

## The Offices and Career of $\underline{D}^{\epsilon}w$ / $\check{S}m3i$ of Deir El-Gebrawi

### The Offices and Career of $\underline{D}^{\epsilon}w$ / $\check{S}m3i$ of Deir El-Gebrawi

وظائف چعو/ شمائي من دير الجبراوي ومساره الوظيفي

**Ahmed Hamdy Abdelmoniem Mohammed Hussein**

Associate Professor of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Alexandria University, Egypt

[ahmedhamdy\\_foa@hotmail.com](mailto:ahmedhamdy_foa@hotmail.com)

#### Abstract

$\underline{D}^{\epsilon}w$  /  $\check{S}m3i$  was one of the members of *Ibi*'s family that ruled the Eighth and the Twelfth nomes of Upper Egypt for three generations respectively during the sixth dynasty.  $\underline{D}^{\epsilon}w$  /  $\check{S}m3i$  was the son of *Ibi* who took over him in both nomes then after the death of  $\underline{D}^{\epsilon}w$  /  $\check{S}m3i$  his son who was called also  $\underline{D}^{\epsilon}w$ , the grand son of *Ibi*, took the charge of both nomes by the end of the sixth dynasty.

The aim of this article is to examine the titles and offices held by  $\underline{D}^{\epsilon}w$  /  $\check{S}m3i$  which were registered on the tomb walls of tomb 12 at Deir el Gebrawi which was designated to be the eternal residence for him and his son  $\underline{D}^{\epsilon}w$ .

The paper states a detailed discussion on the different offices that he held during his long career. It also discusses the reading of each title, the tasks carried out by its holder and the nature of each title whether it was an actual title with a real office or a honorific one. Thus, in order to suggest a possible hierarchy for  $\underline{D}^{\epsilon}w$  /  $\check{S}m3i$  and to shed light on his responsibilities in these several offices which he was occupied.

Finally, The article proposes three different career paths that  $\underline{D}^{\epsilon}w$  /  $\check{S}m3i$  passed by during his long resplendent career.

**Keywords:**  $\underline{D}^{\epsilon}w$ ,  $\check{S}m3i$ , Deir El Gebrawi, Overseer of Upper Egypt, Abydos, offices.

#### الملخص

تهدف هذه الورقة البحثية إلى دراسة الألقاب والوظائف التي تقلدها چعو/ شمائي والمدونة على جدران المقبرة رقم ١٢ بدير الجبراوي التابعة لمركز أنوب بمحافظة أسيوط. تناول البحث عرضاً مفصلاً لكل الوظائف المتنوعة التي شغلها چعو/ شمائي خلال حياته المهنية الطويلة، كما يناقش طبيعة كل لقب ومهامه الوظيفية من أجل وضع اقتراح تسلسل وظيفي لهذا الموظف. وبعد دراسة متأنية لجميع الوظائف والألقاب التي تقلدها چعو/ شمائي اقترح الباحث ثلاثة مسارات وظيفية مختلفة تقلدها هذا الموظف خلال حياته المهنية الطويلة.

أولى هذه المسارات: خلال تواجده في العاصمة منف حيث عمل أولاً في المعبد الجنائزي بهرم الملك ببي الثاني ثم ترقى حتى وصل إلى منصب "نائب المشرف على كهنة هرم نفر كا رع".

أما المسار الوظيفي الثاني فيبدأ حين التحق بالعمل بالقصر الملكي حيث عمل بالخدمة الشخصية المباشرة للملك، وأما المسار الثالث فقد جاء نتيجة لاخلاصه وتفانيه في القيام بالمهام المؤكدة إليه حيث اختاره الملك ببي الثاني ليخلف والده "إبيبي" كحاكم لإقليمي أبيدوس ودير الجيراوي وهي الأقاليم الثامن والثاني عشر من أقاليم مصر العليا وذلك قبل أن يتولى وظيفة المشرف الفعلي على مصر العليا.

وقد دُفن چعو/ شمائي في المقبرة رقم ١٢ بدير الجيراوي وهي المقبرة التي شيدها ابنه چعو - الذي سيخلف والده أيضاً في حكم الأقاليم نفسه - لتكون مستقراً أبدياً لهما وذلك لرغبة الأخير في أن يُدفن بجانب والده.

**الكلمات الدالة:** چعو، شمائي، دير الجيراوي، المشرف على مصر العليا، أبيدوس، وظائف.

### **Introduction:**

*D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3i* was the son of *Ibi* the owner of tomb 8 at Deir el Gebrawi and the nomarch of the Thinite and the Anteopolite Nomes<sup>1</sup>, *Ibi*'s career was long extended from the reign of Pepy I and Merenre I and probably died during the first half of Pepy II<sup>2</sup>.

Offices of *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3i* were registered on the different walls of his tomb which is located at the southern group in Deir el-Gebrawi<sup>3</sup>.

Davies, PM, Baer and Kanawati noted that tomb 12 at Deir el Gebrawi was the tomb of *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3i'* and his son who was also called *D<sup>c</sup>w*, while Thérèse Clarke adopted that the tomb 13 at Deir el Gebrawi was that of *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3i* and that the tomb 12 was *D<sup>c</sup>w*'s tomb<sup>5</sup>. Davies had noted that during his work at Deir el Gebrawi he excavated tomb 13 which was a diminutive tomb divided into two by a pelaster and a false Architrave<sup>6</sup>.

Klaus Baer depending on an inscription in tomb 12 proposed that *D<sup>c</sup>w* built that tomb for himself and his father *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3i'* as the first registered that he caused to be buried with *D<sup>c</sup>w*, his father, in order to be buried with him in one tomb and not because there were not the enough means to build two tombs<sup>8</sup>. Kanawati adopted that opinion of Baer as he

---

<sup>1</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi I, pp. 8-9; PM IV, p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 56 [32].

<sup>3</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi I, p. 5; II, p. 3, pls. 3-5, 7-12.

<sup>4</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi I, p. 5; II, pp. 1-13; PM IV, pp. 244-246; Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 157 [592]; Kanawati, N., "The Identification of *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3i* and *D<sup>c</sup>w* in the Decoration of their tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi", p. 59.

<sup>5</sup> Clarke, T., The overseer of Upper Egypt in Egypt's Old Kingdom, A prosopographical study of the title – holders and a re-examination of the position within the Old Kingdom bureaucracy, vol. I, p. 121.

<sup>6</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi I, p. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 157 [592].

<sup>8</sup> Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 157 [592].

## The Offices and Career of $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$ / $\check{S}m3i$ of Deir El-Gebrawi

noted that both  $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$  /  $\check{S}m3i$  and  $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$  were buried together in one and the same tomb<sup>9</sup> which is tomb 12 at Deir el Gebrawi.

There are many difficulties to study the offices of  $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$  /  $\check{S}m3i$  as many of the tomb reliefs are destroyed as well as the main difficulty that both individuals were named  $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$ , the father and the son. For the second difficulty it is worth nothing that the father was mentioned by his *rn.f nfr*  $\check{S}m3i$ , Kanawati referred that the Artists used two different methods to differentiate between  $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$  the father and the son, the first method by using the phrase *s3.f*  $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$  when represented together<sup>10</sup> and the second method by using two groups of titles particularly the priestly titles as when dealing with  $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$  /  $\check{S}m3i$  the priestly title was written in addition to Pepy's II pyramid *Nfr-k3-r<sup>c</sup> mn-<sup>c</sup>nh*<sup>11</sup>.

For the name of  $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$  it was written in that way  in all the tomb reliefs<sup>12</sup> and for his *rn.f nfr* it was written in that way <sup>13</sup>.

Different opinions were raised concerning the date of the tomb of  $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$  /  $\check{S}m3i$  and his son, PM dated it to the sixth dynasty without assigning a specific sovereign<sup>14</sup>, Baer dated it to the middle or later reign of Pepy II<sup>15</sup>, Kanawati dated it to the middle years of Pepy II particularly from the 21-40 years of his long reign<sup>16</sup>, while Harpur suggested an earlier date in the long reign of Pepy II from the first year of that sovereign to the thirty-fourth year of his reign<sup>17</sup>, Kanawati later changed his mind and adopted a wide range date for the tomb by the reign of Pepy II without setting any years<sup>18</sup>, Brovarski believed that it is dated to the second half of Pepy II<sup>19</sup>, then later he assigned particular date from the 55-85 years of Pepy's II reign<sup>20</sup>. Consequently,  $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$  /  $\check{S}m3i$  may be dated back from the early to the middle reign of Pepy II, a fact which was supported by Strudwick who pointed out

<sup>9</sup> Kanawati, N., "The Identification of  $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$  /  $\check{S}m3i$  and  $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$  in the Decoration of their tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi", p. 59.

<sup>10</sup> Kanawati, N., "The Identification of  $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$  /  $\check{S}m3i$  and  $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$  in the Decoration of their tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi", p. 60.

<sup>11</sup> Kanawati, N., "The Identification of  $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$  /  $\check{S}m3i$  and  $\underline{D}^{\text{rw}}$  in the Decoration of their tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi", p. 60.

<sup>12</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, pls. V, VI, IX, XII; PN I, p. 405 [26].

<sup>13</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, pls. III, VI, X; PN I, p. 327 [20].

<sup>14</sup> PM IV, p. 244.

<sup>15</sup> Baer, K., *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, p. 157 [592].

<sup>16</sup> Kanawati, N., *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, pp. 33, 48-49, 89, 94.

<sup>17</sup> Harpur, Y., *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom*, p. 280 [647].

<sup>18</sup> Kanawati, N., "Nepotism in the Egyptian Sixth Dynasty", p. 56.

<sup>19</sup> Brovarski, E., "False Doors & History: the Sixth Dynasty", pp. 91, 112, 117.

<sup>20</sup> Brovarski, E., "Overseers of Upper Egypt in the Old to Middle Kingdoms", p. 29 (46).

that the title *šḥd ḥm(w)-ntr* + a royal pyramid, which was known in the titularies of *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3i*, was not common after the middle of the sixth dynasty<sup>21</sup>.

From the tomb of *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3i* and after examining its reliefs and inscriptions it is noted that *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3i* held twenty two titles, I arranged them alphabetically after studying those mentioned by Davies<sup>22</sup> and comparing them with the titles of *D<sup>c</sup>w* (the son) and excluding five of them which are related to the son. Those five titles are:

- 1- *mdw Ḥp*<sup>23</sup>
- 2- *r p nb*<sup>24</sup>
- 3- *ḥrp ibttyw Ḥr*<sup>25</sup>
- 4- *mniw Nḥn*<sup>26</sup>
- 5- *ḥry-tp Nḥb*<sup>27</sup>

On the other hand, there were two titles for *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3i* were not listed in the list of Davies which are *ḥry-ḥbt*<sup>28</sup> and *imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w*<sup>29</sup>.

### **The Titles of *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3i*:**

- 1- *imy-r wp(w)t ḥtp(w)t-ntr m prwy*<sup>30</sup>
- 2- *imy-r prwy-ḥd*<sup>31</sup>
- 3- *imy-r sšwy*<sup>32</sup>
- 4- *imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w*<sup>33</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 318.

<sup>22</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, p. 1-2.

<sup>23</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, p. 1, Jones translated it by “herdsman of Apis”, Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I*, p. 454:1699.

<sup>24</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, p. 1, Jones translated it by “mouth of every pe-ite / Butite”, Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I*, p. 490:1831.

<sup>25</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, p. 1, Jones translated it by “director of the fowlers of Horus”, Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II*, p. 696:2544.

<sup>26</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, p. 1, Jones translated it by “protector or guardian of Hierakonpolis”, Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I*, p. 433:1597.

<sup>27</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, p. 1, Jones translated it by “overlord of El-Kab” or “chief Nekhbite”, Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II*, p. 648:2374.

<sup>28</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, pl. IX.

<sup>29</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, pl. VII.

<sup>30</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, p. 2 (23), pl. X; for the reading of the title, Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I*, p. 97:403.

<sup>31</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, p. 1 (20), pl. IX; for the reading, Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I*, p. 133:524.

<sup>32</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, p. 1 (21), pls. VII, IX; for the reading, Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I*, p. 219:816.

<sup>33</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, p. 1 (11), pl. VIII; for its reading, Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I*, p. 246:896.

## The Offices and Career of *D<sup>c</sup>w* / *Šmši* of Deir El-Gebrawi

---

- 5- *imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w m<sup>3</sup><sup>c34</sup>*
- 6- *imy-r šnwt<sup>y35</sup>*
- 7- *imy-ht hmw-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh Nfr-K3-R<sup>c36</sup>*
- 8- *w<sup>c</sup>b 200<sup>37</sup>*
- 9- *h3ty-<sup>c38</sup>*
- 10- *hwt<sup>y-<sup>c3</sup>t<sup>39</sup></sup>*
- 11- *hry sšt3 n sdmt w<sup>c40</sup>*
- 12- *hry-tp <sup>c3</sup> (n) 3tft<sup>41</sup>*
- 13- *hry-tp <sup>c3</sup> T3-wr<sup>42</sup>*
- 14- *hk3 hwt<sup>43</sup>*
- 15- *hnty-š Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-K3-R<sup>c44</sup>*
- 16- *hrp šnd(w)t nb(w)t<sup>45</sup>*
- 17- *htmt<sup>y-bity46</sup>*
- 18- *hry-hbt<sup>47</sup>*
- 19- *hry-hbt hry tp<sup>48</sup>*

---

<sup>34</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, pls. III, VII; for the reading, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 247:898.

<sup>35</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, p. 1 (19), pl. IX; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 254:923.

<sup>36</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, p. 1 (16), pl. X; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 289:1050.

<sup>37</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 378:1401.

<sup>38</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, p. 1 (2), pls. III, VIII; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 496:1858.

<sup>39</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, p. 1 (10), pl. VIII; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 499:1868.

<sup>40</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, p. 2 (26), pl. X; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 643:2357.

<sup>41</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, p. 1 (18), pl. VIII, X; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 651:2383.

<sup>42</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, p. 1 (9), pl. VIII, X; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 658:2396.

<sup>43</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, p. 1 (12), pl. VIII; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 670:2453.

<sup>44</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, p. 1 (17), pl. X; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 693:2534.

<sup>45</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, p. 2 (25), pls. III, XII; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 751:2737.

<sup>46</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, p. 1 (8), pl. VIII; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 763:2775.

<sup>47</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, pl. VIII; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 781:2848.

<sup>48</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, p. 1 (14), pls. IX, XII; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 784:2860.

20- *sm*<sup>49</sup>

21- *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*<sup>50</sup>

22- *šhd hmw-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-Nfr-K3-R<sup>c</sup>*<sup>51</sup>

**The range of frequency of each title and its sequences.**

The title number	The title	Number of times <i>D<sup>c</sup>w</i> 's / <i>šm3i</i> title was mentioned inside the tomb	The preceding title	The following title
1	<i>Imy-r wpt ḥtpt-ntr m prwy</i>	only once	<i>W<sup>c</sup>b 200</i>	<i>ḥry-tp 3 (n) T3-wr</i>
2	<i>Imy-r prwy-ḥd</i>	only once	<i>Imy-r šnwty</i>	<i>Imy-r sšwy</i>
3	<i>Imy-r sšwy</i>	three times	<i>Imy-r prwy-ḥd</i> or <i>imy-ḥt hm(w)-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> or <i>ḥry-tp 3 T3-wr</i>	<i>Imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w</i> in once, while in the other two it was the last title in the inscription of the wall before his name.
4	<i>Imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w</i>	nine times	<i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> or <i>ḥry-ḥbt</i> or <i>ḥtmty-bity</i> or <i>smr-w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> and <i>ḥry-sšt3 n sdmt w<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>ḥry-tp 3 (n) 3ft</i> or <i>ḥry-tp 3 T3-wr</i> or <i>ḥwty-<sup>c</sup>3t</i>

<sup>49</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, p. 2 (24), pl. XII; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 885:3241.

<sup>50</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, p. 1 (13), pl. VIII; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 892:3268.

<sup>51</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, p. 1 (15), pl. X; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 934:3447.

