

Economic Units through El-Lahun Account Papyri

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الملخص:

نتيجة للأهمية الكبيرة للمجموعة الضخمة من البرديات الهيروغليفية المؤرخة الى أواخر عصر الدولة الوسطى من اللاهون ، والتي تضمنت العديد من الألغاز والمعلومات في كل من محتواها وشكلها وتصميمها وطريقة كتابتها. باستخدام التعبيرات والصيغ التي تخدم نوع المخطوطة ومحتواها ، يمكننا التفكير في هذه البرديات فيما تخبرنا به عن طبيعة مجتمع اللاهون ودور الكتابة في خدمة المؤسسات والعناصر المختلفة في المجتمع المصري القديم.

دفعني هذا إلى اختيار هذه الورقة لنقل الاهتمام بالنظر في العلاقة بين الكتابة ومجموعة متنوعة من المؤسسات الاجتماعية ، مثل المصالح القانونية والطبية والتعليمية والدينية والاقتصادية ، وشرحها.

Abstract:

As result of the great importance of the huge collection of hieratic papyri dated to the Late Middle Kingdom from El-Lahun, which included many mysteries and information both in their content, form, design, and the method of their writing. By using the expressions and formulas which serve the type of the manuscript and its content, we can reflect on these papyri as to what they tell us about the nature of El-Lahun society and the role of writing in the service of different institutions and elements in ancient Egyptian society. This prompted me to choose this paper to convey an interest in looking at and explaining the relationship between writing and a variety of social institutions, such as legal, medical, educational, religious and economic interests.

Keywords:

Hieratic, El-Lahun, Account, Papyri.

الكلمات المفتاحية:

هيروغليفية، اللاهون، حسابات، بردي.

Introduction:

The economic activities undertaken in ancient Egypt belonged to the royal, or public domain, although there was always some scope for private activities¹.

The economy of ancient Egypt can be possible described as a 'redistributive system'². And that is because it depended on collecting commodities and storing it in granaries for use as future

¹Elzamil, M., in *IE Working Paper, WP05-21*, (2005), 8.

²In other words, the "redistribution" implies that goods "which are collectively produced, centrally collected and stored" are returned "to the producers" see Renger, J., "On Economic Structures in Ancient Mesopotamia", in *Orientalia 63*, (1994), 177. See also Polanyi, K., *The Livelihood of Man*, New York: Academic Press, (1977).

rations to the Pharaoh's subjects, provision for the royal palace and its dependants, to personnel attached to temples, and the workmen in the royal necropolis. Therefore this system expresses a centrally based bureaucracy that collected from its subjects only to redistribute to them later¹. C. Eyre argues that the term "redistribution" does not explain how the economy works; he also calls it a "misconception, or rather over-simplification"².

Accordingly, the accounting practices can be divided into the following:

1- The Royal Palace and the Temple

The royal palace and the temple constituted two influential institutions in the economy and society of ancient Egypt³. The palace played a major role in administering the economy, but it was supported by a complex network of pious foundations or religious institutions. Each of these foundations enjoyed a quasi-autonomous status, and each was involved in collecting and storing revenues, then in distributing them in the form of rations or wages⁴.

Through the El-Lahun Account Papyri especially papyri of temple archive, the temple was a critical part of the state economic apparatus⁵, not only as places of worship, but also perhaps as a significant economic institution⁶. It was the recipient of revenue and various commodities that were being offered as offerings to the goddess⁷.

Those revenues of the temple were typically spent on three main items⁸:

A-building and restoration projects⁹;

B-maintenance of the temple priests as the offerings presented to the gods used to pay for temple overheads; such as payments in kind to priests and as wages to workmen¹⁰.

C-offerings for daily rituals, monthly feasts, and annual festivals¹¹, for instance, UC32094B, *hwt-ntr.. hbyt nt hrw[pn]* "god's offerings...festival offerings of [this] day", *izm htr 10-10 psn [...]* b[it..]

¹Janssen, J. J., *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period*, Leiden: E.J. Brill, (1975), 183; Elzamil, M., in *IE Working Paper*, WP05-21, (2005), 8.

²Eyre, C., "The Village Economy in Pharaonic Egypt", in Bowman, A. & Rogan, E. (eds.), *Agriculture in Egypt: From Pharaonic to Modern Times*, Oxford (1999), 33-60.

