</sup> The fact that the names and depictions of Amenophis I occur on some of the blocks might indicate that he was the builder of the sanctuary, but not necessarily the focus of its cult.<sup>7</sup> If, on the other hand, *Mn-s.w.t* was mainly dedicated to queen Ahmose-Nefertari already in the Eighteenth Dynasty, the queen must have had more than one place of worship on the west bank: the list of Puyemre also mentions her funerary chapel (*ḥw.t-kꜣ*). Van Siclen suggested that both this sanctuary and *Mn-s.t* are depicted in the tomb of Amenmose (TT 19).<sup>8</sup>

It is usually assumed that *Hnm.t-mn* was the memorial temple of Amenophis I.<sup>9</sup> In earlier studies, it has been associated with Thutmose II.<sup>10</sup> The temple of the latter king, however, must have been called *Šsp.t-ꜥnh*,<sup>11</sup> a name also used for the temple of the later king Amenophis II.<sup>12</sup> The reason for the absence of this name from the incense-list of Puyemre (as well as from the list of sanctuaries in the tomb of Rekhmire, and the

<sup>1</sup> See C. Traunecker, in: *Cahiers de Karnak VII 1978-1981*, Paris 1982, 307-311.

<sup>2</sup> M. Gitton, *Les Divines Épouses de la 18<sup>e</sup> Dynastie* (Centre de Recherches d'Histoire Ancienne vol. 61), Paris 1984, 35.

<sup>3</sup> Davies, *Puyemrê I*, 95; Otto, *Topographie*, 14.

<sup>4</sup> See Lacau, Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatchepsout I*, 78 (no. 127). In the same relief are mentioned the temples of Thutmose I (no. 129) and III (no. 131), as well as that of Hatshepsut (no. 118), and *Hꜥ-ꜣḥ.t-Imn* (no. 119).

<sup>5</sup> *Serapis* 6 (1980), 183-207.

<sup>6</sup> See Helck, *Materialien I*, (87) and (88).

<sup>7</sup> C.C. Van Siclen III, *Serapis* 6 (1980), 194; Schmitz, *Amenophis I*, 111. In the whole corpus of inscriptions and scenes pertaining to his later cult, Amenophis himself is never connected with *Mn-s.w.t*; see J. Černý, *BIFAO* 27 (1927), 159-203.

<sup>8</sup> C.C. Van Siclen III, *Serapis* 6 (1980), 193 and 194.

<sup>9</sup> Helck, *Materialien I*, (83); Schmitz, *Amenophis I*, 114, note 106; R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 34 (1978), 172, note 13.

<sup>10</sup> Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê I*, 95 and 96; II, 78-86; Otto, *Topographie*, 14.

<sup>11</sup> Helck, *Materialien I*, (91); R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 34 (1978), 172, note 17; L. Gabolde, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 137.

<sup>12</sup> Helck, *Materialien I*, (97) and (98); L. Gabolde, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 137, note 47. Another (later?) name of the same temple may have been *ꜥb-ꜣḥ.t*. To the foundation-deposits mentioning *Šsp.t-ꜥnh* as the name of the temple of Amenophis II also belongs the calcite jar E.18.950 in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (unpublished; inscription virtually identical with *Urkunden* IV, 1355, 8 and 9).

procession of foundations on the chapel of Hatshepsut at Karnak)<sup>1</sup> is probably the fact that the temple of Thutmose II was yet to be built by his son Thutmose III.<sup>2</sup>

It is only the list of Puyemre that mentions a number of institutions we are justified in calling "royal memorial temples". Why are these not attested in the list of Ineni? Davies regarded the list of Ineni as incomplete, because the portions of incense recorded would not add up to an (ideal) total number of shares.<sup>3</sup> Against this it must be said, however, that the state of preservation of the text does not give a sufficient basis for such calculations. Alternative explanations can be given: (1) The lists may have been composed at different times. Ineni's career continued from the reign of Amenophis I onwards into that of Thutmose III. His list could therefore have been painted during an earlier phase of the decoration of his tomb. On the other hand, the biographical text adjoining the scenes in which the list has its place must have been carved at the end of Ineni's career, so that we would have to assume that a long time elapsed between two phases of decoration.<sup>4</sup> (2) Both versions of the list may be the result of a choice made by the artist or the commissioner. The text as it occurs on the walls of the tombs was not a document for administrative use, but a representation of the daily activities of a deceased official. When asking ourselves why Ineni left out some of the temples that received incense from the treasury of Amun, we might also ask why Puyemre in his turn left out the quantities of incense, which does not seem to be information of less importance.

#### THE MONTHLY SUPPLIES OF INCENSE AND THEIR ADMINISTRATION

Because the list of Puyemre does not record any figures, as opposed to that of Ineni, we are left ignorant of the amounts of the monthly supplies of incense to the royal temples on the west bank. Most of the sanctuaries mentioned in the list of Ineni received only modest amounts when compared to the 440 *deben* supplied to the main temple of Amun.<sup>5</sup> The quantities may vary from 5½ to 18 or 19 *deben*; the standard amount being 5½, 6½, or 8½ (see table 6). The foundations *Mn-s.w.t* and *Hr-l-hr-Imn* may have been important ones, because they received over 10 (possibly even 19) *deben* each. We do not know what amounts the memorial temples from the list of Puyemre would have received, but they may also have lain within the range of 5½ to 8½ *deben*. These figures are quite comparable to the 6 *deben* of incense received monthly by the memorial temples of Ramesses II and III according to list 18 of the Medinet Habu calendar.<sup>6</sup> This list belongs to the older part of the calendar, which was composed in the reign of Ramesses II or perhaps even a little earlier.<sup>7</sup> It records yearly supplies to the royal memorial temple of incense, wax, fresh moringa-oil, papyrus, firewood and charcoal.

<sup>1</sup> Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê II*, 79; Otto, *Topographie*, 14; Lacau, Chevrier, *Chapelle d'Hatchepsout I*, 81 and 82.

<sup>2</sup> L. Gabolde, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 137-139.

<sup>3</sup> Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê I*, 94, note 1.

<sup>4</sup> Dziobek, *Grab des Ineni*, 33 (fig. 19, no. 3) and 44 (fig. 21, no. 6).

<sup>5</sup> Dziobek, *Grab des Ineni*, 39, note 114. A *deben* equals about 91 grammes; see table 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Medinet Habu III*, pl. 150, l. 545; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions V*, 140, 7.

<sup>7</sup> See chapter II, § 2, pp. 58-59.

An almost exactly corresponding list from the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos records a yearly supply of 36 *deben*, or 3 *deben* monthly, which is half the quantity delivered to Medinet Habu or the Ramesseum.<sup>1</sup> The monthly supply of incense in the Medinet Habu list is 6 *deben*, which would amount to 72 *deben* (about 6½ kilogrammes) on a yearly basis. This supply cannot have covered the entire demand of the temple for this material: the yearly requirement of incense was far more than 140 *deben* plus 3,580 baskets (*dni.t*), besides the quantities expressed in other units.<sup>2</sup>

The source of the incense and the other products of Medinet Habu list 18 is not specified; the only indication given is that the supplies were made for “the equipment of the yearly requirement” (*ꜥpr.t n hr.t-rnp.t*), which suggests that additional provisions from an external source are referred to, and it is not impossible that this source was the royal treasury (*pr-ḥd n Pr-ꜥ ꜥ.w.s.*), just as in the preceding list (no. 17).<sup>3</sup> Indeed, most of the items belong in the sphere of the treasury. Now the scenes in the tombs of Ineni and Puyemre indicate that the incense was distributed by the treasury of the temple of Amun, which was provided for in its turn by royal deliveries (*in.w*; see above). This means that in the end, the incense delivered to the royal memorial temples in the Eighteenth Dynasty was an extra provision made on behalf of the king; in administrative terms, it may have come from the royal treasury. The treasury of the Karnak temple merely served as a convenient centre for the distribution of incense to the various temples of Thebes.

Was this practice still followed when the Ramesseum calendar as we know it received its final form, or by the time the calendar lists were carved on the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu? The treasury of the Karnak temple still seems to have played a central administrative role in the Twentieth Dynasty,<sup>4</sup> and the *in.w* presented to the Theban temples by Ramesses III according to the Great Harris Papyrus may have been distributed in the same treasury.<sup>5</sup> On the other hand, we have seen that the incense for the daily offerings established by Ramesses III at Karnak was requisitioned from the treasury of the king’s memorial temple,<sup>6</sup> which means that incense was brought from the west bank to Karnak. The amount required (see table 4: over 4 baskets daily) must have exceeded the monthly supply of 6 *deben* by far. If we still wish to take calendar list 18 seriously, and try to reconcile these apparently contradictory data, we must suppose that in the Twentieth Dynasty, the modest amounts of incense (6 *deben* monthly) from the royal treasury were delivered, not to the treasury at Karnak, but straight to the treasury at Medinet Habu, while at the same time, more than 120 baskets were transferred monthly from Medinet Habu to Karnak. In all probability, however, calendar list 18 was administratively “outdated” by the time of Ramesses III. It represented a type of

<sup>1</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* II, 530. See chapter II, § 2, p. 61.

<sup>2</sup> See table 3 (the amount in *deben* for the daily offerings is lost).

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 150, l. 542; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 140, 3. See chapter II, p. 85.

<sup>4</sup> As suggested by the distribution of the revenues from joint mining expeditions by different Theban temples (P. IFAO A + B: see chapter IX, § 1, pp. 250-252), and by the collection of precious objects from temples and individuals (P. Turin Cat. 1900 *recto*: see chapter IX, § 8, pp. 274-275).

<sup>5</sup> See chapter VI, § 4, pp. 183-185.

<sup>6</sup> According to calendar list 2, and the list of regnal year 6 at Karnak: see pp. 68 and 94.

provision for the memorial temple on behalf of the king which had lost the administrative significance it still enjoyed in the incense-lists of the Eighteenth Dynasty. This agrees well with the modest yearly amounts of royal *in.w* in the Great Harris Papyrus.<sup>1</sup> The memorial temples in Western Thebes, which in the Ramesside Period had become powerful economic centres themselves, no longer depended on a monthly royal supply of six *deben* of incense as distributed by the treasury of the House of Amun to the institutions in Western Thebes which were not yet very powerful in the early Eighteenth Dynasty.

We are now in a better position to comment on the expression “in the retinue of the House of Amun” (*im.y.w-ht pr Imn*), by which the receiving temples are classified in the caption to the weighing-scene of Puyemre (see above).<sup>2</sup> *Im.y ht* (literally “who/what is behind”) can hardly refer to the architectural or geographical position of the temples with respect to the temple of Amun, since they include buildings on the west bank of the Nile, the location of which is usually described as “(on the) opposite” (*hft-hr/hr hft-hr*) of Karnak or Amun.<sup>3</sup> *Im.y ht* would seem rather to express the state of dependence of a number of Theban temples on an institution called “House of Amun”. Hence the translations by Otto: “die der Amundomäne unterstellt sind”, and Kessler: “die unterstehen (*im.y-ht*) dem (staatlichen) Haushalt (*pr*) des (überregionalen königlichen Vatergottes) Amun”.<sup>4</sup> We have seen, however, that the economic dependence was actually on the royal *in.w*, which were delivered to the Karnak treasury and distributed from there to the various temples of Thebes. In this respect, the “House of Amun” (i.e. the Karnak temple) was not less economically dependent than the temples “behind” it, and this perfectly explains why it is also recorded in the list itself, among the receiving institutions. Being the most important Theban temple, the others could rank only below it, but their “dependence” was nothing more than administrative convenience: the central distribution of revenues received from an external source.

<sup>1</sup> See chapter VI, §§ 4 (pp. 183-185) and 5 (pp. 189-191).

<sup>2</sup> Davies, *Tomb of Puyemrê I*, pl. XL.

<sup>3</sup> See e.g. stela Cairo CG 34025 (text of Amenophis III), l. 9 (*Urkunden IV*, 1650; *Übersetzung Hefte 17-22*, 196); P. Harris I 3, 11 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 4; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 227); P. Turin Cat. 1882 rt. 4, 1 (A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 41 (1955), pl. X; idem, *JEA* 42 (1956), 11).

<sup>4</sup> Otto, *Topographie*, 14; Kessler, *Heilige Tiere*, 47.

## CHAPTER V

### PRIVATE ENDOWMENTS TO ROYAL MEMORIAL TEMPLES

#### § 1 - THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

##### PRIVATE ENDOWMENTS TO TEMPLES

A study by Morkot on the memorial temple of Amenophis III at Memphis<sup>1</sup> is concerned with a specific aspect of the economic working of the temple in question. The autobiographical text of the chief steward Amenhotep,<sup>2</sup> which is the main source discussed by Morkot, describes the donation of fields, serfs, and animals by the chief steward for a statue of the king in the new temple. In exchange for this donation, part of the divine offerings daily presented in the temple of Ptah were to be put before the royal statue, to be brought thence to the steward's tomb by a lector-priest and a *wab*-priest. To give an impression of the quantities daily involved in this "reversion" of offerings: the bread and beer that were ultimately presented to the deceased Amenhotep required slightly more than one sack (about 80 litres) of grain each day, and 380 sacks on a yearly basis.<sup>3</sup> The bread and beer made from this amount of grain, supplemented by meat, wine, and other products, were the recompense for Amenhotep's endowment of 430 *aroura*, or about 118 hectares, of arable land to the statue of his king,<sup>4</sup> besides an unknown number of slaves, 10 slave-girls, 1,000 birds, and 2,000 pigs. More than half of the donated land had previously been given to Amenhotep by the king,<sup>5</sup> but even without that gift, the chief steward must have been quite an affluent man.

More studies have been devoted to private donations connected with royal statues or temples.<sup>6</sup> A famous Middle Kingdom example is that of the nomarch

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<sup>1</sup> R.G. Morkot, *JNES* 49 (1990), 323-337.

<sup>2</sup> Statue Ashmolean Museum 1913.163 (Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, pls. LXXVIII-LXXX, translation by Gardiner on pp. 33-36; *Urkunden IV*, 1793-1801; *Urkunden Übersetzung Hefte 17-22*, 259-263).

<sup>3</sup> See columns 26-30 of the inscription (*Urkunden IV*, 1797 and 1798). The baking-values of the bread and beer are expressed in numbers of loaves or jars per *oipe*; by calculation of the total number of loaves and jars and their baking-values, I arrive at a total of  $4\frac{1}{6}$  *oipe* (=  $1\frac{1}{24}$  sack) daily.

<sup>4</sup> Line 23 of the inscription (*Urkunden IV*, 1796 and 1797). The *aroura*-sign employed here is the one current in Middle Kingdom hieratic; see Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie I*, 65, nos. 683-686; F.L.I. Griffith, *PSBA* 14 (1892), 411.

<sup>5</sup> *Urkunden IV*, 1796, 19; *Übersetzung Hefte 17-22*, 261. See also Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 324.

<sup>6</sup> Apart from the discussions of the example given above, the main studies are: Helck, *Materialien I*, (192)-(200); II, (224)-(233); W. Helck, *JNES* 25 (1966), 32-41; D. Kessler, *SAK* 2 (1975), 103-134; D.

Djefaihapi, whose arrangements for the statue-cults at his tomb and in nearby temples were recorded in ten contracts.<sup>1</sup> Such arrangements continued to exist in the New Kingdom. An individual could donate part of his property, or resources that were under his charge,<sup>2</sup> to a temple in return for a personal offering-cult, which was often (but not always) connected with the cult of a royal statue that stood in the same temple. Provision could also be made for a royal statue that enjoyed an "independent" cult, without the participation of a temple, but that type of endowment is of less interest to us here. Both arrangements required royal consent. The revenues produced by the land, the animals, and the personnel donated to a temple served the upkeep of the statue cult, mainly in the form of offerings. The offerings were ultimately consumed by the donor or his assistants, who acted as the administrators of the endowment or as priests in the cult. The purpose of the endowment was often funerary, as in the case of the chief steward Amenhotep described above. However, not all donations recorded have this mortuary character, and it is clear that in some cases the endowments were effected during the life of the donor (see, for instance, the example of Neferperet below). Helck assumed that the main purpose of the endowments was to provide for the retirement of an official, who would be left without income when he was succeeded by someone else.<sup>3</sup> Although attractive in itself, the idea is not supported by any substantial evidence. Whenever an Egyptian official took leave of his office before his death, he might also have acquired some fortune of his own, in addition to the family property accumulated by his ancestors. In the worst case, his needs would have to be taken care of by his children. Apart from the usual provisions, however, an endowment to a temple or to a royal statue will have been an effective means to secure part of one's property, and still to benefit from it in the future (on earth or in the hereafter) by means of the offerings returned. The royal approval needed for the endowment was at the same time a guarantee that the property laid aside would be protected from outside interference for a long time to come.

#### THE DONATIONS OF SENMUT

Some inscriptions from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties illustrate this practice for the Theban memorial temples. The earliest text recording a private endowment attached to a royal memorial temple in Western Thebes is a stela of the well-known steward of Amun Senmut, which was erected in a chapel close to the temple of Montu at Karnak, and dated to a regnal year of Thutmosis III that appears to be "4", but which

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Meeks, in: *State and Temple Economy II*, 605-687. An article by W. Hovestreydt, which will appear in *Lingua Aegyptia*, discusses private donations to royal statues in connection with a text on P. Turin Cat. 1879. I wish to thank him for permission to consult his manuscript.

<sup>1</sup> See A. Spalinger, *JAOS* 105 (1985), 7-20 (with bibliography, to which add P. Montet, *Kêmi* 3 (1930-35), 52-73).

<sup>2</sup> C.J. Eyre, in: *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 205 and 206; Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 335-339.

<sup>3</sup> Helck, *Materialien II*, (229); W. Helck, *JNES* 25 (1966), 40.

cannot be established with certainty.<sup>1</sup> The arrangements recorded by the stela seem to have been made during the period in which Queen Hatshepsut held the throne of Egypt:<sup>2</sup> she is mentioned as “King of Upper and Lower Egypt” on the left side of the stela. The text is concerned with two donations by Senmut: one of fields and slaves to the temple of Amun, presumably at Karnak (lines 1-25), and a similar donation to the temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri called *Dsr-dsr.w* “Holy of Holies” (lines 25 and 26 of the front, and the columns of the right and left sides). The second arrangement is as follows:

(line 25) Moreover, I [continued (26) to do what is praised] in the hall of offerings (*h3 n ht*) [in] *Dsr-dsr.w*, for the festival of the sixth day and for the daily requirement. One [shall give for] it 5 *aroura* of land in the region of *S3-k3* ... (right, column 1) I have given [...] god: (2) [beer], baking-value 96 [...] (3) [...] what the king does [...] *snw*-bread, baking-value 30 [+ x ... Moreover, I have given a slave and a slave-girl from the property] (left, column 1) [of] the house of this servant (= Senmut), complete with the assignment (*ht*) of hour-service of the workshop that the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Ma'atkare Given Life has established for her father Amun in *Dsr-dsr.w*. As for the excess of offerings that will be on [... libation ?] which this [*wab*]-priest has made [...] (2) [... As for] my brother[s and sisters]: they shall prepare for me 3 *p3.t*-loaves each; it is for my tomb in the necropolis. Moreover, as for this [...] (3) [...] baskets (*htp.w.t*; with flowers) from the best products of the gardens that I have given to them, as well as a pot of water for my tomb in the necropolis to [...] daily, for ever.

In spite of the many gaps in the text, the content is clear because the arrangement is similar to the preceding one for the temple of Amun at Karnak, which involved the donation of 8 *aroura* of land (previously given by the king to Senmut as a reward for his services), as well as a slave and a slave-girl. The produce of the land and workforce thus added to the temple estate served as a recompense for some new offerings established for Amun, to be passed on afterwards to a funerary statue of Senmut in the temple of the same god. The arrangement for the temple of Hatshepsut was made along the same lines: Senmut donated land (5 *aroura*) to the temple, from the products of which the daily offerings, as well as the extra offerings on the sixth day of the lunar month, were to be prepared. The total of grain needed for the Karnak temple was 58 sacks; the amount for the temple of Hatshepsut is unfortunately lost. In addition, two slaves were given to the temple workshop, presumably to compensate for the extra work involved in the preparation of the offerings prescribed. The donor's brothers and sisters seem to have had a role in the funerary cult as well: they were to prepare loaves of bread to be presented at Senmut's tomb. Perhaps it was to them that Senmut gave his gardens, on the

<sup>1</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 17, H (year incorrectly given as “16”); L.-A. Christophe, *Karnak-Nord III (1945-1949). Fouilles Conduites par C. Robichon (Fouilles de l'Institut Français du Caire XXIII)*, Cairo 1951, 86-89, pl. XV; W. Helck, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), 23-34; Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*<sup>2</sup>, 122-126. For the date, see P.F. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut. Problems in Historical Methodology*, London-New York 1988, 29-31 (reference due to A. Egberts).

<sup>2</sup> The reign of Hatshepsut ended in the 22nd year (counted from the accession of Thutmose III) at the latest; see W. Seipel, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, 1046.

understanding that they should regularly bring flowers and a pot of water to his tomb.<sup>1</sup> Whether this arrangement of Senmut with his brothers and sisters had anything to do with the temple donation remains unclear. The arrangements described above are outlined in figure 1.

The donation to the Amun-temple was to be effected as if it were the wish of the king himself. A property-deed (*im.y.t-pr*) was drawn up at the residence, and the king guaranteed that it would remain operative for ever.<sup>2</sup> Similar clauses will have been included in the donation to the temple at Deir el-Bahri; the words “what the king does” in column 3 on the right side of the stela may be part of the relevant formula.<sup>3</sup>

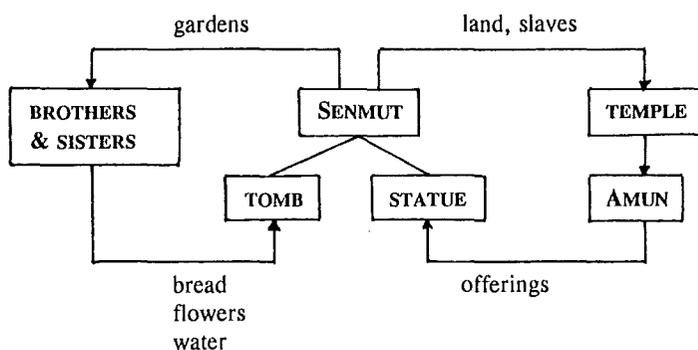


Figure 1: Arrangements for Senmut's funerary cult

#### THE DONATION OF NEFERPERET

A donation not of land but of cattle, to the memorial temple of Thutmose III, is recorded on a statue of the royal butler Neferperet.<sup>4</sup> The statue was found in the Karnak Cachette, but its original place must have been the temple of Thutmose III called “Endowed with Life” (*Hnk.t-nḥ*) on the West Bank.<sup>5</sup> It was probably made in the later years of Thutmose III.<sup>6</sup> The donation is recorded on the back pillar of the statue:

<sup>1</sup> The same practice is referred to in the inscription of the chief steward Amenhotep, lines 35 and 36 (*Urkunden IV*, 1798). Cf. A.H. Gardiner, in: Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, 34, note 2 to line 36, who regarded it as an expression with a wider meaning. See, however, K. Donker van Heel, in: *Village voices*, 19-30, for the pouring of water as current funerary practice.

<sup>2</sup> Lines 1-4 (W. Helck, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), 24 and 30; Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*<sup>2</sup>, 122).

<sup>3</sup> Right, column 3 (W. Helck, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), 25 and 32; Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*<sup>2</sup>, 125).

<sup>4</sup> Statue Cairo CG 42121 (Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 144 and 145; Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes I*, 69-71, pl. LXXI; *Urkunden IV*, 1019-1021; *Urkunden Übersetzung Hefte 5-16*, 390-392).

<sup>5</sup> The inscriptions on the sides of the stela held by Neferperet refer to the king and Amun in *Hnk.t-nḥ*. I do not know if more statues from the *Cachette* originally came from the West Bank; E. Feucht, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie I*, 893, refers only to statues from the temple of Amun.

<sup>6</sup> As can be inferred from the depiction of Queen Meritre-Hatshepsut on the statue. See W. Seipel, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie II*, 1052.

(line 1) What the royal butler (2) Neferperet has brought while he was (3) in the campaigns of His Majesty (4) in the country of *Rtḥw*: cattle of *Dḥy*, (5) 4 cows; 2 cows of Egypt; (6) 1 bull; total: 7; a bronze milk-jar; (7) in order to give them to the Temple of Millions (8) of Years Endowed with Life. His brother (9) Amenmehib is their guardian; (10) his son Djoserkare is to (11) carry the milk-jars.<sup>1</sup> They are (12) under my authority during my day (13) of life. The overseer of the gate Nebseny enters on account of it; (14) the king's scribe Amenmose comes on account of it. (15) What is said in the Residence (16) l.p.h.: "They are under your authority during your day (17) of life. After your own old age, (18) they will go from son to son; from heir (19) to heir. Do not give them to the stable of an overseer of cattle. (20) As for anyone who will come to argue: do not let one listen (21) to them in any office of the king; do not let one encroach (22) upon the doing of anything."

What is absent from the donation-text is the profit for the donor. Perhaps the jar of milk carried by his son was to be presented to the gods of the temple and then to Neferperet himself; that is, either before his statue in the temple (perhaps the very statue inscribed with the donation-text),<sup>2</sup> or at his tomb. What is clearly recorded, however, is the protection guaranteed by the royal residence. Neferperet's authority over the cattle would be taken over by his heirs, not by an overseer of cattle (presumably a temple official; the implication seems to be that the temple could not assume direct authority over the donated animals).<sup>3</sup> No doubt, Neferperet's heirs would also benefit from the offerings that must have been part of the deal. The arrangements are outlined in figure 2.

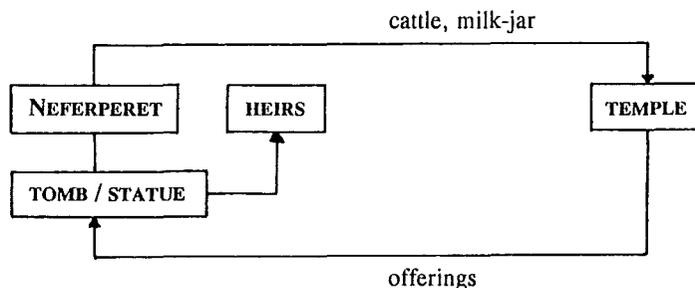


Figure 2: Neferperet's donation

<sup>1</sup> Plural *mhr.w*; compare the singular *mhr* in ll. 6 and 7. Does the plural refer to the type of jar as a measure of capacity, and thus to the repeated presentation of a fixed quantity of milk? Compare the use of *mhn* in calendar lists: *Medinet Habu* III, pls. 140 (l. 118), 148 (ll. 360 and 433), 158 (l. 972), 160 (l. 1068); Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* V, 122, 4; 133, 6; 135, 14; 162, 10; 167, 13. Helck, *Materialien* I, (95), assumed that Neferperet donated more than one bronze milk-jar, but in that case, the number of jars would almost certainly have been specified.

<sup>2</sup> A statue of the vizier Ptahmose, also from the temple of Thutmose III, may have had this role with respect to a similar donation: *Urkunden* IV, 1376; Helck, *Materialien* I, (95).

<sup>3</sup> See Helck, *Materialien* I, (95).

Another important aspect of private endowments introduced here is the responsibility of two high officials (an overseer of the gate and a king's scribe) for the donation. This responsibility is expressed by the words "enter on account of it" (*ʿq hr=s*) and "come on account of it" (*ii hr=s*). The neuter suffix pronoun *-s* probably refers to the entire arrangement previously described.<sup>1</sup> The officials thus recorded may be seen as intermediaries between the donor and the royal court, or between the donor and the temple.<sup>2</sup> For a royal butler who had accompanied the king on his foreign campaigns, it would hardly have been necessary to have recourse to another court official, unless such was the formal procedure required. It is equally possible, however, that Nebseny and Amenmose acted as trustees on behalf of the memorial temple.<sup>3</sup>

## § 2 - THE RAMESSIDE PERIOD

### THE STATUE-CULT OF RAMOSE

In regnal year 9 of Ramesses II, the scribe of the royal necropolis Ramose set up a statue of the king in a chapel beside the temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina. The statue was to receive offerings from the king's memorial temple, the Ramesseum.<sup>4</sup>

(line 3) His Majesty I.p.h. ordered a divine offering to be established for this statue in the temple of Hathor (4) Who Presides over Thebes, in the secluded necropolis. Offerings from the temple of Userma'atre Setepenre (5) which is to the West of Thebes: *bl.t*, baking-value 30: [...], baking-value [...]: 3; *psn*, baking-value 10: 2; (6) *psn*, <baking-value> 30: [...], baking-value 30: 11; beer, baking-value [...] basket (*msi?*). (7) Their donor (?) is the scribe in the Place of Truth Ramose; (8) the king's scribe, overseer of Thebes, and vizier Pa[ser] comes on account of it [...] the (9) Good Ruler is to receive (?) ... in/from them ... (10) by the scribe in the Place of Truth Ramose, justified.

The text is actually a copy of a royal decree by which new offerings were established.<sup>5</sup> The grain required for the bread and beer must have amounted to one or two *oipe*; it is

<sup>1</sup> The pronoun can hardly refer to a feminine antecedent. The only possible antecedent would be the name of the temple, but this is separated from *ʿq hr=s* by three clauses in which the temple is not referred to. The endowment-text of Ramose (see below) has *ii hr=f*, in which *-f* is probably a reference to the royal statue that was the focus of the endowment.

<sup>2</sup> Intermediaries acting on behalf of the temple occur in donation-texts from the Late Period, introduced by *i.ir*: D. Meeks, in: *State and Temple Economy* II, 631-640. Meeks' interpretation of *ii hr=s* as expressing control by temple officials (*ibid.*, 645, note 176) was rejected by A. Leahy, *RdÉ* 34 (1982/83), 88 and 89, note p, and by De Meulenaere, *RdÉ* 44 (1993), 14. According to H. de Meulenaere, *ii hr=s* rather applies to a high official representing the king as donor. Römer connects *ii hr=s* in Eighteenth Dynasty donation-texts with the new possessor, user, or person in charge of the donation (Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 321), but this is contradicted by the text of Neferperet discussed here, in which Neferperet and his heirs are obviously in charge of the donation, and no doubt also the persons benefiting from it.

<sup>3</sup> Nebseny might be identical with an overseer of the same name attached to the temple of Thutmose III, who is known from an inscribed funerary cone: Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 197. The title is damaged: *im.y-r* [...].*w.t*; Helck, *Materialien* I, (97) suggested *im.y-r is.w.t*.

<sup>4</sup> Statue Cairo JE 72000 from Deir el-Medina (Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh 1935-1940* II, 56 and 57, pls. XII and XXXV (no. 115); Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* II, 362 and 363).

unknown whether the offerings were to be presented daily, or only on certain occasions. The same arrangement is recorded on a limestone relief, which was probably part of the chapel (*hnmw*) made by Ramose for the statue within the precinct of the Hathor temple.<sup>1</sup> In both inscriptions, Ramose appears as a “donor” (*hnk.y*), of the offerings in one text (*hnk.y=sn*), and of the statue in the other (*hnk(.y)=f*).<sup>2</sup> The vizier (presumably Paser) acted as an official guarantor or trustee of the endowment: it is he who “came (or: entered) on account of it” (*il/cq hr-r=f*), with *=f* presumably referring to the royal statue (compare the neuter *hr-s* in the text of Neferperet above).

The texts do not tell us whether Ramose gave any land or other resources to the Ramesseum in recompense for the offerings. Helck assumed that in such cases, no further material resources were required because the cult was provided for by a temple.<sup>3</sup> It is hard to believe, however, that the temples only lost by such arrangements. By granting temple offerings for a private endowment, the king would interfere with the interests of people who were entitled to shares of the offerings in the temple in question. The offerings established for the endowment of Ramose, for instance, if presented daily, would take one or two *oipe* of grain from the 30 sacks officially required for the daily offerings in the Ramesseum.<sup>4</sup> As it is unlikely that the regular offerings in the temple were reduced for the benefit of private cults, a material donation on the part of the private individual or the king will have been a condition for the endowment. The endowment of Ramose, therefore, was probably no exception to the universal pattern as exemplified by the texts of Senmut and Neferperet above. The hypothetical structure of the endowment is outlined in figure 3.

The statue of Ramesses VI erected by a necropolis employee according to a text on P. Turin Cat. 1879 *verso* probably also stood in the temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina, just like the statue of Ramesses II erected by Ramose, and the provisions requested by the writer of this text may have been very similar.<sup>5</sup> A partially preserved limestone stela in the Metropolitan Museum in New York records an arrangement which at first sight also seems to be similar to the endowment of Ramose.<sup>6</sup> It contains a detailed list of daily offerings, the grain for which amounted to one sack daily. The fragment also

<sup>5</sup> As is clear from the formula *wđ hm=f*, which we have already met with in the decrees preceding the offering-lists of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu and Karnak (see pp. 62-64, 89-93).

<sup>1</sup> Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh 1935-1940* II, 65, pl. XXX; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* II, 705.

<sup>2</sup> As can be reconstructed from the traces extant: Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* II, 363, 5; 705, 16.

<sup>3</sup> W. Helck, *JNES* 25 (1966), 38 and 39; dealing with an inscription found by the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania at Mît Rahîna (exc. no. 2882: Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> III part 2, 858). It records the endowment of offerings by a *wab*-priest of the temple of King Merenptah at Memphis for a statue of Ramesses III in the same temple, but it does not mention the donation of any fields, animals, or slaves.

<sup>4</sup> According to Medinet Habu list 6 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 146, l. 258; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 128, 6). See chapter II, § 5, pp. 75-76.

<sup>5</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 335-337; Helck, *Materialien* II, (197) and (198). The text will be translated and discussed by W. Hovestreydt in a forthcoming article in *Lingua Aegyptia*.

<sup>6</sup> Stela MMA 54.185 (A. Kamal, *ASAE* 10 (1910), 153 and 154; Scott, *MMA Bulletin* n.s. 15 (1956), 83 and 84 (no. 11); Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* II, 710). What is preserved may be not much more than a quarter of the original inscription (i.e. the lower right part of the stela).

records the donation of one or more *aroura* of arable land. The beneficiary of the donated fields and offerings, however, was not a statue, but the “Temple (*ḥw.t-nṯr*) of Userma‘atre Setepenre Given Life”, a temple of Ramesses II. The decision taken by the king with regard to this temple probably concerned its economic dependence on the granary and treasury of the Karnak temple.<sup>1</sup> Any indication of private donors is absent. From these observations it may be inferred that the text was probably not concerned with a private endowment, but with the foundation of a temple (or rather a chapel, in view of the modest amounts of offerings) by the king, probably Ramesses II himself. As the chapel in question was explicitly dependent on Karnak, it was probably located in the vicinity of that great temple: perhaps its name does not exclude that the Ramesseum is referred to here, but the modest amounts of the offerings and fields involved speak against it.<sup>2</sup>

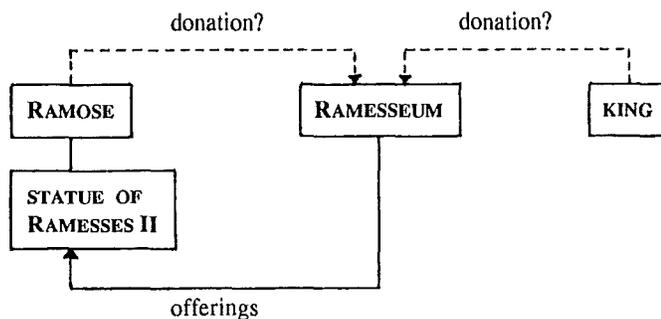


Figure 3: The endowment of Ramose

#### THE VIZIER HORI AND HIS HERDSMAN

In addition to the endowment-texts discussed so far, we may deal with two texts from the late Nineteenth Dynasty in which Theban memorial temples were perhaps not the receivers of donations themselves. Their stewards, however, appear to have been concerned with private donations to the same temples or to other beneficiaries. The first text is a hieroglyphic ostrakon in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston, which was

<sup>1</sup> Lines x + 7 and x + 8 of the fragment: *wmn ḥw.t-nṯr Wsr-Mzꜥ.t-Rꜥ Stp-n-Rꜥ di ʿnh [...] m šnw.t ḥtp-nṯr n pr ʿImn-Rꜥ nswt nṯr.w iw ḥt pr-ḥdꜥf [...]*. The formula is similar to the one employed in the endowment-text of the chief steward Amenhotep (*Urkunden* IV, 1796, 9). The amount of text lost is unknown and may be substantial: at the beginning of line 3 must have stood the yearly total of cereals, as well as probably amounts of meat and/or fowl. Incense must have been recorded in line 4; honey and/or fat in line 5; the fabric of the *[in]s.t* and perhaps other textiles as well in line 6.

<sup>2</sup> The text is regarded as a royal donation, perhaps to the Ramesseum, by Helck, *Materialien* II, (216) and (222), but to a foundation in Karnak in his *Materialien* III, (365) and (366).

purchased in Luxor.<sup>1</sup> It is probably a draft or a copy of a donation stela from the reign of King Siptah. The relevant texts on the ostrakon can be translated as follows:

(text II, line 1) [The overseer of the City], the vizier, the steward Hori of the Temple of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Akhenre Setepenre in the House of Amun to the West of Thebes says in extolling [...] (2) [...] Amun-Re: "Life is Yours; favours are under Your authority. Power, lifetime, veneration and burial are under the command of Your *Ka*. Give favour in the heart of the [vizier] (3) [Hor]<sup>2</sup> as he is zealous [...] I have [come?] with my things (*h.t=i*) to do work for the Lord of the Gods."

(text III, line 1) The herdsman of the vizier Hori, Pakha<sup>3</sup>emwese of Memphis has [come?], with the herds of the one entering on account of his things, to Amun-Re [...] (2) [...] His forms, while Amun was in Pnubs. Amun said, when He appeared: "As for the vizier who will [...] (3) [...] he shall not be sated with justice; he shall not follow Amun on any of His feasts. As for anyone (?) who ... [...] his heart will be joyous; he shall follow the Lord of the Gods."

The protagonist in the text is the vizier Hori, who was also steward of the memorial temple of Siptah in Western Thebes. Having praised Amon-Re, he apparently recommends a person to the god. It is not clear whether this person is the same as the herdsman of the vizier, "Pakha<sup>3</sup>emwese of Memphis", who is mentioned in line 1 of section III of the text, where we read about "entering on account of his (i.e. the herdsman's) things towards (?) Amun-Re", possibly on the part of the vizier. The arrangement recorded here, which is quite obscure because the beginning and end of each line is lost, is confirmed by an oracle of Amun, who urges any future vizier to respect it. Berg considered the text to be a record of a land donation to a temple of Amun. According to him, the vizier acted as an intermediary, and his herdsman was the manager of the endowment.<sup>5</sup> Who, then, was the donor? If this was not the vizier or the herdsman himself, another person must have been mentioned in line 3 of section II. From what is preserved from the oracle given by Amun, we may infer that Hori, as well as any future vizier, would have to respect the endowment. Thus, if the vizier was not the actual donor, he may appear here as a high official guaranteeing the preservation of the endowment. The role of the herdsman is not clear at all. If his superior, the vizier, was the one who made the donation, it is not impossible that Pakha<sup>3</sup>emwese was to work for it. It is equally possible, however, that Pakha<sup>3</sup>emwese himself was the donor. The alternative possibilities may be summarized as follows:

<sup>1</sup> O. MFA 11.1498 (J. Černý, *JEA* 44 (1958), 23-25, pl. X; D. Berg, *JARCE* 30 (1993), 57-69; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 358-360).

<sup>2</sup> Following the reconstruction by Černý, Kitchen, and Berg. The effect is that Hori himself asks the god to convince him of the intentions of a third party (i.e. of the actual supplicant). As Berg assumed (*JARCE* 30 (1993), 61 and 62, notes F and G), this may have been brought about by means of an oracle, which is referred to in the second part of the text.

<sup>3</sup> As against Černý and Kitchen, Berg does not regard *p3 Hc m W3s.t* as a proper name, but as an epithet of the vizier Hori. I do not see, however, why the vizier's jurisdiction should be indicated by this cryptic formula, which is so reminiscent of the name of Ramesses II's famous son.

<sup>4</sup> Kitchen restored: *nty iw=f r [mnmn wd.w pn hr s.t]=f* "who will remove this stela from its place", probably referring to a boundary-stela of a donated plot of land. The reconstruction is possible, but very uncertain (cf. D. Berg, *JARCE* 30 (1993), 64 and 65, note J).

<sup>5</sup> D. Berg, *JARCE* 30 (1993), 63 and 64, note D.

1. donor (name lost)—intermediary/trustee (vizier)—manager (herdsman);
2. donor (vizier)—manager (herdsman);
3. donor (herdsman)—intermediary/trustee (vizier).

In my opinion, the third option is to be preferred for the following reasons. (1) The vizier clearly speaks on behalf of another person, and it is therefore likely that his role is that of an official intermediary for an individual of a lower social status. (2) Of all the types of information to be expected in a donation-text, the name of the donor would be the most important. It is unlikely that he would be mentioned only in the narrow space at the end of line 2 and the beginning of line 3 in section I, and remain unmentioned in the rest of the text. Information about who was to run the endowment may of course be given (the two Eighteenth Dynasty texts discussed in section 1 mention the donor's relatives in that capacity), but would be less important than the donor.

However, the possibilities and likelihoods of this text still do not add much to our knowledge about private endowments attached to Theban memorial temples. Although Hori was overseer of the temple of Siptah, we cannot be sure that this temple was the beneficiary of the donation, however likely it may be: the title of steward figures prominently, and would hardly be relevant if the matter recorded here had nothing to do with the temple of Siptah in Western Thebes. A serious alternative, however, is suggested by the name "Pnubs" (*P3-nbs*), which may be the name of a Nubian town, where the oracle confirming the endowment took place, and which may have been the location of the benefiting temple.<sup>1</sup> Finally, we are not informed about the resources donated, unless the word *iszd.w* or *iszd.w(.t)* in line 1 of section III is a reference to cattle or land involved in the donation.<sup>2</sup> However frustrating it may be, it seems best to leave the discussion of this difficult text at this point.

#### THE BILGAI-STELA

We are left with one more document that may be relevant here: a stela from Bilgai in the eastern Nile delta.<sup>3</sup> The first part of the inscription, which is almost entirely erased, was apparently concerned with the construction of a chapel (*ip.t*) for "Amun of Userma'atre Setepenre (Ramesses II)". This chapel had been erected in the name of a woman whose title is erased (reverse, lines 4 and 12), but who was probably Queen Tausert from the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>4</sup> It is likely, however, that the actual builder (or perhaps restorer) of the chapel was the person who speaks in the first person singular. As he addresses on the reverse side of the stela (lines 4 and 9) any future "overseer of the fortress of the sea", we may assume that he held the same office himself (see the Boston ostrakon discussed above, on which the vizier Hori likewise addresses himself to his

<sup>1</sup> D. Berg, *JARCE* 30 (1993), 64, note G.

<sup>2</sup> Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* I, 35, 19 and 20: *iszd.w(.t)* "pastures"; cf. *ibid.*, 154, 13: *ldr.w* "herds".

<sup>3</sup> Stela Cairo JE 43341 (A.H. Gardiner, *ZÄS* 50 (1912), 49-57, pl. IV; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 341-343).

<sup>4</sup> A.H. Gardiner, *ZÄS* 50 (1912), 52 and 53; Drenkhahn, *Elephantine-Stele*, 17 and 18.

successors). The chapel was meant to be a resting-place for “Amun of Ramesses II”, who was worshipped in a local temple.

Towards the end of the inscription, the overseer boasts of his exertions, when he says that he caused his people to produce much more than the amounts for which he was assessed (the dues collected being double or even six times the amounts required). In all likelihood, the production (referred to here as *šmw* “harvest(-quota)” and *šzy.t* “contribution”) served the upkeep of the local temple of Amun of Ramesses II, which was under the authority of the overseer of the fortress.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps part of these revenues went to the newly built chapel, for the requirements of which a separate arrangement will have been necessary. This speech is emphatically addressed to a Theban temple official: Paibes, who was steward of the House of Sethos II in the House of Amun, as well as steward of the Temple of Millions of Years of a king whose name is also erased, to the West of Thebes.<sup>2</sup> The royal name was probably that of Siptah.<sup>3</sup> What did this steward of two Theban temples have to do with a temple, and a privately erected chapel connected with it, in the delta? Gardiner assumed that the official (or two officials, in his view) addressed was the one (or were the ones) who controlled the finances of the two institutions.<sup>4</sup> It seems doubtful, however, that the “House of Amun of Ramesses II” was administratively connected with the Theban temples of Sethos II and Siptah. Information on this point might have been given, of course, on the obverse of the stela. As far as I know, however, distant chapels economically dependent on Theban temples other than that of Amonrasonter at Karnak are otherwise unknown, so that this example would be unique.<sup>5</sup>

Another observation may help to explain the involvement of the Theban temple steward. If Paibes really had controlled the administration of the chapels that form the main subject of the text, the speaker would probably have addressed him as a superior. The style of the address, however, is rather that of someone who wants to attract the attention of a high official, and to obtain his help. One of the ways in which he was doing this was by boasting about the production of his subordinates. This interpretation is supported by the reference to the superior of the house Nodjem, possibly the same person as the steward Nodjem of the Ramesseum,<sup>6</sup> to whom the speaker had appealed earlier, but who did not give any support in his exertions (reverse, lines 18 and 19). Therefore, he now asked another official of the same *échelon* to be his intermediary or

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<sup>1</sup> Reverse, 9: *tw pr 'Imn ... r ht=f* (A.H. Gardiner, *ZÄS* 50 (1912), pl. IV; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 342).

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner assumed that the titles are those of two different persons (*ZÄS* 50 (1912), 53). Note, however, that a personal name follows only the second occurrence of the title *im.y-r pr* (reverse, ll. 15 and 16). A steward Paibes, who was responsible for a vineyard of the “House of the Overseer of the Seal of the entire land” (i.e. the chancellor Bai), is mentioned on a jar-docket from the temple of Siptah in Western Thebes (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 347, 2-5). He may very well be the same person.

<sup>3</sup> Drenkhahn, *Elephantine-Stele*, 28-30.

<sup>4</sup> A.H. Gardiner, *ZÄS* 50 (1912), 53.

<sup>5</sup> Even for the dependence of smaller temples on Karnak, I know of only one reference: P. Harris I (8, 2-12; 10, 12) mentions a district in the delta, with its own temple, on the *sdf* of the temple of Amonrasonter (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 10, 11, and 13; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. I, 231, 232, and 236).

<sup>6</sup> See appendix 2. For the interchange of *im.y-r pr* and *š n pr*, see chapter VIII, § 2, pp. 225-229.

guarantor with respect to an endowment that went together with the newly built chapel (compare the viziers Paser and Hori as intermediaries or trustees in the texts discussed above). It is curious to find this appeal on a stela, which we would expect to record a finished arrangement. The request also probably formed part of the text on the obverse (lines 9 and 10). It was a necessary step towards the granting of permission and protection by the king. We do not know whether the speaker succeeded in obtaining this: it is known from other sources that the political climate at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty was quite unstable.<sup>1</sup> After the reign of Merenptah, the kingship seems to have been claimed by Amenmesse as well as Sethos II, the latter finally assuming power over the entire land. In the period following his death, the throne was held by Siptah and subsequently by Queen Tausert, but the actual power seems to have been in the hands of the “chancellor” (lit. “overseer of sealed (things) of the entire land”: *im.y-r htm(.w).t n t3 r dr=f*), Bai. The Great Harris Papyrus refers in extremely negative terms to this black episode in official Egyptian history, which was finally ended by King Setnakht, the father of Ramesses III.<sup>2</sup> The difficult political circumstances may have made the contact with the steward Paibes even more essential, which would explain why it figures so prominently in the Bilgai text.

#### PRIVATE ENDOWMENTS IN OTHER TEXTS

Apart from the inscriptions that deal with the necessary material and cultic arrangements from the donor’s perspective, which we have now discussed, private endowments attached to temples are mentioned in other texts as well. A passage from the Great Harris Papyrus is often quoted in this connection. Near the end of the list of Theban temple foundations, Ramesses III mentions the number of people involved in statue-cults attached to the temple of Amonrasonter:<sup>3</sup>

(page 11, line 11) The protected image(s) of *ib-ib(?)*-statues,<sup>4</sup> for which the officials, standard-bearers, agents, and people of the land are working, (2) and which Pharaoh I.p.h. put on the *sdf* of the House of Amonrasonter, in order to protect them and to answer for them for ever and always: (3) 2,756 gods, makes 5,164 people.

Apart from being one of the few explicit statements on the administrative treatment of privately endowed statue-cults, this is also the clearest passage on the word *sdf*, which is discussed extensively in chapter VI, section 3. The statues were apparently entrusted to the temple of Amun. By this arrangement they would be incorporated in, and protected by, a greater administrative unit, which would be responsible for the endowments to a higher authority, that is, the king or his officials. The statue of Ramesses II erected by the necropolis scribe Ramose, for example, might have been put on the *sdf* of the

<sup>1</sup> See Grandet, *Ramsès III*, 36-42; Drenkhahn, *Elephantine-stele*, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> See Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 335.

<sup>3</sup> P. Harris I, 11, 1-3 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 14; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. I, 236).

<sup>4</sup> Regarding *sšm hwi(.w) twt.w-ib-ib.w(?)* as one expression referring to a number of cult-statues of the same type, as is done by Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 236; vol. 2, 55-57 (note 222).

Ramesseum by assigning offerings to it from that temple. In this way, as well as perhaps by a donation of land or other resources to the temple estate, this particular cult was attached economically to the Ramesseum.

It was said at the beginning of this chapter that a private endowment for a royal statue was not necessarily attached to a temple. With the endowment for a statue of Ramesses VI by the deputy Penniut in Nubia, no involvement of a temple is apparent: the statue-cult was equipped with (rented) fields, the total surface of which amounted to 15 *aroura*.<sup>1</sup> The same is true for a cult-statue of Ramesses II, the offerings of which required 800 sacks of corn according a document of the 55th regnal year of that king.<sup>2</sup> The same type of private endowment is referred to by the “donation” entries in the Wilbour Papyrus, a register of institutionally owned lands in Middle Egypt from the reign of Ramesses V.<sup>3</sup> In this text, fields called “donation” (*hnk*) were part of “apportioning domains” (*rmny.t ps*) of temples or other types of institutions. This means that every donation-field was exploited by an individual landholder, who yearly had to hand over a small percentage of its production to an institution X having a claim on the field. A landholder who reserved such a field for the cult of a royal statue, which is referred to in P. Wilbour as a “god of Pharaoh” (*ntr n Pr-ꜥꜣ*), appears in the text as the administrator of his “donation”. The claiming institution X still received its share of the donated land, and this was the only aspect of privately endowed fields that was of interest to the scribes of the Wilbour Papyrus. Now if a holder of such an “apportioning field” donated this field to another temple Y, we would expect the share of Y (theoretical revenues from the field minus the share of the original claimant X) to be recorded as well. We would expect, in other words, an entry referring to the field as held by Y and matching with the entry recording the share of claimant X. As a rule, however, such corresponding entries are not given for *hnk*-fields.<sup>4</sup> It seems, therefore, that the private donations recorded by the Wilbour Papyrus had not been made to temples, which would have counted such fields with the domains cultivated by their own personnel, but to independent cults. The domains cultivated directly by temple Y (the so-called “non-apportioning domains”) may actually have included donated fields, but such fields could then not have belonged to apportioning domains of other temples X that still had a claim on them. If so, the fact that a particular temple field had been donated by an individual landholder would have been completely irrelevant to the scribes of the Wilbour Papyrus.

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<sup>1</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VI, 350-353; Breasted, *Ancient Records* IV, 231-235; Helck, *Materialien* II, (197), (231) and (232); Menu, *RdÉ* 22 (1970), 118-121.

<sup>2</sup> P. BM 10447 (Gardiner, *Ramesseum Administrative Documents*, 59).

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 17, 86 and 87; Helck, *Materialien* II, (229)-(231). See chapter X, §§ 1 and 2.

<sup>4</sup> The few examples of entries (in non-apportioning paragraphs) corresponding to donation-entries are possible exceptions to this rule (P. Wilbour A rt. 33, 1-15; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 135 and 136; III, 34). For “apportioning/non-apportioning domains” and related technical terms, see chapter X, § 1.

## CONCLUSION

The private endowments that were effected by donating land, cattle, or persons to temples, in order to compensate for priestly service and offerings to a statue or to the donor's tomb, must have been to the benefit of both parties involved. The donor obtained spiritual comfort by being provided for in the hereafter, and status as the creator of a pious foundation. He could also have a limited material profit from the offerings as a priest in the cult he had founded, and his relatives or assistants might share in this. The legal arrangements to this effect would be protected eternally by royal decree. To the temple, the profit was mainly material. The offerings reserved for the private cult were modest in comparison with the substantial donations of land and cattle they received according to texts from the Eighteenth Dynasty. One final observation is that, insofar as donations were made to royal memorial temples, the receiving temples were mainly those of living kings (so with Senmut, Neferperet, Ramose, Pakha'emwese, and the anonymous protagonist of the Bilgai inscription). An exception is the text referring to the endowment for a statue of Ramesses III in the temple of Merenptah at Memphis, which has briefly been referred to on page 148 (note 3). It seems plausible that private endowments favoured new, flourishing institutions, which were the best guarantors of economic stability. Moreover, a request for royal protection of a personal reservation of resources would have stood a better chance if the benefiting institution was the king's own foundation.

## CHAPTER VI

### PAPYRUS HARRIS I (P. BM 9999)

#### § 1 - DISCOVERY AND STUDY OF THE DOCUMENT

The Great Harris Papyrus, or P. Harris I (so called after its former owner; the present inventory number is P. British Museum 9999), is the longest of all known hieratic texts. Just like most other New Kingdom papyri, it was found on the west bank of the Nile opposite Luxor. The exact location of the find, however, remains vague. The papyrus was bought, together with several others (including some of the tomb-robbery papyri), by Anthony Charles Harris, an English tradesman living in Alexandria, from the merchant Castellari at Luxor, in the winter of 1854-55.<sup>1</sup> Three years later, Harris made a note concerning the spot where local people claimed to have found the papyri. The present whereabouts of this original note are unknown, but it was translated into German by Eisenlohr,<sup>2</sup> who was the first to publish some considerations on P. Harris I in 1872. According to his version, the papyrus was found in a hole in the rocks, connected with a destroyed tomb, 225 paces from the northeastern angle of the Deir el-Medina temple precinct. Borchardt identified this hole with the royal cache (TT 320) to the south of Deir el-Bahri;<sup>3</sup> Grandet situates it in the east cemetery of Deir el-Medina.<sup>4</sup> Although the latter theory is not unattractive, it is strange that Harris should have taken the *northeastern*, and not the *southeastern* angle of the temple precinct as his point of departure to a spot located further to the south. Budge, in his publications of papyri in the British Museum, stated that the Harris papyri had been found in a box under the ruins of a temple, which he later specified as the Ramesseum.<sup>5</sup> Budge apparently confused the find-spot of the Harris documents with that of the Ramesseum papyri discovered in 1896.<sup>6</sup> Nonetheless, his remarks seem to have been considered serious enough to find their way into the works of other authors.<sup>7</sup>

In 1872 the Great Harris Papyrus was acquired, together with other documents and antiquities, by the British Museum, and Samuel Birch published it, by order of the

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<sup>1</sup> W.R. Dawson, *JEA* 35 (1949), 163-166.

<sup>2</sup> A. Eisenlohr, *Der große Papyrus Harris. Ein wichtiger Beitrag zur ägyptischen Geschichte, ein 2000 Jahr altes Zeugniß für die mosaische Religionsstiftung enthaltend. Vortrag gehalten im Philosophisch-historischen Verein zu Heidelberg*, Leipzig 1872, 7. The quotation from it by Schaedel, *Listen*, 10, is corrected by L. Borchardt, *ZÄS* 73 (1937), 115, note 5. See now Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 6-8.

<sup>3</sup> L. Borchardt, *ZÄS* 73 (1937), 115-116.

<sup>4</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 6-10.

<sup>5</sup> E.A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum*, London 1910, xv; idem, *Egyptian Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum* (second series), London 1923, 23.

<sup>6</sup> W. Helck, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV, 726.

<sup>7</sup> W.R. Dawson, *JEA* 35 (1949), 163; W. Helck, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* IV, 707.

trustees, in 1876.<sup>1</sup> The translation by Breasted and the transcription by Erichsen<sup>2</sup> were based on this facsimile. Erichsen's transcription has been the standard publication referred to in the numerous subsequent discussions. In 1903, Erman had already published an essay in which he tried to explain the economic aspects of the document by analysing its many lists of endowments.<sup>3</sup> He was followed by Petrie in 1911.<sup>4</sup> The analysis made by Schaedel in 1936 is the most detailed and convincing study of the economic information offered by the papyrus; it received partial approval from Gardiner.<sup>5</sup> Recently, a monumental edition with photographs, translation and discussion of P. Harris I has been produced by Grandet,<sup>6</sup> and this work deals adequately with all previous studies of the document. It does not contain a new transcription; hence, the transcription by Erichsen is retained here as the principal means of referring to the original text. Reference is made not to text columns, as is usually done with texts written on papyrus, but to "pages": after its unrolling, Harris cut the papyrus into eighty separate sheets, which were glued onto sheets of cardboard (there being no text on the *verso* side of the papyrus). The "pages" or "plates" thus formed each contain one or two columns of text,<sup>7</sup> or a vignette; one page is empty.<sup>8</sup>

## § 2 - DATE, STRUCTURE, AND FUNCTION OF THE TEXT

### DATE

The text is dated, in its first line, to regnal year 32 of Ramesses III, third month of *šmw*, day 6, nine days before the accession of his son Ramesses IV on III *šmw* 15.<sup>9</sup> As Grandet assumes, the date of the text may be the day on which Ramesses IV became *de facto* ruler of Egypt, his father being no longer able to govern the land because of his illness.<sup>10</sup> From the prayers to the gods and the summons to the living on behalf of the new king, which form an intrinsic part of the document, it becomes clear that the composition of P. Harris I, or at least its final redaction, took place at the command of Ramesses IV.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> S. Birch, *Facsimile of an Egyptian Hieratic papyrus of the reign of Ramses III, now in the British Museum*, London 1876 (facsimile and translation).

<sup>2</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records IV*, 87-206 (§§ 151-412); Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*.

<sup>3</sup> Erman, *Erklärung*, 9-19.

<sup>4</sup> In: E.B. Knobel, W.W. Midgley, J.G. Milne, M.A. Murray, W.M.F. Petrie, *Historical Studies (British School of Archaeology in Egypt Studies II)*, London 1911, 1-6.

<sup>5</sup> Schaedel, *Listen*; A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 72 and 73.

<sup>6</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I*, vols. 1 and 2

<sup>7</sup> If a page contains more than one text column, the columns are referred to by a, b, or c after the page numbers. "32a, 1", for instance, means: page 32, column a, line 1.

<sup>8</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 26-28.

<sup>9</sup> J. Černý, *ZÁS* 72 (1936), 109-115; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 119-122.

<sup>10</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 120 and 121.

<sup>11</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 101 and 102.

## STRUCTURE

The main division of the document is into two parts: a long series of addresses by the king to the gods, supported by lists of benefactions (pages 1-74), an address (much shorter) to the living; and a speech by the king to the holders of the important offices in the realm (pages 75-79). The first page is an introduction to, and summary of, the entire text. The part devoted to the gods is divided into four sections. In the first one, the king addresses the Theban Triad (Amun, Mut, and Khonsu), and enumerates the buildings and endowments he has made for them (pages 3-23). Three similar sections follow, addressed to the gods of Heliopolis (pages 25-42), of Memphis (pages 44-56), and the gods worshipped in various temples throughout Egypt (pages 57-66). A section with the grand totals of all lists (pages 67-74) separates the addresses to the gods from the address to the living. This address narrates the major achievements, apart from the endowments for the gods, of the reign of Ramesses III and his father Setnakht.

## FUNCTION OF THE TEXT: PUBLIC DISPLAY?

Throughout the document, Ramesses III speaks as a deceased monarch who has joined the gods in the hereafter, although at the date mentioned in the first line of the text, the king may still have been among the living.<sup>1</sup> With the support of long lists of endowments to the principal temples of Egypt, he considers himself deserving of a good life in the Hereafter. More prominent, however, is his request for the gods' support for the reign of his successor, which leads us to assume that at least the final redaction of this document took place by order of Ramesses IV. In his lengthy discussion of the purpose of P. Harris I, Grandet argued that the entire text should be seen as an "instruction" (*enseignement*), in much the same spirit as the famous instruction of king Ammenemes I of the Twelfth Dynasty, which is also put in the mouth of a deceased pharaoh.<sup>2</sup> The historical circumstances might be comparable as well: like Ammenemes I, Ramesses III was probably the victim of a conspiracy in his own residential quarters—the so-called "harem-conspiracy". The parallelism of mood and historical background in the two texts as recognized by Grandet has much to recommend it, although the king's death may not have been connected directly with the conspiracy (investigation of his mummy has led to the conclusion that the king died of arteriosclerosis).<sup>3</sup> The conspiracy against Ramesses III (and IV?) was probably the work of a group of court members opposed to the rule of Ramesses III and/or to the succession by Ramesses IV. If so, the latter would have stood all the more in need of a legitimation with public consent. According to Grandet, this was exactly the function of the Great Harris Papyrus. In order to achieve this, the papyrus would even have been displayed in public as a giant poster, just like the Turin Judicial Papyrus, which records the trial of people involved in the harem conspiracy.

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<sup>1</sup> Grandet assumes that the designation "Pharaoh l.p.h.", which occurs three times in the Theban section, is still a reference to the living king, in contradistinction to "the Great God", which is used elsewhere in the text (*Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 121 with note 181).

<sup>2</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 118 and 119.

<sup>3</sup> Peden, *Ramesses IV*, 12 and 13; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 115 and 116.

The place of display would have been just behind the monumental gateway of the Medinet Habu temple precinct, on the outside of the north wall of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, where it could be read by anyone entering the temple in order to attend the funeral of Ramesses III.<sup>1</sup> After this public display, the text would then have been kept among the archives of the great Medinet Habu temple.<sup>2</sup>

By its audacity alone, this theory deserves close consideration. Whether or not papyri (even a 42m long document like the Great Harris Papyrus) were ever publicly displayed by attaching them to the walls of monumental buildings, instead of inscribing their texts on the surface of stone walls or stelae, like calendar-lists, royal decrees, and legal decisions on public or private matters (or, indeed, "instructions" like that of king Ammenemes I?),<sup>3</sup> cannot be proved. What I find even more difficult to believe is that the composers of P. Harris I sought public attention by displaying the entire text. Would people really read the endless series of prayers and lists, or even a portion of it, while on their way to attend a royal funeral, or at all? Exactly how "public" was the area behind the monumental gate at Medinet Habu, early in the Twentieth Dynasty? Finally, there is no indication whatsoever that the memorial temples of Western Thebes played a role in royal funerals (of course, this speaks neither in favour of the idea, nor against it).

Whereas Grandet's theory about the publication of the Great Harris Papyrus can still be given the benefit of the doubt, I seriously object to the assumption that the document would have been deposited in the temple archive of Medinet Habu. Struve's main argument for this idea was that P. Harris I was mentioned among other texts in P. Ambras, under the title: "memoranda (*sh3.w*) of the Temple of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma'atre Meriamun l.p.h. in the House of Amun".<sup>4</sup> Peet objected that the Great Harris Papyrus, being a list of benefactions to temples all over Egypt, could hardly have been referred to as specifically connected with the temple of Medinet Habu,<sup>5</sup> and with this objection I cannot but agree. Grandet argued that the official character of P. Harris I and the prominence of Ramesses III would make the document especially relevant for the Medinet Habu temple archive,<sup>6</sup> but notwithstanding the prominence of the king's memorial temple in the Theban section of the text, I fail to see any explicit connection between the temple in question and the document as a whole. Moreover, P. Harris I does not have the character of a legal document supporting the claims of the Medinet Habu temple, or those of any institution: in case any piece of temple property would be encroached on, the aggrieved institution could hardly refer to a text like this for its defence. The absence of specifications (geographical, personal, etc.) of lands, animals, personnel, goods, and income, as well as the practice of including items of different nature in grand totals, makes the texts entirely useless for legal or administrative purposes (although its lists have clearly been composed from

<sup>1</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 108 and 109, 122-127.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 5; argued already by V. Struve, *Aegyptus* 7 (1926), 40.

<sup>3</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 30 and 31, note 130; G. Posener, *Littérature et Politique dans l'Égypte de la XII<sup>e</sup> Dynastie*, Paris 1956, 85.

<sup>4</sup> P. Ambras 1, 6 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXXVIII); V. Struve, *Aegyptus* 7 (1926), 17.

<sup>5</sup> Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, 178 (note).

<sup>6</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 5.

administrative sources). For these reasons it seems to me highly unlikely that the Great Harris Papyrus really figures in the list of documents of P. Ambras, although this ancient “table of contents” no doubt included some of the papyri later acquired by Harris.

#### FUNCTION OF THE TEXT: A BURIAL ITEM?

The above argument leaves us without a satisfactory answer to the question whether and how the information and the message of P. Harris I were transmitted to their audience, and I must admit that I have no alternative to offer. A major problem in finding an answer is the division of the text into an address to the gods and one to prominent officials and priests on earth. The main address (in terms of length) is directed to the gods, who were certainly no negligible audience to the ancient Egyptian, and even less so to a dead king. Without reverting to Erman’s much-criticized theory that the papyrus was part of the funerary equipment of Ramesses III,<sup>1</sup> we may argue that this would actually have been a perfect way to make the text reach its main audience, the gods, in the hands of the person who appears in it as speaker. The idea of having his father and predecessor pleading for him with the gods would accord with other known emphatic addresses to the gods by Ramesses IV, in one of which he asks Osiris to grant him a reign twice as long as that of Ramesses II.<sup>2</sup> The specific references to earlier reigns, in order to add to his own glory, seem to be characteristic of this ruler. Erman’s theory would also account for the “monumental” character of P. Harris I, which arises from its length, the size of its characters, the vignettes, and the fact that the *verso* remained blank. Hölscher was of the same opinion as Erman, and added an interesting consideration. In the early Twenty-first Dynasty, Medinet Habu was the centre from which the reburial of the royal mummies was co-ordinated. Hieratic docketts on the coffins containing the mummies, as well as objects from the royal tombs found within the temple precinct, testify to this activity. If originally part of Ramesses III’s tomb-equipment, the Great Harris Papyrus may afterwards have been kept in the temple.<sup>3</sup> It may have ended up later, together with other papyri, in a plunderer’s cache in the neighbourhood.

On the other hand, Grandet rightly pointed out that the address to the living would remain unaccounted for in such a “funerary” theory.<sup>4</sup> One could of course argue that this address (pages 75-79), originally a separate text, was only later appended to the document (after its reading in public?),<sup>5</sup> but this is contradicted by the fact that the summons to be loyal to Ramesses IV (or the “instruction”, as Grandet has it) makes the

<sup>1</sup> Erman, *Erklärung*, 3. Followed by Breasted, *Ancient Records* IV, 88 and 89; Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 5. Cf. V. Struve, *Aegyptus* 7 (1926), 40; Schaedel, *Listen*, 68; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 102.

<sup>2</sup> The king’s stelae at Abydos (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 17-25; Peden, *Historical Inscriptions*, 151-174), and P. Turin Cat. 1882 (A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 41 (1955), 30, pls. VII-XI; idem, *JEA* 42 (1956), 8-20).

<sup>3</sup> Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu* V, 1 (note 2) and 5.

<sup>4</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 102.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 30 and 31, with table 8: it was not glued to the preceding section until the final assembly of the papyrus sheets.

address an intrinsic part of the master-plan behind the entire document. It is the same address to the living that will have been so important to Ramesses III's successor in his efforts to obtain the goodwill of Egypt's ruling class.

Whereas the twofold address (and hence, the twofold audience) leaves us uncertain about the ultimate function of the text, it is clear that it seeks to support the wish of Ramesses III to be received well by the gods after his death, as well as Ramesses IV's wish for a long and prosperous reign. We have good reason, therefore, to regard P. Harris I as an exhaustive report of the benefactions for the gods of Egypt accomplished during the reign of Ramesses III: the donations to temples already existing, and especially the founding of new temples and their estates. Some of the benefactions to the existing temples may have been the results of temple inspections, such as the one carried out by the chief archivist of the royal treasury Penpato in regnal year 15.<sup>1</sup> We have also seen that inscriptions of Ramesses III at Karnak and Medinet Habu testify to the donations of new offering-tables and the establishing of new offerings in regnal years 4, 6, 7, and 16.<sup>2</sup> There seems to be no reason, then, to doubt the veracity of the benefactions Ramesses III claims to have made for the gods, and of the lists of items and figures supporting these claims.<sup>3</sup> It is these data, taken from administrative sources, and the way that they are classified in the Great Harris Papyrus, that will be the object of the following sections of this chapter.

### § 3 - THE THEBAN TEMPLES AND THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS

#### THE SECTION ON THEBAN GODS AND TEMPLES

As has been said in the previous section, the longest part of the text (pages 2-66) is a series of addresses by Ramesses III to the gods, which is divided into four main sections, containing respectively the addresses to the gods of Thebes, Heliopolis, Memphis, and further cult-centres. All the sections have the same structure: after a vignette representing Ramesses III in front of the gods follows an address to these gods, including a report on the benefactions to their old and their newly founded temples. The section is continued by a series of lists specifying the institutions founded by Ramesses III (list a), the produce of the estates of these institutions (b), the additional supplies (*in.w*) for their benefit (c), and the offerings established for certain festivals (d-f; different for each section). The section is concluded by another address to the gods, mainly for the benefit of Ramesses IV. The totals of the lists of all sections are given in a separate section (pages 67-74). In view of the subject of the present study, only the first section, pertaining to the gods of Thebes, is of relevance to us. The prominence of this section is made clear by its position and by the amount of text devoted to it (20 pages, against 18 for Heliopolis, 13 for Memphis, and 10 for the remaining temples). It can also be

<sup>1</sup> See Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 95-98, as well as chapter III, § 1, pp. 94-95. Note, however, that none of the temples in which Penpato's name is actually attested (Tôd, El-Kâb, Edfu, Elephantine) is mentioned in P. Harris I.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter II, § 3 (pp. 62-68); chapter III, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 85-91.

inferred from the totals of provisions bestowed on the institutions recorded in the Theban section, which are often many times as much as those of the other cult centres.<sup>1</sup> The structure of the section can be summarized as follows:

vignette (page 2)

address to Amun, including a report of the king's endowments (3, 1 - 9, 9)

list a: the new foundations, their personnel, and their means of production (10, 1 - 11, 11)

list b: yearly revenues (*šzy.t, bzk.w*) of the temple estates (12a, 1 - 12b, 13)

list c: additional supplies (*in.w*) from the king (13a, 1 - 16b, 12)

list d: grain for the festival offerings (16b, 13 - 16b, 15)

list e: offerings for the yearly celebrations of the king's accession date and the festival of Opet (17a, 1 - 21b, 10)

list f: materials used for the production of statues (21b, 11 - 21b, 16)

concluding address to the gods (22, 1 - 23, 6)

This section and the following one will concentrate on the lists of the Theban section. Before interpreting the data given by these lists, however, we should pay some attention to the terms by which P. Harris I refers to the institutions benefiting from Ramesses III's endowments and donations. The interpretation of these terms is highly problematic, and hardly dealt with in previous studies on the Great Harris Papyrus. The main problems centre around the use of the word *pr* "house" as a possible reference either to temples or to administrative domains, and the word *sdf*. The following paragraphs are nothing more than some efforts towards an explanation.

#### THE EXPRESSION *pr* + GOD'S NAME IN LIST A

In the section of P. Harris I we are presently concerned with, Ramesses III informs the gods of Thebes about the temples, chapels, and towns newly founded for them.<sup>2</sup> These include four temples in the Theban area: (1) the royal memorial temple at Medinet Habu (3, 11; 10, 3; 12a, 1); (2) his repository temple in front of the House of Amonrasonter at Karnak (5, 4; 10, 5; 12a, 2); (3) a shrine at Luxor (5, 6-7; 10, 6; 12a, 3); (4) another Theban temple (probably the one near the temple of Mut at Karnak: 5, 7; 10, 4; 12a, 2). He also built a new temple for Khonsu (7, 13; 10, 13; 12a, 3), and founded a village and a temple in the north of Egypt (8, 2; 10, 12), and two temples in Nubian and Asian territories (8, 13; 9, 1). He built a number of temples (*r.w-pr.w*) to house divine statues in various parts of Egypt (9, 4-5). The foundations in Nubia and Asia do not occur in the list of temple properties (list a), but the one in northern Egypt and the statues in their various locations do, these being "on the *sdf* of the House of Amonrasonter" (on *sdf*, see below).

<sup>1</sup> See the amounts of land and personnel as compared by Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 89, table 22.

<sup>2</sup> See Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 235 and 236, with notes.

It is only list a (pages 10 and 11) that deals with the temples and the personnel assigned to them separately; the other lists record only the totals for all temples of this section together. This might give us the idea that the institutions mentioned within one section of P. Harris I were all part of one and the same administrative unit, a “divine domain”, as it is called by Grandet.<sup>1</sup> This idea appears to receive some support from the heading of list a, which refers to the equipment of the separate temples as resources given by the king to “the House (*pr*) of his noble father Amonrasonter, Mut, Khonsu, (and) all the Gods of Thebes” (10, 1 and 2; similarly in list c: 13a, 3).<sup>2</sup> The separate foundations (temples and herds) of Ramesses III as recorded in lines 3-11 would be part of this domain, as indicated by the phrase *m pr 'Imn* “in the House of Amun”. However, another foundation of the king in the same list (line 13) is called “House of Ramesses Ruler of On l.p.h. in the House of Khonsu”. Was the House of Khonsu a separate administrative “domain”?

The example of the Khonsu temple may be highlighted here—although it has nothing to do with the temples we are mainly interested in—because it is quite illustrative of the way P. Harris I uses the word *pr*. We know that the “House of Ramesses III in the House of Khonsu” (10, 13) is in fact nothing less than the Karnak temple of Khonsu itself.<sup>3</sup> The idea exists that the building of Ramesses III replaced an older temple of Khonsu, although it is not quite certain that it was erected in the same place.<sup>4</sup> As a new Ramesside temple, it would automatically receive the name of the founding king, with the extension *m pr Hnsw* indicating the temple’s principal deity.<sup>5</sup> But if this foundation of Ramesses III was the actual Khonsu temple, then what institution is referred to by the name “House of Khonsu in Thebes Neferhotep, Horus Lord of Joy” in the following line 14, as the recipient of a separate group of people? The Khonsu with this epithet appears to have been worshipped in the same temple of Ramesses III, according to inscriptions in parts later added to the building.<sup>6</sup> Then why do we find two separate entries in P. Harris I? Various explanations can be given. (1) The “temple” founded by Ramesses III was in fact nothing more than a series of rooms within the old temple of Khonsu, which was nevertheless considered a separate foundation with its own personnel of 294 people. Though perhaps not to be excluded altogether, the impression created by this hypothesis seems to be one of an unnecessary complexity. (2) Ramesses III built a new temple for Khonsu, bearing his own name, in the vicinity of the ancient House of Khonsu and

<sup>1</sup> *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 85-101; especially 92 and 93.

<sup>2</sup> Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 12 and 16.

<sup>3</sup> Scenes, inscriptions, and a stone pedestal of Ramesses III have been preserved in the back rooms of the temple: Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 240-242 and plan XXI (rooms V-XII). See also *Reliefs and Inscriptions I*, vii, note 9; Schaedel *Listen*, 30, no. 6; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 43, note 169.

<sup>4</sup> F. Laroche-Traunecker, in: *Cahiers de Karnak VII 1978-1981*, Paris 1982, 330-332; D. Arnold, *Die Tempel Ägyptens. Götterwohnungen, Kultstätten, Baudenkmäler*, Zürich 1992, 121.

<sup>5</sup> See Introduction, § 3, p. 25.

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. *Temple of Khonsu I*, pl. 7, col. 3. On the epithet, see Otto, *Topographie*, 31. See also chapter X, § 5, p. 330, note 5.

belonging to the latter's administrative "domain". There is no evidence, however, for the existence of two separate temples of Khonsu in the early Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>1</sup>

There is yet another possible explanation, which may account for the data presented by P. Harris I in a more adequate way. From the fact that the temple and its decoration were not finished by Ramesses III, we may deduce that the building was started late in the king's reign and continued by his successors.<sup>2</sup> Grandet considers lines 13 and 14 of list a as entries referring to one and the same temple,<sup>3</sup> which seems the best thing to do unless we allow for the possibility that there were actually two temples of Khonsu (*quod non*; see above). The best way to reconcile the archaeological data and the information of P. Harris I is to assume that earlier in his reign, Ramesses III donated a group of 247 people to the ancient temple of "Khonsu in Thebes (etc.)" (10, 14). Later, he built a new temple for Khonsu, replacing the earlier one and bearing the name "House of Ramesses III in the House of Khonsu". The new temple received a donation of 294 people (10, 13). It also took over the resources of the old Khonsu-temple, including the 247 people previously donated to that institution by Ramesses III, which, however, could not be claimed to be a donation to the king's newly founded temple. For this reason, the earlier donation of people is called a "remainder" (*sp*): 294 people were assigned to the "House of Ramesses III in the House of Khonsu", and 247 remaining people to the (earlier) "House of Khonsu" as such. As the composers of the Harris Papyrus wanted to give prominence to Ramesses III's new temple, the donation of people to that temple is mentioned first. The earlier donation to the temple of Khonsu comes in second place and is called, in retrospect, a "remainder".<sup>4</sup>

The "remainder" of people given to the temples of Amonrasonter, Mut, and Khonsu recorded in line 15 (here specified as Asian and Nubian war captives) can be explained similarly: they represent earlier donations by Ramesses III to the temples on the east bank of Thebes, before he built his own temples there (which of course did not actually replace the old temples of Amonrasonter and Mut, but gained prominence over these in Ramesses' endowment policy). As we have seen already in two previous chapters, the king's building-activity on the east bank began only later in his reign (probably not before the completion of his temple at Medinet Habu), but he began to make offering-endowments at Karnak quite early.<sup>5</sup> Similar situations probably also lie at the root of the entries on the temple of Ptah at Memphis, and that of Thoth in

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<sup>1</sup> Four temples of Khonsu seem to be recorded in P. Ashmolean 1945.94 + Louvre Af 6345 from the Third Intermediate Period (see chapter X, § 5, pp. 330-331). The three names sufficiently preserved, however, all show different epithets of Khonsu.

<sup>2</sup> See F. Laroche-Traunecker, in: *Cahiers de Karnak VII 1978-1981*, Paris 1992, 332-334; Grandet, *Ramsès III*, 254 and 255.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 254: "over five hundred people" must refer to the sum of the figures in lines 13 and 14.

<sup>4</sup> Alternatively, one might argue that 247 people were given to the administrative "domain" (*pr*) of Khonsu, and 294 to the foundation of Ramesses III within this domain (in this sense: Schaedel, *Listen*, 34, note 2). However, as the king's foundation was in all probability nothing else than the actual temple of Khonsu, this would mean that the administrative domain was entirely dissociated from the temple itself, which should in fact have been its centre.

<sup>5</sup> See chapter II, § 3; chapter III, § 1.

Hermopolis.<sup>1</sup> Breasted proposed “persons” (lit. “times”) as the translation of *sp*,<sup>2</sup> and Grandet translated “survivants”, to be understood as “war-captives”.<sup>3</sup> Although these translations of *sp* can be defended in themselves, the more basic meaning “remainder” would make its use appear much more relevant and consistent.

We have seen that the expression *m pr Ḥnsw* can hardly be a reference to an administrative domain incorporating the new Khonsu-temple of Ramesses III: as the “House of Ramesses III in the House of Khonsu” and the “House of Khonsu in Thebes Neferhotep (etc.)” were in fact the new and the old name for the same temple, the phrase “in the House of Khonsu” may rather be seen as an element of the temple’s new (Ramesside) religious name. By analogy, the same may apply to *m pr Ḥmn*. The names of many of the temples recorded in the Theban section end with this phrase.<sup>4</sup> Conventionally translated as “in the Domain of Amun”, it is generally understood as a reference to the administrative incorporation of the temple thus characterized.<sup>5</sup> It was pointed out in section 4 of the Introduction, however, that we are by no means obliged to understand *m pr Ḥmn* in this way. In her discussion of the word *pr* as it is used in the Wilbour papyrus, Menu saw the expression *pr Ḥmn* “House of Amun” as an administrative notion, distinct from the more elaborate, religious “House of Amonrasonter”.<sup>6</sup> However, the correspondence of certain types of entry in P. Wilbour (“*pš*-entries”) shows that both expressions may in fact refer to the same institution, which is the temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak.<sup>7</sup> In the Theban section of P. Harris I, the expressions *pr Ḥmn* and *pr Ḥmn-R<sup>c</sup> nswt ntr.w* also at first sight appear to convey different notions. *Pr Ḥmn* “House of Amun” is not used independently in list a, but only as an extension of temple names, whereas the longer expression “House of Amonrasonter” (*pr Ḥmn-R<sup>c</sup> nswt ntr.w*) occurs three times in the same list, but always independently (10, 12 and 15; 11, 2). In other words, as opposed to *pr Ḥmn*, *pr Ḥmn-R<sup>c</sup> nswt ntr.w* does not occur as an extension of the names of other temples. A similar distinction seems to exist between *pr Ḥnsw* (in the name of the new temple of Ramesses III) and *pr Ḥnsw m W3s.t Nfr-ḥtp Hr nb 3w.t-ib*. The same practice is followed in the Heliopolitan and Memphite sections. In the section devoted to the remaining temples, however, we see that the presence of divine epithets does not make any difference. In list a of that section, there are four cases in which *m pr* + god’s name + epithet is the

<sup>1</sup> 51a, 8 and 9; 61b, 3-5; Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 57 and 72; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 292 and 311.

<sup>2</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records* IV, 126 (with note a) and 184.

<sup>3</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 236 and 311; vol. 2, 54 (note 219).

<sup>4</sup> 5, 4 and 7 (address to Amun); 10, 3-11 (list a); 12a, 1-3 (list b).

<sup>5</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 228: “dans le domaine d’Amon”; Schaedel, *Listen*, 20 (with note 5): “im Tempelgut des Amun”.

<sup>6</sup> Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 8.

<sup>7</sup> See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 73 with note 7, and chapter X, § 1, p. 297.

extension of a temple name.<sup>1</sup> From this we may conclude that a more elaborate formula (i.e. one with divine epithets) could actually be used as an element in temple names. It is likely, therefore, that *pr Imn* in temple names is just an abbreviation of *pr Imn-R' nswt ntr.w*. When used by itself, such a name would refer to a separate institution; when incorporated in the longer name of a newly founded temple, it served to indicate the principal deity worshipped in that temple.

Let us return to the heading of list a, with its possible reference to a grand "domain" comprising the temples of all Theban gods: "the House of his noble father Amonrasonter, Mut, Khonsu, and all the Gods of Thebes" (10, 1 and 2). Whereas the new temples of Ramesses III "in the House of Amun" might still be regarded as incorporated in such a domain (although serious objections to this view have been raised in the previous paragraphs), it becomes difficult to do the same with the "House of Amonrasonter", the "House of Mut", and the "House of Khonsu" as separate units receiving personnel according to line 15. These units would thus seem to be subdivisions of the "Domain of Amonrasonter, Mut, Khonsu, and all the Gods of Thebes" in the heading of the list. Yet their names never show the extension *m pr Imn*. The houses of Mut and Khonsu also occur in the incense-lists in Eighteenth Dynasty tombs, on the same footing as the royal temples on the west bank, and the House of Amun itself.<sup>2</sup> These institutions seem to be on the same level of organization. No doubt, reference is simply made, in the incense-lists as well as in P. Harris I, to the temples of these deities, not to administrative "domains".

Are we thus to read *pr* in the heading of list a as semantically a plural, referring to the separate houses (or "domains", if one wishes) of Amun, Mut, Khonsu, and other Theban deities? Perhaps we should rather abandon the attempts to explain *pr* in its different contexts in P. Harris I in terms of administrative structures. The headings of lists a and c may as well use *pr* metaphorically, referring to Thebes as the "house" of its gods. The use of such a metaphor should not surprise us, as the Great Harris Papyrus, though using administrative data, is hardly of an administrative nature itself. Already in the introductory page, the four separate sections devoted to the gods and their temples are metaphorically referred to as "houses" (1, 3-6). Whereas the houses of the Theban, Heliopolitan, and Memphite deities could still be regarded as local domains actually embracing their different temples, the "House of his (the king's) noble fathers, the gods and goddesses of the South and the North" (1, 5 and 6), including the geographically scattered temples specified on pages 61 and 62, can hardly refer to a single administrative unit.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> 61a, 5 ("The Temple of Ramesses Ruler of On l.p.h. in the House of Osiris, Lord of Abydos"), 7 ("House of Ramesses Ruler of On l.p.h. in the House of Seth of Ombos"), 12 ("The Temple of Ramesses Ruler of On l.p.h. in the House of Min, Lord of Ipu"); 61b, 3 ("The Temple of Ramesses Ruler of On l.p.h. in the House of Thoth, Lord of Khemenu").

<sup>2</sup> See table 6.

<sup>3</sup> Note that Grandet translates a plural here: "(en faveur des) domaine(s) de ses pères augustes (...)" (*Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 221; not so, however, in the preceding lines, and in 10, 1 (*ibid.*, 235)).

THE EXPRESSION *pr pn*

Some remarks on the use of *pr pn* “this house” are required here as well. It occurs in two lines of list a, and in the heading of list b.<sup>1</sup> In all of these cases, Grandet translates: “this domain”, specifying this in 12a, 4 as “the domain of Amun”.<sup>2</sup> Now the expression *pr pn* is quite neutral in itself, and may refer to any type of institution.<sup>3</sup> Its first occurrence is in a reference to the personnel assigned to the Medinet Habu temple:

(page 10, line 3) The Temple of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaʿatre Meriamun I.p.h. in the House of Amun (*m pr ʿImn*), in the southern and the northern districts, under the authority of officials of temples of this house (*r ht sr.w r.w-pr.w pr pn*), equipped with everything: 62,626 heads.

One may wish to regard *m pr ʿImn* “in the House of Amun” as a reference to an administrative domain incorporating the newly founded memorial temple (*hw.t*), and to do the same with *pr pn* “this house”. The latter expression, however, may also refer to the memorial temple itself. The choice between these two options also depends on the interpretation of *sr.w r.w-pr.w pr pn*: are we to translate this as “officials of the temples of this house (domain)”, or as “temple-officials of this house (domain)”?<sup>4</sup> With the two variable factors thus involved in the translation of this passage, we can hardly hope to settle the question. It is obvious that in the following passage, *pr pn* can hardly refer to an institution mentioned in the line itself:

(page 10, line 16) Troop (called) “Usermaʿatre Meriamun I.p.h. Embellishing His Temple (*hw.t=f*) in the House of Amun (*m pr ʿImn*)”. Settled people (*rm grg.w*) he has given to this house (*pr pn*): 770 (head).

Reference is made here not to a specific temple or domain, but to a group of people, which cannot be referred to as “this house”. Alternatively, one might suggest that *pr pn* refers to “His Temple” (*hw.t=f*) or “the House of Amun” (*pr ʿImn*), but these two elements are embedded in the name of the troop; they would therefore make *pr pn* a rather playful kind of reference, if not an incorrect one.

The heading of list b mentions “the five herds created for this house” (*t3 5.t mnmn.w.t ʿry.t r pr pn*; 12a, 3 and 4) among the new foundations of Ramesses III. The herds in question are recorded separately in list a, where no attachment to a specific institution is made apparent: the royal names are those of the herds themselves (10, 7-11). From the use of the royal names, Helck deduced that the herds were attached to the

<sup>1</sup> 10, 3 and 16; 12a, 4 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 12-14).

<sup>2</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 235, 236, and 238.

<sup>3</sup> Introduction, § 3, p. 27; see the use of *pr pn* in the Medinet Habu calendar (chapter II, § 7, p. 81) and the Wilbour Papyrus (chapter X, pp. 286, 289 and 315).

<sup>4</sup> Cf. 12a, 2, which has *sr.w* only. Gardiner’s hypothesis, that *sr.w* specifically refers to state-officials as opposed to temple functionaries (*Wilbour papyrus II*, 22; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 51, note 207), cannot be correct; see chapter X, § 1, pp. 286-287.

temples mentioned previously: two herds for the temple at Medinet Habu, two for the repository temples in the precincts of Amonrasonter and Mut respectively, and one for the temple of Ramesses III at Luxor.<sup>1</sup> Whether this is correct or not,<sup>2</sup> it is clear that the resumption of the five herds as belonging to “this house” in 12a, 4 cannot refer to one of these temples specifically. Instead, it seems to indicate an institution incorporating the individual temples, or ultimately benefiting from their herds. Perhaps it even refers to the House of Amonrasonter at Karnak as the actual recipient of the herds, the names not being related to specific temples?

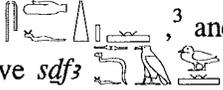
The way *pr pn* is used in the lists of P. Harris I is vague. If the expression refers to the same institution in all three of the passages discussed above, that institution must be one of central importance to the section as a whole. That is, the use of *pr pn* is strongly suggestive of an overall administrative unit incorporating, or benefiting from, the separate temples as recorded in list a. We should note, however, that the scribe made no effort to inform his audience explicitly on this point. It remains unclear how a supposed incorporation of temples would have been manifested in administrative practice: according to list a, the new temples received their own personnel, who do not seem to have been under the control of one single administrative unit: the people assigned to the temples at Medinet Habu and Karnak were under the authority (*r ht*) of unspecified (temple?) “officials” (lines 3-5); those of the Luxor temple were under the authority of the “high priest” (of this temple or that of Karnak? Line 6); the personnel of three herds were controlled by a steward called Piai, the vizier of the southern district, and an overseer of cattle called Kai respectively (lines 8, 10, and 11). A “house” of Ramesses III in the north of Egypt was “on the *sdf*” of the Karnak temple (line 12; see below). Insofar as these specifications refer to a level of administrative control outside the temples themselves, that control does not seem to have been exerted by a single person or administrative body, but by various people from different administrative spheres, as the reference to the vizier (line 10) clearly demonstrates. If *pr pn* nevertheless indicates a framework in which the separate temples of list a were embedded, it seems to be a resumption of the metaphorical “House of his noble father Amonrasonter, Mut, Khonsu, and all the Gods of Thebes” in the heading of the list.

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<sup>1</sup> Helck, *Verwaltung*, 175 and 176, note 7; followed by Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 52-54, notes 212-216.

<sup>2</sup> The theory accounts nicely for the names of the separate herds, but the numbers of personnel recorded for them give rise to some doubts: the two herds for the Medinet Habu temple (lines 7 and 8) together would have a group of “only” 1,084 people as their personnel, as against the 1,867 persons who are supposed to have worked for the one herd assigned to the small temple of Ramesses III at Karnak, according to line 9. This is all the more peculiar because the Medinet Habu temple received by far the largest share of temple personnel in list a; hence, we would expect it to have received the major share of the herds and their personnel as well. The total number of animals in 11, 5 (421,362) may in fact include separate donations to the temples, in addition to the herds specified. The personnel of the five herds totals 3,264 (10, 7-11). If the total of animals in 11, 5 is that of the same herds, every single member of their personnel would have had to take care of 130 animals!

THE WORD *sdf*

Five times in P. Harris I, it is stated that one institution is “on the *sdf*” of another; this may be the case with towns, cult-statues, temples, or their personnel.<sup>1</sup> The word *sdf* has been discussed at length by Gardiner.<sup>2</sup> It is invariably written ,<sup>3</sup> and can hardly be anything other than a later writing for the substantive *sdfꜣ*  as it occurs in the expression *hr sdfꜣ* “on the provision (?) of”. The earliest occurrence of this expression is in the inscription of the high steward Amenhotep, from the reign of Amenophis III. The later form *sdf* makes its first appearance in an inscription of Sethos I at Kanais. The Great Harris Papyrus, the Wilbour Papyrus (text A), and a private inscription are Twentieth Dynasty references. The old form *sdfꜣ* occurs again in the autobiographical text of Prince Osorkon (Twenty-second Dynasty) at Karnak. The word *sdf.t* in the Twenty-first Dynasty stela of Sheshonq, great chief of the Ma, probably has a meaning specifically connected with irrigation, but it may be related to the word *sdf* discussed here.<sup>4</sup> Before continuing the discussion of *sdf/sdfꜣ*, the passages referred to above—which together form the entire evidence for the administrative use of the term—may be given in translation.

a (statue of Amenhotep, col. 21) His Majesty caused this temple to be on the *sdfꜣ* of the temple of Ptah in all its documents, like those temples of those Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt that are beside His Father Amun in the Southern City (i.e. Thebes), it being under the authority of every steward of the King, (22) [and filled with] its offering-bread (*šns*) until eternity.<sup>5</sup>

b (inscription C of Sethos I at Kanais, column 15) As for any official who will advance this desire to his lord: to take away workmen (*hšb.w*) in order to put them on another *sdf* with a plan of an evil character: he is for the fire; may it burn his body, (and) for the flame; (16) may it eat his limbs.<sup>6</sup>

c (P. Harris I, page 10, line 12) The House of Ramesses Ruler of On l.p.h. Great of Victories, the town which Pharaoh l.p.h. made for You in the Northern District on the *sdf* of the House of Amonrasonter, saying: You are victorious since You have made it endure for ever and always.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 10, 12; 11, 2; 31, 4; 52a, 7. In 51a, 7 it has been omitted by mistake. See below for translations of the relevant passages, and references.

<sup>2</sup> *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 116-118.

<sup>3</sup> Erroneously rendered as \**srf* by Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 59, 5, and by Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* IV, 197, 16 (referring to different places: respectively 52a, 7 and 10, 12). Erman and Grapow connected it with *srf.t*, on which see Gardiner, *Onomastica* II, 218\* and 219\*; W.K. Simpson, *Papyrus Reisner I. The Records of a Building Project in the Reign of Sesostris I. Transcription and Commentary*, Boston 1963, 75 (no. 12).

<sup>4</sup> A.M. Blackman, *JEA* 27 (1941), 90, note 50: “dependent for water (on the well)” (the reference was brought to my attention by Prof. J.F. Borghouts).

<sup>5</sup> A.H. Gardiner, in: Petrie, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, 34, pl. LXXX; *Urkunden* IV, 1796, 9-12; *Übersetzung Hefte 17-22*, 261; R.G. Morkot, *JNES* 49 (1990), 328.

<sup>6</sup> Schott, *Kanais*, 155 (no. 25), pl. 19; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 69, 9-11.

<sup>7</sup> Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 13, 7-9; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 236; Schaedel, *Listen*, 50 and 51.

d (P. Harris I, page 11, line 1) Protected image(s) of *ib-ib(?)*-statues, for which the officials, standard-bearers, agents, and people of the land are working, (2) and which Pharaoh I.p.h. has put on the *sdf* of the House of Amonrasonter in order to protect them and to answer for them for ever and always: (3) 2,756 gods, making 5,164 persons.<sup>1</sup>

e (P. Harris I, page 31, line 4) People he (Ramesses III) has given to the House of Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, of On Re-Harakhty, who are on the *sdf* of the Temple under his authority.<sup>2</sup>

f (P. Harris I, page 51a, line 7) People he (Ramesses III) has given to the House of Ptah the Great, South of His Wall, Lord of Ankhtawy, who are on the <*sdf*> of the Temple under the authority of the Chief Supervisor of Craftsmen (and of) officials.<sup>3</sup>

g (P. Harris I, page 52a, line 4) Gold, silver, true lapis lazuli, true turquoise, and every noble kind of valuable stone, copper, black copper, (5) garments of royal linen, *mk*-cloth, fine thin cloth, thin cloth, and garments of smooth (?) cloth, jars, cattle, fowl, everything (6) that King Userma'atre Meriamun I.p.h., the Great God, has given as *in.w* of the Lord I.p.h. to (7) the House of Ptah the Great, South of His Wall, Lord of Ankhtawy, (and to) the temples of its *sdf*, from regnal year 1 to regnal year 31, making 31 years.<sup>4</sup>

h (P. Wilbour *recto*, text A, column 29, line 17) [Domain of this house (= the Theban memorial temple of Ramesses IV)] on the *sdf* of the Temple of Pharaoh I.p.h. in the House of Amun (= the Theban memorial temple of Ramesses V) (18) [...] the chapel (*hnw*) of Montu that is in the village of Inroyshes.<sup>5</sup>

i (statue of Amenmose, right half of base, line 2) I was overseer of work(s) <in> Those-of-Amun-Re at the Western River, after it had been a (mere) lake. I made it <into> temples and shrines on the *sdf* of the House of Amun.<sup>6</sup>

j (autobiographical text of Prince Osorkon at Karnak, column 39) A decree is made in my name as High Priest of Amonrasonter, Osorkon, in order to provide for the House of Amonrasonter, [the House of Mut the Great, Mistress of Isheru], the House of [Khon]su in [Thebes] Nefer[hotep], (40) the House of Mon[tu], Lord of Thebes, the *ip.t* of Ma'at, the temples (*hnw.w.t r.w-pr.w*) of its *sdf*[*ḥ*], in order to let them be in accordance with their status (*ḥ*); in order to give an increase of what has been made (before) of food and offerings for them for the length of eternity forever; in order to organize (*ts*) their people, their herds, their fields (*ihw.t*), (41) enduring according to their ordinance.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 14, 1-4; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 236. For *sšm ḥwi(.w) twt.w ib-ib.w* (?) as one single expression referring to a number of statues of the same type, see Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 55-57 (note 222).

<sup>2</sup> I.e. on the *sdf* of the royal memorial temple and under the authority of the Great One of Seers (the Heliopolitan high priest), both mentioned in the foregoing line. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 36, 7 and 8; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 266.

<sup>3</sup> Reference is made again to the royal memorial temple and the local high priest (see previous note). Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 57, 11 and 12; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 292.

<sup>4</sup> Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 59, 2-6; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 294.

<sup>5</sup> Gardiner, *Papyrus Wilbour I*, pl. 13 (§ 62); II, 116-118, 133; III, 30. See chapter X, § 2, pp. 307-308.

<sup>6</sup> A. Hamada, *ASAE* 47 (1947), 19 (2), pls. III and IV (b); Gardiner, *JEA* 34 (1948), 19, 20, and 22; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 416, 6-8.

<sup>7</sup> *Reliefs and Inscriptions III*, pl. 16; R.A. Caminos, *The Chronicle of Prince Osorkon (Analecta Orientalia 37)*, Rome 1958, 54-56; Helck, *Materialien III*, (443) and (444).

From these references we learn that temples, people, towns, statues, and agricultural domains could be on the *sdf* of an institution. The institution in question may be a deity's main local temple (the Memphite temple of Ptah in a and g; the temple of Amun at Kanais in b;<sup>1</sup> the House of Amonrasonter at Thebes in c, d, i and j), but also a royal memorial temple (the temples of Ramesses III at Heliopolis (e) and Memphis (f); of Ramesses V at Thebes in h). In other words, the main temple of a god and the royal temple associated with the same god both had their *sdf*.<sup>2</sup>

From the use of the verb *sdfz* "to provide" (someone/something *m* "with"), which is also used with a temple as a direct object,<sup>3</sup> we might infer that the substantive *sdfz/sdf* in the above passages refers to the (material) provision of temples as well.<sup>4</sup> However, although this material notion may be relevant, it can hardly be the only meaning of the word. The text of the steward Amenhotep (a) stresses rather the administrative implications of the term by adding the phrase "in all its documents" (*m drf-s nb*). One of the passages from P. Harris I (d) is even more explicit on this point: the fact that the endowments of (privately founded) statue-cults were put on the *sdf* of the House of Amonrasonter clearly meant that they were under the responsibility of that temple, as expressed by the words *nht* "to protect" and *wšb* "to answer". The passage from the text of Osorkon (j) contains more or less the same message, but it is clearly concerned with material affairs as well. *Sdf* thus seems to refer to a type of administrative responsibility for temples, towns, statue-cults, people, and their material provision.<sup>5</sup> *Sdf* cannot stand for the supreme or exclusive administrative authority over one institution by another: the inscription of Amenhotep (a) and two passages from the Great Harris Papyrus (e and f) inform us that a temple, or temple personnel, could be on the *sdf* of another temple, but they were "under the authority" (*r ht*) of a royal steward or a high priest, that is, under the authority of a high functionary who was not attached to the responsible temple in the *sdf*-relationship. We have met with the administrative authority over temple herds by external officials, as expressed by *r ht*, earlier in this section.

We now know that an institution or its personnel (or even its agricultural domains, according to P. Wilbour) could be administratively dependent in two ways: dependent on an (external) priest or official, as indicated by *r ht*, or dependent on another institution, as expressed by *hr sdf*. Whereas the former seems to refer to a supreme administrative authority, the latter rather implies an administrative and material responsibility, especially where temple personnel are concerned. Gardiner's hypothesis that these were paid from the resources of the temple on the *sdf* of which they were placed,<sup>6</sup> may not be entirely warranted by the scanty evidence at our disposal. Yet it

<sup>1</sup> See Schott, *Kanais*, 178 and 179.

<sup>2</sup> See Helck, *Materialien* I, (8) and (9), for the same distinction.

<sup>3</sup> Examples: *Urkunden* IV, 750, 14; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 319, 14; 321, 2.

<sup>4</sup> In this sense Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 330 and 331, with note 183.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Helck, *Materialien* I, (9): "verwaltungsmäßige Oberaufsicht"; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 54, note 217: "dépendance économique-administrative".

<sup>6</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 117.

would well account for the situation twice referred to in P. Harris I (e and f), where personnel assigned to the main local temples in Heliopolis and Memphis were put on the *sdf* of newly founded royal “Temples of Millions of Years”. Gardiner had difficulties in pursuing this line of thought for the text he was mainly concerned with, the Wilbour Papyrus (h), but the same reconstruction might be considered there as well: the personnel administering (or even cultivating?) the fields of the domain in question could have been provided for materially by the newly founded temple of Ramesses V, on the *sdf* of which the domain had apparently been placed. That it is the new royal memorial temples in particular that appear in this context should not surprise us: as we have seen in chapters II and III, the Twentieth Dynasty memorial temples at Thebes were quite wealthy institutions, considerable contributions from which were required for the offering-cult in the main temple of Amun at Karnak.<sup>1</sup>

Helck objected to Gardiner’s theory. He found it hard to believe that the personnel of the town founded by Ramesses III in northern Egypt (c) received payment from the Karnak temple of Amonrasonter, and proposed to regard *hr sdf* here as a reference to administrative subordination.<sup>2</sup> But it is exactly this example that allows a more specific interpretation. An earlier passage in P. Harris I makes it clear that the gardens (called *K3-n-Km.t*) attached to this town shipped their products (olive-oil and wine) to Thebes.<sup>3</sup> Assuming that the temple of Amonrasonter was the (main) destination of these products, it takes only a little step to regard the gardeners of *K3-n-Km.t* as employees of that temple, which implies that they were also paid by it, although this should probably be understood in such a way that the gardeners lived partly from the produce of the gardens owned by the Karnak temple, and partly from local stores of grain belonging to the same institution.<sup>4</sup> Gardiner’s theory can therefore be maintained for example (c).

Helck regarded the phrases *hr sdf* and *m pr Imn* as references to the same administrative construction. This view would seem to receive support from the heading of list c in the Memphite section of P. Harris I (reference g), according to which *in.w* were assigned by the king to “the House of Ptah the Great, South of His Wall, Lord of Ankhtawy, (and) to the temples of its *sdf* (*r.w-pr.w sdf=f*)”. Are the temples and herds of Ramesses III “in the House of Ptah”, as specified in list a of the same section, included here? The corresponding headings in the Theban and Heliopolitan sections mention only “the House of his noble father Amonrasonter, Mut and Khonsu” and “Atum, Lord of the Two Lands, of On, Re-Harakhty” respectively,<sup>5</sup> so we cannot be sure whether the royal supplies in these lists were meant also for the new foundations of Ramesses III, or only for the main local temple. The expression “temples of its *sdf*” in

<sup>1</sup> See chapter II, § 3; chapter III.

<sup>2</sup> Helck, *Materialien* I, (8).

<sup>3</sup> 8, 5-7 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 10, 5-10; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 231).

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, O. Gardiner 86, which contains a report on a large, newly built granary of Amun in the vicinity of Memphis: Černý, Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pls. LXXXI and LXXXII; Helck, *Materialien* III, (467) and (468); Wentz, *Letters*, 118 and 119).

<sup>5</sup> 13a, 3 and 33a, 3 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I* 16, 4 and 5; 38, 4; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 239 and 268).

the Memphite list is closely paralleled by the heading of the preceding list b, which mentions the “temples of this house” (*r.w-pr.w pr pn*).<sup>1</sup> These temples, however, are distinguished from the new foundations of Ramesses III mentioned in the same heading. For these reasons, we cannot be certain whether the temples on the *sdf* of the House of Ptah included the new foundations of Ramesses III, among them his memorial temple, or whether they included only minor foundations that fell under the administrative responsibility of the great temple of Ptah at Memphis. Likewise, we do not know exactly which institutions were included among the temples (*hw.w.t* and *r.w-pr.w*) on the *sdfz* of the Amun temple according to the inscription of Prince Osorkon (j).

That the expressions “on the *sdf* of the House of Amun” and “in the House of Amun” refer to the same sort of administrative attachment, as Helck presumed, even seems to be contradicted by the passage in P. Harris I on the newly founded delta town (c), which is said to be on the *sdf* of the House of Amonrasonter, although its name does not contain the element *m pr Imn*, either in the passage translated, or in page 8, line 2 of the same document.<sup>2</sup> Together with the above considerations, this should prevent us from regarding the two expressions as equivalents. The memorial temples of Ramesses III, for instance, are never said to be on the *sdf* of another temple. Although we cannot entirely exclude the possibility that they actually were (just like the royal memorial temples in the Eighteenth Dynasty inscription of Amenhotep, reference a), this seems less likely in view of the fact that the memorial temples at Heliopolis and Memphis themselves had personnel of the great temples of Atum-Re-Harakhty and of Ptah on their *sdf* (e and f). A hypothetical reconstruction in which the memorial temples in their turn were on the *sdf* of the temples of Atum and Ptah would make their situation (and that of the workforce) rather complex. It seems that, although a new temple foundation of the king “in the House of” a deity might also be “on the *sdf*” of that deity’s main temple, the one type of designation does not necessarily imply the other. In view of the considerations given in this section, it seems best not to label any temple with the element *m pr Imn* in its name as administratively attached to the House of Amun, unless it is explicitly referred to as such by the term *sdf/sdfz*.

#### § 4 - THE LISTS OF THE THEBAN SECTION

##### INTRODUCTION

The economic aspects of P. Harris I, and its lists in particular, have been discussed by Erman, Petrie, Schaedel, and Helck.<sup>3</sup> The lists of the section on the temples of Theban deities provide useful information on the economy of these temples. When evaluating the information of the lists, however, we have to bear in mind that they are concerned

<sup>1</sup> 51b, 5 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I* 58, 8; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 293).

<sup>2</sup> See Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 10, 1.

<sup>3</sup> Erman, *Erklärung*, 10-19; Petrie, in: E.B. Knobel, W.W. Midgley, J.G. Milne, M.A. Murray, W.M.F. Petrie, *Historical Studies (British School of Archaeology in Egypt Studies II)*, London 1911, 1-6; Schaedel, *Listen*, 14-67; Helck, *Materialien*, passim.

mainly with the new endowments of Ramesses III,<sup>1</sup> and that it is impossible to infer from this text what was the extent of the properties and revenues of all Theban temples (including the older ones) together. By the theory of administrative incorporation of new temple foundations in greater “domains” (such as the “Domain of Amun”), it has nevertheless been assumed that the old temples were the ultimate beneficiaries of the endowments of Ramesses III, which would have served as a compensation for the losses of temple property during the troubled period at the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty or because of the wars of Ramesses III.<sup>2</sup> The historical background lends some credibility to this view, and indeed, the lists also record donations to the already existing temples (such as the personnel assigned to the old temples of Amonrasonter, Khonsu, and Mut; see above, section 3). In the previous section, however, we have seen that it is far from certain that all new endowments of Ramesses III were indeed incorporated administratively within the “domains” of existing temples. Therefore it seems best to regard them as separate foundations. This does not mean that their resources were not at the disposal of older temples: even without specific reference to administrative incorporation, one temple could be obliged to supply materials to another by royal decree.<sup>3</sup>

#### PERSONNEL AND RESOURCES ASSIGNED TO OLD AND NEW FOUNDATIONS: LIST A

The first list of the Theban section is announced as follows:<sup>4</sup>

(page 10, line 1) List of things, livestock,<sup>5</sup> gardens,<sup>6</sup> fields, ships, shipyards<sup>7</sup> and towns, which Pharaoh I.p.h. gave to the House of His Noble Father (2) Amonrasonter, Mut and Khonsu, and all the gods of Thebes, as property (*imy(.t)-pr*) for ever and always.

This is a list of temple property, as is indicated by the word *im.y(.t)-pr*.<sup>8</sup> The word is written here with , apparently as additional determinatives; they are absent in all

<sup>1</sup> Schaedel, *Listen*, 31 (for list a); A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 72; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 59 and 60.

<sup>2</sup> Schaedel, *Listen*, 68-73; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 91-95. Grandet's idea (*ibid.*, 95-101), that the temple inspections by Penpato (see chapter III, § 1, pp. 94-95, and p. 161 above) should also be seen in the context of Ramesses III's restoration policy, is attractive. It should be noted, however, that with the possible exception of Karnak, none of the temples where Penpato left his inscriptions (Tôd, El-Kab, Edfu, Elephantine) appears in P. Harris I, although the papyrus seems to refer explicitly to this or other inspections (see L.-A. Christophe, *ASAE* 55 (1958), 19). It would seem that the Upper-Egyptian temples visited by Penpato were left without any new endowments, although one of the aims of the inspection was “to double the divine offering in excess of what was before” (Edfu inscription).

<sup>3</sup> See chapter II, § 3; chapter III.

<sup>4</sup> P. Harris I 10, 1 and 2; Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 12; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 235.

<sup>5</sup> It follows from the totals recorded in 20a, 11; 20a, 16; 20a, 17 (list of festival offerings) that *is.t* may include cattle, as well as antelopes, ibexes and gazelles. Birds and fish are not included. In this list (11, 5), cattle and *is.t* are mentioned separately, but their totals have been combined.

<sup>6</sup> The Heliopolitan list has *šnw* “orchards” after *kꜣm.w*. Orchards are also mentioned in the Theban list (11, 6).

<sup>7</sup> Or more generally “carpenter's workshops” (Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 51, note 203).

other instances of the word in P. Harris I.<sup>1</sup> They may have been added here by mistake, or because the list is concerned mainly with people assigned to the temple estates. The total of people amounts to 86,486 (11, 4). About three-quarters of these, or 62,626 persons, were given to the royal memorial temple at Medinet Habu (10, 3). This seems an almost incredible number for one temple, even if we assume that not all of them were assigned to it at the same moment, but there seems to be no reason to assume that part of this enormous group in fact belonged to other institutions.<sup>2</sup> These people, like those assigned to the two following temples, were working throughout Egypt (“in the southern and northern districts”). The remaining quarter of the total number of people were divided among other Theban temples and the herds assigned to the House of Amun by Ramesses III. Among these are groups of foreign captives, no doubt taken during the wars of Ramesses III: the old temples of Amonrasonter, Mut and Khonsu together received a group of 2,607 Syrians and Nubians (10, 15), while one of the herds had a workforce consisting of 971 Meshwesh (10, 8). Now the total of prisoners taken during the king’s Libyan war of regnal year 11 amounted to 2,052,<sup>3</sup> and the Meshwesh referred to in list a might already represent half of this group. It is not impossible that the other groups of people in this list also include war captives, but it is unlikely that prisoners formed a substantial part of the total of personnel donated: most of the people “given” by the king must have been Egyptians re-allocated, perhaps together with the fields they had already been cultivating for years, to become the employees of the new temples founded by Ramesses III. The total of personnel (11, 4) is followed by the quantities of livestock, fields, ships, shipyards, and towns. The “towns” (*dmi.w*) might have been settlements of (foreign) temple workers in Thebes, just like the “Syrian towns” mentioned by Amenophis III,<sup>4</sup> or towns located in countries conquered by the Egyptians, and assigned to Theban temple estates.

Were all people assigned working on the newly endowed fields? In order to answer this question, we must compare the area of the donated land with the total of personnel. The corresponding numbers in the other sections show that there can be no fixed relationship between these totals:

section	number of persons	land (in <i>aroura</i> ) <sup>5</sup>
Thebes	86,486	864,168
Heliopolis	12,963	160,084
Memphis	3,079	10,154
remaining temples	5,686	36,012

<sup>8</sup> See Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 31, note 131; Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 311.

<sup>1</sup> 8, 2; 9, 2; 31, 2; 51a, 2.

<sup>2</sup> See Schaedel, *Listen*, 27 and 28, and Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 11, against Breasted’s assumption that the property recorded for the temple of Medinet Habu included that of the temple at Karnak (*Ancient Records IV*, 107-109).

<sup>3</sup> See Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 53, 6.

<sup>4</sup> See the discussion of stela Cairo CG 34025 in chapter I, p. 40.

<sup>5</sup> One *aroura* is 2756.5 sq.m., or about one quarter of a hectare; see table 11.

The ratio of people to land is approximately 1:10 for Thebes, 1:12 for Heliopolis, 1:3 for Memphis, and 1:7 for the remaining temples. It is therefore unlikely that all persons assigned were agricultural workers; some of them must have been put to other tasks. Many people may have been working in the gardens, ships, shipyards, etc. The total probably also included officials or administrators. People taking care of the donated cattle are listed separately (10, 7-11).

Could the new personnel at least be supported by the revenues of the donated land? Schaedel assumed that the numbers of personnel donated represent only male workers, who had to provide for themselves and for their families.<sup>1</sup> If this is true, the land given to the Theban and Heliopolitan temples must still have been amply sufficient for the sustenance of their new personnel, but this cannot have been the case for Memphis and the remaining temples. Now the land donated is referred to by the word "fields" (*ꜥh.w.t*), that is, arable land reserved mainly for the cultivation of grain. Proceeding from 10 sacks as the average yield of one *aroura*,<sup>2</sup> and  $12 \times 5\frac{1}{2} = 66$  sacks of wheat and barley as the yearly requirement of a family,<sup>3</sup> only 570,808 *aroura* would have been required for the sustenance of new temple personnel at Thebes, and 85,556 *aroura* at Heliopolis. These figures comfortably remain below the totals of P. Harris I (see above). For Memphis, however, 20,321 *aroura* would have been necessary, and for the remaining temples 37,528 *aroura*, which in both cases is more than the area donated. If the totals of people include the workmen's families, on the other hand, the fields donated to the Memphite and other temples must also have been capable of supporting all personnel listed (proceeding from 12 sacks of grain yearly for each person), still leaving an ample surplus:

section	theoretical produce (in sacks)	consumed by personnel	surplus
Thebes	8,641,680	1,037,832	7,603,848
Heliopolis	1,600,840	155,556	1,445,248
Memphis	101,540	36,948	64,592
remaining temples	360,120	68,232	291,888

<sup>1</sup> Schaedel, *Listen*, 56 and 57; followed by Baer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 42 and 43; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 88 and 89.

<sup>2</sup> P. Valençay 1 vs., 7-9, records 40 *hꜥr* of barley as the amount required after the cultivation of 4 *aroura* of an unspecified type of land: A.H. Gardiner, *RdÉ* 6 (1951), 117. According to the assessments of P. Wilbour, 10 *hꜥr* is obtained from 1 *aroura* of *nꜥh*-land, and this figure agrees well with Egyptian crops at the beginning of this century (K. Baer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 30). One sack (*hꜥr*) is 76.88 litres; see table 11.

<sup>3</sup>  $5\frac{1}{2}$  sacks (1 sack (*hꜥr*) = 76.88 l) was the usual monthly payment of the workmen at Deir el-Medina; this may have been more than enough for the sustenance of a family consisting of 10 persons, including children (Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 463; see also chapter II, § 6, p. 80). Such a "family" will also have included aged persons. Besides, the workman's income probably also covered other expenses.

Schaedel and Baer produced similar calculations in order to support the theory that only male personnel is represented by the figures of P. Harris I. Both authors, however, disregarded the considerable differences of proportions between the separate sections.<sup>1</sup> As their calculations were based only on the grand totals in the last section of P. Harris I, the resulting figures have a very limited value. The same can be said, of course, for the interpretation proposed here, although the separate calculations made here for each section provide a basis for reconstruction that is a little more precise. It would need a drastic modification if we had the figures for the endowments of the separate temples. In any case, the figures in the above table show that there was no one-to-one relationship between the amounts of land and personnel assigned.

One might object that an individual consumption of 12 sacks yearly (1 sack per month) is perhaps too liberal a basis for calculation. Another possible approach to the matter is to compare the nutritional value of hypothetical yearly crops with individual yearly needs in calories. Basic information in this respect is provided by Miller in an analysis of Egyptian ration-texts.<sup>2</sup> If we proceed from 3,000 kcal as the individual daily requirement,<sup>3</sup> the fields donated to the Memphite temples, if all sown with emmer or barley, would be able to sustain about 18,000 people.<sup>4</sup> Each of the 3,079 hypothetical male workmen listed in P. Harris I, 51a, 10, would thus be able to provide for himself, as well as for a small household consisting of five other persons, but only if no other expenses existed than those of the basic food. Moreover, this pattern of sustenance would have been possible only if all fields were indeed sown with cereals, and if the production of 10 sacks were constant through the years. The main objection to this hypothesis, however, is that the revenues of the temple estates would then have been

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<sup>1</sup> Assuming that 1 *feddan* (4,200 sq. m.; about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *aroura*) of arable land amply provided for a peasant family, Schaedel argued that  $\frac{6}{7}$  of the crop still remained for the temples after subtracting the food for their personnel (*Listen*, 53). This result is obtained by multiplying the total number of *aroura* in list a of the section of grand totals (67, 8) by 2,735 (number of sq.m. in one *aroura*), dividing the result by 4,200 (= 1 *feddan*, the area needed to sustain one person), and again by the number of personnel recorded. However, Schaedel's ratio of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *aroura* (with an ideal crop of 15 sacks) for the sustenance of an entire family seems severe. His calculation, moreover, is based on the total of fields donated to all temples. In fact, the sustenance of personnel would require only  $\frac{1}{7}$  of the crop of the newly endowed lands at Thebes, and  $\frac{1}{12}$  of that at Heliopolis, whereas it would demand as much as  $\frac{1}{2}$  of the crop at Memphis, and an average of  $\frac{1}{4}$  in case of the remaining temples. K. Baer (*JARCE* 1 (1962), 42) concluded that each person's sustenance required 2 *aroura*, assuming that the total of people involved (workmen with their families) was about 500,000, and that all donated fields in P. Harris were meant to provide for their needs. Like Schaedel, however, he disregarded the proportions as recorded in the separate sections. If all persons recorded were workmen who each had to feed a wife and three children, then every separate workman had 2 *aroura* at his disposal on the Theban temple estates, even 2.5 *aroura* in the Heliopolitan, but on the Memphite estates people would have to be content with only 0.7, and on those of the remaining temples with 1.3 *aroura* on the average.

<sup>2</sup> *JESHO* 34 (1991), 257-269.

<sup>3</sup> 2,000 kcal being a minimum, 3324 kcal a "satisfactory amount for individual consumption"; R.L. Miller, *JESHO* 34 (1991), 258 and 260.

<sup>4</sup> An area of 10,154 *aroura* would produce 101,540 *h̄sr* or 7,806,395 litres, in barley 5,503,509 kilogrammes. On a daily basis this is 15,078 kg of barley, the nutritional value of which is 54,280,801 kcal, which is enough for 18,094 people requiring 3,000 kcal each.

used only for the maintenance of their personnel, not leaving any means of covering such basic requirements as divine offerings (ultimately to the benefit of priests), wages of the higher administrators, and food for the temple herds.

It should also be noted that the calculations of Schaedel and Baer are based on the requirements of a nuclear family, consisting of five persons on the average (man, wife, and three children). This approach, I think, is not correct. It seems more likely that the temple cultivators had to provide for larger "peasant households" with extended families, also including elderly people, and perhaps non-agricultural dependents. The expenses of the household, moreover, were not restricted to daily food, but included seed for the next year's crop, food for animals, and "ceremonial funds" for the maintenance of community relationships.<sup>1</sup>

Because of the above considerations, it seems likely that the personnel assigned to the newly established estates as recorded in list a includes women, children, and aged persons as well as male workmen. Although the enormous areas donated in the Theban and Heliopolitan sections do not exclude the contrary hypothesis, the much more modest endowments for Memphis and the provincial temples would not have been able to sustain the workmen's families, if these were not included in the numbers recorded, and to provide for the temples' other requirements at the same time.

It would seem, then, that the Theban and Heliopolitan temples had far greater surpluses at their disposal for the offering-cult or other purposes than other Egyptian temples. But does the "excess" of land assigned to Thebes and Heliopolis really imply a greater surplus of production? At this point I take the liberty to run ahead of the discussion of the documents in this and the preceding chapters, and to anticipate the observations that will be made with regard to an administrative papyrus in Part Two of this book. As we will see in chapter X, text A of the Wilbour Papyrus shows that temple fields were organized into two different types of "domains" (*rmny.t*): non-apportioning domains, which were cultivated and administered by the temples' own personnel, and "apportioning" ones, from which the temples received only a very modest portion of the crops.<sup>2</sup> The latter type of domain consisted of fields that were hired out for cultivation to other institutions or (in most cases) to individual holders, who paid a small share of the crop (usually 1½ sacks per *aroura*, and this only for a small part of each particular parcel) to the temple. Such apportioning domains made up a substantial part of temple land, but the revenues from them were, not surprisingly, relatively small.<sup>3</sup> Now we can hardly do otherwise than assume that a substantial part of the land assigned by Ramesses III to the temples of Thebes and Heliopolis consisted in fact of such apportioning domains, worked by people who were not temple employees, and providing only modest amounts of grain for the temples.

The assumption that a considerable part of the land assigned to the temples by Ramesses III consisted of hired-out fields sheds a different light on the administrative background of the allocations of list a. From the Wilbour Papyrus it appears that the

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<sup>1</sup> See Wolf, *Peasants*, 61-73.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter X, § 1, pp. 291-294.

<sup>3</sup> See the relative proportions of revenues from the apportioning and non-apportioning domains of the Theban temples in tables 8 and 9.

fields of apportioning temple domains cultivated by private individuals often remained in the hands of the same families for some time.<sup>1</sup> This means that the shared fields presumably included in the land granted to the temples according to P. Harris I may very well have remained in the hands of the same private holders after they had been reassigned by Ramesses III. The situation can be explained in other words as follows. For some generations, a certain field might have been held and cultivated by the same family, who yearly paid a small portion of the crop to the institution that actually owned the land. By a decision of Ramesses III, this particular field came to be assigned, together with numerous other fields, to a newly founded temple. In practice this did not change the position of the field and its holders, except for the fact that the yearly payment was now to be made to another institution.

Although this means that the assignment of land to new temples was in many cases not more than a paper arrangement, we should not take the administrative operations involved too lightly. After all, according to the section of grand totals in P. Harris I, the total surface of land reassigned by Ramesses III was 1,071,780 *aroura*, or almost 3,000 square kilometres, 864,168 *aroura* (or 2,382 km<sup>2</sup>) of which were given to the Theban temples alone. With an estimated total extent of cultivable land of 16,500 to 22,400 square kilometres in Ramesside Egypt,<sup>2</sup> the land reassigned by Ramesses III would make up 13 to 18 per cent of the agricultural land available. Quite an operation!

#### THE YEARLY PRODUCE OF TEMPLE ESTATES: LIST B

The second list is concerned with the regular revenues of the new temples:<sup>3</sup>

(page 12a, line 1) Items of contributions (*šzy.t*) and produce (*bšk.w*) of all *smd.t*-people<sup>4</sup> of the Temple of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma'atre Meriamun I.p.h. in the House of Amun, (2) in the southern and northern districts, under the authority of the officials, (of) the House of Userma'atre Meriamun I.p.h. in the House of Amun at Thebes, (of) the House of Ramesses Ruler of On I.p.h. in the House of Amun, (3) (of) the Temple of Ramesses Ruler of On I.p.h. United-with-Joy in the House of Amun of Opet, (of) the House of Ramesses Ruler of On I.p.h. in the House of Khonsu, (and of) the five herds (4) created for this house, which King Userma'atre Meriamun I.p.h., the Great God, gave to their treasuries, storehouses, and granaries<sup>5</sup> (5) as their yearly allowance (*htr-rnp.t*).

<sup>1</sup> See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 76.

<sup>2</sup> See the figures collected by Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 128, note 8. The figures given by Baer and Butzer are retained here, since these are based mainly on Ramesside records, and less on data from the Graeco-Roman Period and Nineteenth Century Egypt. The introduction of new irrigation devices and new crops may have had their effects on the extension of cultivable land over the course of time.

<sup>3</sup> P. Harris I 12a, 1-5: Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 14; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 237 and 238.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 72: "Goods, dues and produce of people and all dependants". Although *bšk.w-rm̄t* is also found as a compound (see Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 402-406), I do not think it is correct to separate *rm̄t* and *smd.t*, as all people working on a temple estate were probably called *smd.t* (see Introduction, pp. 6-7). The expression *rm̄t-smd.t* also occurs in the section of grand totals (68b, 4). The Heliopolitan and Memphite sections only have *rm̄t* (32a, 7; 51b, 3). See Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 60 (note 229).

<sup>5</sup> The Memphite section has: *nty šfz r nzy-w r-ḥd.w* "which are brought to their treasuries" (51b, 5-6).

What follows is a list of products and their yearly amounts: metals, cloth, incense, oil, wine, the value of unspecified products or services expressed in silver; grain, vegetables, flax, fowl, cattle, and ships. Obviously, the relative clause “which the king gave ...” in line 4 refers to *h.t šzy.t bšk.w* in the first line. The revenues of the temple personnel are thus presented as royal assignments (which they are, indirectly; see below). The last phrase *m pzy-sn htr-rnp.t* indicates that the list records (average) yearly amounts. This is supported by the fact that the number of regnal years (31) of Ramesses III during which the revenues came in, as specified in similar phrases terminating the headings of the following lists c-e, is absent here. Nonetheless, Erman and Schaedel assumed that the totals are those of 31 years, concluding that they were only “nebensächliche Steuern” or “Sondersteuer” because in that case the yearly amounts are too small to represent the total produce of the land and people recorded in the previous list.<sup>1</sup> This view, however, was rightly rejected in later discussions.<sup>2</sup> Most of the figures in the list support the hypothesis that yearly amounts are referred to. The 309,950 sacks of grain as the yearly produce of the cultivators (*ihw.t.y.w*) in 12b, 3, for instance, is only a fraction the theoretical produce as calculated from the total area of the fields donated according to list a (8,641,680 sacks; see above). Still, it would seem to be enough for the offerings presented in the Theban temples, if we compare it with the yearly needs of the memorial temple at Medinet Habu (over 12,562 sacks; see table 1). If, on the other hand, we regard the 309,905 sacks as the total of the whole reign, dividing it by 31 years, the resulting 9,997 sacks yearly would not even suffice for the (theoretical) demands of the Medinet Habu temple, let alone those of all new Theban temples together.

Similar observations can be made on the amounts of gold and silver. A yearly income of 569 *deben*, or about 51 kg of gold (12a, 9) and 10,964 *deben*, or about 987 kg of silver (12a, 10) is not unrealistic when compared with modern figures,<sup>3</sup> and it is dwarfed by the records of donations claimed to have been made by Thutmose III and Amenophis III.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the figure given for the “gold of Koptos” (12a, 7) is in a way supported by the records of actual mining expeditions in the Eastern Desert later in the Twentieth Dynasty. According to P. IFAO A+B, the yearly revenues of joint expeditions by the Theban temples of Amun, Re, and Ramesses III would have amounted to 11 to 13 *deben* of gold,<sup>5</sup> which is far less than the 61.3 *deben* in P. Harris I, but represents a comparable order of magnitude. P. IFAO A+B shows that the temples had access to the gold mines in the Eastern Desert. This is confirmed by a letter from the reign of Ramesses IX, in which the high priest of Amun Ramessesnakht

<sup>1</sup> Erman, *Erklärung*, 15 and 16; Schaedel, *Listen*, 59 and 60.

<sup>2</sup> A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 73; Helck, *Materialien* III, (219), and J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 155; Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 381, note 379. I cannot tell why Grandet stated that Schaedel’s interpretation is nowadays generally accepted (*Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 58, note 229).

<sup>3</sup> According to Lucas, Harris, *Materials and Industries*<sup>4</sup>, 226, 84,074 ounces (2,384 kg) of fine gold was extracted in Egypt from 1902 to 1919, an average of 132 kg yearly. From 1920 to 1927, only 2,867 ounces (81 kg) was extracted, an average of 10 kg yearly. See also J. Vercoutter, *Kush* 7 (1959), 128-139.

<sup>4</sup> See J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 154-155: during his whole reign, Thutmose III would have donated 15,000 kg or more to the temple at Karnak, and Amenophis III claimed to have used 2,865 kg of electrum and 2,292 kg of gold when building a temple for Montu.

<sup>5</sup> See chapter IX, § 1, p. 251.

appears to be concerned with the “gold-washing miners (*qwr.w*) of the House of Amonrasonter” and the troops of Nubians protecting them from the nearby Beduin.<sup>1</sup> This was not just a particular development of the Twentieth Dynasty: at the beginning of the Nineteenth, the temple of Sethos I at Abydos also had its teams of gold-washers, as is apparent from inscriptions at Kanais and Nauri.<sup>2</sup> Another means of obtaining precious metals may have been trade. The personnel of the royal memorial temple at Memphis included commercial agents (*šw.t.y.w*), who worked for the temple treasury.<sup>3</sup> The task of the *šw.t.y.w* was probably to trade the temple’s surpluses of various goods for precious metals, which they subsequently delivered to the temple as their *bzk.w*.<sup>4</sup> Such people are not mentioned explicitly in the Theban section, but part of the precious materials in list b may actually have been acquired for the Theban temples by their own commercial agents.<sup>5</sup>

The heading explicitly states that the revenues are those required from the personnel of Ramesses III’s new foundations. Their destinations were the treasuries, storehouses, and granaries of these foundations. I do not see any reason for not regarding the amounts as the actual totals of yearly revenues of the new temple estates. Indeed, I do not understand why Schaedel and Grandet assumed that these revenues were (partly) made up by taxes exacted by the central government and subsequently assigned to the temples.<sup>6</sup> Such a system prevailed in Ptolemaic Egypt,<sup>7</sup> but its extrapolation to the Ramesside Period seems unwarranted. The assignment of the revenues from apportioning domains to temples in the Wilbour Papyrus comes close to such a practice, but the actual assignment was, at least nominally, one of land.<sup>8</sup> The fact that the *šzy.t* and *bzk.w* are said in the heading of list b to have been assigned (“given” in the language of P. Harris I) to the temples by the king is probably to be understood in the sense that they were the revenues obtained from resources (mines, fields, gardens, animals) that had been allocated (“given”; see list a) by the king to the same temples.