## The Offices and Career of *D<sup>c</sup>w* / *Šm<sup>c</sup>i* of Deir El-Gebrawi

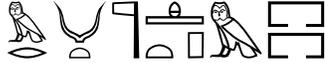
5	<i>Imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w m<sup>3</sup><sup>c</sup></i>	two times	It was once preceded by <i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> and in the second time by <i>ḥtmty-bity</i>	It was followed by <i>sm</i> on one occasion and by <i>ḥry-tp 3 T3-wr</i> on the other occasion
6	<i>Imy-r šnwtj</i>	two times	either <i>imy-ḥt ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> or <i>ḥry-tp 3 (n) 3tft</i>	It was followed once by <i>imy-r prwy-ḥd</i> and on the other occasion it was the last title before the deceased's name
7	<i>Imy-ḥt ḥm(w)- ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nḥ- Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	six times	<i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> or <i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> or <i>šḥd ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>Imy-r šnwtj</i> or <i>ḥry-tp 3 T3-wr</i> or <i>ḥk3 ḥwt</i> or <i>ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp</i>
8	<i>w<sup>c</sup>b šnty (200)</i>	only once	<i>ḥnty-š Mn-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>Imy-r wpt ḥtpt-ntr m prwy</i>
9	<i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i>	twelve times	<i>Imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w</i> or <i>ḥry-tp 3 T3-wr</i> or <i>šḥd ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>Imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w</i> or <i>imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w m<sup>3</sup><sup>c</sup></i> or <i>imy-ḥt ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> or <i>ḥtmty-bity</i>
10	<i>ḥwty-3t</i>	three times	<i>Imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w</i> or <i>ḥtmty-bity</i> or <i>šḥd ḥm(w)- ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>ḥk3-ḥwt</i> or <i>ḥtmty-bity</i> while in the third time there is a fraction in the inscription
11	<i>ḥry sšt3 n sdmt w<sup>c</sup></i>	only once	The inscription is destroyed before the current title	<i>Imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w</i>
12	<i>ḥry-tp 3 (n) 3tft</i>	seven times	<i>Imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w</i> or <i>ḥry-tp 3 T3-wr</i> or <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>Imy-r šnwtj</i> or <i>ḥk3-ḥwt</i> or <i>ḥry-ḥbt</i>

13	<i>ḥry-tp</i> ʕ <i>T3-wr</i>	thirteen times	<i>ʾImy-r wpt ḥtpt-ntr m prwy</i> or <i>imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w</i> or <i>imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w m3<sup>c</sup></i> or <i>imy-ḥt ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> or <i>ḥtmty bity</i> or <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> or <i>šḥd ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>ʾImy-r sšwy</i> or <i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> or <i>ḥry-tp ʕ (n) 3tft</i> or <i>ḥry-tp ʕ T3-wr</i> or <i>ḥk3-ḥwt</i>
14	<i>ḥk3 ḥwt</i>	nine times	<i>ʾImy-ḥt Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> or <i>ḥwty-<sup>c</sup>3t</i> or <i>ḥry-tp ʕ (n) 3tft</i> or <i>ḥry-tp ʕ T3-wr</i> or <i>ḥtmty bity</i> or <i>šḥd ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	It was followed either by <i>ḥnty-š Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> or <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
15	<i>ḥnty-š Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	two times	Once it was preceded by <i>ḥk3-ḥwt</i> and once by <i>ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp</i>	Once it was followed by <i>w<sup>c</sup>b šnty</i> (200) and once by <i>ḥtmty bity</i>
16	<i>ḥrp</i> <i>šnd(w)t</i> <i>nb(w)t</i>	two times	Once it was preceded by <i>sm</i> , while in the second time the inscription is destroyed	It was once followed by <i>ḥry-tp ʕ T3-wr</i> , while in the second time it is followed by the epithet <i>imy-ib n nb</i> . <sup>f52</sup>
17	<i>ḥtmty-bity</i>	nine times	<i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> or <i>ḥwty-<sup>c</sup>3t</i> or <i>ḥnty-š Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> or <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i> or <i>šḥd ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nh-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	It was followed by several titles either <i>imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w</i> , <i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> , <i>ḥwty-<sup>c</sup>3t</i> , <i>ḥry-tp ʕ T3-wr</i> , <i>ḥk3 ḥwt</i> or <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>
18	<i>ḥry-ḥbt</i>	two times	It was preceded either	It was followed by <i>imy-</i>

<sup>52</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 44:231.

## The Offices and Career of *D<sup>c</sup>w* / *Šm3i* of Deir El-Gebrawi

			by <i>hry-tp</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>n 3tft</i> or <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>r šm<sup>c</sup>w</i> while in the second time it was followed by the epithet <i>imy-ib n nb.f</i>
19	<i>hry-ḥbt</i> <i>hry-tp</i>	Five times	<i>imy-ḥt Mn-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> or <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	<i>hry-tp</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>T3-wr</i> or <i>hnty-š Mn-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> or <i>ḥk3 ḥwt</i> or <i>sm</i>
20	<i>sm</i>	two times	<i>hry-ḥbt hry-tp</i>	<i>hrp šnd(w)t nb(w)t</i>
21	<i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>	eleven times	<i>ḥk3 ḥwt</i> or <i>šḥd ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	<i>Imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w</i> or <i>imy-ḥt Mn-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> or <i>hry-tp</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>(n) 3tft</i> or <i>hry-tp</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>T3-wr</i> or <i>hry-ḥbt</i> or <i>hry-ḥbt hry-tp</i>
22	<i>šḥd ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	six times	In all times inside the tomb such title was always inscribed in the beginning of the inscriptions	<i>Imy-ḥt ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-Nfr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i> or <i>ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup></i> or <i>ḥwt-<sup>c</sup>3t</i> or <i>hry-tp</i> <sup>3</sup> <i>T3-wr</i> or <i>smr w<sup>c</sup>ty</i>

(1)  *imy-r wp(w)t ḥtp(w)t-ntr m prwy:*

Firth and Gunn translated the title as: “overseer of the census (?) of divine offerings in the two houses”<sup>53</sup>, Pirenne suggested the translation of “director of the (declarations) of the sacred domain in Upper and Lower Egypt”<sup>54</sup>, Drioton and Lauer believed in the translation of “manager of divine domain enterprises in both administrations”<sup>55</sup>, while Simpson remarked that the possible translation is “overseer of the distribution of offerings in the two houses”<sup>56</sup>. And finally, Jones adopted the translation of “overseer of the divisions / apportionments of divine offerings in the two houses”<sup>57</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Firth, C. and Gunn, B., *Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I*, p. 151 (15).

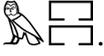
<sup>54</sup> Pirenne, J., *Histoire des Institutions et du droit privé Égypte III*, p. 32.

<sup>55</sup> Drioton, É and Lauer, J., “Un groupe de tombes à Saqqarah: Icheti, Nefer-Khonou-Ptah, Sébek-em-khent et Ânkihi”, p. 213.

<sup>56</sup> Simpson, W., *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu, G7101 and 7102*, p. 30 (Idu).

<sup>57</sup> Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I*, p. 97:403.

Kanawati pointed out that it was a new title introduced by the advent of the sixth dynasty<sup>58</sup>. It is worth commenting that the title was known in the Memphite necropolis<sup>59</sup> and in the provinces as well<sup>60</sup>.

The title is divided into two parts: the first is  and the second part is . For the first part Fischer noted that it is more likely concern division(s) or apportionments of offerings but he was uncertain concerning the word division(s) or apportionment(s) whether it is singular or plural<sup>61</sup>.

The title is connected with the divisions of offerings which came through serfs, landholders and also funerary priests<sup>62</sup>. Baer pointed out that the office was connected at least once with a royal pyramid in case of the title *imy-r wp(w)t-ḥtp(w)t-ntr Mn-ḥ-Nfr-k3-R*<sup>63</sup>.

For the second part of the title  Faulkner and Hannig suggested the reading of *imy prwy*<sup>64</sup> and Hannig translated it as: “he who is in the two houses”<sup>65</sup>. Hannig remarked that it was not an independent title, but to be understood as “in the two administrations” i.e. the state administration<sup>66</sup>. Pirenne had supposed before that the two administrations mean Upper and Lower Egypt<sup>67</sup>.

From the previous *Dḥw / Šm3i* was responsible for collecting, managing and administrating all the divisions of offerings which came through land holders, serfs and funerary priests in the state administration and not the pyramid of Pepy II, where he held

---

<sup>58</sup> Kanawati, N., The Rock tombs of El-Hawawish, The cemetery of Akhmim VI, K (18); Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 98:404.

<sup>59</sup> as: *3ḥt-ḥtp*, Petrie, H. and Murray, M., Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels, pls. 3, 4; Moursi, M., Die Hohenpriester des sonnengottes von der frühzeit Ägyptens bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches, p. 32, *nfr-sšm-ptḥ / šsi*, Capart, J., Une rue de tombeaux à saqqarah, pp. 76, 96, *Ttw*, Firth, C. and Gunn, B., Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I, p. 151 (15) and *Tti / Išti*, Drioton, É and Lauer, J., “Un groupe de tombes à saqqarah: Icheti, Nefer-Khonou-Ptah, Sébeh-em-khent et Ânkhî”, p. 213, pl. 6; *mry-rḥ-mry-ḥ-ptḥ*, Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 94 [7].

<sup>60</sup> as *Ibi* of Deir el Gebrawi (father of *Dḥw / Šm3i*), Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi I, p. 9 (28); II, pl. 3; *Ḥsi-Mnw*, Kanawati, N., The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, The cemetery of Akhmim VI, p. 7 (2), fig (2).

<sup>61</sup> Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 222.

<sup>62</sup> Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 222; Brovarski, E., “Templepersonal I”, p. 391.

<sup>63</sup> Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 250; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 98:404.

<sup>64</sup> FCD, p. 89; Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 49.

<sup>65</sup> Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 49.

<sup>66</sup> Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 49.

<sup>67</sup> Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du droit privé Égypte III, p. 96.

## The Offices and Career of *Dꜣw* / *Šmꜣi* of Deir El-Gebrawi

many titles in his titulary, as there is an exclusive title for those who served in the pyramid complex of Pepy II which was *imy-r wpwt-ḥtp(w)t-ntr Mn ꜥnh-Nfr-k3-R*<sup>68</sup>.

(2)  *imy-r prwy-ḥd*:

Jones translated the title as “overseer of the two treasuries”<sup>69</sup>. It was one of the most important offices in the Old Kingdom.

The term  *prwy-ḥd* most probably refers to the state treasuries, as the dual form always indicates the financial institutions of the state<sup>70</sup>.

It is worth noting that it is evidenced from the titles connected with the treasury that most of its offices were scribal concerning with reckoning state revenues as well as that revenues from temples and private estates<sup>71</sup>. The treasury was responsible for providing the deceased with part of the funerary offerings and funerary equipments beside controlling some sorts of goods as metals, linen, wine and oils<sup>72</sup>. The treasury performed the supervision of the central government expenditure and the assessment of the dues from the different governmental institutions and the individuals<sup>73</sup>.

The appearance of *imy-r prwy-ḥd* and *imy-r šnwty* (6) together with each other in the titularies of the officials was quite common in the capital and in the provinces as well. As both institutions formed that portion of the economic administration of the state<sup>74</sup>.

The title *imy-r prwy-ḥd* was known since the middle of the fourth dynasty as it was held by *nfr* who is dated to the reign of king Khafre or slightly later<sup>75</sup> then it was held by *ꜣhi* who is dated to the late of the fourth dynasty or the beginning of the fifth dynasty<sup>76</sup>. The title disappeared during the first half of the fifth dynasty until it appeared in the titularies of the two viziers *kꜣi* and *ph-n-wi-kꜣi* who were dated to the reign of Ne-User-Re<sup>77</sup>. During the fifth dynasty the title was confined solely to viziers except for *kꜣi* and *dfꜣwi*<sup>78</sup>.

<sup>68</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 98:404.

<sup>69</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 133:524.

<sup>70</sup> Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, pp. 59-63.

<sup>71</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 299.

<sup>72</sup> Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, p. 59.

<sup>73</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 299.

<sup>74</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 288, 299.

<sup>75</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 109-110 (84), 290.

<sup>76</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 55 (1).

<sup>77</sup> For *kꜣi* who is dated to the reign of Ne-User-Re and *ph-n-wi-kꜣi* who is dated to the late reign of the same sovereign, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 142-144 (136), 84-85 (45).

<sup>78</sup> For *kꜣi* who is dated to the middle of the fifth dynasty and *dfꜣwi* who is dated to the middle or late of the same dynasty, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 144 (137), 166-167 (167).

In the sixth dynasty the title was held by viziers and non viziers in addition to its occurrences in the provinces<sup>79</sup>.

Despite the title was not common in the provinces, it was found occasionally since the reign of Pepy I to the late Old Kingdom<sup>80</sup>. As it was firstly appeared in the provinces in the case of *iw* at Abydos, who held also the title of the vizierate<sup>81</sup> and *ny-ᵚnh-ppy / sbk-ḥtp* at Meir<sup>82</sup>. Both are dated to the middle of the sixth dynasty<sup>83</sup> while during the reign of Pepy II it was held by Ibi's family of Deir El Gebrawi which includes *Ibi, Dᵚw / Šmʒi* and *Dᵚw*<sup>84</sup> and finally, *kʒi-ḥb / tti* of Akhmim<sup>85</sup>.

Helck remarked that the holders of *imy-r prwy ḥd* were responsible for the overall control of the treasury while those who bore the singular form of the title i.e. *imy-r pr ḥd* were in charge of actual treasuries and daily matters of the treasuries<sup>86</sup>. Helck's point of view was acceptable until the advent of the dynasty six when the title *imy-r pr-ḥd* disappeared, as it was only held by *kʒi-dbh* and *ᵚnh-ḥʒf / kʒr*<sup>87</sup> and most probably the non vizierial holders of *imy-r prwy-ḥd* took over part of their responsibilities<sup>88</sup>.

It is worth commenting that there were two or may be three concurrently holders of the two main treasury titles since the late of the fifth dynasty and the early of the sixth dynasty, which led to the division of responsibility and the appearance of some Memphite officials dealt with the revenues in the provinces until some local nomarchs were granted the title of *imy-r prwy-ḥd*<sup>89</sup>. A fact which is confirmed by the reduction of the Memphite holders of the *imy-r prwy-ḥd* by the middle of the sixth dynasty.

The title *imy-r prwy-ḥd* was not frequent in the provinces as there were only six provincial holders for the title, the title was distributed in Abydos, Meir, Deir El Gebrawi and Akhmim, with consideration that the three holders of the title from Deir el Gebrawi, i.e. *Ibi*'s family, were at the same time nomarchs of Abydos, that led to conclude the

---

<sup>79</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, pp. 277-279.

<sup>80</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 276.

<sup>81</sup> Kanawati, N., *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom, Evidence on its Economic decline*, p. 33.

<sup>82</sup> Blackman, A. and Apted, M., *The Rock Tombs of Meir V*, pp. 1-15.

<sup>83</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 279.

<sup>84</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâw I*, p. 8 (9); II, p. 1 (20); Brovarski, E., "Overseers of Upper Egypt in the Old to Middle Kingdoms", pp. 28 (45), 29 (46).

<sup>85</sup> Kanawati, N., *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, the cemetery of Akhmim III*, pp. 7-32.

<sup>86</sup> Helck, W., *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, pp. 58, 61.

<sup>87</sup> The former was dated to the middle fifth dynasty up to the early sixth dynasty, while the later was dated to the early sixth dynasty, Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, pp. 156 (153), 78-79 (35).

<sup>88</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 291.

<sup>89</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 299.

## The Offices and Career of *Dꜣw* / *Šmꜣi* of Deir El-Gebrawi

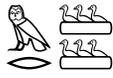
---

strong link or connection of this title with Abydos and Meir as two highly administrative provinces.

The attestation of this title in the provinces may reflect a gradual devolution of responsibility to a local level so as to manage the revenues and the assessments of the dues of all parts of the country accurately<sup>90</sup>.

The main reason for the less spread of *imy-r prwy-ḥd* outside the capital, if it is compared with the title of *imy-r šnwtj* (6), was that the treasury was in charge of the collection of revenues, so the supervisors of the treasuries were not required to be close to the sources of the revenues unlike those supervisors of the granary who were required to be very close to the sources of the revenues<sup>91</sup>.