³Warburton, D. A., *State and Economy in Ancient Egypt*, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen: University Press Fribourg Switzerland, (1997); Willems, H., in *JEA LXXVI*, 42; Quirke, S., in *RdE* 37, (1986). The stela of Nebipusenusret (now BM 101) as Twelfth Dynasty source refers to the separation of *izm* "official positions" into two sectors, *pr-nswt* "estate of the king" = "central/royal administration" and *hwt-ntr* "temple". However, the Nebipusenusret inscription only identifies for us where people are assigned to work in particular positions; it does not show how big the temple sector was in relation to the central administration. The relative scale of the temple economy is the crucial question for the Old and Middle Kingdom, and this question remains open for further research. For the stela see Blackman, M.A., "The Stela of Nebipusenusret: British Museum No. 101", in *JEA* 21 (1935), 1-9.

⁴Kemp, B., *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilization*, 192.

⁵The El-Lahun papyri attested a well-defined group of deities, represented in Anubis who-is-upon-his-hill, Sobek of Shedet and Sobek, Lord of Ra-sehui, Sokar and the goddess Hathor. Through papyri also we can distinguish the presence of three temples in the range *shw sn-wsrt*, the temple of Anubis who-is-upon-his-hill and that of a local form of Sobek, perhaps *sbk nb r3-sh.wi*, besides the valley temple of Senewosert II. Zoltán Horváth states that "Accounts from the archive reveal that the royal mortuary temple was also as ritually as economically bound to the temple of Sobek of Shedit and Hathor, Mistress of Atfih, but these temples of nationwide importance at that time are never found stated as belonging to the el-Lahun foundation". See Horváth, Z., in Silverman, D. & Simpson, W. K. & Wegner, J. (eds.), in *Archaism and Innovation*, 186.

⁶Carmona, S. & Ezzamel, M., "Ancient Accounting", in Edwards, J. R. & Walker, S.P., (eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Accounting History*, (2009), New York, 73.

⁷The temple does not seem to collect anything in an active way (i.e. with agents sent out to farm estates to collect revenue). Instead, the offerings are supplied through the mayor, who keeps in close contact with the temple accountant/manager Horemsaf (= the Horemsaf correspondence with mayors, the larger part of the material published so far from the temple papyri in Cairo and Berlin).

⁸Kemp, B., *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilization*, 193; Ezzamel, M., in *AHJ* 29, (2002), 70.

⁹See UC32125 from account of building work, *4 dbt ntt m hwt-ntr.. 5 11* "4 bricks which are in the temple...cedar 11", Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 69.

¹⁰See Berol.10005, Borchardt, L., in *ZAS* 40, (1902/1903), 113-117; Gardiner, A. H., in *JEA* 42, (1956), 119.

¹¹See Berlin temple papyri in Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, and Luft, U., *Chronologische Fixierung*; UC32097, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 153.

"favour-offerings (as) fixed..10-10 *psn* loaves [...] *b[it-loaves]*"¹. As the large quantities of goods collected for the god by the state are redistributed on a regular basis to the temple staff².

These daily entries or offerings which entered the temple served to stabilize the economy over time not only for the king and temple staff but also to the state in general.

2- pr-HD "The Treasury"

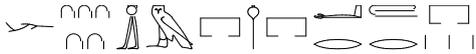
The traditional designation of the treasury as *pr-hd*, literally meaning "white house", this term is well attested in the First, Second, and Third Dynasties³.

The architectural form of the treasury is not recognized in El-Lahun, but it can identify the treasury architecturally through the tomb of Rekhmire⁴. It was a walled enclosure inside which were contained three departments or vaults, each shaped like a beehive⁵.

The treasury influenced a large portion of the administration of the state, and many economic entities who worked under its jurisdiction⁶. The principal function of the treasury was an entity that was expected to exercise large-scale control over the entire system. One of the responsibilities of the treasury was an obligation of ensuring the payment of wages and entitlements to state employee on a regular basis⁷. But from the Middle Kingdom sources, we do not recognise this description: the the bureau of the vizier seems to be the main "system co-ordinator"; the relation between the treasury and the food-supply officials (*imy-r pr wr* "high steward") is not that clear⁸.

The treasury stored both raw articles as well as processed ones⁹, namely covers all commodities, but but there is a focus on the more precious 'sealed' items (items 'sealed', locked away, because of their value)¹⁰. Davies points out; nearly all products that went into the treasury come from outside Egypt¹¹, but Balanda stated that the treasuries were also concerned with articles derived from Egypt proper¹².