Whereas it is clear that list b does not give us any information on the question of whether there was such a thing as central taxation by the state or not in Ramesside Egypt, it does give us some information on the collection of dues by temple departments from their personnel. The dues are called *šzy.t*, *bzk.w*, and *htr*. Despite the thorough discussion by Grandet and other authors, it remains difficult to perceive the exact

<sup>1</sup> P. ESP, text C: W. Helck, *JARCE* 6 (1967), 140-143, 148 and 149.

<sup>2</sup> See the Nauri decree (l. 40), and text C at Kanais (col. 2); Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 52, 8; 67, 16 - 68, 1; Schott, *Kanais*, 175-181.

<sup>3</sup> P. Harris I 46, 1-2: Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 51, 2; M. Römer, *SAK* 19 (1992), 272; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 286; vol. 2, 168 and 169, note 681 (“courtiers”).

<sup>4</sup> M. Römer, *SAK* 19 (1992), 275-278.

<sup>5</sup> A *šw.t.y* called Hat[...] worked for a royal memorial temple in Western Thebes, but it is unknown for which one (see appendix 2).

<sup>6</sup> Schaedel, *Listen*, 47, 59 and 60; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 68; vol. 2, 65 and 66 (note 229).

<sup>7</sup> Schaedel, *Listen*, 46 and 47. For the economic aspects of Egyptian temples in the Graeco-Roman Period, see M. Stead, in: *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* III, Naples 1984, 1039-1052; especially 1047, on the *syntaxis* paid by the government to the temples: “This subvention was developed, if not introduced by the Ptolemies, (...)”.

<sup>8</sup> See the discussion on list a above, and chapter X, § 1, pp. 291-294.

distinction between *b3k.w* and *š3y.t*. Grandet's hypothesis, based on the etymology of the words, that *b3k.w* stands for a contribution paid from the total production, its level depending on the quantity actually produced, whereas *š3y.t* ("what is destined") is a fixed amount regardless of the production, may not be entirely correct. I believe that *b3k.w* could be a fixed amount as well, and this would seem to be supported by 12b, 3, where the grain is described as the "produce of cultivators" (*b3k.w ihw.t.y.w*). Now we know from other sources that a "cultivator" was normally held responsible for the delivery of 200 sacks of grain,<sup>1</sup> which is clearly a fixed quota, regardless of the actual production, and regardless of the question whether these 200 sacks were in fact always brought in or not. Various circumstances such as the age of the cultivator, the condition of the fields, etc., might have made the amounts actually delivered more variable, although the 200 were probably adhered to as target number. Some of the other items listed are also specified as *b3k.w* (the silver in 12b, 2, the grain in 12b, 3, the birds in 12b, 6, and the cattle from Syria in 12b, 8) or as *š3y.t* (the geese in 12b, 9), but the reasons for applying either the one administrative term or the other are not apparent. The most important thing we learn is that they both represent dues collected by the temples from their own personnel. In this sense, they were referred to together as *htr* "allowance". The two-sidedness of this term (to be translated either as "charge" or as "allowance"), which is in fact a problem of translation, rather than one of administrative procedure, is well discussed by Grandet.<sup>2</sup> It is in the context offered by the heading of list b as a whole that the meaning "allowance" (instead of "charge") becomes clear here.

Some remark is still required on the entry 12b, 2: "silver in items of people's produce, given to the divine offering: 3606 *deben*, 1 *kite*". As Grandet observed, this entry must represent the value in silver of a part of the production that remained unspecified.<sup>3</sup> As the value of goods and services could easily be expressed in a universal standard of value (in grain, copper, silver, or gold), this would have been an easy way to summarize what might have been an extensive list of various products and services. However, as it seems to have been precisely the intention of P. Harris I to impress the reader by long detailed lists of benefactions (this will become especially clear from the following list c), it is likely that its compilers would have preferred a list of specifications here as well, but such precise information on the products and services in question may not have been available. The compilers thus had to be content with one figure, the value in silver, which would have been generally understood. It may be doubted, however, whether this "money standard" is indicative of an administrative and centralized character of the Egyptian economy (that is, whether the standard was established by the government).<sup>4</sup> The standard of value may instead have been determined by tradition, as commodity prices generally might have been in the Ramesside Period.<sup>5</sup> Besides, the

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, § 2, p. 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 62-65.

<sup>3</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 61 and 62 (note 229).

<sup>4</sup> As argued by Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 61.

<sup>5</sup> See Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 549 and 550; J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 177-180.

compilation of the records which formed the source of information for list b of P. Harris I will have been an internal affair of the Theban temples in the first place.

#### ADDITIONAL SUPPLIES: LIST C

The third list is an account of royal supplies made during the reign of Ramesses III:<sup>1</sup>

(page 13a, line 1) Gold, silver, real lapis lazuli, real turquoise, any kind of real valuable stone, copper, garments of royal linen, (of) *mk*-cloth, (2) (of) fine thin cloth and thin cloth, garments of smooth cloth, jars, fowl,<sup>2</sup> and all items which King Userma'atre Meriamun l.p.h., the Great God, has given (3) as *in.w* of the Lord l.p.h., in order to provide for (*sdj*) the House of (His) Noble Father Amonrasonter, Mut, and Khonsu, from (4) regnal year 1 to regnal year 31, making 31 years.

A list of eight columns (13a-16b) follows, specifying the objects and materials referred to in the heading by the expression "*in.w* of the Lord l.p.h." Generally speaking, the items are of a different character than those of the previous list: in list b, the emphasis was on consumable goods, but the *in.w* consisted mainly of precious metals, minerals, myrrh, garments, and wood. The list ends with fruit, cattle, birds, natron, salt, and vegetables. Another essential difference is that list b concentrated on yearly averages of (raw) materials (with the exception of the ships: 12b, 10-12), whereas list c records materials and finished objects donated in the course of the entire reign of Ramesses III, 31 years. Yet the quantities of raw materials required for the items of list c remain far below the yearly figures of list b. The list of gold and silver objects, for instance, is quite a long one (13a, 5 - 14a, 1), but the total quantities of these metals (183 *deben 5 kite* and 826 *deben 4½ kite* respectively)<sup>3</sup> are far less than the *yearly* output of the domain's own resources (570 and 10,965 *deben* yearly; 12a, 9 and 12a, 10). This already gives us a hint about the additional, or even ceremonial or symbolic, function of the *in.w*.

We may ask ourselves, in view of the observations just made, whether the *in.w* were meant for the same group of temples as the benefactions of lists a and b, or only for the main temples of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu. The reference to the "House of His Noble Father Amonrasonter, Mut and Khonsu" in the heading of the list is not much of a help: as we have seen in section 3, such an expression might be metaphorical; in any case it is not administratively exact. The heading of the corresponding list in the Heliopolitan section of P. Harris I does not mention any "House" or temples at all, but only the god Atum-Re-Harakhte as the receiver of the *in.w*.<sup>4</sup> The Memphite list is a little more helpful. According to the heading of that list, the "*in.w* of the Lord l.p.h." were

<sup>1</sup> P. Harris I 13a, 1-4 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 16, 2-5; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 239).

<sup>2</sup> The Heliopolitan section (33a, 2) leaves out the fowl (which we do not find in the list, either); the Memphite list has "cattle" before "birds" (52a, 5); the section of remaining temples adds "myrrh" to this (62b, 2).

<sup>3</sup> 13b, 5 and 13b, 16. See Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 199, notes a-c, for the correction of the amounts given there.

<sup>4</sup> 33a, 3 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 38, 4).

given to the House of Ptah and “to the temples of its *sdf*”.<sup>1</sup> Reference is made here to temples economically attached to the main temple of Ptah, with the possible implication that their personnel were materially provided for by that main temple, in conformity with the conclusion from the references on *sdf* in section 3. In the same section, we have been asking ourselves which temples might have been included in this group. As the Memphite variant of list b mentions the “temples of this house” (i.e. the House of Ptah) as distinct from the new foundations of Ramesses III, we have reason to doubt that “temples of its *sdf*” in list c really includes these new foundations. We were not able to settle this matter in the previous section, and our position is not any better now.

A useful hint, however, is given by the Theban list c itself, which records some items that are absent from list b (the production of the temple estates). From a comparison of the two lists in table 7<sup>2</sup> it appears that myrrh, fruit, curd, fat, natron and salt, and onions are included in list c, but absent from b (on the other hand, grain and vegetables figure only in list b). The articles appearing exclusively in c are mainly treasury-items, and it is especially the myrrh, the salt, and the natron that may have been characteristic of the *in.w* as an administrative category: myrrh was among the royal *in.w* delivered to the treasury of Amun according to the tomb-scenes of Ineni and Puyemre, and salt and natron were kept in a “storehouse of *in.w*” according to the Medinet Habu calendar.<sup>3</sup> The fact that these items are not included in list b probably means that they were not produced on the estates of the newly founded temples, and consequently that these temples depended on the flow of royal *in.w* for their requirements of myrrh, natron, and salt. In other words, the temples founded by Ramesses III will have been among the institutions receiving the *in.w* of list c after all. The system of distribution may have been similar to that illustrated in the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs of Ineni and Puyemre: royal *in.w* were delivered at the treasury of the great Amun temple at Karnak, to be distributed there among the different temples of Thebes (including the temple of Amun itself). This does not mean, however, that the temples depended on the *in.w* to any great extent: they may have depended on them for their needs of myrrh, salt, and natron, but it is certain that in the Twentieth Dynasty the royal memorial temples no longer depended on the *in.w* for incense, as they did in the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>4</sup> More remarks on this topic will be made below, in section 5.

The term *in.w* itself still remains to be discussed. Grandet stressed that the items recorded under the name “*in.w* of the Lord l.p.h.” were occasional allocations by the king, not bound to any precise prescriptions of amount and frequency.<sup>5</sup> According to the same author, *in.w* should not be understood here strictly as an economic term: what actually conditioned these allocations was the idea of reciprocity, not as an economic concept, but rather as an ethical one. Bleiberg regarded *in.w* as a reference to reciprocity

<sup>1</sup> 52a, 7 (ibid., 59, 4 and 5). See above, p. 170, reference g.

<sup>2</sup> See the tables at the end of this book. The middle column in table 7 contains data from the Medinet Habu calendar, which will be used as a support for the discussion in the following section.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter II, § 7, p. 84; chapter IV, § 4, p. 136.

<sup>4</sup> See chapter IV, § 4, pp. 135-141.

<sup>5</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 70-76 (note 256).

as an economic practice separate from that of redistribution.<sup>1</sup> Müller-Wollermann argued that the items presented as *in.w* should be seen as voluntary.<sup>2</sup> Grandet's translation "presents" for *in.w* reflects both views. The extras granted according to list c should stimulate the benevolence of the gods (as well as their personnel), in conformity with the *do ut des* principle. This line of thought is in perfect agreement with the spirit of the document as a whole: P. Harris I continuously emphasizes the reciprocal relationship between the king and the gods, and the *in.w*-items recorded in list c clearly fit this context. But so do the benefactions recorded in the other lists! In my opinion, therefore, the concept of reciprocity does not fully account for the classification of the *in.w* as a separate category. Instead, the term may actually refer to a specific administrative background, as has already been suggested above. We should bear in mind the fact that P. Harris I uses administrative data, although it presents them in an ideological context.

In chapter I, it was said that administrative papyri use *in.w* as a reference to supplies received by an institution from external sources, and this may be exactly what list c is about: the items recorded were intra-institutional, being supplied by the king (read: the royal treasury, and other departments of the residence?) to the "House of Amonrasonter (etc.);" (read: the temples of Thebes).<sup>3</sup> The basic meaning of *in.w* (insofar as the "basic" meaning of a word can be separated from its actual one) may be "what is brought" or "what is fetched" (*scil.* "from elsewhere"), rather than "what is (voluntarily) given". The objects and materials recorded in list c might thus have formed a supplement on the regular produce of the Theban temple estates, and a token of the king's continued concern for the material well-being of the new temples also after their foundation.

<sup>1</sup> E. Bleiberg, *SSEA Journal* 11 (1981), 107-110; *JARCE* 21 (1984), 155-167.

<sup>2</sup> R. Müller-Wollermann, *GM* 66 (1983), 81-91 (but cf. Boochs, *GM* 71 (1984), 61-66).

<sup>3</sup> An integral study of all instances of the word *in.w* (as well as of other terms referring to institutional deliveries) is required in order to see whether such an interpretation is tenable in all other contexts as well. The Nauri-decree of Sethos I, for instance, contains a passage in which reference is made to "the ships of the *in.w* of Kush" of the royal temple in Abydos (ll. 82-89: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 56; W.F. Edgerton, *JNES* 6 (1947), 225). As the decree in general is concerned with the interference of the king's officials in Kush with resources and revenues of the temple at Abydos, *in.w* is probably a reference to temple income. The passage seems to imply, then, that the temple sent its own ships to Kush in order to fetch the *in.w* assigned to it by the king. This would mean that, for reasons of logistic convenience, the temple itself had direct access to the sources of *in.w*, which remained a royal grant all the same (note that the temple also had its own teams of "miners" (*gwr.w*): see line 40 of the decree, and Schott, *Kanais*, 175-181). Another possible explanation is that the products were transported to the temple only to be brought thence to the royal treasury: *in.w* would then be an appropriate reference to intra-institutional deliveries from the temple to the king. In that sense, the word is also used in the inscription of the high priest Amenhotep (see W. Helck, *MIO* 4 (1956), 162, fig. A, col. 13). It may even be that the formal delivery of *in.w* was no more than a way of justifying the fact that temple facilities were used to collect precious materials for the king, just like the galena in P. ESP (see W. Helck, *JARCE* 6 (1967), 135-151, especially texts B and E).

## GRAIN FOR DAILY AND FESTIVAL OFFERINGS: LIST D

“List” d records only an amount of grain, which is announced as follows:<sup>1</sup>

(page 16b, line 13) Grain of the divine offering, the feasts of the sky and the calendar feasts, which King Userma'atre Meriamun I.p.h., the Great God, has established for (14) his Father Amonrasonter, Mut, Khonsu, and all the Gods of Thebes, in excess of the divine offering, in excess of the fixed portion (*m ḥz.w imny.t*), in order to double what had been before (15) {in order to double what had been before}, from regnal year 1 to regnal year 31, making 31 years: 2,981,674 sacks.

From the phrase *m ḥz.w imny.t*, Schaedel concluded that the list is not only concerned with grain for festival offerings.<sup>2</sup> This, however, is indicated not so much by the formulation of the heading itself (the word *imny.t* “fixed portion” usually refers to daily offerings, but not exclusively),<sup>3</sup> but rather by the total amount of grain recorded. Now 2,981,674 sacks divided by 31 regnal years makes 96,183 sacks yearly. According to the Medinet Habu calendar, the offering-cult in the memorial temple of Ramesses III required more than 12,562 sacks a year (table 1, total of lists 6-67).<sup>4</sup> Almost 90% of this amount (11,140 sacks) was required for the daily offerings (list 6); the festival offerings recorded in the Medinet Habu calendar required only about 10%. In view of this proportion of daily and festival offerings, the yearly amount as calculated from “list” d (96,183 sacks) seems too large to represent festival offerings only; in fact, festival offerings only took up a small portion of the yearly requirement.

Schaedel stressed that the amount of list d represents only the endowments of Ramesses III, and not the total of grain presented in the temples of Thebes during the reign of Ramesses III.<sup>5</sup> In chapter II (section 3), we have seen that Ramesses III had established considerable amounts of daily offerings at Karnak as early as his fourth regnal year (Medinet Habu list 1). The yearly total of grain required for these offerings was more than 24,911 sacks (see table 1). Together with the other newly established offerings at Karnak and Medinet Habu (lists 2-4) and the yearly demands of the royal memorial temple (lists 6-67), this makes 37,696 sacks of grain yearly. The offerings established at Karnak in regnal years 6, 7, and 16 together required 21¼ sacks daily, or 7,756¼ sacks on a yearly basis. When we add this amount to the yearly total of the Medinet Habu calendar just given, we reach an amount of over 45,450 sacks, which is

<sup>1</sup> Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 20, 10-13; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 245 and 246.

<sup>2</sup> Schaedel, *Listen*, 61, note 2; also Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 71. Cf. Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 20: “Opferkorn für die Feste”.

<sup>3</sup> See, for instance, the introduction to list 65 of the Medinet Habu calendar, where *imny.t n.t R<sup>c</sup> nb* refers to the offerings of the one-day “festival of dressing Anubis” (*Medinet Habu III*, pl. 167, col. 1416; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 181, 11).

<sup>4</sup> See table 1. As the last lists of festival offerings are missing, the 12,560 sacks arrived at cannot be the full total; 13,000 is perhaps a reasonable guess. The amount is, of course, a theoretical one.

<sup>5</sup> Schaedel, *Listen*, 66.

nearly half the yearly average as calculated from list d in P. Harris I (see above).<sup>1</sup> The other half of this average will have been made up by offerings established by Ramesses III on other occasions, which are not recorded in the extant Theban temple inscriptions.

The source of the grain is not mentioned. Considerable amounts may have come from royal domains (such as the “cultivators’ domains of His Majesty” in list 1 of the Medinet Habu calendar), but most of it will have been produced on temple estates: the 309,950 sacks of grain handed in yearly by the temple cultivators (*ihw.t.y.w*) according to list a (12b, 3) might easily have included a great part of the 96,183 sacks yearly required for the offerings of list d. Note that the king says nothing more than that he “established” (*w3h*) the amount of grain, which does not necessarily imply that he gave it, although he may actually have assigned a part of the production of other institutions to the temples in some cases (as in calendar list 1). The verb “to establish” (*w3h*) means that from the moment when the king fixed the amounts and the occasion of the presentation of the offerings by decree, the presentation (and hence the production of the items required) became regular yearly practice. This means that the presentation of the grain of list d was not, as Grandet assumed, similar in character to the *in.w* of list c, which were presented as occasional extras from outside (see above).<sup>2</sup>

#### LISTS E AND F

List e is concerned with the offerings presented during the yearly commemoration of the king’s accession to the throne, and the Festival of Opet.<sup>3</sup> It is unlikely that this list has any particular relevance for the memorial temple in Western Thebes, as the festivities referred to probably took place on the east bank. The Opet festival, though celebrated also in the memorial temple according to lists 28-38 of the Medinet Habu calendar, was an “eastern” affair, centering around the procession of Amun from Karnak to the Luxor temple. The accession anniversary was certainly celebrated in the king’s temple on the west bank (calendar lists 19-22), but the festival referred to in list e probably took place at Karnak. The festival was established in regnal year 22 (page 17a, line 4), which also happens to be the latest date inscribed on the temple of Ramesses III in front of the second pylon of the great temple of Amonrasonter.<sup>4</sup> The name of the accession anniversary in the Great Harris Papyrus is “Userma‘atre Meriamun l.p.h. Making Thebes Festive for Amun” (17a, 3). The phrase *Shb W3s.t* “Making Thebes Festive” has been regarded by some scholars as a reference to the temples of Ramesses III at Karnak, because list 1 of the Medinet Habu calendar refers to one or two temples with that

<sup>1</sup> See the similar calculation by Schaedel, *Listen*, 65 and 66. The yearly amount of 15,695 sacks of grain for the offerings of Medinet Habu list 1 as calculated by Schaedel, however, is too low (cf. table 1). Against his assumption, that the offerings of this list were presented in the small temple of Ramesses III at Karnak, see chapter II, § 3, pp. 71-73. The daily amount of grain required for the offering-list of year 7 at Karnak was not 1 sack (Schaedel), but 1 *oipe*, or  $\frac{1}{4}$  sack (see p. 92, note 5).

<sup>2</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 69 and 71; vol. 2, 70 (note 256) and 87 (note 324).

<sup>3</sup> P. Harris I page 17a, 1 - 21b, 10 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 20-25; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 246-252).

<sup>4</sup> See chapter III, § 1, p. 88.

name.<sup>1</sup> It has been demonstrated in chapter II, however, that this list was composed quite early in the reign of Ramesses III. For this reason, the reference must rather be to earlier buildings of this king, which were perhaps replaced later by new temples at Karnak, such as the temple in front of the second pylon. Indeed, the phrase *Shb W3s.t* figures in some of the inscriptions of that temple.<sup>2</sup>

The materials recorded in list f were required for the manufacture of the statues mentioned in list a (11, 1-3), which were put on the *sdf* of the “House of Amun” (see above, section 3, reference d).<sup>3</sup> We are not informed whether the memorial temple at Medinet Habu was also involved in the administration or upkeep of these cults.

## § 5 - THE RESOURCES OF THE MEDINET HABU TEMPLE ACCORDING TO P. HARRIS I

### THE ADDRESS TO AMUN

As the Great Harris Papyrus is concerned mainly with the Theban temples in general, the information that can be obtained from this text for our purpose is limited. Nonetheless, the memorial temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu has frequently been alluded to in the previous sections because it must have been one of the main beneficiaries, or even by far the main beneficiary (as with the people assigned according to list a) of the endowments Ramesses III made in Thebes. Apart from this information, we learn something about the resources of the temple in the address to Amun that precedes the lists of the Theban section. We should note at once that in this text, as well as in list a and in the heading of list b, the Medinet Habu temple precedes all other works and benefactions of Ramesses III for the gods of Thebes. Translations of the relevant passages may be given first. After a description of the temple building, the king makes the following remarks on its material provisions:

(page 4, line 3) I filled its treasuries with things of the lands of Egypt: (4) gold, silver and every (kind of) valuable stone, amounting to hundreds of thousands. Its granaries are overflowing with good and enduring grain (? *nfr w3h.t*).<sup>4</sup> <Its> fields and its herds are numerous like the sand of the shore. I charged (*htr=i*) (5) the Southern Land for it, as well as the Northern Land, Nubia and Asia are at its disposal with their produce (*b3k.w*),<sup>5</sup> (it) being filled with the spoil that You have given to me from the Nine Bows, (with) young men that I brought into being, amounting to tens of thousands. (6) I fashioned Your statue that rests inside it—“Amun United with Eternity” is its

<sup>1</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 140, ll. 119 and 120; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 122, 5 and 6. See chapter II, § 3, pp. 65-66, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Reliefs and Inscriptions* I, pls. 16 (XVIII/10) and 42 (D, col. 17); Otto, *Topographie*, 30, note 15.

<sup>3</sup> P. Harris I 21b, 11-16 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 25, 13-16; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 252).

<sup>4</sup> The translation given here for this “literary” reference to grain is a mere guess. See Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 17 (note 72), for other possible translations.

<sup>5</sup> Breasted, *Ancient Records* IV, 114, n. e, assumed that in *T3-Sty Dh n-s hr b3k.w=sn* the verb has been carelessly omitted. *N=s*, however, stands far to the right, which is the correct position of an adverbial predicate. If a verb were meant to be written, the same prepositional group would follow it immediately, as in page 9, ll. 2 and 3: *hw n=f h3s.t.y.w n.w Rtnw hr in.w=sn n hr=f ml n3rt=f*. In the present passage, *n=s* is a predicate expressing availability; for which see also A. Erman, *Neuägyptische Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, Leipzig 1933, 226 (§ 465).

august name—ornamented with real valuable stone like (that of) the horizon. When it appears, one rejoices in the seeing of it. (7) I made vessels of offering-stands (*wḏḥ.w*) for it of good gold, (and) others of silver and copper, (in) unlimited (amounts). I increased the divine offering that is presented in front of You, consisting of bread, wine, beer, geese, (8) *ḥw*-cattle, *mn*-cattle, *wḏḥ.w*-cattle, and numerous oxen; antelopes, gazelles, which are sent to his (sic! read: its) slaughterhouse (*šḥwn*).<sup>1</sup> (...) (12) I made ships (*qr.w*) for it (i.e. the temple), loaded with good and enduring grain (*nfr wšḥ.t*), in order to sail to (page 5, line 1) its granary. There is no weariness to them. I made big treasury-ships (*r-ḥḏ.w*) for it on the river, loaded with numerous things for its august treasury. (2) It is surrounded by gardens, places,<sup>2</sup> and orchards, loaded with fruits and flowers for Your heart. I built their *m*-houses with sun-courts(?).<sup>3</sup> I dug a lake in front of them, provided with lotus-flowers.

This passage, the style and contents of which are the same as those of the dedication-texts discussed in chapter I,<sup>4</sup> describes some aspects of the temple's economic provisions. It had fields and cattle of its own, and its granary and treasury were filled by its own ships. *Bšk.w* "produce" (from its proper estate) flowed to the temple from all over Egypt, Nubia, and Asia.<sup>5</sup> Additional income was provided by "war-spoil" (*ḥšq*). The most important information given by this passage, however, is its place within the address to Amun: it is the first temple mentioned, as well as the one most extensively commented on.

#### THE LISTS

The same prominence is given to the temple by list a (page 10, line 3), which also informs us that its estate included domains throughout Egypt, as is indicated by the phrase "in the southern and northern districts" (*m ʿ rs.y mḥ.t.y*). Authority over the estate was exercised by "temple officials of the sanctuaries of this house (*pr pn*)", in which *pr pn* would seem to be a reference to the temple itself, although this is by no means certain (see the remarks on *pr pn* in section 3). An alternative interpretation would be that the temple was under the authority of officials of the "House of Amun". We have seen, however, that it is difficult to form any definite idea about an

<sup>1</sup> The word *šḥwn* for "slaughterhouse" is otherwise unattested; the usual word is *šḥw* (see chapter IV, § 2, pp. 123-125).

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps in the sense of "(landed) properties"; see J.J. Janssen, P.W. Pestman, *JESHO* 11 (1968), 158.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of *pr-m* is unknown. I doubt whether the toponym *Pr-m* (W. Golénischeff, *ZAS* 40 (1902/3), 102, referred to by Breasted, *Ancient Records* III, 248, note (c) has anything to do with this word. A *pr-m* of the king was attached to the memorial temple at Heliopolis: P. Harris I, page 31, l. 6. A *pr-m* of Thutmosis III is mentioned in O. DM 585, 5 (Sauneron, *Ostraca Hiératiques* [VI], pl. 18); a *pr-m* of Amun may be referred to in a graffito at Deir el-Bahri (Marciniak, *Inscriptions Hiératiques*, 145, no. 117, l. 3). The translation "windows" for *qh.w.t* by Breasted, *Ancient Records* IV, 116, and Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian* IV, 22, will have been inferred from *qh* "to be bright", "to illuminate" (Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* V, 66, 12-14). For the translation "sun-courts", see R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 21 (1966), 112-114 (reference brought to my attention by Prof. J.F. Borghouts).

<sup>4</sup> Compare, for instance, page 4, ll. 4 and 5, with stela Cairo CG 34025 of Amenophis III, ll. 7 and 8 (see chapter I, p. 40).

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 138, cols. 40 and 41, where it is said that *bšk.w* was the income from "farms" (*bḥn.w*) in Egypt, Nubia, and Asia, which were thus "charged" (*ḥtr*). See chapter I, pp. 47-49.

administrative structure incorporating the memorial temple, or any temple mentioned in the Theban section of P. Harris I.

The number of people assigned to the “temple of millions of years” (62,626, about three-quarters of the total Theban amount of 86,486) suggests that the same temple received the major share of the estate revenues and *in.w* of lists b and c. We have seen already that the yearly produce of grain recorded in 12b, 3, might have amply covered the demands of the memorial temple and other institutions. In order to investigate these proportions for other items, the yearly requirements recorded in the Medinet Habu calendar are compared with lists b and c in the Theban section of P. Harris I in table 7. For the sake of convenience, the figures of the calendar and list c of P. Harris I have been converted to yearly amounts. It can easily be seen that, for most products, the estate revenues of list b are much more likely to have met the demands of the memorial temple than the *in.w* of list c. Exceptions to this rule are the natron and salt, which are classified as *in.w* also in the calendar. The same might have been true for fat (*ʿd*). Garments, on the other hand, figured more prominently among the revenues of the temple estates themselves, and so did cattle. This should not surprise us for the latter item, because we know the temple had its own herds. We cannot entirely exclude, however, the possibility that part of its demand for cattle was met by the new herds of the House of Amonrasonter: some of the Egyptian cattle recorded in 12b, 7, might have been taken from the herds donated by Ramesses III according to list a.

Similarly, the temple will not have depended to any great extent on the royal *in.w* for its needs of wine, incense, honey, oil, and vegetables. In chapter V, section 4, it was concluded that the temple’s requirement of incense was principally met from its own supplies. This would seem to be confirmed by the amounts of incense in lists b and c of P. Harris I. It is, of course, impossible to compare the quantities exactly, because they are given in different units. However, I cannot imagine that a yearly delivery of 70 jars (*mn*) of incense (of the *in.w*; list c) was enough to cover the yearly demand of 3,580 baskets (*dni.t*) and 140 *deben* by the memorial temple according to the Medinet Habu calendar, even if the latter figures were somewhat exaggerated, theoretical amounts. And we have not even mentioned the demands made by the other Theban temples, among them the great temple at Karnak. The conclusion must be that the deliveries made by the king according to list c in the Theban section of P. Harris I could not cover the temples’ requirements of exotic materials, and that part of these materials must therefore have been obtained through their own agency as *bʒk.w* “(obligatory) produce” and *šʒy.t* “contributions”.

That the comparison between the lists of P. Harris I and the Medinet Habu calendar can only be a rough one is made clear by the differences in the units employed, as well as by the fact that a number of items required by the calendar are absent in lists b and c of P. Harris I (antelopes and gazelles, *hniʒy* and *qʒw*, flowers, moringa-oil, papyrus, wax, firewood, and charcoal). As has been stated already, the two texts have an entirely different character: whereas the calendar lists should be regarded as prescriptions, those of the Harris Papyrus rather give the items and amounts that had really been spent. By the comparison of these two sources of different character, the idealistic view of *bʒk.w* and *in.w* as complementary and equally important revenues for

the temples becomes somewhat distorted: the former was clearly the main source for most of the items, surprisingly even for precious metals and incense, which we would expect to be classified among the royal *in.w*. The significance of the latter may have been mainly a symbolic one: to emphasize the traditional role of the king as provider for the needs of the gods.

We have seen that the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu was the main beneficiary of the people assigned to the Theban temples according to list a. It may also have been the principal recipient of other endowments in that list, and of the items recorded in lists b, c, and d. The idea that the main temple of Amun at Karnak or an all-embracing "Domain of Amun" was the ultimate beneficiary of the endowments and supplies, which has been expressed in earlier studies, would seem to receive some support from the language of P. Harris I, but it is very difficult to obtain a precise picture of the underlying administrative structure. It seems clear that the phrase *m pr Imn* "in the House of Amun" is not a reference to administrative incorporation of one temple within the estate of another. The use of the formula "House of Amonrasonter, Mut, Khonsu, and all the Gods of Thebes" is strongly suggestive of such an all-embracing administrative structure, and so is the use of "this house" (*pr pn*) when not referring to one of the separate Theban temples (see above, section 3), but both may be nothing more than metaphors. Only the administrative responsibility of the Karnak temple for the endowments for statue-cults and for a newly founded town in the delta is made explicit by the word *sdf*, but no reference is made to such a responsibility for the royal memorial temple, or for any of the new Theban temples of Ramesses III. The Karnak temple was actually nothing more than a co-recipient of the benefactions by Ramesses III: it benefitted from the *in.w* of list c, and from the offerings of lists d and e. The memorial temple at Medinet Habu must have been the real focus of royal endowment policy in Thebes, but by its supplies for the offering-cult at Karnak this temple was also instrumental in the transfer of products to the actual home of the king's divine father.

## CHAPTER VII

### ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF THE ROYAL MEMORIAL TEMPLE ACCORDING TO CEREMONIAL TEXTS

#### § 1 - INTRODUCTION

In this chapter an attempt will be made to combine the information obtained from the documents that have been discussed in the chapters of Part One. What connects these—at first sight rather diverse—texts is that they record the material requirements for the offering-cult with an intention we are justified in calling “idealistic”, and most of which are characterized by the fact that the king or his actions play a prominent role; often, he himself is even the speaker (as in the dedication-texts, the address preceding the Medinet Habu calendar, and the Great Harris Papyrus). Entirely idealistic are the inscriptions and scenes on temple walls. The Great Harris Papyrus is an “idealistic” royal proclamation, although its lists have been compiled from administrative documents. The scenes in private tombs (Ineni and Puyemre) and the private donation-texts are less “royal”, but they are idealistic or “typical” in that they convey an ideal picture of the official duties of the deceased.

This is not to say that the texts of Part One have no bearing on administrative reality. The lists of offerings on temple walls represent royal decisions with regard to the offerings presented to the divine statues; they were prescriptions, meant to be followed by temple administrators. The texts about private endowments record, in precise terms, donations actually made to temples, and so does P. Harris I, albeit on a far larger—indeed royal—scale. At the same time, however, these texts emphasize the typical and ideal state of affairs, and this in a static way: the situation described by them was meant to be an everlasting one. This perspective is fundamentally different from the more dynamic picture presented by records of actual administrative practice, which we are to discuss in Part Two.

The description of the resources of the royal memorial temple as one economic unit, and the transfers within, to, and from that unit, will be made in four steps.

§ 2: The economic departments immediately connected with the temple proper (workshop, granary, etc.) and the supplies made by them.

§ 3: The greater estate of the memorial temple: fields, herds, etc. This section will be concerned only with the internal structure and economic traffic of the temple estate proper.

§ 4: The relation between the memorial temple and the state administration. The texts dealing with this topic concentrate on the king as the founder of the temple estate, the establisher of offerings, and the provider of *in.w*.

§ 5: The relation between the memorial temple and other Theban temples, especially the “House of Amun”. This section will concentrate on the transfers to and from the main temple of Amun at Karnak.

The sources will be mentioned where relevant, but without exact references to text columns and lines. The descriptions given below are based on the observations made in the previous chapters, to which the reader is referred for more elaborate discussions of the separate documents; the relevant chapters and sections will be indicated.

One further remark must be made concerning the chronological distribution of the documents. The oldest sources discussed are tomb-scenes and private donation-texts from the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III,<sup>1</sup> and the dedication-inscriptions of Amenophis III.<sup>2</sup> The time of Ramesses II is represented by the calendar of feasts and offerings in its original, Ramesseum version,<sup>3</sup> as well as by the Abydos parallels of offering-processions and scenes of the preparation of meat-offerings that are found at Medinet Habu.<sup>4</sup> A substantial part of the documentation, however, is made up of texts from the reigns of Ramesses III and IV.<sup>5</sup> In a way, the Ramesseum calendar as copied at Medinet Habu is also a piece of evidence from the reign of Ramesses III, although its lists were probably no longer up to date in all respects. This means that the structures and processes reconstructed in the following sections are mainly those of the early or mid-Twentieth Dynasty, concentrating on the temple of Medinet Habu. Older sources may complement the description in some details, but contradict it in others. This diachronic aspect, which manifests itself either in continuity or in changes, will be taken into consideration where appropriate.

## § 2 - THE ROYAL MEMORIAL TEMPLE AND ITS IMMEDIATE SOURCES OF SUPPLY

The royal memorial temples of Western Thebes are usually referred to in the texts as “the Temple of King X in the House of Amun to the West of Thebes”, or by a shorter version of this name.<sup>6</sup> Essential here is the use of the word *ḥw.t* “temple”, instead of *pr* “house”. The latter was used for royal memorial temples only in the expression *pr pn* “this house”. References to specific temple departments will be taken into consideration here if they are specified by the phrase “of the Temple of King (...)”, or “of this house”, in the latter case only if it is apparent from the context that “this house” (*pr pn*) really refers to the royal memorial temple. In this section, we will be concerned only with economic departments

<sup>1</sup> Chapter IV, § 4; chapter V, § 1.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter I.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter II, §§ 4-7

<sup>4</sup> Chapter IV, §§ 1 and 2.

<sup>5</sup> Inscriptions at Medinet Habu: chapter II, § 3; at Karnak: chapter III; P. Harris I: chapter VI.

<sup>6</sup> See the Introduction, § 3 (pp. 25-26); chapter II, § 7 (pp. 81-82).

delivering their materials or products directly to the temple proper or to its workshop, as offerings for the daily and festival rituals. The sources from which these departments in their turn received their supplies will be treated below, in section 3. The relevant departments are: the workshop (*šn<sup>c</sup>*), the granary (*šnw.t*), the treasury (*pr-ḥd*), the cattle-shed (*md.t*), the slaughterhouse (*sh.w*), and the gardens (*kzm.w*).

## 1. THE WORKSHOP

The “workshop” (*šn<sup>c</sup>*), also “workshop of the divine offering” (*šn<sup>c</sup> n ḥtp-nṯr*), or “outside (?) workshop” (*šn<sup>c</sup> n s3*). The first two designations occur in the Medinet Habu calendar;<sup>1</sup> the last one is taken from the scenes of offering-processions in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, the organization of which must have resembled that of the temples of Western Thebes to a great extent, although it was of a smaller scale.<sup>2</sup> A “pure workshop” (*šn<sup>c</sup> w<sup>c</sup>b*) was met with in the introduction to the calendar lists of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, and in the offering-lists of Ramesses IV at Karnak, but in those cases it refers to the workshop of the temple of Amonrasonter.<sup>3</sup> The same is true for the “workshop of Opening-the-Sight” (*šn<sup>c</sup> n wn-ḥr*) of the Karnak temple, which is attested in the Theban section of P. Harris I, page 6, line 2.<sup>4</sup> These two terms could probably also be used as a reference to the workshop of the memorial temple: in the captions to the festival offering-procession depicted in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, items are specified by the phrase “of Opening the Sight” (*n wn-ḥr*).<sup>5</sup>

The dedication-text of Amenophis III on a Cairo stela informs us that the temple workshop was filled with “slaves” (male and female: *ḥm.w/ḥm.w.t*), who must have constituted its main workforce. In the text recording his donations to the temple of Queen Hatshepsut, Senmut says he has given a slave and a slave-girl to the temple workshop.<sup>6</sup> The word “slaves” for workshop personnel is not typical Eighteenth Dynasty idiom; P. Harris I also uses it when referring to the people working in the “workshop of Opening the Sight” of the Karnak temple (on which see above). The dedication-inscription of Ramesses III on the first pylon of the Medinet Habu temple probably refers to the same people as *mr(.t)* “serfs”. Many of these “slaves/serfs” must have been of foreign descent, and must have lived in the Syrian and Kushite “towns” in the neighbourhood of the temple, reference to which is made in inscriptions of Thutmose IV and Amenophis III.<sup>7</sup> The workshop personnel were supervised by “superiors of the workshop” (*ḥr.y.w-šn<sup>c</sup>.w*) according to a caption to the offering-procession depicted at Medinet Habu.<sup>8</sup>

According to the scenes of offering-processions, the “output” of the temple workshop consisted of finished products (loaves, cakes, beer, etc.), ready for presentation

<sup>1</sup> Chapter II, § 7, p. 88.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter IV, § 1, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter II, § 3 (p. 63); chapter III, § 2 (pp. 99-100).

<sup>4</sup> Once alluded to in chapter IV, § 1, p. 103.

<sup>5</sup> Chapter IV, § 1, p. 103.

<sup>6</sup> Chapter V, § 1, p. 144.

<sup>7</sup> Chapter I, pp. 40-42.

<sup>8</sup> Chapter IV, § 1, p. 106.

to the gods in the daily and festival offering-ritual. The offering-lists of Ramesses III and IV at Karnak mention the memorial temple granary as the supplier of grain for the offerings to Amonrasonter in the Karnak temple, but it is the (pure) workshop at Karnak that appears in them as the source of the offerings themselves.<sup>1</sup> We may conclude from this that the workshop was the place where the offerings were prepared from materials supplied by other departments, such as the temple granary (for which see below). The main activities of the workshop personnel must have been baking and brewing. The temple workshops mentioned in the texts should therefore probably be identified with the archaeological remains of temple bakeries.<sup>2</sup> However, not all items presented to the gods came from the temple workshop. As we have seen in chapter IV, section 1, some items were produced in the workshop, while others (wine, *dqw/q3w*, *hni3y*) were only stored there, and perhaps received a final treatment, before being presented in the temple.

The workshop was divided into a number of “rooms” (*ḥ.t*), every one of which was responsible for the production of a particular type of offering. According to the captions of the Abydos offering-procession, there were at least four of these rooms:<sup>3</sup> the rooms of *bi.t* and of *psn* producing the loaves of that name, which together formed the majority of the offering-bread; the room of beer (*ḥ.t hnt.t*), producing beer of various strengths, as well as the items *dqw* and *3h*; and the room of sweets (*ḥ.t bni.t*), delivering products made of dates, besides *hni3y* and *šḥ.t*-cakes. The products supplied by these rooms can also be recognized in the procession at Medinet Habu. We may assume that such a division into “rooms” was common in any temple workshop, and that the workshop of the memorial temple in Western Thebes had a similar internal organization, just like the “side workshop” (*šnḥ n s3*) of the temple of Luxor, the “rooms” of which are mentioned in the captions of the offering-procession in that temple. Whether a “room of wine” (*ḥ.t irp*), as attested in the Luxor offering-procession, was present in other temples as well, is less certain: a room of wine is not mentioned in the Abydos procession. The item wine, for that matter, is completely absent from the daily offering-processions at Abydos and Medinet Habu, although it is listed as a daily offering in list 6 of the Medinet Habu calendar. It is possible, therefore, that this product did not pass through the workshop at all. List 17 of the calendar, as well as the offering-lists of Ramesses III at Karnak, inform us about wine supplied by royal and temple treasuries.<sup>4</sup> We will see in Part Two that it came ultimately from wine-producing “gardens”.

## 2. THE GRANARY

The workshop was in its turn supplied with grain by the “granary” (*šnw.t*), also called “granary of the divine offering” (*šnw.t htp-ntr*). The full designation for the memorial temples of Western Thebes is “granary of the temple of millions of years of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt N in the House of Amun to the West of Thebes”. As such, it is

<sup>1</sup> Chapter III.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter IV, § 1, pp. 116-117.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter IV, § 1, p. 117.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter II, § 7 (p. 85); chapter III, § 1 (p. 94).

referred to in the calendar-lists and in the offering-lists at Karnak.<sup>1</sup> The grain (emmer wheat and barley) was needed by the rooms of *psn*, *bl.t*, beer, and sweets. The granary of the memorial temple was the source of all the grain required for the offerings of the lists of the Ramesseum calendar (lists 6-67), and therefore the sole supplier of grain for all daily and festival offerings of the memorial temple. Its yearly stock for this purpose was at least 12,560 sacks (about 965,613 litres). Apart from this, the granary probably had to provide grain for the sustenance of (non-priestly) temple personnel and possibly also to feed animals, and it delivered grain to other institutions as well (see below, section 5).

### 3. THE TEMPLE TREASURIES

We have met with two types of “treasuries”. They were both called *pr-ḥd* or *r-ḥd*; the latter term is attested in inscriptions of Ramesses III and in P. Harris I. Within the temple proper, there was a treasury that probably had a ritual purpose (probably more or less comparable to the sacristy of a catholic church): here were stored the temple’s vessels and furniture of gold and silver, which were needed in its worship, besides bars and amulets of these metals and precious stones. Security from theft may have been one reason to store them within the sanctuary, as well as the desire for them to be at the immediate disposal of the priests. It is perhaps this particular type of treasury that the text preceding the Medinet Habu calendar alludes to when saying: “Your treasuries are spitting out gold and silver”.<sup>2</sup>

The other type of temple treasury occurs in the offering-lists. Though not distinguished from the former by its name (*pr-ḥd/r-ḥd*), the type of items supplied by it for the offering-cult were totally different from the gold, silver and minerals depicted in the ritual treasuries: as can be seen in tables 2 (B) and 4, the items usually supplied by a (royal or temple) treasury according to the offering-lists on temple walls were moringa-oil (*b3q*), fruit, wine, incense, honey, fat, and the obscure items *q3w* and *hnl3y*. Some of these items were probably supplied to the workshop,<sup>3</sup> while other items (wine, incense, fruit) might have been sent directly to the temple. This treasury of perishable materials was probably a brick building outside the temple proper, but within the temple precinct. The dedicatory inscription on the first pylon at Medinet Habu probably refers to both types of treasury when it says: “Its treasuries contain gold, silver, every kind of garment, incense, olive-oil, and honey, like sand of the shore” (line 16).

The Medinet Habu calendar once mentions a “storehouse of *in.w*” (*wḏ3 n in.w*) as the source of salt and natron in list 22.<sup>4</sup> If the term *in.w* “deliveries” is to be taken in a strict sense, the products of external sources would be involved, i.e. products supplied by the king. Although salt- and natron-gatherers could also be part of a temple’s own personnel according to a decree of Ramesses III on Elephantine, list c of the Great Harris

<sup>1</sup> Chapter II, § 7 (pp. 82-84); chapter III (pp. 94 and 99).

<sup>2</sup> Column 48 of the inscription; see chapter I, p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> Such as honey and fat, which were required for the production of *šc.t*-cakes and other items in the “department of sweets”; see chapter IV, § 1, p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter II, § 7, p. 84.

Papyrus ranges these products among the additional supplies (*in.w*) made by the king to the temples of Thebes,<sup>1</sup> and not among the revenues of their own estates (i.e., the *šzy.t* and *bzk.w* of list b). The “storehouse of *in.w*” must have had the character of a treasury storeroom. It is even possible that it belonged to the temple treasury administratively, and the same may have been the case for the storehouses (*wđz.w*) of the memorial temple of Amenophis III.<sup>2</sup>

#### 4. THE CATTLE-SHED AND THE SLAUGHTERHOUSE

The temple’s slaughterhouse (*sh.w*), or “pure slaughterhouse” (*sh.w w<sup>c</sup>b*), has been discussed in connection with the scenes of the preparation of meat-offerings at Medinet Habu and Abydos.<sup>3</sup> It was the source of meat of various types of cattle, as well as antelopes and fowl, and its accounts were kept by a “scribe of the god’s sealed things” (*sš htm(.w).t-ntr*), that is, a scribe of the temple treasury. The slaughterhouse belonged administratively to the temple’s cattle-shed (*md.t*); the captions of the scenes at Abydos mention the “pure slaughterhouse of the cattle-shed of the temple ...” (*sh.w w<sup>c</sup>b n md.t hw.t ...*). The connection was an administrative but probably not an architectural one: an Old Kingdom slaughterhouse actually excavated, as well as tomb-scenes at Amarna, shows that the *sh.w* was a separate court within the temple precinct. Here, the slaughtering of cattle and other animals was performed, and the meat-portions were taken from there to the temple, where a ritual duplicate of the slaughterhouse was situated, just like the ritual treasury (see above). Here, a final preparation of (a selection of?) meat-portions may have taken place, but certainly no real slaughtering activity. The work in the real *sh.w* was accomplished by butchers (*imnh*), and *w<sup>c</sup>b*-priests (of Sekhmet?) or “servants” (*sđm.w*) brought the portions into the temple in a hurry, supervised by lector-priests and scribes. In order to meet with the requirements of the Medinet Habu calendar lists, the butchers of the temple of Ramesses III each year must theoretically have slaughtered over 119 head of cattle, a small number of antelopes and gazelles, and an enormous quantity of fowl.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the temples of Western Thebes also had their own “fowlyards” (*mhw*). The word occurs once, in the offering-procession at Abydos. Such fowlyards (also called *hzm.w*) were probably situated within the temple precinct.<sup>5</sup>

#### 5. THE GARDENS

Additional items were supplied by the “gardens (*kzm.w*) of the temple of millions of years”. According to the offering-lists and the scenes of offering-processions, their main products were vegetables and flowers.<sup>6</sup> Table 3 shows that yearly almost 40,000 bundles

<sup>1</sup> Chapter VI, § 4, pp. 183-185.

<sup>2</sup> Cairo stela, line 7; see chapter I, p. 40.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter IV, § 2, pp. 123-125.

<sup>4</sup> Table 3.

<sup>5</sup> Chapter IV, § 1, p. 119.

<sup>6</sup> Chapter II, § 7 (pp. 84-85); chapter III, § 1 (p. 94); chapter IV, § 1 (p. 115).

of vegetables, and over 5,000 bouquets and 5,000 baskets of flowers were required for the offering-cult. No reference is made to wine produced in temple gardens, but we know the gardens of the memorial temples did produce wine,<sup>1</sup> as the “gardens of the House of His Majesty” did according to calendar list 1.<sup>2</sup> The vegetables and flowers were brought to the temple by “gardeners” (*kꜣr.y.w n ḥtp-ntr*),<sup>3</sup> who must have been responsible for their production as well. The gardens referred to in the offering-lists cannot have lain at a great distance from the temple: flowers and vegetables require quick transport, especially in the warm Egyptian climate.

## 6. LOCAL TEMPLE PERSONNEL

The temple and its economic departments formed the setting of the professional duties of priests, scribes, servants (*sdm.w*), and workshop personnel (“slaves”, *ḥm.w/ḥm.w.t*). According to the offering-processions, the offerings daily brought into the temple proper were registered by a “scribe of the divine offering” (*sš ḥtp-ntr*), or a “temple scribe” (*sš ḥw.t-ntr*). Animals and meat-offerings fell under the responsibility of “scribes of the god’s sealed things” (*sš ḥtm(.w).t-ntr*), who were otherwise responsible for the administration of the temple treasury (see above, 4). Similarly, accounts must have been kept of the supplies made by other departments (e.g. arrival of grain at the granary, its transfer from the granary to the workshop, and its distribution among the workshop departments or “rooms”).

How many people were involved? By a calculation from the total amount of cereals in chapter II, section 6, it was deduced that some 166 families could have lived from the daily offerings. List 22 of the Medinet Habu calendar, moreover, seems to divide the supplies for the priests’ drinking party on the occasion of the king’s accession-date into 150 distributable portions. The actual number of priests or officials entitled to shares of the offerings will have been smaller because the differences between the individual shares could be considerable. On the other hand, the granary and other temple departments probably also supported the temple’s administrative, transporting, and productive personnel, who will not have shared in the daily offerings. The dedication texts make it clear that the priests (who belonged to prominent families) and the productive temple personnel (referred to by the word *smd.t* in the temple calendar of Ramesses II at Abydos, and simply as “the others” in the speech by Ramesses III preceding the Medinet Habu calendar) represented different social classes. Socially, therefore, the temple community seems to have fallen into two quite different spheres.

The lower workforce (such as workshop personnel) was made up partly of foreigners, probably war-captives or their descendants, who lived in settlements close to the temples. References to such settlements are only found in Eighteenth Dynasty inscriptions. The temple of Amenophis III was surrounded by “Syrian towns populated

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<sup>1</sup> Chapter XI, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter II, § 3, p. 65.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter IV, § 1, p. 119.

with chiefs' children".<sup>1</sup> Among the remains of the temple of Thutmosis IV were found some small stelae mentioning the "settling" (*grg.t*) of Syrians and Kushites. This probably refers to the same type of settlements as the "towns" (*dmi.w*) recorded by Amenophis III, although on one of the stelae of Thutmosis IV, *dmi* stands rather for the place where the foreign captives originally came from.

"Syrian" and "Kushite" towns also occur as temple property in list a of the Theban section of P. Harris I, together with "Egyptian towns". The total of the latter is 56, whereas the Syrian and Kushite towns amount to 9. It is not impossible that reference is again made to towns in the neighbourhood of temples and inhabited by foreign captives working for the temple, who thus formed some sort of ethnic enclave. We cannot entirely exclude the possibility, however, that the towns in P. Harris I were actually places in foreign territories conquered by the Egyptians, and delivering products to the temple. Perhaps they were even identical with the towns presenting *in.w* according to the dedication text of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. The latter, however, do not seem to have been attached to the temple, as seems to have been the case with the towns in list a of P. Harris I: *in.w* is not the appropriate term for revenues from the temple estate itself,<sup>2</sup> although it must be said that dedication texts as a genre may not always be administratively correct in their use of words such as *b3k.w* and *in.w*.

### § 3 - THE GREATER TEMPLE ESTATE

The departments described in the previous section in their turn received supplies of raw materials from sources lying at a greater distance from the temple, but nevertheless belonging to the same administrative unit. This unit has been referred to on many occasions already by the word "estate". It is difficult, however, to find an equivalent of that term in Egyptian. As we have seen above, the departments delivering items for the offering-cult of a royal memorial temple are said to belong to the "temple (of millions of years ...)" (*hw.t (n.t h3.w m rnp.w.t ...)*), to "this house" (*pr pn*), or to "this sanctuary" (*r-pr pn*). Could any of these terms also be applied to the temple's distant gardens, its fields, its cattle, and its ships?

Reference is made, in the offering-lists of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu and Karnak, to gardens and herds attached to the memorial temple, which is sometimes referred to in short as "this house".<sup>3</sup> Economic resources thus seem to have belonged to a unit termed *pr* "house", but this does not necessarily make the word *pr* itself an explicit reference to an economic estate. Although *pr* may very well convey the notion "household", or "house and its estate", there is not a single text that makes it necessary to regard *pr* as a word for the estate of an institution as distinct from that institution itself.<sup>4</sup> For this reason, I have chosen to translate the word *pr* consistently as "house", and not as "estate" or "domain", as is usual in many Egyptological studies.

<sup>1</sup> Cairo stela; chapter I, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter I (pp. 47-49), and the discussion of list c of P. Harris I in chapter VI, § 4 (pp. 183-185).

<sup>3</sup> Chapter II, § 7 (p. 81), chapter III, § 1 (p. 94).

<sup>4</sup> Introduction, § 4, pp. 32-33.

Another possible designation for the temple “estate” presents itself in the captions to offering-processions at Medinet Habu and Abydos. At Medinet Habu, the last people in the procession are “gardeners of the divine offering” (*k3r.y.w n ḥtp-nṯr*), while at Abydos, birds (and the fowlyard), dates, flowers, vegetables, and the “bull for the feast of the new moon” are said to belong to the “divine offering” (*3pd ʿš3*, etc., *n ḥtp-nṯr*). We cannot be entirely certain whether the word *ḥtp-nṯr* (masculine singular) is a direct reference to the offerings presented in the temple, or an administrative word for the temple estate. We know that the word was used with the latter meaning in Eighteenth Dynasty texts and even earlier,<sup>1</sup> and in view of the fact that temple departments (such as the workshop and the granary) and personnel (gardeners) may be characterized as belonging to the “divine offering” (see the previous section), there seems to be no problem in interpreting *ḥtp-nṯr* as a reference to all the economic resources of the temple together. Thus, it may have been a more explicit reference to an economic estate than the ambiguous *pr*. In contrast to the latter, however, it is found with temple estates only.

In addition to the departments described in the previous section, the temple estate must have included fields, gardens, herds, and towns, as well as ships, and perhaps shipyards, weavers’ workshops, and mines. The official founder of the estate was the king, and by his act of endowment the assignment of resources was confirmed. The estate is presented in the ceremonial texts as everlasting and immutable property of the gods. It could actually be revised, however, by later temple inspections, such as the one by the chief archivist Penpato in year 15 of Ramesses III.<sup>2</sup> Additions to its resources were made by private donations of land, cattle, and personnel.<sup>3</sup> These private endowments may have been of marginal importance when compared to the royal benefactions; nevertheless, they added to the temple’s basic regular income.

### 1. THE TEMPLE FIELDS

In the first address to Amun and in list a of P. Harris I (Theban section), the arable lands of the memorial temple, which were mainly sown with cereals, are referred to as “fields” (*3ḥ.w.t*: 4, 4; 11, 7). The same word occurs in the dedication-text of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, where it is followed by other types of land: “gardens” (*ḥntš*), “high land” (*q3y.t*), and land called *iw=f-(m)-nri*. Such terms will refer to the type of land, and its suitability for particular crops, and probably so does *3ḥ.w.t*. A term that is more informative with regard to the organization of work on the fields is “cultivators’ domains” (*rmny.t iḥwt.y.w*), which is used for agricultural domains of the “House of His Majesty” (*pr n ḥm=f*) and those of the “house of Amonrasonter” in list 1 of the Medinet Habu calendar.<sup>4</sup> The word “cultivators’ domains” probably refers to the organization of fields cultivated by royal or temple workers, and similar domains will have been at the disposal of the memorial temples.

<sup>1</sup> Introduction, § 4, p. 32, note 4.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter III, § 1 (pp. 94-95); chapter VI, § 2 (p. 161).

<sup>3</sup> Chapter V.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter II, § 3, p. 65.

Agricultural work may have been co-ordinated by “farms”.<sup>1</sup> The word is rarely attested in an agricultural context. The dedication-text of Ramesses III mentions them as belonging to the temple (having been built “in the name” of Amun), and scattered throughout Egypt and its foreign territories. They had to deliver *bzk.w* “obligatory produce”, and in view of the agricultural contexts in which the word *bhn* appears in other documents, their produce will have been the crops of temple lands.

The main product of the temple fields was grain, i.e. barley and emmer wheat, referred to in the offering-lists as “Upper- and Lower-Egyptian grain” respectively.<sup>2</sup> The grain was transported to the temple granary by ships of the type called *qr.w* “cargo-ships” in P. Harris I.<sup>3</sup> The number of ships that were at the disposal of the memorial temple at Medinet Habu probably formed no small part of the fleet of 83 ships given by Ramesses III to the new Theban temples according to list a of P. Harris I, apart from the ships newly produced in temple “shipyards” (*wḥr.w.t*).

## 2. HERDS

The herds (*mnmn.w.t*) of the royal memorial temple must have supplied cattle, other animals, fowl, and milk, just like the herds of other temples mentioned in the offering-lists of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.<sup>4</sup> The regular offering-cult in the temple required considerable quantities of meat and fowl yearly (see above, section 2, 4), and its herds were also the source of supplies for the offerings at Karnak (see below, section 5).

The five herds mentioned in the Theban list a of P. Harris I might have been assigned to different newly founded temples, among them the memorial temple at Medinet Habu, but that is very uncertain.<sup>5</sup> The total of cattle and other animals at the end of that list, however, probably includes the animals assigned to the memorial temple. Two of the five herds mentioned separately were under the authority (*r ḥt*) of a steward and an overseer of cattle, who may both have been temple officials, but another herd was under the authority of the vizier of the south, one of the highest functionaries in the government administration and an external official from the temple’s point of view. Such a division of authority among high officials of different administrative spheres may also have taken place with regard to the herds of the royal memorial temple, but the only time we are informed about the supervision of its cattle on a higher level is in list 55 of the Medinet Habu calendar (line 1286), where it is said that herds of “this house” (here a reference to the temple of Medinet Habu) are under the authority of “the superior of the house (*ʿ3 n pr*) of the Temple of Millions of Years”.<sup>6</sup> The herds thus seem to have been supervised by a temple administrator, but other herds of the same temple were perhaps under the authority of external officials.

<sup>1</sup> If this is the correct translation of *bhn.w*; see chapter I, pp. 47-49.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter II, § 1, pp. 55-56, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter VI, § 5, p. 189.

<sup>4</sup> See table 2 (B).

<sup>5</sup> See the discussion of the expression *pr pn* in chapter VI, § 3, pp. 167-168.

<sup>6</sup> Chapter II, § 7, p. 86.

## 3. TRANSPORT

The temple had its own ships (called *mnš.w*, *qr.w*, and *r-ḥd.w*) and shipyards (*wḥr.w.t*), as becomes apparent from the dedication-texts and from lists a and b of P. Harris I. The total of ships was 83 for all Theban temples of Ramesses III together, and a considerable number of these must have been used as transports by the memorial temple. Other types of ships are recorded at the end of the list of products of the temple estates. These lines are in fact concerned with wood for the production of ships, 82 of which would seem to be the yearly (?) production. Some of the ships were intended for the transport of cattle. Some of these ships may also have been produced, or used, as transports within the estate of the memorial temple.

Elsewhere in P. Harris I, in the address to Amun preceding the lists, Ramesses III says: "I made ships for it (i.e., the royal temple), loaded with good and enduring grain, in order to sail to its (i.e., the temple's) granary. There is no weariness to them. I made great treasury-ships for it on the river, loaded with numerous things for its august treasury".<sup>1</sup> The two types of ship are *qr* and *r-ḥd*. The former was used for the transport of grain from the temple fields that were scattered throughout the land, while the latter brought smaller quantities of valuable materials to the temple treasury, after which they were named. They must have transported the items we have come to know as characteristic of treasury supplies: gold, silver, valuable stone, garments, fruit, wine, moringa- and olive-oil, incense, and honey, or other products (see above, section 2, 3). In list b of the Great Harris Papyrus we find gold, silver, copper, wine, olive-oil, and incense among the revenues of the Theban temple estates. As we have seen in the discussion of list b,<sup>2</sup> such materials may have been either produced on the estates, or acquired by the temples' commercial agents (*šw.t.y.w*). In both cases, the activity of temple personnel delivered much more of such valuable materials than was ideally expected from the king as a donor of additional supplies (*in.w*; see below, section 4).

## 4. PERSONNEL OF THE ESTATE

The list of temple property in P. Harris I (list a) records 62,626 people as personnel assigned to the royal memorial temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. According to the description of the temple estate as given above, this enormous number of people probably consisted of:

- a. People working in the departments delivering their products directly to the temple: the workshop, the granary, the treasury, the cattle-shed, the slaughterhouse, the fowlyard, and the gardens situated in the neighbourhood of the temple. According to Eighteenth Dynasty inscriptions, a considerable part of the workshop personnel consisted of foreign war captives, who lived in their own settlements close to the temple. Other people delivering their produce directly to

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<sup>1</sup> Chapter VI, § 5, p. 189.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter VI, § 4, pp. 179-183.

the temple were the cultivators of the nearby gardens: the “gardeners of the divine offering”.<sup>1</sup>

b. Agricultural workers, cultivating the fields and gardens of the temple, which were scattered throughout Egypt. Although the temple probably had its “cultivators’ domains”, which were worked by its own personnel, a considerable part of the 62,626 people mentioned in P. Harris I may actually have been private holders of land nominally assigned to the Medinet Habu temple, who yearly paid a relatively small share of their production to the temple granary.<sup>2</sup>

c. People guarding and taking care of the temple herds (*mnmn.w.t*). The “superior of the house” (*ʿz n pr*), who was the supervisor of the temple herds or part of these according to list 55 of the Medinet Habu calendar, may also have acted as the superior of their personnel. A herdsman (*mni.w*) once appears in the offering-procession depicted in Medinet Habu as the supplier of milk for the daily or festival offerings.<sup>3</sup>

d. Craftsmen for the “shipyards” (*wḥr.w.t*), and sailors for the ships. Besides these, the Theban memorial temples presumably also had their commercial agents (*šw.t.y.w*), just like other temples.<sup>4</sup> In P. Harris I, *šw.t.y.w* are associated with the Memphite temple treasuries. Such people may have been responsible for part of the temple’s receipt of precious materials.

e. Temple personnel not mentioned in the texts discussed so far. If the Medinet Habu temple indeed had its own possessions outside the Nile valley (settlements or farms in Nubia and Asia, and mining regions in the Eastern Desert), as the dedication-texts and the lists of P. Harris I seem to imply, temple personnel must have been stationed there as well. An indication of the categories of temple personnel working on distant locations is given by a passage the Nauri-decree of Sethos I.<sup>5</sup>

All categories of personnel listed above had the obligation to hand in their “contributions” (*šzy.t*) and “produce” (*bzk.w*) to the temple. The estate formed by the resources and personnel listed in this section must have been capable of producing a considerable surplus, which made up for the usual temple expenses: the offerings to the gods, the payment of priests and temple officials (partly by the redistribution of the offerings), and

<sup>1</sup> Chapter IV, § 1, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> See the discussion of list a in chapter VI, § 4, pp. 174-179.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter IV, § 1, pp. 113-114.

<sup>4</sup> I know only one reference to any *šw.t.y* of a temple in Western Thebes: a man called Hat(?)[...], who was attached to “the Temple of Amun” (*t3 ḥw.t Imn*); see appendix 2 (last section: “name of king uncertain”). For *ḥw.t Imn* as a reference to the royal memorial temple, see the discussion of *ḥw.t* and *pr* in § 3 of the Introduction, p. 27.

<sup>5</sup> See the Introduction, § 1, p. 6.

the upkeep and embellishment of temple buildings and furniture. From lists a and b of the Theban section of P. Harris I, it has been concluded that the agricultural production far exceeded the offering requirements.<sup>1</sup> The average yearly production of grain received by the five new Theban temples of Ramesses III from their estates was 309,950 sacks. We do not know how much of this amount went to the king's temple at Medinet Habu, but according to the calendar inscribed on its walls, the theoretical amount of grain required for the offerings yearly presented in that temple cannot have been much more than 12,563 sacks. In addition, its granary had to supply almost 8,000 sacks yearly for the offerings at Karnak.<sup>2</sup> When compared with the grain production recorded in P. Harris I, however, the offerings still do not seem to have required the greater part of the production, a considerable amount of which was thus available for other purposes, and which could ultimately sustain a large number of people.

#### § 4 - THE ROYAL MEMORIAL TEMPLES AND THE KING

In the texts discussed in Part One, the economic relations between the memorial temple estates and the state government (or its official head, the Pharaoh) all appear as one-way traffic. Although we have seen examples of deliveries by temples to the king or his representatives in section 2 of the Introduction (the produce of *khato*-fields, or deliveries called *in.w* or *tp-dr.t*), nothing of the kind appears in royal temple inscriptions and other ceremonial texts. The king is presented in these texts as the one who puts the economic resources that are under his authority at the disposal of the gods and their temples. In the offering-lists inscribed on the temple walls, the royal agricultural domains, gardens, and treasury appear as sources of supply for the requirements of the offering-cult.

Above all, the king was the builder of the temple and it was he who endowed it with personnel, land, cattle, and material wealth. The dedicatory texts, as well as the text concerning the Medinet Habu temple in P. Harris I, describe various aspects of these acts.<sup>3</sup> The sources of these initial endowments, however, are never mentioned, with the exception of the personnel assigned if they were foreign war-captives.

The "capital assets" of a group of newly founded temples are summarized in list a of the Theban section of P. Harris I, where they are collectively referred to as *im.y(.t)-pr*, literally "what is in the house" (page 10, line 2). The same term occurs in the dedication-text of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (column 39), where it refers to a document recording the transfer of the king's assets to the temple. No doubt, such a document established the right of the temple to the control over, and the use of, the things assigned to it. Hence, the word has been translated in chapters I and VI as "property"/"property-deed", although the notion of "property" in this context (indeed, in ancient Egypt in general) may not have agreed exactly with modern Western concepts of property rights. Ramesses III keeps referring to his new foundation as "my temple", which may create the impression that the endowments still remained those of the king. What the king actually

<sup>1</sup> Chapter VI, § 4, pp. 173-183.

<sup>2</sup> According to the Karnak offering-lists of Ramesses III: 7,300 + 91 ¼ + 365 sacks yearly; see chapter III, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter I; chapter VI, § 5, pp. 188-189.

means to say by this, however, is probably “my temple (for You)”, in the sense of “my accomplishment”, rather than “my property”.

The temple was also provided with cultic equipment, such as statues, altars, and vessels, some of which no doubt found their place in the temple’s ritual “treasury” (see above, section 2, 3). This completed the initial equipment of the temple, and from now on, its requirements were met by regular income from its own estate, as well as by additional deliveries from outside. It is not always easy to separate these two types of supplies. When it is said that the temple granary “is overflowing with good and enduring grain (*nfr w3h.t*)” (P. Harris I, page 4, line 4), reference will be made to grain supplies from its own estate, but when the king says: “I charged (*htri-i*) Southern Egypt for it, as well as on Northern Egypt”, or “Nubia and Asia are at its disposal with their produce” (lines 4 and 5), it is less clear whether the produce was directly delivered to the temple, or the king exacted it and subsequently passed it on. In view of the fact that the word *b3k.w* is used, however, the former interpretation is perhaps to be preferred. *B3k.w* was also imposed on the *bhn.w* “farms” (?) in Egypt, Nubia, and Asia, which are mentioned in the dedication-text of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.<sup>1</sup> It may refer to supplies from the temple’s Egyptian and foreign properties.

A supplement to the income called *b3k.w* was formed by *in.w*. The dedication-text at Medinet Habu also refers to this type of supplies: “All towns (*dmi.w*) whatsoever are brought together with their *in.w*, in order to send them to Your Ka”. The word *in.w* (from *ini* “to bring”) represents a type of additional income that was traditionally supplied to the temple by the king. The lists of P. Harris I clearly illustrate this: whereas list b of the Theban section is concerned with the production and contributions of the temple estates, list c records the items given by the king “as *in.w* of the Lord l.p.h.” At least part of the *in.w* listed there even seems to have been presented to the temple in the form of precious manufactured objects, such as the gold and silver vessels, and the amulets made of valuable stones. These may even have included the temple’s primary cultic equipment, which was donated at the very beginning of its regular cult.

On the other hand, the lists of P. Harris I also show us that the temple did not depend exclusively on the flow of *in.w* for each of the items included in that category of supplies. The Theban temple estates produced far greater amounts of cattle, fowl, wine, incense, honey, oil, and vegetables, than were brought in by the royal *in.w*, and even the supplies of precious materials such as gold, silver, copper, and textiles were obtained and produced in greater quantities by the personnel of the temple itself. In fact, the only items for which the supply of *in.w* may have been vital were myrrh, natron, and salt.<sup>2</sup> As far as the other products are concerned, the royal *in.w* were probably nothing more than tokens of the king’s concern for the material welfare of the gods. The temples probably had their own sources of precious goods (access to mining regions, and the opportunity to trade), as

<sup>1</sup> Chapter I, pp. 47-49.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter VI, §§ 4 (p. 184) and 5 (p. 190), and table 7.

well as their own means of transporting them.<sup>1</sup> Indeed, we have been informed by the dedication-texts and the Harris Papyrus that the memorial temple had its own fleet of cargo- and treasury-ships.

The royal *in.w* also included animals: in the scenes of the preparation of meat-offerings at Abydos,<sup>2</sup> one bull is said to belong to “the *in.w* of His Majesty”, while another one is “the first bull of Kush”. In addition, we see “gazelles which [His] Majesty has brought”. It appears that the produce of the temple herds could be supplemented by animals given by the king on a yearly basis. The list of *in.w* in P. Harris I includes “various cattle, 297” for 31 years (16a, 12), that is, an average of 9 or 10 yearly. When compared with the requirement of cattle by the temple of Medinet Habu alone (see table 7: 119 animals), a delivery of 9 or 10 head of cattle yearly to the new Theban temples together can be regarded as symbolic.

Reference has already been made above, in section 2, to the “storehouse of *in.w*”. The salt and natron supplied by this storehouse are indeed recorded in the list of *in.w* in P. Harris I (list c), and not as the products of the temple estates (list b). The supplies of list c were given to a group of Theban temples, and probably delivered to the treasury of the temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak.<sup>3</sup> As can be seen in table 7, the average yearly deliveries included 1,419 “bricks” of natron, and the same quantity of salt. According to the Medinet Habu calendar, 150 bricks of each were needed yearly by the memorial temple, a demand that could be met easily, even if we allow for the possibility that the supplies of list c were meant to be distributed among all temples of Thebes, among them the temple of Amonrasonter itself.

List 17 of the Medinet Habu calendar records 2 jars of moringa-oil, 2 jars of wine, and 250 *hin* of fruits that were supplied yearly to the memorial temple by the royal treasury (*pr-ḥd n Pr-ꜥ3*). These small yearly amounts are reminiscent of the list of *in.w* in P. Harris I (list c), but the supplies are not called *in.w* in the calendar. Moreover, moringa-oil (*b3q*) is not recorded in list c. The list does mention Egyptian and Syrian oil (referred to as *nḥḥ*), but that product was probably used for lamps, rather than for cosmetic purposes, as was moringa-oil. Wine is amply represented among the royal *in.w*, but fruit is not: only 46 *oipe* are recorded as the total for 31 years, which comes to 1½ *oipe* or 60 *hin* yearly. This is only a small delivery, nothing of which is likely to have reached the memorial temple. If we want to regard the names of the products, as well as their amounts, as recorded in the calendar—dating from the reign of Ramesses II or earlier—as trustworthy, we must assume that the deliveries by the royal treasury of list 17 did not pass through the same channel as the *in.w* recorded in P. Harris I (i.e. the treasury

<sup>1</sup> In the discussion of the word *in.w* in chapter VI (§ 4), some remarks were made with respect to the decree of King Sethos I at Nauri, which mentions “ships of *in.w* of Kush” belonging the king’s temple at Abydos, suggesting that the temple itself transported *in.w* (p. 185, note 3). The implications of this for *in.w* as an administrative term cannot be fully dealt with in the present context, since they would require a thorough discussion of the Nauri inscription as well as other references for the word *in.w*.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter IV, § 2, p. 123.

<sup>3</sup> On the analogy of the distribution of incense in the tomb-scenes of Ineni and Puyemre; see chapter IV, § 4, pp. 139-141.

of the Karnak temple), but that they were supplied directly to the memorial temple by the “treasury of Pharaoh”.

List 18 is even more obscure because the source of the monthly deliveries it is concerned with is left unmentioned. Just as in list 17, however, the source may have been the royal treasury. The products supplied are incense, wax, moringa-oil, papyrus, wood, and charcoal. The deliveries of incense in this list have been discussed in connection with the incense-lists from the tombs of Ineni and Puyemre.<sup>1</sup> According to these Eighteenth Dynasty scenes, the incense for Theban temples (in quantities comparable to that of calendar list 18) came from the treasury of the temple of Amonrasonter. This institution received royal *in.w*, which will have included incense. It may also have been the place where the items of calendar list 18 were distributed, but it is extremely doubtful whether this list still represented current administrative practice in the Twentieth Dynasty. As we have seen in the discussion of P. Harris I,<sup>2</sup> the Theban temple estates produced a quantity of incense that surpassed the amounts included in the royal *in.w*. Moreover, the amount of incense recorded in list 18 of the Medinet Habu calendar (72 *deben* yearly) could cover only a small part of the requirements of the memorial temple (see table 3: over 140 *deben*, 3,580 baskets, and 360 bowls), the greater part of which therefore must have been provided by the temple’s own estate. The same estate must have produced the incense (as well as the grain, fowl, wine, fruit, honey, fat, flowers, and vegetables) of calendar list 2 and the offering-lists of Ramesses III at Karnak.<sup>3</sup> According to Medinet Habu list 2, the memorial temple was to deliver 3 baskets daily, or 1,095 baskets yearly, to the Karnak temple, and it is unlikely that the 72 *deben* of (the older) calendar list 18 were still being transferred yearly in the opposite direction, from the treasury of Amonrasonter at Karnak to the temple at Medinet Habu. Instead of the small memorial temples receiving their incense from the central distribution of royal *in.w* by the treasury of the House of Amun at Karnak, as in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, the later Ramesside Period saw big memorial temples on the Theban west bank with their own large, productive estates, enough to cover not only their own requirements, but also part of the demands made by the great Karnak temple. Indeed, the products needed for the offerings at Karnak according to lists 1 and 2 of the Medinet Habu calendar came almost without exception from other estates than that of Amonrasonter itself.

#### § 5 - THE ROYAL MEMORIAL TEMPLE AND THE HOUSE OF AMUN

From a number of documents, it appears that the Theban royal memorial temple had economic connections with the great temple of Amun at Karnak. The offering-lists of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu and Karnak, and the Karnak lists of Ramesses IV, testify to the obligation of the king’s temple in Western Thebes to supply grain and other products for the daily and festival offerings of Amonrasonter.<sup>4</sup> The Eighteenth Dynasty tomb-

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<sup>1</sup> Chapter IV, § 4, pp. 139-140.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter VI, § 5, p. 190.

<sup>3</sup> See tables 2 (B) and 4.

<sup>4</sup> Chapter II, § 3; chapter III.

scenes of Ineni and Puyemre, on the other hand, show how the incense for the temples of Thebes, including the royal temples on the west bank, were weighed out in the treasury of the Karnak temple, which thus seems to have functioned as a central point of distribution for royal supplies (*in.w*).<sup>1</sup> The same central distribution is suggested by the list of *in.w* (list c) in the Great Harris Papyrus, and the treatment of administrative data and the choice of terminology in the same document is strongly suggestive of a central administration for all Theban temples.<sup>2</sup>

These indications would seem to confirm the theory current in Egyptological literature that some Theban temples, including the royal memorial temples in Western Thebes, were incorporated within one large estate headed by the great temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak, and that this incorporation is referred to by the phrase “in the House of Amun” (*m pr 'Imn*) in the names of these temples. In section 4 of the Introduction, however, it was stated that the idea was not self-evident, and that one of the aims of this book would be to find out whether it is tenable for the memorial temples in Western Thebes. Having examined the first group of documents, we may briefly summarize the information relevant to this question.

First of all, it may be remembered that the way in which the word *pr* “house” is used in P. Harris I is suggestive, but also very vague. The “House of Amonrasonter, Mut, Khonsu, and all the Gods of Thebes” would seem to be a reference to an administrative unit embracing different Theban temples because it is used in the heading of a list of personnel, animals, fields and other properties actually assigned to various temples. In chapter VI (section 3), however, the possibility was considered that the expression is in fact not an administrative term, but a metaphor that stands for “Thebes”, or “the temples of Thebes”. A group of temples of various deities throughout Egypt is referred to in the same metaphorical way as “the House of his (the king’s) noble fathers, all the gods and goddesses of the south and the north”. The way P. Harris I uses the word “house” may therefore have little administrative relevance, and this may even be true for the compact expression “this house” (*pr pn*), insofar as it does not refer to individual temples. The only term in P. Harris I referring to an administrative relation between two institutions in a way that is administratively exact is the word *sdf*, from older *sdf3*. This word, the original meaning of which may have been “(material) provision”, stands for the administrative (and perhaps also economic) responsibility of one institution for another, which is then said to be “on the *sdf* (or *sdf3*)” of the responsible institution. When compared with the use of *sdf*, the administrative irrelevance of the phrase *m pr 'Imn* “in the House of Amun” becomes apparent: a newly founded town in the Nile delta, which is explicitly said to be “on the *sdf* of the House of Amonrasonter”, is nowhere characterized by *m pr 'Imn*.<sup>3</sup>

From an inscription of the steward Amenhotep (reign of Amenophis III), we may infer that the temples of the early New Kingdom pharaohs in Western Thebes were all on

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<sup>1</sup> Chapter IV, § 4, pp. 135-141.

<sup>2</sup> Chapter VI, §§ 3 and 4.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter VI, § 3, p. 73.

the *sdf* of the temple of Amun.<sup>1</sup> The central distribution of incense supplied by royal *in.w* to the temples “that are in the retinue of the House of Amun” (*im.y ht pr Imn*) would at first sight seem to be an example of how the economic dependence possibly referred to by *sdf* worked in practice.<sup>2</sup> However, central distribution is not necessarily the same as economic dependence. By consequence, the exact administrative implications of the expression *im.y ht* “in the retinue of” remain unclear. Let us also be reminded here of the fact that the “House of Amun” itself is the first to appear among the “dependent” temples, and that the temples of Mut, Khonsu, Ptah, and Montu are found among them as well. Would these temples have been permanently dependent on the “House of Amun” for their supplies? They are mentioned in the same line as the royal memorial temples and other foundations that are generally supposed to be administratively incorporated within the “House of Amun”, yet their names never contain the phrase “in the House of Amun”. It seems to me that “in the House of Amun” is not an administrative notion, but a phrase that is applied to new Theban temples bearing the name of the founding king, and which serves to indicate the deity worshipped in them. When not part of this phrase, “House of Amun” is just short for “House of Amonrasonter”, being no more—and no less—than a reference to the great temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak.

Pushing aside the phrase *m pr Imn* as administratively irrelevant removes the necessity of speaking of an administrative incorporation of individual temples within a “Domain of Amun”, but it does not mean that we can altogether dispense with the idea of administrative dependence of one temple on another. As we have seen, the word *sdf/sdf* almost certainly refers to such a dependent status. It is all the more surprising, then, to see that according to the Great Harris Papyrus, personnel assigned to the old temples of Re and Ptah at Heliopolis and Memphis were put “on the *sdf*” of the newly founded royal memorial temples in these places.<sup>3</sup> This alone already suggests that the memorial temples of the Twentieth Dynasty had left behind the dependent status implied in the Eighteenth Dynasty inscription of the steward Amenhotep. It is not entirely certain that the memorial temples themselves were in fact also still on the *sdf* of older temples. One passage in the Great Harris Papyrus would seem to indicate this,<sup>4</sup> when it says that the *in.w* were supplied by the king to the “House of Ptah” and “the temples of its *sdf*” (*r.w-pr.w sdf=f*), for it is likely that the royal memorial temple was one of the Memphite foundations benefiting from the *in.w*.

On the other hand, just like the weighing out of incense for the Theban temples in Eighteenth Dynasty tomb-scenes (see above), the central distribution of the royal supplies in P. Harris I is not necessarily a practice that indicates economic dependence: it is no more than convenient that supplies from external sources to a number of geographically clustered temples should be distributed from a central point, and it is only logical that this central point was the treasury of the main local temple. We would have reason to say that the new royal temples depended economically on this main temple if they really received

<sup>1</sup> Chapter VI, § 3, p. 169 (a).

<sup>2</sup> Chapter IV, § 4, pp. 139-141.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter VI, § 3, p. 170 (e, f).

<sup>4</sup> Chapter VI, § 3, p. 170 (g).

supplies from its own resources, and this does not seem to have been the case in Twentieth Dynasty Thebes. Quite the contrary: the offerings presented in the great temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak, the main Theban temple, were actually supplied partly by the royal memorial temples on the west bank. According to list 2 of the Medinet Habu calendar, the memorial temple was expected to supply grain, fowl, incense, and fruit for the daily offerings at Karnak.<sup>1</sup> The offering-lists of Ramesses III and IV at Karnak (see tables 4 and 5) likewise mention the new temples of these kings in Western Thebes as suppliers of grain, fowl, wine, fruit, incense, honey, fat, flowers, and vegetables (grain from their granaries; wine, fruit, incense, honey, and fat from their treasuries; fowl from their “herds”; flowers and vegetables from their gardens). These products were intended for daily and festival offerings in the temple of Amonrasonter. The quantities of wheat and barley supplied to Karnak by the granary of the Medinet Habu temple according to the Karnak lists of Ramesses III (20 sacks according to the list of year 16;  $\frac{1}{4}$  sack in the list of year 7; 1 sack in the list of year 6) together amounted to 7,756 $\frac{1}{4}$  sacks a year, which is almost two-thirds of the memorial temple’s own theoretical yearly requirement according to the Ramesseum calendar (over 12,562 sacks). It would seem that the royal memorial temple in Western Thebes had a greater economic responsibility towards the “House of Amun” than the other way round, but even this practice was not necessarily inherent in its (supposed) being “on the *sdf*” of the Karnak temple. The regular provision of the temple of Amonrasonter by the temples of Ramesses III and IV in Western Thebes was established by royal decree, that is, by intervention from outside.

The Twentieth Dynasty temples on the Theban west bank probably played an important ritual role only during the “Feast of the Valley”, as resting-places for the barks of the Theban Triad. For the rest of the year, they functioned like any Egyptian temple with its own cult. Administratively, however, they were connected with the “House of Amun” on the east bank by being obliged to supply a considerable part of their revenues for the offering-cult at Karnak. In this way, the pharaohs combined the material provisions for the cults in their impressive personal monuments on the west bank with the religious duty to add to the offerings presented to Amun in his main temple.

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<sup>1</sup> See table 2 (B).

**PART TWO**

**ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS**



## CHAPTER VIII

### TEMPLE PERSONNEL AND THEIR DUTIES

#### § 1 - PRIESTS

##### GENERAL

Whereas the ceremonial inscriptions of temples and tombs present us with the image of ancient Egyptian priests as devoted servants of their gods, it is the non-literary papyri and ostraca that show us the other side of the coin: priests as administrators and consumers—or misusers—of temple property. In order to emphasize this contrast, Sauneron, in his study on the Egyptian priests, brought forward the document known as the “Turin Indictment Papyrus”.<sup>1</sup> The text deals with scandals (theft of temple property, misappropriation of grain, the harassing of women living nearby) perpetrated by some priests of the temple of Khnum on the island of Elephantine during the reigns of Ramesses IV and V. An equally disgraceful impression of ancient Egyptian priests is conveyed by the chronicle of the unfortunate Petiese (P. Rylands IX).<sup>2</sup> The author could not have chosen better counterweights to the example of the sage priest Petosiris who lived in the fourth century BC.<sup>3</sup> To those who read the records of such scandalous affairs, it will immediately become apparent that for the priests serving the cults in the Egyptian temples, a very real material interest was at stake, besides the honour of being attached to a holy shrine. It is no wonder, then, to find priests as controllers, even as regular administrators, of temple property, most of whom were neither saints, nor “savoureuses crapules”—although we will also see some of the priests in Western Thebes as violators of the temples in which they served in this section, as well as in chapter IX, section 8.

In the ceremonial texts discussed in the first part of the present study, priests are rarely connected with the production and administration of the temple’s wealth and revenues. The dedication text of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (see chapter I) even makes a sharp distinction between the liturgical duties of the priesthood and the material tasks of other temple employees:

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<sup>1</sup> Sauneron, *Prêtres*<sup>2</sup>, 20-23. Edition and extensive discussion of the text by Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, xxii-xxiv and 73-82; A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 60-62. Recent translation by Peden, *Ramesses IV*, 109-116. See also P. Vernus, *Affaires et Scandales sous les Ramsès. La Crise des Valeurs dans l’Égypte du Nouvel Empire*, Paris 1993, 123-140.

<sup>2</sup> Sauneron, *Prêtres*<sup>2</sup>, 24-27.

<sup>3</sup> Sauneron, *Prêtres*<sup>2</sup>, 16-19.

They are *wab*-priests and god's fathers for You, in order to call You to Your meals (and) to adore Your *Ka*. Others are at their tasks in every work work, in order to provide for Your fixed portion of daily requirements.<sup>1</sup>

The (much earlier) dedication text of Amenophis III on the southern stela in his memorial temple confirms the distinction by merely stating that the priests he appointed—here referred to as “god's servants” (*hm.w-ntr*) and *wab*-priests—were of the best descent and reputation (see chapter I). They were entitled to shares of the daily and festival offerings, while extra arrangements were even made for priests' parties at the yearly festivals of Opet and the accession-date.<sup>2</sup> Temple reliefs at Medinet Habu and Abydos show their concern with the gods' meals: god's servants, lector priests and *wab*-priests directed the daily procession of offerings into the temple, and inspected the slaughtering of cattle.<sup>3</sup> Their sphere of duties seems to have been restricted to the temple precinct.

Clearly, the ceremonial texts want us to believe that the priests had other tasks than the other officials and the workmen of the temples, and belonged to a different social class. We will see that this distinction cannot be made so easily in texts dealing with daily administrative practice. These documents mention five different types of priests with administrative responsibilities: *sem*-priests, god's servants (*hm-ntr*), god's fathers (*it-ntr*), *wab*-priests, and lector-priests (*hr.y-ḥb*).

#### THE *SEM*-PRIEST

From the texts that inform us about the activities of the *sem*-priests,<sup>4</sup> it appears that any individual temple had only one such priest at a time: the title never occurs in the plural, and the priest's personal name can easily be omitted.<sup>5</sup> Apparently, the title and a reference to the temple in question sufficed to make clear which person was meant. Equally characteristic is the fact that the definite article *p3* is never used with the title. According to Helck, the designation *sem* replaced the title “high priest” (*hm-ntr tp.y*) of the chief priests of the memorial temples in Western Thebes from the reign of Amenophis III onwards.<sup>6</sup> The first *sem*-priest known for Western Thebes may be Meriptah of the temple of Amenophis III, in the reign of the same king.<sup>7</sup> The title “high priest”, alternating with that of *sem* in connection with memorial temples, is still attested

<sup>1</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 138, cols. 45 and 46; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* V, 118, 4-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Medinet Habu* calendar lists 22 and 37; see chapter II, § 6, pp. 79-80.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter IV, §§ 1 and 2.

<sup>4</sup> Both *sm* and *stm* are normal spellings (see Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 39\* and 40\*). My transliteration *sm* (“*sem*”) is an arbitrary choice of convention, without any pretension to be the correct orthography or pronunciation of the word.

<sup>5</sup> So in P. Geneva D 191 vs., 17; P. Turin Cat. 1880 vs. 7, 3 (for the reading of the title *sem* here, see below, p. 219, note 3); P. Turin Cat. 1881 rt. 8, 5; O. Berlin 11239, 3 and 4; O. IFAO 1413 obv., 5.

<sup>6</sup> Helck, *Materialien* I, (80), remark no. 12.

<sup>7</sup> See Helck, *Materialien* I, (100), if the reconstruction in *Urkunden* IV, 1787, 5 and 6 is correct, and if reference is really made to a Theban temple; see appendix 2.

in inscriptions from the reign of Ramesses II,<sup>1</sup> but no later. The title was associated especially with the cult of Ptah at Memphis (the high priest of Ptah at Memphis was called *sem*) and elsewhere in the country, as well as with the private funerary cult.<sup>2</sup> The presence of *sem*-priests on the Theban west bank has been explained by the supposed funerary function of the temples.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult, however, to regard them as real funerary temples, especially in the later Eighteenth Dynasty and in the Ramesside Period (see section 3 of the Introduction). An alternative possibility would be that the title *sem* came to be connected with the temples of Western Thebes through the cult of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. The cult of Sokar is attested already in earlier inscriptions at Karnak (the temple *ꜥh-mnw* of Thutmose III), as well as in private inscriptions from Western Thebes.<sup>4</sup> A *sem*-priest, with his characteristic dress of leopard-skin, might be depicted in a procession of a royal statue on blocks of the temple of Thutmose II.<sup>5</sup> It is true that texts from this period do not yet mention *sem*-priests in connection with the royal memorial temples, but this may be due to the accidents of preservation of textual sources.

The *sem*-priest must have been the chief administrator of temple property and personnel. In documents from the late Twentieth Dynasty, he seems to have shared this responsibility with the temple steward<sup>6</sup> and the high priest of Amun of the Karnak temple.<sup>7</sup> Under his authority stood *wab*-priests, brewers, coppersmiths, stonemasons, members of the temple's mining expeditions, and attendants (*šms.w*). O. Berlin 11239, probably dating from the Nineteenth Dynasty, is the earliest text in which the *sem*-priest

<sup>1</sup> The priests Kha'emwese and Piay, both attached to the temples of Amenophis III or Ramesses II. The former was "high priest of the king's temple" and "*sem*-priest of the temple of Sokar" (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 326, 11 and 12), while Piay was "high priest of Amun of United-with-Thebes" (Lipinska, *Deir El-Bahari* IV, 27, col. 2). He may be identical with the "*sem*-priest of the king's temple" with the same name (*ibid.*, 25, 27, 28, and 42), as well as with the Piay who was "*sem*-priest of the temple of Sokar" (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 162, 11). See appendix 2 for these possible identifications. The viceroy Wentawat was "high priest of Amun of United-with-Thebes" (G. Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes* II, 26, no. 42158; M.L. Bierbrier, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.* 10, London 1982, 20 and 21, no. 2).

<sup>2</sup> B. Schmitz, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* V, 834; see also Kees, *Priestertum*, 63, and the index to that work, s.v. "Sem".

<sup>3</sup> So B. Schmitz, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* V, 834.

<sup>4</sup> *Totentempel Amenophis' III.*, 32; G.A. Gaballa, K.A. Kitchen, *Orientalia* 38 (1969), 27-28; Graindorge-Hérel, *Le Dieu Sokar*, 156-167.

<sup>5</sup> L. Gabolde, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 169, pl. XVII.

<sup>6</sup> The steward had authority over the gardener (*kꜣm.y*) Inuau and the scribe Pentwere: P. BM 10053 rt. 3, 13; 6, 17 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. XVII and XIX); *Giornale yr.* 17-B rt. 6, 5 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 23).

<sup>7</sup> The high priest had authority over coppersmiths according to P. Abbott rt. 4, 13 and 14; 7, 6 and 7 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. II and IV); two ship's captains and a sandal-maker in P. BM 10053 rt. 1, 18; 2, 15; 3, 17; 5, 12 and 16 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. XVII and XVIII); a workman of the temple of Thutmose I in P. BM 10054 rt. 3, 3 (*ibid.*, pl. VI); a scribe of the temple treasury in P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095 "rt.", 3 and 4 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 431). The stonemason Hapiwer came under the authority of the *sem*-priest according to P. Amherst + Leopold II, but under the authority of the high priest of Amun in P. BM 10054 (see p. 239, notes 6 and 8). See p. 239 for a possible explanation.

appears with administrative responsibilities.<sup>1</sup> In this letter, an unknown person is instructed by an equally unknown writer about some amounts of copper. The addressee had received copper from one Sementaui, who is probably identical with the coppersmith of that name. Probably to his surprise, he was called upon afterwards by the coppersmiths of the *sem*-priest (of which temple is uncertain; perhaps the Ramesseum). They told him that the copper he had received belonged to their superior, and not to the Tomb (*p3 hr*—this suggests that the writer and addressee were employees of the royal necropolis, living on or near the site presently known as Deir el-Medina). The writer of O. Berlin 11239, however, told him that this was nonsense, and even urged the addressee to seize the copper that would be brought later on by the temple coppersmiths to the necropolis. If we understand the text correctly, the man addressed was to do this in exchange for the many “deficits” (*wq3.w.t*)<sup>2</sup> of the *sem*-priest. We learn two things from this text: first, that the *sem*-priest had authority over coppersmiths (as expressed by the genitive marker *n*), and through them over amounts of copper; second, that copper was delivered to the necropolis by a temple: coppersmiths of the *sem* were expected to bring more copper to the addressee, and the *sem* himself appears to have built up “deficits”. This means that the deliveries may have been of a regular character. It is a pity that we do not have more explicit texts relating to such deliveries from this period. Texts from the late Twentieth Dynasty mention copper deliveries by memorial temples to the necropolis workmen, but these deliveries may have been made under different circumstances.<sup>3</sup>

The case considered above is similar, however, to a situation encountered in P. Turin Cat. 1881 *recto*, columns 8 and 9.<sup>4</sup> This text, dated to year 7 of King Ramesses IX, relates how attendants (*šms.w*) of the *sem*-priest came to the draughtsman Pentwere. The latter had been given a donkey together with its foal two years before, by the deputy Hori of the temple of Ramesses III (“The Temple”, *t3 hw.t*), presumably as a partial repayment of a loan of emmer wheat. The attendants said that the animals should be given to the *sem*-priest: apparently, they were actually his property, or rather temple animals for which he was responsible. The unfortunate Pentwere bought two other donkeys (had the other ones died or been sold?),<sup>5</sup> and gave them to the attendants. Later he brought Hori into court, where he declared his expenses. The outcome of the process

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<sup>1</sup> *Hieratische Papyri Berlin* III, pl. XXXVIII; translation and commentary by B.G. Davies, *GM* 137 (1993), 39-47. For the dating, see *ibid.*, 42, note 6. The text shows a combination of grammatical features that is characteristic of the Nineteenth Dynasty, especially of the reign of Ramesses II (see J. Winand, *RdÉ* 46 (1995), 187-195).

<sup>2</sup> For *wq3.t* “arrear,” “deficit”, see Megally, *Notions de Comptabilité*, 69-78.

<sup>3</sup> See below, §§ 2 (p. 228) and 3 (pp. 232-233); chapter IX, § 6.

<sup>4</sup> T.E. Peet, in: *Studies Griffith*, 125-127, pls. 10 and 11; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 614 and 615; Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, 313-317, pls. 108-110.

<sup>5</sup> Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, 315 and 316, assumed that the animals had been promised by Hori to Pentwere, but not yet delivered, so that Pentwere had to buy other donkeys for the attendants of the *sem*, but this makes it difficult to explain why the attendants came to Pentwere. It seems better, therefore, to assume with T.E. Peet (in: *Studies Griffith*, 125-127) that the attendants were coming to get the donkeys that had been bartered away by the deputy Hori.

is unclear,<sup>1</sup> but it is almost certain that temple property was really concerned: the donkeys, it seems, were repaid without delay to the attendants of the *sem*-priest.

P. IFAO A + B is a record of mining-expeditions to the Eastern Desert in years 1 and 2 of Ramesses VII or VIII.<sup>2</sup> The supervisor of the project was the “superior of the desert” Kel, and the products (gold and galena) went to the treasury of the House of Amun (i.e. the Karnak temple), to be received there by the high priest of Amun, the scribe of the treasury, and by the *sem*-priest Amenhotep of the temple of Ramesses III. Some of the members of the expedition were people (*msdm.t.y.w* “galena-diggers”, or *qr.w* “goldwashers”?) from the temple of Ramesses III, who were under the authority of (*r ht*) the *sem*-priest Amenhotep.<sup>3</sup> They were controlled on the spot by (*m dr.t*) a certain Amenkha’u, or by the superior of the desert Kel (*recto* 4, 5).<sup>4</sup>

Documents from the reign of Ramesses IX mention temple personnel accused of robbery, or found to possess stolen objects, as being “under the authority” (*r ht*) of the *sem*-priest. P. Amherst + Leopold II (regnal year 16) mentions a stonemason and a carpenter of the temple of Ramesses III, under the authority of the *sem*-priest of that temple, Nesamun, who was also a second priest of Amun.<sup>5</sup> According to P. BM 10053 *recto* from year 17, the *sem*-priest Hori of the temple of Amenophis III was the superior of a brewer named Wel, and of the *wab*-priest and coppersmith Pkhar of the same temple.<sup>6</sup> Hori also had authority over the *wab*-priest Sedy of a “palanquin” (*qni.w*) of Amenophis III, which therefore may have been attached to the memorial temple of this king.<sup>7</sup>

Some documents give the impression that the *sem*-priest could also have authority over people not attached to a memorial temple. In one of the so-called “Late Ramesside Letters”, P. Geneva D 191, the scribe of the necropolis Nesamenemope is given the following message by his wife, the chantress of Amun Henuttaui:<sup>8</sup>

(*verso*, line 16) Now the general of the “Place Beloved of Thoth”<sup>9</sup> has been sent, they say, to take people to the temple (17) of millions of years under the authority of the *sem*-priest and the superior of the house to give the oil(?), they say.

<sup>1</sup> I do not know what is the meaning of lines 10-12 of column 8.

<sup>2</sup> Y. Koenig, in: *Hommages Sauneron* I, 185-220, pls. XXX-XXXVII; additional fragments: idem, *BIFAO* 83 (1983), 249-255, pls. LII-LIV. The document will be fully discussed in chapter IX, pp. 250-252.

<sup>3</sup> P. IFAO A rt. 4, 8 (Y. Koenig, in: *Hommages Sauneron*, 193, pl. XXXIII).

<sup>4</sup> The supervision over personnel and resources, as expressed by (*r ht*) and *m dr.t*, will be discussed in chapter X, § 1, pp. 285-286.

<sup>5</sup> Col. 1, l. 16 - col. 2, l. 1; col. 3, ll. 9 and 10; col. 4, ll. 5 and 12; J. Capart, A.H. Gardiner, B. van de Walle, *JEA* 22 (1936), pls. XII-XVI.

<sup>6</sup> P. BM 10053 rt. 3, 5 and 19 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVII); *Giornale yr.* 17-A vs. 2, 3 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 44).

<sup>7</sup> P. BM 10053 rt. 2, 10 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVII).

<sup>8</sup> P. Geneva D 191 vs., 16 and 17: Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 59 and 60; Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 73. See also Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 170 and 171.

<sup>9</sup> For *ts s.t Mry-Dhwty*, see J. Černý, *JEA* 32 (1946), 28, note 5; J. Yoyotte, *RdÉ* 7 (1950), 63-66; Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 73 and note y; Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 38 and 171.

This second-hand news is apparently about a delivery of oil to or from a memorial temple, probably that of Ramesses III. The letter mentions a regnal year 2 that must belong to the era called "Repeating of Birth" (*wḥm msw.t*); a proclaimed "Renaissance" contemporary with the later years of the reign of Ramesses XI. By this time the *sem*-priest in question must have been Hori, the former *sem*-priest of the temple of Amenophis III, who had been transferred to the temple of Ramesses III in or prior to year 2.<sup>1</sup> According to the letter presently discussed, he shared his responsibility with the superior of the house (*ꜥ3 n pr*).<sup>2</sup> Were the people mentioned here employees of the memorial temple, brought back to their place by an army general? The obscure passage does not say anything more than that "people" were taken to the temple. A passage strongly reminiscent of this one, in an unpublished text, says that three people have been sent to the south to look for oil, "by the hand" of the *sem*-priest Nesamun.<sup>3</sup> We may judge from both texts that the search for or delivery of oil by certain "people", under the authority of temple officials, was relevant to the necropolis administration. It is therefore possible that these "people" were necropolis workmen, whose service could occasionally be required by the *sem*-priest.

We have seen that the *sem* had authority over temple property: copper and donkeys were said to be his. It is no surprise, then, to find that the wine-production of the temple of Ramesses IV was at least partly under the authority of the *sem*-priest Hekamaʿatrenakht of that temple.<sup>4</sup> Likewise, it seems self-evident that a *sem*-priest supervised the Ramesseum or a dependency of that temple, according to a house-list from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>5</sup> Note, however, that the temple of Sethos I is in the same document administered by a god's servant (*ḥm-ntr*), but this was perhaps on a lower level (the preposition used is *m dr.t* instead of *r ḥt*). According to another document from about the same time, the Ramesseum was administered "by the hand of" the temple scribe Sedy,<sup>6</sup> whose ultimate superior may, however, have been the *sem*-priest.

That the *sem*-priest had primary responsibility in matters of temple property becomes apparent from his involvement in the strikes of the necropolis workmen (see chapter IX, § 7). Only rarely do we read that the workmen had contact with temple personnel on such occasions: in year 29 of Ramesses III, in the second month of *pr.t*, they talked to the god's fathers of the Ramesseum,<sup>7</sup> and later in the same month a military officer (*im.y-r mšꜥ*) attached to the temple of Ramesses III came to listen to

<sup>1</sup> P. BM 10383 rt. 1, 10 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, 123, pl. XXII).

<sup>2</sup> Probably synonymous with *im.y-r pr* "steward"; see below, § 2, pp. 225-229.

<sup>3</sup> Fragment of a necropolis journal of regnal years 8 and 9 of Ramesses IX, kept in the Archaeological Museum of Milan (communication by Dr. R.J. Demarée).

<sup>4</sup> Wine-jar docket found at Assâsîf (Bietak, *Theben-West*, pl. IX (c); Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions VI*, 49; the title is incorrectly read there as *sš* "scribe").

<sup>5</sup> P. BM 10068 vs. 2, 15 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIV).

<sup>6</sup> P. BM 10054 vs. 2, 35 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. VII).

<sup>7</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1880 rt. 2, 2 (Gardiner, *Ramesseum Administrative Documents*, 53).

them.<sup>1</sup> Three months later, the workmen went to the Ramesseum again, and met the *sem*-priest of this temple. This encounter is of importance to us.<sup>2</sup>

(P. Turin Cat. 1880 *verso*, column 7, line 1) Regnal year 29, first month of *šmw*, day 25. (2) <Going> to the temple of Usermaʿatre Setepenre (Rameses II) l.p.h., the Great God, (3) by the crew. Finding the *sem*-priest (!) there.<sup>3</sup> (4) He said to them: “I will go [to] Thebes to report (5) to the high priest of Amun (and)<sup>4</sup> the mayor of Thebes”, (6) but he did not give them bread of the divine offering of (7) Usermaʿatre Setepenre l.p.h. What he did was a great scandal.

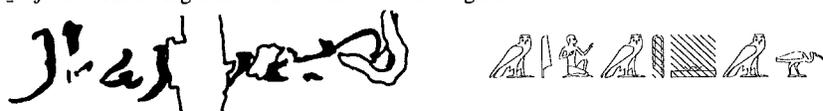
From the reaction of the crew (or the scribe), it can be concluded that the workmen did not expect anything other than that emergency supplies would be given to them from the offerings of the temple. That this was not the regular practice, however, is suggested by the reaction of the *sem*-priest, who refused to give them any temple bread, but promised the crew to report to the authorities who *should* deal with the matter. In fact, the *sem*-priest was called upon on other occasions also when the workmen were on “strike”. O. IFAO 1413 probably dates from the same year as the Turin Strike Papyrus, and its fragmentary lines refer to demonstrating workmen. One line contains the phrase “calling the *sem*-priest of the temple [...]” (obverse, line 5).<sup>5</sup> A similar event might be referred to in the necropolis journal of year 17 of Rameses IX.<sup>6</sup> The role of the memorial temples during the strikes of the necropolis workmen will be returned to in chapter IX, section 7.

An undated ostrakon in the Nicholson Museum at Sidney, from the middle of the Twentieth Dynasty, mentions the *sem*-priest Dhut[mose] of the temple of Rameses III as member of a committee (further consisting of two royal butlers, two “scribes of the mat”, and a deputy of the royal granary) talking with the workmen about the lack of supplies.<sup>7</sup> His role with regard to the necropolis provisions was apparently important

<sup>1</sup> O. Varille 39 + IFAO 1255 obv., 11-13 (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VII, 300 and 301).

<sup>2</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1880 vs. 7, 1-7 (Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, 51 and 52).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. W.F. Edgerton, *JNES* 10 (1951), 144: “The crew found (?) me (?) there”. Contrary to Gardiner and Edgerton, I consider *in ts is.t* a part of the preceding sentence. More important is the reading *gm [s]m im* instead of *gm wi im*. Opting for the I sg. dependent pronoun entails the acceptance of a change of person from *gm wi* to *gd-f*. The following traces can be seen on the original:



What Gardiner transcribed as *w* looks more like *m*. The lacuna preceding this sign might have contained the determinative of *gmi* and the *s* of *sm*. The reading proposed here does not involve a change of person, and a *sem*-priest is a likely person to be met with in a memorial temple.

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner reads <*hr*> or <*r*> here; by this the mayor would become the person blamed for this situation (see also Edgerton, *op. cit.*, 144; Kemp, *Ancient Egypt*, 193).

<sup>5</sup> Unpublished; transcription in Černý Notebook 116.17. The date of this ostrakon is based mainly on the appearance in it of the workman Penanke, who is known from the Strike Papyrus rt. 4, 1 (Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, 57). The days 26 and 28 mentioned by it may be those of I *šmw*, just following the day of the confrontation with the *sem*-priest in the Strike Papyrus.

<sup>6</sup> *Giornale* yr. 17-B rt. 9, 15 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 26)

<sup>7</sup> C.J. Eyre, in: *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, 80-91; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 151 and 152. For the *sem*-priest Dhutmose, see also appendix 2.

enough to be included in a group of such high state officials (perhaps involving the vizier and the high priest of Amun as well). His prominent status is also clear from the fact that he was a member of the "Great council of Thebes" investigating the tomb robberies in year 16 of Ramesses IX.<sup>1</sup> All this should not surprise us, for in the Twentieth Dynasty the *sem*-priests ranked high in the Theban priestly hierarchy. Some of them were sons of the high priests of Amun,<sup>2</sup> and some later became high priests themselves.<sup>3</sup>

The role of the *sem*-priest in the temple robberies at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (which will be fully discussed in chapter IX, section 8) is dubious. In a text from year 2 of the "Repeating of Birth", the newly appointed *sem*-priest Hori of the temple of Ramesses III orders a silver vase to be brought.<sup>4</sup> This precious object had been stripped of its silver by the temple priests and restored again afterwards. If we understand the text correctly, Hori now thought that it was his turn to remove part of the silver from the vase for private purposes. In an unpublished fragment of the same document,<sup>5</sup> the *sem*-priest Kha'emope of the Ramesseum had a copper statue of the temple brought and handed over to a certain Pinhas. There is every possibility that the latter is the viceroy of that name who dominated the Thebaid for some years prior to the "Repeating of Birth", and who may have requested copper objects from the temples, in addition to the goods taken from the tombs.<sup>6</sup> Now it may not have been uncommon for a *sem*-priest to hand over temple property to other authorities, but it is a shock to see the same Kha'emope receiving his share of the gold removed from a cult-statue of the Ramesseum from other priests, instead of punishing this crime committed by his subordinates.<sup>7</sup> His share was even ten times bigger than those of the other priests!

#### OTHER PRIESTLY TITLES

Once the responsibilities of the supreme administrator of the memorial temple have been described, four other priestly titles remain to be investigated: "god's servant" (*hm-ntr*), "god's father" (*it-ntr*), *wab*, and "lector-priest" (*hr.y-hb*). The one reference to a god's

<sup>1</sup> P. Abbott rt. 7, 3 and 4 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. IV). We also find two *sem*-priests in a list of people (policemen, *ꜥw.w*, attendants, a priest of Ma'at, and necropolis workmen) from the Twentieth Dynasty, composed for an unknown purpose (O. Gardiner 130<sup>+</sup>; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VII, 304).

<sup>2</sup> The high priest of Amun Roma says in one of his autobiographical texts that one of his sons was "*sem*-priest in the King's Temple to the West of Thebes" (G. Lefebvre, *Inscriptions Concernant les Grands Prêtres d'Amon Romê-Roÿ et Amenhotep*, Paris 1929, 9, inscr. I.c, line 6); the *sem*-priest Nesamun was probably a son of the high priest Ramessesnakht (see L. Bell, *Serapis* 6 (1980), 16-27). L. Leeuwenburg, *JEOL* 8 (1942), 620, thought that as a second priest of Amonrasonter, Nesamun was the high priest's representative on the west bank, but this theory is hard to substantiate.

<sup>3</sup> The *sem*-priest Amenhotep of the temple of Ramesses III, who occurs in P. IFAO A + B, may very well be the later high priest of that name (Y. Koenig, in: *Hommages Sauneron* I, 208, note y). The high priest Nesamun known from a statue of his father Ramessesnakht is probably identical with the *sem*-priest of the same name (see previous note).

<sup>4</sup> P. BM 10383 rt. 1, 11 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXII).

<sup>5</sup> A fragment kept at Philadelphia; transcription in Černý Notebook 157.2-5, 19, and 21.

<sup>6</sup> On this subject, see C. Aldred, in: *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, 92-99; K. Jansen-Winkel, *ZÄS* 122 (1995), 62-78.

<sup>7</sup> P. BM 10054 rt. 3, 15 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. VII).

servant being responsible for the temple in a house list has been mentioned above.<sup>1</sup> The fact that his task is indicated by *m dr.t* “by the hand of”, and not by *r ht* “under the authority of”, may indicate that the priest in question (Hapiwer) was not the highest authority in this matter;<sup>2</sup> his superior was probably the *sem*-priest. The only other document in which we find a *hm-ntr* with economic responsibility is O. DM 101 from the reign of Ramesses II or III.<sup>3</sup> This is one of a few texts recording deliveries of cakes by memorial temples to the necropolis workmen, which will be treated in chapter IX, section 4. In the other texts, similar deliveries are made by a *wab*-priest and by a scribe. Taking care of external deliveries may therefore have been no specific task of a god’s servant, but could be done by any temple official.

It is perhaps significant that we do not find more references to the *hm-ntr* in administrative texts. The same is true for the “lector-priest” (*hr.y-hb*). Again we have only two documents at our disposal, and in both cases the priests are mentioned in collective terms, and no specific administrative responsibility is made apparent. In P. Turin Cat. 2021 from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, we find “the lector-priests of the Temple” (i.e. the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu) as witnesses in a legal case treated by the temple council;<sup>4</sup> in P. BM 10383 from year 2 of the “Repeating of Birth”, it is the lector priests, together with the god’s fathers and the *wab*-priests, who remove silver from a vase kept at the same temple.<sup>5</sup> Even in appendix 2, which also includes references from private monuments, the titles *hm-ntr* and *hr.y-hb* are quite rare. It will perhaps be remembered that exactly these priests figured prominently in the reliefs of offering-processions and preparation of meat-offerings at Abydos (see chapter IV, sections 1 and 2). The fact that they hardly appear in administrative texts on the Theban memorial temples does not necessarily mean that they had other tasks than those shown on the Abydos reliefs. The difference is rather due to the circumstance that the documents used in this chapter are not at all concerned with the offering rituals inside the temples. What they offer is nothing more than occasional observations made by external authorities.

The paucity of references to the two types of priests discussed above sharply contrasts with the relative abundance of records on god’s fathers and *wab*-priests. Just like the lector priests, they are often mentioned as groups. The groups of god’s fathers, *wab*-priests, and lector priests mentioned in P. BM 10383<sup>6</sup> probably made up the main body of the temple priesthood.

The *it-ntr* does not appear to have had a specific administrative role. When the Strike Papyrus informs us that the necropolis workmen received food-supplies after they had talked to the god’s fathers of the Ramesseum and other officials, it is quite unlikely

<sup>1</sup> P. BM 10068 vs. 2, 4 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIV).

<sup>2</sup> The relative hierarchy expressed by *r ht* and *m dr.t* is dealt with in the chapter on the administration of temple fields.

<sup>3</sup> Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques DM I*, 26, pl. 57. The choice for the reign of Ramesses III by Černý is probably based on the handwriting. Unfortunately, no photograph or facsimile of the text is available.

<sup>4</sup> P. Turin 2021 rt. 4, 12 (J. Černý, T.E. Peet, *JEA* 13 (1927), pl. XV).

<sup>5</sup> P. BM 10383 rt. 1, 7 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXII).

<sup>6</sup> P. BM 10383 rt. 1, 7 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXII).

that the priests were involved in these deliveries.<sup>1</sup> In a letter from an unknown writer, a god's father of the Ramesseum is asked to deliver some goods, but it is unclear whether this is a professional or a personal matter—it is not always easy to distinguish the two.<sup>2</sup> Some references suggest that the *it-ntr* was especially concerned with the care of cult-objects: P. Ambras mentions an inspection by the god's father Amenkha'u of the "wreaths of Amun United-with-Eternity", i.e. Amun as he was worshipped in the temple of Ramesses III.<sup>3</sup> In P. BM 10383, which was written four years earlier, we read that god's fathers reported "to Pharaoh" about thefts of temple property.<sup>4</sup> In the same text, some *it-ntr.w* are questioned about a jar and a copper statue, which had been entrusted to other priests with the same title.<sup>5</sup> Their access to precious temple objects must have made it easier for them to lay hands on those objects. Thus we find four god's fathers and a *wab*-priest who strip off the gold of a statue of Nefertem in the Ramesseum, besides those already mentioned who, just like the *wab*-priests and lector-priests, removed silver from a temple jar.<sup>6</sup> Combinations of *it-ntr* with other than priestly titles are rare. In connection with Theban memorial temples, I know only one example: the god's father and temple scribe Piay of the Ramesseum (see appendix 2).

#### WAB-PRIESTS

The *wab*-priests (lit. "pure ones") must have been by far the commonest class of priests working in the temples. This explains why we meet them so often in legal records from the late Twentieth Dynasty as thieves or possessors of objects stolen from tombs<sup>7</sup> and temples.<sup>8</sup> In the latter case, the fact that they had access to the inner parts of the temple must have invited them to commit such crimes, just like the god's fathers. According to P. BM 10383, the *wab*-priest Pseny was even guardian of "the House of Pharaoh",

<sup>1</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1880 rt. 1, 7 - 2, 5 (Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, 53 and 54). See chapter IX, § 7.

<sup>2</sup> O. Berlin 10664 (S. Allam, *FuB* 22 (1982), 55 and 56).

<sup>3</sup> P. Ambras (= P. Vienna 30) 1, 5 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXXVIII); year 6 of the "Repeating of Birth". Although it is likely, it is not made explicit that Amenkha'u was attached to the Medinet Habu temple. See J. Černý, T.E. Peet, *JEA* 13 (1927), 31, for god's fathers with this name.

<sup>4</sup> P. BM 10383 rt. 1, 1-5 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXII).

<sup>5</sup> Unpublished fragment of BM 10383 at Philadelphia, rt. 1, 16 and 17; 2, 7 and 8 (Černý Notebook 157.2-5, 19, and 21). In col. 2, a copper statue is entrusted to one Pseny, who may be the same man as the god's father of that name in P. BM 10383 rt. 1, 5 (the reference may also be to the *wab*-priest Psen of the Ramesseum, who is known from P. BM 10068 vs. 3, 19, and probably also from P. BM 10383 rt. 2, 4; Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. XIV and XXII).

<sup>6</sup> P. BM 10054 rt. 3, 7-17 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. VI and VII); P. BM 10383 rt. 1, 7 and 8 (*ibid.*, pl. XXII).

<sup>7</sup> P. BM 10052 14, 15 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXXIV); P. BM 10053 rt. 3, 19; 6, 16 (*ibid.*, pls. XVII and XIX); P. BM 10068 rt. 4, 27 (*ibid.*, pl. XI); *Giornale* yr. 17-B rt. 6, 4 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 23).

<sup>8</sup> P. BM 10053 vs. 1, 8 and 9; 2, 17 (child of a *wab*-priest); 3, 4-18 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. XIX-XXI); P. BM 10054 rt. 3, 7-17 (*ibid.*, pls. VI and VII); P. BM 10383 rt. 1, 7 (*ibid.*, pl. XXII); P. BM 10403 1, 18 (*ibid.*, pl. XXXVI); P. Mayer A 1, 11; 6, 22-25 (Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, pages 1 and 6).

which must be a reference to the royal palace attached to the Ramesseum.<sup>1</sup> When Pseny was questioned about the disappearance of copper from the palace gates, he answered that he had left his task some time ago, and that the gates were still intact at that time. A “maid-servant” or “nurse” (*hnm.t*) in the service of a *wab*-priest was accused of having opened the door of a temple storeroom to thieves. If the examining authorities were right (and the woman kept saying that they were not), she might have obtained the key of the door because she lived in the priest’s house.<sup>2</sup>

The most interesting aspect of the title *wab* for the present study is its ability to be combined with other titles and professions. In P. Turin Cat. 2021 from the “Repeating of Birth”, a *wab*-priest called Ahautinefer is also chief worker (*hr.y k3w.t.y.w*).<sup>3</sup> He may be identical with the worker Ahautinefer in a document from about the same time, who was attached to the temple of Ramesses III.<sup>4</sup> Also in Turin 2021 we find a *wab*-priest Ptahemhab as “scribe of the mat” (*sš n tm3*) of the temple’s legal council (*qnb.t*),<sup>5</sup> but this function may actually have been restricted to the duration of the council’s sessions.<sup>6</sup> Unambiguous combinations of titles are: *wab*-coppersmith,<sup>7</sup> *wab*-gardener (*k3m.y*),<sup>8</sup> *wab*-goldsmith,<sup>9</sup> and *wab*-guardian.<sup>10</sup> These people were attached to the temple of Amenophis III, the Ramesseum, or the temple of Ramesses III, and lived at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, but appendix 2 contains examples from other periods as well. The following officials were also *wab*-priests: the steward Amenhotep (temple of Thutmosis I); the scribe of the divine offering Menkheperresonb (temple of Thutmosis III); the scribe Ptahemhab (temple of Amenophis III); the scribe of the divine offering Pwah (temple of Smenkhkare).

Caution is warranted here. Three of these persons were scribes; two of them even scribes of offerings. Being *wab*-priests as well, they may have exercised their scribal duties while attending the offering cult (just as we have seen in the reliefs of offering processions). If that was indeed the case, there would have been no real distinction for them between ritual and extra-ritual tasks, a distinction which must have existed for the smiths, the gardener, and the guardian mentioned above. Another factor that makes it difficult to use the references from appendix 2 is the fact that they are taken

<sup>1</sup> P. BM 10383 rt. 2, 4 and 5 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXII).

<sup>2</sup> P. BM 10403 3, 22-31 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXXVII). This interpretation finds some support in a more or less comparable case in O. Ashmolean 1945.37 + 33 obv. (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II 381 and 382), in which a woman is said to have opened a storeroom, possibly of a temple of Thutmosis I. She justified her act by saying that her husband was agent (*rwḏ.w*) of the place, to which it was answered that he had been removed from this function some time before.

<sup>3</sup> P. Turin Cat. 2021 rt. 3, 5 (J. Černý, T.E. Peet, *JEA* 13 (1927), pl. XIV).

<sup>4</sup> P. BM 10403 1, 3 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXXVI).

<sup>5</sup> P. Turin Cat. 2021 rt. 4, 2 (J. Černý, T.E. Peet, *JEA* 13 (1927), pl. XV).

<sup>6</sup> The necropolis scribe Amennakht, for instance, may have called himself “scribe of the mat” during court sessions, although this is thought less likely by A.G. McDowell, *Jurisdiction in the Workmen’s Community of Deir El-Medīna* (*Egyptologische Uitgaven* V), Leiden 1990, 146 and 147.

<sup>7</sup> P. BM 10053 rt. 3, 19 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVII); Pkharu (also mentioned in *Giornale* yr. 17-B rt. 3, 13 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 19); here explicitly under the authority of the *sem*-priest.

<sup>8</sup> P. BM 10053 vs. 3, 6 (*ibid.*, pl. XX): Ker.

<sup>9</sup> P. BM 10053 vs. 3, 7 (*ibid.*, pl. XX): Teti.

<sup>10</sup> P. BM 10383 rt. 2, 4 (*ibid.*, pl. XXII): Pseny.

from monumental sources: tomb inscriptions and a graffito on a tomb wall. This means that the persons are not presented in the context of their actual daily activities. Instead, it is possible that they just enumerate personal titles which were held successively, and perhaps even only the most important ones. The same is true for the numerous examples (likewise to be found in appendix 2) of the combination of priestly titles. In monumental sources, the title *wab* is often found in combination with lector priest (*hr.y-ḥb*) and god's father (*it-ntr*). Rather than recording duties held simultaneously, such enumerations of titles may reflect priestly careers. The order of titles on the monuments is always: *wab*—lector priest—god's father, which may be a sequence of lower to higher status.

The combination *wab*-workman as attested in the late Twentieth Dynasty texts is perhaps best explained by the monthly rotating phyle system.<sup>1</sup> It would thus be the *wab*-priests who took turns in the ritual service, performing this task three months a year, that is, one month in every season. During the other months, they would work in or outside the temple precinct as workmen, and perhaps as scribes and administrators. Like the god's fathers, they did not necessarily live within the temple precinct, but they could have their own houses in the neighbourhood.<sup>2</sup>

From some passages in a papyrus dealing with abuses of all sorts in the temple of Khnum at Elephantine, we may infer that to be appointed as a *wab*-priest was a desirable thing. Two *wab*-priests conspired to introduce three new people into their ranks, and to get rid of another (who is denigrated as "that son of that trader", *pꜣy šri n pꜣy šw.t.y*), by means of a divine oracle. When the plot was discovered, the main conspirator was denied access to the temple, but he managed to recover his position temporarily by bribing a god's servant.<sup>3</sup> The position clearly entailed privileges: having access to the temple interior, and no doubt sharing in the god's offerings.

The *wab*-priests' concern with the material provisions of the temple is well illustrated by O. BM 5627, probably from the Nineteenth Dynasty.<sup>4</sup> This must have been a classical example to the ancient Egyptians as much as it is to us, as the text is in all probability a school-exercise. Its reverse bears part of a literary text. The main text of the ostrakon is a letter from a *wab*-priest of Ptah-Sokar in the temple of Amenophis III to a *wab*-priest of Sekhmet who must have been attached to the same temple. In a way very much reminiscent of the Late Egyptian Miscellanies, the writer urges his colleague to be very diligent in preparing the offerings for the gods, and also to pay attention to the harvest of barley and emmer, as well as the temple cattle. The *wab* of Sekhmet is told to inform *his* cultivator (*iḥw.t.y*), from which it would appear that the priest had supervision over agricultural workers.

It was a *wab*-priest from the temple of Thutmosis I who delivered another 152 cakes to the necropolis workmen in year 34 of Ramesses II (ostrakon DM 447; see below, p. 259). On the other hand, *wab*-priests acted as recipients of offerings

<sup>1</sup> See Sauneron, *Prêtres*<sup>2</sup>, 60 and 74, and § 1 of the Introduction, pp. 4-6.

<sup>2</sup> P. BM 10068 vs. 3, 19 and 28; 7, 21 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. XIV and XVI).

<sup>3</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1887 rt. 1, 12-14 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 75; Peden, *Ramesses IV*, 111). Peden reads *pꜣy šw.t.y* "that trader" as a proper name ("Pashuty"), but as such it would lack the appropriate determinative. Cf. M. Römer, *SAK* 19 (1992), 283: "von diesem Kaufmann".

<sup>4</sup> Černý, Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. XC; Wente, *Letters*, 126; Von Känel, *Prêtres-ouâb*, 66-69.

apparently coming from outside the temple, but the contexts of these references are very unclear.<sup>1</sup> We have sufficient proof, however, to say that the *wab*-priests of the memorial temples were much concerned with economic affairs throughout the Ramesside Period. The priests bearing the titles “god’s servant”, “god’s father”, and “lector priest” are attested considerably less often as administrators, but they occasionally acted in that capacity.

## § 2 - OVERSEERS OF TEMPLE RESOURCES

### THE STEWARD OR “SUPERIOR OF THE HOUSE”

This section will be concerned mainly with the titles “overseer of the house” or “steward” (*im.y-r pr*), and “superior of the house” (*ꜥ3 (n) pr*). We will see that these two titles may in fact refer to one and the same function. The ancient title “steward” (*im.y-r pr*) does not occur in connection with the memorial temples in the non-literary texts from Western Thebes. However, we often meet the stewards of these temples in the Nineteenth Dynasty instructions for scribal students, the so-called “miscellanies”. Two letters testify to conflicts about their authority over personnel and land. According to one, the steward Yupa of the Ramesseum, the high priest of Amun, and the mayor of Thebes (probably the three most influential Theban authorities) were about to take away some weavers working for the royal treasury under the responsibility of the scribe Ineni. The scribe wrote to his superior, the scribe of the treasury Kaigebu, who was to prevent this action.<sup>2</sup> In the other letter, it is a stablemaster of the Residence who says that 30 *aroura* of fields have been taken away and given to the steward Nodjem of the Ramesseum. Again, another official (this time a chief archivist of the royal treasury) had to see to it that the fields were returned, so that the horses of Pharaoh would not be deprived of their pasture.<sup>3</sup> Finally, P. Sallier IV shows us a steward of the temple of Merenptah who keeps to his own affairs, writing to a deputy about the poor quality of grain that has been sent to the royal granary (perhaps the produce of royal lands administered by the temple steward).<sup>4</sup> Although such letters may have fictional elements in them, they are probably representative of real administrative practice.<sup>5</sup> The officials featuring in them are usually historical persons, certainly the stewards Yupa and Nodjem

<sup>1</sup> In O. CG 25667 from the Eighteenth Dynasty, an unknown person is told to deliver something (offerings?) to priests in the temples of Deir el-Bahri (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques CG*, 74<sup>\*</sup>). In O. DM 115, the *wab*-priests Nekhemmut and Kinebiu ask necropolis workmen to supply various items, among them ointment (*sft*) for a festival (that of Amun or Min in I *šmw* ?) (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 448). It is not certain that Kinebiu is the same person as the god’s servant Kinebiu of the temple of Amenophis II or Thutmose IV, as is assumed by Kitchen.

<sup>2</sup> P. Anastasi VI 6, 2-12 (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 77 and 78; Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 296 and 297). The text probably dates from the later years of Ramesses II.

<sup>3</sup> P. Sallier I 9, 1-9 (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 87 and 88; Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 325-328). This text will be translated and discussed in chapter X, § 7, pp. 342-344.

<sup>4</sup> P. Sallier IV vs. 9, 1-5 (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 93 and 94; Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 355 and 356).

<sup>5</sup> See the remark on the miscellanies by J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 175 and 176.

of the Ramesseum: both officials are known as stewards from monumental inscriptions (see appendix 2).

Two more documents inform us about a steward of a royal memorial temple “in context”. In an ostrakon in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, which may have served as draft for a stela to be erected, the vizier and overseer Hori of the temple of Siptah figures as the intermediary in a donation of land to the temple by a herdsman.<sup>1</sup> Two jar-dockets found at Deir el-Medina mention the steward Hori of the temple of Ramesses II as the official in charge of the “gardens of Ramesses Meriamun, Beloved of Thebes”. These gardens probably delivered wine to the Ramesseum, the jars subsequently ending up in the settlement of the necropolis workmen (whether this was the ultimate destination of the wine or not).<sup>2</sup> The date of these documents is uncertain; the regnal year 6 mentioned in them may be that of Ramesses II. It has been suggested that the steward Pennestitai mentioned in two other jar-dockets from Deir el-Medina was attached to the temple of Ramesses III, but this is difficult to prove, as the name of the temple is lost in both texts.<sup>3</sup>

The title *im.y-r pr* was often held by officials bearing other important titles: the vizier Hori was steward of the Theban temple of King Siptah, possibly while this king was still on the throne.<sup>4</sup> The steward Piay of the same temple was fan-bearer, overseer of the treasury, and royal secretary.<sup>5</sup> The high priest of Amun Ramessesnakht was steward of the temple of Ramesses III.<sup>6</sup> With other officials, steward of a memorial temple seems to have been the only or most important function, but even then it was usually combined with the honorific title “royal scribe” (*sš nswt*).<sup>7</sup>

We are probably dealing here with officials of the highest echelons,<sup>8</sup> and to most of them, supervision over a royal memorial temple was only one of their responsibilities. Many of them must have been court officials staying at the residence or elsewhere, and as stewards they may have been responsible for temple fields, herds, and personnel throughout the country, not only for people and resources in the immediate surroundings of the temple proper. But this is perhaps not the only reason why we do not find their titles in connection with memorial temples in the papyri and ostraca of Western Thebes. It is possible that they actually show up in some Twentieth Dynasty papyri from that region with a different title: that of “superior of the house” (*ꜥꜣ n pr*). The interchange of *im.y-r pr* and *ꜥꜣ n pr* is attested in documents from the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards.

<sup>1</sup> O. Boston MFA 11.1498 (D. Berg, *JARCE* 30 (1993), 57-69). See chapter V, section 2.

<sup>2</sup> Dockets nos. 6291 and 6293 in Koenig, *Étiquettes* II, pl. 33; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VII, 53 and 54. See chapter XI, §§ 2 (p. 353) and 4.

<sup>3</sup> Nos. 6280 and 6281 (Koenig, *Étiquettes* II, pl. 31; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VII, 262). The phrase “of Amun” in the second docket would be unusual in a reference to a memorial temple. See also appendix 2.

<sup>4</sup> O. Boston MFA 11.1498 obv., 1 (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* IV, 358 and 359; J. Černý, *JEA* 44 (1958), 23-25, pl. X; D. Berg, *JARCE* 30 (1993), 60).

<sup>5</sup> Inscription at Wadi Halfa (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* IV, 368).

<sup>6</sup> See appendix 2 for references.

<sup>7</sup> Ramesseum: Yupa, Yurkhy, Nodjem; temple of Merenptah: Hornakht. For references, see appendix 2.

<sup>8</sup> See also Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 178 and 179, for high military officials appointed as supervisors of temple property.