As for *Dꜣw* / *Šmꜣi*, he may have been granted that title after being appointed as a nomarch for the Eighth nome of Upper Egypt i.e. Abydos thus to be in charge of the treasuries and collecting the revenues of Upper Egypt a role which was played by Abydos due to its pivotal situation between the middle and southern nomes and its close relationship with the residence throughout the Old Kingdom.

(3)  *imy-r sšwy*:

Jones translated the title as “overseer of the two bird pools or fowling pools”<sup>92</sup>. It is a well-known title since the Old Kingdom<sup>93</sup>. The title is attested in the Memphite necropolis<sup>94</sup> as well as in the provinces<sup>95</sup>.

As for the sign , Gardiner referred that it represents ducks’ heads emerging from a pool and was used either as an ideogram, as in the current title, or as a determinative<sup>96</sup>.

Montet suggested the reading of this ideogram as “*iwn*”<sup>97</sup> while Wb and Gardiner believed in the reading “*sš*” and pointed out that it means “swamp, bird pool or net”<sup>98</sup>.

---

<sup>90</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 292.

<sup>91</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 292.

<sup>92</sup> Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I*, p. 219:816.

<sup>93</sup> Wb III, p. 484 (13-14).

<sup>94</sup> as: *Isfi* / *twtw*, *ḥnty-kꜣi* / *ihhi*, James, T. and Apted, M., *The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi*, p. 10 (44) and *TTw*, Firth, C. and Gunn, B., *The Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I*, p. 152 (16).

<sup>95</sup> as: Ibi of Deir El Gebrawi, Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi I*, p. 8 (8), *Ny-ḥꜣ-Ppy* / *sbk-ḥtp* and *Ppy-ḥꜣ* / *ḥni-km* of Meir, Blackman, A. and Apted M., *The Rock Tombs of Meir V*, pls. 12, 41.

<sup>96</sup> Gardiner, A., *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 473 (G 49).

<sup>97</sup> Montet, P., “Contribution a l’étude de mastaba de L’Ancien Empire”, pp. 174-178.

<sup>98</sup> Wb III, p. 483 ; Gardiner, A., *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 473 (G 49).

*sš* was used to designate the place of performing the activities of fowling and fishing in the swamps of Delta<sup>99</sup>.

The representation of this swamps in the scenes of the tombs had two functions, the first was to amuse the tomb owner by fowling and fishing for entertainment, and the second was to ensure the continuous flow of birds to his offering table<sup>100</sup>.

The *imy-r sšwy* had two important responsibilities, He was in charge of the maintenance and preservation of these swamps for the royal family and nobles in order to spend their leisure time there<sup>101</sup>, that role of amusement and entertainment is confirmed by the addition of the term *šhmḥ-ib*, which means “amusement or recreation<sup>102</sup>, after the title of *imy-r sšwy*<sup>103</sup>. He was also responsible for the profiteering of these swamps economically. A function which is confirmed by the fact that the office of *imy-r sšwy* was carried out by officials who were in connection with either the granary or the treasury institutions or both of them as in case of *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3i*<sup>104</sup>.

For the relation between the three titles, The Author knows five officials till now in the capital held the three titles together *imy-r sš(wy)*, *imy-r prwy-ḥd* and *imy-r šnwty*<sup>105</sup> and two only held the titles *imy-r sšwy* and *imy-r prwy-ḥd*<sup>106</sup> while in the provinces, *Ibi* of Deir El Gebrawi held the three titles<sup>107</sup> and *Ppy - ḥnh / ḥni-km* and *ny-ḥnh-Ppy / sbk-ḥtp* of

---

<sup>99</sup> Newberry, P., Beni Hasan I, pl. 34; Newberry, P., El Bersheh I, pls. 8-9; Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 139 [16]; Macramallah, R., Le mastaba d’Idout, pl. 7.

<sup>100</sup> Derchain, P., “Snéfrou et les rameuses”, pp. 24-25.

<sup>101</sup> Harpur, Y., Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom, pp. 140-141. As fowling and fishing are very known motif in the private tombs.

<sup>102</sup> Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 808.

<sup>103</sup> *imy-r sšwy m<sup>3</sup>c n šhmḥ-ib* (true overseer of the two fowling ponds of recreation), Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 220:818. It also appeared in many Middle Kingdom titles as: *imy-r sšwy n šhmḥ-ib* and *imy-r sšw nw šhmḥ-ib*, Ward, W., Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, p. 45:351-352.

<sup>104</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, pl. IX, where the three titles are mentioned respectively *imy-r šnwty*, *imy-r prwy-ḥd* and *imy-r sšwy*.

<sup>105</sup> *Tšfi / twtw*, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 67 (19).

- Ḥssi, CG 1413, Barchardt, L., Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, p. 80; Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 118 (98).

- *Hnmw-ḥtp*, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 127 (112).

- *nfr-sšm-r<sup>c</sup> / šši*, Capart, J., Une rue de tombeaux à saqqareh II, pl. xi ; Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 112 (88).

- *K3i-gmni*, Firth, C. and Gunn, B., The Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I, p. 107 (39); Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 154-155 (151).

<sup>106</sup> *ḥnh-m-ḥr / ssi*, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 75 (30), *Ḥnty-k3i / ihḥi*, James, T. and Apted, M., The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi, p. 10 (35, 44).

<sup>107</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tomb of Deir El Gebrâwi I, p. 8 (7-9).

## The Offices and Career of *D<sup>c</sup>w* / *Šm3i* of Deir El-Gebrawi

---

Meir held the three titles also, but the former held the granary and treasury titles in the singular form as *imy-r šnwt* and *imy-r pr-ḥd*<sup>108</sup>.

Finally, the attestation of the title *imy-r sšwy* in the titularies of *D<sup>c</sup>w* / *Šm3i* beside the title *imy-r prwy-ḥd* and *imy-r šnwt* indicates his responsibility in the maintenance of the marshes of his nomes and its exploitation economically for the state.

(4)  *imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w*

(5)  *imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w m3<sup>c</sup>*

Jones translated the first title as “overseer of Upper Egypt” while the second one as “true overseer of Upper Egypt”<sup>109</sup>.

For *šm<sup>c</sup>w*, Martinet suggested that it indicated an entity or area which was neglected by the sovereigns of the fourth dynasty who were interested in the development of Lower Egypt more than Upper Egypt<sup>110</sup>.

Most probably such office might had been introduced because of gathering or the concentration of titles from the different departments of the local administration in the hands of certain individuals by the advent of the fifth dynasty<sup>111</sup>.

Several opinions were raised concerning the beginning of the office of *imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w*, Baer mentioned that it was known since the reign of Djedkare<sup>112</sup>, the eighth monarch of the fifth dynasty<sup>113</sup> as it was held by *R<sup>c</sup>-šps*<sup>114</sup>, Kanawati agreed with Baer’s suggestion but he pointed out that it was held firstly by the vizier *k3i*, who is dated by him to the middle reign of Djedkare then it was held by *R<sup>c</sup>-šps* whom he dated to the end of the reign of Djedkare<sup>115</sup>. On the other hand, Strudwick noted that the vizier *k3i* is dated to the reign of Ni-User-Re<sup>116</sup>, the fifth monarch of the fifth dynasty<sup>117</sup>, If the opinion given by Strudwick is correct then the office was introduced since the reign of Ni-User-Re.

---

<sup>108</sup> Blackman, A. and Apted, M., The Rock Tomb of Meir V, pls. 41, 12 respectively.

<sup>109</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, pp. 246:896, 247:898.

<sup>110</sup> Martinet, É, Le Nomarque sous L’Ancien Empire, p. 175.

<sup>111</sup> Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 281.

<sup>112</sup> Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 274.

<sup>113</sup> von Beckerath, J., Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen, p. 55.

<sup>114</sup> Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 274.

<sup>115</sup> Kanawati, N., Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt, p. 14.

<sup>116</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 142 (136).

<sup>117</sup> von Beckerath, J., Handbuch der ägyptischen königsnamen, p. 55.

Fischer noted that the title *imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w* was held during the reign of Pepy II exclusively by nomarchs only except for *pr-šn<sup>c</sup>y*<sup>118</sup>. But Brovarski pointed out that there were holders for the title and were not nomarchs as *Idi*<sup>119</sup>, beside it was held by viziers as well e.g. *Mrrr*<sup>120</sup>, *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh / mry r<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup>nh hry-ib* of Meir<sup>121</sup> and his successor *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh / Hni-km*<sup>122</sup>. Also it was held by *Hwi* who was neither nomarch nor vizier<sup>123</sup>.

Breasted, Kees and Helck observed that the title by the time, due to the much holders of it particularly in the reign of Pepy II, became an honorary title<sup>124</sup>. But Goedicke, depending on the Coptus decrees which are dated to the reign of Pepy II, rebutted that point of view and mentioned that it was a real office with various tasks beside the continuous role of that administration of Upper Egypt to the end of the sixth dynasty<sup>125</sup>.

Fischer pointed out that the multiple holders of the title during the reign of Pepy II made it possible that many of them had control of far less than the entire southern half of the country<sup>126</sup>. Fischer also debated that title and stated that it was not honorific title, but it was limited in geographical scope<sup>127</sup>.

Brovarski remarked that by the end of the sixth dynasty the title lost something of its original high standing but at the same time it does not mean that it lost its functional significance<sup>128</sup>.

The *imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w* was in charge of tax collection and financial management<sup>129</sup> as making the taxes of cattle, goats as well as that of oxen, a fact that is confirmed in the tomb of *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm<sup>3</sup>i* where he as *imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w* was viewing the census of cattle<sup>130</sup>. Also, the overseer of Upper Egypt had the responsibility of issuing the order for corvée service with the list of men to be levied<sup>131</sup>.

---

<sup>118</sup> Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 94.

<sup>119</sup> CG 1577, Borchardt, L., Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II, p. 58, pl. 76; Brovarski, E., "Overseers of Upper Egypt in the Old to Middle Kingdoms, part 1", p. 93.

<sup>120</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 99 [67]; Harpur, Y., Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom, p. 274.

<sup>121</sup> Kamal, A., "Le tombeau nouveau de Méir", pp. 209-258.

<sup>122</sup> Blackman, A. and Apted, M., The Rock Tombs of Meir V, pp. 15-56, pls. 15-43; Brovarski, E., "Overseers of Upper Egypt in the Old to Middle Kingdom, part 1", p. 93.

<sup>123</sup> Jéquier, G., Le monument funéraire de Pepi II, II, pls. 46, 48.

<sup>124</sup> Breasted, J., A History of Egypt, p. 138; Stock, H., Die erste Zwischenzeit Aegyptens, p. 4; Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, p. 110.

<sup>125</sup> Goedicke, H., "Zu *imy-r<sup>3</sup> šm<sup>c</sup>* und *tp-šm<sup>c</sup>* im Alten Reich", pp. 1-10.

<sup>126</sup> Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 94..

<sup>127</sup> Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 94.

<sup>128</sup> Brovarski, E., "Overseers of Upper Egypt in the Old to Middle Kingdoms, part 1", p. 96.

<sup>129</sup> Kanawati, N., Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt, p. 71.

زينب علي محمد محروس: الضرائب في مصر القديمة حتى نهاية الدولة الحديثة، رسالة ماجستير غير منشورة، كلية الآثار، جامعة القاهرة، ١٩٨٧.

<sup>130</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, pl. 9.

<sup>131</sup> Brovarski, E., "Overseers of Upper Egypt in the Old to Middle Kingdoms, part 1", pp. 96, 98.

## The Offices and Career of *Dꜣw* / *Šmꜣi* of Deir El-Gebrawi

---

*Dꜣw* / *Šmꜣi* as nomarch of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> nomes was in charge of collecting taxes from these nomes which were under his control as well as making the required levy in those nomes for the residence.

While according to the title *imy-r šmꜣw mꜣꜣ*, the addition of the adjective *mꜣꜣ* after the previous title may indicate that *Dꜣw* / *Šmꜣi* practiced the office in the overall geographical scope of Upper Egypt<sup>132</sup>, consequently *Dꜣw* / *Šmꜣi* was responsible for collecting taxes from all the provinces of Upper Egypt as well as making the required levy of the Upper Egyptian nomes for the residence.

(6)  *imy-r šnwty*:

Jones translated the title as “overseer of the two granaries”<sup>133</sup>. The title was the most important title in the administration of granary<sup>134</sup>. The title was found in the titularies of viziers, construction supervisors and non-viziers<sup>135</sup>.

The dual term of granaries in the title means the over control of the granaries of the whole country and not two particular ones<sup>136</sup>. The holder of that title was in charge of the overall supervision of the entire complex of the granary<sup>137</sup> which was run by officials bearing lower ranks and titles<sup>138</sup>.

The title was known in the Memphite capital since the middle of the fifth dynasty which was firstly held by *sšmw* who is probably dated to the reign of Ne-User-Re<sup>139</sup> while in the provinces it was first known since the early or middle dynasty six<sup>140</sup> as in case of *wnis-ꜣnh* at Thebes<sup>141</sup>.

Since the sixth dynasty and thereafter the numbers of the Memphite holders of the title were reduced, a fact which was confirmed by the development of the provincial administration in the sixth dynasty and the appearance of holders with the same title in the provinces<sup>142</sup>. Therefore, by the middle of dynasty six and then, it was a well known

---

<sup>132</sup> Wb believed that such addition indicated that the office was actually exercised, Wb II, p. 13 [22].

<sup>133</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, pp. 254-255:923.

<sup>134</sup> Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, p. 64.

<sup>135</sup> Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, p. 64; Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 266.

<sup>136</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 265.

<sup>137</sup> Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, p. 64.

<sup>138</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 266.

<sup>139</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 138 (127), 252.

<sup>140</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 253.

<sup>141</sup> Saleh, M., Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes, pp. 12-17.

<sup>142</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 266.

title in the provinces of Thebes<sup>143</sup>, Meir<sup>144</sup>, Abydos<sup>145</sup>, Deir el Gebrawi<sup>146</sup> and Akhmim<sup>147</sup> as they were centred on the most productive lands in Upper Egypt<sup>148</sup>. Finally, one can believe that it was one of the most essential and frequent titles in the provinces' governments.

Martin-Pardey suggested that provincial officials who headed the granaries administration might have been connected with the capital early in their career<sup>149</sup>. On the other hand, Kanawati and Strudwick doubted that suggestion. The former noted that, according to the governmental expansion, the system created branches of the central granaries in some well known province where the land revenue and taxes may be gathered and that the title cannot refer to a previous service in Memphis<sup>150</sup>. The later pointed out that the frequency of the title appearances in the provinces makes it difficult to assume that these title holders performed the same tasks in the capital before moving to their new locations<sup>151</sup>.

Such number of contemporary holders of the title “overseer of the granaries” indicates that their overall control of the granary organisation was not the same as many of them their control most likely did not exceed their provinces<sup>152</sup>.

The holder of *imy-r šnwtj* was responsible for grain and food supply which reflects its significance in the financial administration of the land contributing in the revenue of the treasuries<sup>153</sup>.

As for *Dꜣw / Šmꜣi*, I am inclined to suggest that he carried out the tasks of the granaries in the 8<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> nomes after moving to these nomes as an overlord where he was responsible for grain and food supply as well as collecting the land revenue and taxes.

---

<sup>143</sup> Saleh, M., Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes, pp. 26-27.

<sup>144</sup> Blackman, A., The Rock Tombs of Meir V, pp. 1-15 (*ny-ꜣnh-Ppy / sbk-ḥtp*), 16-56 (*Ppy - ꜣnh / ḥni-km*). For more about the titulary of the latter official, Polet, S., “Pepy-ankh-Heny, Le noir de Meir (tombe A2), a-t-il usurpé le titre de vizir?”, *Res Antiquae* 7, 2010, pp. 423-434.

<sup>145</sup> Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, pp. 61-62 (73 a).

<sup>146</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi I, p. 8 (7); II, pl. ix.