According to the El-Lahun UC32181 articles made from wood were stored in the treasuries:



[...] ..50 in *m pr-hd di r phrw*

[...] (wood) 50 brought from the treasury given to the stores¹³.

The UC32145A verso, registers account of marsh with record of products received in according to specific documents. The line 16 states:

[...]..*ip.. hft snn iny m pr-hd in.n* [...]

[.....]..reckon.. by document brought from treasury brought by [...]¹⁴

Here there is the indication of a commodity that has been calculated through a document from *pr-hd*.

¹ Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 147.

² Bleiberg, E., *Understanding the Ancient Egyptian Economy*, 6.

³ Strudwick, N., "Three Monuments of Old Kingdom Treasury Officials", in *JEA* 71, (1985), 48; "is attested as early as the reign of Den in the first dynasty" in García J. C. M. (edit.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 71; Kaplony P., *Die Inschriften der ägyptischen Frühzeit*, vol.3, pl.34, n.106.

⁴ Davies, N., *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re' at Thebes*, Pls., XLVIII.

⁵ Balanda, S. Z., *Society and Government in Ancient Egypt*, 433.

⁶ Balanda, S. Z., *Society and Government in Ancient Egypt*, 433.

⁷ Papazian, H., in García J. C. M. (edit.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 71-72; Strudwick, N., in *JEA* 71, (1985), 43.

⁸ Quirke, S., *Titles and Bureaux*, 48, 49.

⁹ Papazian, H., in García J. C. M. (edit.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 71-72; Strudwick, N., in *JEA* 71, (1985), 75.

¹⁰ The treasury was concerned with metals, cattle, and other agricultural products such as flax. Ezzamel, M., in *AHJ* 29, (2002), 69.

¹¹ Davies, N., *The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re' at Thebes*, Pls., XLVIII ff.

¹² Balanda, S. Z., *Society and Government in Ancient Egypt*, 435.

¹³ Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 23.

¹⁴ Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 183.

Alongside the central treasury in the capital, local treasuries also existed elsewhere in Egypt¹, such as the one we find in El-Lahun as attested in UC32102A,I with the term *pr-ḥd n niwt tn šsp...*[....] "treasury of this town², received....", the *niwt tn* represents the town is *ḥtp sn-wsr*³. In the name-list on verso mentioned part of the title *n pr-ḥd snb.f(?)* "[....] of the treasury Senbef"⁴.

The Staff of El-Lahun Treasury

Title	Translation	Papyri
<i>imy-r ḥtm</i>	Treasurer "overseer of the seal"	UC32105E, UC32104I, UC32100B, Berol.10035, Berol.10002B, Berol.10002C, Berol.10242A
<i>idnw n imy-r ḥtm</i>	Deputy of the overseer of what is sealed	UC32099B
<i>ḥry -^c n imy-r ḥtm</i>	The assistant to the treasurer	UC32167
<i>ḥry-^c n imy-r ḥtmw w^crt mḥtt</i>	The assistant to the treasurer, northern sector	UC32167
<i>ḥtmw</i>	Sealer	UC32201, UC32190, UC32173, UC32142A, UC32193, UC32189, UC32280A, UC32280JJ, UC32137H, UC32269
<i>ḥtm ḥry-^c</i>	Sealer assistant	UC32158
<i>ḥtmw kf3-ib</i>	Trustworthy sealer	UC32058
<i>ḥtmw kf3-ib n ḥrp k3t</i>	Trustworthy sealer of the director of works	UC32058, UC32293
<i>sš ḥry ḥtm</i>	Scribe in charge of seal	UC32055, UC32137Ki
<i>sš ḥry ḥtm n ḥ3 n dd rmt</i>	Scribe in charge of the seal of the bureau issuing people	UC32167
<i>sš ḥry ḥtm n gs-ib</i>	Scribe in charge of seal of Gesiab	UC32055

Table (1): The Staff of El-Lahun Treasury

The official in charge of the treasury was *imy-r ḥtm* "treasurer"⁵  "overseer of the seal"⁶ as attested in the El-Lahun papyri¹.

¹ Sealings constitute useful evidence for the existence of treasuries in different places. See Martin, G., *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, (1971).

² The papyrus UC32301B, recto including *pr ḥd*, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 79.

³ Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 165.

⁴ Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 165.

⁵ Stephen Quirke translated *imy-r ḥtm* "overseer of sealed goods", and he is of high station than the *imy-r ḥtmtyw* "overseer of overseer of sealers". In his article Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom, Quirke lists 45 titles related to the staff of the treasury. Quirke, S., in *RdE* 37, (1986), 118-119.