Gardiner suspected that  $\epsilon_3 n pr$  was just a later version of *im.y-r pr*, while Helck emphasized the fact that  $\epsilon_3 n pr$  was used in those cases where the personal name was not written.<sup>1</sup> This is indeed an important characteristic of the title. Unfortunately, this characteristic also prevents us from identifying the anonymous house superiors with the stewards whom we know by name.<sup>2</sup> In fact, we cannot be entirely sure whether the two titles always refer to the same position.<sup>3</sup>

The anonymity of the  $\epsilon_3 n pr$  suggests that there was only one official with this title (and hence, only one *im.y-r pr*) attached to a specific temple at one time. From the examples given by Helck, it appears that the distribution of the titles was not strictly complementary, and that their use was quite arbitrary. This would explain why both titles sometimes occur together in the same text.<sup>4</sup>

The superior of the house has been briefly referred to in section 1, where it was said that he shared the authority over temple personnel with the *sem*-priest and the high priest of Amun according to texts from the late Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>5</sup> The people known to have been under his authority are the gardener (*kzm.y*) Inuau and the scribe Pentwere, both of the temple of Ramesses III, and some people, who were perhaps not attached to the temple, in connection with an oil delivery. We have also seen in chapter II that the superior of the house is referred to in the Medinet Habu calendar, in a line scribbled under list no. 55, one of the lists for the festival of victory over the Meshwesh in year 11 of Ramesses III.<sup>6</sup> There, he appears to be in charge of the temple cattle, or some of them.

The superior of the house seems to have had his own scribe, although we have only one certain reference to such a person: Pentwere, son of Hori, who was attached to the temple of Ramesses III, and who is mentioned in two documents only as a receiver of copper stolen from the necropolis.<sup>7</sup> In a similar context we meet with a scribe who was probably also under the authority of a "superior of the house":

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 131 (§ 52) and 134 (§ 66); Helck, *Verwaltung*, 102, 103, 379, and 381.

<sup>2</sup> A possible exception is the steward (*im.y-r pr*) Nodjem of P. Sallier I (see above), who may be referred to as "superior of the house" ( $\epsilon_3 n pr$ ) in the Bilgai stela (chapter V, § 2, p. 152).

<sup>3</sup> According to Graefe, *Gottesgemahlin* II, 31 and 32, 81-87, an  $\epsilon_3 n pr$  was of a lower rank than a steward. C. Ziegler, *RdÉ* 33 (1981), 129 and 130, regards titles composed with  $\epsilon_3 n$  as generally inferior to those with *im.y-r* (he does not discuss the titles  $\epsilon_3 n pr$  and *im.y-r pr*).

<sup>4</sup> So in line 11 of the protection-decree for the temple of Amenhotep, son of Hapu, which is referred to both by Gardiner and Helck; see C. Robichon, A. Varille, *Le Temple du Scribe Royal Amenhotep Fils de Hapou I (Fouilles de l'Institut Français du Caire XI)*, Cairo 1936, 4 and 6 (there incorrectly read as one single title: "le grand intendant du domaine (royal)"). See also P. Turin 1903 cited below.

<sup>5</sup> P. BM 10053 rt. 3, 13; 6, 17 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. XVII and XIX); *Giornale yr.* 17-B rt. 6, 5 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 23); P. Geneva D 191 vs., 16 and 17 (Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 59 and 60).

<sup>6</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 162: list 55, l. 1286 (also in Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 176).

<sup>7</sup> P. BM 10053 rt. 6, 17 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIX); *Giornale yr.* 17-B rt. 6, 5 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 23). For the difference of patronyms in the two texts, see appendix 2. Note that the scribe's subordination is expressed by *r ht* in BM 10053, and by the genitive *n* in *Giornale*.

(P. BM 10068 *recto*, column 5, line 5) The scribe Ahautinakht of the Temple <in> the House of Amun, under the authority of the superior of the house (*hr.y-pr*) Nebmaʿatre...: silver, 1 *deben*<sup>1</sup>

The title *hr.y-pr* may be yet another variant of *im.y-r pr* / *ʿ3 n pr*. The only other New Kingdom reference for *hr.y-pr* known to me seems to support this.<sup>2</sup> For the same reason, I have translated this title also as “superior of the house”. Unfortunately, no “superior of the house” with a name beginning with “Nebmaʿatre” or a similar official with such a name, is attested in other texts.

The stewards/“superiors of the house” played an important part in the deliveries of copper and oil to the necropolis in year 5 of the “Repeating of Birth”, recorded in P. Turin Cat. 1903 *verso* column 2.<sup>3</sup> To a main delivery of over 70 kg of copper by the deputy of the royal treasury Hori—this copper was probably taken from the temple of Sethos I—were added some smaller deliveries from the temple of Ramesses III, from the superior of the house (presumably of this temple),<sup>4</sup> and from the vizier (lines 11-15). These amounts are characterized as *in.w*, a term indicating occasional income from external sources, as opposed to the *b3k.w* “work” produced by the *smd.t*-workforce of the necropolis itself. Further down in the same column, a deficit in the oil due to the crew (for lamps and for cosmetic purposes) amounts to some 750 litres.<sup>5</sup> The deficit was partly made up for by four officials, who together brought in about 125 litres.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XI. After the name Ahautinakht, the original shows:



In place of the title read here as *hr.y-pr* (following Černý), Peet suggested *im.y-r ʿ3h.t* (?), which he translated as “overseer of the department” (Ibid., 91). Helck, *Materialien* I, (112), read “Schlachthofvorsteher” (*im.y-r*

*nm.t*?). Černý’s *hr.y-pr* (Notebook 10.8) appears to be a better reading, especially because  at the end of the title is followed by an ideogrammatic stroke, from which it is clear that it is not a determinative. The writing of *hw.t* earlier in the line, with  abbreviated to a vertical stroke, is quite usual in this document.

Černý transcribed  //  *qni.w*, but although the reading “*qni.w* of Amun” would explain the absence of the preposition *m*, and the sign rendered by Peet as *hw.t* resembles , the objection against *qni.w* “palanquin” is that the word is masculine and that it would in fact lack  here.

<sup>2</sup> Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* I, 515, give only Old and Middle Kingdom references for *hr.y-pr*. An Eighteenth Dynasty example can be found in Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 2, fig. 1. The bearer of this title is elsewhere called *im.y-r pr*: Graefe, *Gottesgemahlin* II, 74, note 5. For the variation of titles composed with *im.y-r* and *hr.y* in general, see Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 405; D. Polz, *ZÄS* 117 (1990), 48.

<sup>3</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1903 vs. 2, 14, 28, and 30 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 395 and 396). The *ʿ3-pr* mentioned in P. Turin Cat. 2072/142 vs. 2, 7 (Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, pl. 130) may have been involved in deliveries to the necropolis workmen as well, but the text is too fragmentary to allow a more precise interpretation.

<sup>4</sup> The lacuna in line 14 is too small to have contained the name of another institution. Perhaps restore *ʿ3 n [pr n pr pn]* “superior of [the house of this house]”?

<sup>5</sup> 1,568 *hin*. The amount delivered by the vizier in line 25 is given incorrectly as “500” in Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 396, 9. Černý’s Notebook 15, p. 18, gives “600”, and with this figure the deficit calculated by the scribe in line 26 is correct.

<sup>6</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1903 vs. 2, 27-31 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 396).

(line 27) What is being collected by the officials:<sup>1</sup>

(28) the superior of the house of the temple of Userma'atre Meriamun I.p.h. (Ramesses III), 80 (*hin*)

(29) the steward of Amonrasonter, 50 (*hin*)

(30) the superior of the house of Khonsu, 80 (*hin*)

(31) the overseer of cattle of Amun, 50 (*hin*)

It is disconcerting to see that the titles “steward” (*im.y-r pr*) and “superior of the house” (*ꜥ3 n pr*) are both used. Was the scribe was unaware of their being identical, or did he actually refer to two different kinds of officials? The persons mentioned probably acted on behalf of their institutions, although in case of the preceding copper deliveries, the *in.w* of the temple of Ramesses III and the *in.w* of the superior of the house of that temple were kept separate. The *ꜥ3 n pr* may therefore have had authority over only part of the temple's resources, just as he shared his authority over temple personnel with the *sem*-priest.

#### THE OVERSEER OF CATTLE

The overseer of cattle (*im.y-r ih.w*) is seldom attested in documents from Western Thebes. As a matter of fact, the official himself does not appear at all in the papyri and ostraca presently discussed. His attendants and deputies, however, sometimes appear in records of everyday life in the neighbourhood of the temples. A deputy of the overseer of cattle of the temple of Ramesses III, and an attendant of the same temple, were witnesses at an oracle held to settle a dispute about stolen garments.<sup>2</sup> In the text on P. BM 10053 *verso* from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, it is a group of attendants of an overseer of cattle who, together with other persons, remove copper from a gate of the Ramesseum. Probably all the persons involved were employees of that temple.<sup>3</sup> The herdsman Pinhas of the temple of Ramesses III, who delivered grain from royal *khat*-fields to the necropolis scribe in year 12 of Ramesses XI,<sup>4</sup> was perhaps a subordinate of an overseer of cattle as well, although his superior may also have been another official having authority over temple herds.<sup>5</sup> Like the stewards, the overseers of cattle themselves were active on a higher level, executing important royal commissions. Thus we find the overseer of cattle Bakenkhonsu of the temple of Ramesses III, who was also

<sup>1</sup> Read: *nty <st or twtw> hr šd-f m ḏr.t n3 sr.w*. Cf., for instance, line 28 of the decree of King Horemhab: *p3 ḥd-ḥnt nty st hr šd-f* (J. Kruchten, *Le Décret d'Horemheb. Traduction, commentaire épigraphique, philologique et institutionnel*, Brussels 1981, 96), and P. Mallet col. 1, ll. 2 and 3: *n3 ḥt i.šd m-dī-i (...) m ḏr.t šms Sth-ms n pr Ḥnsw* “the things collected from me (...) by the attendant Sethmose of the House of Khonsu” (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VI, 65, 5 and 6).

<sup>2</sup> P. BM 10335 rt., 8 (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VII, 417).

<sup>3</sup> P. BM 10053 vs. 2, 15-17 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XX). The title “overseer of cattle” is written defectively: *<im.y-r> ih.<.w>*.

<sup>4</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006 rt. 4, 9 (Gardiner, *Ramesseum Administrative Documents*, 41).

<sup>5</sup> Such as the “superior of the house” in Medinet Habu calendar list 55 (see chapter II, § 7, p. 85), the steward Piy and the vizier in P. Harris I (chapter VI, § 3, p. 168), and the scribe Pbes in P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908 vs. 1 (chapter IX, § 2, p. 254).

“chief taxing master” (*ʿ3 n št*), as one of the officials leading the great quarry-expedition to the Wadi Hammammat in year 3 of Ramesses IV.<sup>1</sup> The overseers of cattle of memorial temples were also concerned with the administration of land on the higher level indicated by the preposition (*r*) *ht* in the Wilbour Papyrus.<sup>2</sup>

#### OVERSEERS OF TEMPLE TREASURIES

I have not come across overseers of the memorial temple treasuries when collecting the evidence from papyri and ostraca from Western Thebes, as opposed to the treasury scribes (on which see section 3 below). They are, however, known from some inscriptions at Gebel el-Silsila, from which it is clear that they had everything to do with the building of the temples. On a rock stela from the reign of Merenptah, an overseer of the treasury in the king’s temple “in the House of Amun” is mentioned in a passage concerned with the quarrying of sandstone blocks for that temple.<sup>3</sup> The name of the overseer is lost. He was also “fan-bearer to the right of the King”, and “King’s scribe”, which means that he was a high court official.<sup>4</sup> The overseer of the treasury Sethemhab of the temple of Ramesses III left a number of inscriptions at the same place in regnal year 5 of that king, likewise mentioning the work to be done for the royal temple of millions of years. For this task, he had 2,000 men and 44 ships at his disposal.<sup>5</sup>

The conclusion of this discussion on the overseers of temple resources, as far as they can be recognized by the titles “steward”, “superior of the house”, “overseer of cattle”, and “overseer of the treasury”, is that they were probably not resident in Western Thebes, but that they exercised their authority from a distance. They were assisted in this by their deputies, attendants, and scribes, who lived in the immediate surroundings of the memorial temples. This means that we still have to regard the *sem*-priest (the “high priest” of the memorial temple; see the previous section) as the main authority on the spot.

#### § 3 - SCRIBES

##### SCRIBES IN THE DOCUMENTS OF PART ONE

We have come across scribes of memorial temples when discussing the scenes of offering-processions and of meat-offerings (chapter IV, sections 1 and 2). In the representations of the daily and festival offering-processions in the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos, the “scribe of the divine offering” (*sš htp-ntr*) records the items brought into

<sup>1</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 14, 3.

<sup>2</sup> The former overseers of cattle Hori and Ramose of the temple of Ramesses III were both in charge of fields of that temple and of *khato*-land; see chapter X, pp. 286, 309, 316 and 324.

<sup>3</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 90 and VII, 464.

<sup>4</sup> Also recorded on the stela is the vizier Pinhas, who held the title “fan-bearer to the right of the King” (see Helck, *Verwaltung*, 458), but it is not clear whether he was identical with the overseer of the treasury of the royal temple.

<sup>5</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 228.

the temple, while the “scribe of the god’s sealed (things)” (*sš htm(.w).t-ntr*) and the “temple scribe” (*sš hw.t-ntr*) control the slaughtering activities.<sup>1</sup> In the Medinet Habu version of the slaughtering scenes, scribes are depicted as well (they are omitted there in the offering-procession), but they are not mentioned in the captions.<sup>2</sup> Of the titles recorded in the Abydos reliefs, only that of “temple scribe” occurs in the non-literary papyri and ostraca from Western Thebes. Beside this official, we also find the “scribe of the treasury” (*sš pr-hd*), the scribe of the superior of the house, and functionaries briefly referred to as “scribe”.

#### TEMPLE SCRIBES

We do not learn much about the actual duties of the temple scribe (*sš hw.t-ntr*) on the Theban west bank. He does not appear in connection with offerings or with the slaughtering of cattle, but this may again be due to the scope of the texts treated in this chapter.<sup>3</sup> An explicit statement on his responsibilities is found only in P. BM 10054 *verso*, in a list of wheat distributions from the reign of Ramesses XI.<sup>4</sup> The temple scribe Sedy here appears as an administrator of the Ramesseum, in which capacity he receives some 80 litres of wheat from local authorities. In another text, however, the same Sedy appears as the main culprit of a large-scale abuse of temple property. In P. BM 10053 *verso*, column 1, he is said to have damaged something, together with the *wab*-priests of the temple of Ramesses III (?).<sup>5</sup> In column 3, he and his accomplices are removing gold from the doors of a temple (presumably the Ramesseum), and in column 4 (where he is referred to simply as “scribe”), he is said to have removed and bartered away pieces of expensive wood from the Ramesseum, among them even an entire wooden shrine.<sup>6</sup> These events alone prompt us to date this text later than the wheat-distribution of BM 10054 *verso*: it seems inconceivable that Sedy would still have been in charge of the temple after his excesses had come to light.

His colleague Shedsukhonsu, who was attached to the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, is shown in a more favourable light when he reports the theft of a copper statue from the Ramesseum by the *wab*-priest Pseny, who was probably attached to the Ramesseum.<sup>7</sup> A god’s father Amenkha’u asserted that he himself had brought the statue to the temple of Ramesses III, but Pseny had taken it back by order of the *sem*-priest, his superior, who handed it over “to Pinhas” (see above, section 1). From these sad accounts, it would seem that the temple scribe had easy access to precious objects kept in

<sup>1</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 169 (B); Naville, *Détails Relevés*, pls. XXVI-XXVIII, XXXI, and XXXII.

<sup>2</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 173.

<sup>3</sup> A temple scribe appears to be connected with meat offerings on the *verso* of the “Indictment Papyrus” (P. Turin Cat. 1887 vs. 3, 8-11; Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 82).

<sup>4</sup> P. BM 10054 vs. 2, 35 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. VII). The regnal year 6 in vs. 2, 1 must either be that of Ramesses XI himself or that of the “Repeating of Birth” (Ibid., 59 and 60), but hardly that of Ramesses IX (as assumed by Gutgesell, *Datierung* I, 145).

<sup>5</sup> P. BM 10053 vs. 1, 8 and 9 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIX).

<sup>6</sup> P. BM 10053 vs. 3 and 4 (Ibid., pls. XX and XXI).

<sup>7</sup> Unpublished fragment at Philadelphia, belonging to P. BM 10383, rt. 2, 6-9 (Černý Notebook 157.5).

the temple, perhaps even that he was in a way responsible for them. At least Shedsukhonsu felt it his responsibility to report a copper statue that did not belong to his temple, but which he perhaps should have received from the god's father Amenkha'u.

Other texts are hardly informative with regard to the regular duties of the temple scribe. A delivery of victuals requested from (?) the temple scribe and god's father Piay of the Ramesseum in an ostrakon kept in University College, London, may just have been a personal matter.<sup>1</sup> The same person may be referred to in a Berlin ostrakon as a member of the legal council (*qnb.t*) of the Ramesseum.<sup>2</sup> In year 17 of Ramesses IX, 7 *deben* of copper stolen from the tombs in the Valley of the Queens was discovered in the possession of the temple scribe Pnakhtrestep of the temple of Ramesses III.<sup>3</sup> He is but one in a long list of thieves and receivers.

#### SCRIBES OF THE TEMPLE TREASURY

The two sources we have at our disposal concerning the scribe of the temple treasury (*sš pr-hd*) show exertions of a more regular character, though not easy to understand. The evidence from P. Geneva MAH 15274 (year 6 of Ramesses IV) and P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095 (year 8 of Ramesses VII) has been briefly discussed by Davies in connection with the coppersmiths at Deir el-Medina.<sup>4</sup> Let us first have a look at the relevant passages from both documents.

(P. Geneva MAH 15274 *verso* column 1, line 1) Regnal year 6, 3rd month of *šmw*, 23rd day. Handing over the worn-out (copper) of chisels (2) of Pharaoh l.p.h. by the <three> captains, the two deputies, (3) and the two *šfw*. {Now you} (sic) Going <to> the *hnm* of the Tomb (4) by the doorkeeper Kha'emwese, the policeman Amenmose, and the policeman Nakhtsobek. (5) The scribe of the treasury Hadnakht of the Temple of King Userma'atre Meriamun l.p.h. <...> (6) They (the tools) were found to be 607 *deben* of copper, half a *deben* (?).<sup>5</sup>

(P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095 "*recto*", lines 1 and 2) Regnal year 8, 4th month of *šmw*, 25th day of King Userma'at<re> Setepenre <Meri>amun, Lord of Appearances ... (?). This day: commissioning the coppersmiths (3) by the captains (and) the agents of the Tomb, the scribe of the treasury Hori <of> (4) the Temple under the authority of the high priest of Amun, (5) the chief workman Nekhemmut, (6) the chief workman Hor<mose>. (7) The right side, by the hands of

<sup>1</sup> O. University College 3 (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VII, 214; Wente, *Letters*, 142).

<sup>2</sup> O. Berlin 14214 obv., 7 (Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, pl. 17). For Piay, see also appendix 2.

<sup>3</sup> P. BM 10053 rt. 3, 11 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVII) and *Giornale* yr. 17-A vs. 2, 8 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 44).

<sup>4</sup> B.G. Davies, *GM* 137 (1993), 46, notes 44 and 45.

<sup>5</sup> P. Geneva MAH 15274 vs. 1, 1-6 (A. Massart, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), 181 and 182, pl. XXXVIII; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VI, 144). For date: Černý, *Community*, 165; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 64; Gutgesell, *Datierung* I, 236.

the chief workman Nekh <emmut>: (8) 280 *deben* of copper, making 40 chisels, each 7 *deben*.  
 (9) Remaining in the hands of the scribe of the treasury [...]<sup>1</sup>

Both texts are very concise and carelessly written records of the inspection of copper tools used by the necropolis workmen. In the first text, it is called “handing over the worn-out (copper) of chisels” (*swd p3 sfh n h3y*; both *sfh* and *h3y* determined by  $\cup$ ); in the second, “commissioning the coppersmiths” (*shn n3 hmt.y.w*). Both formulae probably refer to the weighing of used copper tools which are to be remade. The first text gives the amount of copper of the entire crew (607 *deben* or about 55 kg), the second text only half of it, that is, the copper of the right side of the crew (280 *deben* or about 25½ kg). A Cairo ostrakon probably refers to the same event: a scribe Hadnakht, who may very well be the treasury scribe known from the Geneva text above, received or delivered 300 *deben* of copper, which was subsequently handed over to coppersmiths.<sup>2</sup>

The transfers of copper referred to in all these texts required the presence, not only of the entire staff of necropolis administrators, but also of the scribe of the treasury of the temple of Ramesses III. This temple probably remained the most important one from the time it was built until the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, and may therefore have been the most likely external institution to be involved in necropolis matters during the middle and late Twentieth Dynasty. The scribe of its treasury seems to have been responsible for the weighing of the copper according to the unfinished sentence in line 5 of the Geneva text, followed by the resulting numbers, and judging from line 8 of the Turin text also for keeping it. This observation was used by Davies to support the theory that the coppersmiths appearing in the Deir el-Medina documents were attached to the memorial temples, and ultimately answerable to the *sem*-priest;<sup>3</sup> this theory will be examined more closely in section 5 below, which deals with temple craftsmen. From the Turin text, it also appears that the scribe of the treasury of the Medinet Habu temple came under the authority (*r ht*) of the high priest of Amun, that is, of the Karnak temple. Unfortunately, we are not informed about any superiors of the treasury scribes mentioned in the Geneva papyrus and the Cairo ostrakon, and so we do not know

<sup>1</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095 “recto” (actually *verso*) 1, 1-9 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 431 and 432; Pleyte, Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, pl. XXIX). Line 1 mentions the king’s names and epithets, which should be read after the date in line 2. For the dating of the text, see C.J. Eyre, *JEA* 66 (1980), 168-170; Gutgesell, *Datierung* I, 248 and 249. Facsimile of line 1:



The name cannot be that of Ramesses IX (cf. Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 96 and note 11). The ill-written group read as <Mry> *Imn* might perhaps be *s3 R*. After the epithet *nb h<sup>c</sup>.w*, many more traces can be seen on the original, but I am unable to read them.

<sup>2</sup> O. Cairo CG 25613 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques* CG, 61\*). The identification of Hadnakht as the treasury-scribe of the temple is suggested also by Gutgesell, *Datierung* II, 428 (the temple is here incorrectly said to be the Ramesseum), although he refers to the same person as *s3 n tm3* “scribe of the mat” in his index (p. 615). Indeed, his identification with the scribe of the mat Hadnakht, who is known from the Turin Strike Papyrus, is perhaps not to be excluded altogether.

<sup>3</sup> B.G. Davies, *GM* 137 (1993), 46.

whether this was a regular situation in the Twentieth Dynasty; perhaps the far-reaching authority of the high priest is characteristic only of the later reigns of this period.

There are more texts in which treasury scribes occur in connection with memorial temples, but it is highly uncertain whether they were also attached to these institutions, to the treasuries of other temples, or to the royal treasury. Examples are Sethmose, who was also overseer of fields,<sup>1</sup> and Psemennakht, who was involved in a copper delivery from the temple of Amenophis III<sup>2</sup> and in collecting the pieces of a wooden object after a raid on Medinet Habu.<sup>3</sup>

#### OTHER SCRIBES

The scribe of the superior of the house has been referred to several times above. We do not learn anything about his regular duties since we know of only one, perhaps two such scribes (see above, section 2), both mentioned in connection with stolen metals.

Whenever an official of a memorial temple occurs with the simple title "scribe", it is of course possible that this is only an abbreviation of a more elaborate title like those discussed so far. We have seen that the temple scribe Sedy was called simply "scribe" in P. BM 10053 *verso*, column 4. Therefore, when we meet a scribe Hori of the temple of Ramesses III, who apparently had access to the sanctuary of an unspecified oracle deity,<sup>4</sup> it is very well possible that he was in fact identical with the scribe of the treasury Hori of P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095 (see above). Such possible identifications, and hence any idea about the functions of particular scribes, are entirely beyond our grasp in case of the scribes Pentwere of the Ramesseum<sup>5</sup> and Pbak, son of Nesamun, of the temple of Ramesses III.<sup>6</sup> The only thing we know about the latter is that he played an important role in the violation of temple property.

The scribe Nesamun of the temple of Ramesses III is seen once, in regnal year 3 of Ramesses X, as the deliverer of 23 cakes to the necropolis workmen,<sup>7</sup> but we have seen already that a *wab*-priest and a god's servant could also be the agents of such deliveries. However, it is perhaps the same scribe Nesamun who appears in the context of deliveries involving the temple in a slightly earlier text.<sup>8</sup> After dealing with scribes as

<sup>1</sup> P. BM 10383 rt. 1, 6 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXII); one of those who stole silver in the temple of Ramesses III. Two doorjambs found at Medinet Habu are inscribed with the name of a Sethmose, who was a treasury scribe of the House of Amun and scribe of lists (? *sh.wy?*) of the King's Temple. He had received his instructions from the high priest of Amun Ramessesnakht (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 90, 1-6).

<sup>2</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1884 rt. 1, 22 (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 646). See chapter IX, § 6, p. 266.

<sup>3</sup> P. Mayer A 6, 10 and 11 (Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, page 6).

<sup>4</sup> P. Nevill rt., 3 and 4 (J. Barns, *JEA* 35 (1949), 70, pl. VI), judging from the writing probably from the later Twentieth Dynasty.

<sup>5</sup> P. Chester Beatty V vs. 2, 2 and 3 (A.H. Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Gift II (Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum III)*, London 1935, pl. 27).

<sup>6</sup> P. Abbott vs. A, 14 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXIII); P. BM 10403 1, 17 and 18 (*Ibid.*, pl. XXXVD); P. Mayer A 1, 8-13; 2, 1-9; 6, 20-25 (Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, "pages" 1, 2, and 6).

<sup>7</sup> *Giornale* yr. 3 rt. 2, 7 and 8 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 52).

<sup>8</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1881 rt. 1, 5 (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 610).

temple robbers and receivers of stolen goods, it is at least comforting to see a scribe acting in what must have been his usual administrative capacity.

#### THE "SCRIBE OF THE TEMPLES"

Before concluding the discussion of temple scribes, mention must be made of one further official: the "scribe of the temples" (*sš n n3 r3.-pr.w*). I know of only five references to this title, which may all be treated here, although it is never explicitly connected with Theban memorial temples. In fact, it is never specified by the name of any specific temple, so that we may probably regard this official as a kind of government representative concerned with the affairs of Egyptian temples in general,<sup>1</sup> and with their contacts with other institutions in particular: at least two texts imply that he was concerned with the Theban necropolis. The latest entry on the *recto* of the Turin Strike Papyrus is a "memorandum" (*sh3*) of regnal year 30 or 31 of Ramesses III.<sup>2</sup> It records a message of the scribe of the temples Hori to the necropolis scribe Amennakht about a delivery of lamp oil, it being unclear from or to which institution. A certain scribe Pbes is said to have ordered people to bring it, but this name does not offer any clue.<sup>3</sup> The scribe of the temples Hori is also known from the rock stela in the Wadi Hammâmât recording the great quarry-expedition in the 3rd year of Ramesses IV.<sup>4</sup> Together with a scribe of the "House of Life" and a priest from Coptos, he was to look for a suitable place in the wadi where fine greywacke stone (*bhn*) could be quarried.

Later, the attention of the scribe of the temples was again required for the delivery of supplies to the necropolis workmen. In a letter from the vizier Neferrēpet (II) to the superiors of the Tomb, the latter were informed that the goods due to them would be sent in a temple ship and handed over to the scribe of the temples Djeb and a *wab*-priest.<sup>5</sup> These persons apparently acted as intermediaries in the delivery. Two further texts connect the scribe of the temples with the necropolis. In a Nineteenth Dynasty ostrakon, an anonymous official with this title is mentioned among various authorities of Western Thebes, as well as temple personnel, apparently as one of those who could be approached for material support in a delicate personal affair.<sup>6</sup> For the sake

<sup>1</sup> *R.w-pr.w* probably means "temples" in the most general sense; see Spencer, *Egyptian Temple*, 37-42.

<sup>2</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1880 rt. 3, 20-22 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 58; W.F. Edgerton, *JNES* 10 (1951), 142).

<sup>3</sup> A necropolis scribe Pbes is attested much later (Černý, *Community*, 203), and also other scribes with this name are known from the Twentieth Dynasty (J.J. Janssen, *JEA* 52 (1966), 84, note a).

<sup>4</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 13 (line 11 of the inscription).

<sup>5</sup> P. DM XXVIII rt., 6-8 (Černý, *Papyrus Hiératiques* II, pl. 18; C.J. Eyre, *GM* 98 (1987), 18 and 19). The letter is signed by the scribe of the vizier, who was also called Djeb (Černý, *Papyrus Hiératiques* II, pl. 19: line written upside down above vs., 10). See also W.A. Ward, in: L.H. Lesko ed., *Pharaoh's Workers. The Villagers of Deir el Medina*, Ithaca-London 1994, 79, no. 35.

<sup>6</sup> O. Chicago OIC 16996 obv., 6 (unpublished; Černý Notebook 107.36 and MS 1.535 and 537). The text appears to be a letter about provisions for a female slave (*hm.t*) called Mutabeb, who would give birth, or had given birth, to a child of the sculptor Neferrēpet.

of completeness, we may add the reference to a scribe of the temples Nakhtsobek, apparently in connection with a legal dispute involving inhabitants of Western Thebes.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to say whether the “scribe of the temples” could also be involved in the affairs of the Theban memorial temples. Judging from his title alone, as well as from his frequent appearance in Western Thebes, this is not impossible, but the scribe is never explicitly connected with them. In chapter IX, section 5, we will discuss the references to regular deliveries of beer to the necropolis workmen by “the temples of Western Thebes” (*n3 r.w-pr.w Imnt.t W3s.t*). When dealing with such a collective obligation of temples, the title “scribe of the temples” may come to mind, but the scribe never occurs as the one responsible for it (nor does any other official with these particular deliveries). His title lacks, moreover, the specification “of Western Thebes”. As he was also a member of a quarry-expedition to the Wadi Hammâmât, his duties may have lain in a wider sphere than that of the Theban temples only. There may also have been more than one such scribe at work at the same time, each of them attending to his own particular task.

#### § 4 - DEPUTIES, AGENTS, AND ATTENDANTS

The titles *idn.w* “deputy”, *rwd.w* “agent”, and *šms.w* “attendant” (lit. “follower”), are all deverbal nouns expressing subordination to another official. We have come across the deputy of a steward, as well as the deputies and attendants of the overseer of cattle, in section 2 above. We have also met with the deputy Hori of the temple of Ramesses III, who gave two donkeys to the draughtsman Pentwere, which were claimed back by attendants of the *sem*-priest because the animals belonged to their superior (section 1). However, the titles often occur without any specification of the official served or represented.

It is probably no coincidence that the remaining references to temple deputies and agents (every one of them without an indication of his superior) are all found in an agricultural context, since that is exactly the situation in which we see them as representatives of higher officials in the Wilbour Papyrus.<sup>2</sup> According to one of the Late Ramesside Letters, the deputy Nessobek of the temple of Ramesses III had asked the god’s servant of Sobek at Armant (some 10 km to the south-west of Medinet Habu) for one *aroura* of land in order to plant it with fruit trees.<sup>3</sup> His request appears to have been important enough to be taken care of by the writer of this letter, the necropolis scribe Nesamenemope, and the recipient, the chantress of Amun Mutemope, who both looked after the administration of the temple during this period according to this and other letters. We may therefore assume that the wish to cultivate land was not strictly personal, but rather that it was motivated by his obligations towards the temple he was attached to. More explicit, although incompletely preserved, is the graffito of a scribe and his fellow,

<sup>1</sup> O. Gardiner 207 (unpublished; Černý Notebook 31.15). See Gutgesell, *Datierung* II, 455 and 456, where the official in question is wrongly identified with a fisherman called Sobeknakht.

<sup>2</sup> See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 20 and 21; Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 14 and 15. See also chapter X, § 1, pp. 285-286.

<sup>3</sup> P. BM 10412 rt., 5-7 (Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 55; Wentz, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 70).

a deputy of the temple of Ramesses IV, who were to cultivate fields of a memorial temple (perhaps the temple for which the deputy worked).<sup>1</sup> The agent (*rwd.w*) Ramose mentioned in O. DM 635<sup>2</sup> was possibly attached to the temple of Ramesses IV. The ostrakon relates how the agent took away some grain from that temple, and used it for the cultivation of his own land, unless *t3y=f 3h.t* on the obverse, line 4 refers to temple land under his control. Now this was considered bad behaviour, as becomes apparent from the reference to “robbing the barley of the god” later in the same text, but Ramose justified his act by saying that certain fields would have dried up had he not sown them with the grain (obverse, line 7). It is difficult to separate private and institutional interests here for us no less than for Ramose. It is likely, in any case, that his position as an agent gave him access to the grain stored in the temple.

The only things we learn about the professional activities of “attendants”, is that such officials could serve an overseer of cattle,<sup>3</sup> and they could claim back donkeys on behalf of the *sem*-priest.<sup>4</sup> It seems unwise, however, to conclude from two references that they were mainly concerned with animals. Other references to temple attendants do not add to our knowledge of their official duties. They only confirm that they were living in the immediate vicinity of the temples, and that they had contacts with people living in the neighbourhood. This is well illustrated by a letter from an attendant of the Ramesseum to a necropolis workman,<sup>5</sup> as well as by the selling of a set of coffins formerly belonging to an attendant of the temple of Ramesses III and their decoration by a draughtsman of the necropolis.<sup>6</sup>

## § 5 - TEMPLE WORKMEN

### GENERAL

In this section will be discussed workmen/carriers (*k3w.t.y*), stonemasons (*hr.t.y-ntr*), coppersmiths (*hmt.y*), goldsmiths (*nbw.y*), carpenters (*hmw.w*), weavers (*sht.y*), and sandal-makers (*tbw.t.y*). These professions do not represent the entire range of crafts known to have been exercised by memorial temple workmen: appendix 2 also contains references to draughtsmen<sup>7</sup> and a sculptor.<sup>8</sup>

The texts of Part One give us very little information on this subject: only the Great Harris Papyrus mentions “shipyards” (*w3r.w.t*), where carpenters and other workmen will have produced and repaired the ships of the Theban temples.<sup>9</sup> The total

<sup>1</sup> Graffito at Deir el-Bahri, ll. 10-12 (Marciniak, *Inscriptions Hiératiques*, 58, no. 2; pl. II).

<sup>2</sup> O. DM 635 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques DM* [VI], pl. 6).

<sup>3</sup> P. BM 10053 vs. 2, 15 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XX). See § 2 above, p. 229.

<sup>4</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1881 rt. 8 and 9 (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VI, 614 and 615; Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, 313-317, pls. 108-110). See § 1 above, pp. 216-217.

<sup>5</sup> O. Cairo [263] (unpublished; Černý Notebook 101.135). Fragmentary; subject-matter obscure.

<sup>6</sup> O. Gardiner 190 rev., 4 and 5 (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VII, 369) and O. Strasbourg H 84 obv., 4 (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VI, 428). For such transactions, see Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 209-242.

<sup>7</sup> Amenemhat and Pshed of the temple of Amenophis III, Batja of the temple of Semenkhkare.

<sup>8</sup> Amenwahsu of the Ramesseum.

<sup>9</sup> P. Harris I (see chapter VI, § 4, p. 174).

lack of information on temple workmen in ceremonial inscriptions is not surprising: such texts present the temple's economic activities within the straightforward scheme of the production and presentation of offerings to the gods. In such a view, the emphasis is on food production, and not so much on technical and artistic activities. An occasional sideline in the inscriptions of other New Kingdom temples is the production of cloth by temple weavers, *mr(.t)*,<sup>1</sup> but no doubt such passages also imply the direct material support of the divine cult, namely, the production of garments for the god's statue. The fact that administrative papyri and ostraca do not inform us about the organization of craftsmen in the memorial temples either is also a matter of perspective: the texts were not composed by temple administrators, but by external authorities, who were interested in the craftsmen only when they appeared outside the temples. Hence, they do not give any information on the regular tasks and organization of workmen within the temple walls.

#### THE TITLE *k3w.t.y*

It is not always clear what type of work a *k3w.t.y* was expected to do. The word is probably connected with *k3.t* "(constructional) work",<sup>2</sup> and indeed we see *k3w.t.y.w* as the builders of temples.<sup>3</sup> In that capacity they will have been under the authority of "overseers of work" (*im.y-r k3.t*), whom we do not find in the papyri and ostraca from Western Thebes, but who were attached also to memorial temples according to inscriptions referred to in appendix 2.<sup>4</sup> Some papyri from the time of the "Repeating of Birth" mention the worker Ahautinefer of the temple of Ramesses III. In year 2 of that era, he was examined by a committee because of the theft of a portable chest of the former high priest of Amun, Ramessesnakht, which was kept in the temple.<sup>5</sup> He is addressed here as the "porter" (*mn.t.y*) of the place.<sup>6</sup> The function of "doorkeeper" (*ir.y-ꜥ3*) is held by *k3w.t.y.w* also in other texts from the New Kingdom and the Late Period.<sup>7</sup> In a letter from about the same year, Ahautinefer is required to deliver one *deben* of lead or tin to the necropolis scribe (who by this time probably also managed the affairs of the temple) for the manufacturing of weapons.<sup>8</sup> From this we might deduce

<sup>1</sup> E.g. in the Annals of Thutmose III at Karnak (*Urkunden* IV, 742, 14 and 15), and in the Great Dedicatory Inscription of Ramesses II at Abydos (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* II, 333, 9 and 10).

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 59\*.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. in the building-inscription of Sethos I at Kanais (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* I, 66, 9 and 67, 1 and 2), and in the dedication-text of Ramesses II at Abydos (*ibid.* II, 331, 3).

<sup>4</sup> Dedia of the temple of Thutmose III; Amenemone and Penre of the Ramesseum; Nebnefer, Ramessesnakht, and Khay working for temples of unknown kings.

<sup>5</sup> P. BM 10403 1, 3 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXXVI).

<sup>6</sup> No other New Kingdom references; the word does not occur in Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch*. Cf. demotic *mnt* (Erichsen, *Demotisches Glossar*, 165), and Coptic **MNOYΤ** (J. Černý, *Coptic Etymological Dictionary*, Cambridge 1976, 86), for both of which *mn.t.y* is perhaps a more likely etymology than *im.y-ww.t* (cf. Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 61\*).

<sup>7</sup> Gardiner, *Onomastica* I, 59\*; W. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 63 (1928), 151.

<sup>8</sup> P. BM 10412 vs., 8 and 9 (Černý, *Late Ramesseid Letters*, 56; Wente, *Late Ramesseid Letters*, 70). For *dh* and *dh.t.y* "lead" or "tin", see Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 66-68.

that a *k3w.t.y* had the responsibility for keeping materials, which would be no unfitting task for him as a porter: in the community of necropolis workmen, such responsibilities were held by a *s3w.t.y* “guardian”, and to a lesser extent also by a “doorkeeper” (*ir.y-ḥ3*).<sup>1</sup> The administrative responsibilities of temple doorkeepers in the New Kingdom have been discussed by Jelínková-Reymond.<sup>2</sup> Guardians and doorkeepers of Theban memorial temples do not occur in the ostraca and papyri discussed here, but they were certainly part of their personnel.<sup>3</sup> In a Turin papyrus from the same period, we meet probably the same Ahautinefer as a chief worker (*hr.y-k3w.t.y.w*) and a *wab*-priest.<sup>4</sup> The title *hr.y-k3w.t.y.w* implies that the temple personnel included more than one “worker”. It is strange, therefore, to see a reference in P. Mayer A (from year 2 of the “Repeating of Birth”) to wood “for the oven of the workman (*p3 k3w.t.y*)” of the Medinet Habu temple.<sup>5</sup> Does the singular form “workman” mean that there was only one temple workman present at that time?

#### STONEMASONS AND SCULPTORS

We learn nothing about the duties of temple stonemasons: a *hr.t.y-ntr* called Hapiwer of the temple of Ramesses III is mentioned in two documents only as a tomb robber, together with stonemasons of the Amun temple, who were under the authority of the high priest.<sup>6</sup> Hapiwer himself was under the authority of the *sem*-priest of his temple. In a list from about the same time, however, he appears to have been supervised by the high priest of Amun.<sup>7</sup> If the scribe has not made a mistake here, this change of authority may have been the result of the trial of Hapiwer and his fellow thieves: according to the Amherst Papyrus, the case was concluded by handing over the culprits to the high priest of Amun, who no doubt was to keep them in the prison of the House of Amonrasonter.<sup>8</sup> Meanwhile, no hint is given about the man’s daily work, although we may assume that his skills had been of much use in getting access to the tombs. A Nineteenth Dynasty ostrakon in the Oriental Institute at Chicago mentions sculptors (*t3y-md3.t*) of an unspecified memorial temple, but again not in a functional context.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See Černý, *Community*, 159 and 160, 170-173.

<sup>2</sup> *CdÉ* 28/55 (1953), 47-51.

<sup>3</sup> See appendix 2: Penamun, Penrenut, Nuamun, Hormose (guardians in temples of unknown kings); Kerem (doorkeeper in the temple of Thutmose III), Mose (temple of Ramesses II).

<sup>4</sup> P. Turin 2021 rt. 3, 5 (J. Černý, T.E. Peet, *JEA* 13 (1927), 32, pl. XIV).

<sup>5</sup> P. Mayer A 6, 12, 13, 18, and 19 (Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, 13, “page” 6).

<sup>6</sup> P. Amherst + Leopold II 1, 16 and 17; 3, 9; 4, 5 (J. Capart, A.H. Gardiner, B. van de Walle, *JEA* 22 (1936), 171 and 172, pls. XII, XIV, and XVI); P. BM 10054 rt. 2, 13; vs. 1, 6 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. VI and VII).

<sup>7</sup> P. BM 10054 vs. 5, 12 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. VIII; see *ibid.*, 58 and 59, for the date of the list).

<sup>8</sup> P. Amherst + Leopold II col. 4 (J. Capart, A.H. Gardiner, B. van de Walle, *JEA* 22 (1936), 172 and 173, pls. XV and XVI).

<sup>9</sup> O. OIC 16996 obv., 8 (unpublished; Černý Notebook 107.36).

## TEMPLE SMITHS

It has been pointed out already that the coppersmiths (*hmt.y*) and goldsmiths (*nbw.y*) of the temple could at the same time be *wab*-priests (see above, section 1), but there were also smiths who were not: a coppersmith called Pkhar of the temple of Ramesses III is explicitly labelled as a member of the temple's non-priestly personnel (*smd.t*).<sup>1</sup> We may perhaps infer from this that the group of craftsmen attached to one temple was divided in people with and without occasional access to the temple's interior. A further division may have existed because of the authority over the craftsmen exercised by different superiors: the *sem*-priest, the steward (or superior of the house), and the high priest of Amun. The *smd.t*-coppersmith Pkhar was supervised by the latter.

Apart from being accused of robbery in the royal necropolis, and receiving things stolen there, temple smiths were probably involved in the large-scale violation of temple property. The coppersmiths Khonsumose and Userma'atrenakht were accused of having removed 150 *deben* (about 14 kg) of copper from the colossal statue in the first court of the Ramesseum.<sup>2</sup> They were probably employees of that temple. The one time we read about a goldsmith, who was also a *wab*-priest (and hence probably attached to a memorial temple), it is because of his involvement in stealing gold from the doorways of the Ramesseum. The thieves may have needed his skills here, although it was the temple scribe Sedy who later melted the gold and handed it over to another person.<sup>3</sup>

A Nineteenth Dynasty ostrakon from Berlin, which has been discussed in section 1, shows us the coppersmiths in their proper context, claiming back some copper belonging to the *sem*-priest from necropolis employees.<sup>4</sup> By mentioning "deficits" owed by the *sem*-priest, the text also implies that copper deliveries from the temples to the necropolis were regular. The concern of the temples with the manufacturing of copper tools for the necropolis workmen is well documented by some Twentieth Dynasty records of the activity of the treasury scribes (see above, section 3). Whether the coppersmiths mentioned in the records of the necropolis administration were working in, or even attached to, the memorial temples, as is held possible by Davies, remains very uncertain.<sup>5</sup> Against the argument that coppersmiths never seem to be recorded as members of the Tomb workforce, it may be said that none of the coppersmiths known by name and working for the necropolis is ever explicitly connected with a memorial temple. Although it is likely that the temples delivered copper to the necropolis, and that they supervised the weighing and manufacturing of its copper tools (see above, section 3), it is impossible to say whether they employed or supported coppersmiths who had external tasks.

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<sup>1</sup> P. Abbott rt. 4, 13 and 14 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. II).

<sup>2</sup> P. BM 10054 rt. 3, 17 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. VII).

<sup>3</sup> P. BM 10054 vs. 3, 7, 16, 18, 20; 4, 23 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. XX and XXI).

<sup>4</sup> O. Berlin 11239 (*Hieratische Papyrus Berlin III*, pl. XXXVIII; B.G. Davies, *GM 137* (1993), 39-47).

<sup>5</sup> B.G. Davies, *GM 137* (1993), 46 and 47. See also Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 128 and 129.

## CARPENTERS AND OTHER WORKMEN

Although the word *hmw.w* originally stood for “craftsman” in a general sense, New Kingdom texts show that the craftsmen thus referred to were specifically concerned with carpentry, hence the translation “carpenter” is used here.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately for them and for us, the carpenters attached to memorial temples are known to us almost exclusively as robbers, in which capacity they could use their skills as well as during their regular work.<sup>2</sup> One of them, Sethnakht of the temple of Ramesses III, is said to be under the authority of the *sem*-priest in the Amherst Papyrus. The only carpenter who does not appear to be connected with robbery is still of little help, being mentioned just as a witness at an oracle.<sup>3</sup> Apart from the *sem*-priest (or perhaps the high priest of Amun, or the superior of the house), the “overseer of carpenters” may have been the supervisor of their work.<sup>4</sup>

The Egyptian word *sh̄t* means “to weave” (cloth), as well as “to plait” (basketry).<sup>5</sup> Weavers or plaiters of the temple of Ramesses III are mentioned as thieves and receivers of stolen property, or as witnesses in legal inquiries.<sup>6</sup> The one additional piece of information we obtain about them is that they were not necessarily living in Western Thebes: the weaver/plaiter Qenmenu lived in Thebes (*hms=f m Niw.t*), that is, on the east bank.<sup>7</sup> Such craftsmen may have been supervised by a “chief weaver” (*hr.y-mr(.t)*). I know only one reference for this title in connection with a Theban memorial temple.<sup>8</sup>

The sandal-makers (*tbw.t.y*) Pabunakht and Ashakhet of the temple of Ramesses III would probably have remained unknown to us had they not been recorded as the possessors of copper stolen from the Valley of the Queens.<sup>9</sup> The only other thing we learn about the former is that he came under the authority of the high priest of Amun.

<sup>1</sup> See R. Drenkhahn, *Die Handwerker und ihre Tätigkeiten im Alten Ägypten (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen 31)*, Wiesbaden 1976, 83 and 84; F. Steinmann, *ZÄS* 107 (1980), 138-140.

<sup>2</sup> P. Amherst + Leopold II 1, 8 - 2, 1; 3, 10; 4, 12 (J. Capart, A.H. Gardiner, B. van de Walle, *JEA* 22 (1936), XII-XIV, XVI); P. BM 10053 vs. 4, 11, 12, and 21 (if the carpenters Psen and Nesamun were indeed attached to the Ramesseum; Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXI); P. BM 10054 rt. 3, 2; vs. 1, 7; 5, 20 (ibid., pls. VI-VIII).

<sup>3</sup> P. BM 10335 rt., 8 (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VII, 417).

<sup>4</sup> Appendix 2: Amenkha'ū of the temple of Ramesses III.

<sup>5</sup> Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* IV, 263. Cf. *sh̄t tm̄* “to plait mats” in O. Cairo CG 25521 rev., 9 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques CG*, 24<sup>7</sup>) and as a caption in a Middle Kingdom tomb (P.E. Newberry, *Beni Hasan II (Archaeological Survey of Egypt)*, London 1893, pl. XIII, right).

<sup>6</sup> P. Mayer A 2, 17 (Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, page 2); P. BM 10053 rt. 7, 1 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIX); *Giornale* yr. 17-B rt. 6, 7 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 23); yr. 17-A vs. 2, 7 (ibid., pl. 44); 3, 6 (ibid., pl. 45).

<sup>7</sup> P. BM 10053 rt. 7, 1 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIX); *Giornale* yr. 17-B rt. 6, 7 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 23).

<sup>8</sup> See appendix 2: the chief weaver Neferrenpet of the Ramesseum. His tomb-decoration includes a picture of the weavers at work (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, pl. XXXV). For the word *mr(.t)* “weavers” as distinct from *mr(.t)* “serfs”, see the remarks on the latter in chapter I, pp. 49-50.

<sup>9</sup> P. BM 10053 rt. 2, 15 and 16 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVII); *Giornale* yr. 17-B rt. 5, 10 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 21).

We may conclude this section with a laundryman (*rḥt.y*) who was perhaps attached to the temple of Ramesses III, and who hired a donkey from the necropolis workman Amenua according to O. IFAO 1257.<sup>1</sup> The reason for this may have been a personal one, but he may also have needed the animal to transport his laundry to the river-bank. If understood here correctly, this document would be one of those numerous cases in which we owe our knowledge about a certain profession as connected with a memorial temple to only one occasional reference.

## § 6 - THE PRODUCERS OF FOODSTUFFS

### WORKSHOP PERSONNEL

The papyri and ostraca from Western Thebes mention a number of food-producers attached to temples. Their main concern was probably to prepare the daily and festival offerings, although this is nowhere stated. The persons bearing offerings in the scenes of offering-processions at Medinet Habu and Abydos are not specified there as bakers or brewers (as opposed to the gardeners, *k3r.y.w*, bearing flowers and vegetables), but the captions of the Abydos reliefs mention the departments of *bl.t*, *psn*, and beer, which were probably part of the temple workshop, *šn<sup>c</sup>* (see chapter IV, section 1). For such a workshop would have worked the baker (*rḥ*) Hormose of the temple of Ramesses III,<sup>2</sup> and the brewer (*tḥ*) Wel of the temple of Amenophis III,<sup>3</sup> both mentioned in P. BM 10053 and *Giornale* (both documents from year 17 of Ramesses IX) as the receivers of stolen copper. The latter belonged to the *sem*-priest Hori, as is expressed by an indirect genitive, which means he was supervised by that priest.

The designations *ḥm.w* “slaves” or *mr(.t)* “serfs” are not applied to the baker and brewer, as we might have expected because workshop personnel are usually referred to by these terms in temple inscriptions (see chapter I). Nor did they call them “workshop personnel” (*šn<sup>c</sup>.w*). The fact that the scribes of P. BM 10053 and the *Giornale* did apply such terms to the personnel of other temples can perhaps be explained by the fact that they were not aware of the tasks of those people.<sup>4</sup>

Likewise, we would not expect the *sem*-priest, but rather a “superior of the workshop” (*ḥr.y-šn<sup>c</sup>*), to be the supervisor of temple bakers and brewers, but as with the temple craftsmen, the direct supervisors of these people’s work were probably not relevant to the scribes who entered their names in the list of stolen goods: more important than their daily work was the fact that they were temple employees, and as such their ultimate superior was the *sem*-priest, the high priest of Amun, or the temple steward. We know at least three officials with the title *ḥr.y šn<sup>c</sup>* from papyri from

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished; Černý Notebook 61.43. See also J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 20 (1993), 85 and 86.

<sup>2</sup> P. BM 10053 rt. 4, 2 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVIII); *Giornale* yr. 17-B rt. 3, 15 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 19).

<sup>3</sup> P. BM 10053 rt. 3, 5 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVII); *Giornale* yr. 17-A vs. 2, 3 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 44).

<sup>4</sup> E.g. the “slave” Mehefnebiu of the *qn̄.w* of Amun, and the workshop employee Ruti of the Amun temple: P. BM 10053 rt. 4, 10 and 13 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVIII).

Western Thebes: Piay, Pwenher, and Dhutemhab.<sup>1</sup> Although none of them is explicitly connected with a specific institution, it is reasonable to assume that they were attached to memorial temples, or else to temples at Karnak or Luxor. Piay may be identical with the superior and scribe of the workshop of the Ramesseum bearing the same name.<sup>2</sup> The other two are mentioned in connection with the community living in the temple of Medinet Habu late in the reign of Ramesses XI, and may have been officials attached to that temple, but that is far from certain. Dhutemhab apparently lived on the west bank, since he had a house there.<sup>3</sup>

The study by Polz on the superiors of the workshop of the New Kingdom shows that they were probably appointed from the personnel working there, which consisted for a great part of foreign prisoners of war; hence, they often had foreign names.<sup>4</sup> Polz also demonstrated that, while in the Eighteenth Dynasty a hierarchical relation existed between the titles “overseer of the workshop” (*im.y-r sn*) and “superior of the workshop” (*hr.y-sn*), the former in the Ramesside Period became dissociated from its original administrative meaning so as to become an honorific title, giving way to the functional title *hr.y-sn*.<sup>5</sup> Both the honorific title and the functional title could be held by the same official, as seems to have been the case with the workshop supervisor Piay mentioned above.<sup>6</sup> This development runs parallel with that of the titles *im.y-r pr* and *ʿ3 n pr*, and with the fact that titles like *im.y-r pr* “steward”, *im.y-r ih.w* “overseer of cattle”, and *im.y-r k3.t* “overseer of work”, were borne in the Ramesside Period by high officials who were hardly to be found in the temple itself or its surroundings (see above, sections 2 and 4). Titles composed with *im.y-r* seem generally to have become honorific titles in the Ramesside Period.

#### GARDENERS

We have met with gardeners (*k3r.y.w*) in the reliefs of offering-processions (chapter IV, section 1). Gardeners of the Ramesseum are shown at work in the tomb of Nodjemger, who was an “overseer of gardens” (*im.y-r hnt.y-š*) of that temple.<sup>7</sup> Hieratic papyri and ostraca from Western Thebes, however, do not mention any memorial temple personnel

<sup>1</sup> Piay: P. Cairo JE 65739 rt., 9 (A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 21 (1935), pl. XIII), to be dated to year 15 or a little later in the reign of Ramesses II (ibid., 141; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 94). Penpwenher: P. Turin Cat. 1972 vs., 2 and 3 (Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 8; Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 24). Dhutemhab: P. BM 10068 vs. 3, 18 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIV); P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006 rt. 4, 7 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 40).

<sup>2</sup> See appendix 2.

<sup>3</sup> P. BM 10068 vs. 3, 18 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIV).

<sup>4</sup> D. Polz, *ZÄS* 117 (1990), 53.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 50-53. See Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 405, for the variation of titles composed with *im.y-r* and *hr.y* in general.

<sup>6</sup> An *im.y-r sn* Piay occurs in TT 19 as a supervisor (with a stick) of servants or priests dressing offering-tables (Foucart, *Le Tombeau d'Amonos (Mémoires Publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire LVII)*, Cairo 1935, pl. XXXI; D. Polz, *ZÄS* 117 (1990), 57, B5).

<sup>7</sup> TT 138: Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> I.1, 251 and 252; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 383-387.

called *k3r.y* or *im.y-r hnt.y-š*. Instead, we find the word *k3m.y*, which can be clearly distinguished from *k3r.y* in hieratic.<sup>1</sup> That *k3r.y* and *k3m.y* also have different meanings becomes apparent when they are mentioned side by side in the same text.<sup>2</sup> Otherwise they occur in quite different contexts. As we have seen, *k3r.y.w* are known from temple inscriptions as well as from administrative texts as the suppliers of flowers and vegetables. *K3m.y*, on the other hand, is chiefly known from the title *hr.y-k3m.y.w* or *hr.y-k3m.y.t*. Bearers of that title were responsible for wine shipments according to hieratic jar docketts.<sup>3</sup> Abd er-Raziq suggested that *k3r.y* refers to men actually performing manual labour in the gardens (“Fachgärtner”), whereas *k3m.y* more generally applies to garden personnel, including administrative staff.<sup>4</sup> The difference between contexts in which *k3r.y* and *k3m.y* appear as outlined above would seem to require an alternative distinction: that between “gardener” and “vintner”. However, if we maintain these translations it is odd to discover that only temple “vintners” are mentioned in documents from Western Thebes, instead of the expected “gardeners”. The wine-producing gardens of the memorial temples were usually located at a greater distance, principally in the Nile delta.<sup>5</sup> Gardens supplying fresh vegetables and flowers, on the other hand, must have been close to the temples without exception because these products would not survive long transportation in the Egyptian subtropical climate. For these reasons, I feel uncertain about the translation “vintner” for *k3m.y*. Hence, *k3r.y* and *k3m.y* are both translated as “gardener” throughout this book.

Two gardeners (*k3m.y*) of the temple of Ramesses III are mentioned in connection with the legal inquiries in Western Thebes during the reigns of Ramesses IX and XI. The gardener Inuau, who possessed 2 *deben* of stolen copper, was under the authority of the “superior of the house” (*š n pr*).<sup>6</sup> The gardener Keri, who is said in a

<sup>1</sup> The writings are quite different; *k3r.y* always showing , also in hieratic. See, for instance, the word *k3r.y.w* as a reference to gardeners working for the gang of necropolis workmen in P. Turin Cat. 1880 vs. 2, 14; 3, 13-18 (Gardiner, *Ramesseide Administrative Documents*, 46 and 49); Cat. 1900 vs. 1, 16 (Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* VI, 623); Cat. 2071/224 [140] rt., 8 (ibid., 637). See also the references in C.J. Eyre, *JEA* 80 (1994), 58, note 11. *K3m.y* can be distinguished from *k3w.t.y* “workman” because the latter is usually written with clear phonetic signs, and *always* with .

<sup>2</sup> As in, for instance, the list of temple personnel in lines 38-41 of the Nauri decree: Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* I, 52. See Introduction, § 1, p. 6.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter XI, § 2, pp. 349-350.

<sup>4</sup> M. Abd er-Raziq, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 236-239.

<sup>5</sup> See K.A. Kitchen, in: *Studies Gwyn Griffiths*, 115-123. Some vineyards, however, were actually located closer to the temples, like the one within the enclosure wall of the temple of Seth at Piramesse (Bietak, *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Anzeiger* 122 (1985), 272-278). At Amarna, such a garden formed an annex to the royal palace (C. and F. Traunecker, *BSEG* 9/10 (1984/85), 285-307. A garden (referred to as *isrr.t* “grape-garden” (?) or *š.t n.t ht* “orchard”) created by Amenophis II at Karnak supplied flowers to the temple of Amun (El-Sayed Hegazy, P. Martinez, T. Zimmer, *Cahiers de Karnak* IX (1993), 205-212). M. Abd er-Raziq, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 236 mentions a winepress found in the Kawa temple precinct.

<sup>6</sup> P. BM 10053 rt. 3, 13 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVII); *Giornale* yr. 17-A vs. 2, 10 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 44).

later text to have stripped off gold from temple doors, was also a *wab*-priest.<sup>1</sup> It is especially the second reference that implies a close attachment to the temple and its cult: Keri must have worked in its immediate vicinity. Other gardeners attested in texts from the same period may also have been attached to memorial temples, but they are not specified as such.<sup>2</sup> Gardeners of a temple of Sethos II “in the House of Amun” are mentioned in P. Anastasi IV, but it is unlikely that a Theban temple is referred to there.<sup>3</sup> These people (21, including old men and children) worked in a vintage in the Nile delta. Their products were sealed and kept by a “chief gardener” (*hr.y-k3m.y.w*).

To complete the record on food-producers, we must mention a reference to a honey-collector (*bi.t.y*) of the temple of Ramesses III, named Sobeknakht.<sup>4</sup> He occurs only in lists of people accused of temple robbery.

## § 7 - MILITARY PERSONNEL AND POLICE

### POLICEMEN AND WARDERS

The offering-procession depicted in the temple of Ramesses II in Abydos shows that the transport of food into the temple was controlled by warders (*sʿš3*, lit. “repellers”) with sticks, probably in order to prevent greedy bystanders (or rather the carriers themselves) from stealing food that was to be presented to the gods. The greediness of priests for shares of offerings that were not theirs is referred to in the inscription on a statue of the steward Amenhotep from the Eighteenth Dynasty, and in the admonition to the priests carved in the Ptolemaic temple at Edfu (both cited in section 2 of the Introduction). In the Great Harris Papyrus, Ramesses III says to the god Re that he has made for him groups of warders who will guard his temple and his grain.<sup>5</sup> Warders of the workshop and of the offerings are known from other sources,<sup>6</sup> but not in connection with Theban memorial temples. The *wab*-priest Pseny was probably a guardian (*s3w.t.y*) of the Ramesseum.<sup>7</sup> Two “chiefs of *md3y*” (a kind of police-force controlling the Theban west bank and the necropolis) were attached to the temple at Medinet Habu in the second year of the “Repeating of Birth”,<sup>8</sup> but this will have been a consequence of the fact that the temple of Ramesses III had become the administrative centre of Western Thebes, and

<sup>1</sup> P. BM 10053 vs. 3, 6 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XX). A gardener named Keri is also mentioned in P. Mayer A 4, 8; 5, 1; 13 C, 10 (Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, pages 4, 5, and 13; there read as *k3w.t.y* “workman”).

<sup>2</sup> E.g. Khaʿemtore in P. BM 10068 rt. 4, 28 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XI). A chief gardener Ptahemhab in P. BM 10068 vs. 1, 13 (*ibid.*, pl. XIII) and P. BM 10403 1, 16 and 17 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXXVI); note the curious mixed spelling in the former text, uniting the characteristics of *k3m.y*, *k3r.y*, and *k3w.t.y*.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 41 and 42; Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 155-159; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 169. See chapter XI, § 2, p. 349, note 4.

<sup>4</sup> P. Abbott vs. A, 18 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXIII); probably also in P. Mayer A 13 A, 4 (Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, page 13).

<sup>5</sup> Page 28, lines 6-8: Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 33; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 261.

<sup>6</sup> See Gardiner, *Onomastica I*, 93; G. Andreu, *BIFAO* 87 (1987), 1-20.

<sup>7</sup> P. BM 10383 rt. 2, 4 and 5 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXII); see above, pp. 222-223.

<sup>8</sup> P. Mayer A 13 A, 13 (Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, page 13).

does not prove that *mḏꜣy*-policemen were regular members of the temple personnel. It is uncertain whether the policemen mentioned in texts from the reign of Ramesses IX were attached to a temple, or to the necropolis.<sup>1</sup>

#### MILITARY TITLES

At first sight, the situation appears to be similar for military officials such as “army scribes” (*sš mšꜥ*), “troop commanders” (*ḥr.y-pḏ.t*), and “charioteers” (*kṯn*), who are likewise known to have been attached to the temple of Ramesses III during the “Repeating of Birth”.<sup>2</sup> The army scribes Qaishuti and Penthutnakht are often mentioned in texts from this period as being responsible for necropolis workmen living in or near the temple,<sup>3</sup> for temple equipment,<sup>4</sup> for deliveries to people and institutions in the neighbourhood,<sup>5</sup> and for receiving their dues.<sup>6</sup> Qaishuti had a house in the neighbourhood.<sup>7</sup> An army scribe Aaneru is also referred to in documents from this period, but he is never explicitly connected with a temple.<sup>8</sup> Nor is the troop commander Pmeniunakht, but this official is acknowledged by four temple personnel as their superior: the *wab*-priest and gardener (*kꜣm.y*) Keri of the temple of Ramesses III, the *wab*-priests and smiths Psen and Tety, and the temple scribe Sedy, the last three belonging to the Ramesseum.<sup>9</sup> A charioteer of the temple of Ramesses III is mentioned only as a witness in a session of the legal council of that temple.<sup>10</sup> In year 2 of the “Repeating of Birth” we meet with a “foreigner (*ꜥꜥ*) of the temple of Sethos”, who may have been a member of a garrison stationed in the temple of Sethos I.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. Abbott rt. 1, 10 and 16 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. I); *Giornale* yr. 17-A rt. 4, 10 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 11). *Pr pn* “this house” was considered a reference to a temple (although it is unclear to which temple) by Peet (*Tomb-robberies*, 37), but as a reference to the necropolis by Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 89, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> For this subject, see also Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 171 and 172.

<sup>3</sup> P. Berlin 10494 (Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 23 and 24; Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 44 and 45); P. BN 198 I rt., 11 and 12 (Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 66; Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 78); P. Rifaud D (Y. Koenig, *CRIPPEL* 10 (1988), 57-60, pls. 4-7).

<sup>4</sup> P. BM 10053 vs. 4, 10 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXI; here rather involved in robbery?); P. BM 10383 rt. 1, 4 (*ibid.*, pl. XXII); P. Mayer A 6, 9-12 (Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, page 6; the same event is referred to in an unpublished fragment of P. BM 10383 at Philadelphia, rt. col. 2: Černý Notebook 157.5, 19-21).

<sup>5</sup> P. BM 10054 vs. 2, 1-3 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. VII).

<sup>6</sup> P. BM 10068 vs. 1, 9, 21, and 23 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIII). The dues are called *šꜣꜣꜣ* (for which see J.J. Janssen, *AoF* 19 (1992), 20 and 21), and paid in silver, copper, and cloth. The main collector is the necropolis scribe Dhutnose, but some people seem to hand over (*šꜣꜣꜣ*?) their contributions to the army scribe Qaishuti.

<sup>7</sup> P. BM 10068 vs. 3, 5 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIV).

<sup>8</sup> E.g. P. BM 10053 vs. 4, 20-22 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXI); P. BM 10412 vs., 7 and 9 (Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 56; Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 70). An army scribe Hori was attached to the “Place Beloved of Thoth”: P. BM 10052 15, 10 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXXIV). For this institution, see above, p. 217, note 9.

<sup>9</sup> P. BM 10053 vs. 3, 12 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XX).

<sup>10</sup> P. Turin Cat. 2021 rt. 4, 8 (Černý, Peet, *JEA* 13 (1927), pl. XV); prob. read: *kṯ[n] Bꜣk-n-S.t* (or *Bꜣk-n-S.t-Mꜣꜣ.t*?) *n* [*tꜣ ḥw*].*t*.

<sup>11</sup> P. BM 10403 1, 28 and 30 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXXVI). See J. Černý, in: *Cambridge Ancient History*<sup>3</sup> II, chapter XXXV, 30 and 31.

Is the accumulation of military personnel in the documents from the “Repeating of Birth” due to specific circumstances?<sup>1</sup> Do these persons represent a military control of the Thebaid after the restless period of the attack on the high priest Amenhotep and the rebellion of the viceroy Pinhas? The presence of at least four military officials within one and the same temple seems to suggest this idea, the more so since they are referred to as such only in texts from the “Repeating of Birth”. A Penthutnakht is known from the necropolis journal of year 17 of Ramesses IX, that is, more than 20 years before, but then only as a “scribe”, not as an army scribe, and not explicitly attached to the temple.<sup>2</sup> The army scribe Kaishuti, however, does not appear before year 17 of Ramesses XI.<sup>3</sup>

There are, however, older references to army officials attached to temples. Hormin was an army scribe, as well as a temple scribe, of the Ramesseum. His tomb (TT 221) is not dated in more precise terms than “Ramesside”, but it probably antedates the “Repeating of Birth”. A certain Nebmehit was “scribe of recruits” (*sš nfr.w*) of the Ramesseum.<sup>4</sup> A papyrus from year 18 of Ramesses III mentions an army scribe of a Heliopolitan (?) temple of that king.<sup>5</sup> In an ostrakon recording the strikes of the necropolis workmen in year 29 of Ramesses III, a “general” (*lm.y-r mšꜣ*) of the king’s temple listens to the workmen’s complaints and promises to report them to Pharaoh.<sup>6</sup> It is clear that army officials were connected with temples, including the Theban memorial temples, as early as the reign of Ramesses III. We may perhaps connect this practice with Ramesses’ efforts to protect the temples from attacks by foreign enemies,<sup>7</sup> although it may be even older.<sup>8</sup>

#### § 8 - UNSPECIFIED TEMPLE EMPLOYEES

Sometimes we find people specified as members of the non-priestly personnel of a temple (*smd.t*). We have seen this qualification with the coppersmith Pkhar of the temple of Ramesses III.<sup>9</sup> What exactly was the function of the *smd.t*-member Pnakhtrestep of

<sup>1</sup> See also the passage from P. Geneva D 191 quoted in § 1 of this chapter (pp. 217-218), mentioning an army general.

<sup>2</sup> Against Y. Koenig, *CRIPPEL* 10 (1988), 58, note (a). See the references given there (“*Giornale* 58, 5-7” should be “*Giornale* 56, 5-7”), as well as in Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, 60 (index).

<sup>3</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1888 rt. 1, 8 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 65).

<sup>4</sup> For Hormin and Nebmehit, see appendix 2 (Ramesses II).

<sup>5</sup> P. MMA 3569 + Vienna 38 rt. 1 A, 8 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 269).

<sup>6</sup> O. Varille 39 + IFAO 1255 obv., 11-13 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 300 and 301). See also Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 170.

<sup>7</sup> According to P. Harris I 57, 13 and 58, 6, the temples of Onuris and Thoth had to be defended against “foreigners of *Thn.w*”: Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 67; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 305.

<sup>8</sup> Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 39 (with note 114), suggests that temples of the Ramesside Period had their own troops (“Tempelheere”), which could be mobilized, for instance, for quarry-expeditions. Gnirs assumes that high military officials were appointed as temple functionaries mainly for two reasons: (1) their experience in controlling large numbers of personnel made them particularly good supervisors of building and quarrying projects (Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 37 and 170); (2) in this way the state government, whose authority and legitimacy were based to a considerable extent on military achievements, could keep the temples’ substantial economic sources at hand (*ibid.*, 38 and 172).

<sup>9</sup> P. Abbott rt. 4, 13 and 14 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. II).

the temple of Thutmosis I we can only guess, but like Pkhar he came under the authority of the high priest of Amun.<sup>1</sup> Even without the use of specific titles or the designation *smd.t*, people belonging to memorial temples could simply be mentioned as such. For instance: “those of the temple of Userma‘atre Meriamun l.p.h. under the authority of the *sem*-priest Amen<hote>p”, as a reference to temple personnel involved in mining expeditions in the Eastern Desert,<sup>2</sup> or “those of the temples of the Kings of Upper and Lower Egypt” in a text enumerating groups of personnel serving under various authorities.<sup>3</sup> In other cases, the administrative environment of a person was of no concern to the scribe, or it was obvious to him from other data, which are lost to us. What has been presented in this chapter is therefore nothing more than the information about the personnel of Theban memorial temples that can be obtained from ever-deficient textual sources.

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<sup>1</sup> P. BM 10054 rt. 3, 3 (ibid., pl. VI).

<sup>2</sup> P. IFAO A + B rt. 4, 8 (Y. Koenig, in: *Hommages Sauneron* I, pl. XXXIII).

<sup>3</sup> O. Chicago OIC 16996 obv., 6 (unpublished; Černý Notebook 107.36).

## CHAPTER IX

### RESOURCES AND REVENUES OF THE MEMORIAL TEMPLES AND THEIR SUPPLIES TO THE ROYAL NECROPOLIS

#### § 1 - DELIVERIES OF PRECIOUS MATERIALS TO THE MEMORIAL TEMPLES

##### INTRODUCTION

As opposed to the inscriptions discussed in Part One, the papyri and ostraca that provide the information for the foregoing chapter and the present one are not at all concerned with the administration and the economic traffic inside the temple walls. This lack of inside information is due to the fact that we have no administrative records from the memorial temples themselves. Hence, we can infer something about the resources and revenues of these temples only when they appear in the records of other administrations, and in most cases, we owe the scarce data we have to the administrators of the royal necropolis of Western Thebes.

The sources of our information partly account for the odd way of organizing the relevant data in this chapter, which in general aims to discuss the way material resources were handled by the temples. In the first section (the present one) we will turn our attention to the temple revenues (other than the agricultural ones, which are dealt with in chapters X and XI), and discover that the only revenues we are informed about are those of mining expeditions. The property of the temple is illustrated only by its animals, and the information about these will be discussed in section 2, where we will also see that the animals were at the disposal of outsiders. This point leads us to continue with the supplies of temple goods, mainly food and copper, to the workmen of the royal necropolis (sections 3-7). The decline of the temples and their wealth at the end of the Ramesside Period will be described in the remaining sections 8 and 9.

##### THE TEMPLE'S SUPPLIES OF PRECIOUS MATERIALS

As we have seen in chapter VI, the Great Harris Papyrus distinguishes two types of temple revenues: those of their own estates, which are called *b3k.w* "work", "produce"; and the occasional additions by the king, which are called *in.w*. These two types of income, which are recorded for the Theban temples in lists b and c of the relevant section of the text,<sup>1</sup> both cover more or less the same range of products, with an emphasis on (common) foodstuffs in the list of estate revenues (cereals, cattle, fowl,

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<sup>1</sup> Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 14-20; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 237-245.

wine), and on precious objects and exotic products (myrrh, salt, natron) in the list of royal *in.w*. It is clear, however, that the temple estates themselves had regular supplies of gold, silver, and copper, the total weight of which was far more impressive than that of the precious metals of the *in.w*, although the Theban list c of P. Harris I conceals this by elaborately enumerating all objects made of the metals. Admittedly, the king granted these materials mainly in the form of finished products. What he granted was therefore also the manufacture of the objects, that is, the maintenance of craftsmen who were busy with this. We have seen in the previous chapter, however, that the temples had their own craftsmen, including coppersmiths and goldsmiths (chapter VIII, § 5). Thus they did not depend on the flow of *in.w* for manufactured objects any more than for the precious materials of which the objects were made, so this still leaves the *in.w* as an almost symbolic category of revenues.

#### P. IFAO A + B

That temples had direct access to the sources of precious metals becomes apparent also from other sources than the Great Harris Papyrus. An important document in this respect is P. IFAO A + B, which has been referred to already in connection with the *sem*-priest (chapter VIII, section 1).<sup>1</sup> This text records a number of expeditions (ten at least) to the Eastern Desert during regnal years 1 and 2 of a Twentieth Dynasty pharaoh, presumably Ramesses VII.<sup>2</sup> The expeditions were directed by the “superior of the desert” (ꜥ3 n ḥꜣs.t) and by “attendants” (šms.w). It is not stated to which institution these officials were attached, but the “superior of the desert” may actually have been attached to the Karnak temple of Amun.<sup>3</sup> The products, gold and galena (*msdm.t*),<sup>4</sup> were received by the treasury of that temple, the “House of Amun”. The receiving officials were the *sem*-priest Amenhotep, the treasury scribe Khonsumose, and the high priest of the Karnak temple, all of them Theban temple officials. Only in the records of the amounts of galena in column 4 of the *recto* are the institutions specified for which the miners were working: the House of Amun, the House of Re (presumably at Thebes), and the temple of Ramesses III; people of the latter are explicitly stated to be under the authority of the *sem*-priest. However, neither the *sem*-priest nor the high priest of Amun were actual

<sup>1</sup> Y. Koenig, in: *Hommages Sauneron* I, 185-220, pls. XXX-XXXVII; idem, *BIFAO* 83 (1983), 249-255, pls. LII-LIV; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 397-403; VII, 364-368. The B-fragments, which are the only ones showing lower margins, probably form the lower parts of A; together they form sheets of about 40 cm high (see the measures given by Y. Koenig, in: *Hommages Sauneron* I, 186; *BIFAO* 83 (1983), 44).

<sup>2</sup> The handwriting is dated by Koenig to the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty. The change of regnal year in the document took place between III *pr.t* 10 (rt. 2, 16) and IV *pr.t* 26 (rt. 3, 1). The Twentieth Dynasty kings whose accession dates lay within this span are Ramesses VII (J.J. Janssen, *JEA* 52 (1966), 92) and perhaps Ramesses V (W. Helck, *SAK* 17 (1990), 208; Von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 117; but cf. P.W. Pestman, in: *Gleanings*, 171-181; R. Krauss, *GM* 70 (1984), 40). The former was preferred by Y. Koenig (*Hommages Sauneron*, 218), as well as by Von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 84; J. von Beckerath, *ZÄS* 122 (1995), 98 and 99. See now also J.J. Janssen, *GM* 155 (1996), 61 and 64, note 8.

<sup>3</sup> The title may be short for ꜥ3 n ḥꜣs.t n Ḳmn, for which see C. Ziegler, *RdÉ* 33 (1981), 128-130.

<sup>4</sup> For the desert east of the Nile valley as a source of galena (lead sulphide), see Lucas, Harris, *Materials and Industries*<sup>4</sup>, 243 and 244; W. Helck, *JARCE* 6 (1967), 145.

members of the expeditions themselves. On the spot the workmen were all controlled by the superior of the desert or by one Amenkha'u.<sup>1</sup>

We see that at least three Theban temples were co-operating in these desert expeditions. None of the temple officials is presented as the supreme head of the enterprise; the high priest of Amun is not given prominence above the others. Each separate temple thus appears to have had a status equal to that of the others, and might have taken home its share of the products directly. This, however, was against Egyptian administrative practice: the treasury of the House of Amun functioned as the central place for receiving, and probably also for redistributing, the shared revenues. It possible, though not apparent from the text, that this treasury was also the central organizing institution, as Koenig assumed.<sup>2</sup> He refers to letters of the high priest Ramessesnakht from the reign of Ramesses IX. These letters show that the high priest of Amun controlled galena expeditions in the Eastern Desert, as well as deliveries of galena to the royal court. In his discussion of the texts, Helck concluded that they belonged to the administration of the treasury of the Amun temple, although this department is not mentioned in the letters.<sup>3</sup> Just like the expeditions of P. IFAO A + B, those mentioned in the letters of Ramessesnakht were probably joint enterprises: the high priest refers to the personnel of the expeditions as: "the people of the teams of gold-washers of the House of Amonrasonter under my authority (and of) any house".<sup>4</sup>

The total amount of gold obtained by the expedition involving three Theban temples during a maximum period of 16 to 19 months was 17½ *deben* (about 1.6 kg).<sup>5</sup> This means that the yearly output would have been about 11 to 13 *deben* (1 to 1.2 kg). The total amount of galena found was 103 *deben*, a yearly average of about 65 to 77 *deben* (6 to 7 kg). Koenig assumed that the low amount of gold was just the yield of a small-scale expedition in a hardly workable area, the exploitation of which was perhaps forced by an economic recession at the end of the reign of Ramesses III.<sup>6</sup> However, the Eastern Desert had been a regular source of gold to the Theban temples all the time. A painted relief in the (ritual) treasury of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu shows bags of gold from Kush, Ombos, Edfu, and Koptos.<sup>7</sup> P. Harris I neatly separates the gold of Koptos (i.e. the gold mined in the Eastern Desert) from that of Kush. Kush was by far the most important source, the ratio of gold-production for the two regions

<sup>1</sup> P. IFAO A + B rt. 4, 5-8 (Y. Koenig, in: *Hommages Sauneron* I, 193, pl. XXXIII).

<sup>2</sup> Y. Koenig, in: *Hommages Sauneron* I, 219.

<sup>3</sup> W. Helck, *JARCE* 6 (1967), 145.

<sup>4</sup> *Nz rmt n nz qr.w n i'cy-nbw n pr 'Imn-R' nswt ntr.w r ht-i pr nb* (P. ESP C, ll. 43-45; W. Helck, *JARCE* 6 (1967), 140 and 148).

<sup>5</sup> If the month in rt. 1, 1 is I *pr.t*, the time-span covered by rt. 1-4 runs from I *pr.t* preceding year 1 (of Ramesses VII) to year 2, IV *šmw* 28 (rt. 3, 20), that is, 19 months. The period covered is only 16 months if the month in rt. 1, 1 is IV *pr.t*. The amount of gold calculated is that which was left after washing it. The output of the expeditions of III *šh.t* 3 and I *pr.t* 2 are counted together in the text, and so is that of the expeditions of III *pr.t* 10 and IV *pr.t* 26 (rt. 2, 9 and rt. 3, 11; Y. Koenig, in: *Hommages Sauneron* I, pls. XXXI and XXXII). For the measure called *deben*, see table 11.

<sup>6</sup> Y. Koenig, in: *Hommages Sauneron* I, 219.

<sup>7</sup> Room 12: *Medinet Habu* V, pl. 328. See chapter IV, § 3, pp. 132-133.

being almost 1:5.<sup>1</sup> Nonetheless, the average yearly amount of gold brought in via Koptos during the reign of Ramesses III was still 61.3 *deben* (or 5.5 kg). The Great Harris Papyrus claims that this was the yearly produce of five newly founded Theban temple estates. In the expeditions of both the Harris and the IFAO papyri, the workforce of the memorial temple at Medinet Habu will have been a major contributor to the regular expeditions in the Eastern Desert. The yearly output of only 11 to 13 *deben* in P. IFAO shows that by the time of Ramesses VII, a joint expedition by the Amun temple, the temple of Ramesses III, and the temple of Re could not compete with the level of production reached some twenty years earlier. On the other hand, the figures in the IFAO papyrus are not dramatically low, and may be due to the scale of the expeditions, rather than to the workability of the region. Although the administrative backgrounds of P. IFAO A + B and the Great Harris Papyrus are not clear in every respect, it appears that the amounts of gold in these texts are of a comparable order of magnitude, and this speaks in favour of the reliability of both sources.

Why did the temples need their own constant supply of precious materials, as testified to by the Harris and IFAO papyri? After the first years of their existence, they would have been fully equipped with the necessary cultic items, which will have been added to by royal gifts from time to time. Still, the temple expeditions yearly returned with kilos of gold and other materials. This can hardly have served the purpose of constant embellishment of the temple buildings and their treasuries. Some Egyptologists have assumed that the remuneration of personnel in precious materials became common in the course of the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>2</sup> Causes of this development may have been the decline of large-scale redistributive systems, or the scarcity of grain that might be reflected in the rising grain prices.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the necropolis workmen, who used to receive their monthly allowances in grain and other consumable goods during the Ramesside Period, seem to have been supplied increasingly with copper and other materials towards the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (see below, section 6), and this might reflect a more general use of such materials for payments. Accordingly, the temples would have used precious metals to acquire other goods (presumably through the agency of their commercial agents, *šw.t.y.w*),<sup>4</sup> to store their wealth, and perhaps even to pay their personnel. It is also possible that the temples were not the sole ultimate users of the materials brought home by their expeditions: part of the products may have been handed over to the royal treasury as *in.w* or *tp-dr.t*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. Harris I 12a, 7 and 8 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 15; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 238).

<sup>2</sup> Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 152; Y. Bogoslovsky, *AoF* 14 (1987), 234; idem, in: *Ancient Egypt and Kush*, 96 and 97. See also § 6 below.

<sup>3</sup> See Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 551 and 552.

<sup>4</sup> See W.-F. Reineke, *AoF* 6 (1979), 14; M. Römer, *SAK* 19 (1992), 276. See also Introduction, § 2, p. 15.

<sup>5</sup> See Introduction, § 2, p. 18; chapter VI, § 4, p. 185 note 3.

## § 2 - ANIMALS OF THE TEMPLES

## TEMPLE ANIMALS IN CEREMONIAL TEXTS

Judging from the dedication-inscriptions, cattle and other animals formed an important part of the temple's resources. The stela from the temple of Amenophis III in the Cairo Museum states that the herds of the temple were numerous like the sand of the shore.<sup>1</sup> Ramesses III had brought together herds of all kinds of animals for his memorial temple;<sup>2</sup> according to the Harris Papyrus these were likewise as numerous as the sand of the shore.<sup>3</sup> The same document gives us more substantial information on the number of animals involved. To all the Theban institutions together Ramesses III gave 421,362 head of cattle and other animals,<sup>4</sup> a considerable part of which will have been included in the endowment to his memorial temple—this temple also received three quarters of all personnel assigned according to the same list—although most of the animals probably belonged to the five herds donated by the king to Amun. It is unclear if these herds belonged to any particular temple; they may all have been assigned to the estate of the Amun temple at Karnak.<sup>5</sup> For three of them, the supervising officials are specified: the steward Piay, the vizier of the south, and the overseer of cattle Kai.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, we do not know to which institution Piay and Kai were attached.<sup>7</sup> In addition, the temple estates yearly supplied another 847 head of cattle from Egyptian herds, and 19 as the produce of their Syrian territories, and in the course of his reign, Ramesses III still donated over 1,000 head as *in.w* and as offerings for the yearly celebrations of his accession-date and the Opet festival.<sup>8</sup> In spite of all these figures, we still do not know what was the actual number of cattle owned by his temple at Medinet Habu, but we know that the daily and festival offerings recorded in the calendar required 119 head of cattle yearly.<sup>9</sup> The texts of the Wilbour Papyrus inform us that the memorial temples, like any temple, had domains that produced pasture for their animals (see chapter X, sections 1 and 2). They also had special ships at their disposal to transport them.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Stela Cairo CG 34025 obv., lines 7 and 8 (*Urkunden IV*, 1649; *Urkunden Übersetzung Hefte 17-22*, 196). See chapter I, p. 40.

<sup>2</sup> *Medinet Habu III*, pl. 138, col. 46 (see chapter I).

<sup>3</sup> P. Harris I 4, 4 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 4; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 227).

<sup>4</sup> P. Harris I 11, 5 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 14, 7; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 236).

<sup>5</sup> See the discussion of *pr pn* in chapter VI, § 3, pp. 167-168. Grandet assumes that the herds were all assigned to the temples listed in lines 3-6 of page 10, which seems not impossible (*Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 52, note 212).

<sup>6</sup> P. Harris I 10, 8, 10, and 11 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 12 and 13; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 235 and 236).

<sup>7</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 53 (note 213) and 54 (note 216).

<sup>8</sup> P. Harris I 12b, 7 and 8; 16a, 1; 20a, 3 and 4 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 15, 19, and 23).

<sup>9</sup> See tables 3 and 7.

<sup>10</sup> Called *skt.y-ihy* or *hn-ih*: P. Harris I 12b, 11 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 15). P. Anastasi IV (6, 11; 7, 1 and 6) mentions cattle-transport of a temple of Sethos II (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 41 and 42).

## TEMPLE CATTLE SUPERVISED BY THE SCRIBE PBES

A Turin papyrus from the reign of Ramesses VI or VII contains a list of herds, which all appear to have been under the care of a scribe Pbes (who was a treasury scribe according to another text on the same papyrus, but who cannot be identified with certainty with any of the scribes of that name known from other sources).<sup>1</sup> All the animals belonged to temples, and among them we find two herds of the Ramesseum.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, no numbers of cattle are given. Instead, many of the entries seem to end with an amount of copper.<sup>3</sup> In view of the low amounts, these will not express the value of the cattle,<sup>4</sup> but rather some sort of revenue from them; perhaps the remuneration for taking care of the animals? What can be said with at least some degree of plausibility is that we have here a number of herds belonging to different temples under the authority of one official, just as temple herds were under the authority of the vizier and other functionaries according to the Harris Papyrus. This practice is much similar to the administration of temple fields in the Wilbour Papyrus.

## THE USE OF TEMPLE ANIMALS BY NECROPOLIS WORKMEN

Various notes on the role of the bulls and cows of the memorial temples in the community of necropolis workmen are preserved on other Turin papyri. One column on the *recto* of the Turin Strike Papyrus records the charges against the workmen Userhat and Pentwere. Apart from removing stones from the tomb of Ramesses II and having sex with three married women, Userhat was said to have brought an ox with the brand of the Ramesseum on it, and to be keeping it in his cow-shed.<sup>5</sup> The actual crime will have been Userhat's keeping of the animal by as though it were his own; "bringing" an ox from a memorial, or any, temple was not that unusual in itself. P. Turin Cat. 2094 *recto*, presumably from the reign of Ramesses XI,<sup>6</sup> records the following:

(1) First month of *pr.t*, day 2. Day of handing over the ox (*p3 ih*) to the scribe Dhutmose by the chief workman Penpre

<sup>1</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908 vs. 1 (J.J. Janssen, *JEA* 52 (1966), 88 and 89, pl. XVIII).

<sup>2</sup> *Verso* 1, lines 9 and 11. I consider "House of Amun" as a name of the temple of Amun at Karnak, rather than the temple at Medinet Habu, as was suggested by Janssen.

<sup>3</sup> Lines 3 and 6 each end with "copper, 7.5 *deben*". The words not read by Janssen in lines 4, 8, 10, 12, and 14 also seem to be references to amounts of copper; perhaps *hmt dbn qd.t* "copper *deben/kite*"? Although it is strange to find the *deben* and its subdivision the *kite* at the same time, the reading of the latter unit is supported by its writing in other documents (e.g. P. BM 10401 rt. 1, 4; 2, 3 and 8; J.J. Janssen, *JEA* 77 (1991), 80, pl. IV).

<sup>4</sup> The price of an ox varied from 20 to 141 *deben* according to Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 173, table XV. See also K. Baer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 25-27.

<sup>5</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1880 rt. 4, 6 and 7 (Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, 57; W.F. Edgerton, *JNES* 10 (1951), 141).

<sup>6</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 865-867. The *verso* is dated to year 2 of the "Repeating of Birth"; the text on the *recto* cannot be much older, as it mentions the scribe Dhutmose and the chief workman Penpre (for these persons see Černý, *Community*, 126, 360 and 361; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, lists IX-XI).

(2) Second month of *pr.t*, day 18. Bringing the ox of the Temple by the scribe Dhutmose. Second month of *pr.t*, day 19. Handing it over to the chief workman Penpre.

(3) This day. Bringing the cow (*t3 ih*) in the morning<sup>1</sup> by the stonemason Amenopenakht. Second month of *pr.t*, day 23. Handing over the cow

(4) to the chief workman Penpre, although they had not been ploughing.<sup>2</sup>

Whence came the cow in line 3 we cannot say, but the ox mentioned in line 2 (which is probably the same as that of line 1) belonged to the temple of Ramesses III. Apparently, the community of necropolis workmen could use cattle of that memorial temple to cultivate their own fields.<sup>3</sup> According to a Cairo ostracon, cattle of the goddess Hathor could also be kept for a while by the workmen.<sup>4</sup> The animals must have been used for agricultural activities, as is indicated in line 4 of the Turin papyrus just quoted. The period between the dates in that text would probably fall in the month of September of the Gregorian calendar, while the date preserved in the Cairo ostracon (II *3h.t* 16) would fall in the middle of July.<sup>5</sup> In both cases, the cattle were brought while the Nile was rising, so that the cultivated fields must have been high-lying and artificially irrigated ones.

The animals were probably kept for a short period and then returned to the temple, lest the wrath of the gods should make itself felt.<sup>6</sup> It is unclear whether the animals could be used by outsiders without charge, or whether a rent had to be paid.<sup>7</sup> The latter option is of course the more likely one, but we have no information on this point. Donkeys could perhaps be used also by the necropolis workmen, although the only text concerning donkeys from a temple is that of P. Turin 1881, according to which two donkeys had been unjustly bartered away by a temple deputy to the draughtsman

<sup>1</sup> *M tr (n) dw3*, as read by Prof. Janssen (personal communication). The following traces can be seen on the original:



<sup>2</sup> The traces on the original at the end of the line are not those of the pronoun *sw* (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 866, 4), but  as the determinatives of *sk3* (see Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian* III, 106 and 107):



<sup>3</sup> See A.G. McDowell, *JEA* 78 (1992), 195-206, on this subject in general, and 197-201, on the use of oxen.

<sup>4</sup> O. Cairo CG 25589 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques* CG, 55<sup>\*</sup>; A.G. McDowell, *JEA* 78 (1992), 198 and 199).

<sup>5</sup> See [P.W. Pestman], in: *Gleanings*, xiii; the Julian dates given there can be converted to Gregorian ones by means of the table in Parker, *Calendars*, 8. I have assumed that P. Turin Cat. 2094 rt. dates from about 1080 BC, and O. Cairo CG 25589 from about 1180 or 1170 BC (for the dating of the latter, see Gutgesell, *Datierung* I, 92).

<sup>6</sup> Stela Berlin 20377, col. 8, relates how the draughtsman Amennakht became mortally sick through the manifestation (*b3w*) of Amun. The cause of this was a cow belonging to the god, which had probably been held back unjustly by Amennakht (G. Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin* II, Leipzig 1924, 159 and 160; E. Brunner-Traut, *Die Alten Ägypter. Verborgenes Leben unter Pharaonen*<sup>3</sup>, 138 and pl. 45; ref. due to Prof. J.F. Borghouts).

<sup>7</sup> As with the hire of donkeys; see J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 20 (1993), 81-94.

Pentwere, and claimed back later by attendants of the *sem*-priest (see chapter VIII, section 1). O IFAO 1257 possibly refers to a laundryman (*rht.y*) of the temple of Ramesses III, who hired a donkey of the necropolis workman Amenkha'u.<sup>1</sup> This would be curious, because the temple must have had its own donkeys. Perhaps these animals were not at the disposal of lower temple personnel?

### § 3 - DELIVERIES OF FOOD TO THE ROYAL NECROPOLIS

#### THE DESTINATION OF TEMPLE OFFERINGS

Not only temple cattle found their way to people living outside the precinct: other commodities, mainly provisions, could be delivered to people belonging to other institutions as well. Although the extent and regularity of such deliveries is often hard to assess, it is clear from the references to be dealt with in this and the following sections that they represent an important aspect of the temples' economic workings. Apparently, that aspect falls completely outside the scope of temple inscriptions, which present the temples as channels of one-way economic traffic: from the fields, herds, and workshops to the altars of the gods. A single sideward step is made by the royal decrees of Ramesses III and IV, according to which the memorial temple was expected to deliver considerable amounts of offerings to the main temple of Amonrasonter in Thebes (see chapter III). Moreover, private endowments could also benefit from temple offerings (Chapter V). But even in these cases, the products ended up before divine or funerary statues, to be consumed afterwards by priests and other temple functionaries. On some occasions, provisions went straight to the priests.<sup>2</sup> We know, however, that products of temple estates could be delivered, or even traded, to individuals outside.<sup>3</sup> I have not found any references for the practice of trading temple products in connection with the Theban memorial temples, but deliveries of items to people outside were not unusual. This can be inferred from the records of supplies to the royal necropolis by these temples, which we are now to discuss.

#### SUPPLIES TO THE NECROPOLIS BY THE MEMORIAL TEMPLES

In year 58 of Ramesses II, a considerable amount of food from the temple of Thutmosis I reached the necropolis workmen through the agency of the policeman Psur:<sup>4</sup> a box or cage filled with *psn*-loaves, ten baskets of grain, and others filled with fruit, cakes, bread, dom-palm nuts, and incense. This was followed by six further deliveries of similar items, which also included beer, meat, milk, and dates. They were all brought by (*m dr.t*) the policemen Psur and Huy; the source and the dates of these later deliveries are not given. This example of a substantial supply of different items, perhaps all

<sup>1</sup> Unpublished; Černý Notebook 61.43 (see also chapter VIII, § 5, p. 242).

<sup>2</sup> Lists 22 and 37 of the Medinet Habu calendar (*Medinet Habu* III, pls. 152 and 156).

<sup>3</sup> On the selling of temple products, presumably by professional traders, see M. Römer, *SAK* 19 (1992), 271-278; Janssen, *Ship's Logs*, 101-103.

<sup>4</sup> O. Chicago OIC 12296 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 188 and 189).

brought from a memorial temple on the same day, stands quite alone. The food brought by the necropolis policemen may have been an occasional extra for the workmen, perhaps remnants of an important temple festival.

There were frequent deliveries by the temples of cakes and beer in smaller quantities, which will be discussed in the following sections. In addition, there are a few miscellaneous texts on possible food supplies from memorial temples.<sup>1</sup> A papyrus fragment from the year 11 of Ramesses IX enumerates honey, curds, and perhaps oil and myrrh, in a list with the heading: “specification of shares of the people of the Tomb by the agents, in the place of assignment (?) of the temple of Usermaʿatre Meriamun l.p.h.”<sup>2</sup> The list seems to be one of individual shares, but what exactly was the role of the persons mentioned I do not know.<sup>3</sup> It is equally uncertain whether the items distributed here were temple products, or whether the temple was only the place of distribution. The “place of assignment” (*s.t-nḥb*) appears again in a text on copper deliveries, and will be discussed in section 6 below. A letter to a god’s father of the Ramesseum with a request to deliver, among others, a basket with unknown contents and a goat, may be relevant here, if it was not a strictly personal matter.<sup>4</sup> The massive food supplies mentioned in a necropolis journal from the reign of Ramesses XI, although distributed in the temple of Ramesses III, probably came from the royal treasury, and not from temple storerooms.<sup>5</sup>

#### SUPPLIES FROM OTHER TEMPLES

Other temples could also be involved in the material upkeep of the community of necropolis workmen. In documents from the reign of Ramesses IX, the Theban temple of Maʿat or its granary frequently occur as sources of grain, cloth, copper, and other items.<sup>6</sup> Ostraca from Deir el-Medina also seem to mention deliveries from chapels of the

<sup>1</sup> The goods given to the chief workman Anherkhaʿu according to stela BM 588 (J.J. Janssen, *JEA* 49 (1963), 64-70, pl. IX; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 83 and 84) were regarded by C.A. Keller as possibly delivered from the storehouses of the memorial temple of Ramesses IV (in: *For his Ka*, 152), but nothing indicates the involvement of a temple here. The goods are presented by the royal butler Hori as an act of praise (*ḥsw.t n.t ḥr nswt*).

<sup>2</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1891 vs., 1-6 (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 636 and 637; Pleyte, Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, pl. L). For the date, see Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 81, note 4; Gutgesell, *Datierung* I, 137 and 138. At the beginning of each line, some signs have disappeared because of a vertical crack. Thus: *bi[.t]* (vs., 3), *sm[y]* (5), *šw[...]* (6). *Sgnm* (4) is doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of  in ll. 3-6 is not quite clear. See J. Černý, *JEA* 15 (1929), 197: *nty r-ε (m)* “what is credited (in the way of)”. Note 1 on that page refers to this papyrus.

<sup>4</sup> O. Berlin 10664 (S. Allam, *FuB* 22 (1982), 55). O. Cairo CG 25756 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques CG*, 92\*, pl. XCIV), also addressed to a functionary of the Ramesseum, is probably a letter to the same effect. Cf. O. DM 115 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques DM* II, pl. 2), which appears to represent the reverse: commodities required from necropolis workmen by the *wab*-priests Nekhemmut and Kynebu. Kynebu may have been attached to the temple of Amenophis II (see appendix 2).

<sup>5</sup> P. Turin 1888 rt. 1, 2, 7, and 8 (Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, 64 and 65).

<sup>6</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1881 rt. 2, 5 and 12 (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 611); Cat. 1884 rt. 2, 4, 6, and 9 (*ibid.*, 647); Cat. 1906<sup>+</sup> rt. 4, 7 (*ibid.*, 627); Cat. 2004 rt. 2, 6 (*ibid.*, 651).

Divine Adoratrice and of the goddess Mut.<sup>1</sup> The *qni.w*-chapels of various kings could have a similar function.<sup>2</sup> The memorial temples were thus not the only sources of additional or regular supplies to the necropolis. Deliveries that may be connected with temple feasts are known from various texts. Ostrakon DM 46 has been discussed in this context by Janssen.<sup>3</sup> This text from the reign of Ramesses IV records supplies “of the feast of Opet” (or: “of the month of Opet”; *Pn-ʿIp.t*). These were received by the workmen on the third month of *ʿḥ.t*, day 11, that is, 22 days after the beginning of the festival, which was still going on in the temples, judging by the Medinet Habu calendar.<sup>4</sup> The supplies included 11 slaughtered oxen (or bulls), further meat portions, and hides. Another nine oxen were delivered seven days later, and five more on day 28 of the same month, together with an amount of fat. The source of the animals and the meat is unknown, but they may have come from one or more temples. Although *Pn-ʿIp.t* can also be interpreted as the name of the second month of *ʿḥ.t* (which was derived from its main festival),<sup>5</sup> it is unlikely that a regular monthly delivery is meant here: the supplies are called *mk.w*, which is a reference to extra provisions.<sup>6</sup> It would seem, then, that the workmen received extra supplies because of the Opet festival, although this does not mean that the supplies were provided by temples. Other records of deliveries (mostly to individuals) mention “offering-bread” or “temple-bread/cakes”, but the exact source of these items is never mentioned.<sup>7</sup> Other texts record deliveries of loaves (*sn.w*) of Hathor (?) and Meretseger, which may have been brought from the sanctuaries of these goddesses at Deir el-Medina.<sup>8</sup> The occasional mention of a “pure storehouse” (*wḏz wḥb*) made by a worried necropolis scribe in a letter to his superior, the vizier, may also refer to a temple storeroom.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> O. DM 208 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques DM III*, pl. 6); O. DM 297 (ibid. IV, pl. 16).

<sup>2</sup> E.g. P. Turin Cat. 1881 rt. 4, 3 (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions VI*, 612); Cat. 1888 rt. 2, 10 (Gardiner, *Ramesse Administrative Documents*, 67).

<sup>3</sup> In: *State and Temple Economy II*, 514 and 515. Edition: Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques DM [I]*, pls. 36-38.

<sup>4</sup> The last day of the Opet festival according to the calendar was III *ʿḥ.t* 12: list 35, line 857 (*Medinet Habu III*, pl. 156).

<sup>5</sup> On this problem, see R. van Walsem, in: *Gleanings*, 215-244.

<sup>6</sup> Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 488-493.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. O. Cairo CG 25680 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques CG*, 81\*); O. DM 106 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques DM [I]*, pl. 59); O. IFAO 1262 (unpublished; Černý Notebook 61.47: connected with a festival on I *šmw* 19); O. IFAO 1399 (unpublished; Černý Notebook 116.6).

<sup>8</sup> O. DM 124 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques DM II*, pls. 6 and 7); O. DM 273 (ibid. IV, pl. 9). O. DM 124 obv., 3 has *Ḥw.t nb.t* (sic?), which is probably a miswriting of *Ḥw.t-Ḥr* (Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 458; cf. Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, 95: “Tempel der Herrin”).

<sup>9</sup> O. Chicago OIC 16991 rev., 9 (E.F. Wente, *JNES* 20 (1961), 253 and 255). Wente regarded *wḥb* as an old perfective, and translated “All supplies for us that are (from) the treasury, that are from the granary, and that are (from) the storehouse have been allowed to be exhausted” (followed by Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 457, locating the storehouse in question in the neighbourhood of Deir el-Medina). I would suggest this alternative translation: “All things for us that are (from) the treasury, that are from the granary, that are (from) the pure storehouse are delayed (*wḥh*)”. For *wḥh* “to delay”, see Lesko, *Dictionary of Late Egyptian I*, 102. *Wḏz wḥb* “pure storehouse” also occurs in baking accounts from the time of Sethos I (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions I*, 247, 2), and in P. BM 10400 “Butler” (unpublished; Černý Notebook 50.31).

§ 4 - DELIVERIES OF CAKES

A regular type of delivery by the memorial temples to the royal necropolis was that of temple cakes (*š<sup>c</sup>.t bli.t*). The product *š<sup>c</sup>.t* is well-known from the calendar lists of Medinet Habu. It is mentioned there in various shapes, the most usual of which was the one called *bli.t* (a name otherwise reserved for cone-shaped emmer loaves). It occurs among the daily and festival offerings together with other grain products, but its totals are kept separated from the other loaves and cakes.<sup>1</sup> It was made of emmer (“Lower Egyptian grain”), and to the dough were added fat and honey, which will have made it an expensive product.<sup>2</sup> In the offering-procession at Abydos, *š<sup>c</sup>.t* is one of the products of the “room of sweets” (*š<sup>c</sup>.t-bni.t*), a separate department of the temple workshop.<sup>3</sup> When we read in a hymn to the city of Thebes that the bread in it was sweeter than *š<sup>c</sup>.t* of goose fat,<sup>4</sup> it is clear that this was not just an ordinary type of bread, but a much appreciated delicacy. Although its production was by no means restricted to temple workshops, it was the object of a specific type of delivery by the memorial temples to the necropolis. Four documents inform us on this practice; their contents are outlined in the following table.

text	year	date	temple	amount
O. DM 101 <sup>5</sup>	24 Ramesses II/III	III <i>šmw</i> 6	Thutmosis IV	36
O. Gardiner AG 69 <sup>6</sup>	26 Ramesses II/III	II <i>šh.t</i> 16	Thutmosis IV	?
O. DM 447 <sup>7</sup>	34 Ramesses II	II <i>šh.t</i> 17	Thutmosis I	152
<i>Giornale</i> yr. 3 rt. 2, 7 and 8 <sup>8</sup>	3 Ramesses X	IV <i>pr.t</i> 25	Ramesses III	23 (or 25 ?)

The first two ostraca are of uncertain date. It is possible that both ostraca are to be dated to the reign of Ramesses II; in that case we would have no documentation on the deliveries from the time between the reigns of Ramesses II and X. But even so, we will not be too imprudent in assuming that the deliveries were probably continued throughout the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. The idea that the deliveries had a regular

<sup>1</sup> E.g. list 6 (daily offerings), lines 241-243; total in line 257 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 146).

<sup>2</sup> See Helck, *Materialien* III, (370) (*š<sup>c</sup>.t* is within the category “unterägyptische Getreide”). Honey and fat were added in the ratio 2:1: offering-list of Ramesses III at Karnak, ll. 36 and 37 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 236); Medinet Habu list 6, ll. 282 and 287 (*ibid.*, 129 and 130). See also list 15, l. 528 (*ibid.*, 139), and stela MMA 54.185, l. x + 5 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 710).

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 169 (B), bottom, right. For the translation “room of sweets”, see above, p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> O. Gardiner 25 obv., 5 and 6 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 646).

<sup>5</sup> Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques DM* [I], pl. 57. The handwriting is dated by Černý to the Twentieth Dynasty, but Helck, *Materialien* I, (98), assigns the regnal year to Ramesses II.

<sup>6</sup> Unpublished; Černý Notebooks 31.62; 112.39.

<sup>7</sup> Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques DM* V, pl. 27.

<sup>8</sup> Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 52.

character receives further support from O. Varille 14, probably also from the Nineteenth Dynasty, which has not been included in the above table because the type of information it offers is different. It may be translated as follows:<sup>1</sup>

(line 1) Deficits of the bird-catchers and fishermen of the scribe Mose (2) from the first month of *pr.t*, day 16, to the fourth month of *šmw*, last day, (3) makes 8 months: fish, 1,297 *deben*. (4) Deficit of the temples (*nš n r.w-pr.w*): beer, 725 jars (*ds*); (5) vegetables, 1,100 [+ x?] bundles; *šc.t bl.t*-cake, 212; (6) milk, 150 *hin*.

The “deficits” (*wḏz.w.t*) had been built up over a period of 7½ months. The arrears of the temples were amounts of beer (for which see the following section), as well as vegetables, milk, and *šc.t*-cakes. The number of cakes due was 212, and if all deficits were calculated over the same 7½ months, this would mean that the average amount that the necropolis workmen should have received each month was 28 or 29 cakes. And this was only a deficit; we do not know whether any cakes actually *had* been delivered or if so, how many.

The deliveries recorded were made by different temple employees: in the order of the documents quoted we find the god’s servant Huy, an unknown official, the *wab*-priest Huy, and the scribe Nesamun. The dates and amounts were different as well. It is difficult to say if the deliveries were connected with festival dates as we know them from the temple calendars. III *šmw* 6 (O. DM 101) does not appear to be a festival day, unless it was still part of, or shortly following, the festival of the Valley.<sup>2</sup> IV *pr.t* 25 (*Giornale*) could theoretically have been the date of an unknown feast (which was held in the fourth month of *pr.t*, its exact date depending on the new moon), or else the production of cakes might have been connected with the preparations for the feast of Renenut, the grain goddess, on I *šmw* 1.<sup>3</sup> The dates II *šh.t* 16 and 17 (O. Gardiner AG 69 and O. DM 447) may of course be connected with the preparations for the festival of Opet, which was celebrated on a large scale also in the memorial temples. Its festivities started on the eve of the Opet (II *šh.t* 18),<sup>4</sup> and the production of food and drinks for it may have started days ahead. However, it has been remarked already that the cakes also formed part of the daily offerings of the temples, so that their production was not restricted to the preparations of religious festivals. The fact that the Varille ostrakon mentions a deficit of cakes means that there was a regular obligation on the part of the temples, and this is hard to reconcile with the idea that we are dealing with the occasional remnants of temple feasts that were distributed to people in the neighbourhood, although the latter explanation may be valid for other deliveries<sup>5</sup>. It is important to note the spectacular number of 152 cakes in O. DM 447. The highest number of *šc.t bl.t* in the Medinet

<sup>1</sup> O. Varille 14 (unpublished; Černý Notebook 43.26). In it is mentioned a scribe Mose; a necropolis scribe with this name is known from the reigns of Sethos I and Ramesses II (Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, list I).

<sup>2</sup> See Schott, *Festdaten*, (107)-(109).

<sup>3</sup> Medinet Habu lists 63 and 64 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 165; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 180 and 181). See the note to list 63 in table 1.

<sup>4</sup> Medinet Habu list 28 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 154; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 147).

<sup>5</sup> As suggested by J.J. Janssen, in: *State and Temple Economy* II, 514 and 515.

Habu calendar is 40 (list 52). For the great festival of Sokar, 180 *šc.t*-cakes of a similar shape (*t hđ*) were prepared,<sup>1</sup> but this festival was held on IV *šh.t* 26, and O. DM 447 bears a different date. If we stick to these figures, we can hardly escape the conclusion that the production of cakes in temple bakeries may at times have exceeded the amount required for the offerings, a possible reason for this being the obligatory deliveries to other institutions, such as the royal necropolis.

#### § 5 - BEER FROM "THE TEMPLES OF WESTERN THEBES"

##### BEER DELIVERIES IN P. GREG

A tomb-journal recording deliveries from the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty, as well as a number of receipts on ostraca from the Nineteenth and perhaps the Twentieth Dynasties, testify to the regular delivery of beer to the necropolis workmen by a group of temples called "the temples of Western Thebes" (*n3 r.w-pr.w Imnt.t W3s.t*), or shortly "the temples" (*n3 r.w-pr.w*). The journal in question is the Greg papyrus, which is now known only from a transcription by Černý.<sup>2</sup> It is dated to the regnal years 5-7 of Siptah.<sup>3</sup> The *recto* covers the period from days 15 or 16 to day 22 and days 26-29 of the first month of *šh.t*, year 5;<sup>4</sup> the *verso* probably starts with IV *šh.t* 14 in year 6, has a lacuna between IV *šh.t* 28 and I *pr.t* 11, and ends with I *pr.t* 18 in year 7. The total period covered (albeit not continuously) is 33 days. For these days are mentioned the guard-duties (*wrš*) of the workmen and various sorts of deliveries, four of which are of a more or less regular kind: bread from the "King's Provisions" (*nh.w-nswt*), grain-rations (*dī.w*), fish-deliveries, and beer from "the temples of Western Thebes". It appears that the deliveries took place rather irregularly, mostly with long intervals but sometimes closely following one another. The beer deliveries from the temples were the most regular ones: the standard amount was five jars (*ds*, the capacity of which is unfortunately unknown),<sup>5</sup> and the average interval between deliveries was two or three

<sup>1</sup> For a quick overview of these figures, see Helck, *Materialien* III, (398) and (399).

<sup>2</sup> The papyrus was last seen by Černý at University College, London. Edition: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 437-448.

<sup>3</sup> Kitchen, as well as Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, list IV, favoured a dating to the reign of Ramesses III. Černý, *Community*, 151 (note 2) even regarded the reign of Merenptah as a possibility. Although many of the workmen mentioned in the text are attested from the reign of Merenptah into that of Ramesses III, it is the accession date of king Siptah (IV *šh.t* 28) that enables a precise dating because it accounts for the change of regnal year between columns B and C of the *verso* (see now Von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 74; H. Altenmüller, *GM* 145 (1995), 29-36; W. Helck, in: D. Kessler, R. Schulz ed., *Gedenkschrift für Winfried Barta (Münchner Ägyptologische Untersuchungen 4)*, Frankfurt 1995, 199-213). The greater part of the document is lost: the entries of 13 months and 14 days are missing between the last date on the *recto* and the first date on the *verso*.

<sup>4</sup> Column A of the *recto* mentions the date I *šh.t* 1 (line 13), but not as a daily entry, and probably the eleventh day of the same month (line 5), which may be a regular entry. Because of the uncertainties about its structure, however, this column is left out of consideration here.

<sup>5</sup> See rt. A, 9; B, 10 and 19. The number "4" is found once, in vs. A, x + 22.

days.<sup>1</sup> Sometimes, however, the workmen had to wait for their beer for at least five days.<sup>2</sup> Nevertheless, the deliveries formed a regular supplement to the food supplies by the necropolis authorities and the produce of the fishermen of the community itself.

#### BEER DELIVERIES IN OSTRACA

The ostraca confirm this regular character. The ostrakon Varille 14 of the Nineteenth Dynasty, which has been discussed above in connection with the deliveries of cakes, also records a deficit of beer owed by “the temples”.<sup>3</sup> The amount due was 725 jars over a period of 7½ months. If this beer should also have been delivered in the standard amount of 5 jars, as in P. Greg, it would have been expected daily or every two days. Of course, the amount usually brought might have been different, and we do not know whether any beer had actually been delivered during the period in question. The ostrakon proves, however, that the deliveries were of substantial importance to the necropolis workmen. They must have been even more important at times when the flow of beer from other sources was delayed: the institution called “King’s Provisions” had its deficits as well.<sup>4</sup>

I have come across six receipts of beer deliveries, the usual formula of which is: “received as delivery from the temples of Western Thebes”;<sup>5</sup> exactly the same formula is used in P. Greg. The standard amount is again 5 jars, but the numbers 4 and 6 occur as well. O. Cairo CG 25719 mentions the workmen Aapehti and Horemuia having the guard duty, and the same two are found together in P. Greg *recto* B, 6. No beer delivery is recorded for the entry there (I *šh.t* 16), so that the ostrakon must be of a different date and/or year, but it cannot have been much earlier or later than year 5 of Siptah because it shows the same set of names, and hence the same turnus of guard duties.<sup>6</sup> The Aapehti mentioned on O. Edgerton 13 (obverse) may be the same as in the two documents above. O. Zouche H 6 mentions a scribe Pentwere, and a scribe with the same name is found in P. Greg (*recto* A, 11), but in the ostrakon the reference might also be to a scribe or draughtsman of this name of the Twentieth Dynasty. The writing of O. DM 257 was dated by Černý to the second half of the Nineteenth Dynasty, and that of O. Cairo CG 25799 to the beginning of the Twentieth. From these scanty data we may infer that the practice of regular beer deliveries from the temples to the necropolis can be chronologically fixed only in the later Nineteenth Dynasty. It may very well have

<sup>1</sup> Deliveries are recorded for I *šh.t* [15 or 16], [17], 20, [26], 28, IV *šh.t* [15], [16], 21, 22, 23, 25, 27, and I *pr.t* [17]. It is unknown whether there were beer deliveries on I *šh.t* 22-25, 27, I *šh.t* 29 - IV *šh.t*[14] (lacuna of 13½ months!), IV *šh.t* [19], IV *šh.t* 28 - I *pr.t* [11], and I *pr.t* 18.

<sup>2</sup> From I *pr.t* 12, or earlier, to I *pr.t* 17.

<sup>3</sup> Unpublished; Černý Notebook 43.26. See above, § 4.

<sup>4</sup> O. DM 449 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques DM V*, pl. 28).

<sup>5</sup> *Šsp m iny.t m n3 r.w-pr.w Imnt.t Wss.t*: O. Cairo CG 25719 (only *in.y.t m n3 r.w-pr.w*) and 25799 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques CG*, 87\* and 114\*); O. DM 257 (idem, *Ostraca Hiératiques DM IV*, pl. 5); O. Edgerton 13 rev. (unpublished; Černý Notebook 107.80); O. Zouche H 6 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions VII*, 347: *šsp m n3 r.w-pr.w*); O. Gardiner AG 95 (unpublished; Černý Notebook 112.50).

<sup>6</sup> On this subject, see W. Helck, *ZDMG* 105 (1955), 27-52.

continued in the Twentieth Dynasty, but the numerous papyri from the latter period never mention it.

The question that remains is: which temples were meant by “the temples of Western Thebes”? A specification is never given; nor do we meet any temple official in the above documents. A clue is given by O. Varille 14, in which it is stated that “the temples” had built up a deficit of vegetables, *šꜥ.t bl.t*-cakes, and milk. The type of cake is the same as that delivered by the memorial temples (see the previous section), so that we may reasonably assume that the same institutions were involved in the regular supplies of beer. The royal memorial temples of the New Kingdom were certainly not the only temples on the Theban West Bank: the temples of Hathor and King Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahri, the temple of Hathor at Deir el-Medina, private mortuary chapels and other sanctuaries also appear in the papyri and ostraca from the region. However, from the documentation discussed so far it is clear that the memorial temples of New Kingdom pharaohs were quite wealthy economic sources. I suspect, therefore, that these were the principal, if not the sole institutions referred to as “the temples of Western Thebes”. It is uncertain whether the “scribe of the temples” (see chapter VIII, section 3) had any particular role in the deliveries discussed here. As we have seen, the responsibilities of such scribes was not necessarily restricted to the temples of the Theban west bank. The title may refer to temples of all kinds throughout Egypt, and although we have seen the scribe of the temples in connection with the delays in the provisions of the Theban necropolis, we do not know whether the beer supplies to the workmen was one of his regular responsibilities.

## § 6 - DELIVERIES OF COPPER

### THE COPPER SUPPLIES OF THE ROYAL NECROPOLIS

When discussing the coppersmiths (*hmt.y*) of the temples (chapter VIII, section 5), we have seen that it is very difficult to say to what institution were attached those coppersmiths who worked for the royal necropolis. There seems to be no strong proof for Davies' assumption that they were employed by the memorial temples.<sup>1</sup> A similar problem exists in connection with the copper deliveries made by the temples to the necropolis workmen. Three documents testify to such deliveries. The first is the same Berlin ostrakon that informed us about the coppersmiths of the *sem*-priest.<sup>2</sup> From lines 7 and 8 of this letter, it is clear that the *sem*-priest had built up a substantial deficit of copper owed to the necropolis, to which the writer and the addressee were probably attached. How big this deficit was we do not know, but we may infer from the word “deficit” itself that the *sem*-priest had the obligation to provide copper. The copper that had actually been delivered, on the other hand, belonged to the *sem* and was not meant to be in the hands of a necropolis employee. It is a pity that we do not have more evidence for copper deliveries by temples for the second half of the Nineteenth Dynasty;

<sup>1</sup> B.G. Davies, *GM* 137 (1993), 47. See chapter VIII, § 5, p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> O. Berlin P 11239 (*Hieratische Papyrus Berlin* III, pl. XXXVIII).

the two remaining documents on copper deliveries (Turin papyri 1884 and 1903) date from the late Twentieth Dynasty. It is assumed that by that time it had become common to pay the necropolis workmen with copper and other durable goods, instead of providing them regularly with amounts of grain and other provisions, which had been the usual way of maintaining the Tomb workforce in previous years.<sup>1</sup>

This does not mean, however, that deliveries of copper to the necropolis are attested only in texts from the late Ramesside Period. Besides the payment in kind for their service, the workmen also needed tools and other equipment to be able to do their jobs. Chisels and other tools of copper and bronze needed for the excavation and decoration of the royal tombs were probably distributed by the royal treasury, and they were usually referred to as tools “of Pharaoh”.<sup>2</sup> From time to time, the worn-out implements were collected in order to be repaired and then redistributed.<sup>3</sup> In the Twentieth Dynasty, such occasions required the presence of a scribe of the treasury of the Medinet Habu temple, as we have seen already in chapter VIII, section 3.

It is not always easy to distinguish between the collection and redistribution of tools, and the distribution of copper as wages. Bogoslovsky gives a list of seventeen documents recording the reception of amounts of copper by the necropolis workforce.<sup>4</sup> Some of the references given are explicitly concerned with tools or the commissioning of smiths.<sup>5</sup> Whenever a copper delivery goes hand in hand with a supply of *sgnn*-oil (for lamps), this is a possible, although very uncertain, indication that the materials were likewise needed for work.<sup>6</sup> Other texts record payments or rewards, partly in copper, to the workmen.<sup>7</sup> In these texts, the copper is often accompanied by other items, among

<sup>1</sup> Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 152; Y. Bogoslovsky, in: *Ancient Egypt and Kush*, 96 and 97.

<sup>2</sup> Y. Bogoslovsky, in: *Ancient Egypt and Kush*, 97. Explicit references to the overseer of the royal treasury can be found in O. BM 5631 obv., 9 (Černý, Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. LXXXVIII), and in P. Chester Beatty III vs. 4, 10 (Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Gift II (Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum III)*, London 1935, 25, pl. 11).

<sup>3</sup> Y. Bogoslovsky, in: *Ancient Egypt and Kush*, 98; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 71 and 72; Helck, *Materialien* VI, (981).

<sup>4</sup> Y. Bogoslovsky, in: *Ancient Egypt and Kush*, 96: P. BM 10100; P. Geneva MAH 15274; *Giornale yr.* 3; P. Turin Cat. 1879, Cat. 1881, Cat. 1884, Cat. 1907 + 1908, Cat. 2007, Cat. 2044, Cat. 2074, Cat. 2084 + 2091; O. Berlin 11239; O. Cairo CG 25567, 25613, 25642, O. DM 625; O. Gardiner 56.

<sup>5</sup> P. BM 10100 vs., 2-5 (Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 51); P. Geneva MAH 15274 vs. 1, 1-6 (A. Massart, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), pl. XXXVIII); P. Turin Cat. 1879 vs. 2, 7-22 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 338 and 339), Cat. 1884 rt. 1, 1-6 (ibid., 644 and 645), 2074 rt. 2, 8 (ibid., 609); O. Cairo CG 25567 and 25613 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques CG*, 47\* and 61\*); O. DM 625 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques DM* [VII], pl. 2).

<sup>6</sup> P. Turin Cat. 2007 vs. A, 3 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 652); Cat. 2044 vs. 2, 5 (ibid., 342); O. Cairo CG 25613 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques CG*, 61\*). For the use of *sgnn* in the work at the royal tombs, see J. Černý, *The Valley of the Kings (Bibliothèque d'Étude 61)*, Cairo 1973, 45. Lamps seem to be requested from an official of the Ramesseum by the chief workmen and scribe of the necropolis in O. Cairo CG 25756 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques CG*, 92\*), dated by Černý to the second half of the Nineteenth Dynasty (ibid., 78).

<sup>7</sup> So probably in P. Turin Cat. 1881 rt. 2, 5-7; 3, 8; 4, 10 (as “praise of Pharaoh”, i.e. reward); 6, 8; 7, 3; vs. 1, 7 and 8 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 611-616). Clearly in P. Turin Cat. 1903 vs. 2, 10-16 (ibid. VII, 395 and 396; not in Bogoslovsky's list).

which we may find *sgnn*-oil as well.<sup>1</sup> For many of the references, however, it remains unclear what was the purpose of the supplies, and this makes the study of copper deliveries to the necropolis an extremely difficult one.

#### THE TEMPLES AND COPPER SUPPLIES

It seems best to discuss the involvement of temples in copper deliveries to the necropolis separately for the two types of delivery mentioned above. In both cases, the memorial temples were not the only temples involved. First the references to tools. According to P. Turin Cat. 1879 *verso* from the sixth year of Ramesses VI, an amount of copper was actually requested from (and not delivered to) the necropolis administrators by the high priest of Amun.<sup>2</sup> The reason for this is unclear, but the text gives the impression that the copper was unjustly held back by the administrators. Janssen rejected the theory that this text is concerned with the collection of copper tools belonging to the necropolis as an institution, and suggested that the copper required was the private property of the workmen.<sup>3</sup> Against this, however, it should be said that the objects to be delivered are referred to as “the copper spikes of the necropolis” (*verso* column 2, line 9), and that the total amount of copper, 600 *deben* (vs. 2, 15), is about the same as in P. Geneva MAH 15274 vs. 1, 6 (607 *deben*), and more or less double the amount given for the right half of the crew in P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095 rt., 8 (280 *deben*).<sup>4</sup> This suggests that the tools for the workmen’s regular tasks are actually meant. The treasury scribe of the temple of Ramesses III played a role in the remaking of necropolis tools according to P. Geneva MAH 15274.<sup>5</sup> In the remaining references, temples are absent from the records, unless the coppersmiths mentioned in some of them were temple employees.<sup>6</sup>

Proceeding with the records about copper deliveries as payments, we see that the granary of the temple of Maʿat, and the temples of Sethos I and Ramesses III, could be the sources of wages in copper for the workmen.<sup>7</sup> In P. Turin Cat. 1903, the copper was collected from the temples by the deputy of the (royal) treasury Hori. The amount of copper that came from the temple of Sethos I was probably part of the cultic equipment (it was referred to as copper from the “shrine”, *k3r*, of Sethos I), whereas the copper from Medinet Habu is referred to as *in.w*. The use of the word *in.w* here may be due to

<sup>1</sup> It was used for cosmetic purposes, as well as for lighting; see P. Turin Cat. 1903 vs. 2, 21 and 22 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 396).

<sup>2</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 338 and 339.

<sup>3</sup> J.J. Janssen, *JARCE* 31 (1994), 91-97.

<sup>4</sup> See the translations of these texts given in chapter VIII, § 3, pp. 232-233.

<sup>5</sup> A. Massart, *MDAIK* 15 (1957), pl. XXXVIII. See chapter VIII, § 3 (pp. 232-233), where this text, as well as similar information from P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095 (not referred to by Bogoslovsky) and O. Cairo CG 25613 are discussed.

<sup>6</sup> Amenherib in P. Turin Cat. 1884 rt. 1, 1 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 644); Ptahpahapi, Ptahy, and Khaʿemwese in O. Cairo CG 25567 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques* CG, 47\*) and O. DM 625 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques* DM [VII], pl. 2).

<sup>7</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1881 rt. 2, 5 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 611); Cat. 1903 vs. 2, 12-14 (*ibid.* VII, 395). In 1903 vs. 2, 14, read: ʿ3 n [pr n pr pn] ? See chapter VIII, § 2, p. 228.

the fact that the transfer was from the temple to the necropolis, that is, a transfer between different institutions.<sup>1</sup>

We are left with the remaining documents, from which it is not clear whether we are dealing with the distribution of copper as tools, or copper as payment for the crew's services. I would gladly have left these alone if the memorial temples did not appear in these texts as well. However, it may be that by having a close look at the involvement of temples here, some clarity will be obtained about the character of copper deliveries in at least some of the documents.

Who was receiving what is not quite certain in the half-destroyed first column of P. Turin Cat. 1881 *recto*.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the scribe Nesamun of the temple of Ramesses III was receiving copper (line 5),<sup>3</sup> which was subsequently handed over to the crew (line 6), together with garments and oil. The combination of items, and the absence of references to smiths or tools, seem to suggest that this record from the reign of Ramesses IX is concerned with payment.

Even less clear is P. Turin Cat. 1884 *recto*, from the reign of Ramesses IX.<sup>4</sup> Column 1 is concerned with deliveries of lamps and copper. It seems that 29 *deben* of copper was due to the Ramesseum (lines 14 and 20); it was received by the crew from the attendant Pkeni, who may have been an employee of that temple. The same attendant appears lower in the column, together with the coppersmith Amenherib, in connection with the same 29 *deben* of copper. Both persons are introduced by the preposition *m dr.t*, so both were dealing with the delivery, but who was the receiving and who the delivering party is unclear. Line 22 mentions a delivery of 50 *deben* of copper from the temple of Amenophis III. This time, the persons introduced by *m dr.t* are the *wab*-priest Dhuthotep and the treasury scribe Psemennakht, and it is very likely that they were attached to the temple in question, and therefore the delivering persons. The presence of the coppersmith in line 20 would seem to indicate that the copper was meant for tools, and this idea finds support in the contemporary deliveries of lamps, which were also part of the working equipment. If so, we can add this text to the dossier already formed by P. Geneva MAH 15274, P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095, and O. Cairo CG 25613, according to which the scribe of the temple treasury controlled the collection and redistribution of necropolis tools. The presence of the treasury scribe Psemennakht in line 22 of the text discussed here points strongly in this direction. On the other hand, it should be said that in the same text, the workmen complain about the shortage of supplies, and ask for food-rations, other provisions (*sdbh.t*), copper, and oil. We cannot rule out, therefore, that the copper deliveries had the function of payments as well.

Obscure is the function of another memorial temple, which is referred to in the same text as "the temple of Pharaoh" (*recto* column 1, line 15). This should be a designation of the temple of the living king, but the existence of a separate temple of

<sup>1</sup> See the remarks on *in.w* on pp. 47-49, 84, 183-185, 205-207.

<sup>2</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 610.

<sup>3</sup> The plural suffix in *šsp=w* may refer to copper [*n3 hmt.w*] mentioned in the first part of the line (now lost), rather than to the oil (*p3 sgnn*) in line 4.

<sup>4</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 645 and 646. Rt. 2 mentions the regnal year 16 of this king.

Ramesses IX is very uncertain; reference may actually be made here to the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. The line in which we find it may be a continuation of the preceding one that speaks of the 29 *deben* of the temple of Ramesses II, and the loss at the beginning is perhaps not very big.<sup>1</sup> The two lines can be translated as follows:

(P. Turin Cat. 1884 *recto* column 1, line 14) [year and date?] this [day]: receiving the 29 *deben* of copper of the temple of King Userma'atre Setpenre I.p.h. from the attendant Pkeni (15) [...], the two [...], (and) the deputy in the gate of the place of assignment (*s.t nḥb*) of the temple of Pharaoh I.p.h. Ordering [...]

The word *ḥn* “ordering” may be another indication for the work on copper tools; it is known as a term for the commissioning of coppersmiths.<sup>2</sup> What exactly is the meaning of  *s.t nḥb* is unclear. The verb *nḥb* may mean either “to assign” or “to harness” (horses) and “to charge with” (contributions); it is similar to *ḥtr*.<sup>3</sup> My choice for “place of assignment” is a guess based only on the observation that the term occurs in the context of a copper delivery here and in connection with food supplies in P. Turin 1891 (see above, section 3). The only other reference I have for the term is a small Turin papyrus fragment from a year 19 that may very well belong to Ramesses XI.<sup>4</sup> Line 3 of this fragment reads: “[...] in the gate of the place of assignment [...]”. The remains of other lines mention spears, tools, and *sgnn*-oil, so that deliveries may again be referred to. The memorial temples thus seem to have had a special location (probably a building, since it had a “gate”) for receiving or distributing goods, but it is unclear exactly what architectural part of the temple complex is referred to.

Even allowing for the obscure references above, we are now in a better position to appreciate the information given by ostracon Berlin 11239, which speaks of the “many deficits” of copper owed by a *sem*-priest to the necropolis.<sup>5</sup> This text dates from a period in which it may not yet have been usual to pay the workmen with copper and other precious materials. The amounts of copper due to the necropolis from a memorial temple should therefore probably be regarded as the raw material for the workmen’s tools. The addressee should have received copper for this purpose, but instead of this, the coppersmith Smentauī had provided him by mistake with copper of the *sem*-priest.

Since the tools used by the necropolis workmen are never referred to as “tools of temple so and so”, but only as belonging to the necropolis or to “Pharaoh”, the copper can hardly have been temple property. An alternative way, then, of accounting for the deliveries of copper tools by the temples to the necropolis is to assume with Davies that the temples supervised the coppersmiths’ work on the tools. In order to

<sup>1</sup> If the average length of the lines in column 1 was the same as that of column 2 (which it does not have to be), about 5 to 6 cm would be missing at the beginning. This would be exactly enough for the regnal year, month, and day at the beginning of line 14.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095 *rt.*, 2 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 431); O. DM 625, 1 (substantive *t3 ḥn* in line 8; Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques* DM [VII], pl. 2).