<sup>147</sup> Kanawati, N., The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, The Cemetery of Akhmim III, pp. 7-32 (*kꜣi-ḥb / tti*), 12-37 (*kꜣi-ḥb / tti-ikr*).

<sup>148</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 266.

<sup>149</sup> Martin-Pardey, E., Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches, p. 137 n.1.

<sup>150</sup> Kanawati, N., Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt, p. 74.

<sup>151</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 266.

<sup>152</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 266.

<sup>153</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 275.

## The Offices and Career of *Dꜣw / Šmꜣi* of Deir El-Gebrawi

---

(7)



*imy-ht hm(w)-ntr Mn-ꜥnh-Nfr-k3-Rꜥ  
Rꜥ*

(22)



*shꜣ hm(w)-ntr Mn-ꜥnh-Nfr-k3-*

Jones translated the first title as “under supervisor of *hm-ntr* priests of the pyramid of Neferkare”<sup>154</sup> and the second title as “inspector of *hm-ntr* priests of the pyramid of Neferkare”<sup>155</sup>.

*hm-ntr* was one of the temple phyles which included other staff and personnel beside the *hm-ntr* as: the *wꜥb(w)*, the *hry(w)-hbt*, the *hnty(w)-š* and the *dt* servants<sup>156</sup>. Each of them performed specific tasks in the temple.

*hm-ntr* and *wꜥb* priests were in charge of recitation of the daily rituals and directing the monthly activities<sup>157</sup>.

As for *Dꜣw / Šmꜣi* he was *shꜣ hm(w)-ntr* then he was promoted to *imy-ht hm(w)-ntr*, which was a very high rank. Consequently, he presided all these temple phyles<sup>158</sup> in the cult temple of Pepy II.

---

<sup>154</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 289:1050.

<sup>155</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 934:3447.

<sup>156</sup> Kaplony, P. “Totenpriester”, pp. 679-680.

<sup>157</sup> Roth, A., Egyptian phyles in the Old Kingdom: The Evolution of a system of social organization, pp. 91-92.

<sup>158</sup> Muhs, B., The Ancient Egyptian Economy 3000-30 BCE, p. 43.

It is worth commenting that it is not before the Middle Kingdom that the office of *šḥd ḥm(w) ntr* was linked with the gods' temples beside the mortuary temples of the pyramids<sup>159</sup>.

Since *Dꜣw / Šmꜣi* was *šḥd ḥm(w)-ntr* and then promoted to the *imy-ḥt ḥm(w)-ntr* therefore he may have supervised all the activities in the cult temple of Pepy II or at least directing and managing the prophets<sup>160</sup> who served in the cult temple of Pepy II.

In addition to these two priestly offices, *šmꜣi* was also *wꜣb šnty*, thus he was responsible for the recitation of the daily rituals and the monthly activities in the cult temple of Pepy II and administrating all the affairs of Pepy's II cult temple.

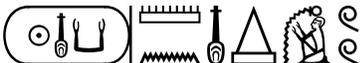
(8)  *wꜣb 200 / wꜣb šnty*:

Jones translated the title as “*wꜣb* priest of two hundred”<sup>161</sup>. Junker remarked that it was a rare and unexplained title which was also attached to the priests of both the court and the pyramid temple<sup>162</sup>. Fischer noted that it was not a very lofty title<sup>163</sup> as it did not reflect a high status.

The title *wꜣb 200* sometimes mentioned alone as in case of *Iḥy*<sup>164</sup>, *Ḥꜣ-issi*<sup>165</sup>, *GGi*<sup>166</sup> and *Dꜣw / Šmꜣi*<sup>167</sup>. While in other cases it was associated either with the *pr-ꜣ* (palace)

 <sup>168</sup> as in case of *ny-ꜣnh-Ppy*<sup>169</sup> or with the pyramid complexes since the end of

the fifth dynasty and thereafter as in cases of  <sup>170</sup> and

 <sup>171</sup> or connected with a phyle  <sup>172</sup>.

<sup>159</sup> Ward, W., Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, p. 154:1327-1330.

<sup>160</sup> Muhs, B., The Ancient Egyptian Economy 3000-30 BCE, p. 43.

<sup>161</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 378:1401.

<sup>162</sup> Junker, H., Giza VI, p. 15.

<sup>163</sup> Fischer, H., Varia Nova, p. 3.

<sup>164</sup> Daressy, G., Le mastaba de Mera, Mémoires Présentés à l'Institut égyptien 3, pp. 562, 567.

<sup>165</sup> Mariette, A., Les Mastaba de l'Ancien Empire, p. 456 (H. 10).

<sup>166</sup> CG 1455, Borchardt, L., Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, p. 142, pl. 35 (left).

<sup>167</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, pl. x.

<sup>168</sup> Murray, M., Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom, p. 18; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, pp. 378-379:1402 (*wꜣb* – priest of the 200 of the palace).

<sup>169</sup> Daressy, G., Le mastaba de Mera, p. 567.

<sup>170</sup> *wꜣb 200 Mn-nfr-Ppy*, James, T. and Apted, M., The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi, p. 10 (33).

<sup>171</sup> *wꜣb 200 Mn-ꜣnh-nfr-k3-Rꜣ*, Murray, M., Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom, p. 18; Junker, H., Giza VI, p. 15; Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 142 (134) *šdy / pth*.

<sup>172</sup> *wꜣb 200 n sꜣ* (wab – priest of 200 of the phyle), Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 379:1403.

## The Offices and Career of $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m\check{z}i$ of Deir El-Gebrawi

It is worth commenting that the translation of the title suggests an obscure group of 200 members<sup>173</sup>. Davies and Goedicke rejected the numerical reading of 200 ( $\check{s}nty$ ). Davies, depending on the pattern of  $w^c b + n + deity$ <sup>174</sup>, suggested that the title refers to a rope god<sup>175</sup>. While Goedicke read the title as  $w^c b wty$  and translated it by “embalmer of the

pure one”<sup>176</sup> in which the coil of  ( $wty$ ) means “to embalm” thus the dual form   $wty$  means “embalmer”<sup>177</sup>. Goedicke believed that the  $w^c b$  element of the title designates Horus, the deceased king, as the pure one<sup>178</sup>.

The title of  $w^c b 200$  in case of  $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m\check{z}i$  may in fact associated with the pyramid of Pepy II as he held many titles associated with that pyramid as  $hnty-\check{s} Mn-^c nh-Nfr-k3-R^c$  (15),  $shd hm(w)-ntr Mn-^c nh-Nfr-k3-R^c$  (22),  $imy-ht hm(w)-ntr Mn-^c nh-Nfr-k3-R^c$  (7), as well as it is mentioned in the inscriptions of his tomb at Deir el Gebrawi directly after these priestly mentioned titles<sup>179</sup>.

(9)    $h3ty-^c$ :

The title is composed of two words:   which means foremost<sup>180</sup> and  which means hand or arm<sup>181</sup>, so it literally means foremost of arm / hand, Wb translated it as “First in Place”<sup>182</sup>, while Faulkner suggested that it means local prince, nomarch or mayor<sup>183</sup> and finally Jones believed in the translation of “count”<sup>184</sup> for the title.

The office was known from the first and second dynasties<sup>185</sup>, It is worth noting that at the early part of the Old Kingdom such office was exclusive for the sons of the sovereign<sup>186</sup>. In fact, the title was one of the most familiar Old Kingdom titles as reflected from its much occurrence in the titularies of the officials during the Old Kingdom which indicates

<sup>173</sup> Baud, M., *Famille royale et pouvoir sous L’Ancien Empire égyptien I*, p. 28 ; Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I*, p. 378 :1401.

<sup>174</sup> Wilson, A., *Pure Ones : the  $w^c b$  And  $w^c bt$  from the Old Kingdom to the end of the Middle Kingdom*, p. 80.

<sup>175</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, p. 2 n. 1.

<sup>176</sup> Goedicke, H., “Gods and Priests by the Hundreds?”, p. 73, n. 3.

<sup>177</sup> Goedicke, H., “Gods and Priests by the Hundreds?”, pp. 73-74.

<sup>178</sup> Goedicke, H., “Gods and Priests by the Hundreds?”, p. 77.

<sup>179</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, pl. x.

<sup>180</sup> Hannig, R., *Handwörterbuch*, p. 537; Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I*, p. 496:1855 – 1857.

<sup>181</sup> FCD, p. 36; Hannig, R., *Handwörterbuch*, p. 133.

<sup>182</sup> Wb III, p. 25 [2].

<sup>183</sup> FCD, p. 162.

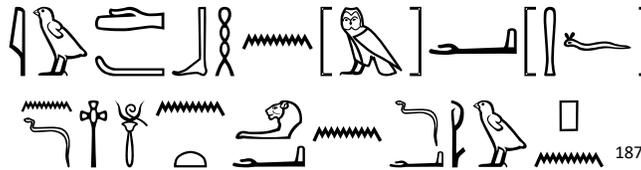
<sup>184</sup> Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I*, p. 496:1858.

<sup>185</sup> Kahl, J., *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.-3. Dynastie*, p. 492; Kahl, J., Kloth, N. and Zimmermann, U., *Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie, Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, pp. 136-137; Bárta, M., “The Title “property custodian of the king” during the Old Kingdom Egypt”, p. 80 n. 12-14.

<sup>186</sup> Helck, W., *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, pp. 20-21; Baud, M., *Famille royale et pouvoir sous L’Ancien Empire égyptien I*, pp. 257-259.

the distinguished social standing of its holder as well as the high administrative role of this office.

It is worth noting that  $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m3i$  did not hold the current title while he was alive, a fact that is clear by a passage in his tomb as his son  $\underline{D}^c w$  asked the monarch to award the office of the  $h3ty-c$  to his father  $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m3i$ .



*iw dbh.n (.i) m-c hm.f*  
*nd i3t nt h3ty-c n Dcw pn*

I asked his majesty awarding the office of count to this Djau.

and in a response his majesty issued an order to make him  $h3ty-c$  as a  $h3p-di-nsw$



*iw rdi.n hm.f irt wd n rdit.f m h3ty-c m h3p-di-nsw*

His majesty caused an order to be issued granting him count as an offering which the  
king gives

Perhaps, the previous request from  $\underline{D}^c w$  the son to the king so as to award his father  $\check{S}m3i$  the office of  $h3ty-c$  even after his death indicates that such office enhance the status of his father as well as it guaranteed the gaining of material support for his tomb and his funerary cult and may reflected that he practised the charge of this job even without holding its title as indicating from the titles  $hry-tp \text{ } \text{ } n \text{ } 3tft$  (12),  $hry-tp \text{ } \text{ } T3-wr$  (13). Finally, by awarding the king his official  $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m3i$  the title of “count” proves the great standing and status of both  $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m3i$  and  $\underline{D}^c w$  to the king.

---

<sup>187</sup> Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 147 [13-14].

<sup>188</sup> Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 147 [15-16].

## The Offices and Career of $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m\check{z}i$ of Deir El-Gebrawi

---

(10)   $hwt\text{-}\check{z}t$ :

Jones read the title as  $hwt\text{-}\check{z}t$  and translated it as “one belonging to or member of the great estate or Domain”<sup>189</sup>. It is worth observing that the title of  $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m\check{z}i$  was preceded

by  ( $n$ )<sup>190</sup> which made Fischer read the current title as  $n(y) hwt \check{z}t$ <sup>191</sup> and he suggested that it might be an error or a variant for  $hwt\text{-}\check{z}ty$  and translated it as “one belonging to the great domain”<sup>192</sup>.

Various interpretations have been proposed concerning  $hwt \check{z}t$  which had consequences in terms of the social and economic history of the Old Kingdom,  $hwt \check{z}t$  was known since the Third dynasty as a large estate or farming estates<sup>193</sup>. It was a kind of palace playing the role of administrative center of a provincial and productive unit created where the policy of founding farms by the crown was particularly intense<sup>194</sup>. Garcia noted that  $hwt \check{z}t$  might be a sector of the palace where the future leaders (nobility) were educated with the sons of the pharaohs before becoming their advisers and having access to position of responsibility in the Kingdom<sup>195</sup>. He also mentioned that  $hwt \check{z}t$  might be a sanctuary in the sun temple at Heliopolis<sup>196</sup>.

The inscription of  $M\check{t}n$  revealed that a single  $hwt \check{z}t$  could govern several localities<sup>197</sup> and that its presence was dominant in the Delta. But this impression could be induced by the fact that  $M\check{t}n$  was an official connected with the administration of Lower Egypt and that  $hwt \check{z}t$  seem to replace older administrative units such as  $prw$ . So,  $hwt\text{-}\check{z}t$  was the administrative center of a district comprising a variable number of localities and recently founded farms<sup>198</sup>.

---

<sup>189</sup> Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I*, p. 499:1868.

<sup>190</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II*, pl. 11; Gardiner, A., *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 490 (N 35).

<sup>191</sup> Fischer, H., *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt*, p. 72 n. 294.

<sup>192</sup> Fischer, H., *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt*, p. 72 n. 294.

<sup>193</sup> Kahl, J., *Frühägyptischen Wörterbuch 3. Lieferung H - H*, p. 298.

<sup>194</sup> Moreno Garcia, J.C., *Administration territoriale et Organisation de L'espace en Egypte au troisième millénaire avant J.-C. (III-IV): nwt m3wt et hwt-3t*, pp. 46, 53.

<sup>195</sup> Moreno Garcia, J.C., *Administration territoriale et organisation de l'espace en Egypte au troisième millénaire avant J.-C. (III-IV): nwt m3wt et hwt-3t*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>196</sup> Moreno Garcia, J.C., *Administration territoriale et organisation de l'espace en Egypte au troisième millénaire avant J.-C. (III-IV): nwt m3wt et hwt-3t*, pp. 51-52.

<sup>197</sup> Goedicke, H., “Die Laufbahn des  $M\check{t}n$ ”, pp. 1-71; Goedicke, H., *Die Privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, pp. 5-20, pls. 1-2.

<sup>198</sup> Moreno Garcia, J.C., “Administration territoriale et organisation de l'espace en Egypte au troisième millénaire avant J.-C. (III-IV): nwt m3wt et hwt-3t”, p. 46.

It is most likely that the term *ḥwt ʿ3t* indicates that the importance of this institution and the extent of the lands which it controlled exceeded those of a simple *ḥwt* which would explain why its presence was limited to certain provinces only<sup>199</sup>. The more modest dimensions of the domains attached to the *ḥwt* allowed these installations to be much more widespread in the provinces, if we judge by the spatial distribution of the holders of the function of *ḥk3 ḥwt* (14) considering that a *ḥwt* controlled agricultural settlements, estates farms<sup>200</sup>, cattle, *mrt* corvee laborers, houses, trees and livestock<sup>201</sup>.

It is worth noting that *ḥwwt ʿ3t* as farming estates were in charge of catering the requirements of the royal household and to support the projects of the state beside supporting the royal cult<sup>202</sup>. These great royal farming estates were frequently in reference to Heliopolis, most probably the revenue of these estates were used to support the temple and its personnel<sup>203</sup> which explained its association with the sun temple at Heliopolis.

Thus *ḥwt-ʿ3t* was a kind of palace that ran vast crown farms including estates, settlements, cattle and workers that were founded in regions that were poorly organized from the administrative point of view or which had great agricultural potential where the crown had an interest in asserting its presence and developing local resources to improve vast exploitations in certain provinces of the country or a sector in the palace acted as a training school for future leaders of the country.

Garcia pointed out that during the sixth dynasty the term *ḥwt-ʿ3t* was restricted to certain apartments of the royal palace as well as to temple installations and a Heliopolitan sanctuary<sup>204</sup>.

From the previous, one can assume that *Dʿw / Šm3i* was in charge of administrating these crown farms' estates, cattle and settlements in the territories he overlorded and organising their labor and productivity. Such opinion was based on the titles *imy-r prwy-ḥd* (2), *imy-r šnwt* (6) and *imy-r šmʿw* (4), *ḥry-tp ʿ3 n 3tft* (12) and *ḥry-tp ʿ3 T3-wr* (13) that he held in his titulary.

---

<sup>199</sup> Moreno Garcia, J.C., Administration territoriale et organisation de l'espace en Egypte au troisième millenaire avant J.-C. (III-IV): *nwt m3wt et ḥwt-ʿ3t*, p. 46.