⁶ The Egyptian word  could be read *ḥtm* or *sš3t* see the comments on these two terms in Peet, in *JEA* II, 192; Fischer, Fischer, H. G., *Inscriptions of the Coptite Nome*, (1964), Appendix B; Vernus, P., "Observations sur le Titre *imy-r ḥtm* "Directeur du Trésor" in Allam, S. (edit.), *Grund und Boden in Altägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions*, Tübingen, (1994); Balanda, S. Z., *Society and Government in Ancient Egypt*, 437-454.

Helck erroneously considers that during the Middle Kingdom period the official in charge of the treasury was the *imy-r ḥnwty*², but Balanda identified the *imy-r ḥnwty* as royal auditors or inspectors, assigned to various departments in order to supervise their running on behalf of the royal secretariat to which they reported³.

The High treasurer had deputies and assistants as attested in UC32099B, . The title "*hry-ḥ n imy-r ḥtmw wḥrt m*"  to the staff of treasury as it represented the treasurer within the northern area of El-Lahun's administration⁴.

The scribal functions represent the largest component of the treasury bureaucracy⁵. As the treasurer had his own scribes and a scribe in charge of seal *sš hry ḥtm*, there are also others in connection with sealing such as, *sš hry ḥtm n ḥ3 n dd rmt* and *sš hry ḥtm n gs-ib*.

Titles of seemingly lower rank, such as *hry-ḥ n imy-r ḥtmt* and *ḥtm hry-ḥ* who worked as assistant to the treasurer.

It seems likely that the local treasurers in El-Lahun possessed their individual and respective office (*ḥ3*) such as *ḥ3 n imy-r ḥtmt* "Bureau of the treasurer"⁶, and *ḥ3 n imy-r ḥtm n ḥtp sn-wsrt* "Bureau of the treasurer of *ḥtp sn-wsrt*"⁷ in which all documents were kept and all revenue and expenditure registered.

3- Granaries and Storage Rooms

a- *šnwt* "Granaries"

The granaries served as the foundation of the El-Lahun economy⁸. In El-Lahun, each of the granaries in the six large houses had a substantial capacity. Thus, it has been estimated that the six granaries would have stored grain sufficient to support a population ranging between 5,000 and 9,000 for a whole year⁹. In addition to those large grids of six compartments, there were the houses with circular grain bins, found across the town. The majority of these smaller granaries (13 of 15) were found in the western quarter¹⁰.

In the architectural design of granaries, shown through the models from the Meketra tomb, indications of the scribal activities could be seen. As the granary had a number of rooms located in

¹See the preceding table.

²Helck, W., *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, (1958), 180; *imy-r ḥnwty* attested in El-Lahun papyri UC32173, UC32201, UC32125; Stephen Quirke inserted the title *imy-r ḥnwty (wr) n imy-r ḥtmt* "(chief) interior overseer to the treasurer" to the treasury staff, but this title did not appear in El-Lahun papyri, for the title see Quirke, S., in *RdE* 37, (1986), 119. Papazian states that the *ḥtmty-bity* may have been leading treasury officials, but by virtue of their designation, could also be considered as personal representatives of the king in matters of treasury administration, Papazian, H., in García J. C. M. (edit.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 71-72; Strudwick, N., in *JEA* 71, (1985), 75; Quirke, S., in *RdE* 37, (1986), 61.

³Balanda, S. Z., *Society and Government in Ancient Egypt*, 448.

⁴See the *šnwt* document UC32167, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 119-120; but Balanda states that the name of the official and the assignment to the Northern-*wḥrt* refer to the *sd3w* and not the High Treasurer, and he translated the title as "*sd3w-N-who -is-at-the-disposal-of-the-high-treasurer-assigned-to-the northern wḥrt*". Balanda, S. Z., *Society and Government in Ancient Egypt*, 446.

⁵Papazian, H., in García J. C. M. (edit.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 71-72; Strudwick, N., in *JEA* 71, (1985), 75.

⁶UC32100B, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Account*, 163-164.

⁷Berol.10002C, Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, 2.

⁸See Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, (2006).

⁹Kemp, B., *Ancient Egypt*, 133.

¹⁰Bardonova, M., "The Middle Kingdom Society Seen through its Supply Pattern", in *CRE XV* (2014), 198-20.