<sup>3</sup> Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 291-293. For *s.t nḥb* see *ibid.*, 293, 10.

<sup>4</sup> Unpublished; Černý Notebook 152.6: fragment ξ (Cat. 2102/215).

<sup>5</sup> O. Berlin 11239 (*Hieratische Papyrus Berlin* III, pl. XXXVIII; B.G. Davies, *GM* 137 (1993), 39-47).

repair the chisels and pickaxes they would control the collection of the old tools, and from that moment on they held a “deficit” due to the necropolis. It was the scribe of the temple treasury who handled such affairs. It is hard to say whether the temples also supervised the smiths themselves, or whether these were even temple employees. We have seen in chapter VIII that no coppersmith working for the necropolis is ever explicitly mentioned as being attached to a memorial temple. On the other hand, the involvement of temple coppersmiths in the production and repairing of necropolis tools could be exactly the reason why the temples were concerned with the matter at all. Why the memorial temples should be willing or obliged to help to another institution is unclear, but perhaps their assistance could be demanded by the king or the vizier, just as part of their production of cakes and beer was included in the regular provisions of the necropolis workmen.

#### § 7 - THE TEMPLES AND STRIKING WORKMEN

##### THE STRIKES IN YEAR 29 OF RAMESSES III

Now that it is an established fact that the memorial temples regularly delivered food to the necropolis workmen (however small this contribution may have been when compared with their own requirements), and on occasion supervised the manufacture and distribution of their tools, it does not come as a surprise that the workmen tried their luck with the temples when the supplies provided by their own authorities stagnated. The reactions by consumers to the blocking of their supplies being no less important evidence than the information on the regular deliveries themselves, this subject certainly deserves our attention.

The first and the most impressive demonstrations held by the necropolis workmen because of the arrears in their supplies took place in year 29 of Ramesses III. Records of the events of that year were afterwards compiled by the necropolis scribe, and this compilation is known as the “Turin Strike Papyrus”.<sup>1</sup> The same events are known from a number of other documents.<sup>2</sup> On various occasions, the workmen came out of their living-quarters to utter their complaints:

(Turin Strike Papyrus, *recto* column 2, line 2) We have reached this place, (3) driven by hunger and by thirst! There are no clothes, there is no oil, there is no fish, there are no (4) vegetables! Send word to Pharaoh l.p.h., our Good Lord, about them, and send word to the vizier, our (5) superior, so that one may make for us a way of living!<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1880 (Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, xiv-xvii, 45-58; W.F. Edgerton, *JNES* 10 (1951), 137-145; P.J. Frandsen, in: S. Israelit-Groll ed., *Studies in Egyptology Presented to Miriam Lichtheim* I, Jerusalem 1990, 166-199).

<sup>2</sup> Relevant for this section are P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006 vs. 3 (Pleyte, Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, pl. XCIX; unpublished part in Černý MS.3.551 and 552, and Gardiner Notebook 145.29 and 30); O. Berlin 10633 (*Hieratische Papyrus Berlin* III, pl. XXXVIa); O. Brussels E 7359 (unpublished; Černý MS.1.11); O. IFAO 1413 (unpublished; Černý Notebook 116.17); O. Varille 39 + IFAO 1255 (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VII, 300-302).

<sup>3</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1880 rt. 2, 2-5 (Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, 53 and 54).

The main destinations of the workmen's demonstrations were the memorial temples of Thutmosis III or IV, Haremhab, Sethos I, Ramesses II, Merenptah, and Ramesses III. The earliest signs of unrest in year 29 are recorded for the second month of *ꜥḥ.t*.<sup>1</sup> On behalf of his crew, the necropolis scribe Amennakht complained that the food supplies were intolerably late. He went to the nearby temple of King Haremhab, where he was provided with 46 sacks of emmer. This could be only a provisional, short-term solution: if all the necropolis workmen had been given their monthly allowance of emmer, the amount recorded by the ostrakon would have been closer to 160 sacks.<sup>2</sup> The regular supplies, however, were not properly resumed after this event. On the 10th day of II *pr.t*, the workmen themselves "passed the five walls"—this expression (*sš tꜣ 5 inb.t*) being a familiar reference to the appearance of the workmen outside their own quarters—and made their way to the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. We do not know what they did there; the Strike Papyrus says only that they reached the back (*pꜣ nfr.w*) of the temple. When the necropolis administrators went to look for them, they found the workmen sitting at the back (*ph.wy*) of the temple of Thutmosis III or IV.<sup>3</sup> In spite of their superiors' summons to return to their quarters, they spent the rest of the day at the temple, and returned to their village at night.<sup>4</sup>

The next day (II *pr.t* 11), they again left their area and went to the temple of Ramesses II (the Ramesseum). They reached the gate of its southern wall, but no further action is recorded in the Strike Papyrus for that day. According to another document, the workmen went out because of their food-rations on days 10 and 11, to end up in the vicinity of a place referred to as "ramp" (*sšꜣ*), probably part of a royal monument.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps this was a location not far from the Ramesseum, where they were to be found again the next day. This time, they entered the temple, while their superiors went to Thebes to report the matter to the mayor. On this occasion it may have been decided to inform the royal residence as well.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile, the workmen uttered their complaints to some officials, including the two chiefs of police and the "scribe of the mat", as well as

<sup>1</sup> O. Berlin 10633 (*Hieratische Papyrus Berlin* III, pl. XXXVIa; Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, 29). The regnal years of Ramesses III started with I *šmw* 26. The events of II *ꜥḥ.t* are therefore the earliest known for his 29th year.

<sup>2</sup> The monthly ration of emmer for one workman's family was 4 sacks (Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 463), and the crew must have consisted of about 40 workmen by this time (Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 103 and 104).

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner (*Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 52, note a to l. 16) decided on Thutmosis III (*Mn-ḥpr-R*) instead of IV (*Mn-ḥpr.w-R*) because according to him the plural strokes, distinctive of the latter's name, are absent in vs. 3, 1, where the same temple is referred to. When I checked the original document in Turin,

it turned out that the papyrus was too much damaged to see if anything was written after  in vs. 3, 1. In rt. 1, 3, the sign after  may represent plural strokes, rather than . Still, I do not feel certain about either of the two possibilities: Gardiner may still have seen more traces in vs. 3, 1.

<sup>4</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1880 rt. 1, 1-5; vs. 3, 1 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 49, 52, and 53).

<sup>5</sup> O. Varille 39 + IFAO 1255, lines 1 and 2 of the IFAO fragment (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 301). P.J. Frandsen (*JEA* 75 (1989), 117-121) suggests that the "ramp" might have been the causeway of the temple of King Mentuhotep III.

<sup>6</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1880 rt. 1, 7 - x + 15 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 53); see also O. Varille 39 + IFAO 1255, lines 3-5 of the IFAO fragment (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 301).

to the god's fathers of the Ramesseum. This had an immediate effect: they were now at least given the food-rations of the preceding month.<sup>1</sup> These supplies were probably issued by the "scribe of the mat" and other officials, rather than by the priests.

Despite this supply of food, the workmen did not resume their regular work. They may at first have been inclined to do so, but on II *pr.t* 13 the police officer Montumose persuaded them to take their tools, to lock their doors, and to go to the temple of Sethos I together with their women and children, and he would let them sit there. No further measures are recorded, but a beer delivery ordered by the same Montumose for the workmen may have taken place about this time.<sup>2</sup> On one of the days preceding II *pr.t* 17, the angry workmen organized another demonstration in the evening, on which occasion they were "carrying torches".<sup>3</sup> On the seventeenth, an army general (*im.y-r mšꜥ*) attached to the temple of Ramesses III came to them and promised to report about their situation to the Pharaoh.<sup>4</sup> On this and the next day, the workmen received their food-rations for the second month of *pr.t*, as well as a quantity of vegetables.<sup>5</sup> This may have calmed the demonstrators for a while, but their going out is again reported two months later. On IV *pr.t* 16, the workmen went to the Ramesseum. They returned "carrying torches" (*fꜣy mhd*), presumably in the evening, and set out for the Ramesseum again next day. Despite a delivery of loaves (5 *bl.t*, 36 *psn*, 200 *krst*) by a certain Ptahemhab, they went out again on day 19.<sup>6</sup> Ptahemhab is also mentioned in the record of the strikes in II *pr.t*. He was sent to the crew in that month by the "chief taxing master", presumably in connection with deliveries as well.<sup>7</sup>

The strikes continued in the next month (I *šmw*). On the 13th day the workmen sat down at the back of the temple of Merenptah, and called for the mayor of Thebes. The mayor sent a gardener (*kꜣr.y*) named Meniunefer to them with 50 sacks of emmer, saying that this should keep the workmen alive until the Pharaoh should give them food-rations.<sup>8</sup> The rations, however, still did not come, and so the Ramesseum was visited

<sup>1</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1880 rt. 1, x + 16 - rt. 2, 5 (Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, 53 and 54).

<sup>2</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1880 rt. 4, 23-16 (Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, 54); O. Varille 39 + IFAO 1255 obv., x + 9 (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VII, 300).

<sup>3</sup> O. Varille 39 + IFAO 1255 obv., 10 and 11 (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VII, 300): *tw=w hr fꜣy mhd*. See for this expression J.J. Janssen, in: *Hermes Aegyptiacus. Egyptological Studies for B.H. Stricker (Discussions in Egyptology, Special Number 2)*, Oxford 1995, 115-121. The meaning and etymology of *mhd* are uncertain; the translation "torch" is based based on nothing more than its determinative and on the combination with *fꜣl* "to carry".

<sup>4</sup> O. Varille 39 + IFAO 1255 obv., 11-13 (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VII, 300 and 301; see also Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 170). For military officials attached to the memorial temples, see chapter VIII, § 7.

<sup>5</sup> O. Varille 39 + IFAO 1255 rev. A, 4-8 (*ibid.*, 301 and 302); P. Turin Cat. 1880 vs. 3, 42-32; vs. 4, 12-18 (Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, 50 and 51). The delivery of vegetables on II *pr.t* 17 or 18 is also recorded on O. Brussels E 7359 (unpublished; I know the text from a photograph in Černý MS.1.11). This ostrakon also mentions that the workmen reached the Ramesseum on a later (but lost) date.

<sup>6</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006 vs. 3, 1-7 (Pleyte, Rossi, *Papyrus de Turin*, pl. XCIX; Černý MS.3.551 and 552; Gardiner Notebook 145.30).

<sup>7</sup> O. Varille 39 + IFAO 1255, lines 7-9 of the IFAO fragment (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VII, 301).

<sup>8</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1880 rt. 3, 14-18 (Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, 57).

once more, on I šmw 25 (the day preceding the king's accession-date). The *sem*-priest of this temple was approached, but the workmen did not obtain anything more from him than the promise that he would report the matter to the mayor of Thebes. His behaviour was considered scandalous, and the *sem*-priest may have been called upon some days later on account of his refusal to provide the workmen with loaves from the temple offerings.<sup>1</sup>

#### STRIKES UNDER LATER KINGS

The situation had not become any better by the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IV. Early in regnal year 2, the workmen were again "carrying torches" because of their food-rations.<sup>2</sup> To this period, or even later, may be dated an ostrakon in the Nicholson Museum at Sidney, according to which the workmen had gone out because they were hungry.<sup>3</sup> They were heard by a committee consisting, among others, of two royal butlers, two "scribes of the mat", a deputy of the (royal) granary, and the *sem*-priest Dhutmose of the temple of Ramesses III, and apparently found to be justified in their complaints. The text does not tell us whether any substantial measures were taken after this confirmation. From the reigns of Ramesses IV-VIII we lack any further explicit records of strikes by the necropolis workmen. A passage from a Tomb journal of year 14 of Ramesses IX, however, mentions trouble again:<sup>4</sup>

(P. Turin Cat. 2071/224 + 1960, *recto* column 2, line 11) The crew of the Tomb is not going to work at the Tomb of Pharaoh l.p.h.! It is 20 men who [...] (12) [...] They found the people who were in [...] seized them at the gate of the Temple of Pharaoh l.p.h.

However, the reason for going to the temple in this case may also have been the fear of foreign groups who appeared in Thebes in this period.<sup>5</sup> The foreigners were still present in year 3 of Ramesses X, but according to the necropolis journal of that year, the shortage of food-rations was still a familiar problem as well. It is no surprise, therefore, that the workmen ceased work again and went to the temple of Ramesses III. On one occasion, they were again stimulated to do this by a police officer.<sup>6</sup> We do not know

<sup>1</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1880 vs. 7, 1-7 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 51 and 52); see p. 219, note 3 for the reconstruction *gm [s]m im* in line 3. The *sem*-priest was called for on a day 28 according to O. IFAO 1413 obv., 5 (unpublished; Černý Notebook 116.17). No year or month is mentioned on this ostrakon, but the dating to I šmw of years 29 and 30 finds support in the appeal to the *sem*-priest and in the appearance of the workman Penanke, who is also known from the Strike Papyrus (rt. 4, 1).

<sup>2</sup> O. DM 44 obv., 18 and 19 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques DM [I]*, pl. 31).

<sup>3</sup> O. Nicholson R 97 (C.J. Eyre, in: *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, 80-91).

<sup>4</sup> P. Turin Cat. 2071/224 + 1960 rt. 2, 11 and 12 (Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, pl. 123).

<sup>5</sup> A similar event is probably referred to in P. Turin Cat. 2071/224 [140] rt., 5 and 6 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 637). In this text from year 10 of Ramesses IX, the crew is permanently inactive because of the presence of foreigners (*ḥꜣs.t.y.w*, probably Libyans; see J. Černý, in: *Cambridge Ancient History*<sup>3</sup> II.2, 616-619; K.A. Kitchen, *RdÉ* 36 (1985), 177-179; idem, in: A. Leahy ed., *Libya and Egypt c. 1300-750 BC*, London 1990, 15-27; B. Haring, in: *Village Voices*, 71-80).

<sup>6</sup> *Giornale* yr. 3 rt. 2, 16 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 53).

who took the initiative of going to the temple five months later, but again the reason must have been the shortage of food supplies.<sup>1</sup>

That the records of strikes by the necropolis workmen have been presented here in detail is because the memorial temples play such a prominent role in them. The two main reasons for going to the temples seem to have been (1) to attract the attention of the necropolis- and higher authorities (the mayor, the scribe of the mat, the vizier, and even the Pharaoh), and (2) to ask the temples for (provisional) food supplies. We have seen that in most cases, going to the temples was an effective means of provoking an immediate reaction by the authorities. Sometimes, the rations due were delivered soon afterwards. It is seldom mentioned, however, that the workmen tried to obtain food from the temples themselves. In fact, the only case in which we can be certain that a memorial temple actually lent material support is the action by the necropolis scribe Amennakht early in year 29 of Ramesses III. His initial success at the temple of Haremhab, however modest, may have encouraged the workmen to call upon such sources of supply more often, but if this was really their aim, their attempts were hardly successful. At the Ramesseum, their request was refused outright by the *sem*-priest. Instead, he promised to inform the high priest of Amun and the mayor. Likewise, a general of the temple of Ramesses III promised to report the workmen's complaints to Pharaoh. The god's fathers of the Ramesseum who listened to the complaints according to the Strike Papyrus were perhaps only witnesses of a discussion that was essentially between the workmen on the one hand, and the scribe of the mat and some further officials on the other. It is uncertain to which institution or department the "scribe of the mat" was attached,<sup>2</sup> but he did not belong to the personnel of the memorial temples.

It is remarkable that in the majority of cases the workmen did not go to the temple at Medinet Habu, although by the end of the reign of Ramesses III this temple must have been by far the richest on the Theban west bank. Instead, they chose the older temples of Merenptah, Ramesses II, Sethos I, and even Thutmosis III/IV. Even the visit by the scribe Amennakht was not to the temple of Ramesses III, but to that of Haremhab, about which we do not otherwise hear very much in Ramesside documents. One of the earliest entries in the Strike Papyrus mentions that the workmen reached the back of the temple of Ramesses III, but only to proceed afterwards to that of Thutmosis III/IV: it is uncertain whether they went to Medinet Habu with any particular purpose. In later texts on the workmen's protests, on the other hand, the temple of Ramesses III is always referred to. The reader may remember that the only delivery from a memorial temple to compensate for the arrears of the necropolis was made by the temple of

<sup>1</sup> *Giornale* yr. 3 rt. 7, 26 (*ibid.*, pl. 62).

<sup>2</sup> Two texts from the reign of Ramesses IX (P. Turin Cat. 1906<sup>+</sup> rt. 4, 4 and 5, and Cat. 1930/2050 + 2013 rt. 2, 6 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 601 and 627) would seem to suggest that the overseer of the granary and "scribe of the mat" Hori was attached to the granary of the "House of Userma'atre Meriamun l.p.h. in Thebes", which may have been a palace founded by Ramesses III on the east bank. However, the genitive *n* is never written (space and traces in Cat. 1906<sup>+</sup> suggest *m*, rather than *n*), so that this institution might also have been the source of the deliveries recorded. In P. Turin Cat. 1881 rt. 2, 4 and 5, the same Hori delivers goods from (*m*) the granary of the temple of Ma'at (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 611).

Haremhab, and that the Ramesseum was the only other temple obviously expected to help the workmen, so we may perhaps conclude the following: (1) generally speaking, the temples must have been reluctant to provide more than their usual supplies of cakes and beer to the necropolis workmen; (2) it is only the older temples that were expected to provide the workmen with food (Ramesseum), or which actually supplied it (temple of Haremhab). Note that also the cake deliveries discussed in section 4 were made by the older temples: those of Thutmose I and IV in the Nineteenth or the beginning of the Twentieth Dynasty, and that of Ramesses III only later in the Twentieth dynasty. The general rule thus appears to be that only the older temples had the means (or the obligation?) of reserving some food for external purposes, although we would expect that their economic significance diminished as new temples were founded in their neighbourhood.

## § 8 - THE TEMPLES DEPRIVED OF THEIR PROPERTY

### INTRODUCTION

A general indicator for the development of the economic importance of an individual temple is the frequency of its appearance in administrative documents, and above all the references to its personnel. If the number of people attached to a specific temple and mentioned in the corpus of Ramesside non-literary texts is very low, we are inclined to think that the temple in question had lost much of its significance. Although such a rough indicator certainly has its relevance, we must keep in mind that we are completely dependent on the haphazard way in which the available documentation has come down to us. While rich with regard to one aspect of the temples' economic workings, it may be completely silent on another.

Some temples disappear from the records soon after the death of the founding king. Whereas the old temples of Amenophis I, Thutmose I, Amenophis III, Haremhab, Sethos I, Ramesses II, and Merenptah are still referred to in texts from the Twentieth Dynasty, those of Thutmose II, Amenophis II, Smenkhkare, Tutankhamun, Siptah, and Tausert soon ceased to exist if we regard the information from the papyri and ostraca preserved as a representative sample. That the Ramesseum was heavily affected by the endowments of Ramesses III to his temple at Medinet Habu was suggested by Nelson when discussing the Medinet Habu calendar.<sup>1</sup> Schaedel even assumed that a newly founded temple took control over the older ones, incorporating their personnel into its own.<sup>2</sup> Against these views it must be said that older temples, although quite impoverished, are still recorded with their own lands in a field-register from the reign of Ramesses V (the so-called Wilbour Papyrus), and with their own personnel in the papyri and ostraca from Western Thebes.<sup>3</sup> The few references to the control over one memorial temple by another one are far from being sufficient indications of a regular practice. The

<sup>1</sup> H.H. Nelson, in: *Work in Western Thebes*, 1, 44-46. See chapter II, § 7, p. 87.

<sup>2</sup> Schaedel, *Listen*, 48.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter X, § 2, pp. 302-303 and 310-311, for P. Wilbour, and appendix 2 for temple personnel.

fields of the memorial temple of Ramesses IV on the *sdf* of the temple of his successor in text A of the Wilbour Papyrus stand quite alone in that text.<sup>1</sup> The distribution of emmer to people of the temples of Ramesses II and Sethos I who resided in the temple precinct of Medinet Habu according to P. BM 10054 is not, properly speaking, a temple affair, in view of the involvement of other local authorities.<sup>2</sup> The temple of Ramesses III remained a prominent institution from the moment of its founding to the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, and no one had control over its personnel and resources during that period except for the administrators of the temple itself and the high priest of Amun. The impressive extent of its landed property in the Wilbour Papyrus shows that it was probably well protected from interference by future hands. On the other hand, the property of the temple of Ramesses II must have been quite impressive as well at the time of its founding, but it may have been left with only a few *aroura* of land in Middle Egypt by the time of Ramesses V (see chapter X, section 2).

#### THE COLLECTION OF PRECIOUS MATERIALS FROM TEMPLES

The function of a temple as a centre of worship, its *raison d'être*, reached a critical stage when an important part of its cultic equipment was passed on to other hands, either by administrative measures or by the actions of thieves. A document dealing with the collection of cult objects from memorial temples by another institution is P. Turin Cat. 1900 *recto*.<sup>3</sup> It contains the remains of three columns recording deliveries of myrrh and jasper by various institutions and officials, all dated to a regnal year 4 that must belong to a pharaoh of the late Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>4</sup> Among the delivering institutions we find the memorial temples of Thutmosis III (or IV)<sup>5</sup> and Amenophis III. The temple of Amenophis III was probably delivering myrrh (column 1, line x + 2) and jasper

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 116-118, 133 (§ 62). See pp. 307-308 below. For *sdf*, see pp. 169-173.

<sup>2</sup> P. BM 10054 vs. 2 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. VII). See below, § 9, pp. 279-280.

<sup>3</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 619-622; W. Helck, *CdÉ* 59/118 (1984), 242-247; S. Bickel, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 29.

<sup>4</sup> The text of lines 4-12 of column 2 is a letter dated to a regnal year 9, which was assigned to Ramesses IX by W. Helck, *CdÉ* 59/118 (1984), 244 and 245. Helck regarded everything written on the *recto* as belonging to one and the same text. However, rt. 2, 4-12 is written in characters different from those of the other lines (clearly visible on the original, and already noted in Černý Notebook 15.1), and they probably form the sequel to a text on the *verso*, which must therefore be of a later date than the original text on the *recto*. Helck's assumption that the guardian Pkhar (rt. 3, 9) was attached to the temple of Amenophis III cannot be correct (see the note to the *wab*-priest and coppersmith Pkhar of the temple of Amenophis III in appendix 2), and so his second argument for dating the text is invalidated as well. The strangely written name of the Adoratrice Isinofret (?) (rt. 2, 3) might in fact be that of Isis, who held her position from the reign of her father Ramesses VI into the reign of Ramesses IX (Helck, *loc. cit.*; T.A. Bács, *GM* 148 (1995), 7-11). The other persons mentioned being otherwise unknown, this uncertain identification seems to be the only clue for dating the original text on the *recto*.

<sup>5</sup> Helck assumed that reference is made to the temple of Thutmosis IV, rather than III, because the latter's temple would not be mentioned in texts after the reign of Ramesses II (*CdÉ* 59/118 (1984), 246). In section 7 we have seen, however, that the temple of Thutmosis III is perhaps referred to in the Turin Strike Papyrus from the reign of Ramesses III, so it may still have existed in the later Twentieth Dynasty. The traces of the temple name on the original do not support the reading of *Mn-hpr.w-Rc* (Thutmosis IV); the plural strokes seem to be absent.

(column 3, lines 3 and 4). Jasper was brought from the temple of Thutmosis III according to column 3, lines 2 and 7. It is remarkable that, whereas the jasper brought by individuals was recorded simply by its weight in *deben*, the jasper delivered by the temples clearly consisted of statues, and parts (“limbs” and a “face”) of statues.

All jasper was collected by the “northern treasury” of the temple of Amun (*pr-ḥd mh.t.y n pr Imn*), together with goods from Kush, no doubt in order to be re-used by that department.<sup>1</sup> We may assume with Helck that the “recycling” of jasper had the profane function of covering expenses.<sup>2</sup> We do not know whether it was regular practice for the temple of Amun to collect the precious cult-objects of (partially) dismantled temples in its surroundings. The action by the treasury of the Amun temple in Turin 1900 may be characteristic of the late Twentieth Dynasty, a period in which the administrative power of the high priest of the Karnak temple was increasing, as is testified to by the texts of the royal necropolis.

An entry in papyrus Turin Cat. 1903 *verso* may be seen in the same light.<sup>3</sup> The deliveries of copper, garments, and oil to the royal necropolis in year 5 of the “Repeating of Birth” recorded by this document have been discussed several times in this and in the previous chapter. In chapter VIII, sections 2 and 6, we have considered the possibility that the copper from a “shrine” (*kꜣr*) of Sethos I was actually taken from the cultic equipment of that king’s temple. In this case, we can clearly see for what purpose this was done by the authorities: a deputy of the royal treasury used it to pay the necropolis workmen. We see here that it was not necessarily the temple of Amun that took control of the resources of older Theban temples.

#### THEFTS OF TEMPLE PROPERTY

From the “Repeating of Birth” and perhaps from the years directly preceding this era we also have reports of thefts in the memorial temples. The theft of temple property probably occurred at all times: we have a Twentieth Dynasty record about garments stolen from the temple of Horemheb,<sup>4</sup> and other possible references to the abuse of temple property in Ramesside texts.<sup>5</sup> At the end of the Twentieth Dynasty, however, the

<sup>1</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1900 rt. 3, 11, 19-21 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 621 and 622). The same treasury may be referred to (as *r-ḥd mh.t.y*) in a text of the high priest Menkheperre from the Twenty-first Dynasty, and it may have been located in the same place as the treasury later built by King Shabaka: see P. Barguet, *Le Temple d’Amon-Rê à Karnak. Essai d’Exégèse (Recherches d’Archéologie, de Philologie et d’Histoire XXI)*, Cairo 1962, 36-38 (e); C. Thiers, *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 495 and 496 (note b).

<sup>2</sup> W. Helck, *CdÉ* 59/118 (1984), 247. The author compares this practice to the re-allotment of temple fields.

<sup>3</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1903 vs. 2, 12 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 395).

<sup>4</sup> P. Nevill (J. Barns, *JEA* 35 (1949), 69-71, pl. VI).

<sup>5</sup> The agent Ramose was probably accused of stealing grain from the temple of Ramesses IV according to O. DM 635 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques DM* [VII], pl. 6). The deputy Hori may very well have been conscious of the fact that the donkeys he bartered away in order to repay a loan were temple property (P. Turin Cat. 1881 rt. 8, 1-12; 9, 1-10 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 614 and 615). Thefts from the temple of Ma’at are reported in O. Gardiner 67 (Černý, Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. 47, no. 2); crimes committed in the temples of Hathor and Ptah in P. Salt 124 rt. 1, 13 and 14 (J. Černý, *JEA* 15 (1929), 245,

violation of temples in Western Thebes became excessive. In most of the cases reported, the culprits were members of the priesthood or other temple personnel. When “outsiders” were involved, these were often assisted by priests or temple scribes and workmen. A special feature of the temple robberies of this period is the fact that the thieves concentrated on gold, silver, copper, and wood, these being precious materials the thieves could easily dispose of in a time that precious metals as a means of payment may have become more current.<sup>1</sup>

The relative chronology of all texts recording the robberies in Theban memorial temples is a complicated matter and will not be dealt with here in detail. Suffice it to say that the legal records available distinguish the following cases of theft:

(1) A legal inquiry in year 18 of Ramesses IX or XI revealed that a *wab*-priest and three god’s fathers had removed gold foil from a statue of the god Nefertem in the Ramesseum (also referred to as “the god of Pharaoh”, *p3 nṯr n Pr-ḥ3*), as well as four silver amulets belonging to the same god. The thieves shared the gold with another god’s father, a scribe of royal records, and the *sem*-priest. In addition, two coppersmiths were accused of removing copper from the colossal statue of Ramesses II in the first court of the temple.<sup>2</sup> In each of these cases, the investigating authorities are not mentioned.

(2) In year 9 of Ramesses XI or the “Repeating of Birth”, the high priest of Amun investigated a series of thefts committed in the Ramesseum, the main perpetrator of which was the scribe Sedy of that temple. He had removed gold, copper, and wood from various places in the temple, being frequently assisted in his activities by *wab*-priests and temple workmen. The crimes also included the removing of gold from a portable shrine (*f3y*) of King Thutmosis I kept in the temple of Ramesses III.<sup>3</sup>

(3) Investigations by the vizier, the overseer of the royal treasury and granary, and other officials in the first and second years of the “Repeating of Birth” were concerned with the violation of portable shrines (referred to as *gs-pr* and *pr n st3*) of Sethos I and Ramesses II, which were both kept in the treasury of the temple of Ramesses III, as well as a *pr n st3* of the high priest of Amun Ramessesnakht that stood in the same temple. From the latter object the carrying-poles were broken off in order to remove some copper rings, which were subsequently bartered away. The remaining wood was partly destroyed during a raid on the temple by foreigners (troops of the viceroy Pinhas or general Piankh?) and ended up in a storeroom among the firewood and charcoal for a temple workman’s oven. The main culprits appear to have been the scribe

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pl. XLII). Cf. P. Turin Cat. 1887 (Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, 73-82; Peden, *Ramesseid IV*, 109-116).

<sup>1</sup> See Y. Bogoslovsky, *AoF* 14 (1987), 227-236, and § 6 above.

<sup>2</sup> P. BM 10054 rt. 3, 7-17 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, 62 and 63, pls. VI and VII; see p. 58 for the date).

<sup>3</sup> P. BM 10053 vs., cols. 1-5 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, 112-122, pls. XIX-XXI).

Pbak and the *wab*-priest Tetisheri of the temple; they had been assisted by many others, both from within the temple and from outside.<sup>1</sup>

(4) In year 2, no doubt also of the “Repeating of Birth”, the thefts of gold, silver, and copper from the temple of Ramesses III were examined by the same committee as in (3) above. One of the objects that had disappeared was a copper statue from the Ramesseum, brought to the temple at Medinet Habu, but taken back to the *sem*-priest of the Ramesseum and handed over to Pinhas. Other thefts concerned a silver jar-stand (*h3w.y-gnn*), and copper from temple gates (the total amount taken away was more than 2,600 *deben*, or about 237 kg). Again, the main thieves were priests.<sup>2</sup>

Our knowledge about these legal inquiries is probably due to one single text-find on the Theban west bank, and this circumstance certainly influences our view. The events referred to in them were perhaps not typical of the end of the Ramesside Period in all respects. What is astonishing, however, is the scale of the robberies. No less remarkable is the observation that the thieves could execute their plans relatively undisturbed. Scratching off tens of kilos of copper from a temple gate could hardly have taken place unnoticed, yet the people willing to report such misbehaviour (and thus bring about the inquiries) were few. Just as with the tomb-robberies that took place in the same period, the number of people taking part in the actions or sharing in the stolen goods must have been high. This wide-spread criminal behaviour could hardly have occurred if the political and economical situation in the Thebaid had been calm and stable, but the actual situation must have been quite the reverse (see below, section 9). We may be moved to a little indulgence when we read that people questioned refer to the scarcity of food.<sup>3</sup> In some cases, it is explicitly stated that the objects stolen were traded for food.<sup>4</sup> Thus, at least one of the reasons for stealing precious materials from the temples might have been the stagnation of food distributions both within the temples and without.

A final observation about the events just discussed is that cult-objects of former kings (Thutmosis I, Sethos I, and Ramesses II), which had probably stood in the temples of these kings in earlier years, were now housed in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. The royal portable shrines had probably been transported to that temple because the older ones had fallen into decay, or were otherwise unable to keep the objects safe. The shrine of Ramesses II may have been an exception, because a special

<sup>1</sup> P. Abbott vs. A, 13-18 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, 132, pl. XXIII); P. BM 10052 15, 10 and 11 (*ibid.*, 157, pls. XXXIV and XXXV); P. BM 10403 (*ibid.*, 169-175, pls. XXXVI and XXXVII); P. Mayer A 1, 1-3, 5; 6, 1-7, 3; 10, 21-24; 11, 1-16; 13 A, 1-21 (Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, “pages” 1-3, 6, 7, 10, 11, and 13; for corrections, see *idem*, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXIV). The raid on Medinet Habu and the destruction of the wooden shrine is also referred to in the unpublished fragment belonging to P. BM 10383 at Philadelphia (number unknown), rt. 2, 10-15 (Černý Notebook 157.2-5, 19, and 21).

<sup>2</sup> P. BM 10383 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, 122-127, pl. XXII) and its unpublished lower half in Philadelphia (number unknown; Černý Notebook 157.2-5, 19, and 21).

<sup>3</sup> P. BM 10052 col. 11, 7 and 8 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, 153, pl. XXXII); P. BM 10403 3, 5-7 (*ibid.*, 172, pl. XXXVIII).

<sup>4</sup> P. Mayer A col. 2, 7-9; 3, 4 and 5 (literally saying: “we traded it and we ate it”); 6, 24 and 25 (Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, 11 and 14, “pages” 2, 3, and 6).

chapel for his bark was part of the original building-plan of the temple of Ramesses III,<sup>1</sup> and this chapel perhaps housed the *pr n stꜣ*. The shrine of the high priest Ramessesnakht may have been an original part of the temple inventory as well. For the other shrines, however, Medinet Habu must have been a secondary resting-place, where they perhaps continued to be the focus of an offering-cult. In addition to being used as payment to the necropolis workmen, or being collected by the treasury of the Amun temple, the cultic equipment of older memorial temples could thus also be brought together and kept safe in the most prominent temple on the west bank.

## § 9 - THE END OF THE RAMESSIDE PERIOD

### THE MEDINET HABU TEMPLE AS A HOUSE OF REFUGE

During the “Repeating of Birth” and the years preceding it, the situation must have been quite turbulent.<sup>2</sup> The military events (including an attack on the high priest of Amun and a raid on Medinet Habu), the presence of Libyans, the scarcity of food, and the large-scale robberies of temples and tombs, all referred to in the previous sections, are aspects of the unrest in the Thebaid at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. The king resided in the far north of the country, at Piramesse. Thebes was controlled by various authorities, including the mayors of the east and the west, the high priest of Amun, the viceroy Pinhas, and later the general Piankh and the general and high priest Herihor. The inhabitants of Western Thebes must have been confused at times as to which authorities they should follow, and were frequently exposed to the hostilities of political opponents. Small wonder, then, that the necropolis workmen (and doubtless other locals as well) left their dwellings and sought refuge within the precinct of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.<sup>3</sup>

The Turin Taxation Papyrus from regnal year 12 of Ramesses XI contains some indications which suggest that the administrations of the temple and the necropolis were closely associated, or perhaps even merged: amounts of grain collected by the necropolis scribe Dhutmose from royal *khato*-fields were deposited in storerooms which are called *mḥr* “magazine” and *šm.y* “gallery”, the latter term probably referring to the long galleries known from temple storehouses.<sup>4</sup> A few times, the name of a particular storeroom is given: “the first magazine (called) The Gallery Overflows” (*pꜣ mḥr tp.y wbn pꜣ šm.y: recto* 2, 6 and 7; 3, 7; 5, 4). Once, reference is made to “the gallery which is (on?) the roof of the pure ground” (*tꜣ šm.y.t nty dꜣdꜣ n pꜣ tꜣ wꜣb: 5, 4*). Such names suggest that temple storerooms are referred to. Indeed, “The Temple” is mentioned once, presumably as the place where amounts of wheat and barley were

<sup>1</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 508: room 14, no. (136).

<sup>2</sup> For the period in general, see K.A. Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 BC)*, second edition, Warminster 1986, 243-254; E.F. Wente, *JNES* 25 (1966), 73-87; K. Jansen-Winkel, *ZÄS* 119 (1992), 22-37; *ZÄS* 122 (1995), 62-78.

<sup>3</sup> Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 123-125.

<sup>4</sup> P. Turin 1895 + 2006 rt. 2, 5-7; 3, 7; 4, 6; 5, 3 and 4 (Gardiner, *Ramesseide Administrative Documents*, 37, 38, 40, and 41; A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 24-33; Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 125).

delivered (4, 6). The storerooms were therefore probably those of Ramesses III's memorial temple. The food-distributions to the royal necropolis in year 17 of Ramesses XI were made in the "great court" of the temple of Ramesses III, an event that may indicate that the workmen permanently resided at Medinet Habu.<sup>1</sup> The first explicit statement on this situation is made in one of the Late Ramesside Letters, presumably dating from the first years of the "Repeating of Birth".<sup>2</sup> Earlier references to actions of necropolis employees in the temple, or to their grain being stored there, are known from the year 17 of Ramesses IX and year 3 of Ramesses X.<sup>3</sup> Although the events recorded by them might indicate that the workmen had taken permanent refuge in the temple, it cannot be proved that this was indeed the case.

The lists of P. BM 10054 and 10068 *verso*, which are usually quoted in connection with this problem, are dated to regnal years 6 and 12 respectively. Valbelle assumed that both years were those of Ramesses XI,<sup>4</sup> but it seems to me that we cannot exclude the possibility that at least columns 2-5 of P. BM 10054 *verso* are dated to year 6 of the "Repeating of Birth" (which would be contemporary with year 24 of Ramesses XI), the persons mentioned in them being known chiefly from that period. These columns form a list of emmer deliveries to persons living at Medinet Habu, as announced by the heading:<sup>5</sup>

(P. BM 10054, *verso* column 2, line 1) Regnal year 6, third month of *šmw*, day 10: the name(-list) of people of the land to whom wheat is [given] to make bread, by the chief singer of Amun Nesmut (and) the scribe Kaishuti, (2) being all people from all houses that are (within) the enclosure wall (*nty (m) pꜣ sbty*)<sup>6</sup> of the temple of Userma'atre Meriamun, by the hand of the mayor Pweraa, the district scribe Wennefer, the [*ꜣꜥw*]-official Aninakht, the [*ꜣꜥw*]-official Amenkha'u, (3) from the temple of Seti to the temple of Userma'atre [...]

Peet assumed that the temple of Ramesses III was the administrative centre for a greater part of the Theban west bank, and that the word "enclosure" (*sbty*) was used in a wide sense, covering in fact the area between the temple itself and that of Sethos I at Qurna.<sup>7</sup> Valbelle translated it as "jurisdiction".<sup>8</sup> Such a meaning of *sbty*, however, is otherwise unknown. Helck regarded the word *sbty* in line 2 and the geographical specification in

<sup>1</sup> P. Turin 1888 rt. 1, 2 and 7 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 64 and 65); J.J. Janssen, *AoF* 19 (1992), 13 and 14.

<sup>2</sup> P. Berlin 10494 rt., 6 ff. (Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 23; Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 44).

<sup>3</sup> *Giornale* yr. 17-A rt. 6, 6; 17-B rt. 1, 24; yr. 3 rt. 1, 18 and 19; 2, 16 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pls. 13, 15, 51, and 53).

<sup>4</sup> Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 89, note 8.

<sup>5</sup> P. BM 10054 vs. 2, 1-3 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. VII). See also J.J. Janssen, *AoF* 19 (1992), 8-23; C. Thiers, *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 493 and 494.

<sup>6</sup> More examples can be found in which a preposition is omitted after the relative marker *nty*: P. Ashm. 1945.94 + Louvre AF 6345 rt. II, 1 and 9; III, 7, 9, and 10; IV, 1; XII, 13 (Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, pls. 1, 2, 3, and 15); O. Chicago OIC 16991 rev., 8 and 9 (E.F. Wente, *JNES* 20 (1961), 253 and 255); Medinet Habu calendar list 36, col. 860 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 156).

<sup>7</sup> Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, 70, note 37.

<sup>8</sup> D. Valbelle, *CRIPPEL* 7 (1985), 86 with note 65. Cf. J.J. Janssen, *AoF* 19 (1992), 9.

line 3 as references to two different areas.<sup>1</sup> The apparent contradiction between these different explanations vanishes once it is recognized that the relative clause *nty (m) p3 sbty* refers, not to *pr nb* “all houses”, but to *rmṯ nb* “all people”, that is to the individuals belonging to various institutions in Western Thebes, who were under the responsibility of the mayor, the district scribe, and the two *ꜣṯw*-officials, and who now lived within the temple precinct at Medinet Habu. Lines 35 and 36 probably refer to personnel of the Ramesseum and the Qurna temple of Sethos I, and not to the temples themselves. The quantities of emmer issued to them are not impressive: the temple scribe Sedy received 2½ sacks for the people of the Ramesseum, while only one sack was given to those of the temple of Sethos I. Most of the individuals in the list receive one sack or half that amount, so that the grain for the personnel of the two temples each could hardly have been more than supplies for one or two people. As far as can be ascertained, no other people attached to either of the two temples are mentioned separately in the list. Does this mean that the Ramesseum and the temple at Qurna were left with only a few employees, who had abandoned their quarters and moved into the temple precinct at Medinet Habu? This interpretation in itself would argue for a late dating of the text, while the desertion of the old temples would explain how the large-scale robberies discussed in the previous section could come about. It would also explain why the portable shrines of former kings were now kept in the temple of Ramesses III.

#### THE OFFERING-CULTS IN THE MEMORIAL TEMPLES

How are we to imagine the cults and provisions of the memorial temples in this period? The references to Amun of United-with-Eternity (Amun as worshipped at Medinet Habu) are quite numerous in the epistolary formulae of the Late Ramesside Letters. A papyrus from the sixth year of the “Repeating of Birth” records an inspection of the wreaths (*msh.w*) of Amun of United-with-Eternity by the god’s father Amenkhaṯu.<sup>2</sup> Besides this god, Amun of the Ogdoad, who was worshipped in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu, is occasionally referred to.<sup>3</sup>

Papyrus Mayer A from the second year of the “Repeating of Birth” mentions grain stored and guarded in the temple of Ramesses III, which was guarded by two “foreigners” (*ꜣꜣ*).<sup>4</sup> The grain was probably kept on the roof of a storehouse, since one of the guardians is said in the text to have “descended” (*hꜣi*) from this place. We cannot be sure, however, whether the grain in question belonged to the temple itself, or whether it was part of army or necropolis supplies. The same text mentions wood and charcoal of

<sup>1</sup> Helck, *Materialien* IV, (608) and (609).

<sup>2</sup> P. Ambras (Vienna 30) rt. 1, 5 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXXVIII).

<sup>3</sup> As “Amun of *Dsr-s.t*” in P. BM 10326 rt., 16, and in P. BN 198, I rt., 3 (“the Lord of the West”) (Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 18 and 66). The Ogdoad is mentioned in P. BM 10375 rt., 6 (*ibid.*, 44), as well as in P. Phillipps rt., 4 (*ibid.*, 29), where we also find “Amun of Djeme (*Dꜣ-mꜣ*)”. “Djeme” was the name of the town that would later develop in the area of Medinet Habu. Amun of the Ogdoad was to become the principal deity at Medinet Habu in the Ptolemaic Period; see H.-J. Thissen, *Enchoria* 3 (1973), 40 and 41.

<sup>4</sup> P. Mayer A 2, 1-9 and 6, 20-25 (Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, 11 and 14, “pages” 2 and 6).

the “divine offering” (i.e. the temple estate), which were kept in a storeroom (*wḏz*) of the temple.<sup>1</sup> The wood was “for the oven of the workman (*p3 k3w.t.y*)”. The singular “workman” is odd, if not ominous: was there only one temple workman left? The existence of a title *ḥr.y-k3w.t.y.w* “chief workman” (for which see chapter VIII, § 5) implies that there ought to have been more than one *k3w.t.y* working for the temple. It is unclear whether the wood and charcoal were also used for burning or roasting offerings, which is what we might expect if we compare this reference with the charcoal recorded in the lists of daily and festival offerings of the Medinet Habu calendar.<sup>2</sup>

Much clearer in this respect is the letter of the chantress of Amun Henuttaui to her husband, the necropolis scribe Nesamenope, which can be dated to about the same time. In this letter, Henuttaui expresses her worries about the offerings for “Amun United with Eternity”:<sup>3</sup>

(P. Geneva D 191 *recto*, line 17) Attend to the His barley. You shall have <it> brought, for there is not even a sack of barley (*verso*, line 1) for His divine offering. I am the one who has given 30 sacks of wheat for His [divine offering] from [regnal year] 2, (2) second month of *3ḥ.t*, day 27, to the third month of *3ḥ.t*, day 2, from the grain that is stored under my charge [...] for the divine offering. Now (3) Amun of United-with-Eternity has caused the barley to be put in a chest, (and) he caused a seal to be placed on it. See: (4) you shall join Pseny, and you<sup>4</sup> shall talk to the overseer of granaries (5) about the barley for Amun of United-with-Eternity—indeed, He does not have it, not one single *oipe* for His divine offering today (6)—and you<sup>5</sup> shall not abandon him, either of the two (of you).

This passage reflects religious anxiety, rather than economic motives. In order not to be faced with the full consequences of the wrath of Amun (*recto*, 16 and 17), Henuttaui provided a substantial amount of wheat for his offerings from other resources for which she was responsible. She managed to transfer from those sources 30 sacks of grain for the duration of six days (II *3ḥ.t* 27 - III *3ḥ.t* 2), that is, 5 sacks (about 385 litres) daily. Although no small amount, it is only a sixth part of what the god ought to have received daily according to the Medinet Habu calendar.<sup>6</sup> And even this quantity was set aside for the offerings only with great difficulty.

These rare references to grain, wood, and charcoal are the only information given by texts from the “Repeating of Birth” on the regular temple provisions at Medinet Habu. About the cults of Amun or royal statues in other temples we are no longer informed, but they may not have ceased altogether: *sem*-priests of the temples of

<sup>1</sup> P. Mayer A 6, 12, 13, 18, and 19 (Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, 13, “page” 6). Cf. P. Mallet 5, 1 - 6, 6, where a “scribe of the offering-table of the storehouse of *in.w*” (of a temple?) is associated with deliveries of wood and charcoal (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VI, 67 and 68; Wentz, *Letters*, 128, no. 152; Peden, *Ramesseid IV*, 118 and 119).

<sup>2</sup> Lists 1 (line 123), 6 (line 292), 18 (line 550), and 47 (line 1107) (*Medinet Habu* III, pls. 140, 146, 150, and 160).

<sup>3</sup> P. Geneva D 191 *rt.*, 17 - *vs.*, 6 (Černý, *Late Ramesseid Letters*, 58; Wentz, *Late Ramesseid Letters*, 72; D. Sweeney, *JEA* 80 (1994), 211 and 212).

<sup>4</sup> *Mtw=n* for *mtw=tn* here and in line 6; see Wentz, *Late Ramesseid Letters*, 73 and 74, note *m*.

<sup>5</sup> See previous footnote.

<sup>6</sup> List 6 arrives at a total of 30½ sacks daily: *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 146, line 258. See table 1.

Rameses II, III(?), and IV are still attested in the Twenty-first Dynasty and later,<sup>1</sup> and the temples of Rameses III and IV and Amenophis III still possessed fields according to the Griffith and Louvre fragments from the Third Intermediate Period (see chapter X, sections 5 and 6).

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<sup>1</sup> See appendix 2: Nespakaishuti and Amenemone of the Ramesseum; Nebneteru and Hori of the temple of Rameses IV. Hekmaa (Twenty-first Dynasty) may have been a *sem*-priest at Medinet Habu.

## CHAPTER X

### THE ADMINISTRATION OF TEMPLE FIELDS

#### § 1 - P. WILBOUR, TEXT A: INTRODUCTION

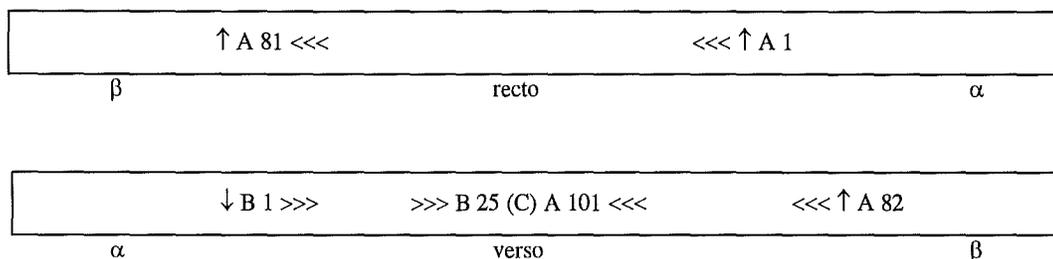


Fig. 1 - distribution of texts on the papyrus

#### THE DIFFERENT TEXTS OF THE WILBOUR PAPYRUS

The Wilbour Papyrus (P. Brooklyn 34.5596; provenance unknown)<sup>1</sup> bears two different texts (see figure 1). Text A, dated to regnal year 4 of Ramesses V, is a list of landholdings of various institutions in Middle Egypt, in the region roughly between modern Atfih (Aphroditopolis) and El-Minya.<sup>2</sup> The *recto* of the papyrus contains columns 1-81 of this text, which is continued on the *verso* (columns 82-101); its last columns are erased, as are those of a following text C (see figure 1). On the *verso* was later written a text B (25 columns; probably complete). This text is an enumeration of royal domains (*ḥ3-t3*) under the responsibility of various officials and situated “on the fields of” a number of different institutions, in the same region as the fields of text A (see below, sections 3 and 4). It was probably composed at an earlier date, but copied

<sup>1</sup> Edited by Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I (plates), II (commentary), III (translation), IV (index by R.O. Faulkner); reviews of this edition by W.F. Edgerton, *JAOS* 62 (1942), 206 and 207; id., *JAOS* 70 (1950), 299-304; M. Malinine, *BiOr* 8 (1951), 64-72; H.W. Fairman, *JEA* 39 (1953), 118-123. Economic and legal analyses by Menu, *Régime Juridique*, and I.A. Stuchevsky (summarized by J.J. Janssen, *BiOr* 43 (1986), 351-366. Statistical analysis by Katary, *Land Tenure*. Further discussions: Helck, *Verwaltung*, 89-145 and passim; Helck, *Materialien* II, (216)-(329); K. Baer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 39-44.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 7-157, 197-210, and most of the studies mentioned in the previous note. A useful summary of text A is given by Katary, *Land Tenure*, 1-28. That the regnal year 4 mentioned in the section-headings is of Ramesses V is clear from the interchange of his names and the designation “Pharaoh” when his Theban temple is referred to (Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 10). For the geographical range of the text, see Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, map II after page 54.

onto the papyrus later than text A, and it starts at the same edge ( $\alpha$ ) of the papyrus as where text A begins on the *recto* (the top of the *verso* is the bottom of the *recto*). The last columns of both texts meet on the middle of the *verso*; traces of the erased columns of text C are visible in columns 24 and 25 of text B.<sup>1</sup> The texts of the Wilbour Papyrus have been edited admirably by Gardiner, and the reader is referred to his commentary for a more elaborate description of its appearance.<sup>2</sup>

Before we can use the texts of the Wilbour Papyrus as a source of information about administrative and economic aspects of the Theban memorial temples, we must make some efforts to understand of their general structure and contents. In the present section, an attempt will be made to provide a minimum of reliable information to this effect for text A. In section 2, we will extract the information from text A that is relevant to our purpose. The same procedure will then be followed for text B (sections 3 and 4).

#### THE FIELD SURVEY OF TEXT A

Text A (columns 1-81 on the *recto*; columns 82-101 on the *verso*) is part of a longer text, which must have been written on two or more scrolls. It consists of four sections. Section 1 is incomplete at the beginning, 2 and 3 are complete, while the last column of section 4 is erased. Every section has its own date and covers a separate geographical section of the Nile valley; hence it is clear that they represent subsequent stages of the same field survey. The dates preserved range from II *z̄h.t* 15 to III *z̄h.t* 1 (sections II-IV). Judging by current chronological studies, these data would fall in the month of July of the Gregorian calendar, a period in which the inundation of the Nile valley was well under way.<sup>3</sup> The all-important implication of this date is that text A is probably concerned with higher fields that were not reached by the Nile-water. Indeed, the total surface of the fields recorded cannot have been more than a few per cent of the total cultivable area in the region covered by the survey.<sup>4</sup>

That text A does not record the total amount of cultivable land in the region surveyed is quite certain: fields that are not associated with institutions seem to be beyond the scope of the text. Katary argued, moreover, that even the institutional resources are not exhaustively recorded: the amount of "Crown-land" (i.e. the domains called *min.t* and *h3-t3*) is so small as to raise suspicion. Her alternative proposal is to regard the document as "an enumeration of cultivated land of a particular legal or

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I, pls. 71 and 72. These traces must belong to text C; text A probably ends with col. 102, traces of which are transcribed on pl. 73 (A). The space between A 101 and B 25 is approximately 27 cm. (Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 6).

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 1-6.

<sup>3</sup> See [P.W. Pestman], in: *Gleanings*, [xiii]; the Julian dates given there can be converted to Gregorian ones by means of the table in Parker, *Calendars*, 8. The reign of Ramesses V is supposed to have lasted from 1145 to 1141 BC, but his accession-date and the length of his reign have not been established exactly (see Von Beckerath, *Chronologie*, 79-81, and 124).

<sup>4</sup> H.W. Fairman, *JEA* 39 (1953), 119 and 120. See also Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 10; K. Baer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 39 and 40, with note 98; E. Graefe, *CdÉ* 48/95 (1973), 45 and 46; J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 140 and 141.

administrative status such as required a separate listing".<sup>1</sup> Indeed, it is hardly possible to describe the scope of the text more precisely.

The identity of the surveyors is unknown, these being indicated by a ditto-sign in the section heading. We will return to this problem later, in the discussion of the purpose of text A. In every section, the same list of landholders reappears, in the same order: Theban, Heliopolitan, and Memphite temples, minor cult-centres, and "secular" institutions. This order corresponds to the one followed in, for example, P. Harris I, and the Griffith and Louvre fragments (see below, section 5).

#### THE DOMAINS AND THEIR SUPERVISION

The fields belonging to a particular institution were organized in "domains" (*rmny.t*),<sup>2</sup> the lines pertaining to one domain in text A being called "paragraph" (§) by the editor. The domains formed by the fields recorded are not geographically continuous units, but administrative units consisting of geographically scattered plots. They are basically of two kinds, which are called *rmny.t* and *rmny.t pš* in Egyptian, and translated as "non-apportioning domains" and "apportioning domains" by Gardiner.<sup>3</sup> Non-apportioning domains were groups of fields cultivated by the institution mentioned in the paragraph-heading (which probably received the undivided net revenues), and supervised by someone on behalf of that institution. "Apportioning domains" consisted of fields cultivated by other institutions or by individuals, and the institutions which appear as the holders of such domains only received a very small part of the crops. Usually the assessments made with respect to one institution start with its non-apportioning domains; if there are none, the assessments of apportioning domains start immediately after the heading recording the landholding institution.

#### THE NON-APPORTIONING DOMAINS

Every *non-apportioning* domain was "under the authority" ((*r*) *ht*) of an official, and could be subdivided into domains that were "in the hand" (*m dr.t*) of different subordinate functionaries, acting as agents of their superiors. This hierarchy has been described clearly by Menu.<sup>4</sup> The organization of the domains of the temples of Western Thebes is described below in section 2, and outlined in tables 10 A-E. The subordinate officials (introduced by *m dr.t*) are usually called "agents" (*rwd.w*); sometimes

<sup>1</sup> Katary, *Land Tenure*, 23 and 24.

<sup>2</sup> "Domain" seems a convenient translation of *rmny.t*, but it probably has little to do with its etymology. Proceeding from *rmni* "being on a level with", A.H. Gardiner proposed the etymology "lands belonging to departments on a level with one another" (*JEA* 42 (1956), 14).

<sup>3</sup> It is not clear whether *pš* is a passive participle, an infinitive, or a substantive (see Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 55-59); nor is it certain that the form of the word is the same in all its different uses. *Rmny.t pš* might perhaps also be translated as "apportioned (or: shared) domain", or "share-domain". As I do not see any exact criterion by which the matter can be settled, I have chosen to maintain Gardiner's translations here, if only to avoid confusion on the part of the reader referring to the standard edition of the Wilbour Papyrus.

<sup>4</sup> *Régime Juridique*, 10-16, 44-60.

“deputies” (*idn.w*). The officials in charge as indicated by both (*r*) *ht* and *m dr.t* were not local personnel: many of them worked in places widely separated, and some of them acted on behalf of different institutions. The agents and deputies were probably the regular inspectors of the work on the fields, who reported their findings to their superiors on the *ht*-level. The latter were generally high functionaries, and often attached to institutions other than the one holding the fields they supervised (such as, for instance, a royal secretary supervising domains of the Theban memorial temple of Ramesses III in column 29, line 30). In this way, they seem to represent a form of external control on a high level of institutional management. To the officials themselves, the supervision of agricultural domains may have been an extra task, as well as an extra source of income: we do not know how they were remunerated for their (nominal) services, but perhaps we may regard the fields under their authority as their “prebendal domain”.<sup>1</sup>

Sometimes, the higher-level officials mentioned may be referred to collectively as “officials” (*sr.w*). The domains controlled by *sr.w* are always mentioned separately, after the paragraphs relating to apportioning domains (with the exception of §§ 215-217, which precede the apportioning paragraphs). The reason for this separate classification is not entirely clear. Gardiner assumed that the officials explicitly referred to as *sr.w* would be state functionaries, as opposed to temple staff.<sup>2</sup> This assumption, however, is contradicted by the following example of a domain of the Theban memorial temple of Ramesses III:<sup>3</sup>

- (column 53, line 26) Domains of this house under the authority of officials:  
 (27) Domain of this house under the authority of Hori, who was overseer of cattle.  
 (...)  
 (36) Domain of this house under the authority of the overseer of cattle Ramose, who is dead.  
 (...)

From other places in text A, as well as from text B, we know that these overseers of cattle were attached to the temple of Ramesses III,<sup>4</sup> although it is clear that both men no longer held that office when text A was written: Hori “had been” overseer of cattle, and Ramose was dead. In the other cases where *sr.w* are said to be responsible for non-apportioning domains,<sup>5</sup> the officials are not explicitly connected with temples, although the overseer of cattle Ramessesnakht who was in charge of a domain of the temple of Ramesses III (§ 230) may very well have been identical with the overseer of cattle of

<sup>1</sup> For the concept of “prebendal domain”, see Wolf, *Peasants*, 51-53.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 22. The distinction between state and temple officials is also the explanation offered by Menu (*Régime Juridique*, 53-55: “fonctionnaires laïques”) and by Helck (*Verwaltung*, 136 and 141). Note that the latter author incorrectly includes two domains of the temple of Ramesses IV among his examples (*ibid.*, 137: §§ 60 and 126). The mayor Neferabet and the overseer of the treasury Penpamer being removed from his examples, Helck’s explanation of the domains as provisions for retired officials is no longer convincing.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I, pl. 25; III, 56.

<sup>4</sup> Hori: text B, 21, 30. Ramose: text A, 76, 4; text B, 18, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Domains of the memorial temples of Ramesses V and III: §§124 and 125, 215-217, 229 and 230 (not announced by (*r*) *ht sr.w*). Domains of the Karnak temple of Amonrasonter: §§ 56, 120 and 121 (not announced by (*r*) *ht sr.w*, but in a corresponding position), and 212.

Amonrasonter bearing the same name (§ 210).<sup>1</sup> The same official was supervising a “domain of the divine offering of Amonrasonter” that supplied food for cattle (§ 120) and which, although not announced as such, belonged to the category of domains “under the authority of officials”. The opposition “state” versus “temple officials” is apparently not what is expressed by the phrase “under the authority of officials”.

A striking characteristic of the paragraphs thus introduced, however, is the absence of the *m dr.t*-level, that is, the intermediary level of control by “agents” and “deputies”. The officials introduced by (*r*) *ht* would seem to be more directly responsible for their fields, whereas they are usually represented on a lower level by their agents and deputies in paragraphs relating to the other non-apportioning domains. This fact seems to have escaped the attention of previous discussions. The difference in administrative organization might account for the separate position of domains under the authority of officials in text A.

The lowest administrative stratum of the non-apportioning domains probably consisted of the actual cultivators and their direct administrators, often indicated by the title *ihw.t.y* “cultivator”.<sup>2</sup> That this title does not necessarily indicate the actual fieldworkers has been pointed out by Menu<sup>3</sup> and Stuchevsky.<sup>4</sup> In fact, the term seems to refer to people with different functions or social positions. Stuchevsky distinguished different kinds of “cultivators”: within the non-apportioning domains, they were either supervisors or fieldworkers, whereas in the apportioning domains (see below), the term would refer to small-scale land-holders.<sup>5</sup> If actual fieldworkers, they can never have been the only ones responsible for the areas recorded under their names. According to an entry of text A, one cultivator was responsible for the cultivation of 60 *aroura* (about 15 hectares).<sup>6</sup> Such an area is far too large to be worked by one man alone, or even with the assistance of his family. Moreover, the title *ihw.t.y* frequently alternates with others, such as scribe, agent, or priest. This use of the term contrasts with its use in other texts: literary texts describe the “cultivator” as obliged to meet with unreasonably high assessments,<sup>7</sup> the Nauri decree mentions mutilation and degradation to *ihwty* as a punishment for violators of temple property and officials committing injustice,<sup>8</sup> and some

<sup>1</sup> As is assumed in the index to the edition: Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* IV, 21.

<sup>2</sup> In fact a *nisbeh* of *ihw.t*, which is a reference to fields cultivated for a specific purpose (C. Barbotin, *DE* 9 (1987), 69-78).

<sup>3</sup> *Régime Juridique*, 139-145.

<sup>4</sup> As rendered by J.J. Janssen, *BiOr* 43 (1986), 351-366.

<sup>5</sup> J.J. Janssen, *BiOr* 43 (1986), 353-360. According to Stuchevsky, all the land recorded in P. Wilbour was state-owned land, and its cultivators paid taxes to the state directly or with temples and other institutions as intermediaries (a theory that may have been partly inspired by the system of agricultural management in the former Soviet Union). Although this explanation would in a way account for the central registration of different institutions as in this text, I do not agree with this use of the notions “state” and “tax” (see the discussion of the purpose of text A below).

<sup>6</sup> Text A, col. 75, l. 10. One *aroura* (*stz.t*) = 2756 sq m. (or slightly more than 0.25 hectare); see table 11.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. P. Anastasi V 15, 6 - 17, 3 (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 64 and 65; Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 247-250).

<sup>8</sup> W.F. Edgerton, *JNES* 6 (1947), 223, 224, and 227.

administrative papyri and ostraca simply make it clear that an *ihw.t.y* was someone responsible for a yearly produce of 200 sacks of corn.<sup>1</sup> But even 200 sacks could not have been the produce of one fieldworker alone: if the land produced 10 sacks of grain per *aroura*,<sup>2</sup> he would have had to work 20 *aroura* (about 5 hectares), which was quite beyond the capacity of an individual cultivator. It seems that every type of text uses the word *ihw.t.y* in a somewhat different way, but it is clear that in text A of P. Wilbour “cultivator” does not necessarily refer to the actual field-workers or, to look at it from another viewpoint: many, or even most, of the agricultural labourers involved are not mentioned at all. The cultivators/agents whose names are mentioned were attached to the institution mentioned in the paragraph-heading, as becomes clear from the analysis of corresponding *posh* entries (see below). There seems to be no problem, then, in regarding them as the employees of land-holding institutions.<sup>3</sup>

#### THE MEASUREMENTS OF THE NON-APPORTIONING DOMAINS

After the name of the supervising agent or deputy (*rmny.t m dr.t ...*), the first “measurement” (*hzy.t*) is announced and its location specified. The measurement is introduced by *ihw.t m dr.t* “cultivation in the hand of”, followed by the name and title of the responsible administrator (often an *ihw.t.y*), and recorded by a set of three red figures. The figures represent an area (in *aroura*), an amount of “sacks” per *aroura*, and the product of these: the relevant amount of grain from the plot in question. It seems reasonable to assume that the area recorded in one measurement line was a continuous parcel; other parcels administered by the same person are referred to as *ky* “another” (cultivator ?) or, if a new measurement-line has been inserted, as *ihw.t n=f* (?) “cultivated for him”(?). The people performing the actual work often remain anonymous.

The type of grain (wheat or barley) is nowhere specified; nor is any difference in the type of crops indicated by different colours of ink, as is usually done in other administrative texts. That grain is referred to can be inferred from the use of the grain determinative  $\overline{\text{w}}\square$ , and by the recording of amounts with signs usually employed for grain: the figures are given in vertical strokes when referring to “sacks” (*h3r*; 77.88 litres), and in dots when referring to *oipe* (*ip.t* = one quarter of a sack; 19.22 litres). The fact that the type of grain is not specified may imply that only one type is involved

<sup>1</sup> P. BM 10447 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 59; S.R.K. Glanville, *JRAS* 1929, 19-26); P. Bologna 1086, 20-27 (W. Wolf, *ZÄS* 65 (1930), 95-97); O. Gardiner 86 rev., 3 (Černý, Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. LXXXII; Wente, *Letters*, 118-119). A sack (*h3r*) is 76.88 litres (see table 11).

<sup>2</sup> Like the fields referred to in P. Valençay 1 vs., 7-9 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 73), the only New Kingdom text that may refer to the entire crop of a specified surface of land. The types of grain and land are unfortunately not specified, but see K. Baer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 30. The same reference has been used in the discussion of list a of P. Harris I, in chapter VI, § 4, p. 176, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> K. Baer regarded these people as tenants, paying half of their produce to the institution acting as the landlord (*JARCE* 1 (1962), 41-44). This is hard to reconcile with our view of “cultivators” as institutional workers, as they are mentioned in e.g. list b of P. Harris I (see pp. 179-180 above). If the temples leased the fields of their non-apportioning domains to private individuals, then why did they have their own cultivators?

(perhaps barley, which is usually recorded with black ink), or that the distinction was not important. In the Griffith and Louvre fragments, wheat and barley are distinguished by the use of red and black ink, but the type of grain does not seem to make any difference in the production recorded per unit of surface in that document (see below, section 5).

The paragraphs formed by the headings and lines of measurement may contain one more type of entry, called “*posh* (*ps̄*) entry” by Gardiner. Such an entry (consisting of one or two lines) gives an amount of sacks to be subtracted from the total revenues on behalf of another institution that had a claim on the field in question. In this way, the crop of certain fields was “shared” (the literal meaning of *ps̄*) by two institutions. Each entry of this type occurring in a non-apportioning paragraph has its counterpart in an apportioning one. The administrative relationship expressed by such entries will be discussed below. An example of a paragraph referring to non-apportioning domains, and containing all types of information described so far, is § 58:<sup>1</sup>

(column 25, line 21) The Temple of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma'atre [Sekheperenre I.p.h. in] the House of Amun

(22) Domain of this house under the authority (*ht*) of the high priest [of Amun]

(23) Domain of this house in the hand (*m dr.t*) of the agent [Pre]nakht

(24) Measurement to the north of the village of Inroyshes

(25) Cultivation in the hand of the scribe Hori: 5 (*aroura*), 5 (sacks per *aroura*), (makes) 25 (sacks)

(26) Apportioned for<sup>2</sup> the House of Bata, Lord of Sako: [1 (sack) 3]½ (*oipe*)

(27) Measurement in the *p<sup>c</sup>.t*-land to the north-east of [...]

(28) Cultivated for him (?), the deputy Nesamun: [...], (making) 100 (sacks)

(29) Another: [30 (*aroura*)], 5 (sacks per *aroura*), (making) 150 (sacks)

(30) Another: 20 (*aroura*), 5 (sacks per *aroura*), (making) 100 (sacks)

(31) Measurement (etc.)

The legal status of the institutions mentioned in the headings of the non-apportioning paragraphs is unclear: the primary concern of text A is not with legal matters, but with the surveying of the fields and the assessment of their revenues. The text does not contain any explicit statement on ownership or other rights to hold and to cultivate land. Gardiner assumed that the fields of the non-apportioning paragraphs were owned by the institutions mentioned in the paragraph-headings,<sup>3</sup> although he clearly did not wish to lay emphasis on legal matters in his commentary. However, even apart from the too-direct association with modern western legal concepts that is entailed by the word “ownership”, the assumption may not be correct, because the non-apportioning domains included fields for which other institutions claimed their shares (*ps̄*) of the crop (as in line 26 of the passage translated above). On the basis of this circumstance alone, it would be better to conceive of the fields of non-apportioning domains as land cultivated and administered on behalf of the institution mentioned in the paragraph-heading,

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I, pl. 11; III, 26.

<sup>2</sup> Or: “share of”? See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 58. This “*posh* entry” is matched by the one in the apportioning paragraph translated below, on p. 294 (col. 38, ll. 38 and 39).

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 105; similarly W.F. Edgerton, *JAOS* 70 (1950), 300 and 301.

leaving open the question of who was the owner, or more neutrally the holder, of the land, on which the text does not inform us.

#### THE AMOUNTS OF GRAIN

In assessing the revenues from a plot of land recorded, the lines of measurement use three different rates: 5,  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , and 10 sacks per *aroura*. From a comparison with the information on the quality of different types of land in text B, it follows that these rates of assessment correspond to three types of soil: *qꜣy.t* “high land”, *tni* “elevated land”(?), and *nḥb* “fresh land” respectively.<sup>1</sup> It is not clear whether these figures indicate total crops, “net revenues”, or even “taxable revenues”. In the Griffith and Louvre fragments (a document showing a number of similarities to texts A and B of the Wilbour Papyrus, but of a later date), the revenues of the institutions seem to be 1 and 2 sacks per *aroura* for *qꜣy.t*- and *nḥb*-land respectively, which is far less than the amounts in P. Wilbour (see below, section 5). It must be said, however, that the status of the fields mentioned in that document is by no means any clearer; we cannot exclude the possibility that they were in some way “hired out” for cultivation. In any case, 5 sacks as the—perhaps modestly estimated—yield of one *aroura* of high land does not seem improbable, when compared with observations made earlier in this century: converted into ancient Egyptian measures, “poor land” would yield  $5\frac{1}{2}$  sacks, “converted basin land”  $14\frac{1}{2}$ , the general average being 9 sacks per *aroura*.<sup>2</sup> Of course, such comparisons are extremely speculative, as we have hardly any information on the quality of the soil and the methods of cultivation employed for the fields mentioned in P. Wilbour. It has been said already at the beginning of this section that text A records only the higher ground because the survey was carried out during the inundation season. This would seem to be confirmed by the fact that “high land” (*qꜣy.t*) constitutes by far the majority of fields. Is it then only the modest crops of less productive lands that are recorded in text A? This has been denied by Baer, who regarded the term *qꜣy.t* as referring to the normal type of arable land.<sup>3</sup> It is difficult to establish the matter from the use of that term alone.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 28 and 29, 178-181; see also Helck, *Materialien* II, (290)-(293). For the translation of *tni* as “elevated land”, instead of Gardiner’s “tired land”, see W. Schenkel, *Die Bewässerungsrevolution im alten Ägypten*, Mainz 1978, 64; Janssen, *BiOr* 43 (1986), 358; Vleeming, *Papyrus Reinhardt*, 68-69.

<sup>2</sup> See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 71.

<sup>3</sup> K. Baer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 40, note 98. Gardiner suspected the same: *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 27-28, 178-181.

<sup>4</sup> The principal arguments of Gardiner and Baer for regarding *qꜣy.t* as a reference to normal land were (1) its frequency of occurrence in e.g. P. Wilbour and the Griffith and Louvre fragments, and (2) the more general meaning of its Coptic descendant **KOIE**<sup>S</sup> (although the translation “high land” has been considered for this word as well: W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary*, Oxford 1939, 92; W. Westendorf, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg 1965-1977, 58). C.J. Eyre, *JEA* 80 (1994), 69 and 70, argued that, as a type of grain-producing land, *qꜣy.t* must have been situated low enough to be reached by the flood, and high enough to drain satisfactorily.

## THE APPORTIONING DOMAINS

The administrative units referred to as “apportioning domains” (*rmny.t pš*) are even looser clusters of widely scattered fields than the non-apportioning domains described above, and with the exception of the smaller domains of the same type that are referred to as “apportioning harvest” (*šmw pš*),<sup>1</sup> their plots do not even seem to have been organized under supervising officials. Indeed, it appears that a “domain” of the apportioning type was nothing more than the ensemble of fields belonging to one institution, but cultivated by individual landholders or hired out to other institutions, within one of the four sections of text A (see above). The apportioning domains, in other words, seem to be bookkeeping devices, rather than units of organization.

An important characteristic of the apportioning domains is that they are associated almost solely with temples. Most “secular” royal institutions (royal *min.t* and *h3-t3*-lands, “harems”, the royal treasury) have only non-apportioning fields, the only non-religious royal institution with apportioning domains being the “landing-places of Pharaoh” (§§ 84, 85, 154, 155, 241), the “fields of Pharaoh” connected with these (§§ 86, 156, 242), and one of the domains of Queen Henutuati, the consort of Ramesses V (§ 153).

Domains labelled as “herbage” (*smw*) and “food of white goats” (*mk ib ḥḏ*) are also of the apportioning type.<sup>2</sup> These domains are listed separately, with specification of the institutions they belong to, usually at the end of every section between the smaller temples and the “secular” institutions. The herbage domains seem to be confined to some of the temples; the white goat domains may also belong to the royal treasury or to the queen’s estates (§§ 192 and 193). Their crops are recorded in the same way as those of other domains: by grain measures. This means either that grain produced on these domains was itself used as fodder for cattle and goats, or that the value of the actual fodder (grass or other plants) could be expressed in grain.<sup>3</sup>

The paragraphs concerned with apportioning domains can be recognized, even if an explicit label is absent, by their entries, which are totally different from those of the non-apportioning domains. The lines of the paragraphs concerned with apportioning domains do not begin with “cultivation in the hand of/for” (*iḥw.t m dr.t/n*), but with the titles and names of individuals, who seem to have been in control of the fields. The lines end with the data on the land assessed. The assessments of the apportioning domains are basically of two types. The first type (Gardiner’s type I) consists of one black and two

<sup>1</sup> According to Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 24 and 25, apportioning domains with the heading *šmw pš* belonged mainly to small, local temples. The temple of Ramesses IV in Western Thebes and the temple of Osiris at Abydos, apportioning domains of which may also be called *šmw pš* (29, 24; 93, 1), would seem to be exceptions to this rule. Perhaps the small extent of the apportioning domain was decisive for this qualification, and not the size of the temple itself?

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 22-24.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 22: “(...) domains which supplied their food or paid for it”. The same may have been the case with one of the non-apportioning domains: (col. 45, l. 31) “Domain of divine offering [of Amon]rasonter; (32) domain producing fodder (*wmm.t*, determined by  $\overline{w}$ □) for cattle under the authority of the overseer of cattle Ramessesnakht” (Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I, pl. 21; III, 47).

red figures, possibly representing the total area of a parcel in *aroura*, the portion of this parcel that is assessed, and the rate of assessment in sacks. Thus, 5, 1, 1 (*h3r*) 2 (*lp.t*) would mean: "5 *aroura*, 1 *aroura* of which is assessed, with a rate of 1 sack 2 *oipe* per *aroura*". The rate of assessment remains constant throughout the text (so constant indeed that Katary wonders, with good reason, why the scribes did not leave it out altogether).<sup>1</sup> A variant of this type of assessment (I A) begins, not with one, but with two black figures separated by the sign  $\perp$ ; the second figure probably represents a part of the area expressed by the first figure.<sup>2</sup> The second type of assessment (Gardiner's type II) shows only two black figures, both probably referring to area, with again a variant (II A) which contains only one black figure and a word or phrase expressing why a parcel was not assessed (not irrigated, not cultivated, and the like). The unit of measure employed in type II is often stated to be *mḥ-t3* "land-cubit", one hundredth of an *aroura*, but the *aroura* itself is used as well.<sup>3</sup>

Resuming the above information, the "apportioning domains" appear to be nothing more than a scribal convention for grouping together the fields belonging to a particular institution that were actually cultivated by others. The assessments of such "domains" were basically of two types, each with one variant, four types in all. Only a small portion of the land (and thus an even smaller portion of the crop) was assessed: in the case of the above example of type I, only  $1 \times 1\frac{1}{2} = 1\frac{1}{2}$  sacks was recorded as the income from 5 *aroura* of land. In a non-apportioning domain, the same field of five *aroura*, if "high land", would have yielded  $5 \times 5 = 25$  sacks. It is clear from this comparison that the revenues of an institution from its apportioning domains were very small indeed, but since it did not cultivate such domains itself, its investments may have been practically zero. Some temples or secular institutions, especially the smaller ones, are listed only with apportioning domains.

The low figures obtained by calculation from the lines of measurement probably represent the revenues of the institution mentioned in the paragraph-heading, which had a claim on the plots in question. Most of these fields are indicated by the names of individuals, who seem to have been private holders of the land. As Gardiner observed, these holders were of various social classes, from simple fieldworkers, soldiers, and artisans to high government officials such as the vizier and the overseer of the royal treasury; once we even find a son of the king (probably the crown prince and future King Ramesses VI) among them.<sup>4</sup> From the entries in which the holder is a woman, or in which the land of a deceased person is said to be "in the hand" of his (or her) children, we may also infer that the holdings were probably hereditary,<sup>5</sup> and this is an

<sup>1</sup> Katary, *Land Tenure*, 238.

<sup>2</sup> Katary, *Land Tenure*, 236-245, demonstrates that such entries are probably not to be regarded as shorthand writings for a number of entries dealing with plots of equal size and equally assessed, as was argued by Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 103-107. Her own suggestion, backed by statistical evidence, is that the black figures represent the formation of a new plot out of two or more smaller ones of the same size and assessment, the red figure that follows them giving the portion of the new plot that was assessed.

<sup>3</sup> Katary, *Land Tenure*, 247.

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 79-84.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 76; Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 124.

important observation. On the one hand, an apportioning field could be held by the same family for some generations. On the other hand, a newly founded temple such as that of Ramesses V in Western Thebes had apportioning domains of considerable extent, that is, it had claims on numerous fields that had been in the hands of private families for some time already. It follows that the fields in question had not been hired out by an “owning” institution to individuals for cultivation, but that the actual situation was more or less the reverse: revenues from fields held privately for generations were assigned to institutions, as for instance to a newly founded temple. This practice has already been referred to in the discussion of the Great Harris Papyrus.<sup>1</sup> The true character of a temple’s apportioning “domain” has now become clear: in fact, such a domain was nothing other than a collection of nominal assignments of fields to the temple; what was in fact granted was the claim on a part of their crops.

It remains difficult, however, to describe the status of the fields and their holders in more precise legal terms. Gardiner considered the possibility that the privately held fields of the apportioning domains represent private property of land as expressed by the Egyptian word *nmḥ* “free” (i.e. not bound to the state or to public institutions),<sup>2</sup> and Helck and Menu regarded the apportioning fields as the origin of what would in later periods be called “*nmḥ*-fields” (*šḥ.w.t-nmḥ*).<sup>3</sup> The word *nmḥ* itself does not occur in the Wilbour Papyrus. In his analysis of the expression “*nmḥ*-fields”, Römer does not regard the apportioning fields of the Wilbour Papyrus and fields cultivated by people called *nmḥ* as the same categories. Nor does he consider *nmḥ*, which originally means “poor” or “of low social status”, to be a reference to personal freedom or to private property in Ramesside documents, although it may have assumed those meanings in later periods. Instead, its meaning would still have been close to the original one. Accordingly, the private holders of land in text A of the Wilbour Papyrus who were clearly of a lower social status might have been *nmḥ*.<sup>4</sup> Römer rightly points out that there is no evidence for private ownership *stricto sensu* in the Ramesside period;<sup>5</sup> hence it is better to speak of privately held or privately used land.

Having discussed the meaning of apportioning and non-apportioning domains, we may recall the term *rmny.t iḥw.t.y.w* “cultivators’ domains”, which is employed twice in the first offering-list of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, referring to grain-producing domains of the “House of His Majesty”, and to domains of the “House of Amonrasonter” as the source of charcoal.<sup>6</sup> Helck identified these domains with the apportioning domains of P. Wilbour,<sup>7</sup> but the reason for this is not clear to me. In my opinion, the non-apportioning domains have a far better right to be called “cultivators’ domains”, in the first place because the cultivators (*iḥw.t.y.w*) play a far more important

<sup>1</sup> See the discussion of list a of P. Harris I in chapter VI, § 4, pp. 178-179.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 206; similarly Stuchevsky, as rendered by J.J. Janssen, *BiOr* 43 (1986), 363.

<sup>3</sup> Helck, *Materialien* II, (262); Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 132-134.

<sup>4</sup> Römer, *Gottes- und Priesterherrschaft*, 416-451.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 302-333, 447.

<sup>6</sup> *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 140, col. 60 and l. 123.

<sup>7</sup> Helck, *Verwaltung*, 125 and 126; *Materialien* II, (254) (“Abgabedomänen”).

role in these than in the apportioning ones, in which the cultivating persons are often designated by titles other than *ihw.t.y*, and in the second place because it is the non-apportioning domains that seem to be the most strongly organized and by far the most productive type of agricultural resource. They are therefore more likely to have supplied the amount of over 24,911 sacks of grain a year, as required by the first offering-list of the Medinet Habu calendar,<sup>1</sup> than the apportioning fields, which according to P. Wilbour contributed only a small part to the total production of temple fields (see tables 8 and 9).

ADMINISTRATIVE RELATIONS BETWEEN LAND-HOLDING INSTITUTIONS:  
THE *POSH* ENTRIES

Reference has been made already to the *pš* ("share") entries occurring in the non-apportioning paragraphs (referred to as "*pôsh* A" by Gardiner). All of these correspond to similar entries ("*pôsh* B") in the apportioning paragraphs pertaining to the second institution involved. Thus, the *posh*-A entry in the paragraph partly translated above (column 25, line 26) is matched by a *posh*-B entry in § 91:<sup>2</sup>

(column 38, line 36) The House of Bata, Lord of Sako, under the authority of the priest Kanefer

(37) Measurement to the north of the village of Inroyshes

(38) The agent Pre'emhab (sic) (in) apportionment of the cultivation of the Temple of Pharaoh  
l.p.h.

(39) (in the) domain under his authority: 5 (*aroura*),  $1\frac{1}{4}$  (*aroura* assessed at) 1 (sack) 2 (*oipe*)

The location, the institutions, and the figures correspond:  $1\frac{1}{4} \times 1 \text{ sack } 2 \text{ oipe} = 1 \text{ sack}$  and  $3\frac{1}{2} \text{ oipe}$ .<sup>3</sup> Another representative example of corresponding *posh* entries is given by Gardiner and Menu.<sup>4</sup>

It seems generally accepted that the corresponding *posh* entries of type A and B reflect the joint cultivation, and accordingly the shared income, of one plot of land by two institutions.<sup>5</sup> An alternative interpretation, that of land lease between institutions (the amount arrived at in both corresponding entries being the rent to be paid over the field) was considered but rejected again by Gardiner as well as by Menu in favour of the theory of joint cultivation. According to Menu, the quantity of grain recorded in the corresponding entries was to be paid by an institution A that owned the field in question

<sup>1</sup> See table 1 (list 1).

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I, pl. 18; III, 40.

<sup>3</sup> Reconstructed in 25, 26, but supported by numerous other corresponding entries. The scribe must have made a mistake in writing the name of the controller as Pre'emhab. As is shown by other corresponding *posh* entries, the official having "authority" over the plot in question, who should be the same in both entries, was called Prenakht (see Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 132).

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 58; Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 86, 87, 90. Same example in Katary, *Land Tenure*, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Suggested by Gardiner in his final comment in *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 209 and 210, and accepted by M. Malinine, *BiOr* 8 (1951), 70). Worked out in more detail by Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 89-91. See also J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 145.

to an institution B for making use of the latter's workforce: the cultivator of the field was an employee of B. In the case of the corresponding *posh* entries in the passages translated above, this would mean that in return for hiring out a cultivator to work on a field of the memorial temple of Ramesses V, the temple of the god Bata at Sako received 1 sack and  $3\frac{1}{2}$  *oipe* out of the 25 sacks obtained from the field in question, or 7.5%. This percentage seems to be the usual compensation in the *posh* entries whenever a basic rate of 5 sacks per *aroura* is applied in the assessments of the non-apportioning paragraphs; that is, whenever "high land" (*qzy.t*) is referred to.

However, the theory that corresponding *posh* entries reflect the hiring out of cultivators by one institution to another is hard to substantiate, in view of the fact that the names of the actual workers are never mentioned (see the remarks on the non-apportioning domains above). The example used both by Gardiner and by Menu to illustrate their reconstructions of the system underlying the corresponding *posh* entries is that of a cultivator named Benenka, who is mentioned in a paragraph pertaining to a non-apportioning domain of the temple of Ramesses III in Western Thebes (§ 64), as well as in an apportioning paragraph of the temple of Osiris at Abydos (§ 87).<sup>1</sup> Menu regards him as an employee of the temple of Osiris at Abydos who was working on a field of the temple of Ramesses III. Accordingly, the latter institution would have paid a small part of the revenues from that field to the temple of Osiris. In the example given above, a similar relation is expressed between the Theban temple of Ramesses V and the temple of Bata. According to the assessment-line immediately preceding the *posh*-A entry (25, 25), the cultivator is the scribe Hori. Unfortunately, the corresponding entry of type B (38, 38) does not mention the name of the cultivator, but only that of the supervising agent Prenakht (or incorrectly Pre'emhab). On the analogy of the example of Benenka above, we would have to assume that the cultivator hired out here was the scribe Hori, who actually belonged to the temple of Bata, but remained unmentioned in the paragraph pertaining to that institution. Still, the assumption is not impossible in this particular case. More difficulties are presented by another pair of entries. In 76, 34 an entry of type A records a payment of  $7\frac{1}{2}$  sacks by the temple of Ramesses V to the "House of Haremhab". The plot in question was apparently cultivated by a certain Amenkha'u, who is mentioned six lines earlier and referred to only by a suffix pronoun in the assessment-line immediately preceding the *posh*-A entry. The corresponding *posh*-B entry is obviously 83, 21-22, but the cultivator mentioned there has a different name: P'anheru. Moreover, the paragraph containing the entry of type A clearly shows that Amenkhau worked on a number of fields of the temple of Ramesses V, and it is therefore more likely that, if this cultivator was attached to any institution, it was to that temple.

Other examples to prove this point can be produced in great number, such as a cultivator working on different plots of the same institution, on one of which rested the *posh* obligation expressed by an A entry, while in the corresponding B entry recording

<sup>1</sup> Col. 29, ll. 33 and 34; col. 37, ll. 32 and 33. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I, pls. 13 and 17; II, 58, 209 and 210; III, 30 and 39; Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 86 and 87, 90 and 91.

the same obligation a different cultivator is mentioned.<sup>1</sup> A further clear example may be highlighted here: § 219 is an apportioning paragraph concerned with fields of the Theban temple of Ramesses IV. The plots were all cultivated by the same person, who remains anonymous. For every plot assessed a *posh* entry of type A is added, and all these entries refer to different institutions. The person mentioned in the corresponding *posh*-B entries is always the same Amenemhab (referred to either as “agent” or as “cultivator”),<sup>2</sup> who must be the same man as the agent in charge of the domain (*m dr.t*: 78, 28). We may conclude from these examples that *if* the corresponding *posh* entries really represent the payment for hired-out workforce, the cultivators involved (attached to the institution with which we find the *posh*-B entry) always remain anonymous, since the cultivators who are mentioned (sometimes in both entries) were employees of the institution mentioned in the heading of the non-apportioning paragraphs, rather than of the “cooperating” institution that received the calculated *posh* share. Thus the cultivator Benenka in the example used by Gardiner and Menu was not working for the temple of Osiris, but for that of Ramesses III.<sup>3</sup> That the hired-out field-workers were themselves not recorded would be no surprise: such seems to be the practice throughout the document, as we have seen while discussing the status of the *ihw.t.y* previously. It is clear, however, that a sufficient explanation of the obligation expressed by corresponding *posh* entries is still beyond our reach. As long as a more satisfying theory is wanting, alternative explanations cannot be excluded, and the hiring out of land for cultivation should be considered a serious option.<sup>4</sup> After all, the *posh*-B entries are found in the apportioning paragraphs among the entries recording the revenues from privately held fields, and their assessments are of the same type: a portion of the field in question was assessed at a rate of 1 sack and two *oipe* per aroura. By analogy, the *posh*-B entries might very well represent fields cultivated by other institutions, which, just like the private holders, paid a share of the harvest as a recompense. Moreover, if the *posh* entries represent the payment for agricultural workforce, it is hard to see why a distinction was made between the total area of a field and the portion of this area that was assessed. In fact, it might not even have been necessary to specify the area of the fields at all.

*Posh* relations, which may thus stand either for joint cultivation or for a way of hiring out land on a permanent or temporary basis, connected all the institutions

<sup>1</sup> See, e.g. 30, 4 (*pš-A*) - 28, 22 (*pš-B*); 50, 42 (A) - 48, 42 (B).

<sup>2</sup> 87, 29-30; 100, 27-28; 88, 6-7; 93, 18-19; 95, 40-41 (here given in the same order as the corresponding *pš-A* entries).

<sup>3</sup> As assumed also by Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 209 and 210. Cf. Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 90 and 91.

<sup>4</sup> The objections raised against the possibility of land lease by Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 89-91, are perhaps not insurmountable: we must realize time and again that P. Wilbour is not explicit at all about the ownership of the fields recorded. Therefore, nothing forbids us to think that non-apportioning domains actually included plots leased from other institutions. And whether or not one is willing to accept that non-religious royal institutions leased fields from temples (*ibid.*, 90) is, I think, a matter of taste. A problem with the interpretation of the *posh* entries as representing land lease, however, is the low rate of payment (in most cases 7.5%, as we have seen above), whereas the usual rent paid with land leases on a yearly basis was one third to a half of the crop (see K. Baer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 33-44).

recorded in text A, although there seem to have been some restrictions with regard to the directions of this type of economic traffic. It has already been remarked that the apportioning domains were mainly found with temples. Some non-religious institutions had them as well, but royal institutions such as “*khato*” (*h3-t3*) and *min.t* only had non-apportioning domains. Consequently, the paragraphs relating to those institutions contain only *posh* entries of type A, which means that they only paid shares, and did not receive them. In other words, they paid for the use of temple workers, or rather for the use of temple fields. The reverse situation is found with the great temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak. This temple had apportioning, as well as non-apportioning domains, but only the domains of the former type included fields over which a share had to be paid to another institution, as is attested by *posh* entries of type B. From this we may conclude that it hired out its fields or personnel, but it did not use those of other institutions. This circumstance may have been due mainly, however, to the very limited extent of its non-apportioning domains. An important observation with regard to these *posh* relations is that in the corresponding entries of type A, the Karnak temple of Amonrasonter is often referred to simply as “the House of Amun”, from which it becomes apparent that “House of Amun” (*pr 'Imn*) is nothing more here than an abbreviation of “House of Amonrasonter”, and the same may be true for the expression *pr 'Imn* in other contexts.<sup>1</sup>

#### OTHER TYPES OF *POSH* OBLIGATIONS

Two other types of *posh* entries may occur in the apportioning-paragraphs: *posh* entries of type C and donation (*hnk*) entries.<sup>2</sup> Those of type C have the general formula: “apportioned for (*ps n*) (a deity) in the hand of (title + proper name)”, followed by a set of numerals similar to those of the *posh*-B entries. In a paragraph pertaining to an apportioning (herbage) domain of the temple of Amonrasonter, for instance, we find:<sup>3</sup>

(column 17, line 9) Apportioned for Amun of the New Land in the hand of the god's servant Amenemuia:

5 (*aroura*),  $\frac{1}{4}$  (*aroura* assessed at) 1 (sack) 2 (*oipe*) (per *aroura*)

There are no entries corresponding to this type, as with the *posh* entries of types A and B; the cults being thus provided for are not recorded by any (non-apportioning) paragraphs of their own. This means that from the fields assessed in these entries, only that part of the revenues that went to the institution mentioned in the paragraph-headings is of importance: in the example given above, the greater part of the field (five *aroura* minus one fourth) was of no relevance to the scribe of text A (as was, in fact, the case with all assessments of the apportioning paragraphs). The land was reserved for a specific cult, but a small part of it had to be paid to an institution (in this case the temple of Amonrasonter, to the “herbage” of which the plot belonged), perhaps as some sort of

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 73 (with note 7) and 74. See also chapter VI, § 3, pp. 165-166.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 59, 90 (in all 37 occurrences).

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I, pl. 7; III, 17.

rent (see above). The words “apportioned for” (*pš n*), if translated correctly, would then imply “land apportioned for”; the amount of grain recorded in the entry representing the payment to the temple of Amonrasonter, in keeping with our interpretation of the apportioning paragraphs in general.

The donation (*hnk*) entries<sup>1</sup> have a function very much similar to that of the *posh* entries of type C, but the individuals responsible for the the fields in these entries have a higher social status, and are usually introduced by (*r*) *ht* “under the authority of”, instead of *m dr.t* “in the hand of”. They probably represent fields donated to a statue cult, which is always referred to as “the god (or: gods) of Pharaoh l.p.h.” (*p3 ntr/n3 ntr.w n Pr-ꜥ3 ꜥ.w.s*).<sup>2</sup> Such donations have been referred to in chapter V, where it has been concluded that the cults were themselves not attached to temples, but that the donated fields were often apportioned temple land, as was the case with the fields represented by *hnk* entries in the Wilbour Papyrus. In two specific cases, donation entries correspond to *posh-A* entries, which are recorded for non-apportioning domains dedicated to a “god” of Ramesses III (§§ 73 and 74). These two cases will be discussed in the following section. The remaining examples seem to be without corresponding entries elsewhere in the text.

#### THE PURPOSE OF TEXT A

An answer to the question what text A is all about requires on the one hand an understanding of the expressions and figures in the different types of paragraphs and entries, and of the status of the institutions and their fields, both of which have been attempted in the previous paragraphs. On the other hand it requires some idea about the identity of the assessors. Unfortunately, the three section-headings preserved replace the specification of the assessing authority by a ditto-sign, no doubt referring to the more informative heading of a previous section (which was written on another scroll). The only clue to its identity thus lies in the question: who might be interested in collecting the information as presented here for this range of institutions?

According to Stuchevsky, all institutions mentioned in text A—including the temples—represented the state. Hence, all totals recorded would have been taxes due to the state and collected by the personnel of various institutions.<sup>3</sup> This might be a possible approach to the text, but it still leaves us with the uncertainty about the identity of the administration responsible for the drawing up of this document. Gardiner assumed that the *ꜥ3 n št* (translated by him as “chief taxing-master”) was the supreme authority responsible for the assessments in text A.<sup>4</sup> This official is mentioned in the text as responsible for part of the royal domains,<sup>5</sup> and he is perhaps the same person as the steward Usermaꜥatrenakht (son of the high priest of Amun Ramessesnakht), who is the

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 17, 86-87, 111-113 (37 occurrences, like the *posh-C* entries).

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 86.

<sup>3</sup> J.J. Janssen, *BiOr* 43 (1986), 354-357, 364.

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 10.

<sup>5</sup> Col. 72, ll. 31 and 34; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I, pl. 34; II, 150; III, 76.

most important official controlling the royal *khato* (*ḥ3-t3*) lands of text B.<sup>1</sup> As was said at the beginning of this chapter, text B is of a slightly earlier date than text A. Both texts are concerned with institutional land in the same region, and partly administered by the same functionaries (see below, section 3). The *khato*-lands of text B were situated “on the fields” of other institutions, mainly temples. Gardiner suspected that many of these *khato*-plots are also recorded in text A, and the corresponding locations of *khato*-fields under the authority of the steward Usermaʿatrenakht in text B and of the anonymous “chief taxing master” in text A was Gardiner’s main argument for their identification.<sup>2</sup> However, it is very doubtful that indeed the same *plots* are referred to, since the cardinal points preceding the place-names are often lost in text B, and if present, they are different from those in text A. The only exact correspondence may have been the one between column 73, line 9 of text A, and column 3, line 26 in B (both mentioning “the Lake of Pharaoh l.p.h. to the south of Nairoti”), but the indication of the cardinal point is lost in text B.

Gardiner strengthened his theory by observing that the grandfather of Usermaʿatrenakht, the high priest of Amun Meribast, had actually borne the title “chief taxing master”. It is uncertain, however, whether the office was hereditary: as far as I can see, the title is not attested with the high priest Ramessesnakht, who was the son of Meribast and the father of Usermaʿatrenakht.<sup>3</sup> Nor is it certain that there was only one chief taxing-master at a time, since two are mentioned together on the rock stela of Ramesses IV in Wadi Hammamat.<sup>4</sup> Equally problematic is Gardiner’s identification of the steward Usermaʿatrenakht with the anonymous “steward of Amun” (*im.y-r pr n ʿImn*).<sup>5</sup> The latter was responsible for part of the non-apportioning domains of the temple of Amonrasonter, as well as for one domain of the “house” of Ramesses II belonging to that temple,<sup>6</sup> whereas the steward Usermaʿatrenakht is found only as an administrator of two non-apportioning domains of the Theban temple of Ramesses III, and as a private landholder in various apportioning paragraphs.<sup>7</sup> That means that they never occur in the same context. The single argument in favour of Gardiner’s hypothesis is the fact that both of them had an agent named Amenemuia as an assistant.<sup>8</sup> But could such an agent (supposing that the same person is referred to in both cases) not have worked for two superiors? This problem will be returned to in the next section. Meanwhile, it seems best to regard Usermaʿatrenakht and the steward of Amun as different persons, as is done by Helck, who agrees, however, with the identification of Usermaʿatrenakht with the “chief taxing master”.<sup>9</sup> Bierbrier, on the contrary, accepted the theory that Usermaʿatrenakht

<sup>1</sup> See for this identification Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 10, 20, 131 (§ 52), 150 (§§ 200 and 201), 204.

<sup>2</sup> Text A, § 201, and text B, § 2. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 150 (§ 201), 170, note 4.

<sup>3</sup> As against H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 34, no. 5

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 34, no. 6.

<sup>5</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 20 and 131.

<sup>6</sup> Text A: 21, 33; 44, 3; 59, 46; 75, 3.

<sup>7</sup> Temple of Ramesses III (non-apportioning): A 50, 32; 79, 14; in apportioning paragraphs: A 27, 41; 65, 11; 67, 23; 68, 38; 71, 19; 72, 5.

<sup>8</sup> In 22, 8 and 79, 15; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 131.

<sup>9</sup> Helck, *Verwaltung*, 144, 382, and 383.

and the anonymous “steward of Amun” were the same person, but expressed his doubts about that person being identical with the “chief taxing master”.<sup>1</sup> The identification is, of course, of crucial importance with respect to the question as to what extent the state and the temples were separate units.

A special connection between *khato*-land and the “chief taxing master” is also suggested by the Griffith and Louvre fragments: in column XII of that document, line 13, *khato* (*ḥ3-n-t3*) land is said to be “under the authority” of the *ʿ3 n št* (see below, sections 5 and 6). However, this type of royal land, which appears as only one of the many institutions in text A of P. Wilbour, was perhaps not the only responsibility of the “chief taxing master”,<sup>2</sup> whose authority may have extended to other institutions as well. Moreover, as the field-survey recorded by text A is called *št* “assessment” in the section-headings, we have some reason to expect an official bearing the title *ʿ3 n št* to be involved. Elsewhere in his commentary, Gardiner also considered the possibility that provincial authorities were responsible for the collection of the “harvest-tax” (*šmw*) for the temples.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, the involvement of regional administrations might account for the limited geographical scope of both texts A and B. However, just like the presumed role of the “chief taxing-master”, this observation provides no more than a possible indication for the identity of the assessing authority.

Gardiner felt rather uncertain about the purpose of text A. At first inclined to take the figures in the non-apportioning paragraphs as total yields, he changed his view on the advice of critics, who suggested that the quantities represent taxes or rents. In the postscript to his commentary, however, he came to the conclusion that the purpose of text A must have been to present a basis for tax-calculation, the figures being modest estimates of the revenues of the landowning institutions.<sup>4</sup> The assessing authority, according to Gardiner, might have been the the priesthood of Amun-Re at Karnak, to which would have belonged the steward and “chief taxing master” Usermaʿatrenakht. This view was based (a) on the presumed identity of Usermaʿatrenakht with the “chief taxing master” and the “steward of Amun”, both anonymous; (b) on the theory, still current at the time the edition of the Wilbour Papyrus appeared, of a political and economic competition between the Pharaonic government and the temples, especially that of Amun at Thebes. This competition would have led to the transfer of governmental responsibilities to the priesthood of Amun.

That the Theban temples together held a great share of the land’s economic resources is beyond any doubt. But then it is still quite a step to assume (a) that priests and officials of Amun had any authority regarding the property and revenues of other institutions, and (b) that they should even be “the equivalent of the State”.<sup>5</sup> Moreover,

<sup>1</sup> M.L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300–664 B.C.). A Genealogical and Chronological Investigation*, Warminster 1975, 11 (*Wsr-M3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup>-nh̄t* II) and note 78.

<sup>2</sup> See, in general: J.J. Janssen, *JEA* 77 (1991), 83 and 84 (note b); H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 27, 28, 34-36.

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 40.

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 202 and 208. Same conclusion reached by Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 82.

<sup>5</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 208. Stuchevsky considered all land recorded in P. Wilbour as state land, the fields of temples merely being “a special type of state property” (J.J. Janssen, *BiOr* 43 (1986), 353).

both "taxation" and "state" in ancient Egypt are ill-defined matters. Administrative documents of the New Kingdom present us with a range of different institutions, a number of which we like to group together so as to form "the state" (in the sense of "non-religious authorities"), others to form "the temples", or "the priesthood". The only person, however, who clearly stands above all these institutions and has influence on them is the king. All officials, even those as important as the vizier or the high priest of Amun, may have had limited power extending over a select number of institutions only. It is from the interpretation of interrelations and possible hierarchies of these that the use of the words "tax" and "state" for the ancient Egyptian society depend. Since we lack a clear vision on this subject, the "state" can hardly be defined any more precisely than "the total of Egyptian territories, people and institutions under royal authority", whereas I prefer to leave out the terms "tax" and "taxation" altogether. Depending on the specific context, it seems better to use words like "deliveries", "transfers", "contributions", etc., which are less suggestive of modern concepts of state finance.<sup>1</sup>

It seems best to assume, therefore, that the figures in the non-apportioning paragraphs are *estimates* (not actual crops, which will not have been precisely 5,  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , or 10 sacks per *aroura*) of the *revenues* received by the institutions from their fields, which could perhaps be diminished further by contributions to creditors (cf. the much lower figures in the fragments Griffith + Louvre AF 6345). The apportioning paragraphs seem to record the revenues to the same institutions from fields cultivated by private individuals or other institutions. In view of the uncertainties about the criteria for the inclusion of fields in the survey (a specific type of land, the fields of specific institutions, or otherwise?), and about the identity of the authority responsible for the survey (that is, the authority interested in the revenues of the institutions recorded), it seems best to leave the question to the ultimate purpose of text A as it stands.

## § 2 - INFORMATION ON THEBAN ROYAL MEMORIAL TEMPLES FROM P. WILBOUR, TEXT A

### THE TEMPLES OF WESTERN THEBES

Although the text gives exact and detailed information of a quantitative kind, no far-reaching conclusions can be drawn because its contents remain obscure in so many respects. As stated at the beginning of the previous section, text A is not concerned with the total area of arable land in the region it covers. It is concerned only with the higher fields that were further removed from the river, and of such fields, only those of a specific legal or administrative status may have been included. Moreover, the information presented by text A is valid only for this particular region in Middle Egypt. It says next to nothing about landholdings of the same institutions elsewhere in the country. Still, we may be justified in regarding this record as a regional "random sample", at least for the Nile valley, which to some extent reflects the wealth of the

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<sup>1</sup> See the remarks on this topic in the Introduction, § 2, pp. 17-18.

institutions mentioned. Things might have looked different in the delta, where the landscape is of a totally different character.

All four sections of text A start with the Theban temples (the beginning of the first section, however, is lost).<sup>1</sup> Within the group of Theban temples, again a rigid order is found, starting with the temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak (§§ 51-56; 117-121; 208-212) and some temples that, judging from their being mentioned just after the Karnak temple, were closely associated with it (the “house of Tia in the house of Amun”, § 57; the “house of Ramesses Meriamun in the house of Amun”, § 117, once in a wrong position, § 152). Only in section IV do we find the temple of Mut “Lady of Isheru” (§ 213) mentioned after the Karnak temple. These are followed by the royal memorial temples in Western Thebes, which can be recognized by the term *ḥw.t* “temple” (Gardiner: “mansion”), followed by the king’s *prenomen*.<sup>2</sup> The temple of Ramesses V, the reigning pharaoh (§§ 58, 59, 122-125, 214-218), is the only one referred to by the longer designation *ḥw.t n.t ḥh.w m rnp.w.t* “temple of millions of years”. The first paragraphs devoted to this temple in sections II and III run thus: “the Temple of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaʿatre Sekheperenre I.p.h. in the House of Amun”.<sup>3</sup> In section IV, the formula is a bit shorter, and for once contains the *nomen* of Ramesses V, instead of the *prenomen*: “the Temple of Millions of Years of Ramesses Amunherkhopshuf Meriamun I.p.h. in the House of Amun”.<sup>4</sup> The *posh* entries, however, usually refer to this temple simply as “the Temple of Pharaoh I.p.h.”.<sup>5</sup> The temple of Ramesses IV (§§ 60-63, 126, 219) is referred to throughout sections II-IV as “the Temple of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Hekamaʿatre Setepenamun I.p.h. in the House of Amun” (the *posh* entries usually omit *m pr ʿImn*). The temple of Ramesses III is treated similarly (§§ 64-68, 127-136, 220-230; with the *prenomen* Usermaʿatre Meriamun). The *posh* entries frequently abbreviate this to “the Temple in the House of Amun”, thus emphasizing its prominent reputation, which makes the specification of the king’s name unnecessary. The Ramesseum (§§ 69, 137(!), 138, 231) is referred to as “the Temple of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Usermaʿatre Setepenre I.p.h. in the House of Amun” in section II; the title “King of Upper and Lower Egypt” is omitted in section IV. In section III (§ 137), the name of Ramesses III is used by mistake: it is clear from its position that the temple of Ramesses II is meant.

The Ramesside memorial temples are followed by a “House (*pr*) of Haremhab” (§§ 70 and 233), and the memorial temple (*ḥw.t*) of an Eighteenth Dynasty king (§§ 75 and 139), the names of which both include the phrase “in the House of Amun”. Whereas there can hardly be any doubt that the temples of Ramesses II, III, IV, and V were the memorial temples of these kings on the Theban west bank, the “House of Haremhab” was probably a different type of institution, because the memorial temples in Western

<sup>1</sup> For quick reference, the reader is best referred to Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II (Commentary)*, 124-157 (synopsis of text A).

<sup>2</sup> See the Introduction, § 3, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup> § 58 (25, 21) and § 122 (45, 40).

<sup>4</sup> § 214 (76, 27).

<sup>5</sup> For references, see Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus IV*, 60.

Thebes are never referred to by the word *pr* "house". On the other hand, it is odd to find the temple thus alluded to between the Ramesside memorial temples and an Eighteenth Dynasty temple of the same sort. Gardiner assumed that it was a structure within the Karnak temple, but what kind of building that would have been remains unclear.<sup>1</sup> It may actually have been a structure in Western Thebes, which would account for its position in the text,<sup>2</sup> and from the phrase *m pr Ḳmn* we may infer that it was a temple, but it was probably not identical with the king's memorial temple on the west bank, which was called "Temple (*ḥw.t*) of Djoserkheperure Meriamun (or: Setepenre) l.p.h in the House of Amun".<sup>3</sup> In view of its uncertain identity, the temple will be excluded from discussion in the present section.

It is equally uncertain which Eighteenth Dynasty temple is referred to after the "god" of Ramesses III in section II (§ 75), and after the memorial temple of Ramesses II in section III (§ 139).<sup>4</sup> The writing in the first instance seems to contain the *n* of *ʿ3-ḥpr-n-Rʿ*, which is absent in the second case. It is not certain, however, that this hieratic stroke is really  *n*.<sup>5</sup> Orthographically, the choice would thus remain between Thutmosis I (*ʿ3-ḥpr-k3-Rʿ*), Thutmosis II (*ʿ3-ḥpr-n-Rʿ*), and Amenophis II (*ʿ3-ḥpr.w-Rʿ*). Gardiner excluded the first because the conspicuous  expected in that name would not so easily drop out in hieratic.<sup>6</sup> Helck was of a different opinion: although the royal name would have to be written defectively, Thutmosis I would be the likeliest candidate because his is the only Eighteenth Dynasty temple attested in the so-called "tomb-robbery papyri", and hence, the only one still economically active in the second half of the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>7</sup> Although the latter deduction might be correct, one might ask whether that is the right criterion by which we should judge the information in the Wilbour Papyrus: the fact that an institution was less "alive" according to the documents surviving from its direct surroundings does not necessarily exclude the possibility that it still possessed fields elsewhere in Egypt. The choice must therefore remain open.

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 135 (§ 70): "this temple is probably that of which the remains are preserved at Karnak near the IXth pylon", referring to Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* II, 59 (= 180-182 in the second edition), but no such remains are recorded there except for the pylon itself and the walls of the adjoining courts, all parts of the transverse axis of the great temple of Amun. See also Helck, *Materialien* I, (56).

<sup>2</sup> In the tomb-inscriptions of the steward Roy of the "House of Haremhab in the House of Amun" (TT 255, referred to by Helck, *Materialien*), the phrase "to the west of Thebes" (*ḥr Ḳmnt.t W3s.t*) may belong to the name of the temple, despite being separated from it by the name of the tomb-owner (see M. Baud, E. Drioton, *Le Tombeau de Roÿ (Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale* 57), Cairo 1928, 29 and 34).

<sup>3</sup> O. Berlin P 10633, 4 (*Hieratische Papyrus Berlin* III, pl. XXXVI). See also appendix 1. A "House of Haremhab" and a "Temple of Djoserkheperure" are both represented by seal-impressions on jar-fragments found at Deir el-Medina (see Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh 1945-1947*, 53, fig. 38, nos. 12 and 15).

<sup>4</sup> Col. 33, l. 6; col. 54, l. 25. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I, pls. 15 and 25.

<sup>5</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 136 (§ 75).

<sup>6</sup> Gardiner, *loc. cit.*

<sup>7</sup> *Materialien* I, (91).

Another apparent incompatibility between the Wilbour Papyrus and the evidence from Western Thebes exists with regard to the temples of Ramesses IV and V.<sup>1</sup> Archaeologically speaking, the sites of these temples have every chance of being one and the same: a vast structure, the remains of which were uncovered at Assassif. Its construction is believed to have been started by Ramesses IV, and continued by his successor Ramesses V. We cannot exclude, though, the possibility that the “temple of millions of years” of Ramesses IV was not this building at Assassif, but a (less well-preserved) one further south (see appendix I to this study). In any case, P. Wilbour presents the temples of these two kings as separate institutions existing at the same time, each with its own agricultural domains.

#### THE WEALTH OF THE THEBAN MEMORIAL TEMPLES

The royal memorial temples at Thebes play a prominent role (see tables 8-10). The temples on the west bank at Thebes are among the institutions with the largest shares of land as recorded in text A, and to judge by this text, the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu was the richest of all. Its amount of *non-apportioned* land even surpassed that of the temple of Amonrasontér at Karnak, as can be seen in tables 8 and 9: whereas Amonrasontér had a little more than 246 *aroura* at its disposal, the temple of Ramesses III had no less than 750, that is three times as much! The same tables show that the revenues of the Karnak temple were about half those of the Medinet Habu temple (1,532.5 + x sacks versus 3,649 from non-apportioning domains; 119.25 sacks versus 181.875 from apportioning domains; 1,651.75 + x sacks versus 3,831.375 from the two types of domain together). The extent of the non-apportioning domains of the temple of the reigning pharaoh (Ramesses V) was of a scale more comparable to that of the temple at Karnak, but still considerably greater (324 + x *aroura*), and its revenues were also higher than those of Amonrasontér (1,805 sacks from non-apportioning fields, 333 from the apportioning domains, total 2,138 sacks). The memorial temple of Ramesses IV held smaller, but still substantial, domains, whereas those of Ramesses II and the Eighteenth Dynasty temple were hardly of any significance.

These proportions strengthen the impression, given already by the Great Harris Papyrus and the inscriptions at Medinet Habu and Karnak, that the memorial temple of the reigning king at Thebes was a powerful economic centre: judging from the extent of its domains as recorded in P. Wilbour, its wealth even surpassed that of the temple of Amonrasontér. It also shows that the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu must have been an exceptional case: during the reign of Ramesses V it was still the richest landholder (at least in this particular region), the total area of its non-apportioning domains being more than double that of the temple of the reigning king. Apparently, it did not suffer the impoverishment that generally awaited the older temples: the Ramesseum had only one non-apportioning domain of 5 *aroura* in this region, which produced 25 sacks of grain, while the temple received some 60 more sacks from its apportioning domains (i.e. through the obligations of private landholders). A surviving

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<sup>1</sup> See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 132 and 133 (§§ 58 and 60), and appendix 1 of the present work.

temple from the Eighteenth Dynasty had no non-apportioning fields left at all, and it received hardly more than 7 sacks from the remaining apportioning ones. It is very likely that the establishment of Ramesses III's temple was itself the fatal blow for the Ramesseum (which up to that moment would have been the richest Theban memorial temple), as well as for other temples in Western Thebes. The lavish endowments for Medinet Habu as recorded in P. Harris may have been made at the cost of other institutions, while at the same time providing a secure economic basis for the temple itself for years to come.

#### THE AGRICULTURAL ADMINISTRATION OF THE SEPARATE TEMPLES

It is now time for a description of the administrative structure of the domains we are at present concerned with. From the general description of text A in section 1, it has become clear that the non-apportioning domains of an institution were tightly organized on at least two levels: that of the high officials, expressed by the preposition (*r*) *ht*, and that of their representatives (*rwd.w* "agents" or *idnw.w* "deputies"), which is expressed by the preposition *m dr.t*. In the apportioning paragraphs, no officials are mentioned as responsible for the domains, except when their heading is *šmw pš* "apportioned harvest" instead of *rmn.y.t pš*. The heading *šmw pš* is found only with the temple of Ramesses IV (29, 24). The apportioning domains of the other memorial temples are signalled by *rmn.y.t pš*. They were all situated in the "Tract of Hardai".<sup>1</sup> The administration of the agricultural domains of each separate temple has been outlined in tables 10 A-E, and will be described here in detail.

#### THE TEMPLE OF RAMESSES V

For the non-apportioning domains of the temple of Ramesses V (table 10 A), the high priest of Amonrasonter Ramessesnakht is the first responsible person mentioned. He is actually the only official supervising the non-apportioning domains that are not "under the authority of officials (*sr.w*)". Some fields are administered for him by (*m dr.t*) the controller Prenakht, but with other fields this intermediary level seems to be absent, as is the case with the domains administered by the "officials". Of the latter kind, the temple of Ramesses V possessed two domains, the first controlled by a scribe of the royal granary and a chief archivist, the second by two deputies (*idnw*). The bottom level is that of the cultivators or their representatives (*iḥw.t.y.w*). The sequence of lines recording these people and the geographical position of the fields they work on is interrupted now and then by a *posh* entry of type A, recording a small part of the harvest to be subtracted from the total yield for the benefit of another institution. In addition to this type of domain, the temple had a number of apportioning fields, for which only the private holders of the separate fields are recorded. Their sequence is also interrupted from time to time by *posh* entries (types B and C), as well as by donation (*ḥnk*) entries. Similar information is given for the temple's herbage domains (*smw*) and for the domains

<sup>1</sup> Headings are absent with the apportioning paragraphs of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple: 33, 16; 54, 25.

providing food for white goats (*mk ib ḥḏ*). Such, in a nutshell, is the organization of the fields of the temple of Ramesses V according to text A of the Wilbour Papyrus. It represents the ideal type of organization, in which all the elements occur that can possibly be found with the institutions recorded in this text: non-apportioning domains, partially “under the authority of officials”, and apportioning domains, among which we find “herbage” and “food for white goats”. We could reasonably expect this to be the case because we are dealing with a newly founded temple which has only just received its means of economic existence. It will become clear that the older institutions (the temples of Ramesses IV, III, II, and the Eighteenth Dynasty temple) all deviated from this ideal model by losing part of their domains in the course of time.

Some further remarks are required concerning the officials in charge. The first place where we would expect to find the high priest of Amun as an administering official is of course the temple of Amonrasonter itself, and this is indeed the case: in all of the three sections that are completely preserved he is the first person recorded as responsible for the non-apportioning domains of that temple (§§ 51, 117, 208).<sup>1</sup> And so he is also for the domains of the temple of the reigning king! These two institutions—of quite comparable wealth, it may be recalled—thus seem to have required equal attention from the high priest, who must have been one of the most powerful persons dealing with institutionally owned land. This twofold responsibility is also held by the deputy Ptahemhab, who as an “official” (*sr*) is in charge of a domain of the memorial temple (column 76, line 41) but also of a domain of the temple of Amun (column 76, line 16). This connection with the Karnak temple through shared supervision by the same functionaries might also have existed with the temple of Ramesses III, but it is not attested for the memorial temples of Ramesses IV and II. Moreover, such attention from one and the same person was not shared by Theban institutions only. The deputy Pre'emhab, for instance, was in charge of domains of the Theban temple of Ramesses V (column 76, line 44) and III (column 80, line 3), but also of fields of the temple of Osiris at Abydos (column 93, line 3), if in all cases the same person is indeed referred to. All other officials recorded for the temple of Ramesses V at Thebes, including the agent Prenakht, are found with this institution only.

#### THE TEMPLE OF RAMESSES IV

The temple of Ramesses IV, which from its archaeological remains would seem to have been usurped and continued by Ramesses V, nonetheless appears in the Wilbour papyrus as an institution with its own agricultural domains. The structure of its agricultural administration shows some differences when compared with the temple just described (table 10 B). The first and second times its non-apportioning domains are introduced, different officials appear (column 29, line 2; column 49, line 27); in the third instance (column 78, line 27), the responsible person has probably been omitted by mistake. Quite exceptional is the preposition (*r*) *ḥt* instead of *m dr.t* introducing the deputy Iay,

<sup>1</sup> Col. 21, l. 17; col. 44, l. 2; col. 75, l. 2. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I, pls. 9, 20, 36; III, 22, 46, 79.

who functioned on the lower administrative level.<sup>1</sup> Perhaps this is due to the fact that his former superior Neferabet had died: Iay might thus have become the one responsible on a higher level, without being represented by a deputy as his subordinate. However, the scribe may as well have made a mistake here. Helck regarded Neferabet and Penpamer as belonging to the separate category of “officials” (*sr.w*), but neither is there a heading announcing this, nor does the relevant paragraph in section II occupy the proper place for such domains, which normally follow after the apportioning paragraphs. Moreover, the headings are always followed by others mentioning agents (*m dr.t*-level), which is not the case with domains under the authority of “officials”, as has been explained in section 1. The domains are therefore best regarded as non-apportioning ones of the normal type, i.e. the domains mentioned first with any institution. The agent Dhutmose who was working for Neferabet may be identical with the one working for Penpamer. He might even be identical with the agent of the same name who worked for the *sem*-priest of the temple of Ramesses III (see table 10 C). None of the higher officials supervising fields of the temple of Ramesses IV is found in charge of fields of other institutions, as appears to have been the case with field supervisors of other memorial temples. It had its own specific group of supervisors, a situation that may have developed quite accidentally. Perhaps the deceased Neferabet was to be replaced by another official, who would already have similar responsibilities towards other institutions.

In two cases the organization of the fields of this temple shows its attachment to the administration of the temple of Ramesses V. In § 62 (column 29, line 17), one of its domains is said to be “on the *sdf* of the temple of Pharaoh l.p.h. in the House of Amun”. Gardiner extensively commented upon the use of the word *sdf* here, and it has been dealt with in the discussion of P. Harris I, where this passage from the Wilbour Papyrus was also referred to (chapter VI, section 3, reference h). Following the information offered by the Harris Papyrus on this term, we may assume that in this case the temple of Ramesses V was responsible for, and had authority over, some fields of the temple of Ramesses IV. Which persons were in charge remains unclear; the paragraph-heading is probably continued in line 18: “[...] the chapel of Montu which is (in) the village of Inroyshes”. One of the possible reconstructions is: “[under the authority (or: by the hand) of the god’s servant (*hm-ntr*) of] the chapel of Montu ...”. If it is correct, the phrase *ht=f* in the next paragraph (29, 24) might refer to the same priest of Montu, who would have been the responsible official and the “cultivator” at the same time.<sup>2</sup> Alternatively, the person referred to by *ht=f* might be Neferabet or Iay, in which case the paragraph-heading in column 29, lines 1-3, would also govern § 62. It is therefore unclear whether personnel of the temple of Ramesses IV or local people (such as a god’s servant of Montu) were directly responsible for this domain, but we may assume that the ultimate responsibility (the supervision and/or payment of the agricultural workforce?) lay with the temple of Ramesses V in one way or another. It is a pity that no *posh* entry

<sup>1</sup> There can be no mistake about the reading of the preposition: Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus I*, pl. 13 (col. 29, l. 3).

<sup>2</sup> As is assumed by Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 117-118.

of type A has been inserted here; if that were the case, its counterpart of type B might have informed us about the official in charge in this unique paragraph. It seems certain, however, that the revenues recorded in this paragraph were for the benefit of the temple of Ramesses IV, because it is listed together with the other non-apportioning domains of this institution.

The same temples appear to be interrelated in yet another unique type of entry: according to column 49, lines 4 and 5, one of the apportioning fields of the temple of Ramesses V was situated on "herdsman's territory" (*w-mni.w*) of the temple of Ramesses IV. Gardiner says no more on this entry than that it probably deals with pasture.<sup>1</sup> The field in question might, however, have formerly belonged to the temple of Ramesses IV, its individual holder now no longer contributing part of its revenues to that temple, but to the new temple of Ramesses V.

Could this exceptional entry, as well as the one referring to the *sdf*-construction described above, represent stages in the transfer of fields from an old to a new temple? If the temples of Ramesses IV and V in Western Thebes were two different institutions after all (which is not entirely impossible), that of the later king perhaps took over the control of temple domains of his predecessor by having them on its *sdf* (in the case of non-apportioning domains), or by being assigned the annual payments of private landholders (with apportioning fields). The reason that such transfers could take place at all might have been that the older temple no longer had enough personnel to co-ordinate the management of agricultural revenues. Admittedly, the evidence is too scanty to warrant the reconstruction of a regular administrative process; yet these exceptional entries may be indicative of the dynamics in Ramesside agricultural management, and it may be significant that they are found only with the temples of the reigning king and his predecessor.<sup>2</sup>

### THE TEMPLE OF RAMESSES III

We now come to the quite numerous fields and officials of the memorial temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (table 10 C). The first non-apportioning domains mentioned for this temple were administered by the despatch-writer (or secretary, *sš šꜥ.t*) of the king in section II and by the *sem*-priest, no doubt of the temple itself, in sections III and IV.<sup>3</sup> Because these officials occupy a comparable place in the sections, Helck assumed they were one and the same person, and this theory would seem to be supported by the fact that both officials could be represented by an agent named Merimaꜥat.<sup>4</sup> As suggested above, however, we cannot exclude that an agent represented more than one higher official, and this weakens the argument. The steward Usermaꜥatrenakht is an important administrator in sections III and IV, and possibly also

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 60-61, 79.

<sup>2</sup> The theory that fields of the memorial temple of Ramesses IV have been assigned to the temple of his successor might also explain the relative proportions of apportioning domains belonging to these institutions: see Katary, *Land Tenure*, 66 and 67; Peden, *Ramesses IV*, 48, note 7.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter VIII, § 1, for the administrative responsibilities of the *sem*-priest.

<sup>4</sup> *Verwaltung*, 134-135, note 5; *Materialien II*, (243).

in section II if the title *ʿ3 n pr* “superior of the house”, without proper name, refers to the same person, as was assumed by Gardiner and Helck.<sup>1</sup> According to Gardiner, the same person would be referred to in the Wilbour Papyrus as “steward of Amun” and “chief taxing master” (*ʿ3 n št*), both unaccompanied by proper names, but it has been made clear in the previous section that these identifications are very uncertain.

In addition to these persons, we find the steward and overseer of the granary Khaʿemwese in section III (column 50, line 21), and the steward Pir in section IV (column 80, line 9). In the same sections are recorded those non-apportioning domains that are “under the authority of officials” (*ht sr.w*).<sup>2</sup> These officials were the overseers of cattle Hori and Ramose of the temple itself, the overseer of the granary Amennakht (the institution to which he was attached is unknown), and the overseer of cattle Ramessesnakht, who may have been attached to the temple of Amun. These overseers of cattle have already been referred to in section 1. It may be of significance that, as far as the Theban memorial temples are concerned, we find such officials only with the temple of Ramesses III, and even here only as being responsible for domains under the authority of *sr.w*. These circumstances somehow speak against the assumption that the fields under their responsibility as recorded by P. Wilbour were the usual source of food for temple herds,<sup>3</sup> because these resources would then be absent with institutions that had no overseers of cattle among their administrators. However, some fields under the authority of overseers of cattle may actually have had that function: according to text B, Hori and Ramose were mainly responsible for *khato*-fields situated on the “herbage” or “food for white goats” domains of the Medinet Habu temple (see below, section 4).

With the exception of those explicitly announced as *sr.w*, every one of the officials is assisted in his task by agents (*rwd.w*). These are 13 different persons in all, three of them being recorded twice: Merimaʿat, Sethwenmef, and Meriun. This might indicate that their superiors are identical (the steward Usermaʿatrenakht = the superior of the house; the *sem*-priest = the royal despatch-writer), but they might also have served different officials, at least in some cases. Moreover, the agent Dhutmose who represents the *sem*-priest in (49, 42) could be the same person as the agent Dhutmose administering some of the fields of the temple of Ramesses IV (see table 10 B). Of course, the name Dhutmose is not that uncommon, so that the agents do not have to be one and the same person. However, we also find agents with the names Amenemuia and Amenhotep (subordinates of the *sem*-priest and Usermaʿatrenakht respectively) working for other institutions: the temple of Amonrasonter and the “House of Ramesses II in the House of Amun” (column 22, line 8; column 44, line 4). In these cases, the institutions the agents were working for are all Theban temples. This makes it plausible that they are indeed identical, although it is no proof.

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 131 and 134; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 102-103, 134-135 (with note 5). For the equation of the titles *im.y-r pr* “steward” and *ʿ3 n pr* “superior of the house”, see chapter VIII, § 2.

<sup>2</sup> Heading in section III col. 53, l. 26, and omitted in section IV, where the two relevant paragraphs (§§ 229 and 230) were added later to the right of column 82.

<sup>3</sup> As was stated by Helck, *Materialien* III, (482).

The same is true for some of the higher officials who are in charge of fields of Medinet Habu. The steward Usermaʿatrenakht has repeatedly been referred to, but besides his duties to the temple of Amonrasonter (column 21, line 33; column 44, line 4; column 75, line 3), he was also responsible for fields of the "House of Ramesses II in the House of Amun" (column 59, line 46). The overseer of cattle of the temple of Ramesses III, Ramose, supervised some fields of Amonrasonter (column 44, line 42); moreover, he seems to have been responsible for *khato*-lands (column 61, line 34; column 74, line 5, although the first reference is quite problematic). The overseer of cattle of Amun Ramessesnakht was also in charge of a domain of the "harem" (*hnr.t*) of Memphis (column 101, line 19), as well as domains of Amonrasonter (column 45, line 32; column 75, line 11). It appears that on a higher level responsibilities for different institutions could be held by the same person.

The apportioning fields of the Medinet Habu temple "in the Tract of Hardai" were quite numerous as well, but from these lands it received fewer revenues than the temple of Ramesses V received from its apportioning fields, as can be seen in table A. It is also surprising to see that the temple of Ramesses III possessed only one small herbage domain, and that domains producing "food for white goats" are lacking altogether. It did possess, however, a non-apportioning domain that produced food for donkeys of the "Northern Oasis" (§ 222). It is clear that by far the greater part of its revenues came from non-apportioning domains, the extent of which surpassed that of any other institution mentioned in this document.

#### THE OLDER TEMPLES

The modest size of the domains left in the possession of the temple of Ramesses II (the Ramesseum) and the Eighteenth Dynasty temple is in sharp contrast with the institutions described above. The Ramesseum (table 10 D) had only one tiny non-apportioning domain (incorrectly announced in column 53, line 45 as belonging to the temple of Medinet Habu), which was administered by the despatch-writer of the king, just like some of the non-apportioning fields of the temple of Ramesses III. He was assisted by the deputy Horemua, who is found only with this institution. In addition to the 25 sacks supplied by this domain, the Ramesseum received over 60 sacks from its apportioning domains, which we find throughout sections II-IV. Moreover, it had quite extensive herbage domains, as opposed to the temples discussed previously: for both the temples of Ramesses III and Ramesses V, only one herbage domain is recorded, whereas the Ramesseum has one in each of the four sections of text A. It had one domain providing "food for white goats" as well. These domains, however, were all of the apportioning type, so that the revenues received from them were relatively small. The yearly revenues of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple as recorded by the Wilbour Papyrus (table 10 E), coming exclusively from apportioning fields, were almost negligible. No central administration is recorded for this temple because it had no domains of the non-apportioning type.

From this survey of the administration of the fields of Theban memorial temples it is clear that the temple of Ramesses V presents us with the ideal structure comprising

all the necessary elements of institutionally owned fields, whereas the older temples each show a more specific profile, created by historical factors, the impact of which was different in each particular case. The general rule “the older, the poorer” is violated by the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, which appears to be the richest landowner even some forty years after its foundation. Even in this particular case, however, we cannot exclude the possibility that the temple had already lost part of its land.

A very important observation is that in the high-level administration of the temples’ non-apportioning domains, the personnel of the institutions themselves generally played a minor role. The most prominent places seem to be occupied by the high priest of Amun and by various high royal functionaries. Nor does one particular person serve one particular institution only: some of the high officials (*ht*-level), as well as some of their agents (*m dr.t*-level), are attested for more than one institution. No responsible official is recorded for the administration of apportioning fields on behalf of the temples. If there was any such authority at all, it must have been of no relevance to the scribes of text A.

#### THE *POSH* OBLIGATIONS AND REVENUES OF THE THEBAN MEMORIAL TEMPLES

Some remarks are still required on the *posh* and similar entries occurring in the paragraphs on the temples discussed. The *posh* entries found among the assessment-lines of the Theban memorial temples show a variety of other institutions, as is the case with any landholding unit in text A. Following the generally accepted explanation of the entries as being concerned with fields jointly cultivated by two institutions (in the form of hired-out land or personnel, whatever the exact basis: as we have seen, explaining the entries is no easy task), this means that the temples could co-operate with virtually any other landowning institution. For most of the “secular” institutions (royal *min.t*- and *khato*-lands, harems, the royal treasury) only non-apportioning domains are recorded, so it is no surprise that only temples appear in *posh* entries of type A in the non-apportioning paragraphs of the Theban memorial temples. The *posh*-B entries, occurring in the apportioning paragraphs, show a greater variety of co-operating institutions: apart from the temples, we find the royal treasury,<sup>1</sup> *min.t*- and *khato*-domains,<sup>2</sup> the mysterious “second” and “third” houses,<sup>3</sup> a “harem” domain,<sup>4</sup> and even a private foundation: the “staff” (*mꜣwꜣ*) of the vizier Rahotep.<sup>5</sup> The Theban memorial temples thus had institutions of various types as payers of *posh* shares, and the profit obtained from these was duly recorded together with the revenues of their own apportioning domains.