<sup>200</sup> Sethe, K., Urk I, pp. 1[15], 3 [11-12].

<sup>201</sup> Sethe, K., Urk I, pp. 144-145.

<sup>202</sup> Wilkinson, T., Early Dynastic Egypt, pp. 118, 123-124.

<sup>203</sup> Moreno Garcia, J.C., Administration territoriale et organisation de l'espace en Egypte au troisième millenaire avant J.-C. (III-IV): *nwt m3wt et ḥwt-ʿ3t*, pp. 51-53.

<sup>204</sup> Moreno Garcia, J.C., Administration territoriale et organisation de l'espace en Egypte au troisième millenaire avant J.-C. (III-IV): *nwt m3wt et ḥwt-ʿ3t*, p. 48.



The second title *sdm sdm w<sup>c</sup>* is associated with many legal and judicial contexts as: *hry sšb n sdm w<sup>c</sup> m hwt-wrt* 6<sup>215</sup>, where it was in connection with the *hwt-wrt* institution<sup>216</sup>, and *imy-r sdm nbt šb<sup>217</sup>*.

It is worth commenting that the title *imy-r sdm nbt* which means “overseer of all that is judged”<sup>218</sup> do not indicate only legal matters but it also indicates secret matters and information. A fact which is confirmed by the cases of *nh-m-<sup>c</sup>-Hr*<sup>219</sup> and *Išfi*<sup>220</sup> who were *imy-r sdm nbt* but without any other legal titles in their titularies. Thus, the word *sdm* in their titularies refers to royal confidential matters which designate the king’s trust in them. *sdm sdm w<sup>c</sup>* was also used during the New Kingdom<sup>221</sup> as an epithet indicating confidential and secret matters concerning royal trust<sup>222</sup> and palace confidentiality<sup>223</sup>.

From the previous, one can conclude that the holders of *hry sšb n sdm w<sup>c</sup>* were connected to religious or judicial or palace matters, this differs from case to another according to the contexts and the titulary of every official. For *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šmš* I am inclined to consider that the title reflects a degree of palace confidence or royal trust since he held many titles concerned with the direct contact with the living king as *hry šnd(w)t nbt*, *hry hbt hry-tp, sm*.

- 
- (12)  *hry-tp ʿ3 (n) ʒft*<sup>224</sup>
- (13)  *hry-tp ʿ3 T3-wr*

Jones translated the first title as “great overlord of the 12<sup>th</sup> nome of Upper Egypt”, while he translated the second one as “great overlord of the Thinite nome”<sup>225</sup>.

---

<sup>215</sup> privy to the secret of that which one alone judges in the 6 Great courts, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 644:2359.

<sup>216</sup> For the *Hwt-wrt* and *Hwt-wrt* 6, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 176-198.

<sup>217</sup> Overseer of all secret judgements, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 243:888.

<sup>218</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles I, p. 243:887.

<sup>219</sup> PM III /2, pp. 512-515. (*nh-m-<sup>c</sup>-Hr / ssi*).

<sup>220</sup> Capart, J., Une rue de tombeaux à Saqqarah II, pl. 73.

<sup>221</sup> Al-Ayedi, A., Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom, p. 607:1983.

<sup>222</sup> Sethe, K., UrK IV, p. 410 [12]. (the case of *s-n-mwt*).

<sup>223</sup> Sethe, K., UrK IV, p. 1031 [13]. (the case of the vizier *wsr*).

<sup>224</sup> Jones believed in the reading of *ʒft* rather than the reading *Dwft*, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 651:2383.

<sup>225</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, pp. 651:2383, 657:2395.

## The Offices and Career of $\underline{D}^{\zeta}w / \check{S}m\check{z}i$ of Deir El-Gebrawi

---

It is worth commenting that the title   $s\check{s}m t\check{z}$  was used during the fourth and the fifth dynasties so as to indicate the office of nomarch<sup>226</sup>, while during the sixth dynasty it continued in use in the northern area of Upper Egypt i.e. in the 16-22 nomes<sup>227</sup>.

As for the term    $hry-tp$  it was introduced by the advent of the sixth dynasty particularly from the reign of king Teti to designate a “nomarch”<sup>228</sup>. It is translated as “one who is in charge”<sup>229</sup>, such term was known earlier than the sixth dynasty as it is attested in the pyramid texts<sup>230</sup> as well as in various titles as  $hry-hbt hry-tp$  and  $hry-tp n hkrt nsw$ <sup>231</sup>.

Fischer noted that in the formal titulary of an official the term    $hry-tp$  was followed by the adjective   $\check{z}$  then appended by the word “nome” or “the name of the nome” as in case of  $\underline{D}^{\zeta}w / \check{S}m\check{z}i$ <sup>232</sup>.

Since the beginning of the sixth dynasty till the end of the Old Kingdom, the phrase  $hry-tp \check{z}$  was the only phrase that was used to assign a nomarch<sup>233</sup>. On the contrary, the term  $hry-tp$  was attached to many Old Kingdom titles that its use independently as a less formal designation for nomarch was less noticed<sup>234</sup>.

From the earliest nomarchs who was great overlord was *Isi* of Edfu who served the monarchs Djedkare, Wenis and Teti respectively. But he became  $hry-tp \check{z}$  during the reign of Teti as reflected from his biography where the current title was mentioned last i.e. after a list of titles he acquired during the reign of Teti<sup>235</sup>, then his son *k3r* took over him in Edfou as great overlord by the time of Merenre<sup>236</sup>. At the same time *Ibi*, the father of  $\underline{D}^{\zeta}w / \check{S}m\check{z}i$  became the nomarch  $hry-tp \check{z}$  of the 12<sup>th</sup> nome (*3ft / Dwft*), but according

---

<sup>226</sup> It is translated as leader of the land, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 975:3603.

<sup>227</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 975:3603.

<sup>228</sup> Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 74..

<sup>229</sup> Goedicke, H., “Review of E. Martin-Pardey, Untersuchungen zur Ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches, HÄB 1, Hildesheim, 1976”, p. 122 n. 11.

<sup>230</sup> Sethe, K., Pyr. 182 a (W, N) as  $\check{z}ndty$  is “overlord of his  $sp\check{z}wt$ ”.

<sup>231</sup> Wb III, pp. 395 [9], 140 [16].

<sup>232</sup> Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 74.

<sup>233</sup> Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 74; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 650:2382.

<sup>234</sup> e.g.  $hry-tp n B\check{z}t$  and  $hry-tp Nhb$ , Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, pp. 647:2371, 648:2374.

<sup>235</sup> Maurice, A., Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou 1932, p. 22.

<sup>236</sup> Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 254 [3-4].

to Fischer he might be assigned as a nomarch for the 8<sup>th</sup> nome much earlier than that date i.e. by the time of Pepi I<sup>237</sup>.

The phrase *hry-tp* ʕ was followed in the first title of *Šm3i* by the name of twelfth nome of Upper Egypt *3tft / Dwf*<sup>238</sup>, while in the second title the phrase was followed by the name of the eighth nome of Upper Egypt (Abydos)<sup>239</sup>. Consequently *Dʕw / Šm3i* was great overlord of the eighth and the twelfth nomes of Upper Egypt where he was responsible for administrating and managing both nomes which he was in charge of after the death of Ibi. Finally, it is worth to note that both titles were written fully, each time they were mentioned on the tomb walls, with the emblems of each nome most probably to differentiate between them as both *Dʕw / Šm3i* and *Dʕw* were great overlords of the 8<sup>th</sup> and the 12<sup>th</sup> nomes.

(14)  *hk3 hwt:*

Jones suggested several translations for the title: “estate manager”, “property administrator” and “chief of the estate / field district”<sup>240</sup>.

*hwt* indicates an estate or large farm<sup>241</sup> or a major land holdings<sup>242</sup> van den Boorn suggested that *hwt* refers firstly to all the royal funerary foundation or domain possibly surrounded by a girdle wall originally, then the term was used to refer to a private estate<sup>243</sup>. An opinion which was accepted by Piacentini who believed that *hwwt* were private or semi-private estates given as grant or in usufruct<sup>244</sup>.

According to Boorn the main function of the *hwwt* were to supply the mortuary complex of the deceased king<sup>245</sup>.

It is worth commenting that the office *hk3 hwt* was known since the fourth dynasty, as it was attested in the titularies of the viziers and the members of the royal family which

---

<sup>237</sup> Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 74 n. 305.

<sup>238</sup> Gauthier, H., Dictionnaire des noms Géographiques contenus dans les textes Hiéroglyphiques VI, p. 117 ; Wb V, p. 545 [6-7].

<sup>239</sup> Gauthier, H., Dictionnaire des noms Géographiques contenus dans les textes Hiéroglyphiques VI, p. 11; Wb V, p. 222 [2]. For the orthography of *T3-wr* cf., Gauthier, H., Dictionnaire des noms Géographiques contenus dans les textes Hiéroglyphiques VI, p. 11.

<sup>240</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 670:2453.

<sup>241</sup> Jacquet-Gordon, H., Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l’Ancien Empire égyptien, pp. 3-4, 12.

<sup>242</sup> Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, pp. 11 n. 53, 98.

<sup>243</sup> van den Boorn, G., The Duties of the vizier, Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom, p. 98.

<sup>244</sup> Piacentini, P., “On the Titles of the *hq3w hwt*”, pp. 235-236.

<sup>245</sup> van den Boorn, G., The Duties of the vizier, p. 98.



*hnty-š* was a land tenant or attendant of various pyramids<sup>257</sup>, for (š) Junker noted that it was a land species with a special name in Egypt in the protected area of the royal pyramid towns on the edge of the cultivated land which the king gave to a kind of tenant for management<sup>258</sup>. Fischer believed that it may refer to gardens or plantation basins<sup>259</sup>.

The office of *hnty-š*<sup>260</sup> appears in a various variety of contexts<sup>261</sup>. One of these contexts is relating to a temple functionary<sup>262</sup> as in case of *Šm3i*. The rank *hnty-š Mn-ᵑḥ-Nfr-k3-Rᵑ* was held by men as well as by women<sup>263</sup>.

Abusir Papyri reflect the responsibilities of *hnty(w)-š* as they were in charge of performing the daily rituals as well as guarding the temple at night, beside adorning, wearing and purifying the statue in the rituals for the divine image<sup>264</sup>. *hnty(w)-š* were also responsible for fetching the royal funerary equipments<sup>265</sup>, a task which appears in the inscriptions of *Dᵑw*'s tomb and bringing the temple provisions as well<sup>266</sup>.

*Dᵑw / Šm3i* as reflected from this title served in the cult temple of Pepy II, where he was a *hnty-š* priest serving in the cult temple of Pepy II<sup>267</sup>. It is worth commenting that the office of *hnty-š* did not appear during the Old Kingdom associated with private mortuary cult or cult places of gods and goddesses<sup>268</sup>.

It may be one of the earliest offices *Dᵑw / Šm3i* occupied during his long resplendent career.

---

<sup>257</sup> Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II*, p. 692:2531.

<sup>258</sup> Junker, H., *Giza VI*, p. 15.

<sup>259</sup> Fischer, H., "An invocatory offering basin of the Old Kingdom", pp. 129-131.

<sup>260</sup> Helck, W., "Bemerkungen zu den pyramidenstadten in Alten Reich", p. 102; Andrassy, P., "Die *hntiw-š* im Alten Reich", pp. 3-12.

<sup>261</sup> as the king or the pyramid town, Junker, H., *Giza VI*, p. 15.

<sup>262</sup> Fischer, H., *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt*, p. 171.

<sup>263</sup> For female holders of the title *hnty-š Mn-ᵑḥ-Nfr-k3-Rᵑ*, CG 1519, Borhardt, L., *Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I*, p. 221 (*nbt / bbi*); Malek, J., "Princess Inti, the companion of Horus", p. 240.

<sup>264</sup> Posener-Kriéger, P., *Les archives du temple funéraire de Neferirkarê-Kakaï II*, pp. 577-581.

<sup>265</sup> Sethe, K., *UrK I*, p. 146 [11-13]; Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrâwi II*, pl. XIII.

<sup>266</sup> Fischer, H., *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt*, p. 171.

<sup>267</sup> Eyre, C., "Weni's Career and Old Kingdom Historiography", pp. 110-111.

<sup>268</sup> Roth, A., "The distribution of the Old Kingdom title *hnti-š*", pp. 183-185.

## The Offices and Career of *Dꜣw* / *Šmꜣi* of Deir El-Gebrawi

---

(16)  *hrp šnd(w)t nb(w)t*:

The sign  was used as an ideogram  or as a determinative  *šndyt* and  *šndwt*<sup>269</sup>.

The word *šnd(w)t* was translated by Wb and Hannig as “apron” or “the king’s apron”<sup>270</sup>. Wb translated the title as “director of all aprons”<sup>271</sup>, Gardiner suggested the meaning of “master of every apron”<sup>272</sup>. Helck remarked that the title means “director of all clothes”<sup>273</sup>. Jones believed in the meaning “director of every kilt”<sup>274</sup>. Hannig pointed out that it means “overseer of all aprons”<sup>275</sup>.

The title designates the responsibility of its holder for the royal wardrobe and the clothing of the king.

The *hrp šnd(w)t nbt* most probably made its first appearance during the fourth dynasty<sup>276</sup>. The prince *snb-snfrw*, who is dated by PM to the middle of the fourth dynasty up to the early of the fifth dynasty<sup>277</sup> while Strudwick assigned this prince between the reign of Khafre to that of Menkaure<sup>278</sup>, may be the first holder of the title. Then it was held by *ny-k3-nswt*, who is dated by PM to the early of the fifth dynasty<sup>279</sup> while Strudwick suggested earlier date as he dated him to the end of the fourth dynasty and the early of the fifth dynasty<sup>280</sup>.

The current title was held firstly by princes most likely due to the very close connection of its holder with the sovereign whom the holder of the title was attending on him with special affirmation on the royal wardrobe and the king’s wearing then by the time it was held by viziers and senior officials<sup>281</sup>.

---

<sup>269</sup> Gardiner, A., *Egyptian Grammar*, p. 507 (S 26).

<sup>270</sup> Wb IV, p. 522 [1]; Hannig, R., *Handwörterbuch*, p. 899.

<sup>271</sup> Wb IV, p. 522 [6].

<sup>272</sup> Gardiner, A., *AEO I*, p. 40\*.

<sup>273</sup> Helck, W., *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, p. 35.

<sup>274</sup> Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II*, p. 751:2737.

<sup>275</sup> Hannig, R., *Handwörterbuch*, p. 899.

<sup>276</sup> Helck, W., *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, p. 35.

<sup>277</sup> PM III/1, p. 125.

<sup>278</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 39.

<sup>279</sup> PM III/1, p. 78.

<sup>280</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 78.

<sup>281</sup> Helck, W., *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, p. 35; Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, pp. 100-101 (68), 125-126 (109), 154-155 (151).

During the fifth dynasty it was common as it was held by *ny-m3<sup>c</sup>t-R<sup>c</sup>282* while during the sixth dynasty it was quite familiar either in the Memphite necropolis<sup>283</sup> or in the provinces<sup>284</sup>.

It is worth commenting that all the holders of *hrp šnd(w)t nbt* were without any exception sm priests (20)<sup>285</sup>. The two former offices were always associated with two other offices which were *hry-ḥbt* (18) and *hry-ḥbt hry-tp* (19)<sup>286</sup>. Such association between these four titles reflects the close and intimate link with the king.

As for *D<sup>c</sup>w / Šm3i* he may spent part of his life with direct contact with the sovereign Pepy II playing the role of arranging his wardrobe and dressing him.

---

<sup>282</sup> PM III/1, p. 480.

<sup>283</sup> *k3i-gmni / mmi* (early reign of Teti), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 154-155 (151).

*mrrw-k3i / mri* (end reign of Teti), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 100-101 (68).

*nfr-sšm-ptḥ / šši / wd3-ḥ3-tti* (reign of Teti to early reign of Pepy I), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 111 (87).

*mry-r<sup>c</sup>-mry-<sup>c</sup>nh-ptḥ / nhbw* (middle to late reign of Pepy I), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 113 (90).