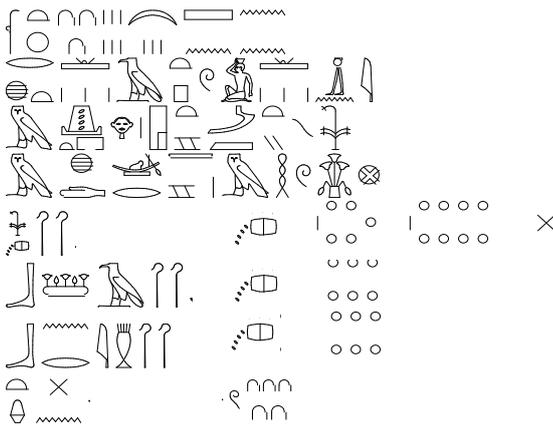
the inner and outer parts of the building with the inner part used to store grain and the outer part reserved as scribe's offices for the scribes who recorded delivered and issued the grain as well as, maintained regular stock control¹. Therefore the scribes worked to monitor the delivery of grain, and the distribution of grain from, these granaries, and estimate the rations required for a population of varying social order².

The *šnwt* and storage rooms attested in El-Lahun account papyri: Berol.10055 mentions *šnwt nt htpw-ntr* “granary of divine offerings”³, while Berol.100203 stats *ntt ḥꜥ m šnwt ntt m šhm [sn]-wsrt wsrt [m3ꜥ-hrw]* concerns the deficit “which is outstanding in the granary which is in Sekhem-Senwosret-maa-kheru”⁴. The term granary also appeared in the fragment papyrus Berol.10307b but appears to be related to Sobek, Lord of Ra-sehui⁵, while Berol.10414b is a reference to the “granary “granary of the divine offerings of Anubis, Foremost of the West”⁶.

In the temple accounts (papyri in Berlin), the granaries seems to be specified as relating to the cult of a god⁷.

In town account papyri, the granaries are attested in three papyri; they were not connected to the gods, and presumably served to supply the households in the town. From the calculations by Kemp, cited above, the large six-compartment granaries would have been able to feed the whole town, but the papyri do not seem to provide any direct evidence on specific recipients inside or outside the town.

The fragment UC32177 records a cargo of grain, dates and loaves which were brought from the granary for the domain of Upper Egypt (?)⁸.



rnpt-sp 36 3bd 3 šmw[....]
rḥt 3tpw ini[....]
m šnwt hr ḥwt m3ꜥty (?) šmꜥ (?)
m ḥd r t3-mḥ [....]
it šmꜥ ḥk3ty 15 18 25[....]
bš3 ḥk3ty 5
bnri ḥk3ty 5
t šbn 150

¹Kemp, B., *Ancient Egypt*, 125.

²Ezzamel, M., in *AHJ* 29, (2002), 78.

³Kaplony- Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, no. 43.

⁴Kaplony- Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, no. 243.

⁵Kaplony- Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, 412, and Quirke, S., in Quirke, S. (edit.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, New discoveries and recent research, London, (1997), 29.

⁶Kaplony-Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, no. 622; Quirke, S., “Gods in the Temple of the King: Anubis at Lahun”, in Quirke, S., (edit.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, New discoveries and recent research, London, (1997), 29.

⁷Horváth, Z., in Silverman, D. & Simpson, W. K. & Wegner, J. (edits.), in *Archaism and Innovation*, 191.

⁸Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 107.

Regnal year 36, month 3 of summer
 amount of cargo brou[ght...]
 from the granary for the domain of ...of Upper Egypt (?) [...]
 in sailing north to Lower Egypt [...]
 processed barley, double barrel 15 18 25[....]
 malted grain, double barrel 5
 dates, double barrel 5
 loaves, various 150

Also the UC32145d, states [...]^c *di r šnwt nt w^crt mḥtt... ḥk3t [...]* 26"¹[....] placed in the granary of the northern sector... barrels [...]

The papyrus UC32109C which dated to year 1 of an unknown king²:



[*rnpt-sp*] 1, 3*bd* 1 3*ht* sw 29

nty...