<sup>1</sup> With the temple of Ramesses V: 46, 46-49.

<sup>2</sup> Temple of Ramesses V: 46, 3, 38 (as well as in the part of text A that is lost, judging from *posh*-A entries recorded for non-apportioning domains of *min.t* and *khato*: 20, 4; 21, 8, 15); Ramesses III (also to be reconstructed from *posh*-A entries): 20, 30; 21, 7.

<sup>3</sup> Temple of Ramesses V: 27, 8; Ramesses III: 32, 7. See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 22.

<sup>4</sup> Temple of Ramesses III: 19, 25 (corresponding *posh*-A).

<sup>5</sup> With the temple of Ramesses V, according to a *posh*-A entry under the name of the “staff”: 9, 21. See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 18.

Among the temples occurring in *posh* entries of both types, we also encounter other Theban memorial temples. Thus, the temple of Ramesses III (briefly referred to as “the temple in the House of Amun”) paid a share of the produce of one of its non-apportioning fields, far away in Middle Egypt, for using land or personnel belonging to the temple of Ramesses V.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, it received a *posh* payment from the temple of Ramesses IV because one of its fields was cultivated, or its personnel used, by that temple.<sup>2</sup> Other Theban temples are found as *posh* partners as well; even the Karnak temple of Amonrasonter (briefly referred to as the “House of Amun”) is among them. The temples of Ramesses III and IV owed an amount of grain to it for cultivating some of its fields.<sup>3</sup> The reverse situation is not attested: the temple of Amonrasonter does not appear in any *posh* entry of type B.<sup>4</sup> As Gardiner suggested, this may be due to the fact that the temple had only a few small non-apportioning domains at its disposal.<sup>5</sup> Although its *posh* relations with other temples were thus only one-way traffic, its role as a receiver of the shares involved shows the Karnak temple as a “business-partner”, rather than a supervisor, of other Theban temple estates.

#### THE DONATION ENTRIES

Entries of similar types are found also in the apportioning paragraphs of Theban memorial temples: the *posh* entries of type C, pertaining to minor cults, which require no further remarks here,<sup>6</sup> and the donation (*hnk*) entries. The latter, probably representing donations by wealthy individuals to the cults of royal statues, would be of equally small relevance if it were not for Gardiner’s idea that they were connected with four small non-apportioning domains belonging to “the God of Userma’atre Meriamun (Ramesses III)” (§§ 71-74).<sup>7</sup> These four domains are mentioned in section II, between the Theban “House of Haremhab” and the Eighteenth Dynasty temple.<sup>8</sup> Gardiner associated them with domains of the “protected image (*sšm ḥwi*) of Userma’atre Meriamun (Ramesses III)” recorded in section III (§§ 141-143) and “the Protected Image of Pharaoh I.p.h.” in section IV (§ 235).<sup>9</sup> The domains of both cult-images precede the enumeration of Heliopolitan temples and are separated from the foregoing

<sup>1</sup> *Posh*-A: 30, 4, 9; 50, 42; corresponding *posh*-B: 28, 21, 25; 48, 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Posh*-A of that temple: 49, 31; corresponding *posh*-B: 52, 32-33.

<sup>3</sup> Temple of Ramesses III, *posh*-A: 79, 25; corresponding *posh*-B: 75, 52. Temple of Ramesses IV, *posh*-A: 29, 7, 10, 16; corresponding *posh*-B: 24, 6-8, 15-16, 35-36.

<sup>4</sup> In the one case that at first sight seems to be an exception to this rule, “House of Amun” is a short, or rather an incorrect, reference to the temple of Ramesses III (frequently referred to as “the temple in the House of Amun”); *posh*-A: 78, 49; corresponding *posh*-B: 83, 15-16. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 73-74.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup> See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 59 and 90; Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 147-150. Of the 37 occurrences of this type in text A, 10 are found in the apportioning domains of Theban memorial temples. Ramesses V: 26, 11; 27, 48; 46, 7, 14; 78, 14; Ramesses III: 31, 18; 80, 27, 45; Ramesses II: 82, 47; Eighteenth Dynasty temple: 54, 27.

<sup>7</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 16-17, 86-87.

<sup>8</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus I*, pl. 15 (col. 33, ll. 1-15); III, 34.

<sup>9</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus I*, pls. 26 and 40; III, 57-58, 88. *Sšm ḥwi* is translated by Gardiner as “Tabernacle” (Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 16 and 17).

Theban temples by the domain of one provincial temple. The domains of the “god” of Ramesses III and those of the “protected image” thus occur in comparable positions in the text, and Gardiner suggested that they all “refer to one and the same cult-object, namely the *sšm-ḥw* of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu”.<sup>1</sup>

What Gardiner had in mind was one of the central cult-objects, perhaps even the principal cult-object, of the Medinet Habu temple: as we have seen in Part One, the “protected image” (*sšm ḥwi*) of the king is mentioned in the calendar lists, together with Amun and his retinue, the “Ennead”, as one of the regular recipients of daily and festival offerings in the memorial temple.<sup>2</sup> The image was probably a statue of the king, of Amun, or both, concealed from the eyes of the public in a miniature ship that was carried by priests in processions. In the Great Harris Papyrus, however, *sšm ḥwi* appears in a different context: as a reference to the cult-statues that were the objects of private endowments economically attached to (“on the *sdf*” of) the temple of Amonrasonter.<sup>3</sup> The statues in the Harris Papyrus are at the same time called “gods” (*ntr.w*). It follows that in the Wilbour Papyrus also, the “god” (*ntr*) of Ramesses III may be, but is not necessarily, identical with the “protected image” (*sšm ḥwi*) of Ramesses III. On the other hand, it is clear from the Harris Papyrus that both expressions may refer also to privately founded cults of royal statues, instead of the king’s statue as one of the main cult-objects in a royal memorial temple. In other words, Gardiner’s conjecture about the paragraphs pertaining to the “god” and to the “protected image” of Ramesses III in text A may not be correct.

The presumed identity of the “protected image” (*sšm ḥwi*) of Ramesses III and the cult-image called “god” (*ntr*) is not supported by their context. That “protected image of Pharaoh” in section IV (§ 235) refers to a statue of Ramesses III is beyond doubt because of a corresponding set of *posh-A* and *posh-B* entries, the latter specifying the *sšm ḥwi* as that of Ramesses III.<sup>4</sup> But why would the scribe have referred to the same statue as the “god” of Ramesses III in section II (§§ 71-74)?<sup>5</sup> The word *sšm ḥwi*, moreover, is actually used in section II, but in another context: for the image of the god Re in “the farm (? *bḥn*) of Merire” (§ 78). In view of the fact that the scribe chose a different word for the statue of Ramesses III in the same section (§§ 71-74: “the god”), there may be a difference between the two terms.

Moreover, there is no evidence for the hypothesis that the domains of the “god” of Ramesses III were connected with the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. The four domains in section II (§§ 71-74) were all under the authority (*r ḥt*) of high functionaries, without representation by agents or deputies on a lower level. The

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 17.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter I (p. 46) and chapter II, § 4 (p. 74).

<sup>3</sup> P. Harris I 11, 1; 67, 5. See chapters V (§ 2, p. 153) and VI (§ 3, p. 170), and Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 55-57 (note 222).

<sup>4</sup> *Posh-A*: 83, 29; corresponding *posh-B*: 86, 4-5; although the amounts do not match: Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 102 (c).

<sup>5</sup> The difference of idiom cannot be explained as the practice of different scribes: text A has been written by two scribes, but the paragraphs discussed here were all written by the one and the same person, as follows from Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 5.

functionaries mentioned are probably not only the administrators, but also the (private) founders of these domains, just like the persons introduced by (*r*) *ht* in the donation (*hnk*) entries (see above, § 1). The only formal connection of the domains with the temple of Ramesses III was a *posh* relationship, as expressed by two *posh*-A entries in §§ 73 and 74 and two corresponding donation (*hnk*) entries.<sup>1</sup> Rather than associating the private domains with the temple, this relation emphasizes that they were separate institutions paying each other. Moreover, *posh* relations did not involve the Medinet Habu temple exclusively: according to a *posh*-A entry in § 71, a similar relationship existed with a temple of Thoth.<sup>2</sup> All this still leaves open the possibility that the private foundations had actually been made for the king's statue in the Medinet Habu temple, but this would have the curious implication that a temple had a business relationship (*posh*) with one of its own central cult-objects as a separate administrative unit. Paragraphs 71-74 do not mention officials attached to the temple of Ramesses III; nor do they mention any functionary who to our knowledge was supervising domains of that temple.

What, then, about the donation (*hnk*) entries, which are all devoted to “the god(s) of Pharaoh” (*p3 ntr/n3 ntr.w n Pr-ꜥ3*)? Apart from the two pairs of *posh*-A and *hnk* entries mentioned above, there is nothing except—again—the idiom that associates these entries with the small non-apportioning domains dedicated to “the god of Pharaoh”, or “the god of Ramesses III”.

Two curious facts remain as yet unexplained: (1) the *posh*-A entries of §§ 73 and 74 are the only lines corresponding to donation entries in the entire text—the remaining 35 *hnk* entries stand isolated; (2) the *posh*-A entry of § 71 is matched by a *posh*-B entry and not by a *hnk*: is this because the *posh* relationship was with a temple of Thoth, and not with Medinet Habu, as in the above two cases? Although these circumstances somehow indicate a special relationship between the domains of the “god” of Ramesses III (or another king) and the memorial temple at Medinet Habu, it seems to me that in this case also, it is precisely the *posh* relations that emphasize their being mutually independent—at least as independent as all other institutions recorded in text A may be. It is for this reason that Menu expressed her doubts about the connection between the *hnk* entries and the domains of the “god of Pharaoh”, which in her opinion might also refer to the living king.<sup>3</sup> On the other hand, she assumed with Gardiner that the “god of Ramesses III” was a foundation dependent on the Medinet Habu temple, and she supported this assumption by her explanation of corresponding *posh* entries: the fields of the god of Ramesses III in §§ 73 and 74 would have been cultivated by personnel of Medinet Habu. As was argued above, however, this explanation of *posh* relations is not necessarily correct. Moreover, the domains of the “god” had the same kind of relations with other institutions as with the temple of Thoth in column 33, line 4. I conclude from this that neither the donation entries, nor the domains of the “god” of Ramesses III or the reigning king, were specifically associated with the Theban

<sup>1</sup> *Posh*-A: 33, 11 and 15; corresponding *hnk* entries: 30, 25; 31, 8. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus I*, pls. 14 and 15; III, 31, 32, and 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Posh*-A: 33, 4; *posh*-B: 38, 20 and 21. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus I*, pls. 15 and 18; III, 34 and 40.

<sup>3</sup> Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 150-154.

memorial temple of Ramesses III. The donation entries figure in the paragraphs pertaining to the domains of the Medinet Habu temple as in those of any other institution. They are therefore not of particular relevance to this study.

### § 3 - P. WILBOUR, TEXT B: INTRODUCTION

#### THE STRUCTURE OF THE TEXT

Text B appears to be somewhat less complicated than A, but it is by no means entirely clear.<sup>1</sup> Every line, starting with *sww (n)* “region (of)”, deals with a specific plot of *khato*-land (*h3-t3*), which lies “on the fields” (*hr 3h.w.t*) of a certain institution. The plots in question are located in the same part of Egypt as the fields of text A. The lines are grouped in paragraphs (so called and numbered by Gardiner), each with a heading mentioning the official responsible for a particular set of plots. With the exception of the first six paragraphs, which all mention the steward Usermaʿatrenakht as the man in charge, every paragraph represents the responsibility of a different person. The officials are introduced by the preposition (*r*) *ht* “under the authority of”, while assisting functionaries are sometimes mentioned as well, introduced by *m dr.t* “by the hand of”.<sup>2</sup> In about 50% of the paragraph-headings, especially the later ones, we find local priests (*hm-ntr* “god’s servant”) as the supreme administrators (introduced by (*r*) *ht*). In some paragraphs, even “agents” (*rwd.w*) are mentioned as such, a fact that once again indicates the relative hierarchy expressed by the preposition (*r*) *ht*: the preposition does not indicate officials of a specific *échelon*, but simply the highest in charge in a particular context.

Within the paragraphs, lines are sometimes connected because the plots they describe lie “on the fields” (*hr 3h.w.t*) of the same institution (often a temple). On its second and further occurrences such an institution is referred to as “this house” (*pr pn*), although this practice is not strictly adhered to. The order of the institutions, for that matter, does not seem to be very strict, either.<sup>3</sup> The *h3-t3*-fields thus seem to be organized in two ways: in the first place by the officials who had authority over them, and in the second place by the institutions that had them “on their fields”. No doubt the personnel of the institutions recorded were in some way responsible for the fields in question, although this is never mentioned explicitly. The ultimate responsibility, however, lay with the official(s) mentioned in the paragraph headings.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From the commentaries mentioned on p. 283, note 1, the most relevant with regard to text B are Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 159-196, and H. W. Fairman, *JEA* 39 (1953), 118-123.

<sup>2</sup> §§ 9 and 14 (scribes), 12 (district-scribe), and 26 (god’s servant).

<sup>3</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 172.

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 164.

## THE RELATIVE DATES OF TEXTS A AND B

The date of text B is lost.<sup>1</sup> However, from the names and responsibilities of the people mentioned in it, which partly correspond to those of text A, it follows that it must have been composed at a slightly earlier date. We can infer something about the time interval between the two documents by comparing mentions of identical officials occurring in them. The overseer of cattle of Medinet Habu Hori was out of office in text A (column 53, line 27), but he was still in it in text B (column 21, line 30). Even if doubts exist about these two entries being concerned with one and the same individual, there is no room for doubt in the case of the mayor of Hardai, Neferabet, who was still alive in text B (column 17, line 13), and appears to be dead in A (column 56, lines 46 and 47).<sup>2</sup> How much time had passed between these two dates cannot be ascertained; a general impression is only moderately helpful, when we see that of the 62 officials mentioned by name in text B, only 18 can still be found in A.<sup>3</sup> Of course, we must also take into account that shifts in rank and function may have been taking place. The titles of six persons mentioned in text B occur in text A with other names, and it is perhaps possible that in some of these cases, the officials known from text B had been replaced when text A was drawn up.<sup>4</sup> A more cogent case is that of the overseer of cattle Ramose. This official, who had been attached to the memorial temple of Ramesses III, is reported as “dead” in text B (column 18, line 18), but as “dead” he is likewise mentioned in the later text A (column 53, line 36)—provided, of course, that the two are really identical, which is almost a certainty. The vacancy for such an important function, reported in *both* texts, cannot have existed for a long period. We still cannot pinpoint the interval to a definite period, but it is obvious that the administrators would not continue referring to the same dead official for a long time.

A further observation adds to the uncertainty about the difference of date between the two texts: text B does not contain any explicit reference to temples or other foundations of Ramesses IV and V. As a matter of fact, the names of these kings do not

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<sup>1</sup> If it was indicated at all in the heading of col. 1. See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus I*, pl. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 165.

<sup>3</sup> In their order of appearance in text B: the steward Usermaʿatrenakht (1, 2), the standard-bearer Merenptah (10, 2), the scribe Sobekhotep (16, 9; same person in A?), the mayor Neferabet (17, 3; dead according to text A), the overseers of cattle Pketjen (17, 26) and Ramose (18, 18; dead in A en B), the prophet of Seth Huy (19, 28), the prophet of Sobek Ramesses-userkhepes (20, 23), the prophet (of Sobek?) Sel (21, 7); the overseer of cattle Hori (21, 30), the prophet of Montu Pinhas (22, 7), the prophet of Hathor Hori (22, 21), the overseers of cattle Ashaʿemhab (23, 35) and Sem (24, 5), the prophet of Bata Kanefer (24, 11), the prophet of Amun Hori (24, 16), the agent Userhat (25, 1), and the prophet of Sobek Ptahmose (25, 21). Their positions in text A can be found by means of the index of proper names in Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus IV*, 1-34.

<sup>4</sup> The prophet Amenemuia, probably of Sobek (21, 7), is not found in A, but that text mentions a prophet of Sobek called Hori, who is not attested in text B. Similarly, other persons might have taken the place of the prophet of Nephthys Penpamer (22, 10), the prophet of the sunshade Haunefer (23, 4), the prophet of Nemty Hori (24, 8), the agent Penpaiu (25, 3), and the scribe of the House of Amun Amenhotep (25, 21).

appear at all in text B.<sup>1</sup> This would be nicely explained by the assumption that text B was not composed later than the end of the reign of Ramesses III. The difference between the dates of A and B would then be 10 years or more (the reign length of Ramesses IV being six years, and text A being dated to the fourth regnal year of Ramesses V), but that possibility seems to be virtually excluded: if not because of the fact that the personnel recorded in both texts are “so much the same”, as Gardiner noted, at least a major objection is presented by the twofold occurrence of the deceased Ramose. To these points a practical consideration can still be added: if text B had been composed during the reign of Ramesses III, the scribe would have copied a text more than 10 years old for administrative purposes, although a number of important foundations by Ramesses IV and V were absent from it. On the other hand, it remains obscure to what degree text B was up to date at all (see below).

Although composed at an earlier date, the text was written later on the papyrus (*verso*) than A: its last columns are written over the washed-off columns of a text (C) that followed A (see figure 1 in section 1). It seems likely that the text was copied from an earlier record, probably in order to check its information against the actual state of affairs. The additions in red found after most of the lines would then be the result of this action.<sup>2</sup> From the fact that the last columns of A, as well as those of C following it, were washed off, it follows that these texts were no longer of importance by the time B was copied.

#### *KHATO*-FIELDS IN TEXTS A AND B

As text A also records *khato*-fields, it seems logical to look for possible correspondences in location of the plots and responsible functionaries in both texts. In general, however, the plots of *khato* of text A and those of B are not the same. Some examples have already been referred to in section 1 above (the lands under the authority of the steward Userma‘atrenakht). The most efficient way to look for corresponding plots is to compare plots of *khato* in texts A and B that are under the responsibility of the same official, and for which *posh* entries are recorded in the non-apportioning paragraphs of text A. Gardiner collected 24 examples of such correspondences (besides 16 without *posh* entries), and assumed that in most of these cases text A and B both refer to the same plot.<sup>3</sup> However, a careful check of the place-names and orientations given for these fields reveals that they are literally or almost literally the same in only twelve cases (Gardiner’s examples 1, 2, 4, 5, 8, 10, 11, 17, 19, 21-23), whereas different orientations occur five times (3, 12, 15, 16, 18,<sup>4</sup> 24), and additional phrases are met

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 168 and 169. The royal names attested in text B are those of Haremhab, Ramesses II, Merenptah, and Ramesses III; see Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* IV, 63-66. A possible reference to a temple of Ramesses V is 19, 16 (“the temple of Pharaoh”), but this is a later addition in red.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 165, 183, and 184.

<sup>3</sup> *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 169-172.

<sup>4</sup> In example 18, the plots can hardly be the same: in A 74, 1, the plot of *khato* is said to lie “to the northwest of Seseny”, and in 58, 11 to the north of that place; whereas in B 17, 30, the plot regarded as corresponding to that in A is situated “to the east of Seseny”.

with in either A or B (but not the same in both) in the remaining cases. Adding to these irregularities the facts that in examples 20-24 the institutions mentioned in the *posh* entries of text A and those recorded in text B are not the same, and that correspondences can also be found in cases where these entries are absent (examples 25-40), it would seem that Gardiner's conclusion "that the relation expressed by the formula 'on the fields of' in Text B is the same relation as presupposed in the *pôsh*-entries of Text A", though attractive in itself, is perhaps not entirely sound.<sup>1</sup> In other words: are plots of *khato* "on the fields" (*hr ʒh.w.t*) of a temple really always the same as fields of which the revenues are shared between that temple and the institution called *khato*? It cannot be denied that they *are* the same in some cases: this is demonstrated by plots for which the same acreage is recorded in texts A and B.<sup>2</sup> On the other hand, if shared cultivation (*pš*) and being "on the fields" of another institution were really the same, we should expect to find more, if not all, of the *khato*-fields of text B also in text A. It seems to me that we cannot exclude the possibility that at least in many of Gardiner's examples 1-24, the plots mentioned in texts A and B were in fact neighbouring fields.

A possible explanation for the fact that the fields recorded in texts A and B are the same in some of Gardiner's examples, whereas in others they are not, is the assumption that the status of a number of fields had changed between the dates of text B and the later text A. The change would be the following: a *khato*-field was initially "on the fields" of an institution, forming part of its estate on the condition that part of the revenues was paid to a *khato*-supervisor. In this capacity it would appear in text B. After some time it could become "autonomous" *khato*, the institution in question no longer having it on its fields (perhaps because it was no longer able to cultivate the field effectively?),<sup>3</sup> but still sharing in its cultivation in those cases where a *posh* entry is given in text A. In other cases (Gardiner's examples 25-40), the fields became totally separated from the estates they once belonged to. Usually, however, they remained under the authority of the same official, who was now controlling what had become part of a separate *khato*-domain, and as such the plot appeared in text A. Such a development, however, is purely hypothetical, and presupposes a fairly rapid shift of status for the fields in question.

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<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 171.

<sup>2</sup> For examples see: Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 169; H.W. Fairman, *JEA* 39 (1953), 121. Fairman demonstrated that in *posh*-B entries the area assessed is always expressed, for administrative purposes, in terms of "fresh land" (*nḥb*). The areas recorded in the corresponding entries of text B are often twice as large as expected, because they are expressed in "high land" (*qʒy.t*), the yield of which is only half that of "fresh land". The areas were, in fact, the same. Many, but certainly not all, of the cases which Gardiner regarded as "anomalies" can be explained in this way.

<sup>3</sup> In keeping with Gardiner's suggestion (*Wilbour Papyrus II*, 189 and 210), that *khato* could revert to the Crown if not properly cultivated by the institution to which it had been entrusted.

## THE PURPOSE OF TEXT B

The ultimate purpose of text B is obscure.<sup>1</sup> As with text A, the authority responsible for its composition remains anonymous. What is clear is that a specific official or department needed a register of *khato*-fields that were situated on the estates of various institutions. The main concern of the scribe was the areas which were recorded at the end of every line, and adjusted after the text had been copied on the papyrus: the size of many *khato*-fields had either diminished or increased since the original text had been written. As many lines end in a series of numbers, there may have been different consecutive registrations.<sup>2</sup> At the end of each paragraph a total is introduced by the word *dmd*. These totals include the relevant red figures, but it is not always clear exactly which figures were relevant to the scribe. In some cases, and in all paragraphs from 34 onwards, no numbers were filled in after *dmd*, although some of their assessment-lines had additions in red. Only in some paragraph-headings do we find an amount of grain (in hundreds or thousands of sacks) added in black, although sometimes the space after  $\bar{\text{f}}$  remains empty (e.g. in §§ 17 and 23). The meaning of these amounts is not entirely clear; Gardiner suggested that they represent the “sowing order” (*ts pr.t*), which was the amount of grain required from the official or institution responsible for the land at the beginning of the agricultural season. Obviously, these amounts were of no concern to the scribe.

The survey of text B can never have included all *khato*-fields located in the region it covered:<sup>3</sup> as we have seen above, the correspondence with the same type of lands in text A is minimal, so that *khato* “on the fields” of institutions in text B and the *khato*-domains of text A may have been completely different administrative categories. Therefore, text B probably records only *khato* of a specific administrative status, and we may even ask whether the record is complete in this respect: were there no *khato*-plots on the fields of the temples of Ramesses IV and V? A possible reference to the latter could be “the temple of Pharaoh” in column 19, line 16 (§ 21), but this expression occurs in only one later addition to the text. Gardiner wondered if the expression “fields of Pharaoh” might perhaps refer to the lands of the Theban temple of Ramesses V.<sup>4</sup> This topic will be taken up again in the following section. Meanwhile, the question as to what extent text B was up to date or representative at the time it was copied on the papyrus must remain unanswered, and this poses heavy restrictions on the information that can be obtained from this document.

What was *khato*-land? In Old and Middle Kingdom texts the word stands for a measure of area: *ḥ3-t3* literally means “thousand (of) land”; that is, one thousand land-cubits or 10 *aroura*, and in that sense it is still found in some texts from the Ramesside

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 183-187.

<sup>2</sup> H.W. Fairman suggested that the figures “cover about four successive years”: *JEA* 39 (1953), 122.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. H.W. Fairman, *JEA* 39 (1953), 120-123, who assumed that text B is a complete register of *ḥ3-t3*-fields, but that it does not give their full acreage.

<sup>4</sup> *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 168 and 169.

period.<sup>1</sup> However, by that time it had also become a name for a specific type of royal land in administrative documents, such as P. Wilbour. The word remained in use in later periods, but it seems to have lost its specific New Kingdom meaning again.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps the strict administrative notion of royal land is absent also in ceremonial texts from the New Kingdom, as for instance the speech by Ramesses III to Atum-Re-Harakhty in P. Harris I:

(column 27, line 12) I made *ḥ3-t3*-land for You anew with pure grain. I doubled their fields that lay waste in order to double the divine offering in large amounts for Your august and beloved name.<sup>3</sup>

although it is not impossible that reference is actually being made to *khato*-fields as included in the temple estate, which, as we will see in the following section, formed no small part of the temple's regular base of income. In the conclusion of his commentary to text B, Gardiner could not describe *ḥ3-t3* as a New Kingdom administrative term more precisely than: "(a kind of royal land) which, though represented as in the possession of temples, had temporarily reverted to the Crown, or was not yet in full possession of its potential owners".<sup>4</sup> In his postscript, he gave some further considerations on the term as it occurs in other documents: P. Valençay 1, the Turin Taxation Papyrus, and the Griffith fragments.<sup>5</sup> In P. Valençay 1, the mayor of Elephantine is apparently held responsible for the cultivation and revenues of *khato*. In the Turin Taxation Papyrus, corn from *khato*-fields is collected from various temples by a "state" official (the scribe of the royal necropolis at Thebes). According to the Griffith fragments, institutions had to make payments out of their crops either to the granary of the House of Amun or to the *khato* of Pharaoh (see below, section 5). In that document, *khato* is twice said to be under the authority of the "chief taxing master" (*ꜥ3 n št*), who is not, however, said to be the collector of *khato*-revenues. The "chief taxing-master" was also the addressee of P. Valençay 1. In sum, the essential aspects of *khato*-land seem to be: (1) that it was located "on the fields" of various institutions, especially temples (although domains of the same name appear as separate institutions in text A), probably in order to be cultivated by these institutions;<sup>6</sup> (2) that it was administered by an official or priest, who was personally responsible for its cultivation and its revenues; (3) that these revenues, or part of them, had to be paid to an institution different from those having *khato* on their fields.

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 166; F.Ll. Griffith, *PSBA* 14 (1892), 411-413.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 166 and 167; D. Meeks, *Le Grand Texte des Donations au Temple d'Edfou (Bibliothèque d'Étude 59)*, Cairo 1972, 6 (note 9).

<sup>3</sup> Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 32; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 261. In the great donation-text at Edfu, we find a similar statement by the king to Horus: "I increase Your *ḥ3-n-t3*-lands in order to make their produce (*ḥr.t-sn*)"; E. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou VII (Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire 24)*, Cairo 1932, 251, ll. 1 and 2; D. Meeks, *op.cit.*, 4 with note 9.

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 189.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 205-210.

<sup>6</sup> A fragmentary papyrus from regnal year 16 of Ramesses III mentions a number of persons, possibly including personnel of the king's Theban memorial temple, who were cultivating "the great *khato*-lands of Pharaoh [l.p.h.]" (*n3 ḥ3-n-t3.w ꜥ3.y n Pr-ꜥ3* [*ꜥ.w.s.*]) in the Nile delta: P. MMA 3569 + Vienna 38[3934/3937] rt., text A, col. 1 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 269).

§ 4 - INFORMATION ON THEBAN ROYAL MEMORIAL TEMPLES FROM P. WILBOUR,  
TEXT B

## THE ROYAL MEMORIAL TEMPLES IN TEXT B

Among the names of institutions having plots of *khato*-land on their fields, there are several expressions that are likely to refer to memorial temples in Western Thebes.<sup>1</sup> First of all, there is the frequent mentioning of “the Temple in the House of Amun” (*t3 ḥw.t m pr Ḳmn*). The occasional expressions “the Temple in(?) the West of Thebes” (*t3 ḥw.t Ḳmnt.t W3s.t*) and “House of Amun (in?) the West of Thebes” (*pr Ḳmn Ḳmnt.t {m} W3s.t*), and once even “the Temple (*t3 ḥw.t*), may be merely different ways of referring to the same institution. Once, we find “the [temple] of Pharaoh l.p.h.” (*t3 [ḥw.t] Pr-Ḳ3 Ḳ.w.s.*) in a later addition to the text. The reference “fields of Pharaoh” was also considered by Gardiner as a possible reference to fields of a royal memorial temple, although with reservations.

“The Temple in the House of Amun” is frequently attested also in text A, where it is an abbreviation for the full name of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. It is referred to there in an even shorter way as “the Temple”, which is also the usual term for the Theban temple of Ramesses III in the papyri and ostraca from Western Thebes.<sup>2</sup> It is also found as such in the Medinet Habu calendar lists, just like the reference to “the Temple in the House of Amun”.<sup>3</sup> If the scribe of text B followed this apparently general administrative practice, “the Temple”, or “the Temple in the House of Amun” would always refer to the temple of Ramesses III. We would expect an administrative document to employ the same term when referring to the same institution, or at least to try to exclude ambiguities, such as might arise if “the temple in the House of Amun” referred to the temples of different kings. For these reasons, I assume that the expression, as well as its variants “the temple”, “the temple in the West of Thebes”, and “House of Amun in the West of Thebes”, all refer to the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. This seems to be the only Theban memorial temple that was relevant to this document, with the exception of a single possible reference to the temple of the reigning king (Ramesses V) in column 19, line 16.<sup>4</sup>

## THE “FIELDS OF PHARAOH”

The expression “Fields of Pharaoh” (*3ḥ.w.t Pr-Ḳ3*) has been referred to twice already. Gardiner’s assumption that this might be a reference to the Theban temple of the reigning king (Ramesses IV or V) is supported only by two pairs of apparently corresponding entries in texts A and B (Gardiner’s examples 4 and 16).<sup>5</sup> According to

<sup>1</sup> See the index of landowning institutions in text B: Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus IV*, 63-66.

<sup>2</sup> J. Cerný, *JEA* 26 (1940), 127-130.

<sup>3</sup> *Medinet Habu III*, pl. 152, col. 553; pls. 162 and 163, l. 1285.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 317, note 1.

<sup>5</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 169 and 170.

his theory about the correspondence of *khato*-fields in texts A and B, this would mean that in these two cases, *khato* on the fields of Pharaoh (text B) was the same as *khato* having a *posh* obligation to the temple of Ramesses V in Western Thebes (text A). The location of the fields may be the same in both examples. Let us look at Gardiner's first example (no. 4): in text A, the Theban memorial temple of Ramesses V receives a *posh* share from the *khato*-administration over a field situated "in the basin (*hnm*) of Sharope, (in) the Sycamore Lake",<sup>1</sup> while the same plot (referred to as *khato* "on the fields of Pharaoh") would be "in the Sycamore Lake" according to text B.<sup>2</sup> In the second example (Gardiner's no. 16), the cardinal points are slightly divergent: in text A, the field in question is located "to the south-east of Nayroti" (*posh*-A), or "to the south-west of this place (= Nayroti), to the south of the House of Ramose" (*posh*-B).<sup>3</sup> The presumably corresponding field in text B is said to lie "[in?] the Lake of Pharaoh, to the south of Nayroti".<sup>4</sup> This divergence is perhaps not intolerable—it also occurs with the clearly corresponding entries of text A—but it does not make this example a particularly strong proof for the equation of the plots in texts A and B, either. It has been pointed out already in the previous section that the locations of presumably corresponding entries in texts A and B are exactly the same in only a minority of cases. Therefore, the fields in question were perhaps not really identical, although in both texts they are fields cultivated on behalf of the *khato*-administration, and in both texts perhaps under the authority of the same official.<sup>5</sup> In fact, Gardiner considered an alternative to the second example (example 21), in which the location is literally the same, but the corresponding institution would be an entirely different one: a temple of Thoth.<sup>6</sup>

As it is highly questionable that the correspondences between texts A and B always refer to the same fields, Gardiner's theory that "Fields of Pharaoh" is a short reference to the Theban temple of the reigning king lacks support from the texts of the Wilbour Papyrus themselves. Text A even presents evidence to the contrary, by mentioning "Fields of Pharaoh" as a separate institution in its paragraph-headings.<sup>7</sup> In no other document, moreover, is the expression "Fields of Pharaoh" used as a reference to temple fields. In view of these considerations, it seems best to exclude the the land referred to as "Fields of Pharaoh" from the present discussion.

<sup>1</sup> Text A 46, 2 and 3 (*posh*-A) = 73, 5-8 (*posh*-B; here "in the Sycamore Lake (in) the basin (*mḥnm*) of Sharope"). Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I, pls. 21 and 35; III, 48 and 77.

<sup>2</sup> Text B 3, 24. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I, pl. 50; III, 110.

<sup>3</sup> Text A 46, 36-38 (*posh*-A), and 72, 37-39 (*posh*-B). Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I, pls. 21 and 34; III, 49 and 76.

<sup>4</sup> Text B 3, 26. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I, pl. 50; III, 110.

<sup>5</sup> That is, if the anonymous "chief taxing master" in text A is identical with the steward Userma'atrenakht in text B. See above, § 1, pp. 298-300.

<sup>6</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 170 (example no. 21), with notes 5 and 10.

<sup>7</sup> Associated with royal mooring-places: §§ 86, 156, and 242. See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 18.

THE SUPERVISORS OF *KHATO* IN TEXT B

The lines referring to *khato* on fields of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu are found in 18 out of the 65 paragraphs of text B. In paragraphs 3 to 5, they are under the authority of the steward Usermaʿatrenakht (represented by subordinate officials: the scribe Pbes in § 3 and the deputy Hori in § 5). The remaining 15 paragraphs all mention different officials,<sup>1</sup> so that there were together 16 individuals responsible for *khato* on the fields of the temple of Ramesses III, whose relative administrative status was indicated by the preposition (*r*) *ḥt*. Only eight of these can be found also in text A (see previous section):

1. the steward Usermaʿatrenakht, responsible in text A for fields of Medinet Habu<sup>2</sup>
2. the standard-bearer Merenptah (supervisor of *ḥ3-t3*)
3. the mayor of Southern She (anonymous; supervisor of *min.t*- and *ḥ3-t3*-domains)
4. the overseer of cattle Pketjen of the House of Ptah (supervising domains of the temple of Ramesses II in the House of Ptah, as well as *ḥ3-t3*)
5. the overseer of the royal *ip.t* of the *harem* (*hnr.t*) of Moeris (supervisor of *min.t* and *ḥ3-t3*)
6. the prophet of Sobek Ramesses-userkhepesh (private landholder in text A, not in charge of domains)
- 7/8. the overseers of cattle Ramose and Hori of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu (the former responsible for fields of the temple of Ramesses III and for *ḥ3-t3*-domains; the latter only for the temple of Ramesses III).

As can be seen, the majority of these persons, but not all of them, were in charge of *khato*-domains in text A as well as in text B, whereas only some of them had authority over fields of the Theban temple of Ramesses III in A (the steward Usermaʿatrenakht, and the overseers of cattle Ramose and Hori). The tasks of the eight officials recorded in both texts are thus often, but not always, connected with the same institutions: an official could have authority over *khato*-land on the fields of the Theban temple of Ramesses III according to text B, without there being any other obligations to either of the two institutions appearing in text A. From text A it became clear that the fields of a temple

<sup>1</sup> The standard-bearer Merenptah (§ 7); the overseer of fields Hatiay (§ 10); the mayors Muiemwese and Ipuy (§§ 11, 13); the overseers of cattle Pketjen and Ramose (§§ 17, 19); an anonymous overseer of the royal *ip.t* (§ 21); the prophet Hori (§ 22); the steward Ramuia (§ 24); the prophets Ramesses-userkhepesh and Amenemuia (§§ 25, 26); the overseer of cattle Hori (§ 28); the prophets Penpamer, Neferkhaʿu, and Amenope (§§ 30, 39, 52). It is unclear which institution with a name ending with “in the House of Amun” was recorded in 16, 11 (§ 14); see Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I, pl. 63.

<sup>2</sup> Also responsible for *ḥ3-t3*- and *min.t*-domains if he is identical with the anonymous “chief taxing master”, and for fields of the temples of Amonrasonter and Ramesses II at Karnak if the same person was also the anonymous “steward of Amun” (see above, § 1, pp. 298-300).

were not necessarily supervised by its own officials; indeed, more often than not this was performed by “outsiders”. We now see that the same is true for the *khato*-fields entrusted to a temple, which were controlled by a group of functionaries that was only partly the same as the group of people responsible for other fields of *khato* or for those of the temple in question. The structure of text B also makes this clear by listing *khato* on the fields of different institutions under one and the same official.

The overseers of cattle Ramose and Hori are the only officials in text B who were explicitly attached to the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. The paragraph mentioning the former (§ 19) is concerned entirely with *khato* on the fields of this temple,<sup>1</sup> while the paragraph in which Hori is the supervising official (§ 28) starts with one entry recording *khato* on “Fields of Pharaoh” (for which see above), the following six lines again mentioning “the temple in the House of Amun”.<sup>2</sup> Of the other officials, it is only the steward Usermaʿtrenakht, the standard-bearer Merenptah, the overseer of fields Hatiay, the overseer of the royal *ip.t* in Moeris, and the prophet Amenemuia who had authority over five or more plots of *khato* situated on fields of the Medinet Habu temple (the others had only three or less), every one of them also being responsible for *khato* on other domains. That the overseers of cattle in question were exclusively, or almost exclusively, concerned with fields belonging to Medinet Habu, can hardly be a coincidence: this was probably because they were attached to that temple.

Nor will it be by pure chance that all temple fields under their authority are specified as “herbage” (*smw*) or “food for white goats” (*mk ib ḥd*). Helck assumed that the domains supervised by overseers of cattle in text A provided food for animals as well, but that hypothesis is not supported by evidence from the text itself.<sup>3</sup> It seems, however, that text B now provides some support for the idea, although it should be said at once that, just as in text A, the overseers of cattle were not the only officials responsible for this type of land. The overseer of cattle Pketjen was responsible for similar fields belonging to Medinet Habu, but also for “normal” fields of the House of Ptah (§ 17). Since he was attached to the temples of Ptah and Ramesses II in Memphis according to text A,<sup>4</sup> we would also expect him to be mentioned as a supervisor of herbage or white goat fields belonging to one of these two institutions in B, but that is not the case. Nor were the overseers of cattle Plehe, Ashamhab, and Sem in charge of herbage or food for white goats in §§ 27, 42, and 44. Other functionaries who were actually in charge of these special types of field of the temple of Medinet Habu were the steward of the House of Ptah (§ 24) and the prophets of local cults Hori, Penpamer, and Amenope (§§ 22, 30, 52). It is clear that fields providing food for cattle or goats were not controlled exclusively by overseers of cattle of the house in question and, conversely, that overseers of cattle in general were not necessarily concerned with those types of field.

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<sup>1</sup> Assuming that the fields of “food for white goats” in 18, 22-24 also belong to the temple of Ramesses III. Same problem in 19, 25.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus I*, pls. 65, 68 and 69; III, 125 and 126, 129.

<sup>3</sup> Helck, *Materialien III*, (482). See above, p. 309.

<sup>4</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 146 (§ 149).

## KHATO AS A SOURCE OF TEMPLE REVENUES

The fact that *khato*-land could be situated on fields of the temple's "herbage" or "food for white goats" provides us with a valuable clue to the role of *khato* in temple estates. It will be remembered that the *khato*-domains recorded in text A were exclusively of the *non-apportioning* type. The same text records the "herbage" and "food for white goats" domains of various institutions at the end of sections I-III (and originally, no doubt, of section IV as well), and these were *apportioning* domains without exception. The two types of domains are connected in text A by corresponding *posh* entries, and if we are to find a connection between the *khato*-fields with the herbage (=apportioning) domains in text B as well, we can hardly avoid coming back to Gardiner's theory, that the phrase *hr šh.w.t* "on fields of" expresses "the same relation as presupposed in the *pôsh*-entries of text A".<sup>1</sup> But it has been shown in the previous section that most of 40 entries adduced as examples by the editor of the Wilbour Papyrus present serious problems to this theory; in fact, only in a few of those examples do the descriptions of the fields agree exactly. On the other hand, it has been said that some of the fields in text B are really identical with *khato*-fields in text A, as was demonstrated by Fairman.

Although it remains uncertain whether Gardiner's theory about the *khato*-fields in text B and the *posh* relations in text A can be universally applied, the fact that *khato*-fields cultivated in a *posh* relation with temples in text A are in some cases identical with *khato* on the fields of these temples in text B, and the fact that in text B *khato* is sometimes on the fields of herbage (that is, apportioning) domains, both strongly suggest that plots of *khato*-land in text B actually had the status of apportioning fields with respect to the temples. This means that the temples probably received a small part of the revenues from the *khato*-fields. In some cases, this may have been the result of a *posh* relation (shared cultivation?); in others, the crop was divided for other reasons, just as in the apportioning paragraphs of text A, where the revenues obtained from a *posh* cultivation are listed side by side with the revenues from fields in the hands of private holders. This idea is supported by some of the red additions to the copied original of text B, which indicate that a plot is being cultivated by an individual (*m ihw.t* NN).<sup>2</sup> The original (black) text also sometimes says that a field was formerly "apportioned for" (?) someone (*wn pš n* NN).<sup>3</sup> Such remarks seem to indicate that privately held temple land could become *khato*-land, and *vice versa*.

The hypothesis, formed in the above paragraph, that *khato*-land on the fields of temples had the status of apportioning fields, implies that the temples received part of the revenues of the *khato*-plots in question. The shares they received were probably similar to the amounts recorded in the *posh*-B entries, or in other lines of the apportioning paragraphs in text A. It seems worthwhile, therefore, to establish the total area of *khato*-land on the fields of an individual temple, and the appropriate example for this chapter is again, of course, the temple at Medinet Habu, which was probably one of the wealthiest

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 171. See § 3 above, pp. 317-318.

<sup>2</sup> See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 186, for the type and places of the relevant entries.

<sup>3</sup> Text B, 11, 24-27; 20, 18. See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 182.

institutions also in this respect. Using only the black figures at the end of the original assessments (preceding the later red additions in some of the lines), and leaving out uncertain references to the temple, we arrive at a total of some 1,800 *aroura* of “high” land (*qꜣy.t*) and 43 *aroura* of “fresh” land (*nhb*).<sup>1</sup> This is a minimum because only unambiguous references have been included, but even so it is already one eighth of the total acreage in text B as calculated by Fairman.<sup>2</sup> Of more relevance to the present discussion is the fact that the area calculated here is more than twice as much as the total area of non-apportioning domains of the same temple in text A (750 *aroura*; see table 8). This means that the area of *khato* on the fields of the temple of Ramesses III was far greater than that of the fields cultivated mainly for its own benefit. We do not know how much the temple received from these *khato*-fields: If the rate of payment was the same as the one maintained in the *posh* entries of text A, the temple would have received

$$(1,800 : 4) \times 1\frac{1}{2} = 675 \text{ sacks of grain}$$

from the plots of *khato* located in the “high” fields of its estate in the region covered by the Wilbour Papyrus.<sup>3</sup> This is almost four times as much as the total of revenues from its own apportioning fields (table A: 182 sacks). This approach to the possible profit of cultivating *khato*-land may not be entirely correct, but we may conclude from this speculative calculation that the *khato*-fields of text B probably formed an essential source of income for the temples.

#### § 5 - THE GRIFFITH AND LOUVRE FRAGMENTS (P. ASHMOLEAN 1945.94 + LOUVRE AF 6345)

##### INTRODUCTION

Part of the document now to be discussed has been known for years under the name “Griffith fragments”, a name already revealing its sorry state of preservation. It refers to the fragments acquired by F.Ll. Griffith in Luxor in 1887 to become part of the collection of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford. In the 1950s it was discovered that the Louvre possessed fragments of the same document.<sup>4</sup> The fragments in the Ashmolean and Louvre museums were edited as one text, together with contemporary documents,

<sup>1</sup> The exact total of *qꜣy.t*-land I have been able to establish is 1,792 *aroura*. Uncertain references have been left out of consideration, i.e. those cases where the name of the institution is too damaged or where its name is not explicitly mentioned (as with the “food for white goats” in 18, 23-27; 19, 25). The line with the correction *tꜣ hꜣw.t* (15, 3) has been included. Where the type of land is uncertain, I have counted it as *qꜣy.t*.

<sup>2</sup> *JEA* 39 (1953), 119 and 120.

<sup>3</sup> See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 99-104; H.W. Fairman, *JEA* 39 (1953), 120-122, for the mode of calculation.

<sup>4</sup> M. Malinine, *BiOr* 16 (1959), 220. The discovery was made by R.A. Parker according to K. Baer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 32, note 53. No information is available on the date and place of acquisition of the Louvre fragments AF 6345. For the provisional system of AF inventory numbers, see P. Kriéger, *RdÉ* 12 (1960), 97.

by Gasse in 1988.<sup>1</sup> The order of the fragments as established by the editor, however, was corrected afterwards by Vleeming on the plausible assumption that the Ashmolean fragments formed the upper and the Louvre fragments the lower part of the document.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, more comments on the text had appeared.<sup>3</sup> In the following discussion, reference will be made to the text by the columns and lines as they were numbered by Gasse. For the correct position of the fragments, the reader is referred to Vleeming (see above). A number of additional corrections will be suggested here; some of these are the inevitable results of the re-ordering of the columns.<sup>4</sup>

In some of its aspects, the text on the *recto* resembles texts A and B of the Wilbour Papyrus: with text A it has in common that it records plots of land apparently sown with grain, which are grouped according to the institutions they belonged to. The lines recording the names of institutions, written in a clear "uncial" hieratic, are introduced by *rmn.y.t* "domain (of) ...", just like the paragraphs of Wilbour text A. The assessment-lines belonging to these headings, which are written in tiny and very cursive hieratic signs,<sup>5</sup> usually begin with *sww n* "region of", followed by the type of land, the geographical setting, the area in *aroura*, and sometimes an amount of grain. This practice reminds one of text B of the Wilbour Papyrus. The text on the *verso* seems to be an enumeration of individual landholders, very much like those of the apportioning paragraphs of text A (see above, section 1). Another similarity between the Wilbour Papyrus and the Griffith and Louvre Fragments is that both registers of fields are concerned with a particular section of the Nile valley. Whereas the Wilbour Papyrus deals with the stretch between modern Atfih and El-Minya (see above, section 1), the Griffith and Louvre fragments cover a region lying further south: the part of the Nile valley north and south of modern Qaw el-Kebir, that is, the ancient Tenth Upper-Egyptian nome.<sup>6</sup> We will see below that the Griffith and Louvre fragments are probably of a much later date than the Wilbour Papyrus, but before fully discussing the date and purpose of the document, we should find out more about the character of the text on the *recto*, which is the most relevant text for the present discussion. The text on the *verso*, which is of a different character, will not be discussed here in detail.<sup>7</sup> It appears to be an enumeration of fields held by individuals, whose titles and proper names form the

<sup>1</sup> Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 3-73 (translation and commentary), pls. 1-31 (transcription); II, pls. 78-98 (photographs). A transcription of some of the larger Ashmolean fragments had been published before by Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, xxi, 68-71. He commented upon them in *JEA* 27 (1941), 64-70 and pl. VIII. A number of smaller Ashmolean fragments belonging to the document remain unpublished.

<sup>2</sup> S.P. Vleeming, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 217-227.

<sup>3</sup> M. Malinine, *BiOr* 16 (1959), 219 and 220; Helck, *Materialien* I, (21) and (22); K. Baer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 32 and 33; J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 149; Katary, *Land Tenure*, 196-200; H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 27-36.

<sup>4</sup> I wish to thank Dr. H. Whitehouse, who gave me the opportunity to study the Ashmolean fragments when I was in Oxford in December 1994, and Prof. S.P. Vleeming, who provided me with his photographs of the text and discussed some of its problems with me.

<sup>5</sup> Janssen assumed that the headings were written first, and that the entries were added afterwards (*SAK* 3 (1975), 149, note 91). If so, the scribe must have had a rough idea of how much space would be needed for each of the institutions in advance.

<sup>6</sup> A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 66-68; Gasse, *Données Nouvelles*, 54-60.

<sup>7</sup> See Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 15-22; pls. 19-31; II, pls. 92-98.

beginnings of all assessment-lines. These lines end with an area expressed in *aroura*. They are grouped together so as to form a number of “paragraphs”, the headings of which sometimes start with *sww* “region”,<sup>1</sup> sometimes otherwise.<sup>2</sup> The headings and the assessment-lines are in small cursive hieratic.

#### RECONSTRUCTION OF THE TEXT ON THE *RECTO*

The section that is probably the beginning of the text on the *recto* (I, 1-3) is very fragmentary; the first line starts with: “[...] fields [of the House of A]monrasonter, the House of Mut(?) [...]”.<sup>3</sup> The word preceding *ꜥḥ.w.t* “fields” has faded away, but it clearly ends with . The action referred to (perhaps *št* “assessment”?) would provide an important clue to the meaning of the text. Other elements still readable in these lines are the royal name “Ramesses Meria[mun]” at the end of line 1, a regnal year 6 (followed by the indication of the month in red), the “granary of the House of A[mun]” in line 2, and a *wab*-priest of an unknown deity at the end of line 3. Gasse assumed that the granary of Amun was the place where the document was to be deposited.<sup>4</sup> Although this is very uncertain, it might indeed have been the case: the word *šnw.t* “granary” is probably preceded by the article *tꜣ* and by the determinative  referring to a document of some sort. If the assumption is correct, the place where the fragments were purchased (Luxor) might also be their original provenance. The three introductory lines are followed by a first series of assessments in small cursive hieratic; these have not been transcribed by the editor.<sup>5</sup>

Before dealing with the separate institutions, we should try to establish the order in which they are recorded, as far as the fragmentary state of the document allows. According to the reconstruction by Vleeming, the Ashmolean fragments form the upper half of the document, and the Louvre fragments the lower half.<sup>6</sup> This means that the text columns, which had all been put in one right to left sequence by Gasse, must be rearranged. Columns I, V, VI, and XIII (Ashmolean fragments) thus become the upper halves of longer columns, while columns II-IV, XI and XII (Louvre fragments) represent lower halves (see the table below). The institutions recorded in these columns are some temples of Khonsu (col. V); various Theban temples, a temple of Thutmosis IV in a place called *Hw.t-kꜣ*, and a Ramesside temple in Memphis or Heliopolis(?) (cols. VI + XI); the temples of Ptah and Maꜥat, the temples of Osiris and Onuris at Abydos, that of Min at Akhmîm, two temples of the local god Nemty, and the “Storage (*ꜥḥ.y*) of Pharaoh” (cols. XIII + XII).<sup>7</sup> The order is a familiar one: Theban temples, perhaps a

<sup>1</sup> Vs. II, 19 and 21; III, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Vs. VII, 22: *s.t tn* “this place”.

<sup>3</sup> This interpretation of the traces visible is totally different from that in Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, pl.

1.

<sup>4</sup> *Données Nouvelles*, 23 (1).

<sup>5</sup> Compare the photograph (Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* II, pl. 81) and the transcription (ibid., I, pl. 1).

<sup>6</sup> S.P. Vleeming, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 219 and 220.

<sup>7</sup> See the transcription in Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, pls. 4-17.

Heliopolitan or a Memphite temple, temples of lesser cult-centres, and a secular institution.

We can now try to put some other fragments in their correct position. In all probability, column I was correctly so numbered by the editor because its fragments seem to show the general introduction to the text (see above). Column II contains the assessments of a "palanquin" (*qni.w*) of the high priest of Amun (II, 6) and of the temple of Ramesses III in the House of Amun (II, 8),<sup>1</sup> both clearly Theban institutions. Column III mentions the temple of Mut, "Lady of Isheru" (III, 4). In the Wilbour Papyrus, this temple follows that of Amonrasonter (which is here referred to in the general heading: I, 1), and precedes the Theban memorial temples.<sup>2</sup> The correct position of column III should therefore be before column V, which deals with the temples of Khonsu.

The reconstruction of column V in the edition of the text is not correct: the upper fragments of this column (lines 1-4) should be placed below, and not above, the other fragments.<sup>3</sup> Obviously, the remains of line 21 are precisely the missing parts of line 1, while the name "Khonsu" in line 22 must be the end of line 3. It is hard to see from the photograph whether the fibres of the papyrus correspond, but the text hardly leaves room for doubt. The name "Khonsu" as it occurs for the first time in line 1 misses the upper part of . These can be recognized in the first traces of line 21, and are followed there by *wn* (not *rh!*). The epithet of Khonsu thus introduced is continued in line 1: "who was a child" (*wn nhn.w*), after which line 21 proceeds with "the Very Great Baboon" (*p3 i'n 3 wr*) etc. More arguments for this reconstruction will be given below.

The fragments of column II should follow V: the first partially preserved heading of II probably mentions a temple of Khonsu, which then follows those of column V. The *qni.w* of the high priest (II, 6) and the temple of Ramesses III (II, 8) follow the Khonsu-domains and they precede the memorial and other Theban temples in column VI. In view of the fact that the Ashmolean fragments form the upper part of the document, and the Louvre fragments the lower part, column II should be placed beneath V, and column III to the right of II. The sequence of columns on the *recto* thus established is as follows (in their right to left order):

column XIII	column VI	column V	?	column I	Ashmolean
column XII	column XI	column II	column III	?	Louvre

The fragments of column I should perhaps be placed on top of III. The exact position of columns IV (Louvre) and VII to X (Ashmolean) is unclear. In VII, 1 the remains of a heading can be seen, but the name of the institution, which was founded by a certain Nesamunre(?), is lost. The fragment of column VIII shows only a number of assessment-lines. IX, 5 mentions a temple of a goddess, which has been newly founded by a priest

<sup>1</sup> Incorrectly regarded by the editor as the temple of Ramesses II; see below.

<sup>2</sup> Only once, in text A: Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 151 (§ 213).

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, pls. 4 and 5; II, pl. 84. The upper fragments were still kept separate from the column by Gardiner, *Ramesseide Administrative Documents*, 68, ll. 8-11.

(god's servant) of Amun; hence, it might belong to the Theban temples.<sup>1</sup> The fragments of column X present a problem: the upper fragments mention a temple of Atum. If this temple was a Heliopolitan one, it should be placed before the temple of Ptah in column XIII, but after the Theban temples of column VI, and because they are Ashmolean fragments, they must belong to the upper part of the scroll. It is very difficult to fit these fragments in, especially if lines 9-17 of column IX are correctly placed there: the column is too high then to put them above column XI or XIII. An alternative possibility is to put column X in the position assigned by Vleeming to VI, and to remove columns V and VI (as well as the preceding columns) to the right. Of course, every movement of the fragments suggested here should be checked with the originals, especially in order to see what are the consequences for the text on the *verso*. The fact that the *verso* columns have been crossed out later with long vertical strokes in order to cancel the validity of the text might be of considerable help in reconstructing the correct position of the fragments.<sup>2</sup> It is clear, however, that column XIII + XII is the last one on the *recto*, because an ample margin remains to its left. Consequently, all unplaced fragments should be placed to the right of this column.<sup>3</sup> This means that the last "paragraph" (the assessments pertaining to the "Storage of Pharaoh") remains without the usual calculations of the total amounts of grain and the expenses, which we would expect to find in its bottom lines.

#### THE INSTITUTIONS MENTIONED ON THE *RECTO*

We have now reached a provisional order of columns and lines of the text on the *recto*. The institutional domains may accordingly be listed as follows (the numbers of columns and lines are those of Gasse):<sup>4</sup>

(I, x)	[Domain of the House of Amonrasonter] (referred to in I, 1)
(III, 4)	[Domain of the House of Mut], Lady of Isheru
(V, 5-12)	(domains of two unknown Theban temples)
(V, 13)	Domain of the House of Khonsu [in Thebes ... Lord] of Joy(?) <sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In XII, 14, land of the "Storage of Pharaoh" is said to have been given to the House of Mut, "the domains newly founded by Pinodjem". It seems not impossible that the fields mentioned in IX, 5 are referred to, although only a single domain is mentioned here.

<sup>2</sup> S.P. Vleeming, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 220. Unfortunately, the Ashmolean fragments were all glued onto paper before they were mounted in glass frames, which makes a study of the *verso* impossible.

<sup>3</sup> As was realized already by A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 64.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the sequences established by Gardiner, *Ramesseide Administrative Documents*, 69-71; Helck, *Materialien* I, (21) and (22); Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 50-54.

<sup>5</sup> Although curiously written, the word to the left of the lacuna in line 13 is probably *ꜥw(.t)-ib* "joy". Gardiner read *gꜥbw-ib* (*JEA* 27 (1941), 66 and 69). As Gasse observed, however, the first sign is  *ꜥw* and not  $\overline{\Delta}$  *g* (Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 27 (25)). "Lord of Joy", often preceded by the name Horus, was a frequent epithet of Khonsu in the Ramesseide period and later; see, e.g. L.-A. Christophe, *Les Divinités des Colonnes de la Grande Salle Hypostyle et leur Epithètes* (Bibliothèque d'Étude 21), Cairo 1955, 36, 37, 43, and 56; *Temple of Khonsu* I, pls. 7, 23, 25, and *passim*; II, pls. 115, 127, 130, and *passim*. The latter references show that the epithet belonged to the deity worshipped in the Khonsu-temple within the precinct of Amun at Karnak; see also Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 13, 13, and chapter VI, § 3, p. 163.

- (V, 21=1) Domain of the House of Khonsu-who-was-a-youth, the Very Great Baboon who is to the right of Khonsu<sup>1</sup>
- (V, 22=3) Domain of the House of Khonsu-who-makes-plans [... who is to the left of] Khonsu<sup>2</sup>
- (II, 1) [Domain of the House of Khon]su belonging to(?) the House [...]
- (II, 6) Domain of the Palanquin (*qnl.w*) of the High Priest of A[mun ...]<sup>3</sup>
- (II, 8) Domain of the Temple of Userma'atre Meriamun (Ramesses III) in the House of Amun<sup>4</sup>
- (VI, 1) [Domain] of the Temple of Hekama'atre (Ramesses IV) [...]
- (VI, 4) Domain of the Palanquin (*qnl.w*) of [...]
- (VI, 6) Domain of the Temple of Nebma'atre Amen[hotep?], having been acquired for Amun Himself(?)<sup>5</sup>
- (VI, 8) Domain of the House of the Divine Adoratrice [in] the inspection of its scribe(?)<sup>6</sup>
- (VI, 9) Domain of the House of the August Menkheprure (Thutmose IV), Ruler

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *Ramesseid Administrative Documents*, 69, 17; id., *JEA* 27 (1941), 69; Helck, *Materialien* I, (69); Gasse, *Données Nouvelles*, 7. The combination of lines 1-4 with 21 and 22 has already been discussed above. See Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*, 1, note 1, for Khonsu *wn-nhn.w* and Khonsu *p3-iri-shr.w* as baboons seated to the right and left of Khonsu-in-Thebes-Neferhotep. In line 21, Gardiner and Gasse read “sun-disc” (*itn*), but “baboon” (*iʿn*) is, I think, a better reading. The sign  can be seen clearly (see Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie*<sup>2</sup> II, no. 166); it may be followed by another sign which I cannot distinguish on the photograph.

<sup>2</sup> See the previous note. This form of Khonsu figures in the so-called Bentresh-stela, which was found among the remains of a temple to the east of the Amun precinct (Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 254, pl. XXIII (C); H. Brunner, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, 961 and note 15). Hence, this temple is thought to have been built for this deity in the Ptolemaic Period or earlier. The earliest known reference to “Khonsu-who-makes-plans” is from the reign of Ramesses II: Helck, *Materialien* I, (67).

<sup>3</sup> The fragments of col. II fit closer than may be inferred from the photograph and transcription in Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, pl. 1, and II, pl. 82 (see the following note). The lacuna after *qnl* thus probably contained only  (cf. VI, 4). I have no other references for a “palanquin” of a high priest. However, P. BM 10053 from the late Twentieth Dynasty twice mentions a funerary priest (*w3h-mw*) of the high priest of Amun (rt. 3, 4; 4, 7; Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. XVII and XVIII; K. Donker van Heel, in: *Village Voices*, 25 and 30, table IV, no. VII). By that time, such people were usually attached to an institution, sometimes to a *qnl.w* (*ibid.*, 24-26, 30).

<sup>4</sup> The royal name was read *R'-ms-sw Mr.y-'Imn* (Ramesses II) by Gasse. A trace of  *wsr*, however, can be seen to the right of the lacuna. For the name of Ramesses III similarly written (with  over ), see J. Barns, *JEA* 36 (1950), pl. VI (P. Nevill rt., 4). The lacuna can hardly be large enough to contain more than . In the following line, traces of the word *h3-n-t3* can be seen to the right and left of the same lacuna, and these are correctly joined by Gasse.

<sup>5</sup> The royal name will be that of Amenophis III (*Imn-[h]tp*), rather than that of Ramesses VI (*[Mry]-'Imn*): as in the name of Ramesses III in (II, 8), *mry* would have been written before the name of Amun, and not after it (cf. XI, 5, and the name of Ramesses VI on verso II, 22). On the other hand, there is very little space for *h]tp*. The phrase at the end of the line is obscure. A.H. Gardiner (*JEA* 27 (1941), 69) gave no translation, and the one given here is conjectural. Amun would seem to be the beneficiary of the action expressed by *ini* (as opposed to *m sip n* in VI, 8 and XIII, 21-23?). For *ini* in a similar construction and a similar context, see Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 77 and 209.

<sup>6</sup> *M sip n*; see also XIII, 21-23. Cf. *m ini(.w?) n* in VI, 6. For the translation given here, see M. Malinine, *BiOr* 16 (1959), 219.

	in Hutka <sup>1</sup>
(XI, 5)	[Domain of the Temple] of Ramesses Meriamun, Beloved [like ... ?] <sup>2</sup>
(XIII, 12)	Domain of the [House] of Ptah-south-of-[His-wall ...]
(XIII, 14)	Domain of the House of Ma'at, Daughter of Re, United with (?) [...] <sup>3</sup>
(XIII, 21)	House of Osiris, Lord of Abydos, in the inspection of(?) the scribe Khonsumhatneterneb <sup>4</sup>
(XIII, 22)	House of Onuris-Shu [...] in] the inspection of <i>ditto</i> (?)
(XIII, 23)	House of Min, Horus, Isis, and all the gods of Ipu (Akhmîm) in the inspection of(?) the scribe [...]nakht
(XII, 3)	House of Nemty Who Establishes(?) [...]
(XII, 4)	House of Nemty Who Establishes(?) [...] ...
(XII, 7)	The Storage ( <i>ḥꜥ.y</i> ) of Pharaoh [l.p.h. ...] ... of the administration(?) <sup>5</sup>

The correct position of the “Domain of the [House] of Atum” (X, 1) is uncertain,<sup>6</sup> and so is that of the temple of a goddess whose name is lost, which was founded by the (high?) priest of Amun P[...] (IX, 5). However, from the group of institutions listed above we may conclude that the text covers a series of institutions more or less similar to that found in the two texts of the Wilbour Papyrus. The text is thus not only concerned with smaller Theban temples,<sup>7</sup> or with temples exclusively.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps a provincial temple of Thutmosis IV, although it appears to precede the temples of Heliopolis and Memphis. A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 67, and Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 32 (43), assumed that it was located at Thebes, but according to S. Bickel, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 31, it might also have stood in Heliopolis, Memphis, Abydos, or Hermoupolis.

<sup>2</sup> Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 34 (61), and H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 30, restore *mrw.t-mi-Itmw* “Beloved like Atum”; the scarab referred to by Helck, *Materialien* I, (129) seems to be the only support for that reconstruction. P. Harris I 25, 12 and 31, 3, adduced by Gasse, refers to the temple of Ramesses III (not II) in Heliopolis, and the epithet “Beloved like Atum” is not found there. Text A of the Wilbour Papyrus, however, mentions two temples with this type of name, “Beloved like Re” and “Beloved like Ptah”, which were probably temples of Ramesses II in Heliopolis and Memphis respectively: Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 12, 138 (§ 82), 153 and 154 (§ 237). A temple of Ramesses II “Beloved like Amun” at Thebes is known as well: Helck, *Materialien* I, (56) and (57). Accordingly, the foundation referred to here, bearing the name of Ramesses II, might have been a Theban, a Heliopolitan, or a Memphite temple.

<sup>3</sup> See Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 14 and 40 (99); A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 65, 66, and 70; M. Malinine, *BiOr* 16 (1959), 219. These authors considered this and the previous temple (of Ptah) as Theban foundations. Helck, however, regarded the names as references to Memphite temples (*Materialien* I, (131), (139), and (140)). If they really were Theban, we would expect them earlier in the list.

<sup>4</sup> This and the following two temples are preceded by the heading: “The second (list?) of the temples” (XIII, 20). See A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 70; Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 40 and 41 (note 107). For *m sṣp n* “in the inspection of” (?), see the note to VI, 8.

<sup>5</sup> In view of the absence of the determinative , “administration” seems a safer translation of *ḥꜥp* than “administrator” (cf. Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 37, note 80). For the “Storage of Pharaoh”, see A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 35 with note 1; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 111; idem, *Materialien* II, (215).

<sup>6</sup> See S.P. Vleeming, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 220, note 1.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 149.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 161; M. Malinine, *BiOr* 16 (1959), 219. Of course, Gardiner did not yet know about the Louvre fragments, which mention the “Storage of Pharaoh”.

## DATE OF THE TEXT

The dating of the text is not without problems. The fragmentary title of the text contains, as we have seen, the Ramesside royal name "Ramesses Meriamun", and a regnal year 6. The context of both the name and the date, however, is not clear. An important criterion is the cursive script of the assessment-lines, which shows characteristics of post-Ramesside hieratic. For this reason, the text cannot be dated earlier than the very end of the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>1</sup> In Gardiner's opinion, the name "Ramesses Meriamun" cannot belong to any of the last three Ramesside kings,<sup>2</sup> whereas Gasse argued that it could be a shortened form of the name of Ramesses IX ("Ramesses Kha'emwese Meriamun") or XI ("Ramesses Kha'emwese Meriamun, the God Ruling over On"). Because of the script, the supposed occurrence of the high priest Piankh in rt. IX, 5 (which is not at all certain), and the royal name, she dated the text definitely to the reign of Ramesses XI.<sup>3</sup>

The institutions recorded would seem to be equally important criteria. When they are compared with the Wilbour Papyrus, or any administrative text from the Twentieth Dynasty, at least two novelties should be noted: the four domains belonging to temples of Khonsu (rt. V, 13-22), and the "palanquin" (*qni.w*) of the high priest of Amun (rt. II, 6; see the note to this heading above). Foundations of the latter type are known almost exclusively for kings; only once (in P. Amiens) do we find one that might have belonged to a queen,<sup>4</sup> while a palanquin of Amun is known from the reign of Ramesses IX.<sup>5</sup> The existence of a "pontifical" palanquin might reflect the rising status of the high priest of Amun from the middle of the Twentieth Dynasty onwards. The temples of "Khonsu-who-was-a-child" and "Khonsu-who-makes-plans" are not mentioned in earlier documents. The name of the latter, however, is known already from the reign of Ramesses II,<sup>6</sup> and a priest of Khonsu *P3-iri-shr.w* is mentioned in two texts from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>7</sup> Khonsu *Wn-nhn.w*, on the other hand, is not known from documents antedating the Twenty-first Dynasty. Both Khonsus are found as protecting or threatening deities in the oracular amuletic decrees, which are dated to the Twenty-first to Twenty-third Dynasties.<sup>8</sup>

The above observations do not allow a dating more precise than "end of the Twentieth Dynasty or Third Intermediate Period". More decisive indications seem to be the script of the Griffith and Louvre fragments and their connection with contemporary texts. According to Vleeming, the script belongs to a period later in the Twenty-first or Twenty-second Dynasty. It resembles the writing of similar administrative records (P.

<sup>1</sup> A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 65; Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 23 (1).

<sup>2</sup> *JEA* 27 (1941), 65.

<sup>3</sup> Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 23 (1), 33 (51), 34 (57), 50.

<sup>4</sup> Helck, *Materialien* I, (119)-(122).

<sup>5</sup> *Giornale* yr. 17-B rt. 4, 2 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 20); P. BM 10053 rt. 4, 10 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVIII).

<sup>6</sup> F. W. von Bissing, *Acta Orientalia* 8 (1930), 160; Helck, *Materialien* I, (67).

<sup>7</sup> P. Abbott vs. A, 10 and B, 11; P. Mayer A 9, 24 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXIII; id., *Mayer Papyri*, page 9; Helck, *Materialien* I, (68)). The proper name of this priest was also *P3-iri-shr.w*.

<sup>8</sup> Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*, xiii-xv.

Reinhardt, P. Prachov, the “Grundbuch”), which may all belong to the same period, possibly even to one single papyrus find.<sup>1</sup> This hypothesis is supported by the fact that P. Reinhardt and P. Prachov were acquired in Egypt at about the same time as the Griffith fragments.<sup>2</sup> To this information may be added the character of the proper names of individuals mentioned in the text: we have come across the names Pinodjem and Khonsumhatneterneb (“Khonsu is the first of all gods”). The text on the *verso* provides us with the names of a number of individual landholders, and these are generally names that were current in the Third Intermediate Period.<sup>3</sup> The same is true for the proper names in the contemporary documents.<sup>4</sup> It seems best, therefore, to maintain Vleeming’s dating of P. Reinhardt also for the Griffith and Louvre fragments: Twenty-first or Twenty-second Dynasty; that is, the tenth century BC.<sup>5</sup> P. Ashmolean 1945.94 + Louvre AF 6345 is thus not a New Kingdom document, but the information it has to offer and its similarity to the texts of the Wilbour Papyrus amply justify its inclusion in this chapter.

#### STRUCTURE OF THE PARAGRAPHS: MEASUREMENTS, EXPENSES AND CONTRIBUTIONS

The purpose of the text on the *recto* seems to be to record the plots of arable land that constituted the “domains” (*rmny.t*) of a number of different institutions in the tenth Upper-Egyptian nome. In contrast with text A of the Wilbour Papyrus, no distinction is made between apportioning and non-apportioning domains.<sup>6</sup> The exact status of the fields in question is obscure, and the rates of assessments are not at all comparable to those maintained in the Wilbour Papyrus. What the two texts do have in common is that a basic distinction is made between different types of land: “high land” (*q3y.t*) and “fresh land” (*nḥb*). The term “elevated land” (*tni*) does not occur here. Just as in the Wilbour Papyrus, the produce of the “high” fields was apparently half that of the “fresh” fields: the former were assessed at one sack of grain per *aroura*, the latter at two sacks.<sup>7</sup> Two different types of grain were distinguished by using black and red ink; these types were probably barley (black) and emmer (red).<sup>8</sup> The type of grain does not seem to have made any difference to the number of sacks recorded per *aroura*.

Before further discussing the purpose of the text, we must take a close look at the accounting procedures in the individual assessment-lines and in the concluding lines of the paragraphs dealing with the entire domains.<sup>9</sup> Usually the lines following the

<sup>1</sup> S.P. Vleeming, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 221; Vleeming, *Papyrus Reinhardt*, 8 and 9.

<sup>2</sup> Vleeming, *Papyrus Reinhardt*, 2 and 9.

<sup>3</sup> See Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 16-22.

<sup>4</sup> See Vleeming, *Papyrus Reinhardt*, 59-62.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 8 and 9.

<sup>6</sup> The word *pš* “to share”/“to apportion” does occur in this text, but not as a qualification of entire domains.

<sup>7</sup> See V, 17; XI, 14 and 15; XII, 5.

<sup>8</sup> A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 66; G. Posener, *JEA* 37 (1951), 75-80.

<sup>9</sup> Although not numbered as such by Gasse, all sections beginning with *rmny.t* “domain” will be called “paragraphs” here, following Gardiner’s practice in his edition of the Wilbour Papyrus.

paragraph-heading begin with *sww* (*n*) “region of”, and they end with an area expressed in *aroura*, as for instance a field of the temple of Ma<sup>c</sup>at in XIII, 16:<sup>1</sup>

region of the high land to the north of Inmut: 25 *aroura*

The reductions in column VI, lines 18-25, by which surfaces smaller than 1 *aroura* are left out, are obscure, and so is a “final reduction” of 10 *aroura* of apportioned *nḥb*-land in (V, 17).<sup>2</sup> Equally obscure is the expression read as *tnw n-s/f* “reckoned for her/him” by Gasse, which occurs in some of the lines.<sup>3</sup> Sometimes the entries are followed immediately by an amount of grain in sacks. This usually happens in the case of institutions with only one line recording land (see VI, 5 and 7; XII, 5; XIII, 13). Once (XIII, 21) only an amount of cereals is recorded, without being preceded by land measurements. With the exception of these cases, the calculation of the amounts of grain from the field areas is done only in the last lines of the paragraphs, in which the total surface is calculated from the preceding entries, and amounts of grain are established according to the principle that fresh land should bring in 2 sacks, and high land 1 sack per *aroura*.

A total of cereals being thus arrived at, some subtractions (*hbi*)<sup>4</sup> can be made:

- a) an “expense” (*h3w*: V, 19; XI, 16);<sup>5</sup>
- b) a contribution to the granary of the house of Amun (V, 6, 12, and 20);
- c) a contribution to Pharaoh’s *khato* (*h3-n-t3*) land (XI, 17; XII, 6).

Both (a) and (b) are found in V, 19 and 20, whereas (a) and (c) occur together in XI, 16 and 17; (b) and (c) are never attested in one and the same paragraph,<sup>6</sup> but the text is too fragmentary to allow the conclusion that they are really mutually exclusive.

The “expense” is about one eighth of the previous total in (V, 19), and about one sixteenth in (XI, 16). Its calculation apparently does not depend on that total but on other factors, perhaps on the actual costs of cultivation or transport.<sup>7</sup> In both cases it is

<sup>1</sup> Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, pl. 17.

<sup>2</sup> See S.P. Vleeming, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 226, note 32.

<sup>3</sup> With *-s*: II, 11, 14; IV, 4; VII, 3, 7, 10; VIII, 7; XI, 9, 10, 12; with *=f*: XI, 13; XII, 2. The reading is very uncertain because it is not clear what the suffix pronoun is referring to. If the institution in the paragraph-heading were meant, the Ramesside temple in column XI would be referred to by a feminine (lines 9, 10, 12), as well as a masculine pronoun (line 13). The type of land is not a likely candidate either: the feminine *p<sup>c</sup>.t* would then be resumed by *=f* in XI, 13 (cf. for *p<sup>c</sup>.t*: II, 9-11; in II, 11 it would be referred to by *=s*).

<sup>4</sup> S.P. Vleeming, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 223 and 224.

<sup>5</sup> For the reading *h3w* in the second case, see S.P. Vleeming, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 225, note 23.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 66, who recognized both types of contributions in XI, 16 and 17. Her reading *pr Imn* “House of Amun” in line 16, however, was corrected to *h3w* “expense” by Vleeming (see the previous note).

<sup>7</sup> Such as the “expense” for the cultivating personnel in the “Turin Taxation Papyrus” rt. 3, 16 and rt. 4, 5 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 39 and 40; A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 30 (note 6) and 31), or the “expense” usually paid for the transport of grain by ship (see J.J. Janssen, *BSEG* 18 (1994), 41-47).

reckoned in emmer (red ink). A contribution “brought to the granary of the House of Amun” (*ini(.w) r t3 šnw.t pr Imn*) is attested only in rt. V, 6, 12, and 20, that is, with two unknown Theban temples, and with the temple of “Khonsu [in Thebes ... Lord of] Joy”. It may also have been recorded for other greater Theban temples, for which the last lines of the paragraphs are now lost: the temple of Mut (III, 4), two temples of Khonsu (V, 21 and 22/1-4), and the temples of Ramesses III (II, 8) and Thutmose IV (VI, 9). It is not recorded for some Theban institutions with only a few fields: the “palanquin” (*qni.w*) of the high priest (II, 6), the temple of Ramesses IV (VI, 1), another “palanquin” (VI, 4), the temple of Amenophis III (VI, 6), and the house of the Divine Adoratrice (for which no fields are recorded: VI, 8). Nor is it attested with non-Theban institutions: a temple of Ramesses II in Heliopolis or Memphis (XI, 5), and the temple of Maʿat (XIII, 14). The obligation towards the granary of Amun thus might have rested on the greater Theban institutions only, but perhaps not even on all of these.

The only paragraph sufficiently preserved to show the method of calculating the contribution is column V, lines 19 and 20.<sup>1</sup> The remainder after subtraction of the “expense” is 4 sacks of barley and  $1,556\frac{1}{4}$  sacks of emmer. From these amounts,  $2\frac{5}{8}$  sacks of barley and  $[1,037\frac{3}{4}]$  sacks of emmer were brought to the granary of Amun; the remainder after this subtraction being  $1\frac{3}{8}$  sacks of barley and  $518[\frac{1}{2}]$  sacks of emmer. For both types of grain, the share of the granary of Amun is thus almost exactly  $\frac{2}{3}$ . Unfortunately, the other paragraphs of the column are insufficiently preserved to check whether the same heavy rate was levied on the revenues of other institutions.

A contribution to Pharaoh’s *khato*-land does not appear to be connected with fields of this type that are part of the institutional domains. We have been dealing with *khato*-plots, which were located “on the fields” of agricultural temple domains according to text B of the Wilbour Papyrus, in sections 3 and 4. Such plots seem to be recorded in the Griffith and Louvre fragments at least three times: in the domain of the temple of Ramesses III (II, 9), that of an unknown goddess (IX, 6), and that of the royal “storage” (XII, 13).<sup>2</sup> In the last two cases, it is said to be under the authority of the “chief taxing-master” (*ʿ3-št*). We have met with this official in text A of the Wilbour Papyrus as a supervisor of “autonomous” *khato*-domains, and it is possible, though not proved, that he was the same person as the steward Usermaʿatrenakht, who supervised *khato*-land on the fields of different institutions in text B.<sup>3</sup> The way in which *khato*-fields are recorded in the Griffith and Louvre fragments is strongly reminiscent of text B, although the formula “on the fields of” is absent here. The entries recording a contribution to the institution “*khato* of Pharaoh”, however, seem to represent a different type of information.

The *khato*-field in II, 9 was probably administered by the temple itself, as is expressed by the phrase *nty pr pn* “which is (of) this house”. Unfortunately, the final

<sup>1</sup> See S.P. Vleeming, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 223, for corrections to lines 19 and 20.

<sup>2</sup> In IX, 6, [*h3-n-t3*] and *ʿ3-št* are doubtless to be reconstructed. In XII, 13, read *h3-n-t3 ht p3 ʿ3-št* instead of *h3-n-t3 idb(?) p3-dšr*; cf. Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 13 (with note 87), pl. 15.

<sup>3</sup> See above, §§ 1 and 3, pp. 298-300.

calculations of these paragraphs are not preserved, so we cannot establish if any grain was delivered to Pharaoh's *khato*. Such a contribution was made, however, by the Ramesside temple recorded in column XI: in line 17 of that column, we see that about  $\frac{1}{5}$  of the revenues (again after deduction of the "expense") was brought to the royal *khato*.<sup>1</sup> As far as can be seen from the entries of that paragraph, the temple had no *khato*-fields in its domain. In XII, 6, a similar contribution is paid by a local temple of the god Nemty, in that case amounting to about  $\frac{1}{5}$  or  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the preceding total.<sup>2</sup> It is uncertain whether this temple had *khato*-fields in its domain, but the absence of these fields with the Ramesside temple in column XI suffices to demonstrate that the obligation to pay the royal *khato* did not depend on such an administrative responsibility. The rate of  $\frac{1}{5}$  might have been the usual one for this contribution: it was certainly much less of a burden than the  $\frac{2}{3}$  required by the granary of Amun from one of the Khonsu-temples. In many paragraphs, the last lines mention no subtractions at all: II, 5; III, 3; V, 2; VI, 5, 7; XIII, 13, 19.<sup>3</sup> With the exception of the last reference (the temple of Ma'at), all of the relevant paragraphs are concerned with very small domains.

A remark is still required on the use of the relative marker *nty*, which appears to indicate a relation between two institutions in a number of lines. The first occurrence is in II, 1, which still shows some larger signs of a paragraph-heading: "[Domain of the House of Khon]su belonging to (? *nty*) the House [...]". All other instances in which institutions are connected by *nty* are found in the assessment-lines.<sup>4</sup> It was read by the editor as  $\langle m \rangle \text{ } \underline{d}r.t$  in III, 7 and 9, but this is not the preposition one would expect to be used with institutions: the Wilbour Papyrus uses only *m*  $\underline{d}r.t$  to express the responsibilities of agents and deputies. The preposition (*n*, *m*, or *hr*) specifying the character of the connection has been omitted after *nty*, as happens more often in colloquial Late Egyptian texts.<sup>5</sup> What kind of relation, then, might be referred to here? Perhaps it refers to the fact that a domain or field of one institution is administered by another. In that case, the temple of Ramesses III would be responsible for some *khato*-fields in II, 9; the temple of Mut for some royal land in III, 7 and 9 (read *nty* instead of  $\langle m \rangle \text{ } \underline{d}r.t$ ), and for fields of a temple of Seth in III, 10. The "House of Thoth" would be responsible for an unknown domain in IV, 1, and the storage ( $\text{ḥ}^c.y$ ) of Pharaoh would be partly taken care of by the institution *khato*, in the person of the chief taxing-

<sup>1</sup> See S.P. Vleeming, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 224 and 225: the result after deduction of the expense was 32 sacks of barley and  $265\frac{1}{2}$  sacks of emmer, of which respectively  $6\frac{1}{2}$  and 53 sacks were paid to Pharaoh's *khato*.

<sup>2</sup> The total in XII, 5 is 5 (barley) + 19 (emmer) = 24 sacks. After subtraction (XII, 6), 3 + 15 or 4 + 15 remains, which means that either 1 or 2 sacks of barley have been subtracted. In the first case, the subtraction of the two types of grain together would be 5 out of 24 (or slightly more than  $\frac{1}{5}$ ), in the second case 6 out of 24 (or  $\frac{1}{4}$ ).

<sup>3</sup> In column XII, line 2 ends with *hbi* "subtraction"; the specification of this may have stood in a following line that is now lost.

<sup>4</sup> II, 1, 9; III, 7, 9, 10; IV, 1; XII, 13. Perhaps also in vs. II, 21?

<sup>5</sup> See p. 279, note 6.

master in XII, 13 (see above for a correction of that line). This would mean that fields of the institution mentioned in the paragraph-heading were sometimes under the control of another, but also the other way round: according to XII, 13, the “chief taxing master” administered 40 *aroura* land of the “storage of Pharaoh”, the location of which is not recorded.

The fact that the total amounts of barley and emmer at the end of some paragraphs are reduced by expenses and contributions may be a reason for regarding the remaining totals as “net revenues” of the institutions themselves. As in the Wilbour Papyrus, however, such a thing is not made explicit. That they represent only part of the crops from the fields recorded is perfectly clear: the amounts of grain are calculated from the areas recorded at the fixed rate of 1 sack per *aroura* for high land, and 2 for fresh land. These rates are far below the assessments of 5 or 10 sacks in the non-apportioning paragraphs of Wilbour text A, but higher than the amounts required from the apportioning fields in that text (1½ sacks per *aroura* over a portion of the total surface only). That is, the amounts of grain recorded were only a small part of the total crops, but they were more than the payments made by private landholders according to the Wilbour Papyrus.

#### THE PURPOSE OF THE TEXT

In one entry (V, 18), part of the total amount of grain is characterized as *dmḏ t3 št Tbw* “total of the assessment of Tjebu”. Gardiner assumed that the word *št* refers to the people who cultivated, perhaps tenanted the temple fields, paying a corn-tax on these to the owning institution with the granary of the temple of Amun as an intermediary.<sup>1</sup> In the postscript to his commentary on the Wilbour Papyrus, he assumed that the 1 sack per *aroura* in the Griffith fragments was a tax rate.<sup>2</sup> His translation “tax-payers” for *št* was contradicted, I think on good grounds, by Baer, who translated it as “assessment”, but kept to the interpretation of the amounts recorded as taxes.<sup>3</sup> It may be remembered that *št* is also the word used to describe the administrative activity in the section-headings of text A of the Wilbour Papyrus. In that text, just as in the document discussed here, it is not clear whether the amounts “assessed” are what we would like to call taxes, or even if the notion “tax” can be understood from the word *št* itself. Anyway, the word does not seem to be of central importance to the text discussed here: it figures only in one paragraph and its function is to separate the amount delivered by the town or region of *Tbw* from the deliveries from other sources to the same institution. It does not inform us about the meaning of the amounts recorded throughout the text. These were regarded also by Gasse as taxes, which would have amounted to 20% of the total production (1 out of 5 sacks on “high ground”; 2 out of 10 on “fresh ground”).<sup>4</sup> This had been

<sup>1</sup> A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 67.

<sup>2</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 208.

<sup>3</sup> K. Baer, *JARCE* 1 (1962), 32 and 33.

<sup>4</sup> Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 229 and 230.

suggested before by Janssen, albeit with the addition: "That these fragments prove the taxability of the temples seems too bold a conclusion".<sup>1</sup>

Tax, it seems, is the current interpretation of the amounts recorded in this document, although it is no more than an assumption because it lacks any support from the text itself. In my opinion, there is at least one alternative possibility that deserves consideration. We have seen above that among the plots of at least three institutions, *khato*-land is recorded, which could either be under the authority of the "chief taxing-master", or administered by (or simply "belonging to") the institution mentioned in the paragraph-heading. In each of these cases, the field will have been cultivated under shared responsibility. The single plot of land recorded for the temple of Amenophis III (VI, 7) appears to have been a donated field (*hnk*). In the Wilbour Papyrus, such fields are recorded among the apportioning fields, which means that the institutions received only a small part of their produce (the remainder presumably being reserved for the cult that received the donation).

The "*nmḥ*-fields" (*ḥ.t-nmḥ*), occurring in three entries of column XII among the fields of the "storage of Pharaoh", are further evidence for the idea that the cultivation of the fields recorded in the Griffith and Louvre fragments was not the undivided responsibility of the institutions mentioned in the paragraph-headings.<sup>2</sup> As we have seen in section 1, some authors have assumed that the plots recorded in the apportioning paragraphs of text A of the Wilbour Papyrus were in fact *nmḥ*-fields (although the word is never mentioned in that document), or that the private holdings of land attested there was a stage in the development of such fields. Although this theory may not be entirely correct, the fields held by private individuals in the Wilbour Papyrus and the *nmḥ*-fields in the Ashmolean and Louvre fragments may have had the same status, and in both cases only part of the crop might have gone to the institutions mentioned in the paragraph-headings.

Seeing now that some of the fields recorded on the *recto* are specified as *khato*, donated land, or *nmḥ*-fields, it may be suggested that all fields recorded in this text were in fact "apportioning" fields (that is, if the system of agricultural management underlying this text was comparable to the system in the Wilbour Papyrus). This means that the domains recorded consisted of fields cultivated by private landholders or institutions other than those mentioned in the paragraph-headings. If so, the scribe was apparently not interested in the actual cultivators, whose fields were therefore grouped together so as to form areas of 40 or 60 *aroura* or even more, but only in the totals of the amounts they had to deliver to the institutions. The amounts calculated at the end of the paragraphs would thus be the institutional revenues from "apportioning" domains, with an assessment-rate much higher than that in the Wilbour Papyrus. The rate applied to private holdings of institutional land may have risen during the period that separates the two documents, which is probably 150 years at least. In XI, 17, the total remaining after two subtractions is called "result(?) of (or: for) this house" (*grḥ(?) pr pn*).<sup>3</sup> This

<sup>1</sup> J.J. Janssen, *SAK* 3 (1975), 147.

<sup>2</sup> Lines 12, 15, and 19: Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, pls. 15 and 16.

<sup>3</sup> Vleeming, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 225, note 24; Gasse, *Données Nouvelles*, 66 and 67.

suggests that the revenues of the institutions from the domains recorded here amounted to no more than  $\frac{1}{5}$  of the revenues from the non-apportioning fields as recorded in P. Wilbour, still to be reduced by “expenses”, and contributions to other institutions.

§ 6 - THE THEBAN MEMORIAL TEMPLES IN P. ASHMOLEAN 1945.94 + LOUVRE AF 6345

On the *recto*, three paragraphs are preserved that pertain to Theban memorial temples. The headings of these paragraphs are II, 9 (temple of Ramesses III), VI, 1 (Ramesses IV), and VI, 6 (Amenophis III). Other temples might have been recorded as well, but they cannot be recognized in the document in its present state. It is surprising to see that the sequence of memorial temples is preceded and interrupted by institutions called *qni.w* “palanquin” (II, 6: palanquin of the high priest; VI, 4: of an unknown person). Royal palanquins are frequently attested in the documents from Western Thebes. They are not to be identified with memorial temples; the “palanquin” specified in the Griffith and Louvre fragments belonged to a high priest, and in section 3 of the introduction we have seen that there were also palanquins of Amun and of kings whose memorial temple is nowhere mentioned (e.g. Sethnakht), and that a palanquin could be situated in “Thebes” (*Niw.t*), that is, on the east bank. The order of institutions in the document presently discussed might reflect similarities in status between *qni.w* and memorial temples, but the character of any such connection remains unclear.

The temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu must have been one of the wealthier institutions recorded in this text. Seven assessment-lines of its paragraph are preserved; it was probably continued in a following column.<sup>1</sup> The continuation may also have mentioned an “expense”, as well as perhaps a contribution to the granary of the House of Amun or to Pharaoh’s *khato*. The total area recorded in the lines preserved is 55 *aroura* of “high land”, 20 *aroura* of “fresh land”, and  $9\frac{1}{2}$  *aroura* of land called *p<sup>c</sup>.t*, which is probably a type of land similar to *nḥb* “fresh land”.<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, the revenues calculated at the end of the paragraph must have been at least 55 sacks from the high lands and  $29\frac{1}{2} \times 2 = 59$  sacks from the *nḥb*- and *p<sup>c</sup>.t*-fields: a total of 114 sacks. The real total may even have been considerably higher, since we do not know how many lines were once written in the following column. In any case, the landed property of this temple exceeded that of many others, for example those of the Khonsu-temples in II, 1-5 and V, 21 and 22. Comparison with other temples is risky, however, because of the fragmentary state of the document.

The first plot recorded for this temple is *khato*, which was attached to the temple as expressed by the relative marker *nty* (on which see the previous section). Probably the  $9\frac{1}{2}$  *aroura* of royal land were in some way administered by the temple, which received part of its revenues according to the same ratio as was employed for the other plots

<sup>1</sup> Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, pl. 2; II, pl. 82. Perhaps the missing lines were the first of her column VI?

<sup>2</sup> See H.-W. Fischer-Elfert, *Enchoria* 18 (1991), 30-33.

recorded in this paragraph: one sack per *aroura* for high land, and two sacks for fresh land.

It is clear that the temples of Ramesses IV and Amenophis III (column VI) were not at all that affluent. Only two plots are recorded for the former;<sup>1</sup> the type of land is unknown (the editor restores “high land”). The total area and the revenues obtained from it might have been calculated at the end of line 3. Apparently, no deductions were made for the benefit of other institutions: the amount of land recorded may have been too small for this. The temple of Amenophis III in the same column had only one field left:

(Column VI, line 6) Domain of the Temple of Nebma'atre Amen[hotep?], having been acquired for Amun Himself(?)

(7) Region of the Tract of Taheriu of Tjebu, donation of the Statue of Nebma'atre: 5 *aroura*, makes 1 (sack of barley), 4 (sacks of emmer)<sup>2</sup>

The meaning of the mysterious phrase at the end of the paragraph-heading is far from clear;<sup>3</sup> does it mean that the domain was actually at the service of the great temple of Amun at Karnak, or even that all fields, with the single exception of the one recorded here, had been confiscated by that temple? The field left measured only 5 *aroura* (of high land), the produce of which was duly recorded as five sacks of grain: one of barley and four of emmer. The field in question had been donated (*hmk*) to a statue of Amenophis III, the cult of which must have been the main beneficiary of the crop. According to the Wilbour Papyrus, the products of donated land went to cult-images called “god of Pharaoh”, which is probably a reference to royal statues. These statues also had their own non-apportioning domains in text A. Gardiner's theory, that these domains all belonged to a single statue, the “protected image” in the temple of Ramesses III in Western Thebes, has been opposed in section 2 of this chapter. In the present document, we see that a field donated to a statue of Amenophis III is recorded with the Theban temple of the same king, and also in this case, it remains uncertain whether the statue and the temple had anything to do with each other. Yet it can hardly be a coincidence that a field belonging to the royal memorial temple of Amenophis III was donated to a statue of the same long-deceased king. Be this as it may, we should reckon with the possibility that the temple of Amenophis III did not receive one sack of the corn produced by the field recorded, and that the total revenues were somehow shared between the cult of a royal statue and the great temple of Amun.

The text on *verso*, which records the assessments of fields individually held, contains one certain reference to a Theban memorial temple. In column II, the temple of Ramesses VI is mentioned as an institution involved in the administration of fields cultivated by individuals:

<sup>1</sup> Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, pl. 5; II, pl. 85.

<sup>2</sup> Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 8, pl. 6; II, pl. 85; Gardiner, *Ramesse Administrative Documents*, 70, 3 and 4; A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 69, pl. VIII.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 331, note 5.

(column II, line 21) Region to the east of the House of Horus [...] the Two Lands(?) [...] ... belonging to (*nty*)  
(22) the Temple of Nebma'atre Meriamun (Ramesses VI) in the house of [Amun]<sup>1</sup>

The relative marker *nty* at the end of line 21 was not read by the editor. It follows the sign she reads as “5 *aroura*”. The exact nature of the administrative responsibility remains uncertain. Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that the temple of Ramesses VI was also still economically active at the end of, or after the New Kingdom. An equally obscure heading is found in column VII:

(column VII, line 22) This place of the ...(?) Temple in the house of Amun<sup>2</sup>

Here, the temple of Ramesses III (if that is the institution referred to here as the “Temple in the House of Amun”, as in the Wilbour Papyrus)<sup>3</sup> is probably also referred to as an institution that is administratively responsible for the field in question, but again the exact character of the temple’s responsibility is obscure. It seems best to postpone any further remarks on the *verso* until more study has been devoted to the entire text.

#### § 7 - DISPUTES ABOUT TEMPLE FIELDS (P. SALLIER I 9, 1-9 AND P. BM 10373)

##### P. SALLIER I

Two smaller documents remain to be discussed, since they too deal with the fields of Theban memorial temples. They are very similar in content; both texts reflect disputes that have arisen over certain fields. The first one belongs to a series of exercises in letter-writing on P. Sallier I, which was composed by one Pentwere, a scribe of the chief archivist Amenemone of the royal treasury.<sup>4</sup> The texts were probably written during the reign of King Merenptah, and the “instruction” (*sb3.y.t*) they have become part of is dated to his regnal year 10.<sup>5</sup>

(column 9, line 1) The chief archivist Amenemone of the Treasury of Pharaoh I.p.h. speaks to the scribe Pentwere as follows. This document is brought to you to the following effect: (2) the stablemaster Amenemuia, son of Amenemope, of the Great Stable of Ramesses Meriamun (Ramesses II) I.p.h. of the Residence has reported to us, saying: “30 *aroura* (3) of fields have been given to me, producing fodder (*ir.w wnm.t*)<sup>6</sup> for the team of horses of Pharaoh I.p.h., which is in

<sup>1</sup> Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 17, pl. 22; II, pl. 94.

<sup>2</sup> Gasse, *Données Nouvelles* I, 22, pl. 30; II, pl. 96.

<sup>3</sup> See above, pp. 302 and 321.

<sup>4</sup> Recto 9, 1-9: Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 87 and 88; idem, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 78; Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 325-328.

<sup>5</sup> Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, xviii; R. Krauss, *SAK* 4 (1976), 189; J. Osing, *SAK* 7 (1979), 255.

<sup>6</sup> Gardiner and Caminos: <r> *ir(t)=w* <m> *wnm.t* “<to> make into fodder”. See, however, the phrase *rmny.t pr pn nty hr ir(t) wnm.t* “domain of this house which makes fodder” in P. Wilbour rt. A 45, 32; 72, 7 and 14; 75, 7; 79, 11 (Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I, pls. 21, 34, 36, and 38; II, 23; III, 47, 76, 79,

my hand (*m dr.t-i*). But see: they have been taken from me, and they have been given to the steward Nodjem of (4) the Temple of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma'atre Setepenre I.p.h. in the House of Amun." Further, when my letter reaches you, you shall cause those 30 *aroura* of fields to be released to (5) the stablemaster Amenemuia, son of Amenemope, of the Great Stable of Ramesses Meriamun I.p.h. of the Residence. Make haste, make haste, immediately! (...)

The quarrel referred to in this model letter was about 30 *aroura* of arable land, which had been assigned to the care of the stable-master Amenemuia. The produce of the land was to be used to feed horses of the king, which were under the responsibility of the same stable-master. Later, however, the fields were taken from him and given to the steward Nodjem of the Theban temple of Ramesses II (the Ramesseum). The reason for this transfer is not given, but the act was apparently an unjust one: the stable-master made his complaint to the chief archivist of the royal treasury, who commissioned his scribe to set things right: the fields were to be given back to the stable-master. In the following part of the letter (not translated here), the scribe is asked to reserve (*dgs* "demarcate"?) royal land of various types for the same person, but this is of less interest to us at present.

Gardiner warned his readers against taking the role of the persons mentioned here too seriously, because scribal exercises like this one often use the names of the pupil and his teacher in the description of cases that were actually not their business.<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the registration of the fields of temples and other institutions really was a central task of the archivists of the royal treasury, as we know from the inspections of the chief archivist Penpato in the reign of Ramesses III, and from other texts as well.<sup>2</sup> The complaint in the present letter may therefore be a case that had actually been handled by the chief archivist Amenemone, or one strongly resembling such a case. The steward Nodjem, moreover, is known also from other sources; he must have lived during the later part of the reign of Ramesses II and possibly under later kings of the Nineteenth Dynasty; according to Helck, he was the successor of the steward of the Ramesseum Yupa.<sup>3</sup>

The transfer of 30 *aroura* from the royal stable to the memorial temple of Ramesses II had clearly been a mistake. Perhaps the official(s) effecting the transfer assumed that the fields were no longer needed by the royal stable, or it was thought that they belonged to a different institution. Why a steward of the Ramesseum should receive new fields is entirely obscure: even if the text originally predates the reign of Merenptah, the transfer could hardly be part of the initial endowment of land for the Ramesseum, which would have taken place in the earlier years of Ramesses II. The fact that the steward Nodjem is mentioned here makes it unlikely that the letter refers to that early period. It would seem that a memorial temple could still be given new fields in the

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and 84). By analogy, the fields themselves are probably the semantic subject of *iri* here as well; hence, I regard *iri.w* as an active participle.

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 78.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter III, § 1 (pp. 94-95), as well as § 2 of the Introduction (p. 19, note 3).

<sup>3</sup> Helck, *Verwaltung*, 378-380; idem, *Materialien* II, (105). See also appendix 2.

later years of its existence, unless the transfer in this text was for the benefit of Nodjem personally.

### P. BM 10373

A similar dispute is recorded in P. BM 10373 from the late Twentieth Dynasty, which is not a scribal exercise, but probably a letter actually despatched. The text has been edited recently by Janssen.<sup>1</sup> As my interpretation of the text differs from that of the editor on some points, it seems best to give a translation first.<sup>2</sup>

(*recto*, line 1) When my letter reaches you, you shall look after (2) the field < s? > of Teye ... Mut { ... Mut }<sup>3</sup> that has been given to (3) the House of the Adoratrice l.p.h. of Amun, and about which the agent Merire (4) of the House of the Adoratrice said: "You robbed them!"<sup>4</sup> You are not to (5) argue in case they will provoke you about it.<sup>5</sup> The domains (? *pr.w*) are not (6) new domains (*pr.w*) of the actual domain (*pr*) of the House(?)<sup>6</sup> (7) of the Adoratrice of Amun at all, but old domain(s) (*pr*) of the temple of Nebma'atre l.p.h., (8) and (of) the House of Teye as well. Now you are a scribe of assessment (*sš n št*). You shall not (9) go on missions of ...,<sup>7</sup> by the hand of someone else. (*verso*, line 1) Take <the> scroll of testimonies (2) on which the field-inspections are (recorded), (3) go, and establish the boundaries of their fields, (4) everything you do being correct and just. (5) Do not let someone else go, lest he might provoke you in anything you shall (6) do, and hand over the ... (?). Do not cause another (7) lack of testimony for Psen<sup>8</sup> with you. You shall

<sup>1</sup> Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters*, no. IX; pp. 43-47, pls. 27-30.

<sup>2</sup> I wish to thank Prof. Janssen for discussing this text and its many problems with me in November 1994.

<sup>3</sup> The scribe wrote the same group for a second time after dipping his pen in the ink. His intention can hardly have been to write *hr pr Mw.t* "in(?) the House of Mut", because *m* is the preposition one would expect in that case instead of *hr* (cf. Janssen, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 44, note 2). A temple of Teye "in the House of Mut" is otherwise unknown, but we know about a temple of Teye "in the House of Amun" (people attached to this temple are listed by Helck, *Materialien* I, (56), no. 15, to which add the steward Ay: R.A. Fazzini *et al.*, *Ancient Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum*, New York 1989, no. 56). Another possibility is *hr < šh.w.t pr > Mw.t* "on <the fields of the House of> Mut". This expression is commonly used in text B of the Wilbour Papyrus, where Pharaoh's *khato*-land is said to be "on the fields" of such-and-such an institution (see above, § 3, p. 315). Note, however, that the group read as *hr* does not resemble the preposition as written in vs., 2 (as noted by Janssen). Perhaps one might also think of  , and read *Sš.t Mw.t* "Daughter of Mut"? However, I do not know any reference to Queen Teye with such an epithet.

<sup>4</sup> Keeping to the usual meaning of *hwr<sup>c</sup>*, which might reflect the indignation of the agent. It seems likely that a dispute has arisen over the status of fields newly added ("given") to the estate of the Adoratrice. Therefore I regard *hwr<sup>c</sup>=k* as a perfect, and not as a prospective *sdm=f*.

<sup>5</sup> Merely a guess; the text literally says: "when they get your strength with it" (*iw iw=tw ini(.t) ph.t.y=k im=s*). The admonition to the addressee not to react on any provocations of other functionaries, but to rely on the information as recorded, seems to suit the context well.

<sup>6</sup> It seems doubtful if *pr* is to be read after *mtr*. The horizontal stroke is curious, and the right side of the supposed  seems to be interrupted. Could it in fact be  as a determinative of *mtr*? For the stroke to the left of it I have no solution to offer.

<sup>7</sup> Janssen's reading *sš n tmš* "scribe of the mat" is not altogether certain, since it would require  or

 as a determinative.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps a personal name, rather than "the brother"? Although not a very frequent name, *Pš-sn* is well attested for the Twentieth Dynasty: H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* I, Glückstadt 1935, XXII,

bear (8) witness to Amun, your Lord. Look: (I) have sent. Make yourself (9) a testimony. May your health be good.

The sender of this letter is unknown, and the only thing we can say about the addressee is that he was a “scribe of assessment” (*sš n št*; *recto*, line 8), a title otherwise unknown. The text is far from being entirely clear, and the scribe seems to have made a mistake at least twice (*recto*, lines 2 and 9). As I see it, the conflict was as follows: fields belonging to the temple of the long-deceased Queen Teye, the consort of Amenophis III, had been assigned to the estate of the Divine Adoratrice of Amun. The addressee had apparently failed to take note of this, or he had made a mistake in establishing the boundaries between the newly endowed fields and the fields (still) belonging to the temples of Teye and Amenophis III. An administrator of the estate of the Adoratrice had become furious about this, but the writer urged the addressee, who was no doubt his subordinate, not to react on any provocations, and to establish the boundaries again with written evidence at hand.

Perhaps the most vexing problem of this text, when trying to bring its administrative background in the picture, is the use of the word *pr*. The scribe seems to have written this word with two different things in mind: (a) an institution with its (entire) estate; (b) a part of such an estate: an individual field or a group of fields. When used in the latter sense, it strongly reminds one of the term *rmny.t* “domain” as it is used in text A of the Wilbour Papyrus and in the Griffith and Louvre fragments. The expression *pr mtr* (*recto*, line 6) might even be a parallel to the expression *rmny.t mtr.t* “actual/regular domain” occurring a few times in P. Wilbour.<sup>1</sup> In that text, a *rmny.t* “domain” embraces one or more fields, assessed separately, under the responsibility of one official. A number of such domains could be organized into one domain on a higher level under the authority of a (higher) official (see above, section 1). The use of the word *pr* in *recto* lines 5-7 might refer to the same hierarchy of agricultural domains. But this suggestion already goes far beyond what can reasonably be ascertained from this difficult text.

The letter shows that the fields of the old memorial temple of Amenophis III still existed, three centuries after the temple had been built, and that there were documents that could be referred to in case conflicts arose about the boundaries of these fields. We can only guess the extent of the agricultural domains of the temple; as we have seen in sections 5 and 6 above, the domain of the temple of Amenophis III in the Tenth Upper-Egyptian nome had only one field of 5 *aroura* left in the Third Intermediate Period. P. BM 10373, as well as the model letter from P. Sallier I discussed above, give us a glimpse of how the reduction of the agricultural domains of an institution could come about: by reassignments, just or unjust, of small portions of land, an estate of considerable size might crumble away within a few centuries.

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117, no. 6; Gutgesell, *Datierung* II, 606 and 607. The sentence might be a warning to the addressee not to disappoint this *P3-sn* again by measuring fields without writing it down, or without a witness being present. For people testifying to field boundaries in tomb-scenes, see S. Berger, *JEA* 20 (1934), 54-56. Is that practice referred to in this letter as well?

<sup>1</sup> Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 22.

## CHAPTER XI

### JAR DOCKETS AND SEAL IMPRESSIONS

#### § 1 - HIERATIC JAR DOCKETS

A specific type of information is given by the hieratic inscriptions on jars that once contained the products of temple estates. These are traditionally called “dockets”, a term that does not here refer to loose labels or tags, but to messages written on the jars themselves, and therefore inseparable from the vessel body. As inscribed fragments, however, they are distinguished from the countless anonymous pottery sherds found at a given archaeological site, and in text editions they often receive the same treatment as ostraca. Most of the docketts preserved come from wine-jars, but there are also docketts from jars of oil (*nḥḥ*, *mrḥ.t*, *sgnn*), fat, curds (*smi*), meat, fowl, honey, incense, and other products.<sup>1</sup> They usually have a uniform structure and contain the following data:

regnal year  
product (and sometimes quality)  
source: type of source and (with wine and oil) geographical reference  
institution owning the source (garden, herd, or otherwise) in question  
individuals directly responsible for the product (introduced by *m ḏr.t*)  
(sometimes) individuals responsible on a higher level (*r ḥt*)

A typical wine docket from Deir el-Medina may be cited here by way of example:

Regnal year 17. Wine of the great garden of the temple of Userma'atre Setepenre (Ramesses II) l.p.h. in the House of Amun, which is in the House of Userma'atre Setepenre l.p.h., the God, (at) the Water of Pre, (by the hand of) the chief gardener Amen <mose>.<sup>2</sup>

Sometimes, one or two elements of information may be left out. Instead of the full name of an institution that contains a royal name, only the name of the king may be given. Still, this name serves as a reference to the owning establishment (the exact type of which then remains unclear: palace or temple?) and not as an indication of the reign, because it is always found after the specification of the product and the source; the king's name is never mentioned directly after the regnal year. The year can thus always be that of a later king than the one mentioned in the docket. The official responsible on a higher level (*r ḥt* “under the authority of”) is only seldom mentioned, as opposed to the one more directly concerned with the product.

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<sup>1</sup> See the classification of products in Koenig, *Étiquettes* I and II.

<sup>2</sup> Koenig, *Étiquettes* II, no. 6300.

It is important to point out at the start that docketts do not inform us on the ultimate destination of the jar; this must be inferred from the places where they have been found. In many cases, these places will have been the original destination (as is the case, for instance, with the docketts recording wine from gardens of the Ramesseum, which have been found on the site of that temple). Matters can get more complicated, however, through the possible re-use of the jars, or the secondary allocation of their contents. If such was the case, the site where a particular docket has been unearthed might be misleading.

The following sections are concerned with docketts that once formed part of jars containing products from the estates of the memorial temples in Western Thebes. Only docketts explicitly mentioning the memorial temples are included. This means leaving out of consideration those docketts in which the words *hw.t (n.t) ḥh.w m rnp.w.t* “temple (of millions of years)” are absent or lost.<sup>1</sup> Many docketts have been found on the sites of the temples themselves, especially among the remains of the storerooms of the Ramesseum.<sup>2</sup> Others, however, have been found in the Valley of the Kings,<sup>3</sup> the Valley of the Queens,<sup>4</sup> in some private tombs at Deir el-Medina,<sup>5</sup> at the sites of the temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu<sup>6</sup> and of the palace of Amenophis III at Malqata,<sup>7</sup> and perhaps even at Amarna.<sup>8</sup> An impressive number of docketts were found during the excavations by Schiaparelli and Bruyère of the workmen’s village at Deir el-Medina, and the memorial temples are well represented by them.<sup>9</sup>

## § 2 - TEXTUAL INFORMATION FROM WINE DOCKETS

The biggest share of all extant hieratic jar inscriptions is made up of wine docketts, which give us plenty of information about the production of wine on temple estates. Before discussing the data available for the individual memorial temples, we may deal with

<sup>1</sup> Institutions referred to by the word *pr*, followed by a royal name, are thus considered irrelevant here. Likewise, the docketts that mention only a royal name not preceded by *hw.t* “temple” are left beside, although in these cases the possibility that a memorial temple is actually referred to cannot be excluded.

<sup>2</sup> Published by Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* II, 673-699 (including the docketts found by Quibell and published by Spiegelberg); Speleers, *Recueil des Inscriptions*, 52-54.

<sup>3</sup> O. Cairo CG 24985 and 24986 (Daressy, *Fouilles*, 302).

<sup>4</sup> López, *Ostraca Ieratici*, nos. 57051 and 57053; Y. Koenig, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 127 (no. XVI).

<sup>5</sup> TT 217: Davies, *Two Ramesseum Tombs*, pl. XIX, no. 1 (upper text); TT 359: Nagel, *Céramique*, 18 (nos. 11 and 13), others unpublished, in Černý Notebook 144.13 and 14. Some other docketts from Deir el-Medina may have been found in tombs as well.

<sup>6</sup> Koenig, *Étiquettes* I, no. 6134; II, nos. 6346 and 6399. The temple of Amenhotep is recorded as the provenance of these docketts in Černý MS 1.165-191, which include some unpublished docketts from the site.

<sup>7</sup> W.C. Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), [44-47] (nos. 6, 23, 34, 35, 47, 51, 59, and 70). The temple of Amenophis III is referred to as *t3 hw.t Nb-M3c.t-Rc*, as *t3 hw.t Pr-3*, or briefly as *t3 hw.t* (nos. 35 and 70).

<sup>8</sup> Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pl. LXXXV (nos. 19 and 20); O. University College (unpublished); Černý Notebook 54.15 and 56.31: “P 10”). It is not entirely certain that Theban temples are really referred to in these docketts.

<sup>9</sup> Excavations Schiaparelli: López, *Ostraca Ieratici*, nos. 57174 and 57237; excavations Bruyère: Koenig, *Étiquettes* I and II, *passim*. It is to be noted that some of the docketts in Koenig’s catalogue may come from other sites on the Theban west bank, such as the temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu mentioned above.

some general points of information offered by the docket. Wine was produced in different qualities: ordinary (unspecified), good (*nfr*), and excellent (*nfr-nfr*). These grades of quality are also found with wine in the offering-lists inscribed on the walls of New Kingdom temples, as well as in captions of the reliefs depicting offering-processions.<sup>1</sup> Another qualification was “sweet wine” (*irp ndm*). In addition to one of these designations, a number of days could be added, varying from 3 to 13, which may represent the period of fermentation before the wine was put into the jars.<sup>2</sup> For example: “excellent [wine] of 13 days”, on one of the dockets from the Ramesseum.<sup>3</sup>

The word *k3m* has the general meaning “garden”.<sup>4</sup> A specific word for “vineyard” seems to be non-existent: wine was the product of a “garden”, where grapes were grown together with other fruits. The offering-lists of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu and Karnak mention gardens as the source of wine, but also of vegetables and flowers.<sup>5</sup> Ramesses III built a great garden in which vines and olive-trees were growing together; possibly the olive-trees even functioned as a support for the vines. The products of the garden were both oil and wine.<sup>6</sup>

(P. Harris I page 8, line 5) I have made for it (i.e. for a newly founded delta town) “Food-of-Egypt Inundation in the Two Lands” (*K3 n Km.t B'ḥ m T3.wy*), in the great land of olive trees, with grapes, entirely surrounded by an enclosure wall of miles and planted with great trees (6) along every path.<sup>7</sup> Its oil (*nḥḥ*) is more plentiful than the sand of the shore, to be sent to Your *Ka*, to Victorious Thebes. The wine is as the flow of water, without limit, to be (7) presented in front of You as a fixed portion.

In addition to the word *k3m* “garden”, the source of wine may be referred to as “inundated (or: irrigated) land” (*b'ḥ*). Such “inundated/irrigated land” may have been the region in which several gardens were situated.<sup>8</sup> Judging from the determinative of *k3m*, and from the above description from P. Harris I, the gardens were surrounded by

<sup>1</sup> For the calendar lists, see table 2 (B); for the offering-processions, see chapter IV, §1, pp. 111-112.

<sup>2</sup> For this process, see C. Meyer, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI, 1170 and 1171; M.A. Amerine, “Wine Making”, in: *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*<sup>5</sup> (*Macropaedia*) vol. 19, Chicago etc. 1977, 878 and 879.

<sup>3</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* II, 674, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* V, 106, 4-9. See M. Abd er-Raziq, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 227-247; esp. 239-241 for the words *k3m*, *k3n*, and *k3r.y*. In the New Kingdom, the word *k3m*, of Semitic(?) origin, would have replaced the Egyptian *k3n*. The latter survived only in its derivative *k3r.y* “gardener” (*n* and *r* both rendering a sound actually pronounced as [l]).

<sup>5</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 121, 4; 122, 5-8; 176, 4; 236, 14.

<sup>6</sup> P. Harris I 8, 5-7 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 10; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. I, 231; Meyer, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* VI, 1173).

<sup>7</sup> Grandet translates: “on every side” (*Papyrus Harris I* vol. II, 47, note 177). Cf., however, the use of *w3.t* in O. Gardiner 86 rev., 10 (Černý, Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. LXXXII; Wentz, *Letters*, 119). Wentz translates “sides” here as well, but the meaning of *w3.t* will rather be “corridor” (in a granary, giving access to the storerooms: see e.g. the plan of temple storerooms in Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu* III, pl. 10). The word will be used in P. Harris I with a similar meaning: for the paths running along the rows of olive trees and vines. For the layout of vineyards, see C. and F. Traunecker, *BSEG* 9/10 (1984/85), 285-307; M. Bietak, *Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Anzeiger* 122 (1985), 272-278. See also C.J. Eyre, *JEA* 80 (1994), about the rows of tree-pits and their irrigation.

<sup>8</sup> See Helck, *Verwaltung*, 168-170; Wild, in: *Hommages Sauneron* I, 312-315 (c).

walls (possibly in order to keep out animals).<sup>1</sup> The two words *k3m* and *bʿh* may also be used alternatively in the same context. On the other hand, a specific toponym such as *K3-n-Km.t* is exclusively combined with *bʿh*, never with *k3m*.<sup>2</sup> *Bʿh* must be a reference to inundated or irrigated land. Vines would not prosper on ground that is permanently moist, but in the dry Egyptian climate they require submersion or intensive irrigation during the period in which the grapes are growing.<sup>3</sup>

A passage from Papyrus Anastasi IV may be cited here because it is particularly informative with regard to the produce of temple gardens and their administration, although it is probably not concerned with a Theban temple:<sup>4</sup>

(P. Anastasi IV, column 6, line 10) I have reached (11) “Those of Ramesses Meriamun l.p.h.” on the river-bank of Petri, with the ship of my lord and the (column 7, line 1) two cattle-transports of the Temple of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkheprure Setepenre (Sethos II) l.p.h. in the House of Amun. I am making a list of the stock of the team of gardeners<sup>5</sup> (2) of the gardens of the Temple of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkheprure Setepenre l.p.h. in the House <of Amun>. I have found the gardeners to be 7 men, (3) 4 young men, 4 old men, 6 children, together 21 people. To inform my lord about the stock of wine which I found sealed (4) by the chief gardener Tjetri (or: Tjeri): wine: 1,500 jars (*mn*); *šdh*-wine:<sup>6</sup> 50 jars; *p3-wr*-drink: 50 jars; (5) pomegranates: 50 *pdr*-sacks (or: -baskets); grapes: 50 *pdr*-sacks and 60 *krht*-sacks. I loaded (6) them <in> the two cattle-transports of the Temple of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkheprure Setepenre l.p.h. in the House of Amun, I went downstream (7) from The House of Ramesses Meriamun l.p.h. the Great *Ka* of Pre-Horakhty (i.e. Pi-Ramesse), and I handed them over to the agents (8) of the Temple of Millions of Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userkheprure Setepenre l.p.h. in the House of Amun.

If the student scribe learnt anything from this exercise, it was how to spell the name of a royal memorial temple. The most important things we learn from it are: (1) that a “garden” did not only produce wine, but also other drinks and fruits; (2) that the chief gardener (*hr.y k3m.y.t*) was the local superior of the garden personnel, which consisted of people of different ages. The entire process of wine production took place there, and the stoppers of the filled jars were sealed by the chief gardener. It is this person that we

<sup>1</sup> See C.J. Eyre, *JEA* 80 (1994), 60, with note 21.

<sup>2</sup> Helck, *Verwaltung*, 169.

<sup>3</sup> Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. II, 42 (note 164), against H. Wild, in: *Hommages Sauneron I*, 313 and 314. See also C.J. Eyre, *JEA* 80 (1994), 58, 70 and 71.

<sup>4</sup> P. Anastasi IV 6, 10 - 7, 8 (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 41 and 42; Caminos, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 155-159). In view of the fact that the writer travels even further north than Pi-Ramesse to deliver the products to temple agents, the temple of Sethos II referred to here may itself have been located there. The extension “in the House of Amun” does not necessarily mean that the temple in question was a Theban one, nor that it had any administrative ties with the temple of Amun in that city (see the Introduction, § 4, pp. 30-34).

<sup>5</sup> *K3m.y.t*; see A. Lerstrup, *GM* 151 (1996), 95-97. For *k3m.y* “gardener”, see chapter VIII, pp. 244-245.

<sup>6</sup> *šdh* is often mentioned together with wine (e.g. P. Harris I 7, 11; 12b, 1; 15a, 11-14; Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 9, 15, 19). The word is quite familiar in Late Egyptian texts, but it never turns up in offering-lists on temple walls, nor is it ever the main item in hieratic jar docketts. For *šdh* as a sweet and highly alcoholic wine (comparable to the Roman *defrutum*), see P. Tallet, *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 459-492.

meet almost without exception on the wine docket as the one responsible (*m dr.t*) for the wine delivered.

Kitchen has given an important account on the wine-producing gardens of the Ramesseum, which is based on the docket found in that temple and at Deir el-Medina.<sup>1</sup> He paid special attention to the geography of the gardens recorded. Such an attempt will not be made here. What follows is a survey of the information offered by the docket on the produce and the administration of the gardens of each individual temple. The temples are listed in chronological order.

### AMENOPHIS III

This is the oldest Theban memorial temple for which we have information about wine production.<sup>2</sup> Dockets mentioning this temple were found at Malqata and Deir el-Medina.<sup>3</sup> Even some docket found at Amarna may very well refer to the Theban memorial temple of Amenophis III.<sup>4</sup> The Eighteenth Dynasty docket from Malqata chiefly mention palace officials receiving the wine deliveries from the royal temple. Twice we find the god's servant and steward Meriptah of the temple as the one responsible (introduced by *ir.n*) for the transfer of wine for the king's *sd*-festival. Docket 6356 from Deir el-Medina probably only mentions a chief gardener(?) of the temple, besides a house of the king called *'In-ṯḥn*. Docket 6405 from the same site informs us that the temple had a garden on the "Western River" (i.e. the westernmost branch of the Nile in the delta), and mentions the name of the official responsible.

### AY

This temple is represented by one docket found at the site of the temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu.<sup>5</sup> The only information provided by it is that the gardens of the temple functioned in a second regnal year which is probably that of Ay himself, because his temple was later usurped by his successor Horemheb (see appendix 1).

<sup>1</sup> Kitchen, in: *Studies Gwyn Griffiths*, 115-123.

<sup>2</sup> A jar docket from Amarna mentions a temple of Thutmose I, which may be his Theban memorial temple (unpublished; Černý Notebook 54.15 and 56.31). No more information is given by this fragment. The temple of Thutmose IV referred to by K.A. Kitchen (in: *Studies Gwyn Griffiths*, 116, with note 14) is called *pr Mn-ḥpr.w-Rc* in a docket from Deir el-Medina, and *t3 ḥw.t [...]-Rc* in one from the Ramesseum. The first is an unlikely, the second a very uncertain reference to the memorial temple of this king.

<sup>3</sup> Malqata: W.C. Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), [44-47], figs. 4-7, nos. 6, 23, 34, 35, 47, 51, 70; Deir el-Medina: Koenig, *Étiquettes* II, pl. 44, no. 6356; pl. 50, no. 6405.

<sup>4</sup> Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pl. LXXXV, nos. 19 and 20.

<sup>5</sup> Koenig, *Étiquettes* II, pl. 50, no. 6399. The docket was found during the excavation of the temple of Amenhotep according to Černý MS.1.165.

## HOREMHEB

Three dockets from Deir el-Medina mention the temple of Horemheb.<sup>1</sup> From one we learn that it had a garden on the “Western River”; the other two mention chief gardeners called Amun and Neferhotep.

## SETHOS I

Wine dockets of the temple of Sethos I have been found in the Valley of the Kings, at Deir el-Medina, and in the Ramesseum.<sup>2</sup> No hieratic wine dockets are known to have been found in the storerooms of Sethos’s own temple at Qurna, as opposed to seal stamps on wine jars (for which see section 5 below). One of the two texts from the Valley of the Kings mentions a garden “at the Water of ... (Pre or Ptah?)”, which was under the responsibility of a chief gardener called Hatiay. Two dockets from Deir el-Medina mention the chief gardener Tjay, who must have been responsible for the produce of a garden situated at the “Ka-waters”,<sup>3</sup> which produced “good wine” (*irp nfr*). An unknown garden of Sethos’s memorial temple produced “sweet wine” (*irp ndm*).

A chief gardener of the Theban(?) temple of Sethos I called Seti-neheh is known from a docket found in the Ramesseum; he was working in a garden of which the name is lost.<sup>4</sup> A gardener with the same name is recorded on a docket from a garden of the Ramesseum itself.<sup>5</sup> The location of the garden for which he was responsible is unknown, and the regnal year is lost on both dockets, but there is a good chance that they refer to the same person.<sup>6</sup> Seti-neheh may have been a chief gardener of the temple of Sethos I who later also worked in a garden of the temple of Ramesses II, on the understanding that he sent the products of both gardens under his control to the Ramesseum. In this way, Ramesses II may have reserved the products of a garden of the temple of Sethos I and its personnel for his own memorial temple.

## THE RAMESSEUM

The dockets referring to gardens of the temple of Ramesses II have been thoroughly discussed by Kitchen.<sup>7</sup> For the locations of the gardens of this temple, the reader is referred to his study. In addition to the inscriptions found in the Ramesseum itself and at

<sup>1</sup> Koenig, *Étiquettes* II, nos. 6295, 6339, and 6396.

<sup>2</sup> Valley of the Kings: Daressy, *Fouilles*, nos. 24985 and 24986; Deir el-Medina: Koenig, *Étiquettes* II, nos. 6311, 6422, 6486(?), and 6494; Ramesseum: Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* II, 689, nos. 141 and 230.

<sup>3</sup> Unidentified locality; see K.A. Kitchen, in: *Studies Gwyn Griffiths*, 117 and 119, fig. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* II, 689, no. 230.

<sup>5</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* II, 696, no. 182.

<sup>6</sup> *Sthy-(r)-nhh* (“Sethos is eternal”) is not one of the most common names in the New Kingdom (Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 322, no. 12), and may be restricted to people born during the reigns of Sethos I and II.

<sup>7</sup> K.A. Kitchen, in: *Studies Gwyn Griffiths*, 115-123.

Deir el-Medina, there are docketts from the Valley of the Queens, two Theban private tombs, and from the temple of Amenhotep, son of Hapu.<sup>1</sup>

It is only from the numerous docketts connected with the Ramesseum that a more detailed study of the administration of temple gardens can be attempted. Unfortunately, none of the texts in question contains (or preserves) a reference to an authority on a higher level (that is, names of officials introduced by *r ht*). This is in remarkable contrast with the chief gardeners (the direct superiors of people working in the gardens), whose names seem never to have been omitted from the docketts. Of course, the large number of different names is partly accounted for by the fact that the texts can be from different reigns. Docketts with the regnal years 47 and 50 are certainly from the reign of Ramesses II.<sup>2</sup> In other cases, the dating is less certain (a close look at the handwriting might be instructive here). Hence, if more than one chief gardener is attested for the same region, it is generally hard to establish whether they were the overseers of different gardens, were contemporaries working in the same garden, or whether one was actually the successor of another. For some regions, however, the names are so numerous that we can hardly escape the conclusion that a particular geographic designation could actually refer to different gardens, any of which was supervised by one of the known chief gardeners. The best example is the temple's "Great Garden which is in Those-of-Amun (*Nꜣy-Imn*)", for which we know five different chief gardeners.<sup>3</sup> We know at least four chief gardeners working for the Ramesseum at "the Water of Pre".<sup>4</sup> For the "Great Irrigated Land" situated in "Food-of-Egypt" (*Kꜣ-n-Km.t*), three different chief gardeners are known.<sup>5</sup>

Although the chief gardeners in these gardens were not necessarily all contemporaries, it is likely that the "garden" or "irrigated land" actually consisted of different administrative units. The way of referring to these units is similar to the system

<sup>1</sup> From the Valley of the Queens: López, *Ostraca Ieratici*, no. 57053 (no. 57051 may also refer to Ramesses II); Y. Koenig, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 127 (no. XVI); Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions II*, 847, 1-4; from tomb QV 80: Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions II*, 847, 1-4. From TT 217: Davies, *Two Ramesseum Tombs*, pl. XIX, no. 1 (upper inscription). From TT 359: Nagel, *Céramique*, 18, nos. 11 and 13; Černý Notebook 144.13 (no number). From the temple of Amenhotep: ostraca Varille (unpublished; Černý MS.1.173, 186, and 191). Additional docketts from Deir el-Medina: López, *Ostraca Ieratici*, nos. 57174 and 57237. Further docketts mentioning the Ramesseum (most or all of which were found in that temple) can be found in Speleers, *Recueil des Inscriptions*, no. E 338; Černý Notebook 111 (no pages nos.; ostraca Cairo Carnarvon); Černý MS.1.346 (O. Strasbourg H 15).

<sup>2</sup> A docket from TT 359 is dated to regnal year 47 and mentions the chief gardener Akhpet (Nagel, *Céramique*, 18, no. 11); one from TT 217 mentions the regnal year 50 and the chief gardener Pheripedjet (Davies, *Two Ramesseum Tombs*, pl. XIX, no. 1, upper text).

<sup>3</sup> Ria (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions II*, 685, 3, 10, and 11); To (ibid., 685, 4); Nakht (ibid., 685, 5); Smentau (ibid., 685, 6, 13 and 14); Amenemope (ibid., 685, 8; 694, 9 and 10). The chief gardener Amenemope may also be mentioned on two docketts from TT 359 (Nagel, *Céramique*, 18, no. 13; Černý Notebook 144.13: docket without number).

<sup>4</sup> Ia (or Kai?) (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions II*, 694, no. 263); Amenmose (Koenig, *Étiquettes II*, no. 6300; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions II*, 686, no. 236; 687, no. 234); Kes (ibid., 687, nos. 281, 288, and 295); Tja[nefer?] (ibid., 676, no. 143; cf. nos. 184 and 196).

<sup>5</sup> Dhutmose: Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions II*, 674 and 675 (Wd); Bai: ibid., nos. 142, 199, 214, 247, 210); Ken (or Kem?): unpublished Carnarvon docket at Cairo (Černý Notebook 111, no page nos.; the docket Louvre E 7742 (1) bears a similar text: Y. Koenig, *RdÉ* 44 (1993), 69).

employed for the fields of the Wilbour Papyrus. There, the three components needed to identify a certain plot are: (1) the owning institution; (2) a geographical reference containing a toponym, mostly accompanied by cardinal points; (3) the individual responsible for the cultivation (see chapter X, section 1). The same practice is followed in the wine dockets: first we find “garden” (or: “irrigated land”) of the relevant temple, then a geographical indication, and at the end we read the name of the chief gardener.

Two wine dockets from Deir el-Medina and dated to a regnal year 6 mention a garden that may have belonged to a memorial temple, but hardly to the Ramesseum.<sup>1</sup> The supreme supervisor, however, was the steward Hori of the Ramesseum, who was represented on a lower level by an “overseer of the place [...]” whose name is unknown. Another docket mentions the steward Pre[...], possibly also of the Ramesseum, as responsible for gardens which are not themselves specified as belonging to the temple.<sup>2</sup> It appears from these dockets that officials of a memorial temple could be responsible for the gardens of other temples. This is hardly surprising, since we learn from the Wilbour Papyrus that on the higher administrative level (as referred to by the preposition (*r*) *ht*), officials attached to one institution could be supervising the fields of another (see chapter X, sections 1-4). We know, moreover, that stewards (*im.y-r pr*) were not exclusively concerned with the estates they belonged to, but had other functions as well (chapter VIII, section 2).

The colossal statue of Ramesses II in the first court of his temple features as a symbol of the decay of the potentate’s glory in Shelley’s poem *Ozymandias*, but in better days it enjoyed its own cult, which required separate economic provisions.<sup>3</sup> Some dockets from the Ramesseum and from Deir el-Medina mention wine and oil for “The Great Statue of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Userma‘atre Setepenre I.[p.h. ...] the Two Lands”.<sup>4</sup> It is likely that this name refers to the colossus in the Ramesseum because that statue was of exceptional size even compared with other monuments of Ramesses II, although its specific name was “Re of Rulers”.<sup>5</sup>

#### MERENPTAH

A docket referring to the temple of this king has been found at Deir el-Medina.<sup>6</sup> It gives us no more information than the name of a chief gardener(?): Pnakht. Another one, from

<sup>1</sup> Koenig, *Étiquettes* II, nos. 6291 and 6293. One records wine from “the garden of Ramesses Meriamun I.p.h. Beloved of Thebes”; the other wine from “the garden of the [temple of ...?] Meriamun I.p.h. Setepenre Beloved of Thebes”.