*mry-r<sup>c</sup>-mry-<sup>c</sup>nh-ptḥ / ptḥ-šps / impy* (before the middle reign of Pepy II), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 96-97 (62).

*s3bw-ptḥ / ibbi* (middle of the reign of Pepy II), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 130-131 (117).

*ḥ<sup>c</sup>-b3w-hnmw / biw* (third quarter of the reign of Pepy II), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 121-122 (102).

*titi* (end of the reign of Pepy II), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 157-158 (156).

*ttw* (dated from the seventh dynasty to the tenth dynasty), Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 160-161 (160).

<sup>284</sup> It was attested in Abydos where it was held by *D<sup>c</sup>w*, CG 1431 (Borchardt, L., Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, pp. 111-112) and *nh<sup>t</sup>-Ppy*, CG 1573 (Borchardt, L., Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II, pp. 51-52, pl. 75 (top left).

- It was also noted at Akhmim as it was held by *špsi-pw-min / hni*, Kanawati, N., The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, the cemetery of Akhmim II, p. 7 and by *titi-k3-ḥb*, Kanawati, N., The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, the cemetery of Akhmim III, p. 8.

- As well as in Deir el-Gebrawi where it was held by *ḥm-r<sup>c</sup> / Isi*, Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El-Gebrâwi II, pl. XVII.

- also in Meir where it was appeared in the titularies of *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh / Hry-ib*, Blackman, A., The Rock Tombs of Meir IV, pp. 1-3; and *Ppy-<sup>c</sup>nh / Hni-km*, Blackman, A. and Apted, M., The Rock Tombs of Meir V, pp. 1-2.

<sup>285</sup> Gardiner, A., AEO I, pp. 40\*-41\*; Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, p. 35.

<sup>286</sup> Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 41\*; Kees, H., “Der Sogenannte Oberste Vorlesepriester”, pp. 119-139.

## The Offices and Career of *Dꜣw* / *Šmꜣi* of Deir El-Gebrawi

---

(17)  *htmty-bity*:

Jones translated the title as “sealer of the king of Lower Egypt”<sup>287</sup>. Different opinions were raised among scholars concerning the reading of the current title, Wb did not specify a reading for that title<sup>288</sup>. Boochs offered two readings for it, the first was *htm bity* and the second was *sdꜣwtꜣ bity*<sup>289</sup>. Fischer suggested firstly the reading of *htmty-bity*<sup>290</sup>. Then he confirmed that reading as he debated that such differences in the reading of the

title is due to the absence of major evidence for the phonetic writings of both signs 

(S 19) and  (S 20)<sup>291</sup> in the titles of the Old Kingdom as both signs were interchanged<sup>292</sup>. Strudwick noted that the current title was written in the dynasty four as

 while in the dynasties five and six the writing  was more usual<sup>293</sup>. But Fischer indicated that the only known evidence for the reading *htm* or *htmt* is that both

signs were followed by the phonetic complement  <sup>294</sup>. Such phonetic complement let Fischer approved the reading of the title as *htmty bity*<sup>295</sup>.

Boochs translated the title as “keeper of the seal of king of Lower Egypt”, in case of the reading *htmty* and the second translation was “treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt”, in case of the reading *sdꜣwtꜣ*<sup>296</sup>. Fischer adopted the second translation offered by Boochs “treasurer of the king of Lower Egypt”<sup>297</sup>. Jones preferred the translation of “sealer of the king of Lower Egypt”<sup>298</sup> and Finally, Hannig pointed out to two translations which are “keeper of the crown seals” and “keeper of the seals of the king of Lower Egypt”<sup>299</sup>.

---

<sup>287</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 763:2775.

<sup>288</sup> Wb I, p. 435 [8].

<sup>289</sup> Boochs, W., Siegel und Siegeln im Alten Ägypten, pp. 66, 106, 116.

<sup>290</sup> Fischer, H., Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom, A supplement to Wm.Ward’s Index, p. 77:1472.

<sup>291</sup> Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 506 (S 19) and (S 20).

<sup>292</sup> Fischer, H., Varia Nova, p. 50.

<sup>293</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 79.

<sup>294</sup> Fischer, H., Varia Nova, p. 50.

<sup>295</sup> Fischer, H., Varia Nova, p. 253.

<sup>296</sup> Boochs, W., Siegel und Siegeln im Alten Ägypten, pp. 66, 106, 116.

<sup>297</sup> Fischer, H., Varia Nova, p. 253.

<sup>298</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 763:2775.

<sup>299</sup> Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 675.

Wb indicated that it was an old title for distinguished persons<sup>300</sup>. The title made its first occurrence during the reign of king Den as it was held by *Ḥm3-k3*<sup>301</sup>.

Hannig believed that it was the third highest court title<sup>302</sup>. The title *ḥtmty bity* was common during the fourth dynasty but less sporadic in the fifth dynasty, while it became very frequent during the sixth dynasty in Memphis as well as in the provinces<sup>303</sup>.

The title appeared in many provinces where it was attested in Abydos<sup>304</sup>, Deir el Gebrawi<sup>305</sup> and Sheik Said<sup>306</sup>.

Uphill noted that the title designates an office rather than a rank<sup>307</sup>. The office was quite spread in the whole state<sup>308</sup> in order to store the various sorts of food and raw materials. These materials were stored and secured in large stores and warehouses by *ḥtmty-bity* and under the direct overseeing of the local chief<sup>309</sup>. This fact made the office of *ḥtmty-bity* was always needed.

It is worth commenting that there was a common connection between the holders of the title *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* and those of *ḥtmty-bity*. Such connection was confirmed by the fact that *ḥtmty(w)-bity* were mentioned in the second place directly after the *ḥ3ty(w)-ꜥ* in Weni's list of the army<sup>310</sup> and also by Margaret Murray who pointed out that the officials with the title *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* had the rank of *sd3wty-bity*<sup>311</sup>. Such relationship or connection between the office of *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* and that of *ḥtmty-bity* rose from the local chiefs' responsibility to maintain the security of these stores.

*Dꜥw / Šm3i* who was *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, even after his death<sup>312</sup>, *ḥry-tp ʕ3 T3-wr*, *ḥry-tp ʕ3 3ft* and *ḥtmty-bity* most probably was the direct supervisor of the stores of the 8<sup>th</sup> and 12<sup>th</sup> nomes of Upper Egypt, such responsibility may gave his son *Dꜥw* the courage to ask the king Pepy II to award his father *Šm3i* the title *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* even after his death as he really executed the job

---

<sup>300</sup> Wb I, p. 435 [8].

<sup>301</sup> Petrie, W., The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty (I), pls. 14 (12), 15 (16); Emery, W., Archaic Egypt, p. 75.

<sup>302</sup> Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 675.

<sup>303</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 310.

<sup>304</sup> CG 1579, Borchardt, L., Denkmäler des Alten Reiches II, p. 60.

<sup>305</sup> Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi I, p. 9 (31); II, p. 1 (8), pl. X.

<sup>306</sup> Davies, N. De G., The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd, pp. 25, 27, 30.

<sup>307</sup> Uphill, E., "The Office *sd3wty bity*", p. 250.

<sup>308</sup> Uphill remarked that it was very common and sporadic than to be held by an official or two at the same time, Uphill, E., "The Office *sd3wty bity*", p. 250.

<sup>309</sup> Uphill, E., "The Office *sd3wty bity*", p. 250.

<sup>310</sup> Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 102 [3].

<sup>311</sup> Murray, M., Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom, pp. LIX-LXI.

<sup>312</sup> Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 147 [15-16].

## The Offices and Career of $\underline{D}^c w$ / $\check{S}m\check{z}i$ of Deir El-Gebrawi

---

responsibilities without bearing the title and finally according to *imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w* he may had the responsibility of supervision of the whole stores of Upper Egypt.

(18)  *hry-hbt*:

Jones translated the title as “lector priest” and “He who carries the ritual book”<sup>313</sup>. For the reading of the title, Sethe remarked that it is read as *hrw-hbt*. He pointed out that the two

unilateral signs  (*h*) and  (*b*) as well as the biliteral sign  (*hr*) were an abbreviated

writing for the full writing of the title which is  <sup>314</sup>. Sethe also quoted that the second word, in the current title, was usually spelt as *hbt* with the

omission of the ending  <sup>315</sup>.

*hry-hbt* was attested from dynasty two as it was ordinarily held by the crown prince<sup>316</sup>. Then by the advent of the third dynasty it was recognized in the titles of the high officials<sup>317</sup>.

Gardiner and Jones adopted the translation of “He who carries the ritual book”<sup>318</sup>. A fact which made the lector priest depicted in the scenes of the mortuary temples and the private tombs as well, therefore the *hry-hbt* was a distinguished member in the ceremonies<sup>319</sup>. Wilson pointed out that the *hry-hbt* was responsible for reciting and leading of the daily rituals in both the royal mortuary temples and the private tombs<sup>320</sup>. In some instances the *hry-hbt* was depicted burning incense and scenting the offerings in front of the deceased by sprinkling the aromatic incense grain into the brazier, a job which was always performed by the *hm(w)-k*<sup>321</sup>. Beside the previous tasks the *hry-hbt* priest was in charge of performing the int-rd rite<sup>322</sup>. Finally, Strudwick indicated that the office of *hry-hbt* might had developed a type of courtly function which was very restricted to high ranked officials. Such function was different than the functions carried

---

<sup>313</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 781:2848.

<sup>314</sup> Sethe, K., “Miszelle”, p. 134.

<sup>315</sup> Sethe, K., “Miszelle”, p. 134.

<sup>316</sup> Kaplony, P., Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der Aegyptischen Frühzeit, p. 518.

<sup>317</sup> Kaplony, P., Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der Aegyptischen Frühzeit, pp. 403-404, 449-450.

<sup>318</sup> Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 55\*; Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 781:2848.

<sup>319</sup> Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 55\*.

<sup>320</sup> Wilson, J., “Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom”, pp. 215-216.

<sup>321</sup> James, T. and Apted, M., The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi, pl. XXI; Kanawati, N. and El-Khouli, A., Quseir El-Amarna, The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khewen-wekh, pl. 40.

<sup>322</sup> James, T. and Apted, M., The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi, pl. XIV (upper).

out by those officials (*hry-ḥbt*) who were represented in Abusir Papyri<sup>323</sup>. But Strudwick did not determine that function performed by those highly ranked officials.

In the sixth dynasty, the title *hry-ḥbt* was very frequent in the titularies of many overseers of Upper Egypt either in the Memphite necropolis or the provinces as well.

I know at least four *imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w* buried in the capital and were *hry(w)-ḥbt* as: *ny-k3w-issi*<sup>324</sup>, *k3-gm.n.i / mmi*<sup>325</sup>, *mḥw*<sup>326</sup> and *ḥsy*<sup>327</sup>. It was also widespread in the provinces as it was attested in Sheikh Said in the cases of: *wi<sup>w</sup> / iyw*<sup>328</sup> and *mrw / bbi*<sup>329</sup>. In Meir as the cases of *ny-<sup>c</sup>nḥ-ppy / sbk-ḥtp / ḥpy km*<sup>330</sup>, *ppy-<sup>c</sup>nḥ / mry r<sup>c</sup>-<sup>c</sup>nḥ hry-ib / nfr-k3 / ḥni*<sup>331</sup> and *ppy-<sup>c</sup>nḥ / ḥni km*<sup>332</sup>. In Dandarah as in the titularies of *Idw I*<sup>333</sup> and *Idw II*<sup>334</sup>. Also in sharuna by *ppy-<sup>c</sup>nḥ / ḥwi*<sup>335</sup>. In Edfou by *mry r<sup>c</sup> (Ppy)-nfr / k3r*<sup>336</sup> and in Qubbet el Hawa as it was held by *hr-ḥw.f*<sup>337</sup> and *s3bni I*<sup>338</sup>. From the previous, one can conclude that *hry ḥbt* was very common in the provinces as well as in the capital.

(19)  *hry-ḥbt hry-tp:*

Jones presented two translations for the current title: the first is “chief lector priest” and the second is “lector priest in charge”<sup>339</sup>.

*hry-tp* as a term was recognized since the pyramid texts and continued in appearance till the end of the Old Kingdom<sup>340</sup>.

---

<sup>323</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 226.

<sup>324</sup> Kanawati, N. and Abder-Raziq, M., *The Teti cemetery at Saqqara VI, The tomb of Nikauisesi*, pp. 1-10.

<sup>325</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 154 [151].

<sup>326</sup> Altenmüller, H., *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara*, pp. 34-37.

<sup>327</sup> El-Khouli, A. and Kanawati, N., *Excavations at Saqqara, North-West of Teti's Pyramid II*, pp. 18-22, pls. 10-12.

<sup>328</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, pls. 17, 21, 23, 29.

<sup>329</sup> Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, pls. 19-21.

<sup>330</sup> Blackman, A. and Apted, M., *The Rock Tombs of Meir V*, pp. 1-2, pls. 4-14.

<sup>331</sup> Blackman, A., *The Rock Tombs of Meir IV*, ASE 25, London, 1924, passim.

<sup>332</sup> Blackman, A. and Apted, M., *The Rock Tombs of Meir V*, pp. 15-56, pls. 15-43.

<sup>333</sup> Fischer, H., *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt*, p. 93 (15).

<sup>334</sup> Fischer, H., *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt*, p. 101.

<sup>335</sup> Brodrick, M. and Morton, A., “The tomb of Pepy ankh (khua), near Sharona”, pp. 26-33.

<sup>336</sup> El-Khadragy, M., “The Edfu offering Niche of Qar in the Cairo Museum”, pp. 203-228.

<sup>337</sup> Edel, E., *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan, I / 1*, QH 25 / 26, pp. 644 - 647, pls. 26-28, 30-32.

<sup>338</sup> Edel, E., *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan, I / 1*, QH 25 / 26, pp. 221-222, pls. 1-2, 7-15.

<sup>339</sup> Jones, D., *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II*, p. 784:2860.

<sup>340</sup> Fischer, H., *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt*, p. 74.

## The Offices and Career of *Dꜣw* / *Šmꜣi* of Deir El-Gebrawi

---

Fischer pointed out that it was not used as an independent title<sup>341</sup> but it was attached to many different titles<sup>342</sup>.

The former title *hry-ḥbt* was followed by several additions as *imy rnpt*<sup>343</sup>, *pr-dt*<sup>344</sup>, *smsw*<sup>345</sup> or attached to towns as *ḳis*<sup>346</sup>, while the most frequent one was the addition of the term *hry-tp* after it<sup>347</sup>.

The title *hry-ḥbt hry-tp* was often attested in the titularies of princes as well as the highest civil officials<sup>348</sup>, particularly the viziers other than the holders of any other administrative title<sup>349</sup>.

Goedicke remarked that the term *hry-tp* within the title *hry-ḥbt hry-tp* indicates a position of responsibility and entrustment not a rank with commanding authority and power<sup>350</sup>. Such opinion was accepted by Brovarski who stated that the current title does not reflect a degree of command but it reflects a long extent in the service<sup>351</sup>. Consequently, it designates a leadership position other than a position of Authority.

As for *Dꜣw* / *Šmꜣi* one can conclude that he was *hry-ḥbt* and after a long extent in the service he was promoted to the *hry-ḥbt hry-tp* most probably due to his great experience which qualified him to be *hry-tp*.

Finally, *Dꜣw* / *Šmꜣi* according to his titles *hry-ḥbt*, *hry-ḥbt hry-tp*, *hrp šnd(w)t nbt* (16) and *sm* (20) was in a direct connection with the sovereign and he took the responsibilities of *hry-ḥbt* and *hry-ḥbt hry-tp* in the palace, a fact which was confirmed by the absence of any particular cult temple attached to these four titles, therefore *Dꜣw* / *Šmꜣi* was in charge of reciting the appropriate spells on the sovereign (Pepy II) during his clothing and dressing as reflected from the title *hrp šnd(w)t nbt* (18) as well as reciting him during the various stages of his ornamenting as *sm* priest (20).

---

<sup>341</sup> Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 74.

<sup>342</sup> as: *hry-tp idr* ʕ3, *hry-tp n Bꜣt*, *hry-tp mdw n wdꜣ mdw štꜣ(w) n ḥwt-wrt*, *hry-tp mdw štꜣ(w) n ḥwt-wrt*, *hry-tp Nḥb*, *hry-tp Nḥb n it.f*, *hry-tp n spꜣt*, *hry-tp sšr*, *hry-tp dꜣt*, *hry-tp dꜣt m ḥwt-ntr*, *hry-tp dꜣt m ḥwt-ntr nt Inḥrt* and *hry-tp dꜣt n Ḥwt-ḥr nbt Twnt*, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, pp. 647-650:2370-2381.

<sup>343</sup> *hry-ḥbt imy rnpt*, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 781:2849. (lector priest who is in the year of duty).

<sup>344</sup> *hry-ḥbt pr dt*, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 782:2853 (lector priest of the funerary estate).

<sup>345</sup> *hry-ḥbt smsw*, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 785:2863. (senior lector priest).

<sup>346</sup> *hry-ḥbt m ḳis*, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 786:2866. (lector priest in Qusiya).

<sup>347</sup> For further additions to *hry-ḥbt*, Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, pp. 781-786:2849-2866.

<sup>348</sup> Otto, E., "Cheriheb", pp. 941-942.

<sup>349</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 315.

<sup>350</sup> Goedicke, H., "Review of E. Martin-Pardey, Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches, HÄB 1, Hildesheim, 1976", p. 122.

<sup>351</sup> Brovarski, E., "Tempelpersonal I", p. 389.

(20)  *s(t)m*:

Jones translated it as “sem priest”<sup>352</sup>. The title was usually written phonetically in three different ways as: ,  and  <sup>353</sup>. Thus led scholars to disagree concerning its reading, Wb suggested the reading of *sm*<sup>354</sup>. James believed in the reading *smt*<sup>355</sup>. Both Baer and Fischer adopted the reading *stm*<sup>356</sup>, while Jones and Hannig suggested two readings for it without advocating any of them the first is “*sm*” and the second is “*stm*”<sup>357</sup>.

For such differences in the reading of the title, James debated that various readings noting that *smt* was the late version of the title *stm* and the early forms reveal that *smt* was the original reading of the title<sup>358</sup>.

For the orthography of the title, it was ordinarily written with the two uniliteral signs  <sup>359</sup> and  *m*<sup>360</sup> without any specific determinatives<sup>361</sup>.

Despite the absence of determinatives following these two uniliteral signs, there are some allusions for determinatives following this writing, the temple of Ne-User-Re, sixth monarch of the fifth dynasty<sup>362</sup>, displays two determinatives following the s and m. The first is a standing man holding a staff and the second is a standing priest with leopard skin<sup>363</sup>. A third allusion derives from the biography of *R<sup>c</sup>-wr*, who is dated to the reigns of Sahure and Neferirkare<sup>364</sup>, from his tomb at Giza where the phonetical writing was followed by a standing priest grasping a baton<sup>365</sup>.

---

<sup>352</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 885:3241.

<sup>353</sup> Wb IV, p. 119.

<sup>354</sup> Wb IV, p. 119.

<sup>355</sup> James, T. and Apted, M., The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi, p. 9 (7).

<sup>356</sup> Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, p. 220; Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 137 n. 600.

<sup>357</sup> Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles II, p. 885:3241; Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 756.

<sup>358</sup> James, T. and Apted, M., The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi, p. 11.

<sup>359</sup> Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 507 (S 29).

<sup>360</sup> Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 469 (G 17).

<sup>361</sup> Wb IV, p. 119; Gauthier, H., “Le Sarcophage n° 6007 du Musée du Caire”, p. 176.

<sup>362</sup> von Beckerath, J., Handbuch der ägyptischen königsnamen, p. 55.

<sup>363</sup> von Bissing, F. and Kees, H., Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re III, pl. 9 nos. 193-194.

<sup>364</sup> Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 232.

<sup>365</sup> Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 232 [6].

## The Offices and Career of *D<sup>c</sup>w* / *Šm3i* of Deir El-Gebrawi

---

For the nature and responsibilities of *sm*, Wb quoted that it was a priestly function<sup>366</sup> was known as early as the First Dynasty<sup>367</sup>.

It is worth commenting that the association of this priest with the ritual of “opening the mouth”<sup>368</sup> was not known in the Old Kingdom although the ritual was attested iconographically, as far as I know, only once in the Old Kingdom tomb scenes which is depicted in the tomb of *Mtn*<sup>369</sup>. Since then, it was barely noticed in the Old Kingdom private tombs.

The *sm* priest in the Old Kingdom was responsible for many aspects for the king either after his death or in his daily life. For the dead king *sm* priest was a participant in performing ceremonies for him<sup>370</sup>.

A job which is represented in the scenes of Pepy’s II temple where a “sm” is represented executing the ritual of “pouring of water” in front of the king who is represented seated at a table of offerings<sup>371</sup>.

While the *sm* priest was performing many aspects for the living king as he acted as the king’s priest<sup>372</sup>. Some of these aspects took part outside the palace whilst the others were inside it. For the missions that *sm* priests carried out outside the palace, He served as the king’s delegate or representative while offering to gods<sup>373</sup> which most likely reflects his duty in directing and leading of the processions. “*sm*” was also a regular companion to the king in Sed festivals<sup>374</sup>. This role is approved through *R<sup>c</sup>-wr*’s unusual biography that represent the *sm* priest carrying the ceremonial items as scepters<sup>375</sup>. As well as the title of

---

<sup>366</sup> Wb IV, p. 119 [3-5].

<sup>367</sup> Serrano, A., Royal Festivals in the Late Predynastic Period and the First Dynasty, pp. 32, 59-60, 66-67.

<sup>368</sup> For references for that ritual, Goyon, J., *Rituels Funéraires de L’Ancienne Égypte, Le Rituel de L’Embaumement, Le Rituel de L’Ouverture de la Bouche, Les Livres des Respirations, Introduction, traduction et commentaire*, Paris, 1972 ; Smith, M., *The Liturgy of opening the mouth for Breathing*, pp. 13-17.

<sup>369</sup> LD II, Abt. II, pls. 4-5; The ritual of opening of the mouth was part of the mortuary ritual as early as the fourth dynasty tomb of *Mtn*, Roth, A., “The *Pšš-kf* and the “opening of the mouth” ceremony: A Ritual of Birth and Rebirth”, p. 117 n. 23.

<sup>370</sup> Wb IV, p. 119 [4].

<sup>371</sup> Jéquier, G., *Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II, II, Le Temple*, pls. 81, 87.

<sup>372</sup> von Bissing, F. and Kees, H., *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures), II*, pls. 6 no. 13, 12 no. 32, 13 no. 33a, 16 no. 39, 17 no. 42, 18 no. 44c, 19 nos. 45 a-b, 22 nos. 51-52, 23 no. 58.

<sup>373</sup> Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 41\*.

<sup>374</sup> Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 41\*; Nuzzolo, M., “The Sed-Festival of Niuserra and the Fifth Dynasty Sun Temples”, pp. 369-376.

<sup>375</sup> von Bissing, F. and Kees, H., *Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures), II*, pls. 16 no. 39, 18 nos. 44 a, c-d; Sethe, K., UrK I, p. 232.



## The Offices and Career of *Dꜣw / Šmꜣi* of Deir El-Gebrawi

---

*Smr wꜣty* was known as a title since the early of dynasty four. *Hm-iwnw*, son of the vizier *Nfr-mꜣꜣt* of Meidum<sup>382</sup>, who is dated back to the middle to later reign of king Khufu, most likely was the first holder of the title in the Old Kingdom<sup>383</sup>. Since then, the title *smr wꜣty* became widely common in both the Memphite necropolis and provinces till the end of the Old Kingdom<sup>384</sup> and continued in occurrence in the Middle Kingdom<sup>385</sup>.

Wb quoted that *smr wꜣty* was a very common title since the Old Kingdom for the highest persons particularly princes and viziers<sup>386</sup>. On the contrary, Strudwick pointed out that it was common with all classes and categories of officials<sup>387</sup>.

For the nature of *smr-wꜣty*, Strudwick noted that it was an honorific title expressing high status and connection with the king other than implying a specific career or office<sup>388</sup>. Fischer rejected that opinion given by Strudwick believing that it represented the lowest of the titles of rank<sup>389</sup>. Eyre depending on the royal decrees indicated that *smr(w)-wꜣty(w)* performed the charge of the royal envoys<sup>390</sup>. A Middle Kingdom allusion from the tale of Sinuhe confirming that point of view suggested by Eyre that the *smr(w)* of the palace were sent to let the prince *S-n-wsrt* know the incident which took place in the palace i.e. the death of the king Amenemhat I<sup>391</sup>.

One can conclude that the title *smr wꜣty* referred to a real rank in which the holder of it was very close to the king that let the latter allowed him to perform the responsibility of the royal envoy at the end of the Old Kingdom.

It is worth to note that most of the holders of *hry-ḥbt* title (18) in the Old Kingdom were *smr wꜣty*<sup>392</sup>. A fact which is attested in the case of *Dꜣw / Šmꜣi*, most likely *smr wꜣty* in his titulary represented the very special status he enjoyed during the reign of Pepy II and the intimate relationship with that sovereign.

The titles *imy-r prwy-ḥd* (2) and *imy-r šnwty* (6) were found in the provinces in the titularies of viziers and non-viziers at the second half of dynasty six<sup>393</sup>. It is worth

---

<sup>382</sup> Kanawati, N., *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom: Evidence on its Economic Decline*, p. 21.

<sup>383</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 117 (96).

<sup>384</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 310 tb. 30. (232 holders in Memphis and 90 holders in the provinces).

<sup>385</sup> Ward, W., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, p. 151 [1299].

<sup>386</sup> Wb IV, p. 138 [11].

<sup>387</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 225.

<sup>388</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 175.

<sup>389</sup> Fischer, H., *The Tomb of I'p at El Saff*, p. 21.

<sup>390</sup> Eyre, C., "Weni's Career and Old Kingdom Historiography", p. 110.

<sup>391</sup> Sethe, K., *Aegyptische Lesestücke*, p. 3; Lichtheim, M., *Ancient Egyptian Literature I*, p. 224.

<sup>392</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 226.

<sup>393</sup> Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, p. 326.

commenting that all the sixth dynasty holders of the title *imy-r prwy-ḥd* (2) were *smr wꜥty* at the same time<sup>394</sup>. As well as the holders of *imy-r šnwty* were principally at least *smr wꜥty* and *ḥtmty bity*<sup>395</sup>. The title *ḥtmty-bity* was usually attested alongside with *ḥ3ty-ꜥ* or *smr wꜥty* or both of them, as in case of *Šm3i*, consequently the five titles *imy-r prwy-ḥd*, *imy-r šnwty*, *ḥ3ty-ꜥ*, *smr wꜥty* and *ḥtmty bity* were in a very close connection or relationship with each other, which may suggest a real office for *smr wꜥty* other than a honorific title.

### **Conclusion:**

- (1) The offices and titles of *Dꜥw / Šm3i* represent three distinguished groups of titles. The first group associated him with the territorial (nome) administration which are the titles 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14 and 17. The second group of titles was priestly titles linked him with the cult temple of Pepy II which are the titles 7, 8, 15 and 22. The last group of titles linked him with the direct and close service of the monarch Pepy II inside the court, whom he was contemporary with him, which are the titles 11, 16, 18, 19, 20 and 21.
- (2) *Dꜥw / Šm3i* spent many years in the Memphite capital serving in the mortuary temple of Pepy II and the royal palace before he was moved to manage the Eighth and Twelfth nomes of Upper Egypt.
- (3) After several years *Šm3i* spent in the temple of Pepy II, he was moved to serve the monarch inside the palace where he carried out the responsibilities of the third group of titles.
- (4) The second group of titles which consists of the following four titles: *imy-ḥt ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-ꜥnh-Nfr-k3-Rꜥ* (7), *šḥd ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-ꜥnh-Nfr-k3-Rꜥ* (22), *ḥnty-š Mn-ꜥnh-nfr-k3-Rꜥ* (15) and *wꜥb 200* (8) shows his connection with the cult temple of Pepy II. The three firstly mentioned titles show such association frankly. Consequently, he might carried out the responsibilities of the fourth profession inside the same temple.
- (5) *Dꜥw / Šm3i* climbed the ladder of the cult temple of Pepy II from the very beginning. I believed that *ḥnty-š Mn-ꜥnh-Nfr-k3-Rꜥ* (15) was the first career in *Šm3i*'s long list of offices that he entered the cult temple performing the duties of such office then he held the title *wꜥb 200* (8). Thereafter he became *šḥd ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-ꜥnh-Nfr-k3-Rꜥ* (22) and *imy-ḥt ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-ꜥnh-Nfr-k3-Rꜥ* (7).
- (6) *Dꜥw / Šm3i* was promoted inside the temple of Pepy II from *šḥd ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-ꜥnh-Nfr-k3-Rꜥ* (22) to *imy-ḥt ḥm(w)-ntr Mn-ꜥnh-Nfr-k3-Rꜥ* (7).
- (7) The third group of titles reflects the direct link and connection of *Dꜥw / Šm3i* with the sovereign Pepy II as he was in charge of clothing and dressing him “*sm*” (20), arranging his wardrobe “*ḥrp šnd(w)t nbt*” (16), reciting him during his clothing “*ḥry-ḥbt, ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-tp*” (18) and (19). His sincerity in his work was a reason for

<sup>394</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 286.

<sup>395</sup> Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 261.

## The Offices and Career of $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m3i$ of Deir El-Gebrawi

---

- the king to award him the title “*hry-sšt3 n sdmt w<sup>c</sup>*” (11). Such loyalty made the king choose him as a “*smr w<sup>c</sup>ty*” (21).
- (8)  $\check{S}m3i$  was promoted inside the court from *hry-hbt* (18) to *hry-hbt hry-tp* (19). I suggest that *hry-hbt* (18) was the first career for  $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m3i$  inside the royal palace.
- (9) The three titles *hrp šnd(w)t nbt* (16), *hry-hbt hry-tp* (19) and *sm* (20) indicated  $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m3i$ 's attending in Pepy's II royal suite.
- (10)  $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m3i$  depending on the title *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty* (21) may had carried out the responsibilities of the royal envoy.
- (11)  $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m3i$ , according to his sincerity and loyalty in his work, was moved to the Eighth and the Twelfth nomes of Upper Egypt respectively as an overlord for these two distinguished administrative nomes at the end of the Old Kingdom to inherit the professions of his father and predecessor Ibi.
- (12) As a *h3ty* (9) and a nomarch of Abydos and Deir el Gebrawi (13) and (12),  $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m3i$  was responsible for running these nomes as well as managing the economic investment for the state as indicated from the titles *imy-r sšwy* (3), *hwt 3t* (10) and *hk3 hwt* (14) He was also as a nomarch in charge of administrating all the divisions of offerings which came through land holders, serfs and priests as represented from the title *imy-r wpwt htp(w)t- ntr m prwy* (1). Beside the supply of food, granaries and collecting land revenue and taxes as pointed out from the title *imy-r šnwty* (6). Such responsibility made him in charge of the stores and magazines of these nomes as shown from the title *htmty bity* (17). All of these responsibilities contribute in the revenues of the state as  $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m3i$  took the charge of the treasuries and collecting the revenues of his nomes as marked from the title *imy-r prwy-hd* (2) and then that of Upper Egypt as shown from the titles *imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w* (4) and *imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w m3<sup>c</sup>* (5).
- (13) Most likely  $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m3i$ 's success allowed the king to appoint him as *imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w* (4) and *imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w m3<sup>c</sup>* (5).
- (14)  $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m3i$  was highly trusted by the king Pepy II, therefore he appointed him as a nomarch of the Eighth nome of Upper Egypt. As Abydos was a great important pivotal administrative nome located between the middle and the southern groups of Upper Egypt's nomes. In addition to the connection between the Thinite nome and the residence throughout the Old Kingdom.
- (15) The title *hry-tp 3 T3-wr* was the most frequently mentioned title for  $\underline{D}^c w / \check{S}m3i$  from his tomb then the title *h3ty-<sup>c</sup>* then *smr w<sup>c</sup>ty* and after that the titles *hk3 hwt*, *htmty bity* and *imy-r šm<sup>c</sup>w*.
- (16) The titles *imy-r wpt htp ntr m prwy*, *imy-r prwy hd*, *w<sup>c</sup>b 200* and *hry sšt3 n sdmt w<sup>c</sup>* are the least known titles attested on the walls of his tomb.
- (17) The sequence of titles *hry-hbt hry-tp*, *sm* and *hrp šnd(w)t nbt* reflects their link with each other and with the service of the king.
- (18) The sequence of titles *imy-r šnwty*, *imy-r prwy-hd* and *imy-r sšwy* confirms their relationship with the revenues of the state and its exploitation.