<sup>2</sup> Koenig, *Étiquettes* II, no. 6408.

<sup>3</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 433 (7). The theft of copper from this statue is recorded in P. BM 10054 rt. 3, 17 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. VII). The colossus is referred to there as “the Great Statue of the Lord I.p.h. which is standing in the *wb3*”.

<sup>4</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 689, no. 311; Koenig, *Étiquettes* I, nos. 6051 (“the Great Statue of [...]”) and 6079.

<sup>5</sup> See L. Habachi, *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II* (Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe 5), Glückstadt 1969, 24 and 25. See also Helck, *Materialien* II, (195), no. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Koenig, *Étiquettes* II, no. 6338.

a garden lying to the north of “Those of Ramesses [Meriamun]”, comes from the site of the temple itself.<sup>1</sup>

### RAMESSES III

Two wine docketts from Deir el-Medina mention the memorial temple of Ramesses III.<sup>2</sup> One of them (no. 6472) refers to a garden of this temple “on the Western River”, the location we also met with in a docket of the temple of Horemheb (see above), but which does not figure in any of the docketts of Ramesses II.<sup>3</sup> That Ramesses III’s memorial temple had more than one garden in this area is shown by another docket mentioning “the gardens” of this temple on the Western River.<sup>4</sup> According to the latter text, the gardens were under the authority of the attendant (*šms.w?*) Userhat,<sup>5</sup> and on a lower level a chief gardener was responsible for them, or perhaps rather for one of them. We do not know whether the attendant was attached to the temple itself, and this need not even have been the case in view of the fact that on the *r h̄t*-level, supervising officials were quite mobile (see the above remarks on the steward Hori of the Ramesseum, who was responsible for gardens belonging to another temple). The plural “gardens” is attested on some other docketts as well,<sup>6</sup> but it is not common.

### RAMESSES IV

A wine docket referring to a garden of the temple of Ramesses IV was found at Deir el-Medina,<sup>7</sup> and some more come from foundation deposits of the temple itself at Assâsîf. Only one of the Assâsîf docketts has been published, and this mentions a garden of the temple under the authority of its *sem*-priest Hekamaʿatrenakht.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to the docketts mentioning the temples of the kings listed in this section, there are numerous references to Theban memorial temples from which the part containing the royal name has broken off.

<sup>1</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* IV, 67, 3-5.

<sup>2</sup> Koenig, *Étiquettes* II, nos. 6424 and 6472.

<sup>3</sup> K.A. Kitchen assumed that vineyards of the Ramesseum were nonetheless situated here, under different names (in: *Studies Gwyn Griffiths*, 117).

<sup>4</sup> O. Vienna Aeg. 11 (H. Goedicke, *WZKM* 59/60 (1963/64), 5, pl. XI; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 448, 11-14). The name of the temple is incorrectly stated by Goedicke to be that of the Ramesseum. We cannot be sure that this docket was actually found in the Ramesseum, it being doubtful whether fragment no. 187 from that temple is really part of the same text.

<sup>5</sup> Instead of the title *šms.w*, Goedicke and Kitchen read the proper name “Mose”. An official title, however, would better fit the position between the preposition *r h̄t* and the official’s name “Userhat”.

<sup>6</sup> E.g. Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* II, 688 (nos. 148 and 160).

<sup>7</sup> Koenig, *Étiquettes* II, no. 6318.

<sup>8</sup> Bietak, *Theben-West*, 19, pl. IX (c); Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VI, 49 (read “*sem*” instead of *sš* “scribe”). For the *sem*-priest as supreme supervisor of memorial temple resources, see chapter VIII, § 1.

## § 3 - DOCKETS RECORDING OTHER PRODUCTS

Although wine is the subject of the vast majority of hieratic jar docket, it is by no means the only product referred to. Various jar inscriptions mention oil (*nḥḥ*), fat, honey, and curds from the Theban memorial temples. No doubt their estates also produced other items (such as *mrḥ.t*- and *sgnn*-oil, meat, fowl, and incense), but these do not occur on the surviving dockets that explicitly refer to royal temples of millions of years, which I wish to deal with here exclusively.

It is not quite certain whether *nḥḥ* stands for sesame-oil, olive-oil, or whether it is just a general word for oil.<sup>1</sup> Jar dockets, as well as the passage from P. Harris I (page 8, lines 5-7) quoted in the previous section, seem to suggest that *nḥḥ* was obtained from olive trees,<sup>2</sup> but the evidence of olive-oil production is scanty when compared with the frequent use of the word *nḥḥ*.<sup>3</sup> The product was used as fuel for lamps according to the list of daily offerings at Medinet Habu.<sup>4</sup> The source of the oil as recorded on the dockets is invariably “the great land (or: garden) of olive trees of the temple ...”. The only known memorial temple for which dockets of *nḥḥ* have survived is the Ramesseum.<sup>5</sup> On some other dockets, the specification of the king in the temple name is lost.<sup>6</sup> In view of the fact that they generally record high regnal years, most of these dockets will be from the reign of Ramesses II himself. Two locations of olive gardens of the Ramesseum are known: “Those of Amun” (*Nzy-Imn*), and “the District of *K3*”. The former location is also given for some of the wine-producing gardens of the Ramesseum (see above). From the Great Harris Papyrus, we know that the growing of olive trees and vines could be combined.<sup>7</sup> The jars of wine and oil mentioning the same region in their dockets may therefore theoretically have come from the same gardens. A characteristic of oil dockets is that they seem never to mention the administrators of the gardens. Instead, they usually end with a quantity of oil expressed in *hin*.

A docket from regnal year 34 of Ramesses II mentions “fresh fat” (*ḏ w3ḏ*) of the Ramesseum.<sup>8</sup> According to Černý’s notes, it was found at the site of the temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu. Another from year 37 records fat from the Ramesseum as well, but the provenance of this docket is unknown.<sup>9</sup> We are not informed about the

<sup>1</sup> Principal discussions: L. Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten* I, Hamburg-Berlin 1924, 18-20, 134 and 135; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 47, note 178; B. Koura, *GM* 145 (1995), 79-82.

<sup>2</sup> P. Harris I 8, 5-7; see also 27, 10 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 10 and 32; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. I, 231 and 261).

<sup>3</sup> As has been noted by Keimer, *loc. cit.* See also Lucas, Harris, *Materials and Industries*<sup>4</sup>, 333-335.

<sup>4</sup> List 6, line 290 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 146).

<sup>5</sup> From the Ramesseum itself: Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 697 (no. 321; see also nos. 318, 320, 323, 324). From Deir el-Medina: Koenig, *Étiquettes* I, nos. 6000, 6029, 6038, 6042, 6061. Nos. 6051 and 6079 mention oil of the colossal statue of Ramesses II (see section 2 above). A Ramesseum docket of unknown provenance is O. Toronto B 5 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* II, 697).

<sup>6</sup> Koenig, *Étiquettes* I, nos. 6003, 6009, 6024, 6033, 6053, 6054, 6055, 6062.

<sup>7</sup> P. Harris I 8, 5-7 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 10; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. I, 231). Translated in § 2 above, p. 348.

<sup>8</sup> Koenig, *Étiquettes* I, no. 6134 (= Černý MS 1.191, no. 7).

<sup>9</sup> Carnarvon docket at Cairo (unpublished; Černý Notebook 111, no page numbers).

source of the fat itself. Fat docketts from Deir el-Medina frequently mention “fresh fat of cattle of the Opet festival”, but the memorial temples are never recorded in this context.<sup>1</sup> In the temples, fat was used for the preparation of cakes (*šc.t*), but fresh fat could also be used for lamps.<sup>2</sup>

Curds (*smi*)<sup>3</sup> of a memorial temple are mentioned on one jar docket from Deir el-Medina.<sup>4</sup> Curiously enough, the temple is that of Ramesses I (clearly *Mn-ph.t.y-R*). This would seem to make the docket the only known reference to a temple of Ramesses I in Western Thebes. The temple is not specified by the phrases “in the House of Amun” or “to the west of Thebes”, hence the possibility that a temple of Ramesses I outside Thebes is referred to remains open. Against this it must be noted, however, that docketts from the west bank generally do not refer to non-Theban institutions. Was the “Temple of Menpehtire” in fact the chapel dedicated to this king in the temple of Sethos I at Qurna?<sup>5</sup> The man responsible for the delivery of curds was a herdsman named Nebiri. Herdsmen were probably the usual suppliers of this milk product;<sup>6</sup> we have seen already in chapter IV (section 1) that milk was carried by a herdsman in the offering-procession depicted at Medinet Habu. Curds, however, are not found in the offering-lists on temple walls. P. Harris I mentions them among the royal *in.w* delivered to the Theban temples.<sup>7</sup>

Honey of the temple of Sethos I and of the Ramesseum is known from some docketts found at Deir el-Medina.<sup>8</sup> The temples used honey to sweeten some of the offerings prepared from grain.<sup>9</sup> One of the Ramesseum docketts is dated to regnal year 49 of Ramesses II. It mentions a “honey-collector” (*bit.y*) and a “chief honey-collector” as the people responsible for its delivery.<sup>10</sup> A honey-collector is also mentioned on the docket of the temple of Sethos I. The remaining two Ramesseum docketts probably record the same persons: the steward and scribe of the royal altar Neferabet as a higher-placed supervisor (introduced by the preposition *r ht*), and the troop-commander (*hr.y-pd.t*) Amenkha<sup>c</sup>u as the one directly responsible (*m dr.t*). The word “troop” is not to be understood here in a strict military sense: collectors of honey and incense, as well as

<sup>1</sup> See Koenig, *Étiquettes* I, nos. 6127 (from year 1 of the “Repeating of Birth”), 6128, 6129, 6131, 6132, 6133, 6136.

<sup>2</sup> Medinet Habu calendar list 6, lines 287 and 288 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 46).

<sup>3</sup> For *smi* “curds”, see Von Deines, Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 438-440; Darby, Ghalioungui, Grivetti, *Food* 2, 775; Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 353-355.

<sup>4</sup> Koenig, *Étiquettes* I, no. 6157, found among the debris to the south-west of the workmen’s village (KS = “Kôms du Sud”).

<sup>5</sup> For this chapel, see Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 416-419.

<sup>6</sup> See also docket no. 6160 in Koenig, *Étiquettes* I, pl. 18.

<sup>7</sup> P. Harris I 15a, 9 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 18).

<sup>8</sup> Koenig, *Étiquettes* I, nos. 6182, 6190, 6193, 6194.

<sup>9</sup> Honey for cake (*šc.t*), date-drink, and two obscure grain products (*qšw* and *hnišy*) is mentioned in list 6 of the Medinet Habu calendar (recording the daily offerings), lines 282-285 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 146). According to this list, the daily requirement was slightly more than 8 *hin*, or about 4 litres.

<sup>10</sup> For *bit.y* “honey-collector” or “bee-keeper”, see Helck, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* III, 151; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 2, 120, note 504. Authors disagree on the economic importance of collecting wild honey in ancient Egypt: see E. Neufeld, *Ugarit-Forschungen* 10 (1978), 225-231; J. Leclant, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, 787.

hunters, were organized in “troops” according to the Great Harris Papyrus.<sup>1</sup> Amenkhaḥu was probably the leader of a group of collectors of wild honey, and as such he was responsible for their production.

#### § 4 - THE PROVENANCE OF THE DOCKETS

Beside the information offered by the texts themselves, an important element in the study of the jar docket is their provenance. Many of the dockets discussed in the previous sections have been found in the royal memorial temples themselves: the numerous fragments from the Ramesseum, and some dockets from the temples of Merenptah and Ramesses IV.<sup>2</sup> We will not be wrong in assuming that the principal deliveries from temple estates went to the owning temples themselves. We have also seen, however, that dockets of temple products have been found in various places in Western Thebes, and in case of Amenophis III's temple perhaps even at Amarna. It is clear, then, that jars from temple estates frequently ended up outside the temple proper, and the same may be true for their contents.

There can hardly be any reason to doubt that the dockets mentioning the temple of Amenophis III and found at Malqata represent deliveries made by the temple to the royal palace.<sup>3</sup> Two of them even explicitly state that wine deliveries were made by the priest and steward Meriptah of the temple for the second and third *sd*-festivals of the king,<sup>4</sup> while others probably record the reception of wine deliveries by palace officials.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, some dockets from Amarna probably represent wine deliveries to the residence of Akhenaten from the temple of his father at Thebes.<sup>6</sup>

Many Ramesside dockets come from Deir el-Medina, and these can perhaps be regarded as proof of deliveries made by the temples to the necropolis workmen. However, we have to approach this matter with caution for at least two reasons. (1) None of the dockets found at Deir el-Medina explicitly mentions the fact that products from temple estates were handed over to necropolis authorities. It has been stated in section 1 of this chapter that the dockets never give information about the destination of the jars on which they have been written: they were relevant only for the shipment of products to the temples, not for any subsequent deliveries. (2) I have not come across any ostrakon or papyrus document recording a delivery of wine or oil from a memorial temple to the necropolis. A distribution to necropolis workmen of honey, curds, and other products at the temple of Ramesses III, is mentioned in a Turin papyrus from the reign of Ramesses IX,<sup>7</sup> but even there it is not certain whether the temple was handing

<sup>1</sup> P. Harris I 28, 3; 48, 2 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 32 and 53; Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 261 and 288).

<sup>2</sup> Temple of Merenptah; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* IV, 67, 3-5; temple of Ramesses IV: Bietak, *Theben-West*, pl. IX (c); Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VI, 49, 6-8.

<sup>3</sup> W.C. Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), [44-47], nos. 6, 23, 34, 35, 47, 51, 59, 70.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 34 and 59.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, nos. 35 and 47.

<sup>6</sup> Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pl. LXXXV, nos. 19 and 20.

<sup>7</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1891 vs., 1-6 (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VI, 636 and 637). See chapter IX, p. 257.

over products from its own resources, or whether it was just the place where provisions from the royal treasury were distributed.

It is especially the complete absence of wine deliveries by temples (including the temples of Ma'at and Hathor and the royal "palanquins") to the workmen in papyri and ostraca that is in sharp contrast with the numerous wine dockets found at Deir el-Medina. Indeed, wine is an item rarely mentioned in the texts from the workmen's settlement.<sup>1</sup> The dockets would seem to be the only documents testifying to quite substantial deliveries of wine and other products to the village. Was this aspect of the local economy irrelevant to the necropolis administrators, or are all records of the provisions in question on ostraca and papyri simply lost? Both options are difficult to believe. However, I cannot think of an alternative explanation that would release us from this embarrassment. We could assume that after the products had been received by the temples, the empty jars were discarded, and re-used by other people in the neighbourhood. We know that wine-jars were sometimes re-used,<sup>2</sup> but this can hardly be the explanation for other dockets from Deir el-Medina that mention more remote temples.<sup>3</sup> Knowledge about the exact find-spots of the dockets, as far as that can be obtained,<sup>4</sup> is of little help. Most dockets were found in dumps of village waste; some were lying in areas occupied by tombs, chapels or houses. Unfortunately, Bruyère's excavation reports do not provide data which would enable us to determine more precise locations of dockets in specific houses or chapels. Some dockets are known to come from the tombs of Anherkha'ui or Kah (TT 359 and 360), but even in this case the circumstances of the excavation leave us in doubt as to whether they formed part of the original tomb equipment or not.<sup>5</sup> Fragments of wine-jars, among them one with a docket mentioning the Ramesseum, were found in the tomb of Ipui, also at Deir el-Medina (TT 217). The jars had been deposited in the shaft of the tomb, and some of them had been filled with wheat and barley.<sup>6</sup> It would appear that at least in this case the jars had been re-used. As they all date from about the same time (regnal years 49, 50, and 53 of Ramesses II), they may have been deposited in the tomb shaft together, perhaps at Ipui's burial.

In the Valley of the Kings were found two dockets, probably both of wine-jars, mentioning the temple of Sethos I.<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, the exact find-spot is unknown, but it

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<sup>1</sup> Janssen, *Commodity Prices*, 350.

<sup>2</sup> See P. Tallet, *BIFAO* 95 (1995), 473 and 474, and the example of the dockets from TT 217 below.

<sup>3</sup> See Koenig, *Étiquettes* II, nos. 6305 (temple of Montu at Armant), 6312 (temple of Hathor at Gebelein or Dendera), 6492 (the Karnak temple of Amun).

<sup>4</sup> The excavators' marks on the relevant dockets as given by Koenig are: GP or KGP = "(Kô)m du Grand Puits", the great waste pit north of the village; GMN = "Gournet Mouraï Nord"; KS = "Kôms du Sud", tombs and debris to the southwest of the village. The indications of years are informative as well because they allow us to establish the area excavated when the dockets were found: relevant to us are the tombs and chapels to the northwest (1929), the tombs, chapels, and houses to the north (1932), and the debris and cemetery to the south of the village (1935).

<sup>5</sup> E.g. Koenig, *Étiquettes* I, no. 6182 (= Nagel, *Céramique*, 18, no. 28 = docket G "DEF" in Černý Notebook 144.13); unpublished dockets in Černý Notebook 144.13 and 14.

<sup>6</sup> Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, 39 and 40, pl. XIX (1).

<sup>7</sup> G. Daressy, *Fouilles*, 302 (nos. 24985 and 24986).

is plausible that they both come from the spot where also a jar stopper, and perhaps even a funerary statuette of Sethos I were found.<sup>1</sup> The king's tomb would then be a likely option. One of the wine-jars found in the tomb of Tutankhamen has a seal impression on it that probably mentions the memorial temple of this king,<sup>2</sup> so it is possible that products from a temple ended up in the royal tomb. A docket probably mentioning the Ramesseum has been found in the tomb of Queen Tuy in the Valley of the Queens.<sup>3</sup> The exact provenance of other Ramesseum dockets found in the Valley of the Queens is uncertain;<sup>4</sup> some of them may also have come from tombs.

Dockets from the site of the funerary chapel of Amenhotep son of Hapu mention wine and fat of the temples of Ay and Ramesses II.<sup>5</sup> It is possible, therefore, that this chapel was partly provided for by the royal memorial temples nearby during the reigns of Ay and Ramesses II.<sup>6</sup>

It has been said at the beginning of this section that many dockets come from the sites of the memorial temples. It is important to observe, however, that the dockets do not always refer only to the temples in which they were found. Attention has already been drawn to the fact that two wine dockets mentioning the temple of Sethos I were found in the Ramesseum. There is some reason to believe that the gardens in question regularly delivered their products to the temple of Ramesses II, because the chief gardener Seti-neheh mentioned on one of them may very well have been the same person as the chief gardener Seti-neheh of the Ramesseum itself (see above, section 2). The exact location is not clear of the temple of Ramesses II "At Ease with Truth (*Hrw hr Mꜣꜥ.t*) in the House of Amun", which is known from jar dockets found in the Ramesseum.<sup>7</sup> Gardens designated simply by the names of Ramesses II or Sethos I (without *hw.t* "temple" or *pr* "house") may have belonged to the memorial temples of these kings, but this remains uncertain.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ibid., 299 (no. 24972: statuette) and 302 (no. 24984: stopper).

<sup>2</sup> C.A. Hope, in: J. Baines ed., *Stone vessels, Pottery and Sealings from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*, Oxford 1993, 107 (fig. 5) and 110, no. XXXIV.

<sup>3</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* II, 847, 1-4.

<sup>4</sup> López, *Ostraca Ieratici*, nos. 57051 and 57053 (from Schiaparelli's excavations in 1905); Y. Koenig, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 127, no. XVI (from recent excavations by the CNRS and CEDAE).

<sup>5</sup> Koenig, *Étiquettes* I, no. 6134; II, nos. 6346 and 6399. The dockets were found during the excavation of the temple of Amenhotep according to Černý MS.1.165, 173, 186, and 191 (containing photographs of the aforesaid texts, beside two more unpublished Ramesseum dockets from this site).

<sup>6</sup> The docket referring to Ay is from the second regnal year of that king (see above, p. 350), and the regnal year 34 on one of the Ramesseum dockets must be that of Ramesses II himself (Koenig, *Étiquettes* I, no. 6134).

<sup>7</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* II, 678. A gate in Thebes called *Hrw-ib hr Mꜣꜥ.t* is mentioned in P. Berlin 3047, lines 3 and 4 (W. Helck, *JARCE* 2 (1963), 65 and 66, pl. X). See also C.F. Nims, *JNES* 14 (1955), 119; Helck, *Materialien* I, (58). A temple of Ramesses II *Hrw hr Mꜣꜥ.t* is mentioned on docket Louvre E 30146 + 30157 from Abydos together with a temple of millions of years of Ramesses II (Y. Koenig, *RdÉ* 44 (1993), 61. In view of the use of the royal *prenomen*, the memorial temple referred to is probably the Ramesseum.

<sup>8</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* II, 674 (nos. 215 and 175), 681 (nos. 218, 228, 246), 689 (no. 168).

From the temple of King Merenptah comes a docket mentioning a “House of Merenptah Satisfied with Truth (*Htp-ḥr-Mꜣꜥ.t*)”.<sup>1</sup> This cannot be a reference to the memorial temple itself, which was called “Temple (of Millions of Years) of Ba’enne Meriamun”, but it must be the name of another foundation of Merenptah that delivered some of its products to the king’s temple on the west bank. The temples of King Siptah and Queen Tausert received wine from the gardens of a foundation of Siptah called “house of Sethos Merenptah in the House of Amun”.<sup>2</sup> Dockets from the queen’s temple also record wine from the temple’s own gardens,<sup>3</sup> whereas that of Siptah received additional deliveries from gardens of the “House of the Overseer of the Sealed Things of the Entire Land”, that is, of an estate of the chancellor Bai.<sup>4</sup>

It may be clear from this brief survey that jar dockets found *in situ* offer important information on intra-institutional transfers. This information must be used with caution because the true administrative background is often beyond our grasp. Nonetheless, we will be justified in concluding that the memorial temples were partly provided for by products from other estates.

#### § 5 - SEAL IMPRESSIONS

Similar information on institutional deliveries is given by the marks stamped into the wet clay of jars before they were baked, or on the clay stoppers by which the jars were sealed before being shipped. The formulae attested in such stamps are much more concise than those of the hieratic dockets. They usually only contain information on the product (and sometimes its quality) and on the producing institution (to which may be added a reference to a specific department, such as a storehouse or a treasury). A typical example is a text of a seal stamp on a jar found in the Ramesseum:<sup>5</sup>

Oil [of] the temple of Userma’atre Setepenre in the House of Amun

As we have every reason to expect, the temporal and spatial distribution of seal stamps on jars from memorial temples is more or less the same as that of hieratic jar-dockets. The oldest stamps possibly referring to a New Kingdom memorial temple at Thebes are those of Amenophis III from Amarna. It is again uncertain whether stamps from that site really refer to the Theban temple of Amenophis III. In view of the fact that no separate shrine dedicated to that king at Amarna is known, Thebes is a likely, though perhaps not the only, candidate for the source of the “wine of the temple of Nebma’atre”.<sup>6</sup> No jar-sealings of the memorial temple were found among the remains of the palace at Malqata.

<sup>1</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* IV, 67, no. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 346 and 347, no. I; 354, nos. III and IV.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 354, nos. I and II.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 347, no. II. See J. Černý, *ZĀS* 93 (1966), 35-39.

<sup>5</sup> Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. XI, no. 16.

<sup>6</sup> See Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pl. LXXXI, nos. 15 and 16 (the latter with the epithet “Beloved of Sokar”, which would be an unusual component in the name of the Theban temple of Amenophis, though not impossible in view of the prominence of Sokar in that temple).

One of the stamps from that place mentions the “divine offering in the Temple of Amun” (*hṯp-ntr m Ḥw.t Imn*),<sup>1</sup> which in itself could be a reference to the king’s memorial temple.<sup>2</sup> In this case, however, the reference will rather be to the temple of Amun situated within the palace complex itself.<sup>3</sup>

A stamp on one of the jar-stoppers from the tomb of Tutankhamen probably mentions the king’s own Theban memorial temple.<sup>4</sup> Stamps referring to the temple of Horemheb were found close to the storerooms of that temple by Hölscher. They mention wine and *šdh* of the temple of Djoserkheprure Setepenre.<sup>5</sup> Seal-impressions referring to oil (*nḥḥ*), moringa-oil, and wine of the temple of Sethos I were found in the storerooms of the king’s temple at Qurna.<sup>6</sup> The stamps from the Valley of the Kings that refer to the same temple have been discussed in the previous section. Just like the one from the tomb of Tutankhamen, they imply that temple products could become part of the royal funerary equipment, if only on a modest scale. The seal-stamps found in the Ramesseum record oil, incense, honey, and wine of that temple.<sup>7</sup> However, it also received products from exterior sources: some stamps of oil-jars mention “the Temple of Menma’atre At Ease in Abydos”, the great Abydos temple of Sethos I.<sup>8</sup> Others contain the names of Thutmose IV, Amenophis III, and Merenptah.<sup>9</sup>

Among the jar-sealings found at Deir el-Medina, there are some which explicitly mention the royal memorial temples. They record oil from the treasury of the temple of Sethos I,<sup>10</sup> as well as unknown commodities of that temple<sup>11</sup> and from the Ramesseum.<sup>12</sup> The name of the temple of Horemheb was stamped on a jar containing wine or beer.<sup>13</sup> One oil-jar mentions a memorial temple, without giving the name of the king who founded it: “the Temple to the west of Thebes”.<sup>14</sup> It is possible that other stamps, which

<sup>1</sup> W.C. Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 160 and fig. 29 (no. ZZ).

<sup>2</sup> For *hṯp-ntr* as an abbreviation of *hṯp-ntr* (royal name) *m pr Imn*, see Helck, *Materialien* I, (10).

<sup>3</sup> Bricks of that temple were stamped with the name “(Nebma’atre in) the Temple of Amun in the House of Rejoicing” (*Nb-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ m Ḥw.t Imn m Pr Ḥꜥ*); W.C. Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), 163 and fig. 30 (nos. VIII and IX).

<sup>4</sup> C.A. Hope, in: J. Baines ed., *Stone vessels, Pottery and Sealings from the Tomb of Tutankhamun*, Oxford 1993, 107, 110, and 111 (no. XXXIV). Stamp number XVIII from the same tomb (*ibid.*, 100 and 104) is unlikely to refer to the memorial temple if the reconstruction *pr* is correct.

<sup>5</sup> Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu* II, 109.

<sup>6</sup> W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Qurneh*, London 1909, pl. XLVI.

<sup>7</sup> Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. XI.

<sup>8</sup> *Ḥw.t Mn-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ hrw-ib m šbdw*; Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. XI, nos. 9 and 10.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 45; 47-49. A jar-sealing with the name of Akhenaten (*Nfr-ḥpr.w-Rꜥ Wꜥ-n-Rꜥ*; no. 46) is the last thing one would expect in a Ramesside temple. Could this in fact be a brick stamp, just like nos. 1-8 on the same plate, one of which (no. 4) bears the same name? See also *ibid.*, 5 (6), 15 (30).

<sup>10</sup> Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh 1945-1947*, 54 (fig. 39, no. 66: jar-stopper); Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh 1948-1951*, 59 and 81, pl. XV (stoppers).

<sup>11</sup> Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh 1934-1935*, 343 (jar-handle); Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh 1948-1951*, 59, pl. XV (stopper).

<sup>12</sup> Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh 1945-1947*, 54 (fig. 39, no. 20: stopper).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 53 (fig. 38, no. 15: jar handle or belly), as well as 51 and 52, note 1.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 54 (fig. 39, no. 29: stopper).

mention only royal names, also belong to jars containing temple products, but they may also belong to other institutions.

The presence of jar sealings may be a more reliable indication of actual temple deliveries to the necropolis workmen than the hieratic dockets: if a jar-stopper is found *in situ*, this means that the jar in question was opened there, or at least that it was still closed when it was transported to that place. This means that the seal-stamps just discussed finally give us the confirmation that deliveries of oil, and so perhaps also of other commodities, were handed over to the royal necropolis from temple resources. Still, I would not go as far as Bruyère, who concludes: “ils indiquent les entrepôts royaux des temples dans lesquels les distributions de salaire en nature étaient périodiquement faites au personnel de la nécropole”.<sup>1</sup> We know nothing about the regularity of the deliveries represented by jar dockets and sealings. Therefore, it remains difficult to reconcile their information with the absence of records on the same commodities as delivered by temples in the vast corpus of ostraca and papyri from Deir el-Medina.

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<sup>1</sup> Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh 1945-1947*, 51 and 52, note 1.

## CHAPTER XII

### ECONOMIC RESOURCES OF THE ROYAL MEMORIAL TEMPLE ACCORDING TO ADMINISTRATIVE TEXTS

#### § 1 - INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to summarize the findings of Part Two of this work (chapters VIII-XI), and to use these data as a means of complementing and controlling the economic model of a New Kingdom memorial temple as described at the end of Part One (chapter VII). As opposed to the idealistic or ceremonial documents of Part One (chapters I-VI), the texts of Part Two originate from everyday economic practice in the private or the administrative sphere. The land registers of the Wilbour Papyrus and the Ashmolean/Louvre fragments (chapter X, sections 1-6) are records compiled by scribes of the agricultural administration, who were probably working in regional administrative centres. The scribal exercise in P. Sallier I (chapter X, section 7) is probably representative of the actual administrative duties of the scribe Pentwere, who served the chief record-keeper of the royal treasury Amenemone. Most of the texts discussed in chapters VIII and IX were written by scribes or other employees of the royal necropolis in Western Thebes. They include work-journals, records of deliveries, receipts, letters, and legal records.

It is important to note that Part Two hardly contains any records drawn up by administrators of the temples themselves. Whereas some royal funerary temples of the Old and Middle Kingdoms have provided us with the remains of their archives,<sup>1</sup> the New Kingdom memorial temples—themselves so much better preserved than their predecessors—hardly allow us a look into their own offices. The only records of temple administration appear to be the accounts of the mining expeditions in P. IFAO A + B,<sup>2</sup> and a list of materials delivered to the treasury of the House of Amun.<sup>3</sup> Both texts, however, are probably records of the treasury of the temple of Amun at Karnak, and not of the temples of Western Thebes. Stamps and hieratic docketts on jars record the shipments of products from memorial temple estates.<sup>4</sup> Some of the “Late Ramesside Letters” discussed in chapters VIII and IX may also perhaps be regarded as administrative temple records, because the correspondents were attached to the royal necropolis, which had its administrative centre in the temple precinct of Medinet Habu at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. A particularly clear example is the alarming account

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<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, § 1, pp. 2-3.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter IX, § 1, pp. 250-252.

<sup>3</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1900 (see chapter IX, § 8, pp. 274-275).

<sup>4</sup> See chapter XI.

by the chantress of Amun Henuttaui to her husband, the necropolis scribe Nesamenope, on the offerings for "Amun of United with Eternity".<sup>1</sup> The writer and the addressee of P. BM 10373 were perhaps attached to the temple of Amenophis III and the "House of Teye", but they may have worked for other authorities as well.<sup>2</sup> The majority of texts in Part Two were drawn up by "outsiders": regional field administrators, or the necropolis scribes of Western Thebes. These authorities registered temple fields, members of temple personnel, and transfers of temple products only if they were important for their administration. They give us hardly any information on the organization and production within the temple enclosure walls.

Together, the texts of Part Two cover a period of about six centuries. The dates of the jar docket vary from the reign of Amenophis III in the Eighteenth to that of Ramesses IV in the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>3</sup> The ostraca and papyri from Western Thebes discussed in chapters VIII and IX are from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties. Text A of the Wilbour Papyrus was compiled in the fourth regnal year of Ramesses V;<sup>4</sup> text B some years before.<sup>5</sup> The Griffith and Louvre fragments date from the Third Intermediate Period, the Twenty-second Dynasty at the latest.<sup>6</sup> As in Part One, the bulk of the material is from the Twentieth Dynasty, so that the description given in the following sections is conditioned mainly by this period.

For the adjustment of the economic model we will follow the same steps as for its original description in chapter VII. The data on the temple proper and the departments immediately supplying it will be digested first (section 2); then the structure of the greater temple estate will be worked out in more detail (section 3). After this, we will turn to its economic relations with other institutions (sections 4 and 5).

## § 2 - THE TEMPLE PROPER AND ITS IMMEDIATE SOURCES OF SUPPLY

### GENERAL

Since the documents of Part Two do not offer us any direct insight into the temple's internal production and requirements, we have hardly any information about the departments directly provisioning the temple: the workshop, slaughterhouse, granary, treasury, storehouses and cattle-sheds, which must have been situated within the temple enclosure wall. Our situation is thus no better than that of the people living on the Theban west bank, to whom the temple doors remained shut except when an important religious festival would bring out the god's statue in procession. For the inhabitants of Western Thebes, the only signs of the temple's daily economic activities must have been the deliveries of grain and other products, the cries of birds and cattle being slaughtered, and probably the occasional distribution of temple products to people outside.

<sup>1</sup> P. Geneva D 191 (see chapter IX, § 9, p. 281).

<sup>2</sup> See chapter X, § 7.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter XI.

<sup>4</sup> See chapter X, § 1, p. 283.

<sup>5</sup> See chapter X, § 3, pp. 316-317.

<sup>6</sup> See chapter X, § 5, pp. 333-334.

The only direct information on departments within the *temenos* is provided by some papyri from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (see below, 2 and 3). More information is obtained from the titles of temple personnel that appear in hieratic papyri and ostraca. Besides priests, officials and workmen of the temples are frequently attested in texts from the surrounding area. Their titles sometimes mention the specific departments they were attached to. In discussing the departments, we will keep to the order established in chapter VII.

#### 1. THE PRODUCTION OF BREAD AND BEER (THE WORKSHOP)

According to chapter VII, the preparation of food for the offerings took place in the temple workshop (*šn*). The activity inside the workshop is well illustrated by offering-lists and depictions of offering-processions. We have hardly any information, however, on the activities of its administrators. Overseers of temple workshops (i.e. officials with the titles *hr.y-šn* or *im.y-r šn*) rarely appear in administrative documents,<sup>1</sup> and the temples for which they worked are never specified. They never occur in the context of their supposed administrative function.

People who must have worked in the *šn* of a memorial temple are not explicitly referred to as such in papyri and ostraca. Instead, we find only a few references to a “baker” (*rth*) and a “brewer” (*th*) in two (closely parallel) name-lists from the late Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>2</sup> The purpose of these documents is to list a number of people possessing objects stolen from tombs in the necropolis, and the few specifications given only serve their identification. The brewer was attached to the temple of Amenophis III, and he was under the authority (*r ht*) of, or simply belonged to (*n*), the *sem*-priest of that temple. Following the structure set out in chapter VII, an overseer of the workshop should have been mentioned as the immediate superior of the temple’s food-producing personnel. Such information, however, was probably of no relevance to the scribes of the lists, whose task it was to write down the results of the investigation of tomb-robberies in the Valley of the Queens. Their view on temple personnel was that of outsiders: to them, the brewer was just one of the many possessors of copper stolen from the tombs. More important than naming the direct work supervisor of the temple’s brewer, apparently, was registering the workman as a subordinate of a *sem*-priest. The brewer could thus be distinguished from other people working for the same temple who were under the authority of other officials, such as the temple steward (*im.y-r pr* or *ʿ3 n pr*) or the high priest of Amun at Karnak, both of whom could have authority over personnel of the memorial temples in Western Thebes according to the same name-lists and other contemporary documents.<sup>3</sup>

Hardly a trace is found in Twentieth Dynasty papyri of the “slaves” (*hm.w*) with which Eighteenth Dynasty Pharaohs claimed to have filled the workshops of their temples. However, to conclude from the comparison of Eighteenth Dynasty inscriptions

<sup>1</sup> See chapter VIII, § 6, pp. 242-243.

<sup>2</sup> P. BM 10053 and *Giornale yr.* 17 A/B (see chapter VIII, § 6, p. 242).

<sup>3</sup> See chapter VIII, § 1 (p. 215), and also below, no. 8.

on the one hand with Twentieth Dynasty papyri on the other, that workshop personnel had been emancipated during the New Kingdom from “slaves” to professional workmen, would perhaps go too far. The texts in question are not only separated by time (two centuries), but also by their perspective. There is some reason to doubt, however, that masses of foreign captives put to work in the temple and housed in their own settlements in its vicinity, like those referred to in the inscriptions of Amenophis III, still existed at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. If the thousands of people assigned to the Theban memorial temple of Ramesses III according to the Great Harris Papyrus<sup>1</sup> included a large number of workshop personnel, we would expect to find at least some references to new settlements of temple personnel in Western Thebes, the topography of which is relatively well documented for the Twentieth Dynasty (for instance by the house-lists of the papyri BM 10052 and BM 10068). Instead, the majority of the people “given” to the temple will have been agricultural workers scattered throughout the country, or inhabitants (Egyptian or foreign) of villages donated to the temple, but not lying in its immediate surroundings (one is reminded of the Sherden or ꜥꜥ.w “foreigners” mentioned in some Twentieth Dynasty administrative papyri). It is impossible to say how many people actually lived in or close to the temple, and were responsible for the production of items daily required for the offerings. A considerable part of the workshop personnel, however, may have been local inhabitants employed by the temple, who had their houses somewhere in the neighbourhood (as is recorded for some priests and temple workmen), or lived “in Thebes”, that is on the east bank.

## 2. GRAIN SUPPLIES (THE GRANARY)

References to the storage of grain in temple granaries are found in some Twentieth Dynasty papyri. The grain collected by the necropolis scribe Dhutmose according to the Turin Taxation Papyrus was probably brought to the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, where it was kept in the granary, the long rooms of which were called *mhr* “magazine” or *šm.y* “corridor”.<sup>2</sup> Subdivisions of the granary may have been distinguished by specific names, such as “The Corridor Overflows” (*wbn pꜥ šm.y*). Two men questioned in connection with temple-robbing in P. Mayer A had been guarding grain in the same temple,<sup>3</sup> presumably on the roof of its granary. This is likely because both men stated that they “descended” (*hꜥi*) from the place where they were sitting, and passed by the temple treasury. The granary roof, moreover, was the usual place for the delivery of grain according to the Turin Taxation Papyrus, and this practice is illustrated

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter VI, § 4 (p. 175); chapter VII, § 3, pp. 202-204.

<sup>2</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1896 + 2006 (see chapter IX, § 9, p. 278).

<sup>3</sup> P. Mayer A (see chapter IX, § 9, p. 280).

by some tomb scenes and wooden models of granaries.<sup>1</sup> What the men were actually guarding must have been the holes in the roof through which the grain was poured into the rooms beneath, or some heaps of grain provisionally stored on the roof itself. They could reach the grain from where they were, because they admit having taken some of it and having exchanged it for stolen copper. The word *šnw.t* “granary” is not used in this text. No people attached to the granaries of Theban memorial temples occur in the texts treated here.

### 3. THE STORAGE OF VALUABLE PRODUCTS (TREASURIES AND STOREROOMS)

Papyri from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty probably refer to a treasury outside the temple proper. The two men guarding grain in the Mayer Papyrus (see above, no. 2) told how they went down, heard the voices of thieves in the treasury (*r-ḥd*), and saw them through a crack in its wooden door. On other occasions, the same room is referred to as a “storehouse” (*wḏḏ*).<sup>2</sup> From a comparison with a scene in the tomb of the vizier Rekhmire we have already learned that *wḏḏ* could be a name for a storeroom of the temple treasury.<sup>3</sup> The terms *pr-ḥd* and *wḏḏ* could both be applied to free-standing structures, which were probably located within the temple precinct. Perhaps it would be more correct to speak of “temple treasuries”, rather than of a single “temple treasury”. If Egyptian texts nonetheless employ the singular (which they often do), this may refer either to one of the individual “treasuries” or “storerooms”, or to the total of all rooms that contain treasury-items, whatever their exact location. The information from P. Mayer seems to confirm the existence of one or more “outside” treasuries, as distinct from the “ritual” treasury within the stone walls of the temple proper: the thieves’ voices could be heard not far from the spot where grain was kept. The alternative explanation, that the guardians were sitting on the roof of the temple proper, afterwards descended into the hypostyle hall, and noticed the thieves in the “ritual” treasury, seems less likely, because by this time the temple was probably still used for regular ritual service, as Henuttaui’s anxious letter seems to imply.<sup>4</sup> The “outside” treasury of Medinet Habu was the place in which there stood a portable shrine, made of wood and copper, of the late high priest of Amun Ramessesnakht. Probably in the same treasury were kept similar shrines of Sethos I and Ramesses II. The shrines may have been transferred to Medinet Habu from other temples in order to protect them from plunderers, and kept in the

<sup>1</sup> As in e.g. TT 60 (Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu* III, 81, fig. 55), and in a tomb of the First Intermediate Period at Gebelein, now in the Egyptian Museum at Turin (Suppl. 143540: A.M. Donadoni Roveri ed., *Civiltà degli Egizi. La vita quotidiana*, Milan 1987, 51, fig. 52). A perfect illustration is a wooden model in the Cairo Museum (Darby, Ghalioungui, Grivetti, *Food 2*, [469], fig. 11.9). Separate grain silos were filled through holes at the top according to a scene in TT 88 (Wreszinski, *Atlas I*, pl. 279). Another example is model MMA Acc. no. 20.3.11 (H.E. Winlock, *Models of Daily Life in Ancient Egypt* (Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, XVIII), Cambridge Mass. 1955, pl. 20 - reference due to M. Marée).

<sup>2</sup> P. Mayer A and P. BM 10403; see chapter IX, §§ 8 (pp. 276-277) and 9 (p. 281).

<sup>3</sup> See chapter II, § 7, p. 84.

<sup>4</sup> P. Geneva D 191 (see chapter IX, § 9, p. 281). Cf. Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, 9 and 10.

storerooms as a provisional measure.<sup>1</sup> No further documentation is forthcoming on the “storehouse of gifts (*wḏz n in.w*) mentioned in the Medinet Habu calendar, which may actually have been considered a treasury storeroom.<sup>2</sup> The Mayer Papyrus does inform us, however, about the function of other temple storerooms: the storage of wood and charcoal for a temple workman’s oven.<sup>3</sup>

Overseers of the treasuries of Theban memorial temples are known from some quarry-inscriptions at Gebel el-Silsila.<sup>4</sup> We may perhaps conclude from these texts that the building of the temples was a regular responsibility of the overseers. Further information on their activities is lacking. We do not meet them, as opposed to the treasury scribes, in papyri and ostraca from Western Thebes. Judging from documents dated to the reigns of Ramesses IV and VII, the treasury scribe of the temple of Ramesses III usually attended the collection of copper tools belonging to the royal necropolis by that time.<sup>5</sup> He probably assessed the weight of the tools, and he could keep some of the copper with him. There is some reason to believe, therefore, that the copper used by the necropolis workmen was kept, or even forged, within the walls of the temple of Ramesses III.

#### 4. THE KEEPING AND USE OF CATTLE (CATTLE-SHEDS AND THE SLAUGHTERHOUSE)

In a Nineteenth Dynasty model letter, a *wab*-priest of Sakhmet attached to the temple of Amenophis III is urged to pay attention to the temple cattle-sheds (*mḏ.t ih.w*).<sup>6</sup> We know from other sources that *wab*-priests of Sakhmet were particularly concerned with the ritual purity of cattle slaughtered for the offerings.<sup>7</sup> In the letter here referred to, however, the priest appears to be responsible not only for the cattle, but also for the production of wheat and barley.

No explicit references to a cattle-shed (*mḏ.t*) or slaughterhouse (*shw*), or to their personnel (such as the “servants”, *sdm.w*)<sup>8</sup> can be added to those discussed in chapter VI. Even there, the presence of cattle-sheds and slaughterhouses in the Theban memorial temples was inferred mainly from the parallelism between the slaughtering-scenes of Medinet Habu and of Abydos: only the captions to the scenes at the latter location proved to be informative in this respect.<sup>9</sup> The slaughterhouse of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu is once referred to in the Great Harris Papyrus by the curious word *shwn*.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See chapter IX, § 8.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter VII, § 2, pp. 196-197.

<sup>3</sup> P. Mayer A (see chapter IX, § 9, p. 281).

<sup>4</sup> See chapter VIII, § 2, p. 230.

<sup>5</sup> P. Geneva MAH 15274, P. Turin Cat. 1883+2095, O. Cairo CG 25613 (see pp. 232-234).

<sup>6</sup> O. BM 5627 (see chapter VIII, § 1, p. 224).

<sup>7</sup> See chapter IV, § 2.

<sup>8</sup> See chapter IV, § 2, p. 216.

<sup>9</sup> See chapter IV, § 2, p. 123.

<sup>10</sup> See chapter VI, § 5, p. 189.

For the keeping of animals, however, other sources now come to our aid. Records of the royal necropolis administration mention cattle and donkeys belonging to the temples in the hands of tomb workmen. In some cases, this will have had the approval of temple authorities; in others it certainly had not. The donkeys given by the deputy Hori of the temple of Ramesses III to the draughtsman Pentwere, probably as the repayment of a loan of barley, turned out to be temple property and were claimed back by attendants of the *sem*-priest.<sup>1</sup> Using temple cattle for the cultivation of one's land was probably common enough, on the condition that they were brought back soon. The fact that the necropolis workman Userhat kept an ox of the Ramesseum in his own cow-shed, however, was reported as a crime.<sup>2</sup> The animal in question was marked as temple property by a brand, and so probably were other temple animals (but apparently not the donkeys given to Pentwere!).

Most of the temple herds were probably elsewhere in the country, tended by temple herdsmen, and ultimately under the control of temple as well as external officials (see below, section 3, no. 2). From some of the texts discussed above, however, we may infer that a certain number of animals were kept in the temple area. Deputies and attendants of the temple's overseer of cattle were present there as well, as opposed to the overseer himself: the presence of the latter was required elsewhere in the country in order to fulfill the more general duties of his administrative echelon.<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the animals in question were to be slaughtered for the festival offerings, or they were used for the cultivation of fields and for transport, probably by temple personnel as well as by outsiders. A laundryman of the temple of Ramesses III, however, may have had to hire a donkey from a necropolis workman in order to do his work.<sup>4</sup>

##### 5. GARDEN PRODUCTS (THE GARDENS)

In chapter VII, it was assumed that the gardens (*k3m.w*) producing the vegetables for the daily offerings must have lain not far from the temples, for the simple reason that cut plants and flowers would not survive a journey of several days in the warm Egyptian climate. The texts of Part Two, however, do not mention the word *k3r.y*, which we know as the word for gardeners from the ceremonial texts, in connection with temples. What we do find is the word *k3m.y*.<sup>5</sup> Although this title is otherwise chiefly known from wine docketts (in *hr.y-k3m.y.w* or *hr.y-k3m.y.t*), it is uncertain if *k3m.y* in the papyri and ostraca from Western Thebes really means "vintner". We cannot exclude the possibility that some wine was produced near Thebes, but the main wine-producing gardens were probably situated far to the north in the Nile delta (see below, section 3). It would be strange, therefore, to find temple "vintners" instead of "gardeners" on the Theban west bank. This suggests that *k3m.y* actually refers to the personnel of nearby temple gardens supplying vegetables and flowers.

<sup>1</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1881 (see chapter VIII, § 1, pp. 216-217).

<sup>2</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1880 and Cat. 2094 (see chapter IX, § 2, pp. 254-255).

<sup>3</sup> See chapter VIII, § 2, pp. 229-230.

<sup>4</sup> O. IFAO 1257 (see chapter VIII, § 5, p. 242).

<sup>5</sup> P. BM 10053 and *Giornale* yr. 17-A (see chapter VIII, § 6, pp. 244-245).

## 6. WORKMEN (LOCAL TEMPLE PERSONNEL)

Some of the texts discussed in Part Two inform us about the existence of temple workmen,<sup>1</sup> but no hint is given about a specific department to which they may have belonged. Yet the workers/porters (*k3w.t.y.w*), stonemasons, coppersmiths, goldsmiths, carpenters (*hmw.w*), weavers/plaiters (*sh.t.y.w*), and sandal-makers must have had their workshops, presumably within the temple precinct. Every kind of craftsmen had its own supervisors: we know about “chief workers” (*hr.y-k3w.t.y.w*), “overseers of carpenters” (*im.y-r hmw.w*), and “chief weavers” (*hr.y-mr(.t)*). To the outside world, however, their superiors were the *sem*-priest or the high priest of Amun.

7. PRIESTS AND *SMD.T*

Contrary to what the royal dedication-texts want us to believe, no strict distinction can be made between priests on the one hand and administrators and workmen on the other. Two observations prevent us from regarding them as strictly separate groups: first, that various kinds of priests are mentioned as having administrative responsibilities; second, that service as *wab*-priest could be combined with other tasks within the temple by one and the same individual. Priests appear to have had very general tasks in the administrative and economic sphere.<sup>2</sup> The high priest of the memorial temple, who was called *sem*-priest (*sm*) during the Ramesside Period, was the main administrative authority. Priests with this title regularly appear as the superiors of temple personnel and as the controllers of temple goods and animals. *Wab*-priests and god’s fathers could also hold the title of “scribe”, or the more specific titles “temple scribe” or “scribe of the divine offering”. Moreover, priests of different kinds could occasionally be involved in deliveries of temple products to the necropolis workmen nearby. The title *wab* shows itself particularly appropriate for the combination with other professions: we have met with *wab*-priests who were also chief worker, coppersmith, goldsmith, gardener (*k3m.y*), or guardian. However, not every member of the temple’s productive personnel was a *wab*-priest. Besides a coppersmith who held the title of *wab*, we also know one who was classified as *smd.t* (see below), and the worker Ahautinefer, it appears, only attained the *wab*-priesthood when he became a “chief” worker.<sup>3</sup>

The word *smd.t* as applied to personnel of Theban memorial temples occurs twice. It is applied to the coppersmith Pkhar of the temple of Ramesses III, as against his colleague of the same name at the temple of Amenophis III, who was a *wab*-priest.<sup>4</sup> The other occurrence of the word *smd.t* is in a reference to an employee of the temple of Thutmosis I, whose tasks are unknown. It is possible, however, that the same individual, who was called Pnakhtrestep, is referred to as a *wab*-priest in a text from about the same

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter VIII, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter VIII, § 1.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter VIII, § 5, p. 239.

<sup>4</sup> P. Abbott and P. BM 10053 (see chapter VIII, § 5, pp. 239-240).

time or later.<sup>1</sup> Such indications support the idea that the distinction between priests and *smd.t* was not an absolute one.

#### 8. THE ADMINISTRATION AND CONTROL OF LOCAL TEMPLE PERSONNEL

Throughout the Ramesside Period, the *sem*-priest appears to have been the principal superior of temple personnel working within the walls of the temple precinct itself or in its immediate vicinity. His authority is expressed in the records by the preposition *r ht* or by the indirect genitive marker *n*. A Nineteenth Dynasty ostrakon, which mentions copper and coppersmiths of the *sem*-priest, is the earliest document testifying to this responsibility.<sup>2</sup> From texts of the late Twentieth Dynasty, we know that he shared his authority over temple personnel and resources with the steward (*im.y-r pr*, or “superior of the house”, *ꜥꜣ n pr*), and the high priest of the temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak (for the latter see below, section 5).<sup>3</sup> The steward does not appear in person in the documents from Western Thebes. Nor do the overseer of the treasury and the overseer of cattle. Such officials apparently had obligations that led them far away from the temple (they often held other high offices as well), but they were represented there by attendants, deputies, and scribes.<sup>4</sup> Control of economic affairs was also exercised by the temple scribe (*sš hw.t-ntr*).<sup>5</sup>

Maintenance of local order may have been the responsibility of “warders” (*sꜥšꜣ.w*), whom we met with in the scenes of offering-processions and in the Harris Papyrus. They do not appear in the papyri and ostraca that concern us here. An occasional reference to a “guardian (*sꜣw.t.y*) of the House of Pharaoh l.p.h.” probably applies to the royal palace within the walls of the temple of Ramesses II.<sup>6</sup> Exactly what role was played by military officials attached to the temple is unclear.<sup>7</sup> Insofar as such titles were really military, they may indicate the presence of armed forces in order to protect the temples from outside dangers, rather than to keep an eye on the temple personnel themselves.

We must not imagine the priests and temple workmen as a tightly packed community permanently residing inside the temple walls. We know that they could have houses in the neighbourhood, or even on the east bank (*m Niw.t*).<sup>8</sup> They probably made up an important part of the Theban population, in which they were fully integrated.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. BM 10054 and P. BM 10052 (see appendix 2).

<sup>2</sup> O. Berlin 11239 (see chapter VIII, § 1, pp. 215-216).

<sup>3</sup> See chapter VIII, § 1, p. 215.

<sup>4</sup> See chapter VIII, §§ 2-4.

<sup>5</sup> See chapter VIII, § 3, pp. 231-232.

<sup>6</sup> P. BM 10383 (see chapter VIII, § 1, pp. 222-223).

<sup>7</sup> See chapter VIII, § 7.

<sup>8</sup> See chapter VIII, §§ 1 (p. 224) and 5 (p. 241).

<sup>9</sup> See e.g. the discussion of temple attendants (*sms.w*) in chapter VIII, § 4. Cf. also A.G. McDowell, in: L.H. Lesko ed., *Pharaoh's Workers. The Villagers of Deir el-Medina*, Ithaca NY - London 1994, 41-59 (against the view that the necropolis workmen formed an isolated community).

## § 3 - THE GREATER TEMPLE ESTATE

## “ESTATE”

The texts of Part Two do not provide us with a word for the economic wealth of the temple as a whole, that is to what we like to call its “estate”. Land registers bring fields together under the owning institutions, which are referred to by the phrase *pr pn* “this house”.<sup>1</sup> Although “house” may be understood here as an institution including its economic resources, this is probably not the notion specifically conveyed by it. *Pr pn* rather serves as an abbreviation for institutions (not just temples, but also harbours, the king’s *khato* and *min.t*-land, etc.) that have been mentioned by their full names before. The use of the word *pr* and its plural *pr.w* in P. BM 10373 is odd, and reminiscent of the use of *rmn.y.t* “domain” in the land registers.<sup>2</sup> The word *ḥtp-ntr* “divine offering”, which I regard as the closest Egyptian equivalent to our conception of an “estate” as far as temples are concerned (see chapter VII), is hardly met with in papyri and ostraca. According to the Turin Strike Papyrus, the necropolis workmen wished to receive “bread of the divine offering” (*q.w n ḥtp-ntr*).<sup>3</sup> “Divine offering” may be a general reference there to the estate of the Ramesseum, but it may also apply literally to the offerings produced and presented in the temple.

The Wilbour Papyrus uses the expression *ḥtp-ntr* only once, in a reference to one of the many agricultural domains of the Amun temple.<sup>4</sup> It does not appear to be a regular cadastral term in Ramesside papyri. Probably, the grouping of fields and revenues under the name of one institution was a sufficient means to make it clear that they were part of an “estate”. Note that neither the Wilbour Papyrus nor the Griffith-Louvre fragments deal with the entire “estates” of institutions: each of the documents is concerned with a specific region, and just records the owners or usufructuaries of institutional fields measured there. The idea that *ḥtp-ntr* stands for “temple estate” is therefore not invalidated by its absence in land registers. Instead, the notion falls outside the scope of such documents.

## 1. FIELDS AND GARDENS

The texts of Part One hardly gave us any information on this topic, for which we therefore have to rely on the data from the administrative papyri discussed in chapter X, especially from the Wilbour Papyrus. The temple held plots of arable land throughout the country, which were organized in “domains” (*rmn.y.t*) of two different types: *apportioning* and *non-apportioning*. Each *non-apportioning* domain consisted of scattered plots cultivated by the same institution, which were under the authority (*r ḥt*) of one official, who was sometimes attached to the temple in question. Often, however,

<sup>1</sup> P. Wilbour; Griffith and Louvre fragments *recto* (see chapter X).

<sup>2</sup> See chapter X, § 7, p. 345.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter VIII, § 1 (p. 219); chapter IX, § 7 (p. 271).

<sup>4</sup> See Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 143 (§ 120). For the term “domains”, see below, no. 1.

such officials belonged to other institutions, and controlled the fields on the temple's behalf. They usually belonged to a high echelon: that of stewards of the king or of great temples, overseers of the royal treasury and granary, etc. In their control of fields that often lay far apart, they were assisted by travelling agents (*rwd.w*) or deputies (*idn.w*), whose responsibility is indicated by the preposition *m dr.t* "in the hand of". It is uncertain whether these agents and deputies were officially attached to the cultivating institution, or rather to the official who acted as their superior. This intermediary level of assistants appears to have been absent in a small group of domains explicitly referred to as "under the authority of officials" (*r ht sr.w*); this circumstance is suggestive of a closer supervision by the officials themselves. With or without the help of intermediaries, the officials probably acted as guarantors for the effective cultivation of the fields under their authority. The entire structure of agricultural management thus formed was characterized by a fine division of authority, and a relative independence from the landholding institution.

People of the lowest administrative level were often referred to simply as "cultivators" (*ihw.t.y.w*). We have already met with the term "cultivators' domains" (*rmn.y.t ihw.t.y.w*) in the decree preceding the Medinet Habu calendar. It probably refers to the type of domain described here. The *ihw.t.y.w* were directly responsible for the agricultural production. They may have been local supervisors, or even the people who actually worked the land. In the latter case, however, they must have been assisted by other workmen who are not mentioned in the records. The absence of such assisting personnel in the Wilbour Papyrus might be explained by the fact that they had no personal administrative responsibilities, and that their names were therefore irrelevant to the scribes.

From the domains directly or indirectly controlled by named officials, the temple received the undivided crops; the only deduction probably being the expenses for the cultivation, such as seed-corn, and the payment of the cultivating and transporting personnel in kind. The size of the crop depended on the type of land tilled: the assessments were 5,  $7\frac{1}{2}$ , and 10 sacks (*h3r*) per *aroura* for "normal (or: high) land", "elevated land", and "fresh land" respectively.

Apart from this class of land, the temple had its "apportioning (or: shared) domain" (*rmn.y.t pš*). This refers to nothing more than the total of temple fields in a certain district that were held by private individuals, reserved for the material provisions of cultic endowments, or cultivated in co-operation with other landholding institutions.<sup>1</sup> The temple shared the crops of these fields with other parties. Just as with the non-apportioning domains described above, the term "domain" here stands for a group of geographically dispersed fields belonging to one institution. "Domain", in other words, stands for nothing more than a bookkeeping device, which enabled the scribes to group the fields together in the records. In contradistinction to the non-apportioning domains, no official seems to have been personally responsible for apportioning domains, unless

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<sup>1</sup> Reference is made here to entries of the usual non-apportioning type, to *pš*-entries, and to *hmk*-entries; see chapter X, § 1, pp. 294-301.

the total area of apportioning fields was very small and the domain was referred to by the name “apportioning harvest” (*šmw pš*).

Separate apportioning domains (“herbage” and “white goat” domains) were formed by the fields providing fodder for animals, although food for cattle and donkeys was also produced by the fields of some non-apportioning domains. From all different types of apportioning fields, the temple received just a small part of the crop: only a fraction of a field’s area was assessed, usually at the rate of one sack and a half per *aroura*.

Similar shares must have been obtained from the so-called *khato* (*ḥ3-t3*) fields.<sup>1</sup> This was royal land incorporated in the temple estates, the incorporation being expressed by the phrase “*khato* of Pharaoh I.p.h. on the fields of (*ḥr 3ḥ.w.t*) such-and-such an institution”. Part of the crops of such fields was probably to be delivered to the king’s representatives. We can only guess what exactly was the temple’s share, but this could have been as much as the revenues received from privately held fields, for the status of *khato* appears to have been similar to that of the apportioning fields.<sup>2</sup> There can be no doubt that the *khato*-fields made up a considerable part of the area of the temple’s cultivated land, and hence of its revenues.

The perfect example of a temple having all of the above elements in its estate is the Theban memorial temple of Ramesses V.<sup>3</sup> When text A of the Wilbour Papyrus was composed in the fourth regnal year of that king, the estate of his temple had only recently come into being. Such a “fresh” foundation may be considered as the optimal realization of the current administrative system. The extent of its agricultural resources in the region covered by the Wilbour survey was slightly greater than that of the Karnak temple of Amonrasonter.<sup>4</sup> The older memorial temples show historically shaped profiles. That of Ramesses IV<sup>5</sup> had no domains directly supervised by officials (*r ḥt sr.w*), but only those with the intermediary level of agents. Its apportioning domains had been drastically reduced; the remaining fields were recorded together under the heading “apportioning harvest”. It had no “herbage” domains. Taken together, its revenues (about 1,000 sacks) were about half of those of the temple of Ramesses V. Some entries of the Wilbour Papyrus may indicate administrative processes through which fields of the temple of Ramesses IV were being passed on to that of Ramesses V: one field is brought under the control of the living monarch’s temple (as is expressed by the phrase *ḥr sdf*); another may originally have belonged to the “herdman’s territory” of the temple of Ramesses IV, but was now delivering part of its crop to the temple of Ramesses V.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter X, § 4, pp. 325-326.

<sup>2</sup> See previous note.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter X, § 2 (pp. 305-306) and table 10 A.

<sup>4</sup> See tables 8 and 9. Table 8 records more than 300 *aroura* of non-apportioning fields and a grain production of over 2,000 sacks for the temple of Ramesses V; table 9 records about 250 *aroura* and 1,650 sacks for the Karnak temple.

<sup>5</sup> See chapter X, § 2 (pp. 306-308) and tables 8 and 10 B.

<sup>6</sup> See chapter X, § 2, pp. 307-308. For *ḥr sdf*, see chapter VI, pp. 169-173.

The revenues of the temple of Ramesses III amounted to more than twice as much as those of Ramesses V, and its estate included all possible types of domain.<sup>1</sup> Excessive endowments at the time of its foundation (the temple must have been the most important beneficiary of the donations recorded in P. Harris I) might account for the unsurpassed wealth of this memorial temple, even eleven years after the death of the founding king. The temple was the richest of all land-owning institutions recorded in text A of P. Wilbour, and it was the only memorial temple that had *khato*-land in its estate according to text B of the same papyrus.<sup>2</sup> In view of this wealth, it is not surprising to see that after some centuries, the temple still had landed property of some extent, according to the Griffith-Louvre fragments.<sup>3</sup> The same text records only two plots for the Theban temple of Ramesses IV.

The estates of the Ramesseum and an Eighteenth Dynasty memorial temple had been considerably reduced.<sup>4</sup> The five *aroura* of non-apportioning fields and the total revenues of 85 sacks of the Ramesseum are in sad contrast with the amounts of the later temples. Its major source of revenue was its apportioning domains, which still included fields providing "herbage" and "food for white goats". Until the reign of Ramesses III, the Ramesseum must have been the wealthiest institution on the Theban west bank. Its resources were no doubt extended and well-protected during the long reign of its founder: a model letter even contains a complaint about fields taken away from a stable-master by a rash action of the steward Nodjem of the Ramesseum.<sup>5</sup> The Twentieth Dynasty, however, saw the decline of the temple's former wealth. It is not unlikely that many of its fields were confiscated by Ramesses III in order to become part of the estates of new foundations, the most important of them being the temple of Medinet Habu.<sup>6</sup>

Some tiny apportioning domains were probably all that was left of the fields of an Eighteenth Dynasty temple, possibly that of Thutmose I. Seven sacks of grain made up the total income of the temple from the region recorded in the Wilbour Papyrus. It was not the only foundation of the Eighteenth Dynasty that still had some landed property, however meagre. The Theban memorial temple of Amenophis III is not represented in the Wilbour Papyrus, but further to the north it still controlled a parcel of five *aroura*, being an endowment for a statue of Amenophis III, as late as the Twenty-first or Twenty-second Dynasty.<sup>7</sup> Fields of this temple were to be protected from confiscation by a scribe of another institution, according to a letter from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>8</sup> Other old memorial temples may still have had a few fields somewhere in Egypt as well. It may be clear from the brief historical survey above, however, that temple estates could shrink rapidly unless they received substantial new donations of land from time to time. Unlike the sanctuaries of important deities, like

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter X, § 2 (pp. 308-310) and tables 8 and 10 C.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter X, § 4, p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter X, § 6, p. 331.

<sup>4</sup> See chapter X, § 2 (pp. 310-311) and tables 8, 10 D and E.

<sup>5</sup> See chapter X, § 7.

<sup>6</sup> As has been assumed by other authors; see Introduction, § 3, pp. 34-35.

<sup>7</sup> Griffith-Louvre fragments (see chapter X, § 6, p. 331).

<sup>8</sup> P. BM 10373 (see chapter X, § 7).

Amonrasonter, the royal memorial temples as probably did not a rule have the luck to be granted new land by later kings. Nor was the decline of their estates halted by the endowments of land by private individuals: such donations were also usually confined to the temples of the living king.<sup>1</sup> The static view of temple estates as everlasting capital in the royal dedication-texts is thus replaced by the picture of decline presented by administrative records.

An aspect of the temple estates hardly documented by the texts of Part One is that of the production and administration of the gardens (*k3m.w*), especially of the wine-producing gardens that were located at a greater distance from the temple itself. In chapter VII, only the gardens close to the temples were discussed; these are known as the source of flowers and vegetables for the daily and festival offerings.<sup>2</sup> The gardens further removed from the temple delivered wine, *šdh*, and fruit, usually in sealed jars, which could be transported over a greater distance.<sup>3</sup> Once they had arrived at their destination, these products were stored in the temple treasury, which appears as the source of wine and fruit in the offering-lists inscribed on temple walls.<sup>4</sup>

For the wine-producing gardens, most of which were to be found in the Nile delta, the hieratic jar docketts are the principal source of information.<sup>5</sup> It appears from these docketts that the gardens were situated on flooded or artificially irrigated land (*b<sup>c</sup>h*). Each individual garden was supervised by a chief gardener (*hr.y-k3m.y.w/k3m.y.t*), who was responsible for the production and shipment of wine and fruit. The name of the chief gardener is never omitted from the wine docketts. As his name is introduced by the preposition *m dr.t* "in the hand of", his administrative status must have been comparable to that of the agricultural agents and deputies in the Wilbour Papyrus. Officials controlling the production on a higher level of authority (signalled by the preposition *r ht*) are only rarely attested in the docketts. It is likely, however, that every gardener was ultimately answerable to a steward (*im.y-r pr*), an attendant (*šms.w*), or another official, who was not necessarily attached to the institution holding the garden in question. The administrative hierarchy thus formed must have been similar to the system we know from the management of arable lands (see above).

Although the Theban memorial temples had their own gardens, they received additional deliveries from the gardens of other institutions. The temples of Merenptah, Siptah and Tausert were provisioned by their own as well as by other royal domains; that of King Siptah even received wine from the estate of the chancellor Bai.<sup>6</sup> Among the remains of the Ramesseum have been found jar stamps mentioning the temple of Sethos I at Abydos, as well as stamps referring to Thutmose IV, Amenophis III, and Merenptah.<sup>7</sup> Docketts from the Ramesseum mention gardens of a temple of Sethos I, one

<sup>1</sup> See chapter V, § 2, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter VII, § 2, no. 5 (pp. 197-198), as well as p. 369 above.

<sup>3</sup> It must have taken two to three weeks to reach Thebes by boat from a garden in the Nile delta; see W. Helck, *JARCE* 6 (1967), 140.

<sup>4</sup> See chapter VII, § 2, no. 3, pp. 196-197.

<sup>5</sup> See chapter XI, § 2.

<sup>6</sup> See chapter XI, § 4, p. 360.

<sup>7</sup> See chapter XI, § 5.

of which was administered by a chief gardener called Setineheh. A chief gardener with the same name was responsible for a garden of the Ramesseum itself.<sup>1</sup> If he was the same person, this would mean that chief gardeners of older temples could become employees of later foundations. In this case, a chief gardener of a temple garden founded by Sethos I would later have become a chief gardener of the temple of his successor Ramesses II. From that moment onwards, he also shipped all or some of the production of the older garden under his care to the Ramesseum. In this way, the gardens of an older foundation possibly came under the control of a temple of the reigning king. Although the evidence adduced here for such a process is meagre, this may be another example of how older temple estates were reduced for the benefit of later ones.<sup>2</sup> Evidence for the deliveries by memorial temple gardens to other institutions will be discussed in section 4 below.

## 2. THE TEMPLE HERDS

The temples must have had herds at various locations in Egypt. Their domains in Middle Egypt described as “herbage” (*sm.w*) or “food for white goats” (*mk.w ib ḥḏ*) might indicate the local presence of cattle.<sup>3</sup> Overseers of cattle (*im.y-r iḥ.w*) appear in texts A and B of the Wilbour Papyrus, sometimes explicitly as the officials responsible for domains that produced fodder for the temple’s animals. According to text B, however, they were not the only people controlling such domains: other officials, even those attached to other institutions, could be responsible for “herbage” or “food for white goats” as well.<sup>4</sup> Herds of various temples, among them the Ramesseum, were under the authority of a treasury scribe Pbes according to a Turin papyrus.<sup>5</sup> The Great Harris Papyrus has already informed us that the cattle assigned to one of the Theban temples were under the authority (*r ḥt*) of the vizier of the south, and herds of the temple of Ramesses III were under the authority of the steward (or “superior of the house”; *ʿ3 n pr*) of the same institution according to the Medinet Habu calendar.<sup>6</sup> At this level, the administration of temple herds appears to have been organized in a way similar to that of temple lands and gardens, which were also under the authority of non-specialized or even external officials.

Information about the lower level of control is scarce. The people actually taking care of the animals were enumerated by hundreds in the Great Harris Papyrus, part of them being specified as Meshwesh, i.e. people captured during the clashings between the Egyptian army and Libyan tribes. Their administrative position or their tasks, however, are not referred to. Deputies and attendants of the overseers of temple cattle are attested in documents from the neighbourhood of the temple (see above, § 2, no. 4), and perhaps these officials also served at other locations where animals of the temple were to be

<sup>1</sup> See chapter XI, § 2, p. 351.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. the examples of the fields of the temples of Ramesses IV and V above.

<sup>3</sup> P. Wilbour, text A (see chapter X, § 1, p. 291).

<sup>4</sup> See chapter X, § 4, p. 324.

<sup>5</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1907+1908 *verso* (see chapter IX, § 2, p. 254).

<sup>6</sup> See chapter VII, § 3 (no. 2, p. 201).

found. Otherwise, herds were probably in the hands of “herdsmen” (*mni.w*), whom we find among the temple personnel.<sup>1</sup> According to a hieratic jar docket, a herdsman was responsible for a delivery of curds to a temple of Ramesses I, and this must have been a product of the cattle of that temple.<sup>2</sup> Temple herds were probably also the origin of the fat-deliveries recorded by other dockets.

### 3. TRANSPORT

Little is added to our knowledge about the transport of products from various locations in the estate to the temple proper. Two ship’s commanders (*hr.y-wsh*) of the temple of Ramesses III are known from the end of the Twentieth Dynasty; both were under the authority of the high priest of Amun.<sup>3</sup> From the Great Harris Papyrus, we know that temple estates had their own ships, as well as shipyards to produce or repair ships. That document, however, gives only the total of 82 ships of various kinds for all Theban temple foundations of Ramesses III. That the memorial temples actually had ships of their own is suggested by the description of the Medinet Habu temple in the same papyrus. Mention is made there of *qr*-ships transporting grain and *r-ḥḏ*-ships for treasury-items.<sup>4</sup> List a of the Theban section adds ships specifically intended for the transport of cattle (*hn-ih*). According to P. Anastasi IV, the latter type of ship could also be used for the transport of garden products to the temple. The two ships in question belonged to a temple of millions of years of Sethos II, which was presumably located at Piramesse in the eastern Nile delta.<sup>5</sup> For small-scale transport in the local area, the temple had donkeys at its disposal.<sup>6</sup> For the long-distance transport of great quantities of cereals, cattle, wine, oil, fruit, and other products, the temple depended on its ships. Unfortunately, however, we have no extensive records of the shipments of products for the Theban memorial temples, like the papyri we have for the grain transport of the Karnak temple and other Theban temples, for the transport of grain from *khato*-lands, or for other river shipments.<sup>7</sup> We cannot say, therefore, whether the memorial temples always organized their shipments individually, or in co-operation, as was the case with the Theban temples recorded in the Amiens Papyrus.

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<sup>1</sup> Turin Taxation Papyrus (see chapter VIII, § 2, p. 229).

<sup>2</sup> Jar docket from Deir el-Medina (see chapter XI, § 3, p. 356).

<sup>3</sup> P. BM 10053 (see chapter VIII, § 1, p. 215, note 7).

<sup>4</sup> See chapter VI, § 5, p. 189.

<sup>5</sup> See chapter XI, § 2, p. 349.

<sup>6</sup> See chapter VIII, § 5, p. 242.

<sup>7</sup> P. Amiens (Gardiner, *Ramesseide Administrative Documents*, 1-13; A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 37-56; J.J. Janssen, *GM* 147 (1995), 53-60); P. Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006 (Gardiner, *Ramesseide Administrative Documents*, 35-44; A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 27 (1941), 22-37); P. Leiden I 350 *verso* and P. Turin 2008+2016 (Janssen, *Ship’s Logs, passim*).

## 4. RESOURCES OUTSIDE THE ESTATE

The cultivators of arable land and their administrators, the gardeners and chief gardeners, and the herdsmen made up the majority of memorial-temple personnel that worked at a greater distance from their employing institution. They were all concerned with the production of temple lands: fields, gardens, and pasture. Other groups of temple personnel, however, worked at locations which are nowhere explicitly claimed to belong to the temple: the uncultivated areas at the desert edge, and the regions with mineral deposits that were further removed from the Nile valley. Among the groups working in such places were the collectors of wild honey (*bit.y*) and “troop-commanders” (*hr.y-pd.t*), who were responsible for the deliveries of honey to the temple according to hieratic docketts.<sup>1</sup> Honey is recorded by the Great Harris Papyrus, together with incense and oil, as a product of the Theban temple estates (*bzk.w* or *šzy.t*), as well as in the list of royal gifts (*in.w*). Of these two sources of supply, the temples’ own production must have been the most important one.<sup>2</sup> Although we know that bees were kept for the production of honey by the ancient Egyptians, there must also have been expeditions to collect honey and other products (such as salt and natron) and to shoot wild animals. It is the title *hr.y-pd.t* “troop commander” in the context of honey deliveries that points to the latter mode of obtaining honey. From a few docketts it appears that the troop-commanders could be under the authority (*r ht*) of high royal officials.

The lists of the Great Harris Papyrus make it clear that the amounts of gold, silver, and copper yearly received by the Theban temples were mainly provided by their own estates, leaving the king’s donations of the same materials almost as a symbolic gesture. This state of affairs is confirmed by an IFAO papyrus recording joint mining expeditions into the Eastern Desert during the first years of Ramesses VII or VIII, involving personnel of the temples of Amonrasonter, Re, and Ramesses III.<sup>3</sup> The materials mined were gold and galena (lead sulphide), the yearly output of gold being 11 to 13 *deben*, or about 1 kg. According to the Great Harris Papyrus, the average yearly amount of gold brought in from the Eastern Desert via Koptos was 61.3 *deben*, or about 5.5 kg, during the reign of Ramesses III. The difference may be explained by the assumption that the expeditions recorded by the IFAO papyri were of a more modest scale when compared with those at the time of Ramesses III, but in any case, the yearly output of 1 kg recorded still lends credibility to the figure in the Harris Papyrus. We also learn from the document that the temple of Ramesses III had its own galena-diggers (*msdm.t.y.w*). Presumably, it had its own miners (*qwr.w*) as well.

<sup>1</sup> See chapter XI, § 3, pp. 356-357.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter VI, § 5, and table 7.

<sup>3</sup> P. IFAO A + B; see chapter IX, § 1.

## § 4 - RELATIONS WITH THE KING AND HIS REPRESENTATIVES

## INCOME

Almost every text discussed in Part One emphasizes the role of the king with regard to the foundation of, and the subsequent contributions to, the estates of Theban memorial temples. According to the inscriptions and the Great Harris Papyrus, the temples continued to receive donations (mainly precious objects and materials) after the endowment of their own means of production, all by the same king. The economic traffic between the sources of the royal donations and the temples would thus appear to have been effected by the king personally, and in one way only: towards the temples. This idealized view is considerably modified, if not downright contradicted, by the administrative texts of Part Two.

Records of deliveries from royal institutions to the temples are scarce in this group of texts. In fact, we only came across a few informative references among the jar docketts and stamps.<sup>1</sup> A dockett from the temple of Merenptah mentions a delivery from a house (*pr*) of the same king, which may be a reference to a royal palace and its estate. At the sites of the temples of Siptah and Tausert were found jar-fragments recording wine-deliveries from a house of Sethos II "in the House of Amun". In that case, the reference will rather be to a temple founded by this king. Theoretically, reference might be made to royal (not temple) domains by the mere mention of a royal name without preceding *pr* or *ḥw.t*, but we cannot exclude the possibility that temples are referred to in such cases as well.<sup>2</sup> The lack of clear references to royal "secular" institutions in other administrative texts might be regarded as a confirmation of the marginal importance of royal deliveries to the largely self-sufficient temple estates.<sup>3</sup> However, we must also reckon with the possibility that the survey of temple revenues as presented by the texts of Part Two is not exhaustive because these texts were mainly drawn up by outsiders, and not by temple administrators.

The major contribution by the king to the temple estate as it appears in administrative records was the establishment of its agricultural domains.<sup>4</sup> Text A of the Wilbour Papyrus informs us that the fields from which the temples received their income were organized into *non-apportioning* and *apportioning* domains. The latter type of domain also included fields called "*khato* of Pharaoh" according to text A.<sup>5</sup> From text B of the same papyrus it can be inferred that the temple of Ramesses III had even more plots of *khato* on its fields than would appear from text A. In both texts, the *khato*-fields appear to have had the status of apportioning fields within the temple estates.<sup>6</sup> *Khato* was an important source of income for the temples, even though they probably received only a minor part of its revenues. We know from other sources that shares of *khato*-crops

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter XI, §§ 4 and 5.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter XI, § 1, p. 347.

<sup>3</sup> As it was inferred from the Medinet Habu calendar (chapter II, § 7) and P. Harris I (chapter VI, § 5).

<sup>4</sup> See above, § 3, no. 1.

<sup>5</sup> See chapter X, §§ 1 (p. 297) and 2 (p. 311).

<sup>6</sup> See chapter X, § 4, p. 325.

were collected from the temples, or from whatever institution or official responsible for its cultivation, by royal officials, such as a “chief taxing master” (*ḥꜣ n šꜣt*) or a scribe of the royal necropolis at Thebes. In this way, sources of income for various royal institutions were included in the estates of the temples, which, as great landholding institutions with their own means of control and transport, were made responsible for their cultivation. On a higher level, the production of *khato*-fields was supervised by various temple as well as non-temple officials.

#### EXPENSES

An economic obligation of a different character may have been the reason for regular deliveries of cake and beer by the temples of millions of years to the necropolis workmen in Western Thebes, as well as the occasional transfers of other foodstuffs and copper from these and other temples.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, we are never informed about the administrative background of such transfers. The cake was delivered, in varying quantities, by different temple employees, while no responsible persons are mentioned at all for the standard amount of five jars of beer from “the temples of Western Thebes” (*nꜣ r.w-pr.w Imnt.t Wꜣs.t*), which was delivered every two or three days. If the transfers of cake, beer, and other products did not come, the temples could collectively be held responsible for the deficits.<sup>2</sup> According to an ostrakon from the Nineteenth Dynasty, necropolis employees were waiting for copper deliveries from a temple; in this case the *sem*-priest was held responsible for the deficits.<sup>3</sup> It is not clear, however, whether the temple had to extract the copper in question from its own resources, or whether it was only storing copper as a service to the necropolis. Perhaps it even (re)made the tomb-workmen’s copper tools.

The deliveries of cake and beer probably represent an additional expense on the part of the temples, rather than the remnants of offerings distributed to people outside the temple, since the amounts of cake delivered could exceed the requirements for the daily and festival offerings. Of course, we cannot be sure that the amounts and types of offerings as prescribed by the Medinet Habu calendar were exactly followed in the temple workshops: the offerings actually presented may have included larger amounts of cake, and perhaps smaller amounts of other grain products. It is important to note, however, that the cake was only delivered by the older temples; those of Thutmose I and IV in the Nineteenth Dynasty (and possibly in the Twentieth), and the temple of Ramesses III only at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty. It will also be remembered that the marches of the necropolis workmen on strike during the reign of Ramesses III were aimed at the older memorial temples of Thutmose III or IV, Sethos I, Ramesses II, and Merenptah, and not at the new and no doubt more prosperous temple of the reigning king at Medinet Habu.<sup>4</sup> The necropolis scribe Amennakht received rations for his men from the temple of Haremhab, and not from the more prosperous temple of Ramesses III

<sup>1</sup> See chapter IX, §§ 3-6.

<sup>2</sup> O. Varille 14 (see chapter IX, § 4, p. 260).

<sup>3</sup> O. Berlin 11239 (see chapter VIII, § 1, p. 216).

<sup>4</sup> See chapter IX, § 7.

adjoining it.<sup>1</sup> Why the older temples? A possible explanation might be that the offerings presented in such older temples (and thus the number of people entitled to shares of offerings) may have diminished in the course of time, so that the productive capacity of their workshops could be called upon for regular material support of other institutions, such as the royal necropolis. The texts about the workmen's strikes, however, show us that even these temples were reluctant to supply more than the regular amounts of cake and beer expected from them. Although the resources of older temples may have been used in a pragmatic way to cover some of the king's expenses, the amounts actually required from them were modest.

An additional service offered by the temples to the community of necropolis workmen was the short-term lending (or hiring out?) of cattle for ploughing fields.<sup>2</sup> This practice, however, was probably not so much the result of an official obligation towards the users, as the natural consequence of the local presence of, and demand for, working animals. Moreover, hiring out the animals will have reduced the temple's expenses for their food. Records were kept by the necropolis administration on the use of temple animals by the individual workmen, for fear that the animals might be kept too long or that they would disappear.

Evidence for the transfer of products from a royal memorial temple to a palace is presented by some hieratic docketts on jars found at Malqata, the site of a palace of Amenophis III.<sup>3</sup> The nearby temple of the same king was one of the sources of wine-deliveries for the king's *sd*-festivals there. Gardens of the same temple may have been the origins of wine-deliveries to Amarna some years later. The equipment of the tombs of Tutankhamen and Sethos I in the Valley of the Kings probably included some jars of wine from the memorial temple estates of these kings. A whole range of royal memorial temples appear, together with other institutions, on the stamps and hieratic jar docketts found at Deir el-Medina, and this may again be evidence for partial support of the necropolis workforce by the temples in the neighbourhood. Some reservation is appropriate, however, in view of the fact that deliveries of wine (the product mentioned on most of the docketts) by temples to the tomb-workmen are otherwise completely undocumented.<sup>4</sup>

From the above survey of transfers and services, it may be clear that the endowment of temple resources was not only an investment to the benefit of the gods and of the people attached to the temple in question, for which social and divine goodwill were expected in return, but that the investment was paid back to a limited extent in administrative services and material support. The most important responsibility of temples within the Egyptian economic system as outlined here must have been the control of *khato*-lands of Pharaoh. This control probably ensured a more effective cultivation of *khato*, for which the temples were rewarded by shares of its crops. The deliveries of products from temple estates to the royal necropolis was probably a more pragmatic phenomenon, determined by their proximity to the workmen's settlement, and

<sup>1</sup> O. Berlin 10633 (see chapter IX, § 7, p. 269).

<sup>2</sup> See chapter IX, § 2.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter XI, §§ 2 (p. 350) and 4 (p. 357).

<sup>4</sup> See chapter XI, § 4, p. 358.

by the surplus production of the older temples, but even in this area some regular obligations can be detected.

#### THE STATE ADMINISTRATION AND THE TEMPLES

Did there exist any such thing as a central administration of the resources and obligations of temples by government officials? Text A of the Wilbour Papyrus is an example of a register of fields held by temples and other institutions, kept by a central regional administration, the identity of which is unfortunately unknown. The same text, however, shows that many different officials and priests were individually held responsible (as expressed by the preposition *r ht* "under the authority of") for the fields of institutions often different from the ones they themselves were attached to.<sup>1</sup> The same appears to have been the case with the *khato*-fields of text B: these lands were incorporated in the estates of temples and other institutions, but supervised on a higher level by a similar range of officials and priests.<sup>2</sup> The "chief taxing master" may have been particularly concerned with this class of land, but it does not appear from any document that he was the sole, or even the chief, administrator of *khato*.<sup>3</sup>

We know that inspections of temple estates were sometimes carried out by officials of the royal treasury, such as the "chief archivist" (*hr.y-s3w.t.y-sš.w*) or the overseer of the treasury.<sup>4</sup> It is likely that records were kept there on temple property throughout the country. However, we did not meet with these functionaries in the texts analysed in this study. The "scribe of the temples" (*sš n n3 r.w-pr.w*) must have been a government official particularly concerned with temple affairs. His exact duties do not become clear from the few references available, but he appears to have been an intermediary in deliveries from temples to the necropolis workmen in Western Thebes according to at least two documents.<sup>5</sup> His title does not connect him with any temple or group of temples in particular.

#### § 5 - RELATIONS WITH OTHER TEMPLES

##### THE SHARING OF GOODS AND LABOUR

The Medinet Habu calendar, as well as inscriptions of Ramesses III and IV at Karnak, testifies to the transfers from the memorial temples in Western Thebes for daily and festival offerings in the temple of Amonrasonter.<sup>6</sup> The reverse situation, that of memorial temples being provided for through the temple of Amun at Karnak, is shown

<sup>1</sup> See chapter X, § 1, pp. 285-286.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter X, § 3, p. 315.

<sup>3</sup> P. Valençay I (see chapter X, § 3, p. 320); P. Wilbour, text A (chapter X, § 1, pp. 298-300); Griffith/Louvre fragments (chapter VII, § 5, p. 336).

<sup>4</sup> See Introduction, § 2, p. 19, note 3; chapter III, § 1, pp. 94-95.

<sup>5</sup> P. DM XXVIII and P. Turin Cat. 1880 (see chapter VIII, § 3, pp. 235-236).

<sup>6</sup> See chapter II, § 3; chapter III.

by Eighteenth Dynasty tomb scenes.<sup>1</sup> Both types of relation must have brought about a considerable economic traffic between the Theban temples of the east and west banks.

The texts of Part Two present evidence for other types of economic interaction among temples. Entries of a specific type called *posh* (*pš*) in text A of the Wilbour Papyrus refer to the joint cultivation of a plot of arable land by two landowning institutions X and Y, in such a way that the plot was included among the fields of a non-apportioning domain of X, but with the subtraction of a share of its crop, which appears as income in the apportioning "domain" of Y. The actual relation was perhaps the use of land (or workforce, as argued in earlier studies). If so, then X must have been the user of resources belonging to Y. Being the cultivating party, X paid a fixed share of the crop to Y while keeping the greater share for itself.<sup>2</sup>

With respect to this practice, it is important to observe that fields cultivated jointly with "secular" institutions (such as *min.t-*, *h3-t3-*, and "harem" estates) appear only in the *apportioning* domains of temples.<sup>3</sup> If land use is the correct interpretation of the *posh* entries, this would mean that the temples hired out fields to such secular institutions, but not the other way round. Bilateral *posh* relations are attested almost exclusively between one temple and another, and this is true also for the royal memorial temples of Western Thebes. The temple of Ramesses III, for instance, had to pay part of the revenues from a field under its cultivation to the temple of Ramesses V, and it received a similar payment itself from a field of its estate that was cultivated by the temple of Ramesses IV. Fields cultivated together with the temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak, on the other hand, appear only in the non-apportioning domains of other temples (the *posh* entries refer to the temple of Amonrasonter as *pr Imn* "House of Amun"! ) and in the apportioning ones of the Karnak temple. Apparently, this temple only hired out fields to other temples, and did not use the fields of other institutions itself.<sup>4</sup>

The stamps and hieratic docketts on jar-fragments found at the sites of Theban memorial temples testify to the deliveries from various parts of their own estates, but some docketts and stamps from the Ramesseum mention other temples as the source of its material supplies. A wine-producing garden of the temple of Sethos I may have been used, and its chief gardener employed, by the Ramesseum.<sup>5</sup> However, the Ramesseum was also supplied with products of the gardens of a temple of Ramesses II called "At Ease with Truth", as well as by the estate of the Abydos temple of Sethos I, and by foundations of Thutmosis IV, Amenophis III, and Merenptah.<sup>6</sup> The memorial temples of Siptah and queen Tausert received wine from gardens of a religious foundation of Sethos II.<sup>7</sup> The economic relations among temples appear to have been manifold.

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<sup>1</sup> The incense-lists of Ineni and Puyemre (see chapter IV, § 4); the inscription of the steward Amenhotep (chapter VI, § 3, p. 169, a).

<sup>2</sup> See chapter X, § 1, pp. 294-297.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter X, § 2, p. 311.

<sup>4</sup> See chapter X, § 2, p. 312.

<sup>5</sup> See chapter XI, § 2, p. 351.

<sup>6</sup> See chapter XI, § 4, pp. 359-360.

<sup>7</sup> See chapter XI, § 4, p. 360.

## THE HOUSE OF AMUN

Some Twentieth Dynasty texts seem to indicate special relations between the memorial temples on the west bank of Thebes and the temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak on the east bank. These indications may be used for further investigation of the problem of the administrative incorporation of Theban temples in an "Estate of Amun".<sup>1</sup> The problem must be split into two questions: (1) were different Theban temples really part of a greater administrative unit headed by the Karnak temple, and (2) does the phrase "House"/"Estate of Amun" (*pr Imn*), as a part of temple names or in other contexts, refer to that administrative unit?

Contrary to the texts of Part One, the documents discussed here contain no direct references to the dependence of an entire temple on another in the way suggested by specific terms, such as *sdf* "provision", or *im.y ht* "in the retinue of". Text A of the Wilbour Papyrus once uses the term *sdf* in order to express the control over a field of the temple of Ramesses IV by administrators of his successor's temple, but this probably represents a change of administrative status of only one particular field.<sup>2</sup> Apart from such cases, the estate of Ramesses IV's memorial temple continued to operate as an independent economic entity, and so did the other temples that had been founded before the reign of Ramesses V. The high priest of Amun had authority over part of the domains of the temple of Ramesses V, but other domains of the same temple were controlled by officials who had nothing to do with the temple of Amun, or with any other temple.<sup>3</sup> In fact, the same applies to the estate of Amonrasonter himself: the high priest shared his position as a controller of fields with other officials here as well. He does not figure at all in the control over memorial-temple domains founded by Ramesses III and IV. The steward Userma'atrenakht, who had authority over some domains of the Medinet Habu temple, was identified by Gardiner with the anonymous "steward of Amun" who controlled domains of the temple of Amonrasonter. But even if this is correct (the identification is far from certain), the steward would still have been only one in a wide range of responsible officials, who belonged to different administrative spheres.

The widely accepted theory of a central control over the estates of Theban temples does not seem to be supported by the data from the Wilbour Papyrus. Apart from the control exercised by Theban temple functionaries over the agricultural domains of different institutions (which was a common feature of agricultural management), the text contains no references to a common administration of Theban temples. The fact that the temples are grouped together in text A, just as in the Griffith-Louvre fragments and in the Great Harris Papyrus, is simply due to the fact that they were all temples located at Thebes, or dedicated to Theban deities.

The joint cultivation of certain plots, as indicated by *posh* relations, shows that the temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak had an administrative status very similar to that of

<sup>1</sup> See Introduction, § 4; chapter VII, § 5.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter X, § 2 (pp. 307-308), and table 10 B.

<sup>3</sup> P. Wilbour, text A (see chapter X, § 2, pp. 305-306, and table 10 A).

any other temple. Although the *posh* relations with the Karnak temple were unilateral (see above), they imply that the great temple of Amonrasonter was a 'business-partner', rather than the administrative head of other temples. Our conclusion must be that according to the Wilbour Papyrus, the Theban temples had no relations to Karnak that were of a different character than those of other temples.

Just like those in the Wilbour Papyrus, the Theban temples recorded in the Griffith-Louvre fragments appear to have been autonomous landholding institutions. Some of them, however, had a special relation with the temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak: a temple of Khonsu and two Theban temples of which the names are lost were paying a considerable part of their agricultural revenues to the granary of the "House of Amun".<sup>1</sup> Text A of the Wilbour Papyrus has taught us that "House of Amun" (*pr 'Imn*) may simply be a reference to the Karnak temple. Why this obligation is recorded for only a few temples is unclear; it is not attested among the entries on other institutions, including the memorial temples of Ramesses IV and Amenophis III. Apparently, the economic obligation in question had nothing to do with the presence of the phrase *m pr 'Imn* "in the House of Amun" in the temple's name: temples of deities other than Amun never have this phrase in their names, but one of the Khonsu temples was still obliged to make the contribution to the granary of *pr 'Imn*; the royal memorial temples, on the other hand, *are* characterized by *m pr 'Imn*, but the financial obligation towards the granary of the Karnak temple is certainly not recorded for all of them.

#### THE CENTRAL ROLE OF THE KARNAK TREASURY

The temples of Thebes had common interests outside the agricultural domain as well. Different temples appear to have co-operated in the gold- and galena-expeditions in the Eastern Desert in the first years of Ramesses VII or VIII.<sup>2</sup> The participating temples were the House of Amun, the House of Re, and the memorial temple of Ramesses III. It seems natural that the temples should join forces for such enterprises, instead of organizing their own small expeditions. The personnel of each participating temple were under the authority of their own superiors (the high priest of Amun or the *sem*-priest of the Medinet Habu temple), but on the spot they were directed by a superior of the desert (*'3 n h3s.t*), who may have belonged to the temple of Amun. The gold was delivered at the "august treasury of the House of Amun" (*pr-hd šps.y n pr 'Imn*), whence every participating temple took its share. A central co-ordinating function on the part of the high priest of Amun would explain the fact that he once appears as the delivering party, whereas he was the receiving party at other times. It is very likely, in summary, that the mining expeditions involving different temples were centrally organized by the House of Amun, that is, the temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak.

It was the "northern treasury" of the same temple that collected myrrh and jasper statues or parts of statues from the ancient memorial temples of Thutmose III and

<sup>1</sup> See chapter X, § 5, pp. 335-336.

<sup>2</sup> P. IFAO A+B (see chapter IX, § 1).

Amenophis III in Western Thebes in regnal year 4 of Ramesses VI, VII, or IX.<sup>1</sup> The deliveries by various institutions and officials to the same treasury may have been regular contributions, but in the specific case of the memorial temples at least, reference might also be made to the practice of recycling precious materials before they could be seized by temple-robbers. The fact that the treasury of the House of Amun collected the myrrh and jasper of other temples, as well as its role in the distribution of gold and galena from the mining expeditions (see above), suggests a central administrative function with respect to precious articles, which has much in common with the role of the same treasury as a distributor of incense (another precious commodity) of the royal *in.w* in Eighteenth Dynasty tomb scenes.<sup>2</sup> Perhaps we may assume that those scenes and the Twentieth Dynasty papyri actually refer to the same administrative practice, although we have to keep in mind that the two types of source are of completely different characters, and that they are separated by a gap of three centuries, from which we have no explicit information about the central collection or distribution of precious materials among Theban temples. On the other hand, the items of list 17 of the Medinet Habu calendar and the royal gifts (*in.w*) in the Great Harris Papyrus could have reached the royal memorial temples through the treasury of the House of Amun,<sup>3</sup> which may generally have functioned as the distributor of precious goods jointly received by the Theban temples.

At the same time, it should be noted that precious cult-objects belonging to older memorial temples were stored in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu according to texts from the first years of the “Repeating of Birth”, at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>4</sup> In year 5 of that era, copper from a shrine of the temple of Sethos I was used by the royal treasury to pay the necropolis workmen.<sup>5</sup> The treasury of the House of Amun was thus not the only collector or re-user of precious materials from the memorial temples. To these observations may be added the fact that the robberies committed in the memorial temples at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty were usually investigated by the vizier and other government officials. Only once do we find the high priest of Amun in such a capacity.<sup>6</sup>

#### THE SUPERVISION OF TEMPLE PERSONNEL

According to a number of papyrus texts from second half of the Twentieth Dynasty, personnel of memorial temples on the Theban west bank could be under the authority (*r ht*) of the high priest of Amun. The treasury scribe Hori of the temple of Ramesses III was under his authority according to a text from the reign of Ramesses VII,<sup>7</sup> and so were a coppersmith, two ship’s captains, a sandal-maker, and perhaps a stonemason of the

<sup>1</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1900 (see chapter IX, § 8).

<sup>2</sup> See chapter IV, § 4; chapter VII, § 5.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter II, § 7 (p. 85); chapter VI, §§ 4 (pp. 183-185) and 5 (pp. 189-191); chapter VII, §§ 4 and 5.

<sup>4</sup> See chapter IX, § 8.

<sup>5</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1903 (see chapter VIII, § 2, p. 228; chapter IX, § 8, p. 275).

<sup>6</sup> See chapter IX, § 8, p. 276 (2).

<sup>7</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095 (see chapter VIII, § 3, p. 232).

same temple in the reign of Ramesses IX.<sup>1</sup> The *smd.t*-man Pnakhtrestep of the temple of Thutmosis I was under the authority of the high priest according to a still later text.<sup>2</sup> Other employees of the same temples were under the authority of their 'own' superiors: the *sem*-priest or the steward (*im.y-r pr/ʿz n pr*).<sup>3</sup> No regular patterns can be discerned in the sharing of authority by the three supervisors. Indeed, we are justified in asking whether the control over memorial-temple personnel by the high priest of Amun was regular practice or not: it is attested only in documents from the reigns of Ramesses VII to XI,<sup>4</sup> whereas an earlier, Nineteenth Dynasty, ostrakon informs us on the *sem*-priest's authority over coppersmiths.<sup>5</sup>

#### CONCLUSION

In view of the above observations, it is possible that the control by the House of Amun and its high priest over other Theban temples was just a late historical development. The memorial temples may very well have done without it during the greater part of the Ramesside Period. My conclusion is that although we have information on administrative and economic relations between the memorial temples of Western Thebes and the temple of Amun at Karnak (in the inscriptions of Part One as well as in the administrative texts of Part Two), no regular pattern emerges that is valid for the entire Ramesside Period or even for a substantial part of it. For this reason, a regular administrative incorporation of Theban temples in one great estate headed by the Karnak temple can hardly be the correct interpretation of the Egyptian phrase *m pr Imn* "in the House of Amun".

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<sup>1</sup> P. Abbott, P. BM 10053 and 10054 (see chapter VIII, § 1, p. 215, note 7).

<sup>2</sup> P. BM 10054 (see chapter VIII, § 1, p. 215, note 7).

<sup>3</sup> See chapter VIII, § 1, p. 215.

<sup>4</sup> Note that the regular interference by the high priest of Amun with the affairs of the royal necropolis starts about the same time; see Peden, *Ramesses IV*, 66 and 67, note 8.

<sup>5</sup> O. Berlin 11239 (see chapter VIII, § 1, pp. 215-216).

## CONCLUSION

Having discussed the evidence presented by so many different documents, we have come to know the New Kingdom royal memorial temples of Western Thebes as important and largely self-sufficient economic units. The daily and festival offerings to the gods required considerable agricultural produce: judging from the Medinet Habu calendar, the offerings in the temples of Ramesses II and III cost almost a million litres of grain yearly.<sup>1</sup> And this represents only the tip of the iceberg. The total production of the temple estate must have exceeded the requirements made by the offering ritual to a considerable extent, as can be inferred from the transfers of products from the temples of Ramesses III and IV for the offerings presented in the House of Amonrasonter at Karnak,<sup>2</sup> and perhaps also from the regular and occasional deliveries by the memorial temples to the workmen of the royal necropolis.<sup>3</sup> Information on the extent of arable land and the grain-production of Theban temple estates in the Great Harris Papyrus confirms this state of affairs.<sup>4</sup> In chapters VII and XII, attempts have been made to describe the workings of a temple's productive machine in detail by a synthesis of the information offered by different types of source.

Thus, we may receive the impression that a large New Kingdom temple estate, with all the economic means at its disposal, functioned as an economic sector totally separate from the rest of Egyptian society. It has been pointed out, however, that such was definitely not the case. The description of a typical temple estate that is presented here includes its administrative and economic ties with other temples (especially with the temple of Amonrasonter at Karnak), as well as with government departments. Both categories of external relations will be highlighted here once more in order to reach some conclusions with regard to the two main topics formulated in section 4 of the Introduction: (1) Were the Theban memorial temples regularly incorporated in an administrative structure that was referred to as the "House of Amun" (*pr Imn*)? (2) did the estates of these temples constitute a special reservoir for allocations on the part of the king, i.e. did the pharaohs have easier access to the resources of their own or their predecessors' memorial foundations than to those of other temples?

### 1. THE THEBAN MEMORIAL TEMPLES AND THE HOUSE OF AMUN

We have seen in the Introduction that the royal funerary temples of the Old and Middle Kingdoms were to a certain extent provided for economically through the temples of local gods, which may thus have acted as centres of administrative control. The

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter II, § 7, p. 82, and table 1.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter II, § 3; chapter III.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter IX, §§ 3-5 and § 7.

<sup>4</sup> See chapter VI, § 4 (pp. 174-179).

endowment-text of the chief royal steward Amenhotep from the reign of Amenophis III would seem to present the same situation in the Eighteenth Dynasty. According to this text, the royal temple at Memphis was administratively attached to (*hr sḏfꜣ*) the local temple of Ptah, just as the Theban royal temples were attached to that of Amun.<sup>1</sup> Jarstamps and hieratic dockets from about the same time, however, show that the temple of Amenophis III at Thebes was delivering wine to the palace nearby, and perhaps even to the royal palace of his successor at Amarna.<sup>2</sup> Such references might be indications of the growing economic capacity of the royal memorial temples, which at a later stage brought about administrative responsibilities of their own: according to the Great Harris and Wilbour papyri, religious foundations and fields could be administratively attached to (*hr sḏf*) a royal memorial temple by the time of the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>3</sup>

It is certain that the royal memorial temples of the Ramesside Period were of great economic importance. The wealth of the temples of Ramesses II and III is apparent from the amounts of offerings in the Medinet Habu calendar,<sup>4</sup> while the important economic role of the foundations of Ramesses III and IV with regard to other institutions is exemplified by the transfers from their storehouses to the temple of Amonrasonter, as described in the offering-lists of Ramesses III and IV at Medinet Habu and Karnak.<sup>5</sup> The transfers were newly established by royal decree. Instead of being the result of a permanent economic responsibility of the memorial temples *vis-à-vis* the temple of Amonrasonter (for which there is no proof whatsoever), it will have been their wealth that was the reason for such royal decisions. The impressive architectural scale of the temples from the time of Amenophis III onwards may reflect the increased economic importance as compared with the older memorial temples.<sup>6</sup> Perhaps the secondary extension of the Ramesseum storerooms to the west of the temple proper is also an indication of this development.<sup>7</sup>

Twentieth Dynasty papyri also testify to the wealth of the Theban memorial temples. Text A of the Wilbour Papyrus shows that the temples of Ramesses III, IV, and V were among the richest landholding institutions; the amounts of arable fields and agricultural revenues of the temples of Ramesses III and V even surpassed those of the Karnak temple in the Middle Egyptian region covered by the Wilbour survey.<sup>8</sup> The

<sup>1</sup> See chapter VI, § 3, p. 169 (a).

<sup>2</sup> See chapter XI, §§ 2 (p. 350), 4 (p. 357), and 5 (pp. 360-361).

<sup>3</sup> See chapter VI, § 3, p. 170 (e, f).

<sup>4</sup> See chapter II, §§ 5 and 7.

<sup>5</sup> See chapter II, § 3; chapter III.

<sup>6</sup> The temple of Amenophis III covered an area at least ten times bigger than those of the temples of Thutmosis III and IV (compare the scale of the plans in *Totentempel Amenophis' III.*, folder 1, to that of the plans in Ricke, *Totentempel*, pl. 11). Later pharaohs generally kept to a large size: Horemheb (see Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu II*, 113, fig. 95), Sethos I (R. Stadelmann, *MDAIK* 33 (1977), 127), Ramesses II (Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu III*, pl. 10), and Ramesses III (Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu I*, pl. 2). Exceptions are the smaller temples of Merenptah (H. Jaritz, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 68), Siptah, and Tausert (Petrie, *Six Temples*, pl. XXVI).

<sup>7</sup> See Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu III*, 81. A comparison with the plans of other temples (see previous note) shows that substantial blocks of storerooms to the west were unusual for smaller memorial temples.

<sup>8</sup> See chapter X, § 2, and tables 8 and 9.

riches of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu must have been exceptional: its holdings and revenues amounted to twice as much as those of the reigning king (Ramesses V), and it appears in text B as virtually the sole memorial temple that held fields called *khato*.<sup>1</sup> The estates of some memorial temples still existed in the Third Intermediate Period,<sup>2</sup> but as a rule they gradually diminished through the re-allocation of their fields (see below, no. 2).

Neither the grouping together of Theban temples in the Great Harris, Wilbour, and Griffith-Louvre papyri, nor the partial control by the high priest of Amun over fields and personnel of some memorial temples, justifies the conclusion that a whole group of Theban temples was subject to an administration that had its centre at Karnak. The temple fields recorded in the Wilbour Papyrus were controlled by an enormous variety of temple and non-temple functionaries.<sup>3</sup> The authority of the high priest of Amun over personnel of the memorial temples in Western Thebes is first attested in a document from the reign of Ramesses VII,<sup>4</sup> and it may have increased in extent in the reign of Ramesses IX. This extent was nevertheless limited: whereas some priests, officials, or workmen were under the authority of the high priest, others were under the authority of the *sem*-priests or the stewards of the memorial temples themselves.<sup>5</sup> None of these functionaries acted as a direct superior of temple personnel, who must have been controlled in the performance of their regular duties by technically specialized supervisors such as superiors of *wab*-priests, overseers of carpenters, and chief weavers. Authority over the resources and personnel of a single institution as expressed by the preposition (*r*) *ht* was indirect, and divided among various functionaries who were not necessarily attached to the institution in question. This division of authority may have had a pragmatic motive, of which we are unfortunately ignorant, but which may have been the prevention of one and the same person or institution from holding too much responsibility (or power). Extensive economic resources could be assigned to one temple, but at the same time they were under the authority of external officials. This policy, by which rich and self-sufficient economic units were prevented from becoming a state within the state, may have been characteristic of Egyptian society in the Ramesside Period.

The central collection and distribution of precious materials by the treasury of the House of Amun among various Theban temples, as illustrated by the Eighteenth Dynasty incense-lists and some Twentieth Dynasty papyri, appears to be an exception.<sup>6</sup> This form of central control, however, concerns only a limited sector of the temple's economic provisions, and may have had its origin in the function of the Karnak treasury as the central distributor of royal *in.w* to the different Theban temples, including the royal memorial temples and the temple of Amonrasonter itself. From the information on their own production and resources, we can infer that the royal memorial temples of the

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter X, § 4, p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter X, § 6.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter X, §§ 1 and 2.

<sup>4</sup> P. Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095 (see chapter VIII, § 3, p. 232).

<sup>5</sup> See chapter VIII, § 1, p. 215.

<sup>6</sup> See chapter IV, § 4; chapter IX, §§ 2 and 8.

Ramesseid Period were important economic centres themselves, and there is no evidence for their being economically dependent on (i.e. materially supported by) the Karnak temple. Nor do Ramesseid administrative documents show signs of an all-embracing administration governing the economic relations between the royal memorial temples on the Theban west bank and the "House of Amun".

For these reasons, it seems extremely doubtful to me that the phrase "in the House of Amun" (*m pr 'Imn*) in the names of memorial or other Theban temples refers to their being administratively controlled by, or economically dependent on, the main temple of Amun at Karnak. Other (smaller) temples or chapels may actually have been incorporated in the estate of a larger one,<sup>1</sup> but this probably does not apply to all temples having the element *m pr 'Imn* in their names. In addition to the foregoing observations, it should be called to mind that temples of Mut, Khonsu, or Re never receive the addition "in the House of Amun", although they were adjacent, took part in the distribution of precious materials from the Karnak treasury, and are mentioned together with the Amun temples in papyrus documents. A strong objection to Helck's theory that *m pr 'Imn* refers to the same type of economic attachment as is expressed by the phrase *hr sdf* is provided by the Great Harris Papyrus, according to which a newly founded town in the Nile delta was put on the *sdf* of the Karnak temple, although its name did not include the element *m pr 'Imn*.<sup>2</sup>

The inevitable conclusion is that there is no basis for the assumption that the phrase *m pr 'Imn* is in itself a reference to the incorporation of one temple within the administrative system of another. Instead, it appears to be a typical part of temple designations that contain the names of their founding kings, as they were employed in the late Eighteenth Dynasty and during the Ramesseid Period. As stated above, the evidence for administrative or economic influence over New Kingdom memorial temples by the temple of Amonrasonter is limited to the distribution and collection of their precious materials by the Karnak treasury. Apart from this specific economic channel, the temples should be conceived of as economically independent. Whenever indirect administration by external authorities becomes apparent, functionaries of the House of Amun are not necessarily predominant.

## 2. THE THEBAN MEMORIAL TEMPLES AS STATE RESOURCES

Some Theban memorial temples and their estates lasted for a considerable time. A few of them even survived the New Kingdom: fields of the temples of Amenophis III, Ramesses III, and Ramesses IV are recorded in a land-register of the Twenty-first or Twenty-second Dynasty,<sup>3</sup> and *sem*-priests of the temples of Ramesses II and IV are known from monuments of the Late Period.<sup>4</sup> As a rule, however, the gradual reduction

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<sup>1</sup> Such as e.g. the religious foundations on the *sdf* of the House of Amun, and the royal chapels "in the House of Amun" in the Amiens Papyrus, and the House of Ramesses II "in the House of Amun" in the Wilbour Papyrus (see Introduction, § 4, p. 31; Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 142 (§ 117) and 146 (§ 152)).

<sup>2</sup> See chapter VI, § 3, p. 173.

<sup>3</sup> Griffith/Louvre fragments (see chapter X, § 6).

<sup>4</sup> See appendix 2.

of their estates must have started soon after the death of their founding kings. This reduction was the result of re-allocation of resources to other institutions, which may have been effected either through an intermediate stage of administrative control over the temple fields, gardens, or other economic resources by another institution,<sup>1</sup> or by the outright appropriation of temple fields by members of a different administration.<sup>2</sup> The same thing, however, could happen to other institutions, as can be inferred from the complaint of the stable-master Amunemuia, whose fields had been brought under the control of the steward Nodjem of the Ramesseum.<sup>3</sup> The correspondence about unjust transfers of land show that the re-allocation of economic resources could not take place just like that. It could probably be attempted only when the people entitled to their revenues had become less numerous, or their claims less strong.

Following the mood of royal temple inscriptions, we tend to see the Egyptian king as the one who took the initiatives of founding or modifying temple estates, although in fact he may often have just authorized plans laid before him by his officials. However, regardless of the question of which authorities were involved in the creation of new estates, the founders would have had to reckon with the claims of already existing institutions and their personnel. A theoretical option might have been a transfer of the beneficiaries along with the resources to another institution (priests and officials of the Ramesseum, for instance, might have resumed their functions in the temple of Ramesses III), but I have not been able to find any evidence for such a practice.

It is doubtful whether the estates of royal memorial temples could be reduced more easily than those of other institutions. Why should the priests and officials entitled to the revenues of "temples of millions of years" be less eager to retain their positions and income than their colleagues (or indeed rivals) in other temples? The small extent of the agricultural domains of the Ramesseum in the region described by the Wilbour Papyrus is surprising, but the same temple may still have had substantial holdings elsewhere in Egypt. Records of its personnel and activities are known from the entire Twentieth Dynasty and even later. It should not surprise us, however, that the later foundation of the wealthy temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu had a negative effect on the prominent status of the temple of Ramesses II, and hence on the material interests connected with it.

The impression that the agricultural domains of royal memorial temples were reduced more quickly than those of other institutions may be caused by the fact that these temples received hardly any new donations of land after their estates had been founded. This explanation can be only partially supported by the observation that a private donation to a memorial temple was usually made to a foundation of the reigning king. The texts of the steward Senmut, the butler Neferperet, the chief steward Amenhotep, the necropolis scribe Ramose, and the vizier Hori (or the herdsman Pkha'emwese) are all concerned with private donations to temples of the pharaohs they

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<sup>1</sup> So possibly with fields of the temple of Ramesses IV in text A of the Wilbour Papyrus (see chapter X, § 2, pp. 307-308), and with a garden of the temple of Sethos I, judging from hieratic jar-dockets from the Ramesseum (chapter XI, § 2, p. 351).

<sup>2</sup> So perhaps in P. BM 10373 (see chapter X, § 7).

<sup>3</sup> P. Sallier I (see chapter X, § 7).

were serving.<sup>1</sup> Older temples occur less frequently as the recipients of such private donations.<sup>2</sup> The same may be true for royal donations, although lists in the Eighteenth Dynasty tombs of Ineni and Puyemre show us that older memorial temples still received modest amounts of incense from the royal *inw*.<sup>3</sup> We know that some New Kingdom pharaohs restored the temples of their predecessors in Western Thebes, but we cannot say to what extent these restorations were accompanied by economic measures. Generally speaking, however, the material interest in ancient royal cults may gradually have diminished as the number of memorial temples on the Theban west bank grew larger and larger.

While it is difficult to account for the decline of temple estates by solid evidence, it is even harder to understand exactly why some institutions proved more persistent than others. For unknown reasons, the temple of Thutmosis I is still mentioned in texts of the late Twentieth Dynasty from Western Thebes, whereas activity in some later Eighteenth Dynasty temples seems to have ceased by that time. Thutmosis I may also have been the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple which is recorded with two small apportioning domains in text A of the Wilbour Papyrus.<sup>4</sup> The temple of Amenophis III was still functioning in the second year of the “Repeating of Birth”, when its *sem*-priest Hori was promoted to the *sem*-priesthood of the temple of Ramesses III.<sup>5</sup> A fragment of a field register from the Third Intermediate Period kept in the Ashmolean Museum even mentions a plot of land belonging to this temple in the tenth Upper-Egyptian nome.<sup>6</sup> Its endurance may have been due to its size and wealth at the time of its foundation, or to the importance of its incorporated cult of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, which is often mentioned in personal titles pertaining to this temple. A special case is presented by the temple of Ramesses III, which remained the wealthiest and most prominent foundation of Western Thebes throughout the Twentieth Dynasty, not only locally, but even, as a landholder, throughout the country. It would seem that no king or administrator dared to interfere with the affairs of this institution, a situation that may have been the result of general protective measures at the beginning of the reign of Ramesses IV to the benefit of the foundations of his predecessor, as implied by the Great Harris Papyrus.<sup>7</sup>

Even by holding their own resources, however, the temples were of service to the king because their estates included fields of royal domains (*khato*).<sup>8</sup> Whatever the exact manner in which these fields were incorporated into the temple estate and in which their revenues were shared between the temple and the institution called *khato*, it is clear that the temples were directly responsible for them and their cultivation, whereas on a higher (*r ht*) level, control was exercised over the same fields by various high officials

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter V.

<sup>2</sup> E.g. the donations of the *wab*-priest Merenptah (for a statue of Ramesses III in the Memphite temple of Merenptah) and of an unknown fortress-commander (stela of Bilgai; for a chapel of “Amun of Ramesses II”); both texts are referred to in chapter V.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter IV, § 4.

<sup>4</sup> See chapter X, § 2, p. 303.

<sup>5</sup> P. BM 10383 (see appendix 2).

<sup>6</sup> See chapter X, § 5, p. 331.

<sup>7</sup> See chapter VI, § 2, pp. 157-161.

<sup>8</sup> See chapter X, §§ 3, 4, and 5.

and priests. The calculation of the area of *khato* held by the temple of Ramesses III according to text B of the Wilbour Papyrus has taught us that it probably made up a substantial part of the temple's estate,<sup>1</sup> which means that it must have been an important source of income for the temple itself as well as for the royal granaries.

Temples were also called upon for deliveries of provisions to the community of necropolis workmen in Western Thebes.<sup>2</sup> Although the temples of millions of years located here were certainly not the only temples that supplied the workmen with food and other materials, they were probably the principal sources of regular deliveries of beer and cake. The quantities delivered were modest, but it is clear from the formulae employed on the receipts, and from the registration of deficits (*wḏ3.t*), that they were of a regular character. On the other hand, we may infer from the receipts of cake deliveries, which specify the delivering temples, that this responsibility rested on old foundations only.<sup>3</sup> This observation is in perfect agreement with the fact that the marches of striking workmen were directed mainly towards the older memorial temples.<sup>4</sup> Were the decrease of their cultic importance and the reduced number of people entitled to their revenues the reasons that their productive and storage capacity became available for other economic purposes? The keeping or manufacturing of the workmen's copper tools under the supervision of the scribe of the temple treasury or the *sem*-priest appears to have been another productive or administrative service.<sup>5</sup>

In sum, the evidence presented by documents on the royal memorial temples in Western Thebes does not really support Helck's hypothesis that the royal memorial temples were in a way regarded as government resources, or as the king's personal property. Nor do they support Kessler's description of the same temples as state resources belonging to an administrative sphere totally separate from the administration of the temples of local deities. By special arrangements decreed by the king, part of their production could be used to support the material provision for the cult of Amun at Thebes, but they did not become part of one all-embracing estate of the deity's main temple. In this sense, they certainly were "economic counterweights", though not exactly in the sense suggested by Helck. In other respects, their function within the Egyptian economy appears to have been limited to administrative and productive services, which had a regular character, but still represented an additional, and not their main, task when compared with the efforts required for the maintenance of their own organization and cults. Through the limited use of their administrative and productive power, and through the partial control over their resources by a variety of government as well as temple officials, the temples were incorporated in the economic network of Egyptian society, the administrative structure of which may have been characterized to a high degree by decentralized authority and by pragmatism.

The public interest in the temples' economic affairs as shown by the control over temple estates exercised by government officials, by the use of administrative and

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<sup>1</sup> See chapter X, § 4, pp. 325-326.

<sup>2</sup> See chapter IX, §§ 3-5.

<sup>3</sup> See chapter IX, § 4.

<sup>4</sup> See chapter IX, § 7.

<sup>5</sup> See chapter VIII, § 3, pp. 232-233; IX, § 6, pp. 267-268.

productive services of the temples for external purposes, and by royal and private donations should prevent us from regarding “state” and “temple” as two strictly separate spheres. On the other hand, the services rendered by, or required from, the temples by the state, either structurally (the administration of *khato*), or pragmatically (the marginal control and provisioning of the necropolis workmen at Western Thebes), hardly justify Kemp’s characterization of Egyptian temples as a branch of government administration. The resources of Egyptian temples served mainly for their own maintenance, but their position as important landholders and producers also brought its public responsibilities.

TABLES  
APPENDICES  
INDICES



## TABLES

TABLE 1 - AMOUNTS OF GRAIN IN THE MEDINET HABU CALENDAR LISTS<sup>1</sup>

list	occasion date	recipient(s) <sup>2</sup>	source of grain	total grain per day (in sacks) <sup>3</sup>	total grain yearly (in sacks) <sup>4</sup>	total grain yearly (in litres) <sup>5</sup>
1	Daily - evening	A	royal domains	$68\frac{1}{4} + x$ <sup>6</sup>	$24,911\frac{1}{4} + x$	1,915,17 + x
2	Daily - morning	A	m. temple granary	$\frac{1}{2}$	$182\frac{1}{2}$	14,031
3	Valley 1	A	m. temple granary	$10\frac{1}{2}$	$10\frac{1}{2}$	807
4	Valley 2	A	m. temple granary	$10\frac{1}{2}$	$10\frac{1}{2}$	807
5	Victory over <...> III <i>šmw</i> 6	A	granary of Karnak temple	20	20	1,538
yearly total 1-5	daily and festival offerings	A	(various)	-	$25,134\frac{3}{4} + x$	1,932,36 + x

<sup>1</sup> See also Helck, *Materialien* III, (368)-(412); Schaedel, *Listen*, 65.

<sup>2</sup> A = Amun-Re / Amonrasonter; E = Ennead; Pt = Ptah-Sokar-Osiris; S = *šm ḥwt* (royal bark).

<sup>3</sup> One sack (Eg. *ḥꜣr*) is the equivalent of 4 *oipe* (*ip.t*), or 76.88 litres (F. Ll. Griffith, *PSBA* 14 (1892), 432-435; W.-F. Reineke, *MIO* 9 (1963), 162; cf. Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 64 and 65). Amounts smaller than one *oipe* ( $\frac{1}{4}$  sack) have been rounded off in this table.

<sup>4</sup> See previous note.

<sup>5</sup> Number of sacks multiplied by 76.88; with decimals rounded off.

<sup>6</sup> Helck, *Materialien* III, (368), read: "o.ä. Getreide  $13\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}\frac{1}{60}$  oipe, u.ä. Getreide 66(?) (...) oipe (...) Zusammen Getreide (...) " (the integers refer to sacks; the fractions to *oipe*). The figures are based on the traces in l. 100; the calculation of the amount of emmer ("Lower-Egyptian grain") from the entries preserved (following the remarks of Helck, *ibid.*, (370)) results in a minimum of 43 sacks (47 if the emmer-loaves in ll. 67, 69 and 71 are included). The smallest possible amount of emmer allowed by the traces is 55 sacks, and the quantity to be reconstructed cannot be much greater (the missing numbers in ll. 74, 78 and 83 cannot represent large quantities). The total obtained is  $13\frac{1}{4} + 55 + x = 68\frac{1}{4} + x$  sacks.

## DIVINE HOUSEHOLDS

6	daily	A, S, E	m. temple granary	$30\frac{1}{2}$ <sup>1</sup>	11,140 <sup>2</sup>	856,443
Intr. 7-15	lunar feasts	A, S, E	m. temple granary	-	-	-
7	lunar 29th day	A (S, E)	(m. temple granary)	1	12	923
8	lunar 30th day	A (S, E)	(m. temple granary)	1	12	923
9	lunar new moon	A, S (E)	(m. temple granary)	5	60	4,613
10	lunar 2nd day	A, E (S)	(m. temple granary)	1	12	923
11	lunar 4th day	A, E (S)	(m. temple granary)	1	12	923
12	lunar 6th day	A, S (E)	(m. temple granary)	5	60	4,613
13	lunar 10th day	A, E (S)	(m. temple granary)	1	12	923
14	lunar 15th day	A, E (S)	(m. temple granary)	1	12	923
15	lunar total	A (S, E)	(m. temple granary)	16 <sup>3</sup>	192	14,761
16 <sup>4</sup>	daily	royal staff	m. temple granary	$\frac{1}{4}$	$91\frac{1}{4}$	7,015
Intr. 19-67	calendar feasts	A, E, S	m. temple granary	-	-	-
19	accession I <i>šmw</i> 26	A, S, E	(m. temple granary)	15	15	1,153
20	accession	royal staff	(m. temple granary)	1	1	77
21	accession	A, E	(m. temple granary)	30	30	2,306

<sup>1</sup> The daily totals of emmer and barley together actually amount to 30 sacks and  $2 + \frac{1}{16} + \frac{6}{320}$  *oipe*.

<sup>2</sup> Yearly total based on the precise daily amount (see previous note).

<sup>3</sup> Sum of the totals of lists 7-14. Line 495 gives slightly less, but cf. Helck, *Materialien* III, (375).

<sup>4</sup> Lists 17 and 18 do not record cereals.

22	accession drinking	hour-priests	(m. temple granary)	$70\frac{1}{2}$	$70\frac{1}{2}$	5,420
23	Sothis I <i>sh.t</i>	A, S, E	(m. temple granary)	$1\frac{1}{2}$	$1\frac{1}{2}$	115
24	W <sup>c</sup> g eve I <i>sh.t</i> 17	A, E, S	(m. temple granary)	10	10	769
25	W <sup>c</sup> g I <i>sh.t</i> 18	A, S (E)	(m. temple granary)	10	10	769
26	Thoth I <i>sh.t</i> 19	A, S, E	(m. temple granary)	5	5	384
27	Osiris I <i>sh.t</i> 22	A, E, S	(m. temple granary)	10	10	769
28	Opet eve II <i>sh.t</i> 18	A, E (S)	(m. temple granary)	10	10	769
29	Opet 1 II <i>sh.t</i> 19	A, E, S	(m. temple granary)	12	12	923
30	Opet 2 II <i>sh.t</i> 20	A, S (E)	(m. temple granary)	12	12	923
31	Opet 3 II <i>sh.t</i> 21	A, E, S	(m. temple granary)	12	12	923
32	Opet 4 II <i>sh.t</i> 22	A, S (E)	(m. temple granary)	12	12	923
33	Opet 5 II <i>sh.t</i> 23	A, S (E)	(m. temple granary)	$8\frac{3}{4}$ <sup>1</sup>	$8\frac{3}{4}$	672
34	Opet 6-8 II <i>sh.t</i> 24-26	A, E, S	(m. temple granary)	-	$35^2$	2,691
35	Opet 9-24 II <i>sh.t</i> 27 - III <i>sh.t</i> 12	A, E, S	(m. temple granary)	-	$117\frac{1}{2} + x^3$	9,033 + x

<sup>1</sup> The sum of all single entries being 237 loaves (not 217, as in Helck, *Materialien* III, (381)),  $1\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{8}$  *oipe* of barley, and 8 sacks and  $1\frac{4}{5}$  *oipe* of emmer. The (presumably corrupted) totals recorded in ll. 834 and 835 are 225 loaves,  $1\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4}\frac{1}{40}$  *oipe*, and  $2 + x$  sacks and  $2\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{40}$  *oipe*.

<sup>2</sup> Total for three days? Line 840 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 156) records 190 loaves for "this day", whereas it must be referring to days 24-26 of the Opet festival. The lines mentioning these dates in their turn refer to the foregoing list 33 by the expression *mit.t-nn*, but 190 can hardly be three times the number of loaves recorded there (225). Even stranger, however, is the low amount of grain in list 33 when compared with lists 32 and 34.

<sup>3</sup> The  $209 + x$  sacks arrived at in line 858 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 156) is probably the total for the entire Opet festival (see Helck, *Materialien* III, (382)). The totals of lists 29-34 must be subtracted from this.

36	Opet 1-24 (festival hall)	A	(m. temple granary)	$2\frac{1}{4}$	$54\frac{1}{4}$	4,171
37	Opet (drinking)	priests	(m. temple granary)	3	72	5,535
38	Opet (total)	A, E, S	m. temple granary	-	$316\frac{1}{4}$ <sup>1</sup>	24,313
39	after Opet III <i>sh.t</i> 17	A, E (S)	(m. temple granary)	10	10	769
40	Hathor IV <i>sh.t</i> 1	A, E, S	(m. temple granary)	25	25	1,922
41	purifying Ennead IV <i>sh.t</i> 20	A, E (S)	(m. temple granary)	2	2	154
42	opening window IV <i>sh.t</i> 21	Pt	(m. temple granary)	2	2	154
43	hacking earth IV <i>sh.t</i> 22	Pt	(m. temple granary)	$4\frac{1}{4}$	$4\frac{1}{4}$	327
44	making way IV <i>sh.t</i> 23	Pt	(m. temple granary)	$7\frac{1}{2}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$	577
45	Sokar in midst IV <i>sh.t</i> 24	Pt	(m. temple granary)	$7\frac{1}{2}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$	577
46	<i>Ntr.y</i> IV <i>sh.t</i> 25	Pt	(m. temple granary)	$12\frac{3}{4}$	$12\frac{3}{4}$	980
47	feast of Sokar IV <i>sh.t</i> 26	Pt, Nefertem	m. temple granary	$135\frac{3}{4}$	$135\frac{3}{4}$	10,437
48	anointing Ennead IV <i>sh.t</i> 27	Pt	(m. temple granary)	$6\frac{1}{2}$	$6\frac{1}{2}$	500
49	dragging <i>Bnbn</i> IV <i>sh.t</i> 28	Pt	(m. temple granary)	$1\frac{1}{4}$	$1\frac{1}{4}$	96
50	[...] IV <i>sh.t</i> 29	Pt	(m. temple granary)	$6\frac{1}{4}$	$6\frac{1}{4}$	481
51	Erecting <i>dd</i> IV <i>sh.t</i> 30	Pt	[m. temple granary]	4	4	308

<sup>1</sup> The mode of calculating the grand total of the Opet festival being unclear (see the previous notes), the total number of sacks as recorded in list 38 is followed here.

52	<i>Nhb-k3</i> I <i>pr.t</i> 1	A, E, S	m. temple granary? <sup>1</sup>	$50 + x^2$	$50 + x$	$3,844 + x$
53	Meshwesh I <i>ph.t</i> 28	A, E, S	granary of Karnak temple <sup>3</sup>	59	59	4,536
54	Meshwesh	Mut	(granary of Karnak temple)	5	5	384
55	Meshwesh	Khonsu	(granary of Karnak temple)	5	5	384
56	name on <i>išd</i> I <i>pr.t</i> 6	A, E (S)	(m. temple granary)	25	25	1,922
57	<i>Hr.t.y</i> I <i>pr.t</i> 22	A, E, S	(m. temple granary)	15	15	1,153
58	erecting <i>tr.t</i> I <i>pr.t</i> 29	A (E, S)	(m. temple granary)	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	192
59	rowing Anubis II <i>pr.t</i> 1	A, E (S)	(m. temple granary)	5	5	384
60 a	lifting sky 1 II <i>pr.t</i> 29	A, E, S	(m. temple granary)	$42\frac{1}{4}$ <sup>4</sup>	$42\frac{1}{4}$	3,248
60 b	lifting sky 2 II <i>pr.t</i> 30	A (E, S)	(m. temple granary)	$42\frac{1}{4}$	$42\frac{1}{4}$	3,248
60 c	lifting sky 3 III <i>pr.t</i> 1	A, E (S)	(m. temple granary)	$42\frac{1}{4}$	$42\frac{1}{4}$	3,248
61 a	entering sky 1 III <i>pr.t</i> 29	A (E, S)	(m. temple granary)	$42\frac{1}{4}$	$42\frac{1}{4}$	3,248
61 b	entering sky 2 III <i>pr.t</i> 30	A (E, S)	(m. temple granary)	$42\frac{1}{4}$	$42\frac{1}{4}$	3,248
61 c	entering sky 3 IV <i>pr.t</i> 1	A (E, S)	(m. temple granary)	$42\frac{1}{4}$	$42\frac{1}{4}$	3,248

<sup>1</sup> See the remarks on column 1163 in chapter II, § 7, pp. 82-84.

<sup>2</sup> My calculation: barley  $5\frac{1}{2}\frac{1}{4} + x$  sacks; emmer  $44\frac{1}{4} + x$  sacks. The amount of emmer has been kept to a minimum, assuming that the baking-value 20 of the white bread in l. 1209 (1,600 loaves!) is based here on the *oipe*, not on the sack (cf. Helck, *Materialien* III, (371)). If it is based on the sack as usual, another 60 sacks must be added to the total amount of emmer required.

<sup>3</sup> See the remarks on column 1191/1223 in chapter II, § 7, pp. 82-84.

<sup>4</sup> The total recorded is 40 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 165, l. 1365) but the total of emmer is already 40 sacks and  $\frac{2}{3}$  *oipe* (my calculation; cf. Helck, *Materialien* III, (390)). Perhaps the scribe took the number "40" of emmer for "38" when calculating the grand total.

62	chewing onion IV <i>pr.t</i> 4	A, E (S)	(m. temple granary)	$12\frac{1}{2}$	$12\frac{1}{2}$	961
63	feast of [...] <sup>1</sup> IV <i>pr.t</i>	A, E (S)	(m. temple granary)	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	192
64	Renenet I <i>šmw</i> 1	A, S (E)	(m. temple granary)	10	10	769
65	dressing Anubis I <i>šmw</i> 10	A, E (S)	(m. temple granary)	$2\frac{1}{2}$	$2\frac{1}{2}$	192
66	procession of Min I <i>šmw</i>	A, S (E)	(m. temple granary)	$6\frac{1}{4}$	$6\frac{1}{4}$	481
67 a	Amun 1 IV <i>šmw</i>	A, E (S)	(m. temple granary)	10	10	769
67 b	Amun 2	A, E (S)	(m. temple granary)	10	10	769
67 c	Amun 3	A, S (E)	(m. temple granary)	10	10	769
67 d	Amun 4	A, S (E)	(m. temple granary)	10	10	769
67 e	Amun 5	A, E, S	(m. temple granary)	10	10	769
yearly total lists 6-67 <sup>2</sup>	(daily offerings, lunar feasts, calendar feasts)	(A, E, S, Pt, royal staff, priests)	(m. temple granary)	-	$12,562 + x^3$	$965,767 + x^4$

<sup>1</sup> Helck, *Materialien* III, (390), and Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* V, 180, 9, note a, suggested "Sokar(?)", but this has been rejected by A. Spalinger, *BSEG* 19 (1995), 27, note 8. Schott, *Festdaten*, (101), made no suggestion.

<sup>2</sup> With the exception of lists 53-55. For the Opet festival, only the total of list 38 has been included.

<sup>3</sup> "+ x" refers to the lost entries of list 52, the grain for which which cannot have amounted to more than a few sacks. If the baking-value of the white bread is based there on the sack (instead of the *oipe*), another 60 sacks must be added to the total of that list, and hence to the great total here as well.

<sup>4</sup>  $12,562 \times 76.88$  (rounded off). Addition of the numbers of litres of the separate lists gives 965,768.

TABLE 2 - YEARLY REQUIREMENTS FROM THE SEPARATE ECONOMIC DEPARTMENTS IN THE MEDINET HABU CALENDAR

## A - GRAIN

department	item	list(s)	yearly amount (sacks) <sup>1</sup>
royal domains	barley	1	$4,836\frac{1}{4}$
	emmer	1	$20,075 + x$
granary of Karnak temple	barley	5, 53-55 <sup>2</sup>	$11\frac{1}{4}$
	emmer	5, 53-55	$76\frac{3}{4}$
granary of memorial temple	barley	2-4	$4\frac{1}{2}$
	emmer	2-4	17
	barley	6-16, 19-52, 56-67	$3,257 + x^3$
	emmer	6-16, 19-52, 56-67	$9,305 + x^4$

## B - OTHER ITEMS

department	item	list(s)	yearly amount <sup>5</sup>
domains of Karnak temple	charcoal	1	730 oipe
treasury of Karnak temple	fruit	1	7,3000 baskets ( <i>dni.t</i> )
	<i>q3w</i>	1	1,825 cones ( <i>brbr</i> )
	<i>hmlzy</i>	1	1,825 pieces ( <i>šr.t</i> )

<sup>1</sup>The numbers of the daily offerings have been multiplied by 365, those of the monthly festivals by 12.

<sup>2</sup>For the source of the grain in lists 53-55, see chapter II, § 7, pp. 82-84.

<sup>3</sup>" + x" refers to the amounts of the missing entries in list 52.

<sup>4</sup>See previous note. The barley and emmer of these lists add up to the 12,562 sacks in the previous table.

<sup>5</sup>Daily amounts multiplied by 365; monthly amounts by 12.

royal treasury	incense	1	[x] branches 7,300 baskets 1,825 deben
	moringa oil	53	1 <i>men</i> -jar
	fresh moringa oil	17	2 <i>men</i> -jars
	wine	17	2 <i>men</i> -jars
	mixed fruit	17	250 <i>hin</i>
treasury of memorial temple	fresh moringa oil	22	5 <i>men</i> -jars
	sweet moringa oil	22	4 <i>men</i> -jars
royal gardens	excellent wine	1	24 + x <i>men</i> -jars <sup>1</sup>
gardens of a temple of Ramesses III <sup>2</sup>	vegetables	1	50 bundles (?) <sup>3</sup> 10,950 bundles
	flowers	1	3,650 bunches 3,650 baskets
gardens of memorial temple	flowers	53, 55	10 + x baskets
gardeners (of memorial temple)	vegetables	22	300 bundles
herds of Karnak temple	ox / bull	55	2
herds of a temple of Ramesses III	geese	1	365
	milk	1	730 <i>mehen</i>
herds of memorial temple	ox / bull	55	2
	living geese	55	3
storehouse of <i>in.w</i> of memorial temple	salt	22	150 bricks
	natron	22	150 bricks
memorial temple (departments not specified)	mixed fowl	2	730
	incense	2	1,095 baskets
	fruit	2	1,460 baskets
	wine	55	5 <i>men</i> -jars
	living goose	55	1
	incense	55	20 baskets
	fruit	55	20 baskets

<sup>1</sup> The traces (of "365"?) in line 102 must be those of the yearly total.

<sup>2</sup> The House of Ramesses III "Making Thebes Festive" (*Shb W3.s.t*): see pp. 65-66, note 5.

<sup>3</sup> Line 119: daily quantity in baskets, converted into yearly quantity in bundles?

TABLE 3 - ITEMS FROM UNSPECIFIED SOURCES IN THE OLD CALENDAR LISTS OF MEDINET HABU<sup>1</sup>

item <sup>2</sup>	list(s)	yearly amount <sup>3</sup>
<i>iwz</i> -cattle	9, 15, 19, 21, 29, 35, 38, 47, 60b	19
<i>rnn(iwz)</i> -cattle	19, 21, 34, 35, 38, 60a, 61a, 67a/b/d	8
<i>wndw</i> -cattle	12, 15, 21, 31, 35, 38, 39, 47, 56	17
bull/ox ( <i>kz/ih</i> ) <sup>4</sup>	12, 15, 19, 21, 23-28, 33, 35, 38, 39, 40, 44-47, 51, 56, 57, 59, 60c, 61b/c, 63, 64, 67c/e	75
antelope ( <i>mzhq</i> )	19, 27, 47, 67a-e	8
gazelle ( <i>ghs</i> )	19, 47, 67a-e	8
pig ( <i>iph</i> )	45	1
goat ( <i>ʕr</i> )	45	1
goose ( <i>rz</i> )	9, 12, 15, 19, 21, 26, 29, 30, 35, 38, 39, 47, 56(!), 60a, 61a, 67b/d	43
living goose ( <i>r ʕnh</i> )	6, <sup>5</sup> 7-15, 19, 21, 23-28, 32, 35, 38, 39-44, 46-48, 50, 51, 56-59, 60b/c, 61b/c, 62-66, 67a/c/e	888
<i>trp</i> -goose/duck	9, 12, 15, 19, 47, [51], 67a-e	32
<i>sr(.t)</i> -goose	9, 12, 15, 19, 47, 51, 67a-e	32
<i>s.t</i> -goose/duck	9, 12, 15, 19, 44, 47, [51], 67a-e	33
pigeon ( <i>mnw.t</i> )	9, 12, 15, 19, 47, 51, 66, 67a-e	36

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Helck, *Materialien* III, (402)-(405). The offering-lists entitled "offering-provision" (*dbh.t-htp*), "equipped Opening-of-the-Mouth" (*wpr.t-r ʕpr.t*), and "(great) basket of carrying things" (*htp.t ʕz.t n fzi h.t*), which are incorporated in some of the calendar lists, have not been included because their contents are not always specified: Helck, *Materialien* III, (406) and (407) ("Geschlossene Opfer"). See chapter II, pp. 57-58.

<sup>2</sup> In the order usually kept to in the calendar lists.

<sup>3</sup> The amounts of daily offerings have been multiplied by 365, those of the lunar feasts by 12. For the lunar and Opet festivals, only the totals of lists 15 and 38 have been included.

<sup>4</sup> Written with  only. Read *kz* (Helck, *Materialien* III, (402) and (403)), or *ih* (ibid., (412))?

<sup>5</sup> The reconstruction *r [ʕnh]* in lists 6 and 51 is based on the observation that if only one entry in a list mentions geese, it is "living geese", and not simply "geese" (*r*).

mixed fowl ( <i>ꜥꜣꜣ ꜥꜣꜣ</i> )	6-16, 19, 21, 23-35, 38-44, 46-51, 56-66	12,412
excellent wine ( <i>irp nfr-nfr</i> )	6, 9, 12, 15, 19, 21, 29, 35, 38, 47, 56, 60-61, 67a <sup>1</sup>	402 + x men
(ordinary) wine ( <i>irp</i> )	6-15, 19-35, 38-42, 44-51, 56-67b-e <sup>2</sup> 16	278 + x men <sup>3</sup> 365 nms.t
incense ( <i>snfr</i> )	6-15, 18, 47 6-16, 19-21, 23-35, 38-51, 56-67 7, 8, 10, 11, 13-15 50	140 + x deben <sup>4</sup> 3,580 + x baskets ( <i>dni.t</i> ) 360 bowls 2 cones ( <i>t hꜣ</i> )
fruit ( <i>dqr.w</i> ) <sup>5</sup>	6-16, 19-21, 23-35, 38-49, 51, 56-67 7, 8, 10, 11, 13-15	4,955 + x <i>dni.t</i> 360 bowls
grapes ( <i>isrr.w.t</i> )	6	730 bowls
figs ( <i>dꜣb.w</i> )	[6] <sup>6</sup>	730 bowls
<i>išd</i> -fruit <sup>7</sup>	[6] <sup>8</sup>	730 bowls
<i>nbs</i> -fruit <sup>9</sup>	6	730 bowls
<i>nbs</i> -bread	6	730 bowls
vegetables ( <i>sm.w</i> )	6-16, 23-27, 43, 58 43	39,005 bundles 4 baskets ( <i>hꜣp</i> ) <sup>10</sup>
onions ( <i>hꜣ.w</i> )	6	7,300 bulbs ( <i>ꜣꜣ</i> )

<sup>1</sup> *irp nfr-nfr-nfr* in list 60; *irp nfr* in list 67a.

<sup>2</sup> List 67b mentions 1 jar of (ordinary) wine, which presumably takes the place of the *irp nfr* of 67a. Probably, the same applies to lists c-e: 4 cups and 1 jar of ordinary wine (cf. Helck, *Materialien* III, (403)).

<sup>3</sup> The amount of ordinary wine for the daily offerings (list 6), which would have made up the most important part of the yearly total, is lost. Helck, *Materialien* III, (402), reconstructed a daily amount of two jars. If correct, the yearly total given here would be augmented by 730 jars. An unspecified quantity of wine was consumed at the priests' drinking-party (list 22).

<sup>4</sup> Amount in *deben* for daily offerings lost.

<sup>5</sup> "Fresh fruit" in lists 50 and 51; "mixed fruit" in list 47.

<sup>6</sup> Probably to be reconstructed in line 268.

<sup>7</sup> *Balanites aegyptiaca*? See Von Deines, Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 64 and 65; Germer, *Flora*, 99.

<sup>8</sup> Probably to be reconstructed in line 269.

<sup>9</sup> *Nbs* refers to the Christ's thorn tree (*Zizyphus spina Christi*): Von Deines, Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 301; Germer, *Flora*, 115.

<sup>10</sup> Perhaps line 273 of list 6 records vegetables as well.

flowers ( <i>mp.y.t</i> )	6-16, 19-21, 23-35, 38-44, 46-51, 56-67	5,040 + x bunches 5,040 + x baskets ( <i>htp</i> ) <sup>1</sup>
<i>hmlzy</i> <sup>2</sup>	6	1,825 pieces ( <i>š<sup>c</sup>.t</i> )
(date-)flour(?) ( <i>q(š)w</i> ) <sup>3</sup>	6	1,825 cones ( <i>bnbn</i> )
<i>w<sup>c</sup>h(-flour)</i> <sup>4</sup>	6	46 <i>oipe</i>
milk ( <i>irt.t</i> )	43	1 <i>mehen</i>
honey ( <i>bi.t</i> )	6 6 15	730 bowls 80 <i>oipe</i> 114 <i>hin</i>
fat ( <i>šd</i> )	6	35 <i>oipe</i>
oil ( <i>n<sup>h</sup>h</i> )	6	547 $\frac{1}{2}$ <i>hin</i>
fine thin cloth ( <i>šm<sup>c</sup> nfr</i> ) <sup>5</sup>	6	24 <i>idg</i>
charcoal ( <i>d<sup>c</sup>b.t</i> )	6, 18	437 <i>oipe</i>
wax ( <i>mn<sup>h</sup></i> )	18	72 <i>deben</i>
fresh moringa oil ( <i>b<sub>3</sub>q w<sub>3</sub>q</i> )	18, 37, 38	312 <i>hin</i>
sweet moringa oil ( <i>b<sub>3</sub>q n<sup>q</sup>m</i> )	37, 38	240 <i>hin</i>
papyrus ( <i>dm<sup>c</sup></i> )	18	3 scrolls ( <i>r.t</i> )
firewood ( <i>ht n šm</i> )	18	720 (branches?)
dates ( <i>bni.w</i> ) <sup>6</sup>	6, 60, 61	?

<sup>1</sup> Some entries mention the units *msl* and *htp* together, combining them into one number (e.g. lists 15, 16).

<sup>2</sup> See Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* II, 492; H.H. Nelson, *JAOS* 56 (1936), 240, n. 22. According to list 15 (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 150, l. 529), honey was used for the preparation of this item and for *q<sub>3</sub>w* above.

<sup>3</sup> See Von Deines, Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 512-513; Harris, *Lexicographical Studies*, 221.

<sup>4</sup> Probably tubers of *Cyperus esculentus*, which have an almond-like taste (Germer, *Flora*, 244). For *w<sup>c</sup>h* as flour, see Von Deines, Grapow, *Drogennamen*, 134.

<sup>5</sup> Fine fabric used for lamp-wicks, two of which were needed each month.

<sup>6</sup> Dates only appear among the grain products, and their amounts are included in the totals of emmer. It seems, therefore, that the reference is not to the fruits themselves, but to emmer bread, cake or drink prepared with dates (cf., however, Helck, *Materialien* V, (761), in favour of dates as fruits). It may be measured in "cups" (*m<sup>h</sup>.t*) or in "lumps" (? *nd<sub>3</sub>*). For the transliteration *bni* instead of *bnr*, see W. Schenkel, *MDAIK* 20 (1965), 115.

TABLE 4 - REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DAILY OFFERINGS ESTABLISHED BY RAMESSES III AT KARNAK

Commodity	Department	Amount
grain (barley/wheat)	(granary of) memorial temple	20 + $\frac{1}{4}$ + 1 sacks
fowl	memorial temple	4 geese; mixed fowl, 2
wine	treasury of memorial temple	2 (or 3?) <i>men</i>
fruit	treasury of memorial temple	10 (+ x?) + 4 baskets ( <i>dni.t</i> )
incense	treasury of memorial temple	[x + 4] baskets ( <i>dni.t</i> )
honey (for cake)	treasury of memorial temple	4 <i>hin</i>
fat (for cake)	treasury of memorial temple	2 <i>hin</i>
flowers	memorial temple	10 bunches; 10 baskets ( <i>hṭp</i> )
vegetables	gardens of memorial temple	100 bundles

TABLE 5 - STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS OF THE OFFERING-LISTS OF RAMESSES IV AT KARNAK<sup>1</sup>

Heading of columns I-IV: festival offerings for Amonrasonter, cereals from [granary of royal memorial temple]; (finished) products from [pure] workshop of Amonrasonter.			
col. IV	(col. III)	(col. II)	(col. I)
a. total of offerings: bread, cake, and beer; total 226 sacks cattle, total 12 [...]	a. (sequel to last list of II): cake; 1 sack total (incl. II.c) 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ sacks incense, various amounts fruit, 40 baskets ( <i>mnḏm</i> ) b. offerings for the same day from the memorial temple: white bread, [...]  [...] c. "royal things for His Noble Father" (?): 260 falcon-feathers from the royal treasury, [...]	a. offerings for II <i>šmw</i> 23: loaves; 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ sacks b. offerings for the same day from the memorial temple: white bread, <i>wdn</i> , cake, [...]; 161 $\frac{1}{2}$ + x sacks  [...] c. offerings for the same day (?); grain from the memorial temple granary: cake; 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ sacks	a. [ <i>bi.t</i> ], <i>psn</i> , white bread; 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ + x sacks  [...] b. (same list ?) incense, 45 + x objects or <i>deben</i>

<sup>1</sup> The columns are given in their original, right-to-left order (see Helck, *ZÄS* 82 (1957), pl. V; Kitchen, *Ramesside inscriptions* VI, 8 and 9). Quantities smaller than  $\frac{1}{2}$  sack have been disregarded.

TABLE 6 - THE INCENSE-LISTS OF INENI (TT 81) AND PUYEMRE (TT 39)

sanctuary (translation)	Puyemre	Ineni	Monthly amounts of incense in <i>deben</i> (list of Ineni) <sup>1</sup>
House of Amun	<i>pr 'Imn</i>	[ <i>pr</i> ] <i>'Imn</i>	440
House of Mut	-	[ <i>pr</i> ] <i>Mw.t</i>	$6\frac{1}{2}$ or $8\frac{1}{2}$
House of Amunet	<i>pr 'Imn(.t)</i>	-	-
House of Khonsu	<i>pr Hnsw</i>	[ <i>pr</i> ] <i>Hnsw</i>	$5\frac{1}{2}$ or $8\frac{1}{2}$
House of Ptah	<i>pr Ptḥ (?)</i>	[ <i>pr</i> ] <i>Pt[ḥ]</i>	$5\frac{1}{2}$ or $8\frac{1}{2}$
House of Montu	<i>pr Mnṯw</i>	[ <i>pr</i> ] <i>Mnṯw?</i>	$6\frac{1}{2}$ or $8\frac{1}{2}$
Southern Opet	-	[ <i>Ip</i> ]. <i>t</i> [ <i>Rsy.t</i> ]	$5\frac{1}{2}$ or $8\frac{1}{2}$
the shrines of Opet	<i>itr.w.t 'Ip.t</i>	-	-
Enduring of places	<i>Mn-s.w.t</i>	<i>Mn-s.w.t</i>	10 + x (19?)
Glorious of places	<i>ṣḥ-s.w.t</i>	<i>ṣḥ-s.w.t</i>	$4\frac{1}{2} \eta^2$
(My) face is towards Amun	<i>Hr(=i)-hr-'Imn</i>	<i>Hr=i-hr-'Imn</i>	18 or 19
Holy of holies of Amun	<i>Dsr-ḡsr(.w)-'Imn</i>	-	-
Horizon of appearance of Amun	<i>ṣḥ.t-ḥ'-Imn</i>	-	-
Endowed with life	<i>Hnk.t-ḥ</i>	-	-
United with life	<i>Hnm.t-ḥ</i>	-	-
United with endurance	<i>Hnm.t-mn</i>	-	-
Ka-temple of Ahmose-Nefertari	<i>Hw.t-k3 n Tḥ-ms Nfr.t-ir.y</i>	-	-

<sup>1</sup> See Dziobek, *Grab des Ineni*, 39.<sup>2</sup> Dziobek, *loc. cit.*; very doubtful.

TABLE 7 - COMPARISON OF LISTS B AND C IN THE THEBAN SECTION OF P. HARRIS I WITH THE PRINCIPAL YEARLY REQUIREMENTS OF THE ROYAL MEMORIAL TEMPLE ACCORDING TO THE MEDINET HABU CALENDAR<sup>1</sup>

P.Harris I, list b (cols. 12a, b) <sup>2</sup>	Medinet Habu calendar, lists 6 - 67 <sup>3</sup>	P. Harris I, list c (13a,1 - 16b,12) <sup>4</sup>
gold 570 <i>deben</i>	-	gold objects 6 <i>deben</i>
silver 10,965 <i>deben</i>		silver objects 27 <i>deben</i>
copper 26,320 <i>deben</i>		copper 27 <i>deben</i>
		lapis 14 <i>deben</i> (total) (plus various amulets, seals)
cereals 309,950 sacks ( <i>bzk.w</i> )	cereals 12,562 + x sacks	-
Egyptian cattle 847	var. cattle 119	various cattle 10
Syrian cattle 19		
-	antelopes 8; gazelles 8; pig 1; goat 1	-
water-fowl 289,530 ( <i>bzk.w</i> )	mixed fowl 12,412	living water-fowl 4,074
living geese 744 ( <i>šzy.t</i> )	living geese 888	living geese 95
	<i>trp</i> 32	living <i>trp</i> 168
	geese 43	fattened plucked geese 20 (total)
	<i>sr.t</i> -/ <i>s.t</i> -geese, pigeons: 101	
wine and <i>šdh</i> together 25,405 jars ( <i>šcc.t</i> )	wine 278 + x men; 365 <i>nms.t</i> (+ 2 men from royal treasury) excellent wine 402 + x men	wine 648 men <i>šdh</i> -wine 44 men 36 pots ( <i>kb</i> )
incense	incense 140 + x <i>deben</i> ; 3,580 baskets ( <i>dnl.t</i> ); 360 bowls	fresh incense 70 men; 12 small jars ( <i>mn.w šrt</i> ) (total)
honey	honey 730 bowls; 114 hin; 80 oipe	honey 34 men
oil together 1,047 jars ( <i>šcc.t</i> )	oil 547½ hin	Egyptian oil 89 men Syrian oil 58 men

<sup>1</sup> For a detailed survey of the figures in P. Harris I, see Grandet, *Papyrus Harris I* vol. 1, 185-205.

<sup>2</sup> Lines 12b, 2 and 12b, 13 are not included.

<sup>3</sup> Figures from tables 1-3.

<sup>4</sup> Average yearly quantities (amounts of list c divided by 31, in round figures), unless followed by "(total)".

-	- <sup>1</sup>	dry myrrh 166 deben; 3 oipe (total); 20 hin (total); 15 branches (total) seed of myrrh 100 (total)
-	fruit 4,955 + x baskets ( <i>dni.t</i> ); 360 bowls (+ 250 hin from royal treasury)  grapes 730 bowls figs 730 bowls <i>išd</i> -fruit 730 bowls <i>nbs</i> -fruit 730 bowls	fruit 46 oipe (total)  grapes 58 baskets ( <i>pdr</i> ); 60 wreaths ( <i>hmz</i> ) pomegranates 12 baskets ( <i>pdr</i> ) <i>bki</i> -fruit 54
-	<i>hnlzy</i> 1,825 pieces ( <i>šc.t</i> ) <i>qzw</i> 1,825 cones ( <i>bmbn</i> )	-
-	-	curds 20 men (total)
vegetables ( <i>wzd.t</i> ) 24,650 bundles ( <i>mrw</i> )	vegetables ( <i>sm.w</i> ) 39,005 bundles ( <i>hrš</i> ); 4 baskets ( <i>htp</i> )	-
-	flowers 5,040 + x bunches ( <i>mst</i> ); 5,040 + x baskets ( <i>htp</i> )	-
-	fat 35 oipe	fresh fat 29 men goose fat 12 men
various garments of royal linen, <i>mk</i> -cloth, fine thin cloth, thin cloth, smooth cloth; together 3,722 yarn 3,795 deben flax 64,000 bundles ( <i>n<sup>c</sup>h.w</i> )	fine thin cloth 24 <i>idg</i>	royal linen var. garments 45 <i>mk</i> -cloth var. garments 3 (total) smooth cloth var. garments 230 fine thin cloth var. garments 75 (total)
-	fresh moringa oil 312 hin (+ 2 men from royal treasury) sweet moringa oil 240 hin	-
-	papyrus 3 scrolls ( <i>cr.t</i> ) firewood 720 (branches?) wax 72 deben	-
-	charcoal 437 oipe	-
-	natron 150 bricks ( <i>db.t</i> )  salt 150 bricks ( <i>db.t</i> )	natron 1,419 bricks ( <i>db.t</i> )  salt 1,419 bricks ( <i>db.t</i> )
wooden ships together 82	-	remaining products: <i>mtr.t w<sup>c</sup>b</i> 24 deben; papyrus stalks (var. objects); baskets; wood; alabaster

<sup>1</sup> Only four baskets (*dni.t*) of myrrh were required annually for the festival of Sokar according to list 47: *Medinet Habu* III, pl. 160, l. 1058; Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* V, 167, 16.

TABLE 8 - AGRICULTURAL DOMAINS AND REVENUES OF THEBAN MEMORIAL TEMPLES IN P. WILBOUR, TEXT A

Temple	area of non apportioning domains in <i>aroura</i> <sup>1</sup>	revenues of non apportioning domains in sacks <sup>2</sup>	revenues of apportioning domains in sacks <sup>3</sup>	total revenues in sacks
Ramesses V	324 + x	1,805	333	2,138
Ramesses IV	195	1,007.25	2.25	1,009.5
Ramesses III	750	3,649.5	181.875	3,831.375
Ramesses II	5	25	60.375	85.375
XVIIIth Dyn. king	-	-	7.125	7.125

TABLE 9 - AGRICULTURAL DOMAINS AND REVENUES OF OTHER THEBAN TEMPLES IN P. WILBOUR, TEXT A

Temple	area of non apportioning domains in <i>aroura</i>	revenues of non apportioning domains in sacks	revenues of apportioning domains in sacks	total revenues in sacks
Amonrasonter <sup>4</sup>	246.5 + x	1,532.5 + x	119.25	1,651.75 + x
Mut	-	-	3.75	3.75
Haremhab ( <i>pr</i> )	-	-	25.5	25.5
Queen Ti'a ( <i>pr</i> )	-	-	3.75	3.75
God of Ramesses III <sup>5</sup>	100	477.5	-	477.5

<sup>1</sup> Obtained by adding the first figures in the assessments of non-apportioning paragraphs. I am reluctant to do the same with the apportioning paragraphs because the status of the fields, as well as the unit of measure employed (*aroura* or land-cubit), is often obscure. Helck, *Materialien* II, (219), bottom, gives the total of fields owned by the temples, "unter Abzug der nur von anderen Institutionen gepachteten Feldern", but it is not clear to me which figures he included in his calculations. The amounts given for the temples of Ramesses V and II in section I, for instance, appear to be the sums of areas recorded in the lines preceding *posh* entries of type A, but this is not true of other temples.

<sup>2</sup> Obtained by multiplying the number of *aroura* with the rate of assessment in sacks per *aroura* (5, 7½, or 10), and subtracting the figures in the *posh*-A entries.

<sup>3</sup> Including "herbage" and "food for white goats". The figures were arrived at by multiplying the two red figures in the assessments of the apportioning paragraphs, including the *posh*-B entries.

<sup>4</sup> Including the "House of Ramesses Meriamun in the House of Amun", as well as the "domain of the divine offering": Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 142 (§ 117), 143 (§ 120), 146 (§ 152).

<sup>5</sup> Four different domains; see Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 135 and 136 (§§ 71-74), and chapter X, § 2, pp. 312-315. The area and revenues of these domains have been put together in this table.

## TABLES 10 A-E - THE ORGANIZATION OF THE DOMAINS OF THEBAN MEMORIAL TEMPLES IN P. WILBOUR, TEXT A

## A - TEMPLE OF RAMESSES V

non-apportioning domains ( <i>ht</i> ) High priest of Amun Ramessesnakht (25, 23; 45, 41; 76, 28)		( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Prenakht (25, 23; 76, 29)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
		cultivators (45, 41-49)	
non-apportioning domains ( <i>ht</i> ) officials (49, 17; 76, 40)	( <i>ht</i> ) scribe of the royal granary Sethnakht (49, 18)	cultivators	
	( <i>ht</i> ) chief archivist Hekama'atrenakht (49, 21; 76, 48)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>	
	( <i>ht</i> ) deputy Ptahemhab (76, 41)	cultivators	
	( <i>ht</i> ) deputy Pre'emhab (76, 44)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>	
apportioning domains (26, 1; 46, 1; 77, 1)	private holders, <i>posh-B</i> and <i>-C</i> , donations		
herbage (41, 9)	private holders		
food for white goats (70, 9; 92, 11)	private holders		

## B - TEMPLE OF RAMESSES IV

non-apportioning domains ( <i>ht</i> ) Neferabet who is dead (29, 2)	( <i>ht</i> ) deputy Iay (29, 3)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Dhutmose (29, 13)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
non-apportioning domains ( <i>ht</i> ) former overseer of the treasury Penpamer (49, 27)	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Dhutmose (49, 28)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
< <i>ht</i> ... > (78, 27)	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Amenemhab (78, 28)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
On the <i>sdf</i> of the temple of Ramesses V (29, 17)		cultivators
apportioned harvest (29, 24) ( <i>ht=f</i> ) <sup>1</sup>		tenants / owners
herdsman's territory (49, 4) <sup>2</sup>		

<sup>1</sup> I.e. under the authority of Neferabet or Iay?<sup>2</sup> Location of a plot cultivated for the temple of Ramesses V by the Sherden Piuiu.

## C - TEMPLE OF RAMESSES III

non-apportioning domains ( <i>ht</i> ) despatch-writer of Pharaoh (29, 30)	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Merima <sup>c</sup> at (29, 31)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent To (29, 35)	cultivators
non-apportioning domains ( <i>ht</i> ) <i>sem</i> -priest (49, 41; 78, 45)	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Dhutmose (49, 42)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Amenhotep (50, 11)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Merire (78, 46)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Merima <sup>c</sup> at (79, 3)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
food for asses of Northern Oasis ( <i>ht=f</i> ) (79, 11) <sup>1</sup>	cultivators	
non-apportioning domains ( <i>ht</i> ) superior of the house (29, 38)	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Sethwenmef (29, 39)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Meriun(?) (30, 10)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
non-apportioning domains ( <i>ht</i> ) steward Userma <sup>c</sup> atrenakht (50, 32; 51, 6; 79, 14)	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Sethwenmef (50, 33)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Meriun (51, 6)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Amenemuia (79, 15)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Ashamhab (79, 42)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Sennefer (80, 4)	cultivators
non-apportioning domains ( <i>ht</i> ) steward/overseer of the granary Kha <sup>c</sup> emwese (50, 21)	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Bakenwel (50, 22)	cultivators
	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Pnakhtaperti (50, 27)	cultivators
non-apportioning domains ( <i>ht</i> ) steward Pir (80, 9)	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) agent Inua (80, 12)	cultivators
	cultivators	

<sup>1</sup> In the previous lines, the *sem*-priest is the last official introduced by the preposition (*r*) *ht*. For the type of paragraph, see Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 23, 149 (§ 196).

non-apportioning domains ( <i>ht</i> ) officials (53, 26; < 82, 37 >) <sup>1</sup>	( <i>ht</i> ) former overseer of cattle Hori (53, 27)	cultivators
	( <i>ht</i> ) late overseer of cattle Ramose (53, 36)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
	( <i>ht</i> ) overseer of the granary Amennakht (82, 37)	cultivators
	( <i>ht</i> ) overseer of cattle Ramessesnakht (82, 40)	cultivators; <i>posh-A</i>
apportioning domains (30, 16; 51, 45; 80, 19)		private holders, <i>posh-B</i> and -C
herbage (66, 11)		private holders, donations

## D - TEMPLE OF RAMESSES II

non-apportioning domain ( <i>ht</i> ) despatch-writer of Pharaoh (53, 46) <sup>2</sup>	( <i>m dr.t</i> ) deputy Horemuia (53, 47)	cultivators
apportioning domains (32, 37; 54, 3; 82, 45)		private holders, <i>posh-B</i> and -C
herbage (17, 18; 41, 34; 66, 24; 90, 18)		private holders, donations, <i>posh-B</i>
food for white goats (70, 15)		private holders

E - XVIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY TEMPLE

apportioning domains (33, 16; 54, 25)	private holders, <i>posh-C</i>
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<sup>1</sup> Lines 37-43 were added later at the right side of column 82; the heading *rmny.t pr pn ht sr.w* must have been omitted by mistake: Menu, *Régime Juridique*, 54.

<sup>2</sup> Heading: temple of Userma'atre Meriamun (Ramesses III); see Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus II*, 144 (§ 137).

TABLE 11 - MEASURES OF SURFACE, CAPACITY, AND WEIGHT

surface		
<i>aroura</i> ( <i>st3.t</i> )	2756.5 sq.m. (= 10 land-cubits)	W.-F. Reineke, <i>MIO</i> 9 (1963), 161
land-cubit ( <i>mh-t3</i> )	275.65 sq.m. (= 1/10 <i>aroura</i> )	W.-F. Reineke, <i>MIO</i> 9 (1963), 161
capacity		
sack ( <i>h3r</i> )	76.88 litres (= 4 <i>oipe</i> )	W.-F. Reineke, <i>MIO</i> 9 (1963), 162
<i>oipe</i> ( <i>ip.t</i> )	19.22 litres (= ¼ sack = 40 <i>hin</i> )	W.-F. Reineke, <i>MIO</i> 9 (1963), 162
<i>hin</i> ( <i>hnw</i> )	0.4805 litres (= 1/40 <i>oipe</i> )	W.-F. Reineke, <i>MIO</i> 9 (1963), 162
weight		
<i>deben</i> ( <i>dbn</i> )	91 grammes (= 10 <i>kite</i> )	Gardiner, <i>Grammar</i> <sup>3</sup> , 200 <sup>1</sup>
<i>kite</i> ( <i>qd.t</i> )	9.1 grammes (= 1/10 <i>deben</i> )	Gardiner, <i>Grammar</i> <sup>3</sup> , 200

<sup>1</sup> Presumably based on the measurements in F.L.I. Griffith, *PSBA* 14 (1892), 435-449, and A.E.P. Weigall, *Weights and Balances (Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire Nos. 31271-31670)*, Cairo 1908. See, however, Y. Bogoslovsky, *Palestinsky Sbornik* 27/90 (1981), 147 and 148, for weights found at Deir el-Medina, varying between 79.25 and 150 grammes! Bogoslovsky arrives at an average of 96.4 grammes.

## APPENDIX 1

### LIST OF “TEMPLES OF MILLIONS OF YEARS” IN WESTERN THEBES<sup>1</sup>

#### AMOSIS

Location unknown<sup>2</sup>

#### AMENOPHIS I

Location unknown; perhaps Deir el-Bahri or Dra Abu el-Naga?<sup>3</sup>

#### THUTMOSIS I

Location unknown<sup>4</sup>

Name *Hnm.t-ḥꜥ* (door-panel; see note 4)

#### THUTMOSIS II

Location N.E. of Medinet Habu<sup>5</sup>

Description of site Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh 1926*; C. Robichon, A. Varille, *Amenhotep I*, 31-33; L. Gabolde, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 128-139, 146-178, pls. XIII-XXII

Name *Ḥsp.t-ḥꜥ*<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> For every temple, information is given about the location and remains; for the latter, only one or two essential publications are referred to. “Name” refers to the designation of the sanctuary according to inscriptions found *in situ*, if available.

<sup>2</sup> The “temples of millions of years” mentioned in *Urkunden* IV, 25, 9, might include a temple of Amosis in Western Thebes.

<sup>3</sup> Remains of a chapel and Osiride statues of Amenophis I have been found in Deir el-Bahri; see Schmitz, *Amenophis I*, 93-104, 245; Z.E. Szafranski, *MDAIK* 41 (1985), 257-263. The sanctuary called *mn-s.w.t* or *mn-s.t* in Dra Abu el-Naga was probably built by Amenophis I, but in texts from the New Kingdom this king is only indirectly connected with it. In the Ramesside Period, the cult of Ahmose-Nefertari seems to have been prominent there, but it is not impossible that this was a secondary development. See Van C.C. Siclen, III, *Serapis* 6 (1980), 183-207, and Helck, *Materialien* I, (87) and (88). Evidence exists for a temple called *ḥw.t Dsr-k3-Rc* or *ḥw.t Imm-ḥꜥ*; see appendix 2.

<sup>4</sup> Door-panel and stela, probably from this temple: Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 535; H.E. Winlock, *JEA* 15 (1929), pl. XI. The door-panel bears cartouches of Thutmosis I and II; the stela those of Thutmosis I and Hatshepsut (cf. Porter, Moss, *op. cit.*). S. Quirke, *JEA* 76 (1990), 174, suggested that the so-called “chapel of Wadjmose” might have been the original site of the temple of Thutmosis I, whose cult would have moved to Deir el-Bahri during the reign of Hartshepsut. Cf. H.E. Winlock, *op. cit.*, 65-67; Otto, *Topographie*, 71; H. Kees, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), 51.

<sup>5</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 456-457.

<sup>6</sup> Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh 1926*, pl. IX (2) (inscription).

## THUTMOSIS III

Two temples:

- 1 Location Qurna<sup>1</sup>  
 Description of site Ricke, *Totentempel*.  
 Name *Hnk.t-ḥḥ* (stamped bricks);<sup>2</sup> *Hw.t Hnk.t-ḥḥ* (statue)<sup>3</sup>
- 2 Location Deir el-Bahri<sup>4</sup>  
 Description of site J. Lipinska, *The Temple of Tutmosis III. Architecture (Deir el-Bahari II)*, Warsaw 1977  
 Name *Dsr-ḥ.t-Imn* (foundation-deposit)<sup>5</sup>  
*ḥw.t-nṯr n.t ḥḥ.w m [rnp.w.t ...]* (architrave)<sup>6</sup>

## HATSHEPSUT

- Location Deir el-Bahri<sup>7</sup>  
 Description of site Naville, *Deir El Bahari I-VI*; S. Brzostowski and L. Krzyzanowski ed., *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut 1-4*, Warsaw 1979-1991  
 Name *Dsr-dsr.w-Imn* (foundation-deposits)<sup>8</sup>  
*Hw.t-nṯr ʿz.t n.t ḥḥ.w m rnp.w.t ḥw.t Dsr-dsr.w-Imn*  
 (jambs of niches in upper court)<sup>9</sup>

## AMENOPHIS II

- Location Qurna, N.E. of Ramesseum<sup>10</sup>  
 Description of site Petrie, *Six Temples*, London 1897, 4-6, pls. II-VI, XX, XXIII  
 Name *Šsp.t-ḥḥ* (foundation-deposit)<sup>11</sup>

## THUTMOSIS IV

- Location Qurna, S.W. of Ramesseum<sup>12</sup>  
 Description of site Petrie, *Six Temples*, 7-9, pls. I, III, VII-IX, XX, XXIV; E. Bresciani, *EVO* 3 (1980), 4-15, pls. V-X; 4 (1981), 12, pls. XI and XII.  
 Name unknown<sup>13</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 426-429.

<sup>2</sup> Ricke, *Totentempel*, 36 (11-14).

<sup>3</sup> A.E.P. Weigall, *ASAE* 7 (1906), 130.

<sup>4</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 378.

<sup>5</sup> Lipinska, *op. cit.*, 63.

<sup>6</sup> Lipinska, *op. cit.*, 51 (fig. 40).

<sup>7</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 340-377.

<sup>8</sup> Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* II, 84-86.

<sup>9</sup> Naville, *Deir El Bahari* V, pl. CXXXIV.

<sup>10</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 429-431.

<sup>11</sup> Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* II, 141. Note that archaeological information about the provenance of objects from foundation-deposits of Amenophis II is absent. For the alternative name *ʿrb-ḥ.t* see Helck, *Materialien* I, (97) and (98); D. Niedzólka, *Études et Travaux* 17 (1995), 253-264.

<sup>12</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 446-447.

<sup>13</sup> *Šsp(.t)-ḥḥ.w* and *Mn-ḥw.t* have been suggested reluctantly by S. Bickel, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 24.

## AMENOPHIS III

Location	Kôm el-Hêtân <sup>1</sup>
Description of site	<i>Totentempel Amenophis' III.</i> ; S. Bickel, <i>BIFAO</i> 92 (1992), 1-13; H. Jaritz, S. Bickel, <i>BIFAO</i> 94 (1994), 277-285.
Name	Šsp.t-Imn wšs.t-nfr.w=f? (stela CG 34025) <sup>2</sup> [ḥw.t]-f n.t ḥḥ.w m rnp.w.t (southern stela <i>in situ</i> ) <sup>3</sup>

## AMENOPHIS IV

It is very uncertain whether this king intended to build a memorial temple in W. Thebes.<sup>4</sup>

## SMENKHKARE

Location	unknown <sup>5</sup>
Name	unknown

## TUTANKHAMUN

Location	unknown, unless N. of Medinet Habu?
Description of site	Hölscher, <i>Excavation of Medinet Habu</i> II, 102-104, 110 (note 2); <sup>6</sup> L. Gabolde, <i>BIFAO</i> 89 (1989), 139-178, pls. XIV, XXIII, XXIV <sup>7</sup>
Name	Ḥw.t Nb-ḥpr.w-R <sup>c</sup> m Wšs.t (blocks from Karnak) <sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 449-456.

<sup>2</sup> *Urkunden* IV, 1650, 6. Perhaps the name refers only to the pylon of the temple, which is mentioned previously in the same line. The addition *wšs.t nfr.w=f* might be an allusion to the sacred bark of Amun, which is called *wšs nfr.w* on a stela from the Twelfth Dynasty; P. Vernus, *RdÉ* 38 (1987), 164, pl. 7; see also Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* I, 383, 10-11; K.A. Kitchen, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* I, 622.

<sup>3</sup> *Totentempel Amenophis' III.*, Faltafel 5 (b), l. 22.

<sup>4</sup> See Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 427, for bricks bearing the name of this king and said to have been found among the remains of the temple of Thutmosis III, and 460, for a re-used block with his cartouche from the area of the temple of Ay and Haremhab. Stamped bricks and jar-sealings of Akhenaten have also been found in the Ramesseum (Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. XI, nos. 4 and 46); stamped bricks in Deir el-Medina (Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh 1934-1935* II, 18, no. 17).

<sup>5</sup> See appendix 2 for personnel attached to this temple.

<sup>6</sup> The royal statues found here were regarded by Hölscher as originally representing Tutankhamun, but this view has been rightly rejected by L. Gabolde, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 139 and 140, note 64. The stamped brick referred to on p. 110, note 2, may therefore be the only evidence for a building of that king on the Theban West Bank (if the information is correct; Hölscher refers to *Excavation of Medinet Habu* V, but the brick is not mentioned there). A *ḥw.t Nb-ḥpr.w-R<sup>c</sup>* is referred to on a stela from Deir el-Bahri: Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple* III, pls. VI (1) and VIII (E); Helck, *Materialien* I, (102); L. Gabolde, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 140, note 66.

<sup>7</sup> If the blocks from Karnak discussed there are indeed from the west bank, which is not at all certain (L. Gabolde, *BIFAO* 89 (1989), 143 and 144).

<sup>8</sup> L. Gabolde, *op. cit.*, 141, note 77.

## AY

Location N. of Medinet Habu<sup>1</sup>  
 Description of site Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu II*, 65-114  
 Name *T3 ḥw.t Ḥpr-ḥpr.w-Rc iri M3c.t* (stamped bricks)<sup>2</sup>

## HAREMHAB

Location N. of Medinet Habu<sup>3</sup>  
 Description of site Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu II*, 65-114  
 Name *T3 ḥw.t Dsr-ḥpr.w-Rc Stp-n-Rc* (jar-sealings)<sup>4</sup>

## RAMESSES I

Location unknown<sup>5</sup>  
 Name unknown

## SETHOS I

Location Qurna<sup>6</sup>  
 Description of site R. Stadelmann *et al.*, *MDAIK* 28 (1972), 293-299, pls. LXVIII-LXX; 31 (1975), 353-356, pls. 108 and 109; 33 (1977), 125-131, pls. 39-43; 38 (1982), 395-405, pls. 95-101; 44 (1988), 255-274, pls. 76-82; J. Osing, *Der Tempel Sethos' I. in Gurna. Die Reliefs und Inschriften I* (*Archäologische Veröffentlichungen* 20), Mainz 1977  
 Name *Ḥw.t-ntr 3ḥ Stḥy Mry-n-Pḥ m pr 'Imn ḥr 'Imnt.t-W3s.t*<sup>7</sup>

## RAMESSES II

Location Qurna (Ramesseum)<sup>8</sup>  
 Description of site H. El-Achirie, S. El-Sayed Ismaïl, B. Fonquernie, J.-Cl. Goyon, C. Leblanc, A.-M. Loyrette, M. Maher-Taha, *Le Ramesseum (Centre d'Étude et de Documentation sur l'Ancienne Égypte. Collection Scientifique* I, VI, IX, X, XI, Cairo 1973-1988; Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu III*, 71-82, pls. 39 and 40  
 Name *Ḥw.t Wsr-M3c.t-Rc Stp-n-Rc Ḥnm.t-W3s.t m pr 'Imn*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 457-460. See below, Haremhab.

<sup>2</sup> Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu II*, 80, fig. 70.

<sup>3</sup> Same as Eye; Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 457-460.

<sup>4</sup> Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu II*, 109.

<sup>5</sup> Rooms dedicated to Ramesses I in temple of Sethos I: Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 416-418. A separate temple of Ramesses I nonetheless seems to be referred to on a jar docket: Koenig, *Étiquettes* I, pl. 18 (no. 6157).

<sup>6</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* II, 407-421.

<sup>7</sup> H.H. Nelson, *JNES* 1 (1942), 136, fig. 3.

<sup>8</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 431-443.

<sup>9</sup> H.H. Nelson, *JNES* 1 (1942), 136, fig. 4.

## MERENPTAH

Location Qurna<sup>1</sup>  
 Description of site Petrie, *Six Temples*, 11-13, pls. VI, XIII, XIV, XX, XXV; H. Jaritz, *MDAIK* 48 (1992), 65-91, pls. 11-15; H. Jaritz *et al.*, *MDAIK* 51 (1995), 57-83, pls. 18-23; *MDAIK* 52 (1996), 201-232, pls. 34-40  
 Name no name from site<sup>2</sup>

## SETHOS II

Location unknown  
 Name unknown<sup>3</sup>

## AMENMESSE

Location unknown  
 Name unknown<sup>4</sup>

## SIPTAH

Location Qurna<sup>5</sup>  
 Description of site Petrie, *Six Temples*, 16 and 17, pls. XVII-XIX, XXVI  
 Name unknown

## TAUSERT

Location Qurna<sup>6</sup>  
 Description of site Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, London 1897, 13-16, pls. XVI, XVII, XIX, XX, XXVI  
 Name [Tꜣ ḥw.t] nswt bit.y Sz.t-Rꜥ Mry [...] / [... m pr] 'Imn ḥr 'Imnt.t Wꜥs.t (jar docket)<sup>7</sup>

## SETNAKHT

No references are known for a temple of this king in Western Thebes.

<sup>1</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 447-449.

<sup>2</sup> Statue Louvre A 68, provenance unknown: Ḥw.t n(.t) ḥḥ.w (m) rnp.w.t nswt bit.y Bꜣ-n-Rꜥ Mry-'Imn m pr 'Imn ḥr 'Imnt.t-Wꜣs.t (P. Pierret, *Recueil d'Inscriptions Inédites du Musée Égyptien du Louvre*, Paris 1874, 9).

<sup>3</sup> Possible reference a temple of this king in Western Thebes: Gurob frgt. F (Gardiner, *Ramesseide Administrative Documents*, 18, 9).

<sup>4</sup> Possible reference to a temple of this king in Western Thebes: Theban graffito no. 321 (Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* IV, 238, 8).

<sup>5</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 429.

<sup>6</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 447.

<sup>7</sup> Kitchen, *Ramesseide Inscriptions* IV, 354, 9 and 11.

## RAMESSES III

Location Medinet Habu<sup>1</sup>  
 Description of site Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu I, III, and IV; Medinet Habu I-VIII*  
 Name *Hw.t Wsr-Ms̄.t-R̄c̄ Mry-Imn Ḥnm.t-nḥḥ m pr Imn ḥr Imnt.t-Ws̄.t*<sup>2</sup>

## RAMESSES IV

Three possibilities :<sup>3</sup>

1 Location Assassif ("colonnaded temple")<sup>4</sup>  
 Description of site The Earl of Carnarvon, H. Carter, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes. A Record of Work Done 1907-1911*, London etc. 1912, 8, 9, 48, pls. XXX and XL  
 Name unknown

2 Location Assassif ("Ramesside temple")<sup>5</sup>  
 Description of site H.E. Winlock, *Bulletin MMA* 9 (1914), 19-23; A. Lansing, *Bulletin MMA - Egyptian Expedition* (1935), 4-12; Bietak, *Theben-West*, 17-26, pls. IX-XIII  
 Name unknown

3 Location N. of Medinet Habu (foundation deposits)<sup>6</sup>  
 Description of site Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu II*, 115-117  
 Name unknown

## RAMESSES V

Location Assassif (same as Ramesses IV, no. 2)  
 Description of site (see Ramesses IV, no. 2)  
 Name unknown

<sup>1</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 481-530.

<sup>2</sup> H.H. Nelson, *JNES* 1 (1942), 131, fig. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Apart from the usurpations of this king at Medinet Habu; see Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 51-57 (see especially H on p. 55).

<sup>4</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 424.

<sup>5</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 424-426.

<sup>6</sup> Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 459. The foundation deposits of Ramesses IV are those described by Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu II*, 115-117, from the northwest (not northeast) corner of the precinct of Ay/Haremhab. It seems unlikely to me that the deposit has anything to do with the so-called "temple of Ramesses IV" further north (Porter, Moss, *op. cit.*, 454; C. Robichon, A. Varille, *RdÉ* 3 (1938), 99 and 100; *CdÉ* 12 (1937), 178 and 179; C.R. Williams, *American Journal of Archaeology* 41 (1937), 633; Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu II*, 115, note 1). Grounds for the association of the latter structure with Ramesses IV are nowhere given, the clearest indication for its date mentioned being re-used blocks of Ramesses II found under it: C. Robichon, A. Varille, *RdÉ* 3 (1938), 100. The authors expressed themselves more cautiously in *Le Temple du Scribe Amenhotep Fils de Hapou* (Fouilles de l'Institut Français du Caire XI), Cairo 1936, 42 (top) and pl. V: "postérieur au temple anonyme nord".

## RAMESSES VI

Location           Assassif (same as Ramesses IV, no. 2)  
 Description of site (see Ramesses IV, no. 2)  
 Name               unknown

## RAMESSES VII

No reference is known for a temple of this king in Western Thebes.

## RAMESSES VIII

No reference is known for a temple of this king in Western Thebes.

## RAMESSES IX

Location           unknown<sup>1</sup>  
 Name               unknown

## RAMESSES X

Location           unknown<sup>2</sup>  
 Name               unknown

## RAMESSES XI

No reference is known for a temple of this king in Western Thebes.

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<sup>1</sup> Reference to a temple of Ramesses IX would seem to be made in P. Abbott 7, 3 and 4 (*t3 ḥw.t n.t ḥḥ.w n rnp.w.t n nswt bit.y Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup> Stp-n-R<sup>c</sup> ḥ.w.s.*; Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. IV) and P. Turin Cat. 2071/224 + 1960 rt. 2, 12 (*t3 ḥw.t Pr-ḥ3 ḥ.w.s.*; Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, pl. 123). As the *sem*-priest Nesamun mentioned in P. Abbott is probably identical with the *sem*-priest Nesamun of the temple of Ramesses III, the scribe may have made a mistake, or else the Medinet Habu temple may actually have been regarded as the temple of the reigning king?

<sup>2</sup> Possible reference to a temple of Ramesses X in P. BM 10052 14, 15 (*t3 ḥw.t Ḥpr-...-R<sup>c</sup>*; Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXXIV), although the *wab*-priest Pnakhtres mentioned there may be identical with the *smd.t*-man Pnakhtrestep of the temple of Thutmosis I in P. BM 10054 rt. 3, 3 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. VI). See appendix 2.

## APPENDIX 2 - PRIESTS, OFFICIALS AND WORKMEN ATTACHED TO THE ROYAL MEMORIAL TEMPLES IN WESTERN THEBES<sup>1</sup>

### AMOSIS<sup>2</sup>

*Iwty*

- *wab*-priest  
(Helck, *Materialien* I, (82): "Turin 80")

*ʿ3-b3.w*

- overseer of cattle  
Stela BM 58520 (H. Frankfort, *JEA* 14 (1928), pl. XXII, no. 2)<sup>3</sup>

*Sn-mn*, son of *R<sup>c</sup>-ms*

- *wab*-priest  
mudbrick Berlin (*Urkunden* IV, 418, 14)<sup>4</sup>

### AMENOPHIS I<sup>5</sup>

*Ipwty*

- god's servant  
Theban graffito no. 1246 (J. Černý, *Graffiti hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques de la nécropole thébaine* (Documents de Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire IX), Cairo 1956, 14, pl. 32)

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<sup>1</sup> After Otto, *Topographie*, 107-118, and Helck, *Materialien* I, (81)-(115), with corrections and additions. Only the references showing the relevant titles are given; many of the individuals mentioned had titles referring to other institutions as well. For each temple, the title-bearers are arranged alphabetically by proper name. Unlike the proper names in the main text of this book, the names are here given in transliteration, which facilitates reference for Egyptologists. Persons listed under the same name are not necessarily identical.

<sup>2</sup> It is very doubtful whether the following two sources refer to a Theban temple of Amosis.

<sup>3</sup> The stela was found at Abydos; it is uncertain where *ʿ3-b3.w* held his office. Name read as *Nb-ph.t.y-R<sup>c</sup>-ʿ3-b3.w* in Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* VI, 30.

<sup>4</sup> Brother of *Sn-n-Mw.t*; see Helck, *Verwaltung*, 478. Identical with the *wab*-priest and steward(?) *Sn-mn* (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 375; Helck, *Materialien*, I, (82))? This man will have served the kings Amosis, Amenophis I, Thutmose I, [Thutmose II], Hatshepsut, and Thutmose III subsequently, rather than being attached to their memorial temples.

<sup>5</sup> Not including the Ramesside chapels of popular worship, as listed by Helck, *Materialien* I, (83)-(86). To such a chapel was also attached a certain *N3y* (Helck: *3ny*), who calls himself "priest of *Dsr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>*", but also "priest of *Imn-ḥtp* who navigates on the water of Amun" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler Text* III, 282). For the *wab*-priest and steward(?) *Sn-mn*, see above, under Amosis. The title *im.y-r pr ḥw.t Dsr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>* assigned by Helck to the mayor of Thebes *P3-sr* is probably a misunderstanding of the text in col. 20 on the east wall of the mayor's tomb (see S. Schott, *Wall Scenes from the Mortuary Chapel of the Mayor Paser at Medinet Habu* (The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 30), Chicago 1957, 12, pl. 2).

*Imn-m-ḥb*, son of *Kr*

- steward

Theban tomb A 8 (Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> I, 449 and 450);

Lepsius, *Denkmäler Text* III, 238 [4] a)

statue-group Hermitage (J. Lieblein, *Die aegyptischen Denkmäler in St. Petersburg, Helsingfors, Upsala und Copenhagen*, Christiana 1873, 3, no. 3)

funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 532)

*P3-mr-ih.w*

- *sem*-priest

O. Gardiner 130 + O. temple Amenophis son of Hapu, II. 2 and 3

(Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 304, 3 and 4)

*Pi3y*

- overseer or accounts scribe of cattle

TT 344 (H. Gauthier, *BIFAO* 6 (1908), 150 and 162)<sup>1</sup>

*Nfr-mmw*

- steward

TT 184 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 163, 5)

*Rc-ms*

- steward

TT 53 (*Urkunden* IV, 1225, 17)<sup>2</sup>

*Hw-nfr*

- steward

TT 183 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 184, 15)

*Hc-m-W3s.t*

- *wab*-priest

funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 272)<sup>3</sup>

*Sn-nfr*

- steward

TT 96 (*Urkunden* IV, 1428, 3; 1429, 8; 1430, 4)<sup>4</sup>

*Qn-Imn*

- ?

stela MMA (Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* II, 50, fig. 24)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The title (to be restored as *sš [ḥsb]* or *[im.y-r]?*) does not necessarily refer to the memorial temple of Amenophis I.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to the royal memorial temple? Name not given in *Urkunden*, but see Helck, *Materialien* I, (83).

<sup>3</sup> Owner of TT 261 (Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> I.1, 344).

<sup>4</sup> Referring to the royal memorial temple?

<sup>5</sup> If indeed referring to the memorial temple of Amenophis I.

THUTMOSIS I<sup>1</sup>

*Ṭwy*,<sup>2</sup> son of *Nfr-ḥtp*

- high priest

TT 31 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 14, 20, and 25, pls. XI, XIII, and XV)

*Ṭmn-m-ḥz.t*

- *Ṭm.y-s.t-ᶜ* of Amun

TT 53 (*Urkunden* IV, 1225, 11)

*Ṭmn-ms*

- lector priest

graffito at Maidum (W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Medum*, London 1892, pl. XXXIII, l. 7)

- high priest of royal *ka*

TT 51 (Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XIII)

funerary cone (H.E. Winlock, *JEA* 15 (1929), 68, no. 12)

*Ṭmn-ms* (see *ᶜz-ḥpr-kz-Rᶜ-snb*)

*Ṭmn-ḥtp*, son of *šn-Dḥwty*

- First King's Son<sup>3</sup>

TT 345 (*Urkunden* IV, 105, 15-17; 107, 8)

funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 95)

*Ṭmn-ḥtp*

- *wab*-priest and steward<sup>4</sup>

statue Museum of Art, Providence, Rhode Island (*Urkunden* IV, 1501, 17)

*Ṭmn-ḥtp*

- *ka*-priest

inscription New York MMA 17.2.6 (H.E. Winlock, *JEA* 15 (1929), 68, no. 7)<sup>5</sup>

*ᶜz-ḥpr-kz-Rᶜ-nfr*, son of *Ḥpw-snb* (high priest of Amun) (?)

- lector priest

niche at Gebel el-Silsila West (Lepsius, *Denkmäler* III, pl. 28, 4b; Lepsius, *Denkmäler Text* IV, 90)

<sup>1</sup> If the name of the king's temple (*Ḥnm.t-ᶜnh*) does not occur in the title, one cannot be entirely certain as to whether the person in question was attached to that temple, or rather to the chapel of Thutmose I in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri (cf. H. Kees, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), 51). The high priest *Nfr-ḥtp* (H.E. Winlock, *JEA* 15 (1929), 68, no. 15) was attached to the cult of Amenophis II (see Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 14, note 5). The *ka*-priest *Nḥt* of the statues of Thutmose I and Queen *Ṭḥ-ms* must have been attached to the cults of Montu and Khonsu in Karnak (H.E. Winlock, *JEA* 15 (1929), 68, no. 3; Legrain, *Répertoire Généalogique*, no. 76; H. Kees, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), 54). For the *wab*-priest and steward(?) *Sn-mn*, see above, under Amosis. The funerary priest (*wzḥ-mw*) *Kr* was attached to a chapel called *ḥw.t-kz n ᶜz-ḥpr-kz-Rᶜ ᶜ.w.s.* (P. Abbott vs. B, 13; Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXIV; K. Donker van Heel in: *Village Voices*, 25 and 30), which is probably not a reference to a royal memorial temple (Helck, *Materialien* I, (91)). The royal name is written without the cartouche. The titles of the bringer of offerings (*wdn.w*) *Dḥwty* associate him with Karnak, rather than with the west bank (see N. de Garis Davies, in: *Studies Griffith*, 279-290, and below, note to Hatshepsut).

<sup>2</sup> Name incorrectly rendered as *Ṭzy* in Lepsius, *Denkmäler Text* III, 263. A Strasbourg statue of a high priest of Thutmose I with the same name is mentioned by Helck, *Materialien* I, (89). The same piece is perhaps referred to by W. Spiegelberg, *ZÄS* 58 (1923), 56.

<sup>3</sup> "First King's Son" as a title connected with a royal cult is known only for Thutmose I; see H. Kees, *ZÄS* 85 (1960), 47, 51 and 52; B. Schmitz, *Untersuchungen zum Titel S3-njswt "Königsson"* (Habelts Dissertationsdrücke. Reihe Ägyptologie 2), Bonn 1976, 285 and 286. Both authors suspect that this development is due to the special attention of Queen Hatshepsut for the cult of Thutmose I.

<sup>4</sup> Of royal memorial temple?

<sup>5</sup> If indeed referring to the cult in a royal memorial temple.

- ḥ3-ḥpr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>-snb, son of Ḥpw-snb (high priest of Amun)  
 - high priest  
 niche at Gebel el-Silsila West (Lepsius, *Denkmäler* III, pl. 28, 4c; Lepsius, *Denkmäler Text* IV, 90)
- ḥ3-ḥpr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>-snb (also called *Imn-ms*)<sup>1</sup>  
 - high priest of royal *ka*  
 funerary cones (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, nos. 371, 372, 484)  
 TT 51 (Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pls. XI and XIII)
- Wsr  
 - (high) steward  
 TT 21 (N. de Garis Davies, *Five Theban Tombs (Being those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemawäy and Tati)* (Archaeological Survey of Egypt, Twenty-first Memoir), London 1913, pls. XIX (4), XX, XXV, XXVI, XXVII, and XXVIII)
- Wsr-ḥ3.t, son of Ḥm-ḥtp(?)<sup>2</sup>  
 - high priest (of royal *ka*)  
 TT 51 (Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XIII and *passim*)
- Wsr-ḥ3.t  
 - steward  
 stela Turin 171 (K. Piehl, *RT* 4 (1882), 121)
- B3k, son of Ḥy-Ḥy  
 - high steward  
 funerary cones (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, nos. 85 and 86)
- P3-nḥt-rs  
 - member of *smd.t*  
 P. BM 10054 rt. 3, 3 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. VI)<sup>3</sup>
- Pn-R<sup>c</sup>  
 - steward and overseer of cattle  
 funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 438)
- Mw.t-nfr.t, daughter of K3-m-ḥr-ib-sn  
 - chantress  
 TT 98 (A. Fakhry, *ASAE* 34 (1934), 85)
- Ms  
 - *wab*-priest  
 stela Cairo CG 34030 (Lacau, *Stèles*, 64, pl. XXII)
- N3y, son of Nfr-ḥtp<sup>4</sup>  
 - high priest  
 TT 31 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 14 and 20, pls. XI and XV)
- N(y)-ḥpr-mn(?)<sup>5</sup>  
 - *wab*-priest  
 stela-fragment from Deir el-Medina (Bruyère, *Fouilles de Deir El Médineh 1945-1947*, 40 (fig. 27, no. 7) and 46 (no. 70))

<sup>1</sup> Same as previous? See Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, 22, note 3. A priest(?) of Thutmose I with the same name is mentioned on stela Strasbourg 1898 (Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> I.2, 811; N. de Garis Davies, *ZÄS* 49 (1911), 125).

<sup>2</sup> Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, 22.

<sup>3</sup> The section "Name of king uncertain" at the end of this appendix includes a *wab*-priest called P3-nḥt-rs, who may also have been attached to the temple of Thutmose I at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty.

<sup>4</sup> Name given as Nḥy by Lepsius, *Denkmäler Text* III, 264; H.E. Winlock, *JEA* 15 (1929), 68 (no. 13). See, however, Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 14, note 7.

<sup>5</sup> Read N(y)-ḥpr-k3 by Bruyère and Helck. The figure in Bruyère's report, however, shows *mn* instead of *k3*. The amount of text lost being unknown, it is uncertain whether the title and name are really those of one and the same person.

*Nb-Mhy*

- high priest (of royal *ka*)  
TT 51 (Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pls. V and XI)

*Nht*

- *wab*-priest  
TT 248 (*Urkunden* IV, 1642, 8)<sup>1</sup>

*Nht-Sbk*<sup>2</sup>

- *wab*-priest  
TT 53 (J.-F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives* I, Paris 1844, 513)

*Nts*(?)

- high priest  
funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 605)<sup>3</sup>

*Nḏm*

- first lector priest  
funerary cones (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, nos. 232 and 361)<sup>4</sup>  
- overseer of the workshop  
funerary cone (Mond, Myers, *Temples of Armant*, pl. CVII, no. 9)<sup>5</sup>

*Rꜥy*

- steward  
TT 124 (Gardiner, Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue*, 26)<sup>6</sup>

*Hwy*

- *wab*-priest  
O. Deir el-Medina 447 rt., 2 and 3 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques DM*, pl. 27)

*Hr*, son of *Ḥh-ms*, vizier (also called *ḥmtw*)<sup>7</sup>

- first lector priest<sup>8</sup>  
TT 82 (N. de Garis Davies, A.H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt (No. 82)* (The Theban Tombs Series I), London 1915, 33)  
TT 100 (Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rê*<sup>c</sup> I, 102; II, pl. IX)  
statue Antiquities House Medinet Habu (Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> I.2, 795)

*Hꜥ-m-Ws.t*

- fourth lector priest  
TT 84 (*Urkunden* IV, 136, 8)

<sup>1</sup> The name of Thutmosis I was read by Helck, *Materialien* I, (98). Perhaps *Nht* was rather attached to a cult of Sesostris I, for which see *ibid.*, (82).

<sup>2</sup> Name read as *Sbk-nht* by H.E. Winlock, *JEA* 15 (1929), 68 (no. 6). Cf., however, Champollion, *op. cit.*, 512 (tomb no. 16 bis, V, col. B).

<sup>3</sup> Same cone in S. Pernigotti, *Una Nuova Collezione Egiziana al Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna* (Monografie di SEAP, Series Minor, 6), Pisa 1994, 28, pl. III (no. I.29).

<sup>4</sup> No. 232 is the same cone as shown in Mond, Myers, *Temples of Armant*, pl. CVII, no. 8, where the royal name is read *ḥ-hpr-n-Rꜥ* (Thutmosis II; *ibid.* (Text), 101). Sim. Helck, *Materialien* I, (91).

<sup>5</sup> Possibly same as previous; see Mond, Myers, *Temples of Armant*, 101. Royal name read *ḥ-hpr-n-Rꜥ* (Thutmosis II) by Helck, *Materialien* I, (91).

<sup>6</sup> If indeed attached to a royal memorial temple, as assumed by Helck, *Materialien* I, (90); *JESHO* 5 (1962), 227. *Rꜥy* was a contemporary of Thutmosis I according to Gardiner, Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue*, 26, and Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> I.1, 237.

<sup>7</sup> *Hr* is incorrectly referred to as a son of the vizier *Wsr* by Helck, *Materialien* I, (89). The same person is mentioned there again as a lector-priest of Thutmosis II (*ibid.*, (91); statue Antiquities House Medinet Habu, for which see below).

<sup>8</sup> See Helck, *Verwaltung*, 293, note 3; 435 (special page); Davies, *Rekh-Mi-Rê*<sup>c</sup> I, 102.

*Hnsw-m-ḥb*

- wab-priest

P. BM 10053 rt. 6, 16 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIX)  
*Giornale* yr. 17-B rt. 6, 4 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 23)<sup>1</sup>*Sn-nfr*- festival conductor (*sšm ḥb*)TT 96 (*Urkunden* IV, 1428, 3)<sup>2</sup>*Dḥwty-[ms?]*<sup>3</sup>

- high priest

TT 51 (Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pls. V and VII)

## [...]

- *lesonis* (*im.y-r šn.t*)statue Cairo CG 843, back pillar, col. 3 (Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* III, 120)THUTMOSIS II<sup>4</sup>*Ḥt-ms*

- high priest and lector priest

stela from site of temple, cols. 4 and 5 (B. Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh Année 1926. Sondage au Temple Funéraire de Thotmès II* (Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire IV,4), Cairo 1952, 57 (fig. 28) and 58 (no. 1)).*Imn-ḥtp*

- lector priest

stela Cairo CG 34152, col. 6 (Lacau, *Stèles*, 199, pl. LXI)*Nfr-šḥr.w*

- wab-priest

stela from site of temple, col. 1 (Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh Année 1926. Sondage au Temple Funéraire de Thotmès II* (Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire IV,4), Cairo 1952, 56 (no. 2), pls. XI (no. 8) and XII (no. 2))THUTMOSIS III<sup>5</sup>*snw*

- overseer of fields

funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 251)

<sup>1</sup> Royal name read by editors as ʿ3 (sic, for *nswt?*) *Nb-...-Rʿ*. However, the similarity of the lists of P. BM 10053 rt. 6, 13 - 7, 5 and *Giornale* 17-B rt. 6, 1-11 leaves little doubt that Thutmose I is referred to here.

<sup>2</sup> Referring to the cult in a royal memorial temple?

<sup>3</sup> Son of *Wsr-ḥ3.t?* See Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, 9, but cf. H.E. Winlock, *JEA* 15 (1929), 68 (no. 11); Kees, *Priestertum*, 137 (there confused with *Imn-ms?*).

<sup>4</sup> For the chief lector-priest and the overseer of the workshop *Nḏm* (both titles of same person?), and the lector-priest *Ḥr*, see above, under Thutmose I. For the wab-priest and steward(?) *Sn-mn*, see above, under Amosis.

<sup>5</sup> See also Ricke, *Totentempel*, 37-40. For the wab-priest, steward(?) *Sn-mn*, also high priest(?) ([...] *tp.y*) of Hatshepsut, see above, under Amosis. S. Quirke's reading of the title *sḏm n pr-ḥḏ n Ḥnk.t-ḥḏ(?)* in a graffito in TT 161 (*JEA* 72 (1986), 79) is very doubtful.

*T<sup>c</sup>h-ms* (father of *R<sup>c</sup>* below)

- high priest

funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 297)

TT 72 (*Urkunden IV*, 1457, 17)

*Imn-m-<sup>2</sup>In.t*

- steward<sup>1</sup>

reliefs Copenhagen Ae.I.N. 714 and 715 (M. Mogensen, *La glyptothèque Ny Carlsberg*.

*La collection Égyptienne*, Copenhagen 1930, pl. CVIII)

relief Parma E 108 (S. Curto, *L'Egitto antico nelle collezioni dell'Italia settentrionale*,

Bologna 1961, pl. 19)

*Imn-m-<sup>h</sup>b*

- steward<sup>2</sup>

pyramidion Louvre AF 2984 (M. Alliot, *BIFAO* 32 (1932), 72, pls. I and II)<sup>3</sup>

statue Cairo CG 42120, line 3 (Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes I*, 69, pl. LXX)

*Imn-nb<sup>4</sup>*

- *wab*-priest

block from temple, now in Cairo (G. Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique et onomastique du Musée*

*du Caire. Monuments de la XVIIe et de la XVIIIe Dynastie*, Geneva 1908, 87, no. 160)

*Imn-<sup>h</sup>tp*

- *wab*-priest

statue Museum of Art, Providence, Rhode Island (*Urkunden IV*, 1502, 12)

*ʿ3-<sup>h</sup>pr* <... > -*R<sup>c</sup>-snb*, son of *K3-m-Imn* (see below)

- second god's servant

statue-group Louvre 10443 (A. De Buck, *JEOL* 15 (1957/58), 7, fig. 2 a)<sup>5</sup>

*Wsr-<sup>h</sup>3.t*

- superior of serfs (*hr.y mr(.t)*)

stela Hermitage no. 44 (Otto, *Topographie*, 109)

*B3ki*

- chantress of *Mn-<sup>h</sup>pr-R<sup>c</sup>*

(Helck, *Materialien I*, (97): "Louvre 689")

*P3-w3<sup>h</sup>*

- *wab*-priest

statuette Gardiner (A.H. Gardiner, *Orientalia* 6 (1937), 358)

*Ph-sw-<sup>h</sup>r*

- "Web-Priester des Amun in *Hnk.t-<sup>c</sup>nh*"

TT 88 (Helck, *Materialien I*, (96))

*Mn-<sup>h</sup>pr* (see *Mn-<sup>h</sup>pr-R<sup>c</sup>-snb*)

<sup>1</sup> The reliefs mentioning this title probably come from the Memphite tomb of *Imn-m-<sup>2</sup>In.t* (Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> III.2, 701 and 702). Because of the location of his tomb, as well as the titles connecting him with Memphis and Heliopolis, we cannot be certain that the temple referred to is indeed the Theban memorial temple of Thutmosis III. See also Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 175 and 176.

<sup>2</sup> The titles *im.y-r ih.w* and *im.y-r mr(.t)* of the same person are not explicitly connected with the temple of Thutmosis III (cf. Helck).

<sup>3</sup> See Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> I.2, 685.

<sup>4</sup> Or *Nb-<sup>2</sup>Imn*? See Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 29, 14; 183, 10; II, 341 (on I, 29, 14).

<sup>5</sup> The name was rendered incorrectly as *ʿ3-<sup>h</sup>pr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>-snb* by Kees, *Priestertum* (addenda), 9, and Helck, *Materialien I*, (96). For a bibliography of the statue-group Louvre 10443, see Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> I.2, 792.

- Mn-ḥpr-R<sup>c</sup>*, son of *Pwy-m-R<sup>c</sup>*  
 - god's servant<sup>1</sup>  
 TT 39 (Davies, *Puyemrê* II, pl. LXIV)
- Mn-ḥpr-R<sup>c</sup>-snb* (also called *Mn-ḥpr*), son of *Nḥt-Mnw<sup>2</sup>*  
 - *wab*-priest and scribe of the divine offering  
 TT 87 (*Urkunden* IV, 1178, 11; 1205, 11, 12)  
 funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 90)
- Mnṯw*  
 - “*Wē<sup>c</sup>*-priest of (the) Amūn of Men-kheper-Rē<sup>c</sup> in [Henket-‘ankh?]”  
 wooden staff MMA (Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* II, 118)
- Mry*  
 - *wab*-priest  
 stela Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (E.A. Wallis Budge, *A Catalogue of the Egyptian Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge 1893, 75, no. 58)
- Nb-n-Ms<sup>c</sup>.t*, son of *Nḥt-Mnw<sup>3</sup>*  
 - temple scribe  
 TT 79 (*Urkunden* IV, 1201, 14)
- Nb-sny*  
 - overseer of ... ([...].w.t) of Amun  
 funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 197)  
 - ... ([...].w.t) of Amun  
 limestone statue-group (F.W. Von Bissing, *Archiv für Orientforschung* 8 (1932/33), 125)<sup>4</sup>
- Nfr-ḥb-f*  
 - *wab*-priest  
 fragment of statuette from Qurna (A.E.P. Weigall, *ASAE* 7 (1906), 134, no. 20)
- Nḥt-[Imn]*, son of *Nḥy* (viceroys)  
 - lector priest  
 inscription on Sehel (L. Habachi, *Kush* 5 (1957), 16, no. 3.a)
- Ns-sw*  
 - *wab*-priest  
 stela Cairo CG 34117 (Lacau, *Stèles*, 170, pl. LIII)  
 fragment of statuette from Qurna (A.E.P. Weigall, *ASAE* 7 (1906), 134, no. 22)
- R<sup>c</sup>*, son of *Iḥ-ms*  
 - high priest (of Thutmosis III, Amun and Hathor)  
 TT 72 (*Urkunden* IV, 1457, 16; 1459, 4, 6)
- R<sup>c</sup>*  
 - high priest (of Thutmosis III and Amun)<sup>5</sup>  
 door-jamb Berlin 2067 (*Aegyptische Inschriften* II, 220)  
 coffin Cairo CG 61043 (G. Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (Catalogue Générale des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire Nos. 61001-61044), Cairo 1909, 225)  
 altar fragment (Petrie, *Six Temples*, pl. I, no. 4)
- Ḥwy*  
 - carrier of offerings  
 funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 50)

<sup>1</sup> Helck incorrectly: “Hoherpriester” (*ḥm-nṯr tp.y*).

<sup>2</sup> Also father of *Nb-n-Ms<sup>c</sup>.t* (see below).

<sup>3</sup> Incorrectly *Nb-n-s*[...] in Otto, *Topographie*, 109.

<sup>4</sup> Same as previous? The title shows a curious sign at the beginning (not *im.y-r*); the title ends in *-w.t* (with plural strokes and jar determinative).

<sup>5</sup> Same as previous?

*Hwy*

- "second prophet of Menkheperre"  
stela Denver (Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* VII, 163)

*Hb.y*

- *wab*-priest  
door-post Cairo JE 27625 (G. Daressy, *ASAE* 1 (1900), 106, no. 18)

*Hq3-nfr*

- *wab*-priest and overseer of teachers/gates<sup>1</sup>  
funerary cones (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, nos. 393 and 394)

*Hcy*

- *wab*-priest  
TT 31 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 20 and 21, pls. XV and XVI)

*Hc-m-W3s.t*, son of *Hnsw*

- second god's servant  
TT 31 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 19, 21, and 22, pls. XIV, XVI, and XIX)

*Hc-m-W3s.t*

- *wab*-priest and lector priest  
TT 31 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 20, pl. XV)<sup>2</sup>  
- servant (*šdm-cš*)  
TT 248 (*Urkunden* IV, 1642, 10)

*Hnsw*, also called *T3*

- high priest  
TT 31 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 12, 16, 21, 22, 25, and 26,  
pls. X, XIII, XV, XVI, XIX, and XX)

*S3-Mw.t*<sup>3</sup>

- chief confectioner (*hr.y bni.t.y(.w)*)  
statue(?) - group Louvre A 53 (G. Legrain, *ASAE* 7 (1906), 187)  
funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 413)

*S-qd*, son of *K3-m-Imn* (see above)

- second god's servant  
funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 590)

*Qni-Imn*, son of *Nb.t-kbn* (f)

- *wab*-priest  
stela Cairo CG 34117 (Lacau, *Stèles*, 170, pl. LIII)

*K3-m-Imn*, son of *Hnw.t-t3.wy* (f)<sup>4</sup>

- second god's servant  
statue in private collection (A. De Buck, *JEOL* 15 (1957/58), 6, fig. 1 a, c, e)  
funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary cones*, no. 228)

*Krm* (also called *Grg-W3s.t*)

- doorkeeper of Hathor  
statue-group Cambridge Fitzwilliam Museum E 21.1887 (S. Quirke, *JEA* 76 (1990), pl. XIV 1)

*T3*

(see *Hnsw*)

<sup>1</sup> I.e. "overseer of teachers" (Erman, Grapow, *Wörterbuch* IV, 85; Helck), or "overseer of gates" (W.A. Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, Beirut 1982, 43 (no. 334)?

<sup>2</sup> Identical with previous person? See Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 30.

<sup>3</sup> Incorrectly *3-Mw.t* in Otto, *Topographie*, 109.

<sup>4</sup> On *K3-m-Imn* and his sons, also including the second priest *S-qd* (see below), see A. De Buck, *JEOL* 15 (1957/58), 5-11.

- Tꜣy*  
- high priest  
TT 31 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 25, pl. XIII)<sup>1</sup>
- Twr*  
- hall-keeper (*ir.y ʿ.t*)  
funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 152)
- Didiꜣ*, son of *Hꜣtꜣy*  
- overseer of work and crafts (in *Hnk.t-ḥh* and other temples)  
statue Cairo CG 42122 (Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes* I, 72, d)
- Dḥwty-pꜣi*  
- ?  
TT 31 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 15 and 30, pl. XII)<sup>2</sup>
- Dḥwty-ms*  
- offerer  
TT 248 (Helck, *Urkunden* IV, 1642, 5 and 11)
- [...]  
- steward  
TT 226 (Nina and Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmose, and Another* (Nos. 86, 112, 42, 226) (The Theban Tomb Series 5), London 1933, 37, pl. XLIV)

HATSHEPSUT<sup>3</sup>

- Imn-ḥtp*  
- *wab*-priest  
statue Museum of Art, Providence, Rhode Island (*Urkunden* IV, 1502, 12)
- Mry-Mꜣʿ.t*, son of *Imn-wsr*<sup>4</sup>  
- god's servant  
funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 1)  
TT 82 (N. de Garis Davies, A.H. Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt* (No. 82) (The Theban Tombs Series I), London 1915, 32, pl. III, B)  
TT 100 (Davies, *Rekh-mi-Rê* II, pl. IX)<sup>5</sup>
- Sn-nfr*  
- overseer of cattle  
TT 96 (*Urkunden* IV, 1418, 12)
- Snnw*  
- high priest  
Louvre relief from Abydos (P. Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Égyptien du Louvre* II, Paris 1878, 31 "sans no.")<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Possibly identical with *Hꜣnsw*, also called *Tꜣ*: Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 26 and 27.

<sup>2</sup> Title given as *im.y-ḥnt(?)* in Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 15. Helck: "[Rinder]vorsteher".

<sup>3</sup> For the *wab*-priest, steward(?) *Sn-mn*, also high priest(?) ([...] *tp.y*) of Hatshepsut, see above, under Amosis. The construction-supervisors *Sn-n-Mw.t* and *Didiꜣ* (see *Urkunden* IV, 409; Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes* I, 72, d) worked in many temples, among them that of Hatshepsut, but they were not explicitly attached to that temple. The titles of the bringer of offerings (*wdn.w*) *Dḥwty* associate him with Karnak, rather than with the west bank (see N. De Garis Davies, in: *Studies Griffith*, 279-290, and above, note to Thutmose I).

<sup>4</sup> Also in TT 122: Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> I.1, 235.

<sup>5</sup> There called *Mry*.

<sup>6</sup> Same as *sꜣ nfr.w Snnw* of Louvre C 140 (*ibid.*, 56)? See Helck, *Materialien* I, (93).

[...]

- superior of the altar (*hr.y ḥz.w.t*)  
 statue Cairo CG 843, back pillar, col. 4 (Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* III, 120)<sup>1</sup>

## AMENOPHIS II

*Imn-ms*

- *wab*-priest  
 stela Berlin 19777 (*Aegyptische Inschriften* II, 393)

*ʿz-bz.w*

- overseer of the workshop  
 funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 193)

*ʿz-ḥpr-kz-R<sup>c</sup>-snb*

- *we<sup>c</sup>b*-priest in the “Mansion of ʿA-khepru-Rê<sup>c</sup> in Thebes”  
 stela MMA (Hayes, *Scepter of Egypt* II, 142)<sup>2</sup>

*Mntw-ḥtp*, son of *Nfr-ḥtp*

- lector priest<sup>3</sup>  
 TT 31 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 14 and 20, pls. XI and XV;  
 Lepsius, *Denkmäler Text* III, 264)

*Mry*

- high priest  
 stela Berlin 7293 (*Aegyptische Inschriften* II, 175)

*Nfr-ḥz.t*

- lector priest  
 stela Leiden V 12 (P.A.A. Boeser, *Beschrijving van de Egyptische Verzameling in het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden. De Monumenten van het Nieuwe Rijk, Derde Afdeling: Stèles*, The Hague 1913, pl. IV)

*Nfr-ḥb-f*, son of *Ḥw*

- second god's servant  
 statue BM 31 (*Urkunden* IV, 1504, 8)  
 - god's servant  
 funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 54)

*Nfr-ḥtp*

- high priest  
 TT 31 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 20 and 25, pls. XIII and XV)<sup>4</sup>

*Ḥwy*

- *wab*-priest and temple scribe  
 statue Cairo CG 42078 (Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes* I, 45, e)

*Ḥ<sup>c</sup>-m-nṯr*

- *wab*-priest  
 TT 248 (*Urkunden* IV, 1642, 6)

*Ky-nbw*

- god's servant  
 TT 113 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 442, 5)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If *Dsr-[ḏsr.w]* is the correct reconstruction, and not *Dsr-[zḥ.t]*, or *Dsr-[mmw]*.

<sup>2</sup> No photograph, drawing, or transcription; name *ʿz-ḥpr.w-R<sup>c</sup>-snb* in Helck, *Materialien* I, (98).

<sup>3</sup> If read correctly; see Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 14, note 8.

<sup>4</sup> Given incorrectly as priest of Thutmose I by H.E. Winlock, *JEA* 15 (1929), 68 (no. 15); see Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 14, note 5.

T<sub>3</sub>

- ?

TT 31 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 20, pl. XV)<sup>1</sup>- counter of cattle (*ḥsb iḥ.w*)blocks found in TT 249 (C.C. Van Siclen, III, *VA* 6 (1990), 94 and 95)<sup>2</sup>THUTMOSIS IV<sup>3</sup>

Ḳpy (father of Pīzy below)

- overseer of ships

Theban tomb C 6 (*Urkunden* IV, 1632, 14-17)<sup>4</sup>

Pīzy, son of Ḳpy

- high priest

Theban tomb C 6 (*Urkunden* IV, 1633, 4)Pṯḥ-m-ḥ<sub>3</sub>.t- overseer of work and overseer of the granary  
funerary cone (H. Guksch, *GM* 158 (1997), 9)<sup>5</sup>

Ḳwy

- god's servant

O. DM 101, 2 and 3 (Černý, *Ostraca Hiératiques DM*, pl. 57)[Ḳnsw], also called T<sub>3</sub>

- overseer of cattle

TT 31 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 18 and 20, pls. XI and XV)T<sub>3</sub>

(see Ḳnsw)

AMENOPHIS III<sup>6</sup>

ḥnw

- chief carpenter (*ḥmw.w wr*)fragment BM 41646 (*Hieroglyphic Texts* part 7, 6, pl. 9)

<sup>5</sup> According to Kitchen, the name of Amenophis II is to be read instead of Thutmosis IV (Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> I.1, 230; Helck, *Materialien* I, (99)), and *Ky-nbw* would be identical with the *wab*-priest of that name in O. DM 115 (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* VI, 447, 14 and 15).

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps identical with Ḳnsw, also called T<sub>3</sub>, high priest of Thutmosis III and overseer of cattle of Thutmosis IV: Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 20, note 4. On p. 27 of the same work the title is reconstructed as "[high priest of] 'Akheprurê'".

<sup>2</sup> Identical with previous? Name restored by Van Siclen as [Ḳnsw dd(.w) <n>=f T<sub>3</sub>].

<sup>3</sup> The priest *Ky-nbw* will be found under Amenophis II; see Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* VI, 442, note a to line 5.

<sup>4</sup> See Helck, *Materialien* I, (10), for the variations of the temple name in this title.

<sup>5</sup> This is no. 475 in Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, where the name of the temple is read as *ḥw.t Ḳmn-ḥtp*. See, however, H. Guksch, *GM* 44 (1981), 21 and 22; *GM* 47 (1981), 23-27; *GM* 158 (1997), 9 and 10, for the correct reading *m ḥw.t Ḳmn*, and for the attribution of the cone to TT 77, in which *Pṯḥ-m-ḥ<sub>3</sub>.t* is associated with the temple of Thutmosis IV. Helck (*Urkunden* IV, 1599, 19), read the name of the tomb owner incorrectly as *Ḳmn-m-ḥb*. Cf. also S. Bickel, *BSEG* 13 (1989), 24 and 25, with note 13.

<sup>6</sup> Including references to the cult of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. Titles explicitly connected with this cult are specified as such in this list. Although a separate temple of Sokar (*ḥw.t Skr*) is known only for the temple of Amenophis III (see the discussion on the northern stela in the temple of Amenophis III in chapter I, p. 43, note 3), the possibility that some of the titles in question are actually connected with the temples of other kings on the Theban west bank cannot be excluded.

*Imn-m-Ḳp.t* (see *Płzy*)

*Imn-m-Ḳn.t*, son of *Tz-nfr*

- *sem*-priest

TT 158 (K.C. Seele, *The Tomb of Tjanefer at Thebes* (The University of Chicago. Oriental Institute Publications 86), Chicago 1959, 7 and 9, pls. 21 and 22)

*Imn-m-Ḳn.t*

- *wab*-priest, lector priest, and god's father in the temple of Ptah-Sokar; keeper of secrets

TT 277 (Vandier d'Abbadie, *Deux Tombes Ramessides*, 28 and 35, pls. IV and XII)

- steward

TT 158 (Otto, *Topographie*, 112)

- ?

TT 384 (A. Fakhry, *ASAE* 36 (1936), 125)<sup>1</sup>

*Imn-m-wi3*

- *wab*-priest and lector priest of Ptah-Sokar

TT 270 (R. Engelbach, *A Supplement to the Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes (Nos. 253 to 334) with Some Notes on the Necropolis from 1913 to 1924*, Cairo 1924, 20)

*Imn-m-Ḳ3.t*

- draughtsman in the temple of Sokar

TT 323 (B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir El Médineh (1923-1924)* (Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale II,2), Cairo 1925, 83)

*In-ḥr.t-ms*

- scribe of work

funerary cones Berlin 8744, 9662, 9663 (*Aegyptische Inschriften* II, 299)

*Wn-nfr(?)*

- *sem*-priest

O. Gardiner 130 + O. temple Amenophis son of Hapu, 1. 2 (Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* VII, 304, 6)

*Wl*

- brewer

P. BM 10053 rt. 3, 5 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVII)

*Giornale* 17-A vs. 2, 3 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 44)

*Wsr-Mntw*, son of *Tz-nfr*

- *sem*-priest

TT 148 (Wreszinski, *Atlas* I, pl. 349);

TT 277 (Vandier d'Abbadie, *Deux Tombes Ramessides*, pls. VI (2) and X)

*Wsr-Mntw*

- *sem*-priest and steward

graffito Deir el-Bahri (Marciniak, *Inscriptions Hiératiques*, 92 (no. 36), pls. XXXI and XXXIA)<sup>2</sup>

*Wsr-Ḳ3.t*

- accounts scribe

stela MMA 0542 (Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple III*, pls. VI (1) and VIII (E))<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps attached to the Ramesseum, rather than to the temple of Amenophis III? Remains of his titles: [...] *n Imn m Ḳnm.t-W3s.t ʿq m ḥw.t Skr Nb Mḥy.t sš-ntr(?)*. Fakhry and Helck regarded *Nb Mḥy.t* as the name of the tomb-owner (and so do Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> I.1, 436; Kitchen, *Ramesseid Inscriptions* III, 359).

<sup>2</sup> Same as previous?

<sup>3</sup> Also high priest(?) in the temple of Tutankhamun; see there.

*P3-ḥr*

- *wab*-priest  
P. BM 10068 vs. 3, 28 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIV)
- *wab*-priest and coppersmith  
P. BM 10053 rt. 3, 19 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVII)  
*Giornale* yr. 17-B rt. 3, 13 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 19)<sup>1</sup>

*P3-šd*, son(?) of *Imn-m-ḥ3.t*

- draughtsman of Amun in the temple of Sokar  
TT 323 (B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir El Médineh (1923-1924)* (Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale II,2), Cairo 1925, 84)

*P3[...t3(?)*

- singer of Ptah-Sokar  
TT 277 (Vandier d'Abbadie, *Deux Tombes Ramessides*, 32, pl. VIII)

*Pt3[y]* (also called [scribe] *Imn-m-ḥp.t*)

- *wab*-priest and god's father  
TT 277 (Vandier d'Abbadie, *Deux Tombes Ramessides*, 34, pl. 12)

*Ph.t.y*

- *wab*-priest  
TT 277 (Vandier d'Abbadie, *Deux Tombes Ramessides*, 37, pl. XXII)

*Pth-m-ḥb*

- *wab*-priest and scribe  
TT 277 (Vandier d'Abbadie, *Deux Tombes Ramessides*, 37, pl. XXII)

*Pth-ms*, son of *Imn-m-ḥn.t*

- god's father of Ptah-Sokar  
TT 277 (Vandier d'Abbadie, *Deux Tombes Ramessides*, 33, pl X)

*Mnw-ms*

- *wab*-priest of Ptah-Sokar  
O. BM 5627 obv., 1 (Černý, Gardiner, *Hieratic Ostraca*, pl. XC)
- *sem*-priest of the temple of Sokar  
TT 277 (Vandier d'Abbadie, *Deux Tombes Ramessides*, 33, pl. XII)  
statue-group Naples Museum 1069 (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* III, 273, 12)<sup>2</sup>

*Mry-Pth*, son of *Dḥwty-ms* (vizier)

- god's servant and steward  
stela Leiden V 14 + London UC 14463 (K. Bosse-Griffiths, *JEA* 41 (1955), 57 and 58, pl. XIV)<sup>3</sup>

*Mry-Pth*

- *sem*-priest  
TT 55 (*Urkunden* IV, 1787, 5 and 6)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> That the same person is referred to in both texts is as good as certain in view of the correspondence of the name-lists in P. BM 10053 rt. 3, 16 to 4, 3 and *Giornale* 17-B rt. 3, 10-16. The coppersmith *P3-ḥr* can hardly be identical with the guardian *P3y-ḥr* in P. Turin 1900 rt. 3, 9 (as assumed by W. Helck, *CdÉ* 59/118 (1984), 244), because the lacuna following the name there is too small for the name of a memorial temple.

<sup>2</sup> To a *sem*-priest *Mnw-ms* also belong statue Cairo CG 625 (Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* II, 171 and 172) and ushabti inv. no. 51.6 in Budapest (Z. Vanek, *BSEG* 11 (1987), 125).

<sup>3</sup> If indeed attached to the king's *Theban* temple. The name is attested with the same titles on jar-dockets from Malqata (W.C. Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), [107], fog. 19); "the Temple of Pharaoh" mentioned on them might be a reference to the Theban memorial temple (but cf. Hayes, *op. cit.*, 98 and 99). The same name, with title *ḥm-ntr*, is known from a funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary cones*, no. 412; name of temple read there as *ḥw.t Sth!*).

<sup>4</sup> If the reconstruction [*ḥw.t Nb-M3<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup>*] is correct. The basis of this reconstruction is not clear; it is not followed by N. de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose* (Mond Excavations at Thebes I), London 1941, 15 and 16, 44, pl. IX.

*Nby*

- stonemason  
rod in private collection (H. Goedicke, *VA* 5 (1989), 121 and 122)

*Nfr-ḥꜥ*

- singer of Ptah-Sokar  
TT 341 (Davies, *Seven private tombs*, pl. XXIV)

*Nfr-rnp.t*

- keeper of dates/sweets (*ir.y bnl.t*) in the temple of Sokar  
TT 249 (L. Manniche, *The Wall Decoration of Three Theban Tombs (TT 77, 175, and 249)* (The Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies, University of Copenhagen. CNI Publications 4), Copenhagen 1988, 46)<sup>1</sup>

*Hri*

- *sem*-priest  
P. BM 10053 rt. 2, 10; 3, 5 and 19 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVII)  
P. BM 10383 rt. 1, 10 (ibid., pl. XXII)<sup>2</sup>  
*Giornale* 17-B rt. 9, 15-16 and 17-A vs. 2, 3 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pls. 26 and 44)

*Hꜥy*

- *wab*-priest and god's father of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris; deputy  
statue Berlin 19580 (*Aegyptische Inschriften* II, 83)

*Hꜥ-m-ḥꜥ.t*

- lector priest in the temple of Sokar; bringer of offerings (*stꜥ ḥꜥꜥ*) of Ptah  
TT 272 (Helck, *Materialien* I, (101))

*Hꜥ-m-Wꜥs.t*, son of *Wꜥ(-wꜥ.w.t?)*-*ms*

- *sem*-priest in the temple of Sokar  
blocks at Medinet Habu (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* I, 326, 9 and 12)<sup>3</sup>

*Sbk-ms*

- *wab*-priest and chief god's father in the temple of Sokar  
TT 275 (A. Varille, *ASAE* 34 (1934), 11)

*Sꜥy*

- *wab*-priest and lector priest in the temple of Sokar  
Pyramidion Vienna (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* III, 358, 15)<sup>4</sup>

*Qꜥy*

- *wab*-priest and lector priest  
stela BM 834 (*Hieroglyphic Texts* part 7, 9, pl. XXI)

*Qn-Ḥmn*, son of *Ḥmn-m-Ḥn.t*

- *wab*-priest of Ptah  
TT 277 (Vandier d'Abbadie, *Deux Tombes Ramesses*, 29, pl. V)

*Dsr-kꜥ*

- *wab*-priest and god's father of Ptah-Sokar  
TT 277 (Vandier d'Abbadie, *Deux Tombes Ramesses*, 31, pl. VIII)

<sup>1</sup> The Cairo block mentioned by Otto, *Topographie*, 113, and Helck, *Materialien* I, (100), is probably from this tomb.

<sup>2</sup> Here appointed as *sem*-priest of the temple of Ramesses III.

<sup>3</sup> A man with the same name was *ḥm-ntr tp.y m ḥw.t nswt* (see "name of king uncertain").

<sup>4</sup> Also god's father of Amun of the Ramesseum.

## SEMENKHKARE

*Bstzy(?)*<sup>1</sup>, brother of *P3-w3h*

- draughtsman

graffito in TT 139 (A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 14 (1928), pl. VI, ll. 32 and 33)

*P3-w3h*, son of *It-snb*

- *wab*-priest, scribe of the divine offering, and temple scribe

graffito in TT 139, ll. 4, 5, 29, 30 (A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 14 (1928), pls. V and VI)

## TUTANKHAMUN

*Wsr-h3.t*

- high priest

stela MMA 0542 (Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple III*, pls. VI (1) and VIII (E))<sup>2</sup>

## AY

*Nht-Mnw*

- overseer of work

Stela Louvre C 55 (P. Pierret, *Recueil d'inscriptions inédites du Musée Égyptien du Louvre II*, Paris 1878, 93)

SETHOS I<sup>3</sup>

*Imm-ms*

- superior of water (*ʕ3 n mw*)

model palette BM 12778 (S.R.K. Glanville, *JEA* 18 (1932), pl. VIII, 1)

*Hʕpy-wr*

- god's servant

P. BM 10068 vs. 2, 4 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIV)

*Hwy-ʕri*

- treasury scribe

stela Stockholm National Museum 25 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions I*, 333, 8 and 9)<sup>4</sup>

*Hr-m-W3s.t*

- "foreigner" (*ʕʕ*)

P. BM 10403 1, 28 and 30 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXXVI)

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the name *Bt* on a statue-fragment from Qurna: A.E.P. Weigall, *ASAE* 7 (1906), 134, no. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Also accounts scribe in the temple of Amenophis III; see there.

<sup>3</sup> King Haremhab has been omitted from the present list because no unambiguous references to personnel of his temple have been found (it being extremely uncertain whether the *wab*-priest *P3-sr* was attached to this temple, as Helck suggested). The chief goldsmith *S3y-m-ptr-f* (Helck: *S3y(?)*) was probably attached to the temple of Sethos I at Abydos (see Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions I*, 346-349), since the blocks referred to by Helck are from that place. The same probably applies to the *ʕ3 n qrw.w N3ny*, who is represented by the Louvre stela C 93 from Abydos (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions I*, 345 and 346). The army scribe *N3-ʕr-ʕw* was attached to a temple of Ramesses III, which was probably not his Theban memorial temple; see now Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions V*, 269, 16.

<sup>4</sup> If indeed referring to a temple in Western Thebes.

*Hr-nfr*

- god's servant  
 box Louvre inv. 4011 (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* I, 331, 10, 14, 15)

*Swty* (also *Sthy*)

- overseer of the treasury  
 tomb at El-Khawālid (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* III, 143, 16)<sup>1</sup>

*Sthy*(see *Swty*)RAMESSES II<sup>2</sup>*Ywpꜣ*, son of *'Iwrhy*

- (high) steward  
 stela Turin 1465 (J. Ruffle, K.A. Kitchen, in: *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, 63 = pl. III)  
 statue Kranner Art Museum inv. 67-3-3 (formerly Lady Meux no. 61; E.A. Wallis Budge, *Some Account of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities in the Possession of Lady Meux, of Theobald's Park, Waltham Cross, London 1896*, 143)  
 statue Cairo CG 567 (Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* II, 118)  
 inscription at Armant (Mond, Myers, *Temples of Armant*, 163, pl. XCIII (1))<sup>3</sup>

*'Iwrhy*

- steward  
 stela Avignon inv. A4 (J. Ruffle, K.A. Kitchen, in: *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, 67 = pl. V (b))

*Imn-wꜣh-sw*

- high(?) priest<sup>4</sup>  
 stela BM 792 (*Hieroglyphic Texts* part 10, 20 and 21, pls. 44 and 45)  
 - sem-priest  
 TT 274 (R. Engelbach, *A Supplement to the Topographical Catalogue of the Private Tombs of Thebes (Nos. 253 to 334) with Some Notes on the Necropolis from 1913 to 1924*, Cairo 1924, 20)<sup>5</sup>  
 - chief sculptor  
 palette Berlin 6764 (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* III, 387, 12-13, 15)

*Imn-m-'Ip.t*

- *wab*-priest, lector priest, and scribe  
 TT 177 (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* III, 357, 10; 358, 1 and 2)  
 - treasury scribe  
 TT 374 (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* III, 374, 12 and 13)<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Title in other documents *im.y-r pr-ḥꜣ n nb tꜣ.wy* (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* III, 140-147). Helck, *Materialien* I, (56), and Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 182, associate *Swty* with the great hypostyle hall of Karnak, which had the same name as the memorial temple of Sethos I in Western Thebes.

<sup>2</sup> See also J. Ruffle, K.A. Kitchen, in: *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, 55-74. The steward *Ḥꜣtꜣy* mentioned on p. 73, note 14 was attached not to the Ramesseum, but to the temple of Ramesses II at Abydos (*tꜣ ḥw.t Rꜣ-ms-s(w) Mry-Imn m pr Wsr*); see now Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* III, 202, no. 112. The *wab*-priest *'Ipy-tꜣ* mentioned by Helck, *Materialien* I, (105), also belongs to this temple (G. Daressy, *RT* 14 (1891), 28, no. XXXVI = Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* III, 467, no. 211).

<sup>3</sup> Name and title also restored on a stela from Sedment: Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* III, 244, 8. The steward *Ywpꜣ* is also known from P. Anastasi VI 6, 8 (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 78).

<sup>4</sup> Brother of viceroy *Wn-tꜣ-wꜣ.t?* See there.

<sup>5</sup> A *sem*-priest with probably the same name on a stela in the Cairo museum (no number): M.M. Mostafa, *SAK* 19 (1992), 246 (no. 10), pl. 16.

<sup>6</sup> Helck incorrectly: *'Imn-m-'In.t*.

*Ḥmn-m-Ḥn.t*, son of *Wn-nfr* (HP)<sup>1</sup>

- overseer of work
- statue Luxor Museum J 141 (Lipinska, *Deir El-Bahari* IV, 24, upper text, cols. 8 and 9)
- statue Luxor Museum 227 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 275, 4 and 5)
- libation bowl Deir el-Bahari inv. F 7680 (Lipinska, *Deir El-Bahari* IV, 58, cols. 1 and 2)
- doorjamb at Medinet Habu (G.A. Gaballa, K.A. Kitchen, *CdÉ* 43 (1968), 266, line 1)

*Ḥmn-m-Ḥn.t*

- high steward
- statue Ermitage no. 11 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 211, 5)
- *sem*-priest
- statue Cairo CG 884 (Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* III, 136)

*Ḥmn-m-Ḥb* (called *Nḥt-Ḥmn*; mother: *Wrt*)

- treasury scribe
- graffito Deir el-Bahri (Marciniak, *Inscriptions Hiératiques*, 76 (no. 17), pl. XVII)

*Ḥmn-ḥtp*

- god's father
- O. Berlin P 10664 rt., 1 and 2 (S. Allam, *FuB* 22 (1982), 55)

*Ḥry*

- scribe
- stela from Saqqara (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 378, 9)

*Wn-t3-w3.t* (viceroy), son of *N3-ḥr-ḥw*<sup>2</sup>

- high priest and steward
- statue Cairo CG 42158 (Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes* II, 26)
- stela BM 792, top and 2nd reg. (*Hieroglyphic Texts* part 10, 20 and 21, pls. 44 and 45)

*Wsr-Mntw*

- god's father; lector priest of Ptah(?)
- TT 31 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 11, note 2)
- deputy(?)
- TT 31 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, 11, note 2)

*Wsr-ḥ3.t*

- attendant
- O. Cairo DM 263 rt., 1 and 2 (unpublished; Černý Notebook 101, 135)

*B3k-n-Ḥmn*

- overseer of cattle
- stela BM 132 (*Hieroglyphic Texts* part 9, 58, pl. XLV)

*B3k-n-Ḥnsw*

- chief *wab*-priest
- pyramidion Vienna (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 359, 2)

*B3k.t-Šḥm.t*

- chantress
- TT 384 (A. Fakhry, *ASAE* 36 (1936), 125)

*P3y*

- treasury scribe (Helck, *Materialien* I, (107): TT 257)
- scribe(?)
- O. Leipzig, number unknown (unpublished; Černý Notebook 35, opposite 13)

*P3-nfr*

- overseer of horned cattle (*im.y-r* 'b.w)
- statue Stockholm MME 1977:1 (B.J. Peterson, *Medelhavsmuseet Bulletin* 14 (1979), 4-6)

<sup>1</sup> For the monuments of this official, see J. Lipinska, *Études et Travaux* 3 (1969), 41-49.

<sup>2</sup> H.W. Fairman, *JEA* 25 (1939), 142 and 143, regarded *Ḥnm.t-W3s.t* in the title of *Wn-t3-w3.t* as a possible reference to the site of 'Amāra West.

*P3-Rc-m-hb*

- overseer of cattle  
ushabti Rouen Museum (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* III, 376, 8)

*P3y-sn*

- *wab*-priest  
P. BM 10068 vs. 3, 19 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIV)

*P3-q3i*

- treasury scribe  
TT 257 (M.F. Mostafa, *Das Grab des Neferhotep und des Meh (TT 257)* (Theben 8), Mainz 1995, 62)

*Pi3y*, son of *Pi3y* (*sem*-priest)

- high priest  
block from Medinet Habu (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* I, 326, 13)

*Pi3y*, son of *P3-hm-ntr*

- god's father and temple scribe  
statue Cairo CG 42182 (Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes* II, 47)  
O. Berlin 14214 obv., 7 (Allam, *Hieratische Ostraka und Papyri*, pl. 17)<sup>1</sup>  
O. University College 3 obv., 2 and 3 (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VII, 214, 3 and 4)<sup>2</sup>

*Pi3y*

- high priest  
statue group from Deir el-Bahri (Lipinska, *Deir El-Bahari* IV, 27, col. 2)  
- *sem*-priest  
statue from Deir el-Bahri (Lipinska, *Deir El-Bahari* IV, 25)  
statue group from Deir el-Bahri (ibid., 27 and 28)  
statue base from Deir el-Bahri (ibid., 42, cat. 48, a)<sup>3</sup>  
- *sem*-priest in the temple of Sokar  
granite sarcophagus Hildesheim inv. 1887 (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VII, 162, 11 and 12)  
- superior and scribe of the workshop  
TT 263 (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* III, 380, 6 and 8; 381, 4, 6, 10-11, 15)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Probably a member of the *qnb.t* of the Ramesseum, which is mentioned in the previous line.

<sup>2</sup> The conjurer of scorpions *Imn-ms* mentioned in this ostrakon is probably identical with the *Imn-ms* known from O. Cairo JE 37649 and O. Gardiner 4, both to be dated to the reign of Ramesses IV (see Gutgesell, *Datierung* I, 253; II, 352). This means that there were two conjurers named *Imn-ms*, one living under Ramesses II and the other in the Twentieth Dynasty (see also R.J. Demarée, *The sh ikr n Rc-Stelae. On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt* (Egyptologische Uitgaven 3), Leiden 1983, 19, no. 3). O. University College 3 should be dated to the latter period.

<sup>3</sup> All referring to the same person? Perhaps the *sem*-priest *Pi3y* and the high priest *Pi3y* are the same person, as seems to be suggested by the statue-group, which is obviously dedicated by the *sem*-priest of the Ramesseum *Pi3y*, while one of the statues bears the title "high priest" of the same institution. Both occurrences of the name *Pi3y* are followed by *m3c hrw*.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly also in P. Cairo CG 65739 rt., 9 (A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 21 (1935), pl. XIII), and as *im.y-r šn* in TT 19 (G. Foucart, *Tombes Thébaines. Nécropole de Dirâc Abû'n-Naga. Le Tombeau d'Amonmos (Tombeau No. 19)* (Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire LVII), part four: plates, Cairo 1935, pl. XXXI; see D. Polz, *ZÄS* 117 (1990), 57, no. B5).

*Pn-R<sup>c</sup>*

- overseer of work
- statue Giza (G. Daressy, *RT* 22 (1900), 143, no. CLXXVI, 1. 2)
- statue Cairo CG 1146 (Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* IV, 80 and 81)
- stela Ashmolean Museum 1894/106 (J. Gohary, *ASAE* 71 (1987), 99, fig. 1)<sup>1</sup>
- stela Oriental Institute 10494 (C.F. Nims, *MDAIK* 14 (1956), 147, pl. IX)
- blocks from chapel of *W3d-ms* (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 269, 16; 270, 4)

*Pn-T3-wr.t*

- scribe
- P. Chester Beatty V vs. 2, 2 and 3 (A.H. Gardiner, *Chester Beatty Gift* (Hieratic Papyri in the British Museum, Third Series), vol. II, London 1935, pl. 27)

*Pth-m-wi3*

- overseer of cattle
- statue Edinburgh 1902.306.10 (W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Abydos I* (The Egypt Exploration Fund, Twenty-second Memoir), London 1902, pl. LXV (nos. 2-4); LXVII)

*Mr.y-Imn R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw*, also called *Ssy*, son(?) of *B3k-n-Hnsw*

- *wab*-priest and lector priest (in the temple of Sokar); god's father
- pyramidion Vienna (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 358 and 359)<sup>2</sup>

*[Mr.y]-Pth<sup>3</sup>*

- overseer of cattle
- relief from Abydos (U. Bouriant, *RT* 9 (1887), 90, no. 65)

*Mh*

- deputy, treasury(?) scribe, and chief overseer of cattle(?)
- TT 257 (M.F. Mostafa, *Das Grab des Neferhotep und des Meh* (TT 257) (Theben 8), Mainz 1995, 61)

*Msw*, son of *Nfr-htp* (chief workman)

- doorkeeper
- TT 6 (J. Černý, *Répertoire Onomastique de Deir El-Médineh* (Documents de Fouilles de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire XII), Cairo 1949, 61, 1st reg.)<sup>4</sup>

*N3-ḥr-ḥw*

- high steward
- stela Michailidis (E.F. Wente, *JNES* 22 (1963), 31, fig. 1)

*Nb-Mḥy.t*

- scribe of recruits
- TT 170 (Gardiner, Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue*, 30 and 31)

*Nb-mḥy.t*

- [priest?] of Sokar
- TT 384 (A. Fakhry, *ASAE* 36 (1936), 125)

*Nfr-rnp.t*

- chief weaver
- TT 133 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, pl. XXXV)<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gohary suggests that *B(w)-nḥt.tw=f* (col. 13) may have been the father of *Pn-R<sup>c</sup>*, and likewise overseer of works of the Ramesseum (*ASAE* 71 (1987), 100).

<sup>2</sup> The title *w<sup>c</sup>b ḥr.y-ḥb m ḥw.t Skr* might also pertain to the Sokar cult in the temple of Amenophis III; see M.M. Mostafa, *SAK* 19 (1992), 244.

<sup>3</sup> The steward with the same name (Helck, *Materialien* I, (105); M. Hamza, *ASAE* 30 (1930), 38) belonged to the temple of Ramesses II in the "House of Re".

<sup>4</sup> Same texts in B. Bruyère, *Rapport sur les Fouilles de Deir El Médineh (1935-1940)* (Fouilles de l'Institut Français du Caire XX), fasc. III, Cairo 1952, 15: "tombe no. 7" (sic). See also Černý, *Community*, 117.

*Nḥt-Imn*

- superior of the altar  
TT 341 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, pl. XXII)

*Nswt-Nḥw.t*

- singer  
TT 341 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, pl. XXIV, lower reg.)

*Ns-p3-q3i-šw.t.y*, son of *B3k-n-Ḥnsw*<sup>1</sup>

- *sem*-priest  
docket on coffin of Ramesses I, ll. 8-11 (G. Daressy, *Cercueils des cachettes royales* (Catalogue Générale des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire Nos. 61001-61044), Cairo 1909, 27, pl. XXIII, 1)  
docket on coffin of Sethos I, ll. 5 and 6 (Ibid., 31, pl. XIX)  
docket on coffin of Ramesses II, ll. 7-9 (Ibid., 33, pl. XXII)

*Nḏm*

- (high) steward<sup>2</sup>  
statue Cairo CG 1220 (Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* IV, 115)  
statue from Abydos (W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Abydos* II (The Egypt Exploration Fund, Twenty-fourth Memoir), London 1903, pls. XXXV and XXXVIII, no. 4)  
P. Sallier I 9, 3 and 4 (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 87, 9)

*Nḏm-gr*

- overseer of gardens  
TT 138 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 383-387)

*R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw-m-pr-R<sup>c</sup>*

- chief guardian  
stela BM 796 (J. Berlandini-Grenier, *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 17, pl. IV)<sup>3</sup>

*R<sup>c</sup>-ms-s(w)-nḥt.w*

- steward  
relief Brussels E 5183 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 198, 14 and 15)

*Rs-m-ḥb-sd*<sup>4</sup>

- chief butcher  
TT 341 (Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, pls. XXIV (upper reg.) and XXVI (lower reg.))

*Ḥwy*

- superior of water (ḥ<sup>c</sup> n mw)  
statuette from Deir Rifa (A. Kamal, *ASAE* 14 (1914), 69)

*Ḥw.t-Ḥy*<sup>5</sup>

- great one of the harem (*ḥnr.t*) of Amun  
TT 148 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 92, 8)

*Ḥri*

- steward  
jar inscriptions Deir el-Medina nos. 6291 and 6293 (Koenig, *Étiquettes* II, pl. 33)

<sup>5</sup> Helck: "Hörigenoberst"; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 378: "chief of weavers". Although the word *mr(.t)* itself is ambiguous, the weaving scenes in Davies, *Seven Private Tombs*, pl. XXXV, speak in favour of the latter interpretation.

<sup>1</sup> Name wrongly given as *Mr.y-Dḥwty* by Helck, *Materialien* I, (104). For *t3 s.t Mr.y-Dḥwty*, see J. Černý, *JEA* 32 (1946), 28, note 5; J. Yoyotte, *RdÉ* 7 (1950), 63-66; Wente, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 73 and note y.

<sup>2</sup> Probably also as ḥ<sup>c</sup> n pr on the Bilgai stela: Helck, *Verwaltung*, 102 and 128, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> Helck incorrectly "Inspektor" (*rwḏ.w*).

<sup>4</sup> Helck: *M33-s-m-ḥb-sd*.

<sup>5</sup> The name was read as *Ḥy* by Helck, *Materialien* I, (106), after C.F. Nims, *JNES* 14 (1955), 121.

*Hr-Mnw*

- temple and army scribe

TT 221 (J. Assmann, *Sonnenhymnen in thebanischen Gräbern* (Theben 1), Mainz 1983, 300; Gardiner, Weigall, *Topographical Catalogue*, 36)<sup>1</sup>

*Hr-m-ḥb*

- steward

blocks from Saqqara (J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908-9, 1909-10). The Monastery of Apa Jeremias*, Cairo 1912, pls. LXXI and LXXII)

*Hr-ms*

- chief guardian of the treasury

tomb C 7 at Thebes (Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions* III, 374, 16)<sup>2</sup>

*Hꜥy*

- overseer of the treasury

statue Cairo CG 604 (Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* II, 154)

stela Brussels E 5184 (Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions* III, 373, 10)

*Hꜥ-m-ꜥp.t*

- *sem*-priest

P. BM 10054 rt. 3, 15 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. VII)

P. BM 10068 vs. 2, 15 (Ibid., pl. XIV)

P. Philadelphia ... rt. 2, 8 (unpublished; Černý Notebook 157, 2-5, 19, 21)

*Hꜥ-m-t[ri]*

- steward (or overseer of the treasury?)

graffito Deir el-Bahri (Marciniak, *Inscriptions Hiératiques*, 140, pl. LXXIV, no. 106)

*Hnmw-m-ḥb*

- overseer of the treasury

TT 26 (Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions* III, 373, 15)<sup>3</sup>

*Sꜥ-ꜥs.t*, son of *Qny*

- overseer of the granary<sup>4</sup>

statue Brooklyn Museum 47.120.2 (Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions* III, 153)

*Ssy*

(see *Mry-ꜥmn Rꜥ-ms-sw*)

*Sdy*

- temple scribe

P. BM 10054 vs. 2, 35 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. VII)

P. BM 10053 vs. 1, 8; 3, 7, 9, 10, 11, 16, 18, 20; 4, 7, 14, 15, 18, 22 (Ibid., pls. XIX-XXI)

*Ky-ir.y*

- *wab*-priest

graffito in TT 51 (Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, pl. XIX, no. 2)

*Tꜥ*

- *sem*-priest

graffito Deir el-Bahri (Marciniak, *Inscriptions Hiératiques*, 152 (no. 129),

pls. LXXXV and LXXXVA)<sup>5</sup>

- ?

TT 148 (Kitchen, *Rameside Inscriptions* VI, 92, 7)<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Still connected with the temple of Ramesses III by Helck, *Materialien* I, (113), and M.M. Mostafa, *SAK* 19 (1992), 242, both dealing with the second title (composed with *ḥw.t nswt*) only.

<sup>2</sup> Helck incorrectly: "Werkstattvorsteher".

<sup>3</sup> Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 185, mentions more places in TT 26 where this title is written.

<sup>4</sup> Same person attached to the temple of Merenptah? See there.

<sup>5</sup> The same text mentions the *sem*-priests *Hꜥꜥ-Mꜥꜥ.t-Rꜥ-nḥt* (temple of Ramesses IV) and *Dḥwty-ms* (temple of Ramesses III).

\*[T3]y[=sn-nfr.t], wife of Pi3y (*sem*-priest)

- great one of the harem (*hnr.t*) of Amun
- statue group from Deir el-Bahri (Lipinska, *Deir El-Bahari* IV, 28 (col. 8))<sup>1</sup>

Ti3

- overseer and scribe of the treasury
- stela Cairo JE 89624 (Abd el-Hamid Zayed, *RdÉ* 16 (1964), 195, fig. 1)
- stela Florence inv. 2532 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 368, 16)
- stela Louvre E 7717 (L. Habachi, *RdÉ* 21 (1969), pl. 3)
- tomb-chapel Saqqara (G.T. Martin, *JEA* 69 (1983), pl. VI (3); 70 (1984), pl. IV)

Dḥwty-ḥr-ḥs(.t)=f

- scribe of the king
- graffito Abusir (L. Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Šasḥu-Re* I (Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft in Abusir VI), Leipzig 1910, 124, fig. 170)

## MERENPTAH

ʿIpwy, son of Rm

- *sem*-priest
- statue Cairo CG 42187, back (Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes* II, 54)<sup>2</sup>
- statue Cairo CG 42188, back, l. 8 (ibid., 56)
- statue Cairo CG 42189, left, l. 8 (ibid., 58)

P3-nḥs.y (vizier)

- overseer of the treasury
- inscription at Gebel el-Silsila (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 90, 10; VII, 464, 13)

Mnw-ḥ<sup>c</sup>

- *wab*-priest
- stela private collection(?) (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 225, 15)

Mntw-ḥr-ḥpš=f

- deputy
- P. Sallier IV vs. 9, 1 (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 94)<sup>3</sup>

Nḏm

- god's father
- statue MMA 06123188 (Naville, *XIth Dynasty Temple* III, 7, pls. IV (5) and X (A))

Ḥri, son of ʿImn-m-ʿIn.t

- chief scribe of the offering-table (*wḏḥ.w*)
- statue Louvre A 68 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* IV, 137, 1-2)

Ḥr-nḥt

- steward
- P. Sallier IV vs. 9, 1 (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 93 and 94)

<sup>6</sup> Cf. K.A. Kitchen, G.A. Gaballa, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 170, note 15, still considering the reading *Mr.y-ʿImn* instead of *Stp.n-R<sup>c</sup>*. The latter was preferred after a collation in *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 92 (note 7a), and it seems to be confirmed by the Deir el-Bahri graffito mentioning the *sem*-priest T3.

<sup>1</sup> Only traces of the name are visible on this monument, but according to Lipinska, *Deir El-Bahari* IV, 29, the woman is identical with the one mentioned on the statue base from the same site, who also appears to be the wife of a *sem*-priest Pi3y (ibid., 42, cat. 48, a).

<sup>2</sup> Now in private collection: S. Schoske, D. Wildung, *Gott und Götter im Alten Ägypten*, Mainz 1992, 200-203.

<sup>3</sup> If indeed the deputy of the steward *Ḥr-nḥt* (for whom see below).

*S3-Is.t*

- overseer of the granary<sup>1</sup>
- statue Vienna 34 (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* IV, 100, 13)

SIPTAH<sup>2</sup>*Pi3y*

- steward
- inscription at Wadi Halfa (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* IV, 368, 6 and 7)

*Hri* (vizier)

- steward
- O. Boston MFA 11.1498 obv., 7 (D. Berg, *JARCE* 30 (1993), 59, fig. 1 a)

RAMESSES III<sup>3</sup>*[T]w-f-n-Imm*

- ship's captain (*hr.y wsh*)
- P. BM 10053 rt. 1, 8; 3, [17] (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVII)
- Giornale* yr. 17-B rt. 3, 7 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 18)

*Imm-ms*, son of *P3-wi3*

- overseer of work
- statue Cairo JE 87194 (A. Hamada, *ASAE* 47 (1947), 19, pls. III a and IV a)<sup>4</sup>

*Imm-ms*, son of *T3*

- god's father
- P. BM 10383 rt. 1, 2 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXII)

*Imm-htp*, son of *Rc-ms-sw-nht* (HP)

- *sem*-priest
- P. IFAO A rt. 2, 14; 4, 8 (Y. Koenig, in: *Hommages Sauneron* I, pls. XXXI and XXXIII)<sup>5</sup>
- Graffiti at Karnak (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* VI, 534, 5; 540, 12)

<sup>1</sup> Same person attached to the temple of Ramesses II? See there. See A. Kamal, *ASAE* 16 (1916), 79; Helck, *Verwaltung*, 394, 503, and 504 (not yet including *S3-Is.t*'s function at the Ramesseum and the temple of Merenptah); H. Satzinger, *Jahrbuch der kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien* 74 (1978), 7-28; Gnirs, *Militär und Gesellschaft*, 185 and 186.

<sup>2</sup> It is not certain that the steward *P3y-bs* mentioned on the Bilgai stela, as well as on jar-dockets from the temple of Siptah in Western Thebes, was also responsible for the memorial temple, as is argued by Helck. The name of the king or queen in the reference to a memorial temple on the Bilgai stela has been erased; it may have been either Tausert or Siptah. *P3y-bs* was a steward of this temple, and of a *pr* of Sethos II. A steward with the same name is mentioned on a jar docket of a domain of the chancellor *B3y* (For references, see Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* IV, 341-343, 346 and 347).

<sup>3</sup> For the army-scribe *Hr-Mnw* (Helck, *Materialien* I, (113)), see temple of Ramesses II; the doorkeeper *Dhwti-ms* in P. Turin 1896 + 2006 rt. 4, 6 (Gardiner, *Ramesse Administrative Documents*, 40) belongs rather to the necropolis (perhaps read <*m*> *t3 hw.t?*). The agents (*rwq.w*) responsible for fields of the temple of Ramesses III in P. Wilbour (Helck, *Materialien* I, (112): "Inspektoren") are left out because it is uncertain whether they were attached to this institution, or if they only acted on its behalf.

<sup>4</sup> Same person: statue Cairo CG 1221 (Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten* IV, 116 (name wrongly read as *Rc-ms*); A. Hamada, *ASAE* 47 (1947), 20 and 21; A.H. Gardiner, *JEA* 34 (1948), 19).

<sup>5</sup> Probably of the temple of Ramesses III (rt. 4, 8): Y. Koenig, in: *Hommages Sauneron* I, 208 (y) and 215 (vv).

*Imn-ḥꜥ.w*

- overseer of carpenters  
TT 372 (J. Spiegel, *ASAE* 40 (1940), 258)
- gods' father  
P. Ambras (Vienna 30) 1, 5 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXXVIII)<sup>1</sup>
- attendant  
P. BM 10335 rt., 8 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 417, 9)

*Ini-wꜣ.w*

- gardener (*kꜣm.y*)  
P. BM 10053 rt. 3, 13 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVII)  
*Giornale* yr. 17-A vs. 2, 10 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 44)

*nḥꜥ-f-n-Imn* (necropolis scribe), son of *Bw-thi-Imn*

- *wab*-priest  
Theban graffiti (W. Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti (Inschriften und Zeichnungen) aus der thebanischen Nekropolis*, Heidelberg 1921, 82-86, nos. 980, 1006, 1011, 1012, 1016, 1018)

*ḥꜣw.t.y-nfr*

- workman (*kꜣw.t.y*)  
P. BM 10403 rt. 1, 3 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXXVI)<sup>2</sup>

*ḥꜣw.t.y-nḥt*

- scribe  
P. BM 10068 rt. 5, 5 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XI)

[*ḥꜣ-ḥ.t*]

- sandal-maker  
P. BM 10053 rt. 2, 16 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVII)

*Wn-nḥw*, son of *Tꜣtꜣy*

- weaver/plaiter (*šḥt.y*)  
P. Mayer A 2, 17 (Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, "page" 2)

*Wsr-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ-nḥt*

- ?  
TT 148 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 91, 16)<sup>3</sup>

*Wsr-ḥꜣ.t*

- *sem*-priest  
graffito Deir el-Bahri (Marciniak, *Inscriptions Hiératiques*, 139 (no. 104), pls. LXXIV, 2 and LXXIVA, 2)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> According to this text, *Imn-ḥꜥ.w* inspected the wreaths of Amun "United-with-Eternity"; hence, he might have been a priest of the temple of Ramesses III. A god's father with the same name occurs in P. Turin 2021 rt. 4, 1 (J. Černý, T.E. Peet, *JEA* 13 (1927), pl. XV), in P. BM 10068 vs. 3, 27 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIV: son of *Tḥy*) and vs. 5, 28 (ibid., pl. XV: son of *Bꜣk-n-Pth*).

<sup>2</sup> Said to be "doorkeeper of this place" (*nnt.y n tꜣy s.t*) in the following line. The same man is probably referred to in P. BM 10412 vs., 8 (Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 56). A *wab*-priest and chief workman (*ḥr.y kꜣw.t.y.w*) of the same name is attested in P. Turin 2021 rt. 3, 5 (J. Černý, T. Peet, *JEA* 13 (1927), pl. XIV; see p. 31 for other possible references to the same person).

<sup>3</sup> Possibly the steward Userma'atrenakht, son of the high priest of Amun Ramessesnakht (see M.L. Bierbrier, *The Late New Kingdom in Egypt (c. 1300-664 B.C.)*, Warminster 1975, 9 with note 63; G.A. Gaballa, K.A. Kitchen, *MDAIK* 37 (1981), 178). This would then be the only place where this official is explicitly associated with the temple of Ramesses III. Another possibility would be the *high priest* Userma'atrenakht (perhaps a brother of Ramessesnakht: Peden, *Ramesses IV*, 66). Grandet, *Ramsès III*, 137 suggests that this person might have been a *sem*-priest of the temple of Ramesses III.

- B3k-n-Ḥnsw* (ꜥ3 n št)  
 - overseer of cattle  
 TT 148 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 93, 5)  
 inscription of Ramesses IV, Wadi Hammamat (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 14, 3)
- B3k-n-S.t*(?)  
 - charioteer  
 P. Turin 2021 rt. 4, 8 (J. Černý, T.E. Peet, *JEA* 13 (1927), pl. XV)
- P3-[...]*, son of *Wsr-ḥ3.t*  
 - scribe  
 graffiti Deir el-Bahri (Marciniak, *Inscriptions Hiératiques*, 138 (no. 102), pls. LXXIII and LXXIII A; 151 (no. 128), pl. LXXXIV)<sup>1</sup>
- P3-3bw-nḥt*  
 - sandal-maker  
 P. BM 10053 rt. 2, 15; 5, 16 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. XVII, XVIII)<sup>2</sup>
- P3-ir.y*  
 - deputy of the overseer of cattle  
 P. BM 10335 rt., 8 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 417, 8 and 9)
- P3-ir.y* (see *Sḥt-m-ḥb*)
- P3-ihy-wd3*  
 - *wab*-priest  
 Theban graffiti (W. Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti (Inschriften und Zeichnungen) aus der thebanischen Nekropolis*, Heidelberg 1921, 86, no. 1020)
- P3-b3k*, son of *Ns-Imn*<sup>3</sup> and *S.t*  
 - scribe  
 P. Abbott vs. (dockets) A, 14 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXIII)  
 P. BM 10403 rt. 1, 17 and 18 (Ibid., pl. XXXVI)  
 P. Mayer A 1, 11 (Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, "page 1")
- P3-nḥs.y*  
 - herdsman  
 P. Turin 1895 + 2006 rt. 4, 9 (Gardiner, *Ramesside Administrative Documents*, 41)
- P3-nḥt-rs-tp*  
 - temple scribe  
 P. BM 10053 rt. 3, 11 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVII)<sup>4</sup>
- P3-ḥr*, son of *Ḥr.y* and *My.t-šri(.t)*  
 - coppersmith and member of *smd.t*  
 P. Abbott rt. 4, 13 and 14; 7, 6 and 7 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. II and IV; cf. rt. 7, 11, 12, 15)
- P3-sn.y*  
 - god's father  
 P. BM 10383 rt. 1, 5 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXII)

<sup>4</sup> Three graffiti in the temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahri (Marciniak's nos. 102, 104, and 128) apparently refer to the same persons: the *sem*-priest *Wsr-ḥ3.t* and his son, the scribe *P3-[...]* (see below), both attached to the temple of Ramesses III. The traces visible on the photographs and on the facsimiles allow some further reconstruction. The connection between the three texts is supported by the similarities in the script and in the formula employed (notably the erroneous *ḥw.t ḥḥ.w*). The same *sem*-priest *Wsr-ḥ3.t* is perhaps referred to by an inscription from Deir el-Bahri; see below, "name of king uncertain".

<sup>1</sup> See note on *Wsr-ḥ3.t* above.

<sup>2</sup> Sandal-maker with the same name in *Giornale* 17-B rt. 5, 10 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 21).

<sup>3</sup> *Ns-Imn* was a deputy of the same temple; see below. Father's name erroneously *P3y-nb-msi* in Helck, *Materialien* I, (112).

<sup>4</sup> Probably identical with the temple scribe *P3-nḥt-rs* in Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 44, l. 8.

*P3-sr*, son of *T3-Imn*

- *wab*-priest

P. BM 10068 rt. 4, 27 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XI)

*P3-kmn*, son of *Try*

- coppersmith

P. Abbott rt. 7, 7 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. IV; cf. rt. 7, 11, 12, 15)

*Pn-ns.t.y-t3.wy*

- steward

stela Cairo JE 2013 (K.A. Kitchen, G.A. Gaballa, *Serapis* 6 (1980), 77, pl. 2)<sup>1</sup>

*Pn-T3-wr.t*, son of *Hri*

- scribe (of the superior of the house)

P. BM 10053 rt. 6, 17 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIX)

*Giornale* yr. 17-B rt. 6, 5 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 23)<sup>2</sup>

*Pn-t3-hw.t-nht*

- army scribe

P. Berlin 10494 rt., 1-2 (Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 23)

P. BN 198 I rt., 11 (Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 66)

P. Rifaud D, 1 (Y. Koenig, *CRIPEL* 10 (1988), pl. 5)<sup>3</sup>

*Pth-m-hb*

- *wab*-priest and scribe of the mat of the *qnb.t*

P. Turin 2021 4, 2 (J. Černý, T.E. Peet, *JEA* 13 (1927), pl. XV)

*Mntw-Imn*

- ship's captain (*hr.y wsh*)

P. BM 10053 rt. 5, 12 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVIII)

*Mh* ... [...]