**References:**

- Al-Ayedi, A., Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom, Ismailia, 2006.
- Altenmüller, H., Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara, Mainz am Rhein, 1998.
- Andrassy, P., “Die *hnti.w-š* im Alten Reich”, in: R. Gundlach and M. Rochholz (eds.), Ägyptisch Temple-Struktur, Funktion und Programm, Akten der Ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen in Gosen 1990 und in Mainz 1992, HÄB 37, Gerstenberg, 1994.
- Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, Chicago, 1960.
- Barta, M., “The Title ‘property custodian of the King’ during the Old Kingdom Egypt”, ZÄS 126, 1999.
- Baud, M., “La date d’apparition des *hnti.w-š*”, BIFAO 96, 1996.
- -----, Famille royale et pouvoir sous L’Ancien Empire égyptien, volume I, BdE 126/1, IFAO, Cairo, 1999.
- von Beckerath, J., Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen, MÄS 20, München, 1984.
- von Bissing, F. and Kees, H., Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re (Rathures), volume II, Die Kleine festdarstellung, Leipzig, 1923.
- -----, Das Re-Heiligtum des Königs Ne-Woser-Re, volume III, Leipzig, 1928.
- Blackman, A. and Apted, M., The Rock Tombs of Meir, volumes IV-V, ASE 25, 28, London, 1924, 1953.
- Boochs, W., Siegel und Siegeln im Alten Ägypten, KFKA – A 4, 1982.
- Borchardt, L., Denkmäler des Alten Reiches (Ausser den Statuen) im Museum von Kairo, 2 volumes, Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Berlin, 1937, 1964.
- Breasted, J., A History of Egypt, New York, 1937.
- Brodrick, M. and Morton, A., “The Tomb of Pepy ankh (Khua), near Sharona”, PSBA 21, 1899.
- Brovarski, E., “Tempelpersonal I”, LÄ VI, Wiesbaden, 1986.
- -----, “False Doors & History: the Sixth Dynasty, in: M. Barta (ed.), The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology, Proceedings of the Conference held in Prague May 31 – June 4. 2004, Prague, 2006.
- -----, “Overseers of Upper Egypt in the Old to Middle Kingdoms, part 1”, ZÄS 140, 2013.
- -----, “Overseers of Upper Egypt in the Old to Middle Kingdom”, ZÄS 141 (1), 2014.
- Capart, J., Une rue de Tombeaux à Saqqarah, Brussels, 1947.
- Clarke, T., The Overseer of Upper Egypt in Egypt’s Old Kingdom, A Prosopographical study of the title-holders and a re-examination of the position within

## The Offices and Career of *Dꜣw* / *Šmꜣi* of Deir El-Gebrawi

---

- the Old Kingdom Bureaucracy, volume I, Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Bachelor of Honours in Ancient History, Faculty of Arts, Macquaire University, 2009.
- Daressy, G., *Le mastaba de Mera*, Mémoires Présentés à L'Institut égyptien 3, Cairo, 1900.
  - -----, "La nécropole des grand prêtres d'Héliopolis sous l'Ancien Empire", ASAE 16, 1916.
  - Davies, N. de G., *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, ASE, London, 1901.
  - -----, *The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi*, 2 parts, ASE 11-12, London, 1902.
  - Derchain, P., "Snéfrou et les rameuses", RdE 21, 1969.
  - Drioton, É. and Lauer, J., "Un groupe de tombes à Saqqarah: Icheti, Nefer-Khonou-Ptah, Sébek-em-Khent et Ânkhî", ASAE 55, 1958.
  - Edel, E., *Die Felsgräbernekropole der Qubbet el-Hawa bei Assuan*, I. Part, volume 1, Architektur, Darstellungen, Texte, archäologische Befunde und Funde der Gräber QH 24 – QH 34 p., Ferdinand Schöningh, Paderborn, 2008.
  - El-Khadragy, M., "The Edfu Offering Niche of Qar in the Cairo Museum", SAK 30, 2002.
  - El-Khouli, A. and Kanawati, N., *Excavations at Saqqara, North-west of Teti's Pyramid*, volume II, Sydney, 1988.
  - Emery, W., *Archaic Egypt*, Baltimore, 1961.
  - Erman, A. and Grapow, H., *Wörterbuch der Aegyptischen sprache*, 5 volumes, Leipzig, 1926-1931.
  - Eyre, C., "Feudal tenure and absentee landlords", in: S. Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden in Altägypten*, Tübingen, 1994.
  - -----, "Weni's Career and Old Kingdom Historiography", in: C. Eyre, A. Leahy and L. Leahy (eds.), *The Unbroken Reed, Studies in the Culture and Heritage of Ancient Egypt in Honour of A.F. Shore*, London, 1994.
  - Faulkner, R., *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1991.
  - Firth, C. and Gunn, B., *Excavations at Saqqara, Teti Pyramid Cemeteries*, volume I, Text, IFAO, Cairo, 1926.
  - Fischer, H., "Varia Aegyptiaca", JARCE 2, 1963.
  - -----, *Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt*, Locust Valley, J.J. Augustin (Publisher), New York, 1968.
  - -----, "An Invocatory Offering basin of the Old Kingdom", MDAIK 47, 1991.
  - -----, "Marginalia II", GM 128, 1992.
  - -----, *The Tomb of I'P at El Saff*, MMA, New York, 1996.
  - -----, *Varia Nova*, New York, 1996.
  - -----, *Egyptian Titles of the Middle Kingdom, A Supplement to Wm. Ward's Index*, second edition, revised and augmented, MMA, New York, 1997.

**JOURNAL OF THE FACULTY OF ARCHAEOLOGY –VOLUME 26 -  
JANURAY 2023**

---

- Gardiner, A., Ancient Egyptian Onomastica, Text, volume I, Oxford University Press, 1947.
- -----, Egyptian Grammar, Being an Introduction to the study of Hieroglyphs, third edition, Revised, Griffith Institute, Oxford, 1979.
- Gauthier, H., Dictionnaire des noms Géographiques Contenus dans les Textes Hiéroglyphiques, volume VI, IFAO, Cairo, 1929.
- -----, “Le Sarcophage n° 6007 du Musée du Caire”, ASAE 30, 1930.
- Goedicke, H., “Zu *imy-r3 šm<sup>c</sup>* und *tp-šm<sup>c</sup>* im Alten Reich“, MIO 4, 1956.
- -----, “Die Laufbahn des *Mtn*”, MDAIK 21, 1966.
- -----, Die Privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich, WZKM-B 5, Vienne, 1970.
- -----, “Review of E. Martin-Pardey, Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches, HÄB 1, Hildesheim, 1976”, JARCE 14, 1977.
- -----, “Gods and Priests by the Hundreds?”, in: M. Schade-Busch (ed.), Wege Öffnen: Festschrift für Rolf Gundlach zum 65. Geburtstag, ÄAT 35, Wiesbaden, 1996.
- Goyon, J., Rituels Funéraires de L’Ancienne Égypte, Le Rituel de L’Embaumement, Le Rituel de L’Ouverture de la Bouche, Les Livres des Respirations, Introduction, traduction et commentaire, Paris, 1972.
- Hannig, R., Die Sprache der Pharaonen, Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch-Deutsch (2800-950 v.Chr.), Marburger Edition, Marburg, 2005.
- Harpur, Y., Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom, Studies in Orientation and Scene Content, KPI, London and New York, 1987.
- Helck, W., Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, Verlag J.J. Augustin, Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York, 1954.
- -----, “Bemerkungen zu den Pyramidenstädten im Alten Reich”, MDAIK 15, 1957.
- Jacquet-Gordon, H., Les noms des domaines funéraires sous L’Ancien Empire égyptien, IFAO, Cairo, 1962.
- James, T. and Apted, M., The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi, ASE 30, London, 1953.
- Jéquier, G., Tombeaux de Particuliers contemporains de Pepi II, IFAO, Cairo, 1929.
- -----, Le Monument Funéraire de Pepi II, volumes II-III, IFAO, Cairo, 1938, 1940.
- Jones, D., An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom, 2 volumes, BAR-IS 866 (I), Oxford, 2000.
- Junker, H., Giza, volume VI, Wien and Leipzig, 1943.
- Kahl, J., Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.-3. Dynastie, GOF 29, 1994.

## The Offices and Career of *Dꜣw* / *Šmꜣi* of Deir El-Gebrawi

---

- Kahl, J., Kloth, N. and Zimmermann, U., Die Inschriften der 3. Dynastie, Eine Bestandsaufnahme, *ÄA* 56, 1995.
- Kahl, J., Frühägyptisches Wörterbuch 3. Lieferung *H-H*, Wiesbaden, 2004.
- Kamal, A., “Le tombeau nouveau de Méir”, *ASAE* 15, 1915.
- Kanawati, N., The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom, Evidence on its Economic Decline, Warminster, 1977.
- -----, “The Identification of *Dꜣw* / *Šmꜣi* and *Dꜣw* in the Decoration of their tomb at Deir el-Gebrawi”, *JEA* 63, 1977.
- -----, Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt, Warminster, 1980.
- -----, The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish, The Cemetery of Akhmim, volumes II, III and VI, Sydney, 1981, 1982 and 1987.
- -----, The Tombs of El-Hagarsa, volume I, *ACE* 4, Sydney, 1993.
- -----, “Nepotism in the Egyptian Sixth Dynasty”, *BACE* 14, 2003.
- Kanawati, N. and Abder-Raziq, M., The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara, volume VI, The Tomb of Nikauisesi, *ACER* 14, Warminster, 2000.
- Kanawati, N. and El-Khouli, A., Quseir El-Amarna, The Tombs of Pepy-ankh and Khwen-wekh, *ACER* 1, Sydney, 1989.
- Kaplony, P., Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der Aegyptischen Frühzeit, Wiesbaden, 1966.
- -----, “Totenpriester”, *LÄ* VI, 1986.
- Kees, H., “Der Sogenannte Oberste Vorlesepriester”, *ZÄS* 87, 1962.
- Lichtheim, M., Ancient Egyptian Literature, volume I, The Old and Middle Kingdoms, Berkeley, 1973.
- Macramallah, R., Le mastaba d’Idout, IFAO, Cairo, 1935.
- Malek, J., “Princess Inti, the Companion of Horus”, *JSSEA* 10/3, 1980.
- Mariette, A., Les Mastaba de L’Ancien Empire, fragment du Dernier Ouvrage, G. Maspero (ed.), Paris, 1884.
- Martin-Pardey, E., Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches, Hildesheim, 1976.
- Martinet, É., Le Nomarque sous L’Ancien Empire, Paris, 2011.
- Maurice, A., Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou 1932, IFAO, Cairo, 1935.
- Montet, P., “Contribution a l’étude de mastaba de L’Ancien Empire”, *Kêmi* 4, 1931.
- Moreno Garcia, J.C., “Administration territoriale et organisation de l’espace en Egypte au troisième millénaire avant J.-C.. (III-IV): *nwt mꜣwt* et *hwt-ꜣt*”, *ZÄS* 125, 1998.
- Moursi, M., Die Hohenpriester des Sonnengottes von der Frühzeit Ägyptens bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches, *MÄS* 26, Berlin, 1985.
- Muhs, B., The Ancient Egyptian economy 3000-30 BCE, Cambridge, 2016.
- Murray, M., Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom, *BSAE* 1, London, 1908.
- Newberry, P., Beni Hasan, volume I, *ASE* 1, London, 1893.
- -----, El Bersheh, volume I, *ASE* 3, London, 1895.

**JOURNAL OF THE FACULTY OF ARCHAEOLOGY –VOLUME 26 -  
JANURAY 2023**

---

- Nuzzolo, M., “The Sed-Festival of Niuserra and the Fifth Dynasty Sun Temples”, in: P. Der Manuelian and T. Schneider (eds.), *Towards a New History for the Egyptian Old Kingdom, Perspectives on the Pyramid Age*, Leiden and Boston, 2015.
- Otto, E., “Cheriheb”, LÄ I, Wiesbaden, 1975.
- Petrie, W., *Denderah (with extra plates)*, London, 1900.
- -----, *The Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty (I)*, EEF 18, London, 1900.
- Petrie, H. and Murray, M., *Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels*, BSA, London, 1952.
- Piacentini, P., “On the Titles of the *ḥqꜣw ḥwt*”, in: S.Allam (ed.), *Grund und Boden in Altägypten*, Tübingen, 1994.
- Pirenne, J., *Histoire des Institutions et du droit Privé Égypte*, volume III, *La VI<sup>e</sup> Dynastie et la Démembrement de L’Empire*, Brussels, 1935.
- Polet, S., “Pepy-ankh-Heny, le noir de Meir (tombe A2), a-t-il usurpé le titre de vizir?” *Res Antiquae* 7, 2010.
- Porter, B. and Moss, R., *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings*, volumes III (2 parts) – IV, second edition, Oxford, 1934, 1974 and 1987.
- Posener-Kriéger, P., *Les archives du temple Funéraire de Neferirkarê-Kakaï*, volume II, BdE 65, Cairo, 1976.
- Ranke, H., *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, volume I, Glückstadt, 1935.
- Roth, A., *Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom: The Evolution of a System of Social Organization*, Chicago, 1991.
- -----, “The distribution of the Old Kingdom title *ḥnti-š*”, in: S. Schoske (ed.), *Akten des Vierten Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985*, BSAK 4, 1991.
- -----, “The *Psš-ḳf* and the “Opening of the Mouth” Ceremony: A Ritual of Birth and Rebirth”, *JEA* 78, 1992.
- Säve-Söderbergh, T., *The Old Kingdom Cemetery at Hamra Dom (El Qasr wa Es-Saiyad)*, Stockholm, 1994.
- Saleh, M., *Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes*, AV 14, Mainz, 1977.
- Schmitz, B., “Sem (Priester)”, LÄ V, Wiesbaden, 1984.
- Serrano, A., *Royal Festivals in the Late Predynastic Period and the First Dynasty*, BAR-IS 1076, London, 2002.
- Sethe, K., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, volumes II, IV, Leipzig, 1906, 1909.
- -----, *Aegyptische Lesestücke*, Leipzig, 1928.
- -----, *Urkunden des Alten Reichs*, Leipzig, 1933.
- -----, “Miszelle”, *ZÄS* 70, 1934.
- Simpson, W., *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu, G 7101 and 7102, Giza Mastabas 2*, MFA, Boston, 1976.
- Smith, M., *The Liturgy of Opening the mouth for Breathing*, Oxford, 1993.
- Stock, H., *Die erste Zwischenzeit Aegyptens*, AnOr 31, Rome, 1949.

## The Offices and Career of *Dꜣw* / *Šmꜣi* of Deir El-Gebrawi

---

- Strudwick, N., *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, The Highest Titles and their Holders*, KPI, London, 1985.
- Uphill, E., “The Office *sdꜣwty bity*”, *JEA* 61, 1975.
- Van den Boorn, G., *The Duties of the Vizier, Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom*, London, 1988.
- Ward, W., *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, Beirut, 1982.
- Wilkinson, T., *Early Dynastic Egypt*, London and New York, 1999.
- Wilson, A., *Pure Ones: the *WꜣB* And *WꜣBt* from the Old Kingdom to the end of the Middle Kingdom*, M. Thesis, American University in Cairo, AUC Knowledge Fountain, 2014.
- Wilson, J., “Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom”, *JNES* 3, 1944.