- chantress

P. BN 201, frgt. 6 (unpublished; Černý Notebook 3.42)

[...]-*ms*

- ?

*Giornale* yr. 3 rt. 2, 15 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 53)

*Nb-nfr*

- chief carpenter

P. BM 10335 rt., 8 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 417, 9)

*Nht-Mntw*

- weaver/plaiter (*sh.t.y*)

*Giornale* yr. 17-A vs. 2, 7 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 44)

*Ns-Imn* (second god's servant of Amonrasonter)

- *sem*-priest

P. Amherst + Leopold II 1, 17; 2, 1; 3, 9 and 10; 4, 5 and 12 (A.H. Gardiner, J. Capart,

B. van de Walle, *JEA* 22 (1936), pls. XII-XVI)<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It seems uncertain to me that the same individual is mentioned as a steward of a Memphite foundation of Ramesses III in P. Harris I 51 a, 5 (Erichsen, *Papyrus Harris I*, 57), as is stated by the authors. He may, however, be referred to in some jar-dockets from Deir el-Medina (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 262, 15).

<sup>2</sup> Černý first read the father's name in *Giornale* as *Hnsw*, as did Botti and Peet, but without the determinative (Notebook 14, 5; MSS.3.624). In MSS.3.624, he later corrected it to *Hri*. The hieratic original clearly shows *Hnsw*, but the scribe may have made a mistake here (see, for instance, the careless writing of the name of the temple in line 4). P. BM 10053 and *Giornale* 17-B both date from year 17 of Ramesses IX.

<sup>3</sup> The same scribe is possibly referred to in P. BM 10068 vs. 1, 8 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XIII: only *ss*), and in the texts referred to by Černý, *Community*, 209 and 210. According to Valbelle, *Ouvriers*, 349, Penthutnakht was a temple scribe first, and later became an army scribe.

*Ns-ʿImn*

- scribe

*Giornale* yr. 3 rt. 2, 7 and 8 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 52)<sup>1</sup>*Ns-sw-ʿImn*, son of *T3-tr* (f)

- ?

P. BM 10054 vs. 5, 16 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. VIII)*Ns-sw-ʿImn*

- deputy

P. BM 10403 rt. 1, 18 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXXVI)*Ns-šbk*

- deputy

P. BM 10412 rt., 5 (Černý, *Late Ramesside Letters*, 55)*Rc-ms*

- overseer of cattle

P. Wilbour rt. A 74, 5; vs. B 18, 18 (Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus I*, pls. 35 and 65)*Rc-ms-s(w)-nḥt* (high priest of Amun), (grand)son of *Mr.y-B3st.t*<sup>2</sup>

- high steward

TT 148 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions VI*, 92, 1 and 2)statue CG 42162 (Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes II*, 29, ll. 3-4)inscription 8th pylon, Karnak (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions VI*, 88, 6 and 14)*Rr*- weaver/plaiter (*šht.y*)*Giornale* yr. 17-A vs. 3, 6 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 45)*Hd-nḥt*

- treasury scribe

P. Geneva MAH 15274 vs. 1, 5 (A. Massart, *MDAIK 15* (1957), pl. XXXVIII)*Hꜥpy-wr*, son of *Mry.n-Pth*

- stonemason

P. Amherst + Leopold II 1, 16 and 17; 3, 9; 4, 5 (A.H. Gardiner, J. Capart, B. van de Walle, *JEA 22* (1936), pls. XII, XIV, XVI)P. BM 10054 rt. 2, 13; vs. 1, 6; 5, 12 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. VI-VIII)*Hri*

- overseer of cattle

P. Wilbour vs. B 21, 30 (Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus I*, pl. 68)

- deputy

P. Turin 1881 rt. 8, 2 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions VI*, 614, 13-14)- *sem*-priestP. BM 10383 rt. 1, 10 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXII)<sup>3</sup>

- scribe

P. Nevill rt., 3 and 4 (J. Barns, *JEA 35* (1949), 70)

- treasury scribe

P. Turin 1883 + 2095 rt., 3-4 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions VI*, 431, 14-15)*Hr-ms*

- baker

P. BM 10053 rt. 4, 2 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XVIII)*Giornale* yr. 17-B rt. 3, 15 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 19)

<sup>4</sup> Perhaps identical with the *Ns-sw-ʿImn* who is mentioned in the Abbott papyrus as a *sem*-priest of the temple of Ramesses IX; see there.

<sup>1</sup> Same scribe probably in P. Turin 1881 rt. 1, 5 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions VI*, 610).

<sup>2</sup> For *Mr.y-B3st.t*, see below ("name of king uncertain").

<sup>3</sup> Former *sem*-priest of the temple of Amenophis III; Helck, *Materialien I*, (111).

*Sbk-nht*, son of *Tr.y-nfr*

- honey-collector

P. Abbott vs. (dockets) A, 18 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXIII)

*Sk.t*

- attendant

O. Gardiner 190 vs., 5 (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* VII, 369, 6)

O. Strasbourg H 84 rt., 4 (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* VI, 428, 13-14)

*Sth-m-hb* (also called *P3-ir.y*)

- overseer of the treasury

graffiti at West Silsila (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* V, 228, 3-4, 11-12; 419, 7-8)

*Sth-ms*

- scribe of lists(?) (*sš sh.wy?*)

inscription at Medinet Habu (Kitchen, *Ramesse Inscriptions* VI, 90, 2)

*Sth-nht*, son of *Pn-nq.t*

- carpenter

P. Amherst + Leopold II 1, 18 - 2, 1; 3, 10; 4, 12 (A.H. Gardiner, J. Capart, B. van de Walle, *JEA* 22 (1936), pls. XII, XIV-XVI)

P. BM 10054 rt. 3, 2; vs. 1, 7; 5, 20 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. VI-VIII)

*Šd-sw-Hnsw*

- temple scribe

P. Philadelphia ... rt. 2, 6 (unpublished; Černý Notebook 157, 5, 19, 21)<sup>1</sup>

*Šd-sw-Hnmw*

- weaver/plaiter

P. Mayer A 10, 7 (Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, "page" 10)

*Q3i-šw.t.y*

- army scribe

P. Bournemouth Nat. Sc. Society 17/1931 vs., 1 (Janssen, *Late Ramesse Letters*, 55, pl. 55 left)

P. BM 10383 rt. 1, 4 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXII)

*Qny-mni.w*

- weaver/plaiter

*Giornale* yr. 17-B rt. 6, 7 (Botti, Peet, *Giornale*, pl. 23)

*Kri*

- *wab*-priest and gardener (*k3m.y*)

P. BM 10053 vs. 3, 6 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XX)

*T3t3-šri*, son of *Hri*<sup>2</sup>

- *wab*-priest

P. BM 10403 rt. 1, 18; 3, 23 and 25 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pls. XXXVI and XXXVII);

P. Mayer A 1, 11; 6, 22 (Peet, *Mayer Papyri*, "pages" 1 and 6)

*T3-nfr*

- god's father

coffin Louvre E 18843 (Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins from Thebes*, 165, no. 336)<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The same name with the title *sš hw.t-ntr* occurs on a docket on a bandage of the mummy of Ramesses III, l. 3 (G. Maspero, *Les momies royales de Déir El-Baharî* (Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire I,4), Paris 1887, 564). Maspero's reading *Dsr-sw-Hnsw* was followed by Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 409, 8, with a question-mark. This name, however, is otherwise unattested, as is the type *Dsr-sw-DN* in general. The shape of  *dsr* in hieratic would be exceptional as well; it seems better to read  *šd*. For similar variants of the latter sign (Möller's no. 517), see Edwards, *Oracular Amuletic Decrees*, pls. XLV and XLVI, *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> Helck, *Materialien* I, (111): *T3-šri*.

*Try*, son of *H<sup>c</sup>-m-*Ip.t**  
 - coppersmith  
 P. Abbott rt. 7, 7 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. IV; cf. rt. 7, 11, 12, 15)

*Dḥwty-ms*, son of *Wsr-ḥz.t*  
 - scribe  
 Theban tomb A 17 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 418, 9)

*Dḥwty-ms*  
 - *sem*-priest  
 graffito Deir el-Bahri (Marciniak, *Inscriptions Hiératiques*, 152 (no. 129), pls. LXXXV and LXXXVA)<sup>1</sup>

## RAMESSES IV

*P(ḥ)-sr(?)*<sup>2</sup>  
 - *sem*-priest  
 statue-base Ashmolean Museum 1888.614 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 97, 10)

[...]-*msw*  
 - deputy  
 graffito Deir el-Bahri (Marciniak, *Inscriptions Hiératiques*, 58 (no. 2), pls. II and IIA)

*Nb-nṯr.w*, son of *Nsy-*Inn**  
 - *sem*-priest  
 statue Cairo CG 42225 (Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes* III, 61 (i))

*Hri*, son of *Nsy-*Inn**  
 - *sem*-priest  
 statue Cairo CG 42226 (Legrain, *Statues et Statuettes* III, 63 (f))

*Hqḥ-Mḥ<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup>-nḥt*  
 - *sem*-priest  
 graffito Deir el-Bahri (Marciniak, *Inscriptions Hiératiques*, 152, (no. 129), pls. LXXXV and LXXXVA)<sup>3</sup>  
 jar fragment no. 220 from Assâsîf (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 49, 8)<sup>4</sup>

## RAMESSES V

*Mḥi-ḥt.t=f*  
 - herdsman  
 P. Wilbour rt. A 66, 20 (Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* I, pl. 31)

<sup>3</sup> Reference due to Dr. R. van Walsem.

<sup>1</sup> The same text mentions the *sem*-priests *Hqḥ-Mḥ<sup>c</sup>.t-R<sup>c</sup>-nḥt* (temple of Ramesses IV) and *Tḥ* (Ramesseum). *Dḥwty-ms* is perhaps identical with the *sem*-priest *Dḥwty*-[...] in O. Nicholson Museum R 97 rt., 3 (C.J. Eyre, in: *Glimpses of Ancient Egypt*, 82 and 83, note m; 88 and 89; see now Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VI, 152, 2).

<sup>2</sup> Or *P(ḥ)-sr-wr?*

<sup>3</sup> The same text mentions the *sem*-priests *Tḥ* (Ramesseum) and *Dḥwty-ms* (temple of Ramesses III).

<sup>4</sup> The title is read *sḥ(?)* by Kitchen, but see the photograph in Bietak, *Theben-West*, pl. IX (c).

## RAMESSES IX

*Ns-sw-ʿImn* (god's servant of Amonrasonter)

- *sem*-priest

P. Abbott rt. 7, 3-4 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. IV)<sup>1</sup>

NAME OF KING UNCERTAIN, NOT MENTIONED, OR DESTROYED<sup>2</sup>

*ʿlpy*

- overseer of gardens

funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 458)<sup>3</sup>

*ʿImn-m-ʿIn.t*

- keeper of scales (*tr.y mhꜣ.t*)

funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 526)<sup>4</sup>

*ʿImn-ḥtp*

- *sem*-priest

coffin Louvre E 13028/13030/13041 (Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins*, 164, no. 329)

*Wsr-ḥꜣ.t*

- *sem*-priest

base fragment from Deir el-Bahri (Lipinska, *Deir El-Bahari IV*, 43, cat. 52)<sup>5</sup>

*Bꜥk-n-Ḥnsw* (high priest of Amun)

- chief(?) *sem*-priest

statue Cairo CG 581 (Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten II*, 132)<sup>6</sup>

*Pꜣ-nḥt-rs*, son of *Pꜣ-wnꜥ*

- *wab*-priest<sup>7</sup>

P. BM 10052, 14, 15 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. XXXIV)

*Pꜣ-nḥt-rs*

- member of *smd.t*

P. BM 10054 rt. 3, 3 (Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, pl. VI)<sup>8</sup>

<sup>1</sup> If the scribe was not mistaken here in writing the name of Ramesses IX. *Ns-sw-ʿImn* may be identical with the *sem*-priest *Ns-ʿImn* of the temple of Ramesses III, who is mentioned in P. Amherst + Leopold II. Both this document and P. Abbott date from year 16 of Ramesses IX. References to a temple of Ramesses IX are otherwise unknown.

<sup>2</sup> Also including references employing the terms *ḥw.t nswt*, *tꜣ ḥw.t*, or *ḥw.t ʿImn*, in cases where the identification of the temple is uncertain. Kitchen regards the expression *ḥw.t ʿImn* as a reference to the Ramesseum, or to the great or small temple at Medinet Habu (*Ramesseum Inscriptions V*, 420, note a to line 13), but according to Helck, *Materialien I*, (10), it could refer to the temple of any reigning king, so that the identification with a specific temple entirely depends on the date of the text in question. For the expression *ḥw.t nswt*, see M.M. Mostafa, *SAK 19* (1992), 239-247. See also Introduction, § 3, pp. 26-29.

<sup>3</sup> Associated with the temple of Ramesses III by Helck, *Materialien I*, (113), and Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions V*, 421.

<sup>4</sup> Associated with the temple of Ramesses III by Helck, *Materialien I*, (113), and Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions V*, 421.

<sup>5</sup> Perhaps identical with the *sem*-priest *Wsr-ḥꜣ.t* of the temple of Ramesses III; see there.

<sup>6</sup> Associated with the temple of Ramesses III by Grandet, *Ramsès III*, 137, note 134.

<sup>7</sup> The royal name in the title contains the elements *ḥpr* and *Rꜥ*. Peet, *Tomb-robberies*, 168 (note 97), pl. XXXIV, considered both *Ḥpr-Mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥ* (Ramesses X) and *ꜣ-ḥpr-kꜣ-Rꜥ* (Thutmose I) as possible reconstructions. References to a temple of Ramesses X are otherwise unknown. Helck, *Materialien I*, (90), regarded *Pꜣ-nḥt-rs* as a priest of the temple of Thutmose I (see there).

*P3*-[*R*<sup>c</sup>? ...]

- steward

jar inscription Deir el-Medina no. 6408 (Koenig, *Étiquettes* II, pl. 51)<sup>1</sup>

*P3*-*ḥr*

- agent

stela Oriental Institute 1567, 3rd reg. (Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. XXVII, 2)<sup>2</sup>

*P3*-*ḏl*-*Imn*

- *sem*-priest

coffin Cairo CG 6241/6242/6234/6233/6235 (Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins*, 124, no. 109)

*Pn*-*Imn*

- chief archivist

stela Berlin 7307 (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VI, 97, 15; 98, 6, 9, 13)<sup>3</sup>

*Pn*-*Rnw.t*

- guardian

stela Manchester Museum 1554 (Petrie, *Six Temples*, pl. VIII, no. 3)<sup>4</sup>

*Mn*-*ḥpr*-*R*<sup>c</sup>

- *sem*-priest

coffin Cairo CG 6269/6272/6268/6271/6270 (Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins*, 120, no. 89)

*Mr.y*-*B3st.t* ((grand)father of high priest *R*<sup>c</sup>-*ms-sw-nḥt*)

- high steward

inscription on 8th pylon, Karnak (Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VI, 88, 7)<sup>5</sup>

*Nw*-*Imn*(?)

- guardian of the treasury

stela BM 1214 (*Hieroglyphic Texts* part 10, 21, pl. 48)<sup>6</sup>

*Nb*-[*nfr*?]

- overseer of work

funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 382)<sup>7</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Attached to the temple of Thutmosis I? For the functioning of this temple in the late Twentieth Dynasty, see Helck, *Materialien* I, (91).

<sup>1</sup> Associated with Ramesseum by Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* VII, 115.

<sup>2</sup> This official is associated with the Ramesseum by Helck (*Materialien* I, (107), following W. Spiegelberg, in: Quibell, *Ramesseum*, 20), just like the *rwḏ.w Nfr-ḥtp* who is mentioned on the same stela (so also Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* III, 389 and 390). However, as only the first half of the royal name appears, we cannot be sure unless we can date this document to the Nineteenth Dynasty with certainty.

<sup>3</sup> Associated with the temple of Ramesses III by Kitchen and by Helck, *Materialien* I, (113).

<sup>4</sup> This individual might be connected with the temple of Merenptah through the find-spot of the stela. W. Spiegelberg (in: Petrie, *Six Temples*, 21) and Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 449 thought of the Ramesseum, but see Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* IV, 137, and R.J. Demarée, *The ʒḥ ikr n R<sup>c</sup>-stelae. On Ancestor Worship in Ancient Egypt (Egyptologische Uitgaven III)*, Leiden 1983, 61 and 62. According to the latter, *Pn-Rnw.t* probably appears also on stela BM 796 of *R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw-m-pr-R<sup>c</sup>*, chief guardian of the Ramesseum. This circumstance, however, would speak in favour of a connection with that temple.

<sup>5</sup> Title associated with the temple of Ramesses III in Helck, *Verwaltung*, 135; Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 391, but not mentioned as such in his *Materialien* I, (109)-(114).

<sup>6</sup> Bierbrier: “guardian of the treasury of Upper and Lower Egypt(?) *Imn* <...>”. I do not know of any example of the expression *ḥwt nswt bit.y* without a royal name following. *Ḥwt nswt* might be another solution; the remaining signs are perhaps a peculiar writing of the well-attested name *Nw-Imn* “Amun sees” (Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 182, no. 22).

<sup>7</sup> Associated with the temple of Ramesses III by Helck, *Materialien* I, (113), and Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* V, 421.

*Nfr-ḥtp*

- agent

stela Oriental Institute 1567, 3rd reg. (Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. XXVII, 2)<sup>1</sup>*Rꜥy*

- high priest and steward

funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 116)<sup>2</sup>*Rꜥ-ms-s(w)-nht*, son of *Dwꜥ*

- overseer of work

graffito Sehel (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 420, 16)<sup>3</sup>*Hꜣt(?)[...]*- commercial agent (*šwy.t.y*)funerary cone (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, no. 434)<sup>4</sup>*Ḥwy-šri*

- treasury scribe

stela Stockholm National Mus. inv. 25 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 333, 8 and 9)<sup>5</sup>*Hr-ms*

- chief guardian of the treasury

tomb C 7 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 374, 16)<sup>6</sup>*Hqꜣ-mꜥ*, son of *Pꜣy-nḏm*- *sem*-priestinscription in Luxor temple (G. Daressy, *RT* 14 (1893), 32, no. LIII)<sup>7</sup>*Hꜥy*

- overseer of work

wood statue Brussels E 6879 (B. van de Walle, L. Limme, H. De Meulenaere, *La Collection Égyptienne*, Brussels 1980, front cover; M.M. Mostafa, *SAK* 19 (1992), 243, no. 6)*Hꜥ-m-Wꜣs.t*, son of high priest *Wp-wꜣ.w.t-ms*

- high priest

block from Medinet Habu (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 326, 11)<sup>8</sup><sup>1</sup> See the agent *Pꜣ-ḥr* above.<sup>2</sup> See also S. Pernigotti, *Una Nuova Collezione Egiziana al Museo Civico Archeologico di Bologna* (Monografie di SEAP, Series Minor, 6), Pisa 1994, 29 and 30, pl. IV (no. I.32). Davies and Macadam read *im.y-r pr ḥw.t-nbw (n) Imn* (Davies, Macadam, *Funerary Cones*, index B).<sup>3</sup> Associated with the temple of Ramesses III by Helck, *Materialien* I, (113), and Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 421.<sup>4</sup> Helck, *Materialien* I, (113): *Hꜣm...* Associated by Helck with the temple of Ramesses III; with the same temple or that of Ramesses II by Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 421 (see *ibid.*, 420, note 13a).<sup>5</sup> Associated with the temple of Sethos I in Thebes by Kitchen and by Helck, *Materialien* I, (103).<sup>6</sup> Associated with the temple of Ramesses III by M.M. Mostafa, *SAK* 19 (1992), 245 and 246.<sup>7</sup> Name read as *Hqꜣ-ꜥꜣ* by Daressy, followed by Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 307 (27), but see Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 256, no. 8 (collated).<sup>8</sup> Dated to the Twentieth Dynasty by M.M. Mostafa, *SAK* 19 (1992). If *ḥw.t nswt* refers to the temple of the reigning king, the block would be posterior to Ramesses II, as the expression appears to be contrasted to *Ḥnm.t-Wꜣs.t*, the *Ramesseum*. The dating of the high priest *Wp-wꜣ.w.t-ms* is uncertain: suggestions vary from Dynasties XVIII-XIX by G. Lefebvre, *Histoire des Grands Prêtres d'Amon de Karnak jusqu'à la XXIe Dynastie*, Paris 1929, 115, 245, 246, to the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty by M.L. Bierbrier, in: *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* II, 1243; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* I, 326. The latter takes the expression *ḥw.t nswt* as a reference to the temple of Amenophis I. Accordingly, *Hꜥ-m-Wꜣs.t* would have been attached to that institution (K.A. Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated and Annotated: Notes and Comments* I, Oxford-Cambridge, Mass. 1993, 218-220). A *sem*-priest with the same name is mentioned under Amenophis III; see there.

*T3-nfr*

- *sem*-priest

TT 158 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 409, 9)<sup>1</sup>

- < *se* > *m*-priest(?)

coffin Cairo CG 6250/6249/6251/6253/6252 (Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins*, 126, no. 119)

*Dd-Mw.t-ḫw-s-ḥ*

- *sem*-priestess (*sm.t*)?

coffin New York MMA inv. 25.3.1-3 (Niwinski, *21st Dynasty Coffins*, 160, no. 308)

[...], father of *Ḥmn-m-ḥ3.t*

- *sem*-priest

stela fragment New York MMA 05.4.120 (Porter, Moss, *Topographical Bibliography*<sup>2</sup> II, 395)

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<sup>1</sup> See Grandet, *Ramsès III*, 137, note 136.

# INDICES

Numbers in italics refer to the main discussions of the documents or terms in question

## 1 - DOCUMENTS

### GRAFFITI

#### Marciniak, *Inscriptions Hiératiques*

- no. 2, ll. 10-12	237 n. 1
- no. 3, l. 9	97 n. 2
- no. 9, l. 7	97 n. 2
- no. 10, l. 1	97 n. 2
- no. 31, l. 1	97 n. 1
- no. 32, l. 4	97 n. 2
- no. 117, l. 3	189 n. 3
- no. 129	101 n. 3
Wadi Halfa (Piay)	226 n. 5

### JAR DOCKETS

Bietak, <i>Theben-West</i> , pl. IX (c)	101, 218 n. 4, 354 n. 8, 357 n. 2
Brussels E 338	352 n. 1
Cairo Carnarvon (unnumbered)	352 n. 1, 355 n. 9
Cairo CG 24985 and 24986	347 n. 3, 351 n. 2, 358 n. 7
Davies, <i>Two Ramesside Tombs</i> , pl. XIX (1)	347 n. 5, 352 n. 1, 352 n. 2, 358 n. 6
Frankfort, Pendlebury, <i>City of Akhenaten II</i> , pl. LVIII, no. 24	25 n. 5
W.C. Hayes, <i>JNES</i> 10 (1951), [44-56], fig. 4-16	
- no. 6	347 n. 7, 350 n. 3, 357 n. 3
- no. 23	28 n. 1, 347 n. 7, 350 n. 3, 357 n. 3
- no. 31	26 n. 5
- no. 34	28 n. 1, 347 n. 7, 350 n. 3, 357 n. 3, 357 n. 4
- no. 35	28 n. 3, 347 n. 7, 350 n. 3, 357 n. 3, 357 n. 5
- no. 45	26 n. 5

- no. 47	28 n. 1, 347 n. 7, 350 n. 3, 357 n. 3, 357 n. 5
- no. 51	28 n. 1, 347 n. 7, 350 n. 3, 357 n. 3
- no. 59	28 n. 1, 347 n. 7, 357 n. 3, 357 n. 4
- no. 70	28 n. 3, 347 n. 7, 350 n. 3, 357 n. 3
Kitchen, <i>Ramesside Inscriptions IV</i>	
- 67, no. 12	360 n. 1
- 346 and 347, no. I	360 n. 2
- 347, no. II	360 n. 4
- 354, nos. I and II	360 n. 3
- 354, nos. III and IV	360 n. 2
Koenig, <i>Étiquettes</i>	
- no. 6000	355 n. 5
- nos. 6003, 6009 and 6024	355 n. 6
- no. 6029	355 n. 5
- no. 6033	355 n. 6
- nos. 6038 and 6042	355 n. 5
- no. 6051	353 n. 4, 355 n. 5
- nos. 6053, 6054 and 6055	355 n. 6
- no. 6061	355 n. 5
- no. 6062	355 n. 6
- no. 6079	353 n. 4, 355 n. 5
- nos. 6127-6129 and 6131-6133	356 n. 1
- no. 6134	347 n. 6, 355 n. 8, 359 n. 5, 359 n. 6
- no. 6136	356 n. 1
- no. 6157	114 n. 1, 356 n. 4
- no. 6160	114 n. 1, 356 n. 6
- no. 6182	356 n. 8, 358 n. 5
- nos. 6190, 6193 and 6194	356 n. 8
- nos. 6280 and 6281	226 n. 3
- nos. 6291 and 6293	226 n. 2, 353 n. 1
- no. 6295	351 n. 1
- no. 6300	346 n. 2, 352 n. 4
- no. 6305	358 n. 3
- no. 6311	351 n. 2
- no. 6312	358 n. 3
- no. 6318	354 n. 7
- no. 6338	353 n. 6
- no. 6339	351 n. 1
- no. 6346	347 n. 6, 359 n. 5
- no. 6356	350
- no. 6396	351 n. 1

- no. 6399 347 n. 6, 350 n. 5,  
359 n. 5 Kitchen, *Ramesseum Inscriptions* II, 674 and  
675: "Wd") 352 n. 5
- no. 6405 350
- no. 6408 353 n. 2
- no. 6422 351 n. 2
- nos. 6424 and 6472 354 n. 2
- no. 6486 351 n. 2
- no. 6492 358 n. 3
- no. 6496 351 n. 2
- Y. Koenig, *BIFAO* 88 (1988), 127, no. XVI  
352 n. 1, 359 n. 4
- Louvre E 7742 352 n. 5
- Louvre E 30146 + 30157 359 n. 7
- Nagel, *Céramique*, 18
- no. 11 347 n. 5, 352 n. 1,  
352 n. 2
- no. 13 347 n. 5, 352 n. 1,  
352 n. 3
- no. 28 358 n. 5
- Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pl.LXXXV,  
nos. 19 and 20 347 n. 8, 350 n. 4,  
357 n. 6
- W. Spiegelberg, *Hieratic Ostraka & Papyri  
found by J.E. Quibell in the Ramesseum,  
1895-6*, London 1898 (now also in Kitchen,  
*Ramesseum Inscriptions* II, 673-699; V, 448)
- no. 141 351 n. 2
- no. 142 352 n. 5
- no. 143 352 n. 4
- nos. 148 and 160 354 n. 6
- nos. 168 and 175 359 n. 8
- no. 182 351 n. 5
- no. 184 351 n. 4
- no. 187 354 n. 4
- no. 196 351 n. 4
- no. 199, 210 and 214 352 n. 5
- nos. 215, 218 and 228 359 n. 8
- no. 230 351 n. 2, 351 n. 4
- nos. 234 and 236 352 n. 4
- no. 246 359 n. 8
- no. 247 352 n. 5
- no. 263 352 n. 4
- nos. 281, 288 and 295 352 n. 4
- no. 311 353 n. 4
- no. 318, 320, 321, 323 and 324 355 n. 5
- Strasbourg H 15 352 n. 1
- Toronto B 5 355 n. 5
- Turin CG 57051 and 57053 347 n. 4, 352 n. 1,  
359 n. 4
- Turin CG 57174 and 57237 347 n. 9, 352 n. 1
- University College (unnumbered) 347 n. 8
- Varille (unnumbered) 352 n. 1
- Vienna Aeg. 11 354 n. 4
- A. Wiedemann, *ZÄS* 21 (1883), 34 (=
- Ashm. 1945.37 + 33 obv. 223 n. 2
- Berlin 10633 268 n. 2, 269 n. 1,  
382 n. 1
- I. 4 303 n. 3
- Berlin 10664 222 n. 2, 257 n. 4
- Berlin 11239 215-216, 240 n. 4,  
264 n. 4, 267, 371  
n. 2, 381 n. 3, 388  
n. 5
- II. 3 and 4 214 n. 5
- II. 7 and 8 263
- Berlin 14214 obv., 7 232 n. 2
- BM 5627 224, 368 n. 6
- obv., 10 - rev., 2 127 n. 1
- BM 5631 obv., 9 264 n. 2
- Boston MFA 11.1498 149-151, 226, 393
- texts II and III 150
- obv., 1 226 n. 4
- Brussels E 7359 268 n. 2, 270 n. 5
- Cairo [263] 237 n. 5
- Cairo Carnarvon (unnumbered) see jar docket
- Cairo CG 24985 and 24986 see jar docket
- Cairo CG 25521 rev., 9 241 n. 5
- Cairo CG 25538, 3 97 n. 1
- Cairo CG 25567 264 n. 4, 264 n. 5,  
265 n. 6
- Cairo CG 25589 255 n. 4, 255 n. 5
- Cairo CG 25613 233 n. 2, 264 n. 4,  
264 n. 5, 264 n. 6,  
265 n. 5, 266, 368  
n. 5
- Cairo CG 25642 264 n. 4
- Cairo CG 25667 225 n. 1
- Cairo CG 25680 258 n. 7
- Cairo CG 25719 262
- Cairo CG 25756 257 n. 4, 264 n. 6
- Cairo CG 25799 262
- Chicago OIP 12296 256 n. 4
- Chicago OIP 16991  
- rev., 8 and 9 279 n. 6
- rev., 9 258 n. 9
- Chicago OIP 16996 235 n. 6
- obv., 6 248 n. 3
- obv., 8 239 n. 9
- DM 44 obv., 18 and 19 271 n. 2
- DM 46 258
- DM 101 221, 259-260
- DM 106 258 n. 7



- 326-342, 345, 363,  
 364, 372, 375, 383  
 n. 3, 385, 386,  
 391, 392 n. 3, 394  
 - *recto*  
 - rt. I, 1-3  
 - rt. I, 1  
 - rt. II, 1-5  
 - rt. II, 1  
 - rt. II, 5  
 - rt. II, 6  
  
 - rt. II, 8  
 - rt. II, 9-11  
 - rt. II, 9  
  
 - rt. II, 11 and 14  
 - rt. III, 3  
 - rt. III, 4  
 - rt. III, 7 and 9  
 - rt. III, 10  
 - rt. IV, 1  
 - rt. IV, 4  
 - rt. V, 1-4  
 - rt. V, 1 and 3  
 - rt. V, 2  
 - rt. V, 5-12  
 - rt. V, 6 and 12  
 - rt. V, 13-22  
 - rt. V, 13  
 - rt. V, 17  
 - rt. V, 18  
 - rt. V, 19 and 20  
 - rt. V, 19  
 - rt. V, 20  
 - rt. V, 21 and 22  
 - rt. VI, 1  
 - rt. VI, 3  
 - rt. VI, 4  
 - rt. VI, 5  
 - rt. VI, 6 and 7  
 - rt. VI, 6  
 - rt. VI, 7  
 - rt. VI, 8  
 - rt. VI, 9  
 - rt. VI, 18-25  
 - rt. VII, 1  
 - rt. VII, 3, 7 and 10  
 - rt. VIII, 7  
 - rt. IX, 5  
  
 - rt. X, 1  
 - rt. IX, 6  
 - rt. IX, 9-17
- 327, 328-341  
 328  
 329, 330  
 340  
 279 n. 6, 331, 337  
 337  
 329, 331, 333,  
 336, 340  
 329, 331, 336  
 335 n. 3  
 279 n. 6, 336, 337,  
 340  
 335 n. 3  
 337  
 329, 330, 336  
 279 n. 6, 337  
 279 n. 6, 337  
 279 n. 6, 337  
 335 n. 3  
 329, 336  
 331  
 337  
 330  
 335, 336  
 333  
 330  
 334 n. 7, 335  
 338  
 336  
 335  
 335, 336  
 329, 331, 336, 340  
 331, 336, 340  
 341  
 331, 336, 340  
 335, 337, 339  
 331, 336  
 331-332, 336  
 335  
 329  
 335 n. 3  
 335 n. 3  
 329-330, 330 n. 1,  
 332, 333  
 332  
 336  
 330
- rt. XI, 5  
 - rt. XI, 9, 10 and 12  
 - rt. XI, 13  
 - rt. XI, 14 and 15  
 - rt. XI, 16  
 - rt. XI, 17  
 - rt. XII, 2  
 - rt. XII, 3 and 4  
 - rt. XII, 5  
  
 - rt. XII, 6  
 - rt. XII, 7  
 - rt. XII, 12  
 - rt. XII, 13  
  
 - rt. XII, 13  
 - rt. XII, 14  
 - rt. XII, 15 and 19  
 - rt. XIII, 12  
 - rt. XIII, 13  
 - rt. XIII, 14  
 - rt. XIII, 16  
 - rt. XIII, 19  
 - rt. XIII, 20  
 - rt. XIII, 21-23  
  
 - rt. XIII, 21  
 - *verso*  
  
 - vs. II, 19 and 21  
 - vs. II, 21 and 22  
 - vs. II, 21  
 - vs. II, 22  
 - vs. III, 15  
 - vs. VII, 22  
 Berlin 3047, ll. 3 and 4  
 Berlin 10005  
 Berlin 10494  
 - rt., 6 ff.  
 BM 9999  
 BM 10035  
 - vs., 14  
 BM 10052  
 - 4, 26 and 27  
 - 11, 7 and 8  
 - 14, 15  
 - 15, 10 and 11  
 - 15, 10  
 - 16, 3  
 BM 10053  
  
 - rt. 1, 18  
 - rt. 2, 10
- 331 n. 5, 332, 336  
 335 n. 3  
 335 n. 3  
 334 n. 7  
 335  
 335, 337, 339  
 335 n. 3, 337 n. 3  
 332  
 334 n. 7, 335, 337  
 n. 2  
 335, 337  
 332  
 339 n. 2  
 279 n. 6, 300, 336,  
 337 n. 4  
 338  
 330 n. 1  
 339 n. 2  
 332  
 335, 337  
 332, 336  
 335  
 337  
 332 n. 4  
 331 n. 5, 331 n. 6,  
 332  
 335  
 327-328, 330, 334,  
 341-342  
 328 n. 1  
 342  
 337 n. 4  
 331 n. 5  
 328 n. 1  
 328 n. 2, 342  
 359 n. 7  
 see Cairo JE 71580  
 246 n. 3  
 279 n. 2  
 see Harris I  
  
 27 n. 4  
 366, 371 n. 1  
 27 n. 4  
 277 n. 3  
 222 n. 7  
 277 n. 1  
 246 n. 8  
 27 n. 4  
 365 n. 2, 369 n. 5,  
 370 n. 4, 378, 388  
 n. 1  
 215 n. 7  
 27 n. 4, 217 n. 7

- rt. 2, 15 and 16	241 n. 9	- vs. 3, 7, 16, 18 and 20	240 n. 3
- rt. 2, 15	215 n. 7	- 4, 23	240 n. 3
- rt. 3, 4	331 n. 3	- vs. 5, 12	215 n. 7, 239 n. 7
- rt. 3, 5	217 n. 6, 242 n. 3	- vs. 5, 20	241 n. 2
- rt. 3, 11	232 n. 3	BM 10068	366
- rt. 3, 13	215 n. 6, 227 n. 5,	- rt. 4, 27	222 n. 7
	244 n. 6	- rt. 4, 28	245 n. 2
- rt. 3, 19	217 n. 6, 222 n. 7	- rt. 4, 29	27 n. 1
- rt. 3, 17	215 n. 7	- rt. 5, 1	27 n. 1
- rt. 3, 19	223 n. 7	- rt. 5, 5	228
- rt. 4, 2	242 n. 2	- rt. 6, 15	27 n. 1
- rt. 4, 7	331 n. 3	- rt. 6, 17	27 n. 4
- rt. 4, 10	27 n. 4, 242 n. 4,	- <i>verso</i>	279
	333 n. 5	- vs. 1, 9	246 n. 6
- rt. 4, 13	242 n. 4	- vs. 1, 13	245 n. 2
- rt. 5, 12 and 16	215 n. 7	- vs. 1, 21 and 23	246 n. 6
- rt. 6, 16	222 n. 7	- vs. 2, 4	221 n. 1
- rt. 6, 17	215 n. 6, 227 n. 5,	- vs. 2, 15	218 n. 5
	227 n. 7	- vs. 3, 5	246 n. 7
- rt. 7, 1	241 n. 6, 241 n. 7	- vs. 3, 18	243 n. 1, 243 n. 2
- rt. 7, 12	27 n. 4	- vs. 3, 19	222 n. 5, 224 n. 2
- vs. cols. 1-5	276 n. 3	- vs. 3, 28	224 n. 2
- vs. 1, 8 and 9	222 n. 8, 231 n. 5	- vs. 7, 21	224 n. 2
- vs. 2, 15-17	229 n. 3	BM 10100	264 n. 4
- vs. 2, 15	237 n. 3	- vs., 2-5	264 n. 5
- vs. 2, 17	222 n. 8	BM 10326 rt., 16	280 n. 3
- vs. cols. 3 and 4	231 n. 6	BM 10335 rt., 8	229 n. 2, 241 n. 3
- vs. 3, 4-18	222 n. 8	BM 10373	2 n. 2, 344-345,
- vs. 3, 6	223 n. 8, 245 n. 1		364, 372, 375 n.
- vs. 3, 7	223 n. 9		8, 393 n. 2
- vs. 3, 12	246 n. 9	BM 10375 rt., 6	280 n. 3
- vs. col. 4	234	BM 10383 + Philadelphia	277 n. 2, 371 n. 6,
- vs. 4, 10	246 n. 4		394 n. 5
- vs. 4, 11 and 12	241 n. 2	- rt. 1, 1-5	222 n. 4
- vs. 4, 20-22	246 n. 8	- rt. 1, 4	246 n. 4
- vs. 4, 21	241 n. 2	- rt. 1, 5	222 n. 5
BM 10054	215 n. 7, 371 n. 1,	- rt. 1, 6	234 n. 1
	388 n. 1, 388 n. 2	- rt. 1, 7 and 8	222 n. 6
- rt. 2, 13	239 n. 6	- rt. 1, 7	221 n. 5, 221 n. 6,
- rt. 3, 2	241 n. 2		222 n. 8
- rt. 3, 3	215 n. 7, 248 n. 1	- rt. 1, 10	218 n. 1
- rt. 3, 7-17	222 n. 6, 222 n. 8,	- rt. 1, 11	220 n. 4
	276 n. 2	- rt. 2, 4 and 5	223 n. 1, 245 n. 7
- rt. 3, 15	220 n. 7	- rt. 2, 4	222 n. 5, 223 n.
- rt. 3, 17	240 n. 2, 353 n. 3		10
- vs. 1, 6	239 n. 6	- Philadelphia fragment	220 n. 5
- vs. 1, 7	241 n. 2	- rt. 1, 16 and 17	222 n. 5
- vs. 1, 8	27 n. 4	- rt., col. 2	222 n. 5, 246 n. 4
- vs. cols. 2-5	279	- rt. 2, 6-9	231 n. 7
- vs. col. 2	274	- rt. 2, 7 and 8	222 n. 5
- vs. 2, 1-3	246 n. 5, 279	- rt. 2, 10-15	277 n. 1
- vs. 2, 1	231 n. 4	BM 10400 (Butler)	258 n. 9
- vs. 2, 35 and 36	280	BM 10401	18
- vs. 2, 35	218 n. 6, 231 n. 4	- rt. 1, 4	254 n. 3

- rt. 2, 3 and 8 254 n. 3  
 BM 10403 277 n. 1, 367 n. 2  
 - 1, 3 223 n. 4, 238 n. 5  
 - 1, 16 and 17 245 n. 2  
 - 1, 17 and 18 234 n. 6  
 - 1, 18 222 n. 8  
 - 1, 28 and 30 246 n. 11  
 - 3, 5-7 277 n. 3  
 - 3, 22-31 223 n. 2  
 BM 10412  
 - rt., 5-7 236 n. 3  
 - vs., 7 246 n. 8  
 - vs., 8 238 n. 8  
 - vs., 9 238 n. 8, 246 n. 8  
 BM 10447 154 n. 2, 288 n. 1  
 BN 197, IV rt., 1 23 n. 3  
 BN 198 I  
 - rt., 3 280 n. 3  
 - rt., 11 and 12 246 n. 3  
 BN 206 (baking accounts) 258 n. 9  
 Bologna 1086, 20-27 288 n. 1  
 Brooklyn 34.5596 see Wilbour  
 Bulaq 18 10 n. 4, 48 n. 7,  
 110 n. 3  
 Butler see BM 10400  
 Cairo CG 58088 58 n. 1  
 Cairo JE 65739 rt., 9 243 n. 1  
 Cairo JE 71580 3 n. 2, 5 n. 5, 9 n.  
 1, 80 n. 5  
 Chester Beatty III vs. 4, 10 264 n. 2  
 Chester Beatty V vs. 2, 2 and 3 234 n. 5  
 DM XXVIII 383 n. 5  
 - rt., 6-8; vs., 10 235 n. 5  
 ESP 185 n. 3  
 - text C 180-181  
 - ll. 43-45 251 n. 4  
 Geneva D 191 247 n. 1, 364, 367  
 n. 4  
 - rt., 16 and 17 281  
 - rt., 17 - vs., 6 281  
 - vs., 16 and 17 217-218  
 - vs., 17 214 n. 5  
 Geneva MAH 15274 264 n. 4, 265, 266,  
 368 n. 5  
 - vs. 1, 1-6 232-233, 264 n. 5  
 - vs. 1, 5 233  
 - vs. 1, 6 265  
*Giornale* yr. 3 264 n. 4  
 - rt. 1, 18 and 19 279 n. 3  
 - rt. 2, 7 and 8 234 n. 7, 259-260  
 - rt. 2, 16 271 n. 6, 279 n. 3  
 - rt. 7, 26 272 n. 1  
*Giornale* yr. 17-A 365 n. 2, 369 n. 5  
 - rt. 4, 10 246 n. 1  
 - rt. 6, 6 279 n. 3  
 - vs. 2, 3 217 n. 6, 242 n. 3  
 - vs. 2, 7 241 n. 6  
 - vs. 2, 8 232 n. 3  
 - vs. 2, 10 244 n. 6  
 - vs. 3, 6 241 n. 6  
*Giornale* yr. 17-B 365 n. 2  
 - rt. 1, 21 67 n. 3  
 - rt. 1, 24 279 n. 3  
 - rt. 3, 13 223 n. 7  
 - rt. 3, 15 242 n. 2  
 - rt. 4, 2 27 n. 4, 333 n. 5  
 - rt. 5, 10 241 n. 9  
 - rt. 6, 4 222 n. 7  
 - rt. 6, 5 215 n. 6, 227 n. 7  
 - rt. 6, 7 241 n. 6, 241 n. 7  
 - rt. 9, 15 219 n. 6  
 Great Harris Papyrus see Harris I  
 Greg 261-262  
 - rt. A, 5 261 n. 4  
 - rt. A, 9 261 n. 5  
 - rt. A, 11 262  
 - rt. A, 13 261 n. 4  
 - rt. B, 6 262  
 - rt. B, 10 and 19 261 n. 5  
 - vs. A, x + 22 261 n. 5  
 Griffith (and Louvre) fragments see Ashm.  
 1945.94 + Louvre  
 AF 6345  
 Grundbuch 334  
 Harris I (Great Harris Papyrus, BM 999) 17,  
 35, 39, 84, 95,  
 140, 141, 153,  
 156-191, 192, 193  
 n. 5, 196, 201,  
 203, 206, 207,  
 208, 209, 229 n. 5,  
 237, 249, 254,  
 285, 288 n. 2, 293,  
 304, 305, 307,  
 313, 371, 375,  
 377, 378, 379,  
 380, 385, 386,  
 389, 390, 391,  
 392, 394  
 - Theban section (pages 2-23) 161-191  
 - address (3, 1- 9, 9) 162, 188, 202, 204  
 - list a (10, 1 - 11, 11) 162, 163, 165,  
 168, 174-179, 181,  
 188, 190, 191,  
 199, 201, 202,  
 204, 366  
 - list b (12a, 1 - 12b, 13) 162, 179-183, 184,  
 188, 190, 191,

	197, 202, 204,	- 10, 15	51 n. 1, 164, 165,
	205, 206, 249-250,		166, 175
	288 n. 3	- 10, 16	167
- list c (13a, 1 - 16b, 12)	162, 182, 183-185,	- 11, 1-3	153, 170, 188
	187, 190, 191,	- 11, 1	313 n. 3
	196, 205, 206,	- 11, 2	165, 169 n. 1
	208, 249-250	- 11, 4	175
- list d (16b, 13-15)	162, 186-187, 191	- 11, 5	168 n. 2, 174 n. 5,
- list e (17a, 1 - 21b, 10)	162, 187-188, 191		253 n. 4
- list f (21b, 11-16)	162, 188	- 11, 6	174 n. 6
- conclusion (22, 1 - 23, 6)	162	- 11, 7	200
- 1, 1	157, 158	- 11, 11	49 n. 2
- 1, 3-6	166	- 12a, 1-5	179
- 3, 6	22 n. 5	- 12a, 1-3	165 n. 4
- 3, 11	141 n. 3, 162	- 12a, 1	162
- 4, 3 - 5, 2	188-189	- 12a, 2	27 n. 2, 162, 167
- 4, 4	189 n. 4, 200, 205,		n. 4
	253 n. 3	- 12a, 3	162, 167
- 4, 5	189 n. 4, 205	- 12a, 4	167, 168
- 5, 4	162, 165 n. 4	- 12a, 6-9	133 n. 3
- 5, 6-7	162	- 12a, 7 and 8	252 n. 1
- 5, 7	162, 165 n. 4	- 12a, 7	180
- 6, 1	93 n. 7	- 12a, 9	180, 183
- 6, 2	50 n. 5, 86 n. 6,	- 12a, 10	180, 183
	103 n. 8, 194	- 12b, 1	349 n. 6
- 7, 11	349 n. 6	- 12b, 2	182
- 7, 13	162	- 12b, 3	15 n. 8, 180, 182,
- 8, 2-12	33 n. 5, 152 n. 5		187, 190
- 8, 2	162, 173, 175 n. 1	- 12b, 6	182
- 8, 5-7	172 n. 3, 348, 355	- 12b, 7	190, 253 n. 8
- 8, 13	162	- 12b, 8	182, 253 n. 8
- 9, 1	162	- 12b, 9	182
- 9, 2 and 3	188 n. 5	- 12b, 10-12	183
- 9, 2	175 n. 1	- 12b, 11	253 n. 10
- 9, 4-5	162	- 13a, 1-4	183
- pages 10 and 11	88 n. 1	- 13a, 3	163, 172 n. 5
- 10, 1 and 2	163, 166, 174	- 13a, 5 - 14a, 1	183
- 10, 2	204	- 13b, 5	183 n. 3
- 10, 3-11	163, 165 n. 4	- 13b, 16	183 n. 3
- 10, 3-6	253 n. 5	- 14a, 4-7	131 n. 6
- 10, 3-5	168	- 15a, 9	356 n. 7
- 10, 3	162, 167, 175, 189	- 15a, 11-14	349 n. 6
- 10, 4	162	- 16a, 1	253 n. 8
- 10, 5	162	- 16a, 12	206
- 10, 6	162, 168	- 16b, 13-15	186
- 10, 7-11	167-168, 176	- 17a, 3	187
- 10, 8	51 n. 1, 168, 175,	- 17a, 4	187
	253 n. 6	- 18a, 2	60 n. 3
- 10, 10	168, 253 n. 6	- 18b, 15 - 19a, 2	60 n. 3
- 10, 11	168, 253 n. 6	- 20a, 3 and 4	253 n. 8
- 10, 12	33 n. 5, 152 n. 5,	- 20a, 11	174 n. 5
	162, 165, 168, 169	- 20a, 16	174 n. 5
- 10, 13	162	- 20a, 17	174 n. 5
- 10, 13 and 14	163-164	- 25, 12	332 n. 2

- 27, 1	130 n. 7	Lahun papyri	5, 12
- 27, 10	355 n. 2	Lansing	
- 27, 12	320	- 11, 3 - 13a, 4	48 n. 2
- 28, 3	357 n. 1	Leiden I 350 <i>verso</i>	378 n. 7
- 28, 6-8	112 n. 7, 245 n. 5	Mallet	
- 31, 2	175 n. 1	- 1, 2 and 3	229 n. 1
- 31, 3	332 n. 2	- 3, 2 and 3	27 n. 4
- 31, 4	169 n. 1, 170	- 5, 1 - 6, 6	281 n. 1
- 31, 6	189 n. 3	Mayer A	366, 367, 368
- 32a, 7	179 n. 4	- 1, 1 - 3, 5	277 n. 1
- 33a, 2	183 n. 2	- 1, 8-13	234 n. 6
- 33a, 3	172 n. 5, 183 n. 4	- 1, 11	222 n. 8
- 33a, 5	129 n. 5	- 2, 1-9	234 n. 6, 280 n. 4
- 35a, 10	60 n. 3	- 2, 7-9	277 n. 4
- 37b, 10	60 n. 3	- 2, 17	241 n. 6
- 46, 1 and 2	181 n. 3	- 3, 4 and 5	277 n. 4
- 46, 7	129 n. 5	- 4, 8; 5, 1	245 n. 1
- 48, 2	357 n. 1	- 6, 1 - 7, 3	277 n. 1
- 51a, 2	175 n. 1	- 6, 9-12	246 n. 4
- 51a, 7	169 n. 1, 170	- 6, 10 and 11	234 n. 3
- 51a, 8 and 9	165 n. 1	- 6, 12, 13, 18 and 19	238 n. 5, 281 n. 1
- 51b, 3	179 n. 4	- 6, 20-25	234 n. 6, 280 n. 4
- 51b, 5 and 6	179 n. 5	- 6, 22-25	222 n. 8
- 52a, 4-7	170	- 6, 24 and 25	277 n. 4
- 52a, 5	183 n. 2	- 9, 24	333 n. 7
- 52a, 7	169 n. 1, 169 n. 2, 184 n. 1	- 10, 21-24	277 n. 1
- 51a, 10	177	- 11, 1-16	277 n. 1
- 51b, 5	173 n. 1	- 13 A, 1-21	277 n. 1
- 57, 13	247 n. 7	- 13 A, 4	245 n. 4
- 58, 6	247 n. 7	- 13 A, 13	245 n. 8
- 61a, 5, 7, 12	31 n. 1, 166 n. 1	- 13 C, 10	245 n. 1
- 61b, 3-5	165 n. 1	Milan	218 n. 3
- 61b, 3	31 n. 1, 166 n. 1	MMA 3569 + Vienna 38	
- 62b, 2	183 n. 2	- rt. A, col. 1	320 n. 6
- 67, 5	313 n. 3	- rt. A 1, 8	247 n. 5
- 67, 8	177 n. 1	Nevill	275 n. 4
- 68b, 4	179 n. 4	- rt., 3 and 4	234 n. 4
IFAO A + B	48 n. 7, 133 n. 4, 140 n. 4, 180, 217, 220 n. 3, 250-252, 363, 379 n. 3, 386 n. 2	- rt., 4	331 n. 4
- rt. cols. 1-4	251 n. 5	Phillipps rt., 4	280 n. 3
- rt. 1, 1	251 n. 5	Prachov	334
- rt. 2, 9	251 n. 5	Reinhardt	333-334
- rt. 2, 16	250 n. 2	Rhind Mathematical Papyrus	9, 80 n. 5
- rt. 3, 1	250 n. 2	Rifaud D	246 n. 3
- rt. 3, 11	251 n. 5	Rylands IX	213
- rt. 3, 20	251 n. 5	Sallier I	19 n. 3, 227 n. 2, 342, 363, 393 n. 3
- rt. col. 4	250	- 9, 1-9	2 n. 2, 225 n. 3, 342-344, 345
- rt. 4, 5-8	251 n. 1	Sallier IV vs. 9, 1-5	225 n. 4
- rt. 4, 5	217	Salt 124 rt. 1, 13 and 14	275 n. 5
- rt. 4, 8	217 n. 3, 248 n. 2	Turin Cat. 1879 ( <i>verso</i> )	142-143 n. 6, 148, 264 n. 4, 265
		- vs. 2, 7-22	264 n. 5

Turin Cat. 1880 (Turin Strike Papyrus) 233 n.	- "rt.", 3 and 4	215 n. 7
2, 268, 269, 274 n.	- "rt.", 8	233, 265
4, 369 n. 2, 372,	Turin Cat. 1884	264
383 n. 5	- rt. col. 1	266
- rt. 1, 1-5	- rt. 1, 1-6	264 n. 5
- rt. 1, 3	- rt. 1, 1	265 n. 6
- rt. 1, 7 - 2, 5	- rt. 1, 14 and 15	267
- rt. 1, 7 - x + 15	- rt. 1, 14	266, 267
- rt. 1, x + 16 - 2, 5	- rt. 1, 15	266
- rt. 2, 2-5	- rt. 1, 20	266
- rt. 2, 2	- rt. 1, 22	234 n. 2, 266
- rt. 3, 14-18	- rt. col. 2	266 n. 4
- rt. 3, 20-22	- rt. 2, 4, 6 and 9	257 n. 6
- rt. 4, 1	Turin Cat. 1887 (Turin Indictment Papyrus)	213, 275-276 n. 5
- rt. 4, 6 and 7	- rt. 1, 9-11	12 n. 2
- rt. 4, 23-16	- rt. 1, 12-14	224 n. 3
- vs. 2, 9	- rt. 2, 1	19 n. 3
- vs. 2, 14	- rt. 2, 4-9	12 n. 2
- vs. 2, 15	- vs. 3, 8-11	231 n. 3
- vs. 3, 1	Turin Cat. 1888	
- vs. 3, 13-18	- rt. 1, 2 and 7	257 n. 5, 279 n. 1
- vs. 3, 42-32	- rt. 1, 8	247 n. 3, 257 n. 5
- vs. 4, 12-18	- rt. 2, 10	27 n. 4, 258 n. 2
- vs. 7, 1-7	Turin Cat. 1891	267
- vs. 7, 3	- vs., 1-6	257 n. 2, 357 n. 7
Turin Cat. 1881	Turin Cat. 1895 + 2006 (Turin Taxation Papyrus)	278-279, 320, 366, 378 n. 1, 378 n. 7
- rt. col. 1	- rt. 2, 5-7	278 n. 4
- rt. 1, 5 and 6	- rt. 2, 6 and 7	278
- rt. 1, 5	- rt. 3, 4 and 7	27 n. 4
- rt. 2, 4 and 5	- rt. 3, 7	278
- rt. 2, 5-7	- rt. 3, 16	335 n. 7
- rt. 2, 5 and 12	- rt. 4, 5	335 n. 7
- rt. 2, 5	- rt. 4, 6	278 n. 4, 279
- rt. 3, 8	- rt. 4, 7	243 n. 1
- rt. 4, 1	- rt. 4, 9	229 n. 4
- rt. 4, 3	- rt. 5, 3 and 4	278 n. 4
- rt. 4, 10	- rt. 5, 4	278
- rt. 6, 8	Turin Cat. 1900 <i>recto</i>	140 n. 4, 274-275, 363, 387 n. 1
- rt. 7, 3	- rt. 1, x + 2	274
- rt., cols. 8 and 9	- rt. 2, 3	274 n. 4
- rt. 8, 1-12	- rt. 2, 4-12	274 n. 4
- rt. 8, 5	- rt. 3, 2	275
- rt. 9, 1-10	- rt. 3, 3 and 4	275
- vs. 1, 7 and 8	- rt. 3, 7	275
Turin Cat. 1882	- rt. 3, 9	274 n. 4
- rt. 3, 10 - 4, 1	- rt. 3, 11, 19-21	275 n. 1
- rt. 4, 1	- <i>verso</i>	274 n. 4
Turin Cat. 1883 + 2095	- vs. 1, 16	244 n. 1
234, 265 n. 5, 266,	Turin Cat. 1903	264, 265, 387 n. 5
368 n. 5, 387 n. 7,	- vs. 2, 10-16	264 n. 7
391 n. 4		
- "rt.", 1-9		
- "rt.", 1 and 2		
- "rt.", 2		

- vs. 2, 11-15 228
- vs. 2, 12-14 265 n. 7
- vs. 2, 12 275 n. 3
- vs. 2, 14 228 n. 3, 228 n. 4,  
265 n. 7
- vs. 2, 21 and 22 265 n. 1
- vs. 2, 25 and 26 228 n. 5
- vs. 2, 27-31 228-229
- vs. 2, 28 and 30 228 n. 3
- Turin Cat. 1906<sup>+</sup>
- rt. 4, 4 and 5 272 n. 2
- rt. 4, 5 27 n. 1, 27 n. 2
- rt. 4, 7 257 n. 6
- Turin Cat. 1907 + 1908 (*verso*) 264 n. 4, 377  
n. 5
- vs. col. 1 229 n. 5, 254 n. 1,  
254 n. 3
- vs. 1, 9 and 11 254 n. 2
- vs. 3, 8 27 n. 4
- Turin Cat. 1930/2050 + 2013
- rt. 2, 6 27 n. 1, 272 n. 2
- Turin Cat. 1961 + 2006
- vs. col. 3 268 n. 2
- vs. 3, 1-7 270 n. 6
- Turin Cat. 1966
- vs., 11 27 n. 1
- Turin Cat. 1972 vs., 2 and 3 243 n. 1
- Turin Cat. 2004 rt. 2, 6 257 n. 6
- Turin Cat. 2007 264 n. 4
- vs. A, 3 264 n. 6
- Turin Cat. 2008 + 20016 378 n. 7
- Turin Cat. 2021
- rt. 3, 5 223 n. 3, 239 n. 4
- rt. 4, 2 223 n. 5
- rt. 4, 8 246 n. 10
- rt. 4, 12 221 n. 4
- Turin Cat. 2044 264 n. 4
- vs. 2, 5 264 n. 6
- Turin Cat. 2049/141 58 n. 1
- Turin Cat. 2071/224 [140]
- rt., 5 and 6 271 n. 5
- rt., 8 244 n. 1
- Turin Cat. 2071/224 + 1960
- rt. 2, 11 and 12 271
- Turin Cat. 2072/142 vs. 2, 7 228 n. 3
- Turin Cat. 2074 264 n. 4
- Turin Cat. 2084 + 2091 264 n. 4
- Turin Cat. 2094 369 n. 2
- *recto* 254 n. 6, 255 n. 5
- *verso* 254 n. 6
- rt., 1-4 254-255
- Turin Cat. 2102/215 frgt. ξ 267 n. 4
- Turin Indictment Papyrus see Turin Cat.  
1887
- Turin Strike Papyrus see Turin Cat.  
1880
- Turin Taxation Papyrus see Turin Cat.  
1895 + 2006
- Valençay 1 320, 383 n. 3
- vs., 7-9 176 n. 2, 288 n. 2
- Vienna 30 see Ambras
- Wilbour (Brooklyn 34.5596) 17, 19, 28, 34,  
48, 101, 154, 165,  
171, 176 n. 2, 178,  
230, 236, 253,  
254, 273, 274,  
283-284, 334, 338,  
339, 340, 341,  
353, 363, 372,  
373, 376, 385-386,  
390, 391, 392 n. 1,  
393
- text A 2 n. 3, 87 n. 2,  
137 n. 4, 169, 274,  
283, 284-315, 316-  
318, 319, 321,  
322, 323, 324,  
325, 326, 327,  
334, 336, 338,  
339, 341, 345,  
364, 374, 375,  
377, 380, 383,  
384, 385, 386,  
390, 394
- §§ 51-56 302
- § 51 306
- § 57 302
- § 58 289, 302
- § 59 286 n. 5, 302
- §§ 60-63 302
- § 60 286 n. 2
- §§ 64-68 302
- § 64 295
- § 69 302
- § 70 302
- §§ 71-74 312, 313
- § 71 314
- §§ 73 and 74 298, 314
- § 75 302, 303
- § 78 313
- § 82 332 n. 2
- §§ 84-86 291
- § 86 322 n. 7
- § 87 295
- § 91 294
- §§ 117-121 302
- § 117 302, 306
- §§ 120 and 121 286 n. 5

- § 120	287	- 29, 2	306
- §§ 122-125	302	- 29, 3	307 n. 1
- §§ 124 and 125	186 n. 5	- 29, 7, 10 and 16	312 n. 3
- § 126	286 n. 2, 302	- 29, 17 and 18	170, 307
- §§ 127-136	302	- 29, 30	286
- §§ 137 and 138	302	- 29, 33 and 34	295 n. 1
- § 139	302, 303	- 30, 4	296 n. 1, 312 n. 1
- §§ 141-143	312	- 30, 9	312 n. 1
- § 152	302	- 30, 25	314 n. 1
- §§ 153-156	291	- 31, 8	314 n. 1
- § 156	322 n. 7	- 31, 18	312 n. 6
- §§ 192 and 193	291	- 32, 7	311 n. 3
- § 201	299 n. 2	- 33, 1-15	154 n. 4, 312 n. 8
- §§ 208-212	302	- 33, 4	314
- § 208	306	- 33, 6	303 n. 4
- § 210	287	- 33, 11 and 15	314 n. 1
- § 212	286 n. 5	- 33, 16	305 n. 1
- § 213	302, 329 n. 2	- 37, 32 and 33	295 n. 1
- §§ 214-218	302	- 38, 20 and 21	314 n. 2
- §§ 215-217	286 n. 5	- 38, 36-39	294
- § 219	296, 302	- 38, 38 and 39	289 n. 2
- §§ 220-230	302	- 38, 38	295
- § 222	310	- 44, 2	306 n. 1
- §§ 229 and 230	286 n. 5, 309 n. 2	- 44, 3	25 n. 1, 299 n. 6
- § 230	286	- 44, 4	309, 310
- § 231	302	- 44, 42	310
- § 233	302	- 45, 31 and 32	291 n. 3
- § 235	312, 313	- 45, 32	310, 342 n. 6
- § 237	332 n. 2	- 45, 40	302 n. 3
- §§ 241 and 242	291	- 46, 2 and 3	322 n. 1
- § 242	322 n. 7	- 46, 3	311 n. 2
- 9, 21	311 n. 5	- 46, 7 and 14	312 n. 6
- 17, 9	297	- 46, 36-38	322 n. 3
- 19, 25	311 n. 4	- 46, 38	311 n. 2
- 20, 4	311 n. 2	- 46, 46-49	311 n. 1
- 20, 30	311 n. 2	- 48, 41	312 n. 1
- 21, 7	311 n. 2	- 48, 42	296 n. 1
- 21, 8 and 15	311 n. 2	- 49, 27	306
- 21, 17	306 n. 1	- 49, 31	312 n. 2
- 21, 33	299 n. 6, 310	- 49, 42	309
- 22, 8	299 n. 8, 309	- 50, 32	299 n. 7
- 24, 6-8, 15-16 and 35-36	312 n. 3	- 50, 42	296 n. 1, 312 n. 1
- 25, 21-31	289	- 52, 32 and 33	312 n. 2
- 25, 21	302 n. 3	- 53, 26-36	286
- 25, 25	295	- 53, 26	309 n. 2
- 25, 26	294	- 53, 27	316
- 26, 11	312 n. 6	- 53, 36	316
- 27, 8	311 n. 3	- 53, 45	310
- 27, 41	299 n. 7	- 54, 25	303 n. 4, 305 n. 1
- 27, 48	312 n. 6	- 54, 27	312 n. 6
- 28, 21	312 n. 1	- 56, 46 and 47	316
- 28, 22	296 n. 1	- 58, 11	317 n. 4
- 28, 25	312 n. 1	- 59, 46	299 n. 6, 310
- 29, 1-3	307	- 61, 34	310

- 65, 11	299 n. 7	- § 10	323 n. 1
- 67, 23	299 n. 7	- § 11	323 n. 1
- 68, 38	299 n. 7	- § 12	315 n. 2
- 71, 19	299 n. 7	- § 13	323 n. 1
- 72, 5	299 n. 7	- § 14	315 n. 2
- 72, 7 and 14	342 n. 6	- § 17	319, 323 n. 1, 324
- 72, 31 and 34	298 n. 5	- § 19	323 n. 1, 324
- 72, 37-39	322 n. 3	- § 21	323 n. 1
- 73, 5-8	322 n. 1	- § 22	323 n. 1, 324
- 73, 9	299	- § 23	319
- 74, 1	317 n. 4	- § 24	323 n. 1, 324
- 74, 5	310	- § 25	323 n. 1
- 75, 2	306 n. 1	- § 26	315 n. 2, 323 n. 1
- 75, 3	299 n. 6, 310	- § 27	324
- 75, 7	342 n. 6	- § 28	323 n. 1, 324
- 75, 10	287 n. 6	- § 30	323 n. 1, 324
- 75, 11	310	- § 39	323 n. 1
- 75, 52	312 n. 3	- §§ 42 and 44	324
- 76, 4	286 n. 4	- § 52	323 n. 1, 324
- 76, 16	306	- 1, 2	316 n. 3
- 76, 27	302 n. 4	- 3, 24	322 n. 2
- 76, 34	295	- 3, 26	299, 322 n. 4
- 76, 41	306	- 10, 2	316 n. 3
- 76, 44	306	- 11, 24-27	325 n. 3
- 78, 14	312 n. 6	- 15, 3	326 n. 1
- 78, 27	306	- 16, 9	316 n. 3
- 78, 28	296	- 16, 11	323 n. 1
- 78, 49	312 n. 4	- 17, 3	316 n. 3
- 79, 11	342 n. 6	- 17, 13	316
- 79, 14	299 n. 7	- 17, 26	316 n. 3
- 79, 15	299 n. 8	- 17, 30	317 n. 4
- 79, 25	312 n. 3	- 18, 18	286 n. 4, 316
- 80, 3	306	- 18, 22-24	324 n. 1
- 80, 27 and 45	312 n. 6	- 18, 23-27	326 n. 1
- 82, 47	312 n. 6	- 19, 16	317 n. 1, 321
- 83, 15 and 16	312 n. 4	- 19, 25	324 n. 1, 326 n. 1
- 83, 21 and 22	295	- 19, 28	316 n. 3
- 83, 29	313 n. 4	- 20, 18	325 n. 3
- 86, 4 and 5	313 n. 4	- 20, 23	316 n. 3
- 87, 29 and 30	296 n. 2	- 21, 7	316 n. 3, 316 n. 4
- 88, 6 and 7	296 n. 2	- 21, 30	286 n. 4, 316
- 93, 3	306	- 22, 7	316 n. 3
- 93, 18 and 19	296 n. 2	- 22, 10	316 n. 4
- 95, 40 and 41	296 n. 2	- 22, 21	316 n. 3
- 100, 27 and 28	296 n. 2	- 23, 4	316 n. 4
- 101, 19	310	- 23, 35	316 n. 3
- text B	283, 284, 286, 315-326, 327, 336, 344 n. 3, 364, 375, 377, 380, 383, 395	- 24, 5	316 n. 3
		- 24, 8	316 n. 4
		- 24, 11	316 n. 3
		- 24, 16	316 n. 3
- § 2	299 n. 2	- 25, 1	316 n. 3
- §§ 3-5	323	- 25, 3	316 n. 4
- § 7	323 n. 1	- 25, 21	316 n. 3, 316 n. 4
- § 9	315 n. 2		

## ROCK INSCRIPTIONS

- Gebel el-Silsila  
 - rock stela (Merenptah) 230  
 - inscriptions (Ramesses III) 24 n. 3, 230  
 Ma'sara (Amosis) 21  
 Nauri, decree (Sethos I) 2 n. 1, 41 n. 1, 203, 206 n. 1, 287  
 - ll. 38-40 6, 7, 244 n. 2  
 - l. 40 181 n. 2, 185 n. 3  
 - ll. 82-89 185 n. 3  
 Tura (Amenemmes III) 21  
 Wadi Hammamat  
 - rock stela (Ramesses IV, year 3) 230, 299  
 - l. 11 235

## SEAL IMPRESSIONS

J. Baines ed., *Stone Vessels, Pottery and Sealings from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamûn*, Oxford 1993

- 100, fig. 4, no. XVIII 361 n. 4  
 - 107, fig. 5, no. XXXIV 25 n. 6, 359 n. 2, 361 n. 4  
 Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh 1934-1935*  
 - 343 361 n. 11  
 Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh 1945-1947*  
 - fig. 38, no. 12 303 n. 3  
 - fig. 38, no. 15 303 n. 3, 361 n. 13  
 - fig. 39, no. 20 361 n. 12  
 - fig. 39, no. 29 361 n. 14  
 - fig. 39, no. 66 361 n. 10  
 Bruyère, *Deir El Médineh 1948-1951*  
 - pl. XV 361 n. 10, 361 n. 11  
 Cairo CG 24984 359 n. 1  
 W.C. Hayes, *JNES* 10 (1951), fig. 29  
 - no. ZZ 361 n. 1  
 Hölscher, *Excavation of Medinet Habu* II, 109  
 - fig. 92 and 93 361 n. 5  
 Pendlebury, *City of Akhenaten* III, pl. LXXXI  
 - nos 15 and 16 360 n. 6  
 W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Qurneh*, London 1909  
 - pl. XLVI 361 n. 6  
 Quibell, *Ramesseum*, pl. XI 361 n. 7  
 - nos. 9 and 10 361 n. 8  
 - no. 16 360 n. 5

## STATUES

- Ashm. 1913.163 (Amenhotep) 3 n. 5, 31, 142, 149 n. 1, 169, 208-

- 209, 245, 384 n. 1, 390, 393  
 - cols. 21 and 22 169  
 - l. 23 142 n. 4  
 - cols. 26-30 142 n. 3  
 - col. 31- l. 36 10-11  
 - ll. 35 and 36 145 n. 1  
 Cairo CG 42121 (Neferperet) 145-147, 393  
 - back, ll. 1-22 146  
 - back, ll. 7 and 8 22 n. 1  
 Cairo CG 42162 (Ramessesnakht) 220 n. 3  
 Cairo JE 38336 (Ptahmose) 146 n. 2  
 Cairo JE 72000 (Ramose) 393  
 - ll. 3-10 147-148  
 Louvre A 125 21 n. 3  
 Cairo, number unknown (Amenmose) 169  
 - base right, l. 2 170

## STELAE

- Abydos (Ramesses IV) 160 n. 2  
 Bentresh-stela see Louvre C 284  
 Berlin 20377, col. 8 255 n. 6  
 Bilgai-stela see Cairo JE 43341  
 BM 138 (Amenhotep, son of Hapu)  
 - l. 11 227 n. 4  
 BM 588 257 n. 1  
 Cairo CG 34013 (Thutmose III)  
 - ll. 13-18 10 n. 3  
 Cairo CG 34025 (Amenophis III) 39, 40-41, 175 n. 1, 194, 199 n. 1  
 - ll. 6-8 40  
 - ll. 7 and 8 189 n. 4, 253 n. 1  
 - l. 6 86 n. 6  
 - l. 7 197 n. 2  
 - l. 9 23 n. 1, 141 n. 3  
 - l. 20 23 n. 2  
 - ll. 29, 30 41  
 Cairo CG 34183 (Tutankhamun) 27 n. 3  
 Cairo CG 34504 (Ramesses II)  
 - ll. 10, 18 6 n. 2  
 Cairo JE 28569  
 - l. x + 6 41 n. 1  
 Cairo JE 43341 (Bilgai-stela) 151-153, 227 n. 2, 394 n. 2  
 - obv., ll. 9 and 10 153  
 - rev., ll. 18 and 19 152  
 Cairo JE 51911 (Sebekhotep IV) 3 n. 6, 57 n. 1  
 Cairo JE 66285 (Sheshonk) 169  
 - l. 4 32 n. 4  
 Canopus decree (Ptolemy III) 5, 11

- Chicago OIP 1363 (Thutmosis IV) 41-42, 194, 199
- Coptos B (Pepi II) 2 n. 4
- Deir el-Bahri decree (Sesostris III) 3 n. 3, 57 n. 1
- Elephantine, Khnum temple, decree (Ramesses III) 2 n. 1, 84, 196
- Karnak, hypostyle
- decree Tutankhamun 41 n. 1
- Karnak, tenth pylon
- decree Haremhab, l. 28 229 n. 1
- Karnak, fowl-yard (Sethos II) 115
- Karnak, Montu precinct (Senmut) 143-145, 194, 393
- ll. 1-4 145 n. 2
  - ll. 1-25 144
  - ll. 125, 126 and side cols. 144
  - right side, col. 3 145 n. 3
- Kôm el-Hêtân, north stela (Amenophis III) 39, 43
- ll. 8-10 43
- Kôm el-Hêtân, south stela (Amenophis III) 39, 42-43, 214
- l. 2 22 n. 8, 42
  - ll. 12, 13 42-43
  - ll. 20, 22 42
- Kôm el-Hêtân (Haremhab) 43
- Louvre C 11 (Imenisonb) 10 n. 5
- Louvre C 284 (Bentresh-stela) 331 n. 2
- Mit Rahîna exc. no. 2882 148 n. 3, 394 n. 2
- New York MMA 54.185 59 n. 2, 148-149
- l. x + 5 259 n. 2
  - ll. x + 7 and x + 8 149 n. 1
- Qurna (Thutmosis IV) 41-42, 194, 199
- Tell el-Fara'in (Thutmosis III) 57 n. 2
- University College 14372 (Thutmosis IV) 41-42, 194, 199
- 230-231, 242, 245, 259
- festival scenes 102
- Abu Ghurob, solar temple of Niuserre
- offering-lists 56
- Abusir, funerary temple of Sahure
- offering-lists 56
- Deir el-Bahri, temple of Hatshepsut
- Punt expedition scenes 136 n. 7
  - ritual offering-list 57 n. 7, 57 n. 8
- Derr, temple of Ramesses II
- inscriptions 33
- Edfu
- Ptolemaic temple of Horus
  - admonition for priests 11, 245
  - donation-text 320 n. 3
  - Ramesside pylon
  - inspection by Penpatô 94-95, 161 n. 1, 174 n. 2
- Elephantine, quay blocks
- inspection by Penpatô 94-95, 161 n. 1, 174 n. 2
- El-Kâb, temple of Nekhbet
- inspection by Penpatô 94-95, 161 n. 1, 174 n. 2
- Gerf Hussein, temple of Ramesses II
- inscriptions 33
- Kanais, temple of Sethos I
- text B 238 n. 3
  - text C 2 n. 1, 169
  - col. 2 181 n. 2
  - cols. 15 and 16 169
- Karnak, temple of Amun-Re
- Annals of Thutmosis III 49 n. 2, 73, 238 n. 1
  - offering-lists of Amenophis I 57 n. 2
  - offering-list of Amenophis II 32 n. 4
  - offering-list of Thutmosis IV 59 n. 2
  - offering-list of Amenophis IV 57 n. 2
  - text of Ramesses VI 67 n. 3
  - text of high priest Amenhotep 18, 67 n. 3, 185 n. 3
  - text of high priest Roma 220 n. 2
- Karnak, *ꜥḥ-mnw* 215
- south exterior wall, cols. 70-75 9-10
- Karnak, *Cour de la Cachette*
- decree of Sethos II 106 n. 3
  - double stela of Ramesses III 95 n. 1
  - text and lists of Ramesses IV 72, 95-101, 194, 195, 196, 207, 210, 256, 383, 390
  - ll. 1 and 33 96
  - ll. 31 and 32 96 n. 1

## TEMPLE INSCRIPTIONS AND SCENES

- Abydos, temple of Sethos I
- dedication text (Ramesses II) 39, 238 n. 1, 238 n. 3
  - meat-offering scenes 119
- Abydos, temple of Ramesses II
- calendar 7, 61-62, 112 n. 2, 140
  - ll. 120 and 138 111 n. 2
  - meat-offering scenes 119-127, 197, 206, 214, 231, 368
  - offering-procession scene 102-119, 122, 194, 195, 197, 214,

- |                                      |                     |   |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|---|
| - ll. 34 and 35                      | 97-98, 99           | 368, 377, 383,                                    |
| - col. II, l. 36                     | 96                  | 389, 390  |
| - col. II, ll. 38 and 39             | 99                  | - dedication text/poetic speech (cols. 24-52) 39, |
| - col. II, l. 39                     | 100 n. 2            | 43-44, 53, 199,                                   |
| - col. II, l. 61                     | 99                  | 200, 201, 205                                     |
| - col. III, l. 37                    | 98 n. 2             | - decree (cols. 53-61) 53, 62-65, 194,            |
| - col. III, l. 38                    | 98 n. 2, 98 n. 3    | 373   |
| - col. III, ll. 41 and 42            | 99                  | - lists (general) 53-55, 313                      |
| - col. III, l. 42                    | 100 n. 2            | - lists 1-5 53, 60, 62-74, 82,                    |
| - col. III, l. 62                    | 99                  | 90, 201, 207, 348,                                |
| - col. IV, l. 37                     | 98 n. 2             | 390   |
| Karnak, Bubastite portal             |                     | - list 1 65, 80, 81, 86,                          |
| - Chronicle of Osorkon               | 169                 | 186, 187, 198,                                    |
| - cols. 39-41                        | 170                 | 200, 207, 294                                     |
| Karnak, temple of Ramesses III       |                     | - list 2 66-68, 82, 93, 94,                       |
| - decrees and lists                  | 58 n. 3, 72, 88-95, | 140 n. 6, 186, 207,                               |
|                                      | 140 n. 6, 186, 194, | 210   |
|                                      | 196, 204, 207,      | - lists 3 and 4 45 n. 7, 54-55, 68-               |
|                                      | 210, 256, 348,      | 69, 75, 78, 81, 82,                               |
|                                      | 383, 390            | 97, 186   |
| - cols. 1-7                          | 89-90               | - list 5 69-70, 71                                |
| - cols. 4 and 5                      | 91                  | - lists 6-52, 56-67 (Ramesseum calendar) 54,      |
| - col. 5                             | 94                  | 57, 59-61, 73, 74-                                |
| - l. 8                               | 89 n. 3, 90         | 87, 193, 196, 210                                 |
| - ll. 9-41                           | 90 n. 5             | - lists 7-15 76-77                                |
| - l. 14                              | 91                  | - list 6 72, 73, 76, 77, 78,                      |
| - l. 21                              | 90 n. 6             | 80, 81, 186, 195                                  |
| - l. 28                              | 90 n. 6, 91         | - list 9 78                                       |
| - l. 29                              | 94                  | - list 12 78                                      |
| - l. 30                              | 91, 94              | - list 16 76                                      |
| - ll. 31 and 32                      | 94                  | - lists 17 and 18 74, 75, 76, 85                  |
| - l. 33                              | 94, 118 n. 5        | - list 17 140, 195, 206,                          |
| - l. 34                              | 90 n. 6, 94         | 207, 387  |
| - l. 35                              | 94                  | - list 18 7, 61, 139-141,                         |
| - ll. 36 and 37                      | 94, 259 n. 2        | 207   |
| - ll. 38 and 39                      | 94                  | - list 19-67 77 and 78                            |
| - l. 40                              | 94                  | - lists 19-22 54, 78, 187                         |
| - ll. 42 and 43                      | 92                  | - list 21 77 n. 4                                 |
| - l. 42                              | 90 n. 6             | - list 22 74, 75, 77 n. 4,                        |
| - l. 46                              | 90 n. 6             | 79-80, 84, 85,                                    |
| - ll. 47-52                          | 64 n. 3             | 196, 198, 214 n. 2,                               |
| - ll. 47 and 48                      | 67, 92-93           | 256 n. 2  |
| - l. 47                              | 90 n. 6             | - list 23 54                                      |
| - l. 51                              | 90 n. 6, 94         | - lists 28-38 45 n. 6, 187                        |
| - dedication text                    | 50 n. 5             | - list 28 260 n. 4                                |
| Karnak, <i>Chapelle Rouge</i>        |                     | - list 37 74, 75 n. 9, 79 n.                      |
| - procession of foundations          | 137 n. 1, 138, 139  | 3, 214 n. 2, 256 n.                               |
| Luxor temple, first court            |                     | 2   |
| - offering-procession                | 102-119, 195        | - lists 42-51 60-61, 74                           |
| Medinet Habu, temple of Ramesses III |                     | - list 43 61 n. 1                                 |
| - calendar                           | 52-87, 103, 184,    | - list 47 77 n. 4, 78, 99 n.                      |
|                                      | 186, 190, 192,      | 3   |
|                                      | 194, 196, 197,      | - list 52 70-71, 77 n. 4, 78,                     |
|                                      | 206, 259, 273,      | 82, 83, 261                                       |

- lists 53-55 53-54, 69 n. 3, 70-71, 78, 82, 83
- list 53 72, 77 n. 4, 82
- list 55 81 n. 5, 81 n. 6, 86, 203, 229 n. 5
- list 56 96
- lists 60 and 61 77 n. 4, 78
- lists 63 and 64 260 n. 3
- list 67 54
- cols. 28-32 44
- cols. 32-38 44-46
- cols. 39-48 46-47
- cols. 40 and 41 189 n. 5
- cols. 45 and 46 214 n. 1
- col. 46 6 n. 6, 69 n. 1, 253 n. 2
- col. 48 196 n. 2
- col. 53 62 n. 3
- col. 56 72 n. 2
- col. 58 63 n. 3, 72, 83
- cols. 59-61 68
- col. 59 86 n. 4
- col. 60 65, 82, 94 n. 3, 293 n. 6
- l. 86 60 n. 2
- ll. 92-96 111 n. 1
- l. 95 111 n. 2
- l. 98 72
- ll. 104-107 72 n. 2
- l. 102 65, 118 n. 5
- l. 104 72 n. 2
- ll. 105-107 82 n. 1
- l. 105 65, 85 n. 3
- ll. 111-117 65
- l. 111 82 n. 1
- ll. 112-118 72 n. 2
- ll. 113 and 114 85 n. 9
- ll. 115-117 86 n. 1
- l. 115 60 n. 1
- ll. 116 and 117 118 n. 6
- l. 116 60 n. 2
- ll. 118-123 65
- ll. 118-122 82 n. 1
- l. 118 85 n. 3, 113 n. 3, 114 n. 2, 146 n. 1
- ll. 119 and 120 188 n. 1
- ll. 120-123 72 n. 2
- l. 123 86 n. 1, 281 n. 2, 293 n. 6
- cols. 124 and 125 66
- col. 124 64, 72 n. 2
- col. 125 67, 86 n. 2, 86 n. 4
- l. 131 68
- ll. 132-134 68 n. 5, 82 n. 1, 85 n. 5
- l. 134 60 n. 1
- cols. 135 and 136 68
- col. 135 45 n. 2, 96 n. 9
- l. 147 60 n. 2
- l. 158 69 n. 2, 82 n. 1
- col. 159 - l. 168 68-69
- col. 159 98 n. 6
- ll. 184-186 60 n. 5
- l. 190 69 n. 2, 82 n. 1
- cols. 191 and 192 69
- col. 191 98 n. 6
- col. 192 82 n. 8
- l. 219 73 n. 4, 75 n. 3
- ll. 231-240 113 n. 1
- l. 240 110 n. 4
- ll. 241-244 111 n. 1
- ll. 241-243 259 n. 1
- l. 244 111 n. 2
- l. 247 110 n. 5
- ll. 248-251 60 n. 5
- ll. 257-259 76 n. 1
- ll. 257 and 258 60 n. 5, 72 n. 4
- l. 257 259 n. 1
- l. 258 148 n. 4, 281 n. 6
- ll. 260-292 76 n. 2
- ll. 260 and 261 122 n. 1
- ll. 262 and 267 81 n. 3
- l. 279 60 n. 2
- ll. 282-285 111 n. 4, 356 n. 9
- l. 282 94 n. 1, 259 n. 2
- ll. 287 and 288 356 n. 2
- l. 287 94 n. 1, 259 n. 2
- l. 290 355 n. 4
- l. 292 281 n. 2
- col. 293 74 n. 1, 75 n. 1
- l. 310 110 n. 4
- l. 351 115 n. 3
- l. 360 and 433 113 n. 3, 114 n. 3, 146 n. 1
- col. 464 46 n. 1, 74 n. 2
- ll. 483 and 484 111 n. 1
- l. 528 111 n. 4, 259 n. 2
- l. 529 111 n. 4
- col. 531 75 n. 3
- l. 542 44 n. 3, 75 n. 4, 85 n. 7, 140 n. 3
- l. 543 118 n. 5
- l. 544 82 n. 5, 85 n. 8
- l. 545 139 n. 6
- l. 548 76
- ll. 549 and 550 76 n. 3
- l. 550 281 n. 2

- col. 551 74 n. 1, 75 n. 1
- col. 553 63 n. 5, 68 n. 1, 86 n. 5, 321 n. 3
- l. 561 109 n. 5
- col. 615 79
- ll. 620, 621 and 624 75 n. 8
- l. 620 79
- ll. 624-628 75 n. 5
- l. 624 85 n. 2, 115 n. 8
- ll. 625 and 626 81 n. 4
- ll. 627 and 628 84 n. 1
- col. 743 45 n. 2
- col. 860 68 n. 1, 86 n. 5, 279 n. 6
- col. 869 79 n. 3
- l. 857 258 n. 4
- l. 873 75 n. 9
- col. 876 75 n. 2, 82 n. 5
- l. 972 113 n. 3, 114 n. 3, 146 n. 1
- col. 1025 75 n. 2
- ll. 1058-1060 122 n. 4
- l. 1058 131 n. 5
- l. 1068 113 n. 3, 114 n. 3, 146 n. 1
- l. 1107 281 n. 2
- l. 1159 110 n. 3
- col. 1191/1223 70-71, 82-84
- l. 1200 109 n. 5
- col. 1223 64 n. 1
- l. 1250 85 n. 9
- l. 1251 85 n. 1
- l. 1284 81 n. 5, 85 n. 4, 86 n. 1
- ll. 1285 and 1286 81 n. 5
- l. 1285 85 n. 6, 321 n. 3
- l. 1286 85 n. 1, 85 n. 3, 201, 227 n. 6
- cols. 1287 and 1288 96 n. 2
- l. 1330 98 n. 6
- l. 1349 59 n. 2
- ll. 1359 and 1360 111 n. 1
- l. 1360 111 n. 2
- ll. 1366, 1367 and 1415 59 n. 2
- col. 1416 186 n. 3
- ll. 1424-1427 60 n. 5
- l. 1451 71 n. 4
- doorjambs (Sethmose) 234 n. 1
- meat-offering scenes 119-127, 197, 214, 368
- offering-procession scene 102-119, 194, 195, 203, 214, 242
- "rhetorical" stela 39, 194
- ll. 15-18 49
- l. 16 196
- ritual offering-list 57 n. 4, 57 n. 7
- second court, north doorway 107
- texts of Ramesses IV 100
- treasury scenes/texts 127-134, 196
- room 9 129-130
- room 10 130-131, 133
- room 11 131-132, 133
- room 12 132-133, 251 n. 7
- room 13 132 n. 7, 133
- Mit Rahina, temple of Ptah
- inscription of Amenemmes II 57 n. 1
- Medinet Habu, temple of Thutmose II
- blocks 215
- Qurna, temple of Thutmose III
- ritual offering-list 57 n. 5, 57 n. 8
- Qurna, temple of Sethos I
- meat-offering scene 119
- ritual offering-list 57 n. 5
- south exterior wall 58
- Qurna, temple of Ramesses II (Ramesseum)
- calendar (fragments) 54, 62, 96 n. 3
- Semna, temple of Dedun/Sesostris III
- endowments of Thutmose III 57 n. 3
- Tôd, temple of Montu
- inspection by Penpato 94-95, 161 n. 1, 174 n. 2
- Wadi el-Sebua, temple of Ramesses II
- inscriptions 33

## TOMB INSCRIPTIONS AND SCENES

- Amarna tombs 10, 11, 124
- Aniba (Penniut)
- endowment text 154
- Assiut no. 1 (Djefaihapi)
- contracts 8, 142-143
- Assuan (Harkhuf) 2 n. 5
- Beni Hasan no. 17 241 n. 5
- Berlin 15004 (Persen) 8
- Cairo JE 43591 23 n. 5
- Memphis (Mes) 19 n. 3
- Thebes TT 19 (Amenmose) 243 n. 6
- Thebes TT 39 (Puyemre) 134-135
- incense-list 3 n. 4, 31, 135-141, 165, 207, 208, 384 n. 1, 394
- inspection scenes 135, 184, 192
- Thebes TT 60
- granary scene 367 n. 1
- Thebes TT 77 25 n. 3
- Thebes TT 81 (Ineni) 134-135

- incense-list 3 n. 4, 31, 135-141, 165, 207, 208, 384 n. 1, 394  
 - inspection scenes 135, 184, 192  
 Thebes TT 86 (Menkheperasonb)  
 - inspection scenes 135 n. 3  
 Thebes TT 88  
 - granary scene 367 n. 1  
 Thebes TT 100 (Rekhmire)  
 - offering-procession 103 n. 4, 110 n. 8, 116  
 - inspection scenes 111 n. 6  
 Thebes TT 133 (Neferrenpet) 241 n. 8  
 Thebes TT 138 (Nodjemger) 243  
 Thebes TT 255 (Roy) 303 n. 2  
 Thebes TT 266 25 n. 4  
 Turin Suppl. 143540 (Gebelein) 367 n. 1

## VARIOUS

jar Cambridge Fitzw. E.18.950 138 n. 12  
 tablet Oxford Ashm. 1892.812 137 n. 1  
 writing-board (unnumbered) 3 n. 6

## 2 - EGYPTIAN WORDS AND PHRASES

## transliterated and translated

š<sup>c</sup> foreigner 246, 366  
 špd šš mixed fowl 76, 115  
 šh (product) 110, 114, 117, 195  
 šh.t field 47 n. 6, 176, 200, 328  
 - hr šh.w.t on the fields of 283, 299, 315, 318, 319, 320, 325, 336, 344 n. 3, 374  
 šh.w.t Pr-š fields of Pharaoh 319, 321-322, 324  
 šh.t-nmḥ nemeh-field 14, 293, 339  
 šh-s.w.t (temple name) 137  
 šh.t (n.t) nhḥ horizon of eternity 22, 23  
 šz.t livestock 174 n. 5  
 šzd.w(.t) herds/pasture(?) 151 n. 2  
 ḫ hr come on account of 147, 148  
 - see also šq hr  
 T<sup>b</sup>-šh.t (temple name) 138 n. 12  
 ḫwz (type of cattle) 89, 106, 115, 189  
 ḫwn.t.y.w-Stl (foreign people) 41  
 ḫw=f-(m)-nri (type of land) 47, 200

ip.t oipe (measure of capacity) 55 n. 3, 58-59, 61, 91 n. 1, 92 n. 5, 288  
 ip.t (chapel) 151, 170  
 Ip.t-s.w.t (Karnak) 45, 65, 67, 71, 100  
 ipd (measure of š<sup>c</sup>.t-cake) 98 n. 2  
 im.y šbd=f who is in his month 5 n. 3, 108  
 im.y.t-pr property(-deed) 46, 145, 174, 204  
 im.y(.t) rnp.t what is in the year 45 n. 3, 46  
 im.y.w ḫt pr Imn which are in the retinue of the House of Amun 136, 141, 209, 385  
 im.y-r ḫh.w overseer of cattle 229-230, 243, 377  
 im.y-r pr steward 152 n. 2, 152 n. 6, 218 n. 2, 225-229, 230, 243, 309 n. 1, 353, 365, 371, 376, 388  
 im.y-r pr n Imn steward of Amun 299, 300, 309, 385  
 im.y-r pr n ḫtp-ntr steward of the divine offering 32 n. 4  
 im.y-r pr-ḫd overseer of the treasury 230  
 im.y-r mš<sup>c</sup> general 218, 247, 270  
 im.y-r ḫmw.w overseer of carpenters 241, 370  
 im.y-r ḫnt.y-š overseer of gardens 243-244  
 im.y-r šn<sup>c</sup> overseer of the workshop 116, 243, 365  
 im.y-r šnw.t overseer of the granary 309  
 im.y-r kš.t overseer of work 238, 243  
 imn.y.t fixed portion 69 n. 1, 114 n. 5, 115, 186  
 imn.y.t n.t R<sup>c</sup> nb fixed portion of every day 72 n. 2, 106, 112, 186 n. 3  
 imnh butcher 126, 127, 197  
 hr Imnt.t Wšs.t to the West of Thebes 25, 86 n. 5, 303 n. 2, 356  
 inl acquire(?) 331 n. 5  
 in.w (type of contribution/delivery) 18, 47, 48-49, 51, 84, 123, 130 n. 7, 131, 132, 134-136, 140, 141, 172, 183-185, 187, 190, 191, 196, 197, 199, 202, 204, 205-207, 208, 209, 228, 229, 249-250, 252, 253, 265, 379, 387, 391, 394  
 - see also wdž n in.w

- in.w n nb in.w* of the Lord 170, 183, 184, 205  
*in.w n hm=f in.w* of His Majesty 123, 127, 206  
*ir.y-ʿz* doorkeeper 5, 238, 239  
*ir.n NN* (in jar docket) 350  
*ʿIr.t R<sup>c</sup>* Eye of Re 44 n. 2  
*ih* ox 254  
*ih* cow 255  
*ihw.t* (cultivated) field 170, 287 n. 2, 288, 291  
*m ihw.t* in the cultivation of 325  
*ihw.t.y* cultivator 15, 17, 50 n. 2, 63 n. 4, 182, 187, 224, 287-288, 293, 294, 296, 305, 373  
 - see also *bʿk.w ihw.t.y.w, rmy.t ihw.t.y.w*  
*it* barley 55 n. 4  
*it Mh* Lower-Egyptian(?) barley 55 n. 4  
*it Šm<sup>c</sup>* Upper-Egyptian(?) barley 55 n. 4  
*it-ntr* god's father 5, 214, 220, 221-222, 224, 225  
*idn.w* deputy 236-237, 286, 305, 373  
*ʿrs.y mh.t.y* southern and northern districts 189  
*ʿt* room (workshop department) 109, 117, 194  
*ʿt irp* room of wine 118, 195  
*ʿt-bi.t* room of *bi.t*-loaves 117, 195, 242  
*ʿt-bni.t* room of sweets 110, 111, 115, 117, 195, 259  
*ʿt-psn* room of *psn*-loaves 117, 195, 242  
*ʿt-hnq.t* room of beer 114, 117, 195, 242  
*ʿz n w<sup>c</sup>b* superior of *wab*-priests 108, 112  
*ʿz (n) pr* superior of the house 85, 152 n. 6, 201, 203, 218, 225-229, 230, 243, 244, 265 n. 7, 309, 365, 371, 377, 388  
*ʿz n hʿs.t* superior of the desert 217, 250, 386  
*ʿz n hʿs.t n ʿImn* superior of the desert of Amun 250 n. 3  
*ʿz n št/ʿ-št* chief taxing master 18, 230, 270, 298-300, 309, 320, 336, 338, 339, 381, 383  
*ʿzb.t* offerings 69 n. 1  
*ʿb* to bring together 79 n. 2  
*ʿpr.t* equipment 82, 140  
*ʿnh.w-nswt* King's Provisions 261, 262  
*ʿntyw* myrrh 131, 136  
*ʿntyw šw* dry myrrh 131  
*ʿrf* to contain 40  
*ʿh<sup>c</sup> n wdn.w* heap of offerings 10  
*ʿh<sup>c</sup>.y n Pr-ʿz* storage of Pharaoh 328, 330, 332, 336, 337, 338, 339  
*ʿq hr* enter on account of 147, 148, 150  
 - see also *li hr*  
*ʿih* brewer 242, 365  
*ʿd (wʿd)* (fresh) fat 190, 355-356  
*w-mni.w* herdsman's territory 308, 374  
*wʿ.t* corridor/path 348 n. 7  
*wʿh* to establish 63 n. 2, 66 n. 2, 187  
*wʿh* to delay 258 n. 9  
*wʿh-mw* (funerary priest) 331 n. 3  
*wʿh.t* (ref. to grain) 47 n. 7, 49, 188, 189, 205  
*Wʿs.t* Thebes 45 n. 8  
 - *m Wʿs.t* in Thebes 25 n. 3  
*wʿd* fresh 112  
*wiʿz* ship (bark) 46  
*w<sup>c</sup> sʿ w<sup>c</sup>* one from one 43 n. 1  
*w<sup>c</sup>b* pure 126  
*w<sup>c</sup>b wab*-priest 4, 5, 7, 8, 43, 79, 108, 125, 126, 127, 197, 214, 222-225, 370  
*w<sup>c</sup>b nswt* royal *wab*-priest 5, 80  
*w<sup>c</sup>b Šhm.t* *wab*-priest of Sekhmet 126-127, 197, 224, 368  
*wbʿz* (part of temple) 66, 67, 72, 353 n. 3  
*Wbʿz ʿz n ʿImn-R<sup>c</sup> nswt ntr.w* Great *Wbʿz* of Amonrasonter 66, 67, 93  
*wp.t-r ʿpr.t* equipped opening-of-the-mouth 57-58  
*wn-hr* Opening-the-Sight 103, 110, 194  
 - see also *šn<sup>c</sup> n wn-hr*  
*wnw.t* hour-priesthood 5, 9, 10, 79-80  
*wnw.t.y* hour-priest 79 n. 3  
*wnm.t* fodder 291 n. 3, 342  
*wndw* (type of cattle) 91, 189  
*Wr Dfʿz.w* Great of Provisions 89 n. 7, 90  
*wrš* guard-duty 261  
*wḥm msw.t* Repeating of Birth 218, 220, 221, 222 n. 3, 223, 228, 231 n. 4, 238, 245-247, 275-281, 356 n. 1, 387, 394  
*wḥr.t* shipyard/workshop 174 n. 7, 201, 202, 203, 237  
*wšh.t* court/hall 107, 125  
*wšh.t hb.y.t* festival court/hall 45 n. 1, 107, 108  
 - see also *hb.y.t*

- wḏ ḥm=f* His Majesty orders ... 64, 148 n. 5  
*wḏs* storehouse 40, 197, 281, 367  
*wḏs n in.w* storehouse of *in.w* 48 n. 7, 75, 84, 184, 196-197, 206, 368  
*wḏs w<sup>c</sup>b* pure storehouse 258  
*wḏs n ḥw.t-ntr* temple storehouse 84  
*wḏs.t udjat*-amulets 131-132  
*wḏs.t* deficit 216, 240, 259, 263, 267-268, 395  
*wḏb.w* reversion 7  
*wḏh.w* offering-stand 189  
*bzq* moringa-oil 206  
*bzk.w* (obligatory) produce 15, 16, 18, 47, 48-49, 51, 132, 179-183, 188, 189, 190, 197, 199, 201, 203, 205, 228, 249, 379  
*bzk.t* produce 97 n. 6, 98 n. 8, 99, 100, 132  
*bzk.w ḥw.t.y.w* produce of cultivators 15 n. 8, 180, 182  
*bzk.w-rmt* (compound) 179 n. 4  
*bt.t* honey 57 n. 4  
*bt.t.y* honey-collector 245, 356, 379  
- see also *ḥr.y-bt.t.y*  
*bt.t* (type of bread) 34 n. 2, 55-56 n. 4, 57 n. 4, 91, 109, 110, 113, 117, 195  
*bt.t-lt* (*bt.t*-bread of barley) 55-56 n. 4  
*bt.t-bd.t* (*bt.t*-bread of emmer) 55-56 n. 4  
*bḥ* inundated/irrigated land 348-349, 352, 353, 376  
*bni.w* dates 110-111  
*bni.w wzd.w* fresh dates 112, 115  
*bni.t* date-drink(?) 110-111  
*bhn* farm(?) 47 n. 2, 48-49, 189 n. 5, 201, 205, 313  
*bd.t* (emmer) wheat 55-56 n. 4, 58  
*p<sup>c</sup>.t* (type of land) 335 n. 3, 340  
*pr* house/estate 26-29, 31, 32-33, 43 n. 3, 65, 81, 162, 163, 164 n. 4, 165, 166, 193, 199-200, 208, 303, 345, 359, 380  
*pr* (agricultural) domain(?) 344, 345, 372  
*pr* + god's name 162-166  
- *m pr* + god's name 25, 30  
*pr* + royal name 26-27, 29, 347 n. 1  
*pr 'Imn* House of Amun 30, 32, 33, 85, 97 n. 6, 99, 100, 165-166, 167, 209, 250, 254 n. 2, 297, 312, 335 n. 6, 384, 385-386, 387, 388, 389-392  
- *pr 'Imn 'Imnt.t {m} Wzs.t* the House of Amun (in?) the West of Thebes 321  
- *m pr 'Imn* in the House of Amun 25 n. 3, 25 n. 4, 26, 27, 30-34, 65, 163, 165-166, 167, 172-173, 191, 208-210, 302, 303, 344 n. 3, 349 n. 4, 356, 380, 386, 388, 392  
*pr 'Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nswt ntr.w* House of Amonrasonter 68, 83, 149 n. 1, 165-166, 297  
*m pr 'Itn* in the House of Aten 25 n. 5  
*m pr Pth* in the House of Ptah 28 n. 7, 30, 33, 34  
*m pr Mw.t* in the House of Mut 344 n. 3  
*m pr R<sup>c</sup>* in the House of Re 28 n. 7, 30, 33, 34  
*m pr Ḥnsw* in the House of Khonsu 163-165  
*pr pn* this house 27, 32, 68, 75 n. 3, 81, 85 n. 3, 86 n. 5, 167-168, 173, 189, 191, 193, 199, 208, 246 n. 1, 265 n. 7, 315, 336, 339, 342 n. 6, 372  
*pr Mn-ḥpr.w-R<sup>c</sup>* House of Menkheperure 26, 350 n. 2  
*pr mtr* regular domain(?) 345  
*pr n ḥm=f* House of His Majesty 65, 82, 84, 94, 200, 293  
*pr Ḥr-m-ḥb* House of Haremhab 302-303, 312  
\**pr t3 ḥw.t* ... house of the temple ... 81  
*pr Ḥnsw* House of Khonsu 165  
- see also *m pr Ḥnsw*  
*pr(?) n ḥtm(.w).t-ntr* house(?) of the god's sealed things 123, 128 n. 4  
*pr n st3* (portable shrine) 276, 278  
*pr-m3* (building) 189 n. 3  
*pr-ḥd* treasury 84, 128, 149 n. 1, 196-197, 367, 386  
*pr-ḥd n Pr-<sup>c</sup>3* Treasury of Pharaoh 85, 99, 140, 206  
*pr-ḥd mḥ.t.y n pr 'Imn* the northern treasury of

- the House of Amun 275, 386  
*pr.t hrw* funerary offerings 7  
*ph.wy* back (of temple) 269  
*psw* baking-value 55, 57, 61, 91 n. 1, 92, 109, 113  
*psn* (type of bread) 34 n. 2, 56 n. 4, 57 n. 4, 91, 109, 113, 117, 195  
*psn nfr n q<sup>c</sup>* good *psn*-loaves of *q<sup>c</sup>*-bread(?) 109 n. 5  
*ps* to share/apportion 285 n. 3, 334 n. 6  
*ps n* apportioned for(?) 297-298, 325  
*ps* *posh* (type of entry) 165, 289, 294-298, 302, 305, 307, 311-315, 317-318, 322, 325, 326, 373 n. 1, 384, 385-386  
*psdn* (feast of) the new moon 115  
*pd.t* troop 356-357  
*fzy* (portable shrine) 276  
*fzy mhd* to carry torches(?) 270, 271  
*m3<sup>c</sup>* to be presented (of offerings) 92 n. 3, 98 n. 8, 125  
*m3<sup>c</sup>* to slaughter 92 n. 3  
*m3wd* staff (foundation) 311  
*m3h* wreath 280  
*mln.t* (type of royal land) 284, 291, 297, 311, 323, 372, 384  
*mflh* (sledge of Sokar bark) 44  
*mn men* (jar; measure of capacity) 59, 112, 190  
*Mn-s(.w).t* (temple name) 137, 138, 139  
*m mn.t* daily 72 n. 2  
*mn.t.y* porter 238  
*mn.t.w* herdsman 113, 203, 356, 378  
*mnw* monument 132 n. 3  
*numn.w.t* herds 40, 85, 86, 87, 94, 127, 167, 201, 203  
*mnš* (ship) 202  
*mr(.t)* serfs 40, 49-50, 194, 241 n. 8, 242  
*mr(.t)* weavers 50, 238, 241 n. 8  
 - see also *hr.y-mr(.t)*  
*mry mi Ptḥ* Beloved like Ptah 34  
*mry mi R<sup>c</sup>* Beloved like Re 34  
*mrḥ.t* (type of oil) 346, 355  
*mhn/r mehen/meher* (milk-jar) 113, 146 n. 1  
*mḥ* to fill 40  
*mḥ-t3* land-cubit 292  
*Mḥ(.y)* Lower-Egyptian grain 55, 55-56 n. 4, 58, 91, 259  
*mḥ.t* (cup) 111  
*mḥwn* fowl-yard 115, 119, 197  
*mḥr* magazine 278, 366  
*ms.w* children/people of ... 41 n. 2, 47  
*ms.w-wr.w* chiefs' children 41  
*ms-ḥr* (necropolis employee) 47 n. 5  
*mstḥ* basket 147  
*msdm.t* galena 250  
*msdm.t.y* galena-digger 217, 379  
*Mšwš* (foreign people) 69 n. 3, 70, 377  
*mk ib ḥḏ* food of white goats (domain) 291, 306, 309, 310, 324, 325, 326 n. 1, 374, 375, 377  
*mk.w* (supplies) 258  
*mdw šps* august staff 74, 76  
*nd.t* ointment 131, 136 n. 6  
*md.t (ih.w)* cattle-shed 123, 127, 197, 368  
*mdzy* (police-force) 245-246  
*Niw.t* Thebes 27, 340  
 - *m Niw.t* in Thebes 27 n. 4, 241, 366, 371  
*nwd* ointment 136 n. 6  
*nbw* gold 93 n. 1, 132-133  
*nbw n mw* (alluvial gold) 130 n. 3  
*nbw n/hr ḥ3s.t* (mined gold) 130  
*nbw hr ḥ3s.t=f* gold from its country 129-130  
*nbw.y* goldsmith 237, 240  
*nfr* (ref. to grain) 49, 188, 189, 205  
*nfr* good (of wine) 348, 351  
*nfr-nfr* excellent (of wine) 111, 348  
*nfr.w* back (of temple) 269  
*nmḥ* see *3ḥ.t-nmḥ*  
*nms.t* (vessel; measure of capacity) 59 n. 2, 111-112  
*nḥb* to assign/to harness/charge 267  
*Nḥb-k3* (feast) 70, 82  
*nḥḥ* (type of) oil 49, 206, 346, 348, 355, 361  
*nḥb* fresh land(?) 290, 318 n. 2, 326, 334, 335, 338, 340, 341, 373  
*ng3w* (type of) cattle 126  
*nty* (relative adjective) 279 n. 6, 336, 337-338, 340, 342  
*ntr* god (cult-image) 312-315  
*ntr pn* this god 21 n. 3  
*ntr(.w) n Pr-<sup>c</sup>3* god(s) of Pharaoh 154, 276, 298, 314, 341  
*Ntr.y* (feast) 78  
*nd3* slab (of dates or *3ḥ*) 110, 115  
*ndm* sweet (of wine) 348, 351  
*r* (goose) 115

- r-pr* temple 26 n. 3, 31, 106 n. 2, 162, 167, 170, 172, 173, 209, 235 n. 1
- n3 (n) r-pr.w (Imnt.t W3s.t)* the temples (of Western Thebes) 236, 260, 261-263, 381
- r-pr pn* this temple 82, 199
- r-ḥd* treasury 49, 128, 179 n. 5, 196-197, 367, 378
- r-ḥd mh.t.y* northern treasury 275 n. 1
- r-ḥd* treasury-ship 189, 202
- rwḏ.w* agent 223 n. 2, 236-237, 285, 305, 309, 315, 373
- rmny.t* (agricultural) domain 33, 178, 285, 288, 327, 334, 342 n. 6, 345, 372
- rmny.t iḥw.t.y.w* domain of cultivators 63 n. 4, 65, 82, 200, 203, 293-294, 373
- rmny.t pš* apportioning domain 154, 285, 291-294, 305, 373
- rmny.t mtr.t* regular domain 345
- rmṯ grg(.w)* settled people 167
- (m/n/hr) rn=f* whatever ... 47 n. 4, 49, 130
- rnn* (type of cattle) 189
- rḥt.y* laundryman 242, 256
- riḥ* baker 242, 365
- h3w* expense 335, 336, 337, 340
- h3mw* fowl-yard 115 n. 6, 197
- hni3y* (product) 111, 117, 118, 190, 195, 356 n. 9
- hnw hin* (measure of capacity) 55 n. 3, 59 n. 2, 61
- hnw* chest 131
- hrw n ḥw.t-ntr* temple day 8
- hrw n s'nh* subsistence day 8
- h3.w* excess 186
- h3.w hr.y-<sup>c</sup>* arrears 11
- h3q* war-spoil 189
- ḥw.w* nourishment 47
- ḥw.t* (memorial) temple 25, 26-29, 32, 43 n. 3, 65, 81, 93 n. 2, 167, 170, 173, 193, 302, 303, 359, 380
- *t3 ḥw.t* the Temple 27, 28, 29, 81, 85, 216, 278, 321, 326 n. 1, 347 n. 7
- *ḥw.t* + royal name 21-22, 81, 347 n. 1
- (*t3 ḥw.t Imn* (abbr. for *ḥw.t ... m pr Imn*) 25 n. 3, 27, 29, 203 n. 4, 361
- (*t3 ḥw.t Imnt.t W3s.t* (the) Temple (in?) the West of Thebes 321
- (*t3 ḥw.t hr Imnt.t W3s.t* (the) Temple to the West of Thebes 361
- (*t3 ḥw.t m pr Imn* (the) Temple in the House of Amun 28, 86 n. 5, 68, 302, 312, 321, 324, 342
- t3 ḥw.t Pr-<sup>c</sup>3* (the) Temple of Pharaoh 27, 28, 29, 266, 302, 317 n. 1, 319, 347 n. 7
- (*t3 ḥw.t nswt* (the) temple of the king 22 n. 6, 27, 28, 29
- ḥw.t n.t ḥḥ.w m rnp.w.t* temple of millions of years 21-24, 25, 26, 29, 68, 81, 82, 85, 98, 102, 103, 302, 304, 347
- ḥw.t-ntr* temple 26, 32 n. 3, 93 n. 2, 125, 149
- ḥw.t-k3 ka*-temple 22, 137, 138
- ḥwr<sup>c</sup>* to rob 344 n. 4
- ḥb* game 47
- ḥb.w n.w p.t* (lunar feasts) 54, 76
- (*ḥb.w*) *tp-tr.w* (calendar feasts) 42 n. 5, 54, 77
- ḥb.t* festival offerings 42 n. 6, 68, 69, 70, 98 n. 6, 98 n. 8, 99
- ḥb.y.t* festival court/hall 45, 86
- see also *wsh.t ḥb.y.t*
- ḥm(.t)* slave m/f 40, 50, 86, 194, 198, 235 n. 6, 242, 365-366
- ḥm-ntr* god's servant 4, 5, 7, 21 n. 2, 43, 122, 214, 218, 220-221, 225, 260, 307, 315
- ḥm-ntr snw* second god's servant 134
- ḥm-ntr tp.y* high priest 5, 214, 230
- ḥm-k3* (mortuary priest) 9
- ḥmw.w* carpenter 237, 241, 370
- ḥmt* copper 266 n. 3
- ḥmt.y* coppersmith 233, 237, 240, 263
- ḥn* to order/commission 267
- ḥn.t* duty, task 6, 7, 47
- ḥnw* (bark of Sokar) 44
- ḥnq.t* beer 60

- hnk* donation (entry) 154, 297, 298, 305, 312-315, 339, 341, 373 n. 1
- hnk.y* donor 148
- Hnk.t-<sup>c</sup>nh* (temple name) 137, 145
- Hr-i-hr-Imn* (foundation) 137-138, 139
- hr.y-ib* sojourning in 71 n. 3
- hr.y-wsh* ship's commander 378
- hr.y-bi.t.y* chief honey-collector 356
- hr.y-pr* superior of the house 228
- hr.y-pd.t* troop-commander 106 n. 2, 246, 356, 379
- hr.y-mr(.t)* chief weaver 50 n. 2, 241, 370
- hr.y-szw.t.y-sš.w* chief archivist 19 n. 3, 94, 383
- hr.y-šn<sup>c</sup>* superior of the workshop 106, 108, 116, 117, 194, 242-243, 365
- hr.y-kzw.t.y.w* chief worker 223, 239, 281, 370
- hr.y-kzm.y.w/kzm.y.t* chief gardener 244, 245, 349-350, 369, 376
- hh.w m/n rnp.w.t* millions of years 23, 24, 45
- hsb* workman 169
- hqz.t hekat* (measure of capacity) 55 n. 3, 58, 91 n. 1, 92 n. 5
- hṭp* to rest 1, 69
- hṭp* to be satisfied 1
- hṭp* offering-table 89 n. 6, 90, 91, 92
- hṭp.w* offerings 11
- hṭp-nṭr* divine offering 7 n. 6, 32, 60, 63 n. 2, 66 n. 2, 69 n. 1, 75, 79, 90 n. 6, 98 n. 1, 115, 200, 281, 361, 372
- hṭp.t* basket (with flowers) 144
- hṭp.t* (<sup>c</sup>z.t) *n fšl.t h.t* (great) basket of carrying things 58
- hṭr* to charge (*m/hr* with) 47 n. 3, 48 n. 3, 188, 189 n. 5, 205, 267
- hṭr* (type of revenue/contribution) 18, 181, 182
- hṭr* assignment 144
- hṭr-rnp.t* yearly allowance 179, 180
- hṭr r ṭnw rnp.t* yearly allowance 135
- hḏ* silver 93 n. 1
- hš n ht* hall of offerings 144
- hš-(n)-tš khato* (type of royal land) 18, 19 n. 2, 20, 204, 283, 284, 291, 297, 299, 300, 309, 310, 311, 315, 317-326, 331 n. 4, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 372, 374, 378, 380-381, 382, 383, 384, 394-395, 396
- hšy.t* measurement 288
- hšy* chisels 233
- hšw.y-gnn* (jar-stand) 277
- hšs.t.y.w* foreigners 271 n. 5
- H<sup>c</sup>-šh.t-Imn* (temple name) 137, 138 n. 4
- H<sup>c</sup>-m-Mš<sup>c</sup>.t* (temple name) 40 n. 2
- hwi* to protect 95
- hws* to slaughter 126
- hbi* subtraction 335, 337 n. 3
- (*hr*) *hft-hr* opposite 100, 141
- hnt.t* expense 44 n. 3
- hnw* (chapel) 148, 170
- hnp* to present 106, 112
- hnm.t* maid-servant/nurse 223
- hnr.t* harem 310, 311, 323, 384
- hnt.y* foremost 71
- hnt.y* jar-stand 63 n. 2, 64, 67, 93
- hnt.y-š* (title) 4, 7
- hnt.y-š* (*hntš*) garden/orchard 47 n. 6, 200
- hntš*  
- see *hnt.y-š*
- pš hr* the Tomb 22, 28, 216
- hṭp* administration(?) 332 n. 5
- (*r*) *ht* under the authority of 85, 152 n. 1, 167, 168, 171, 201, 217, 218, 221, 230, 233, 285-286, 287, 289, 298, 300, 305, 306, 307 (*ht=f*), 311, 313-314, 315, 323, 346, 352, 353, 354, 356, 365, 371, 372, 376, 377, 379, 383, 387, 391, 394
- hšr* sack (measure of capacity) 55 n. 3, 60, 75, 90 n. 6, 118 n. 1, 118 n. 2, 288
- hpnw* (measure of beer) 9
- hn-ih* cattle-transport 253 n. 10, 378
- Hnm.t-<sup>c</sup>nh* (temple name) 25, 137
- Hnm.t-mn* (temple name) 137, 138
- Hnm.t-nhh* (temple name) 46
- Hnm.t-Tš-wr* (temple name) 112
- hn.t.y* (statue) 46

- hr.y-ḥb* lector-priest 4, 5, 108, 122, 123  
n. 3, 214, 220,  
221, 224, 225
- hr.y-ḥb tp.y* chief lector-priest 80
- hr.t* (offering share) 8
- hr.t-hrw* daily requirement 42 n. 5, 91
- hr.t-rnp.t* yearly requirement 82, 140
- hr.t.y-ntr* stonemason 237, 239
- t3 s.t Mry-Dḥwtj* the Place Beloved of Thoth  
217 n. 9, 246 n. 8
- s.t-nḥb* place of assignment(?) 257, 267
- s3* phyle 4, 5
- s3w.t.y* guardian 239, 245, 371
- sip* to inspect 94
- sip* inspection(?) 331 n. 6, 332 n. 4
- sꜥsꜥ* warder 112, 245, 371
- sww (n)* region (of) 315, 327, 335
- swd* to hand over 233
- sb3.y.t* instruction 342
- sbty* enclosure wall 279-280
- sp* remainder 164-165
- spr* rib 56
- sfl* worn-out (copper) 233
- sft* ointment 225 n. 1
- sm sem*-priest 22 n. 6, 214-220,  
230, 271 n. 1, 281-  
282, 370
- sm3* to slaughter 69 n. 3
- smi* curds 114, 346, 356
- smw* herbage (domain) 291, 305, 306,  
309, 310, 324,  
325, 374, 375, 377
- smd* (decan) 5
- smd.t* (lunar date) 5
- (rmt-)smd.t* (workforce) 6-7, 16, 80, 118 n.  
3, 179 n. 4, 198,  
228, 240, 247,  
248, 370-371, 388
- see also *di.w n smd.t*
- snw* (type of bread) 144, 258
- \*snky.t* (→ *sty*) 93 n. 4
- sntr* incense 136
- sr* (goose) 115
- (r ht) sr.w* (under the authority of) officials 167,  
168, 286-287, 305,  
306, 307, 309,  
373, 374
- \*srf* (→ *sdf*) 169 n. 2
- srf.t* (ass. with *\*srf*) 169 n. 2
- Shb W3s.t* Making Thebes  
Festive 65, 65-66 n. 5, 88  
n. 2, 187-188
- shn* to commission 233
- sh3* memorandum 159, 235
- shw* slaughterhouse 189 n. 1, 197, 368
- shw wꜥb* pure slaughterhouse 123, 124, 127,  
197
- shwn* slaughterhouse 189, 368
- sh̄t* to mould (bricks) 84 n. 4
- sh̄t-ḥm3.t* salt gatherer(?) 84 n. 4
- sh̄t-ḥsmn* natron gatherer(?) 84 n. 4
- sh̄t* to weave/plait 241
- sh̄t tm3* to plait mats 241 n. 5
- sh̄t.y* weaver/plaiter 237, 241, 370
- sš* scribe 135 n. 5, 234-235,  
247, 370
- sš pr-ḥd* treasury scribe 231, 232-234
- sš n n3 mr(.t)* scribe of the weavers 50 n. 2
- sš mšꜥ* army scribe 246-247
- sš nfr.w* scribe of recruits 247
- sš nswt* royal scribe 226, 230
- sš n n3 r.w-pr.w* scribe of the temples 19 n. 3,  
235-236, 263, 383
- sš ḥw.t-ntr* temple scribe 123, 127, 198,  
231-232, 370, 371
- sš ḥtp-ntr* scribe of the divine offering 123,  
127, 198, 230-231,  
370
- sš ḥtm(.w).t-ntr* scribe of the god's sealed  
things 122-123, 127, 135,  
197, 198, 231
- sš šꜥ.t* despatch-writer 308, 309, 310
- sš n š̄t* scribe of assessment 344, 345
- sš n tm3* scribe of the mat 223, 233 n. 2, 269,  
270, 271, 272, 344  
n. 7
- sšm* (statue) 46
- sšm ḥb* conductor of festivals 108, 130-131,  
133
- sšm ḥwi* protected image 46, 65, 71-72, 74,  
153 n. 4, 312-313,  
341
- sk.t.y-ihy* cattle-transport 253 n. 10
- sgnn* (type of oil) 264, 265, 266 n. 3,  
267, 346, 355
- sty* (type of jar) 93
- stp* meat-portion 125, 126
- stm sem*-priest 214 n. 4
- see also *sm*
- st3* ramp 269
- st3.t aroura* (measure of surface) 142 n. 4, 287  
n. 6
- st3.t* (measure of beer) 9
- sdbḥ.t* provisions 266

- (*hr*) *sdf* (*sdfz*) (on the) provision (of) 3, 30, 33,  
152 n. 5, 153, 162,  
168, 169-173, 184,  
188, 191, 208-210,  
274, 307, 308,  
313, 374, 385,  
390, 392
- sdf.t* (ref. to irrigation?) 169
- sdfz* (*m*) to feed/provide (with) 30, 69 n. 1,  
171, 183
- sdfz* provision see *sdf*
- sdm* servant 126, 127, 197,  
198, 368
- šzy.t* (type of contribution) 18, 48, 152, 179-  
183, 190, 197,  
203, 379
- šz.w* marshes 47 n. 6
- šc.t* (type of cake) 34 n. 2, 56 n. 4,  
76, 91, 94, 98,  
110, 111, 115,  
117, 195, 259, 356
- šc.t bi.t šc.t*-cake in the form of *bi.t*-loaves 110,  
117, 259-261, 263
- šw.t.y* (commercial agent) 15, 181, 202, 203,  
224, 252
- špn.t* (beer jar) 111, 113
- šm<sup>c</sup>.(y)* Upper-Egyptian grain 55, 91
- šm.y.(t)* gallery (storeroom) m/f 278, 366
- šmw* harvest (contribution) 18, 152, 300
- šmw pš* apportioning harvest 291, 305, 374
- šms.w* attendant 215, 216, 236,  
237, 250, 354, 376
- šn* ring 129, 132
- šn<sup>c</sup>* workshop 40, 68, 72, 86, 97,  
116-119, 194-195,  
242, 365
- šn<sup>c</sup> w<sup>c</sup>b* pure workshop 86, 97 n. 6, 99,  
100, 117, 193
- šn<sup>c</sup> n wn-*hr** workshop of Opening-the-Sight  
103, 194
- šn<sup>c</sup> n htp-n<sup>r</sup>* workshop of the divine offering  
68, 86 n. 5, 193
- šn<sup>c</sup> n sz* outside(?) workshop 112, 114 n. 5,  
116, 117, 193, 195
- šn<sup>c</sup>.w* workshop personnel 242
- šnw.t* granary 82, 87, 98, 195-  
196, 366
- *šnw.t pr Imn/Imn-R<sup>c</sup> nswt n<sup>r</sup>.w* granary of  
the House of Amun/Amonrasonter 83, 328,  
336
- šnw.t htp-n<sup>r</sup>* granary of the divine offering 149  
n. 1, 195
- šnwy* orchard 174 n. 6
- šns* (type of bread) 169
- šrm.t* (type of contribution) 246 n. 6
- šsp* receive 15
- šsp.t-<sup>c</sup>nh* (temple name) 138
- šsr.w* grain 55, 82, 98 n. 8
- št* assessment 300, 328, 338
- see also *šz n št*, *šs n št*
- šdy* (type of contribution) 18
- šdh* (type of wine) 349 n. 6, 361, 376
- qzy.t* high land 47 n. 6, 200, 290,  
292, 295, 318 n. 2,  
326, 334, 335,  
338, 340, 341, 373
- q(z)w* flour(?) 111, 118 n. 6, 128,  
190, 195, 356 n. 9
- q(z)w bnb<sup>n</sup>/brbr* flour, cone(?) 60 n. 2
- q(z)w t h<sup>d</sup>* flour, white bread(?) 60, 90 n. 6
- \**qwnk* (→ *q(z)w t h<sup>d</sup>*) 60 n. 3
- q(w)r* miner 6, 181, 185 n. 3,  
217, 379
- qmy.t* gum 132, 136 n. 6
- qni.w* palanquin(-chapel) 27, 217, 228 n. 1,  
242 n. 4, 258, 329,  
331, 333, 336,  
340, 358
- qnb.t* (legal council) 223, 232
- qr* (cargo-)ship 189, 201, 202, 378
- qh.t* sun-court(?) 189 n. 3
- qd(.w)* walled in 41 n. 4
- qd.t* kite (measure of weight) 253 n. 3
- kz* bull 115
- kz.w* food 47
- kz.t* (constructional) work 238
- kzw.t.y* workman 237, 238-239, 244  
n. 1, 245 n. 1, 245  
n. 2, 281, 370
- see also *hr.y-kzw.t.y.w*
- kzm(.w)* garden(s) 65, 84, 87, 94, 174  
n. 6, 197-198,  
348-349, 352, 353,  
354, 369, 376
- kzm.y* gardener 6, 215 n. 6, 223,  
227, 244-245, 246,  
369, 370
- see also *hr.y-kzm.y.w/kzm.y.t*
- kzm.y.t* team of gardeners 349 n. 5
- kzn* garden 348 n. 4
- kzr* shrine 265, 275
- kzr.y* gardener 6, 242, 243-244,  
245 n. 2, 270, 348  
n. 4, 369

- kšr.y n ḥtp-nṯr* gardener of the divine offering 291, 296, 297,  
 85, 108, 115, 119, 298, 305, 306,  
 198, 200, 203 307, 311, 315,  
*kṯḥ.w* others 47, 49 343, 346, 350,  
*kṯn* charioteer 246 356, 373, 376  
*grḥ(?)* result(?) 339 *ḏḥ(.t.y)* lead/tin 133, 238 n. 8  
*grg(.t)* populating/settling 42, 199 *Dz-mz<sup>c</sup>* Djeme 280 n. 3  
 - see also *rmṯ grg(.w)* *Dsr-s.t* (temple name) 280 n. 3  
*gs-pr* (portable shrine) 276 *Dsr-ḏsr.w(-Imn)* (temple name) 137, 144  
*t ḥḏ* white bread 110, 261 *ḏsr.w* holiness 44 n. 2  
*t šbn* various loaves 98 n. 1  
*twṯ ḥb-ḥb(?) ḥb-ḥb*-statue 153, 170  
*tp* chest 130 n. 7  
*r tp nw* at the proper time 112  
*tp-tr.w* see (*ḥb.w*) *tp-tr.w*  
*tp-ḏr.t* (type of contribution) 18, 204, 252  
*tš.w* bullets (of myrrh) 136 n. 6  
*tšy-mḏš.t* sculptor 239  
*ṯbw.t.y* sandal-maker 237, 241  
*ṯni* elevated land(?) 290, 334, 373  
*ṯnw(?) n=s/-f* reckoned(?) for her/him 335  
*ṯḥnw* (foreign people) 41, 247 n. 7  
*ṯs* organize 170  
*ṯs pr.t* sowing order 319  
*ṯs.t* (offering share) 8  
*ḏi.w* grain-rations 261  
*ḏi.w n smd.t* rations for the *semdet* 7, 61  
*ḏbn deben* (measure of weight) 61, 139 n. 5,  
 253 n. 3  
*ḏbh.t-ḥtp* offering-provision 57  
*ḏp* chest 130 n. 7  
*ḏmi* town 48, 49, 175, 199,  
 205  
*ḏmi.w n Ḥr* Syrian towns 40, 41  
*ḏmḏ* total 319, 338  
*ḏni.t* basket 140, 190  
*ḏrf* document 171  
*ḏs* (beer jar) 111, 113, 261  
*ḏqw* flour 110, 114, 117,  
 118, 195  
*ḏqw t ḥḏ* flour, white bread(?) 60, 90 n. 6, 110  
 n. 2, 110 n. 4  
*ḏq(r).w* fruit 60, 90 n. 6, 109  
*ḏgš.w* fruit 60, 68, 90 n. 6  
*ḏgs* demarcate(?) 343  
*ḏ<sup>c</sup>b.w* charcoal 76  
*ḏ<sup>c</sup>m* electrum/*ḏ<sup>c</sup>m*-gold 131, 132  
*ḏb.t* brick (salt/natron) 84 n. 4  
*m ḏr.t* in/by the hand of 217, 218, 221,  
 256, 266, 285-286,  
 287, 288, 289,

## Corrigenda et addenda ad B.J.J. Haring, *Divine Households*.

Bibliographical abbreviations follow the list on pp. XII-XXIII

- 27 note 4: P. BM 10035 vs., 14 → P. BM 10335 vs., 14
- 63 [of the House of] His Majesty → [established by] His Majesty  
Instead of [*n pr n*] *ḥm=f* (*Medinet Habu* III, pl. 140, col. 60; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 119, 11) read [*wʒh.n*] *ḥm=f* (Gardiner, *Wilbour Papyrus* II, 111, note 1; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* VII, 450, 3); conclusions based on this reading in Chapter II and elsewhere in the book are therefore to be discarded.
- 78 table: I *ʒḥ.t* 26 → IV *ʒḥ.t* 26
- 190 chapter V, section 4 → chapter IV, section 4
- 199 § 3: “this sanctuary” (*r-pr pn*) → “this temple” (*r-pr pn*)
- 326 (table A: 182 sacks) → (table 8: 182 sacks)
- 401 no. 25: *W<sup>c</sup>g* → *Wʒg*
- 420 *Hnk.t-<sup>c</sup>nh* → *Ḥnk.t-<sup>c</sup>nh*
- 430 To the personnel attached to the temple of Thutmosis I also belonged the *wab*-priest and temple scribe *Nb-w<sup>c</sup>.w* (Graffito no. 4051 at Deir el-Bahri, line 1: Marciniak, *BIFAO Suppl.* 81 (1981), 283, pls. XXXIII-XXXIV).
- 442 Another reference for the high steward *Ywpʒ* of the temple of Ramesses II is Statue Alexandria Faculty of Arts 1295, base (El-Said, *RdÉ* 60 (2009), 206-207).
- 449 Note 4: other references for *ʿImn-ms* are stela Cairo CG 42177 (Legrain, *Statues et statuettes* II, 42-43, pl. XLII) and stela De Duve (P. Grandet, Une stèle d’Amonmosé, fils de Paouia, in: C. Berger and B. Mathieu ed., *Études sur l’Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer* I, Montpellier 1997, 213-219).
- 450 Another reference for the *sem*-priest *Wsr-ḥʒ.t* of the temple of Ramesses III is O. DeM 890 obv. 3-4 (P. Grandet, *Catalogue des ostraca hiéroglyphiques non littéraires de Deir el-Médineh* IX, Cairo 2003, 64-65, 300-301).
- 454 The treasury overseer of the temple of Ramesses III *Pʒ-ir.y/Stḥ-m-ḥb* is identical with the former treasury overseer *Pʒ-ir.y* mentioned in the Turin Judicial Papyrus V 2 (Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* V, 356, 15-16) according to Grandet, *Ramsès III*, 103 with note 17.
- 463 BM 10035 → BM 10335  
This reference should therefore be on p. 464, after BM 10335 rt., 8.
- 473 Abydos, temple of Sethos I, dedication text (Ramesses II): add p. 7 n. 2