...*ḥk3t* 100

... *ḥk3t* 100

ḥwt (?) *iy ḥnt šnwt*

[year of reign] 1, month 1 of flood, day 29

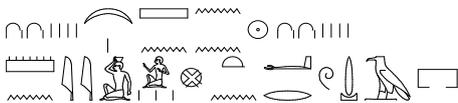
[....] barrels 100

[....] barrels 100

[....] of protected fields (?) *Iy* out of the granary

b-  ***wḏ3* "Store"**

This term is attested twice in the El-Lahun Account Papyri in UC32129A, part of a table including worksites (?), in line 6 mentioned the term *wḏ3w* [....] stores³ and in UC32190C⁴, the papyrus states:



[*rnpt-sp*] 34 3*bd* 1 *šmw* sw 24

[...] *mnyw niwt tn di r wḏ3*[....]

[regnal year] 34 month 1 of summer day 24

[...] conscripts of this town, given to the store [...]

Though papyri note that this term is not used as a place to store the grain effectively, but it was associated with areas of work where workers work.

¹Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 129; Letter UC322212 mentions *ir m inw šnwt tn*.

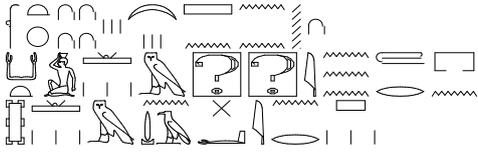
²Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 213.

³UC32129A, verso, line 7, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 67.

⁴Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 15.

c-  **"phr" "Storeroom"**

The papyrus UC32178¹ on recto mentioned works by masons on various days, from among the workplaces was the *phrw* as the phrase runs:



nnpt-sp 43(?) 3bd 3 šmw sw [...]

k3t m nd3t (?) n phrw [...]

kdw m nd3 inrw

Regnal year 43 (?) month 3 of summer day [...]

work in the stone-yards (?) of the storerooms [...]

masons breaking stones

On the verso, listing accounts of grain allotted to various stores or shrines (?). The papyrus mentioned three types of *phr* "*phrw rsw hnt*², *phrw rsw*, and *phr hry*"



(3)[...]*...di r phrw rsw hnt hk3t..*

(5)[...]*...phrw rsw in.n.. hk3t 10*

(9)[...] *phr hry hk3t 10*

(3) [...]*...given to the southern storerooms of the canal*

barrels...

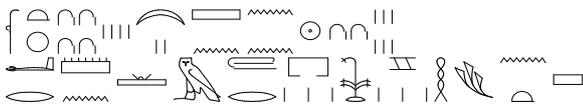
(5) [...]*...southern storerooms brought by...*

barrels 10

(9) [...]*... upper storeroom*

barrels 10

The term *phr* is attested also in UC32180 and is a memorandum referring to stores, dated to year 44 (of Amenemhat III)³.



nnpt-sp 44 3bd 2 šmw sw 26

di r mn m phrw rsw hnt

Regnal year 44 month 2 of summer day 26

given as fixed amount (?) in southern stores of the canal

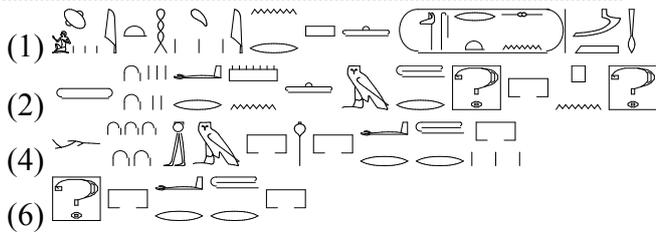
The UC32181⁴ registered types of commodities given or brought from different places and stores:

¹Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 55.

²*phrw rsw hnt* mentioned also in UC32180.

³Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 66.

⁴Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 23.



(1)[....] *hsbw ithw inrw n htp sn-wsrt m3^c hrw*
 (2)[....] *.25di r mn m phr pn(?)*
 (4)[....] *..50 in m pr-hd di r phrw*
 (6)[....]*nt ..di r phr*

(1)[....] conscripts stone haulers of Hetep-senwesrt true-of-voice
 (2)[....] (loaves?) 25 given as fixed in this (?) store
 (4)[....] (wood) 50 brought from the treasury given to the stores
 (6)[....]of ...place given to the store

In UC32144B, the title *iry-^ct n phr* "Keeper of chamber of patrol-stores" is mentioned¹.

d- *st* "A store"

From storage areas which also appeared in the papyri is *st* "store" or "place"².

The UC32108Ci, mentioned *ir m st pn* "made in this store"³, but does not specify the place, it is expected to be located in *htp sn-wsrt*.

UC32184 is about supplies of *htp sn-wsrt n^h dt r nh^h*, so it may be dated to the reign of Senwosret II or Senwosret III⁴.

 [.....]....*in m st* [.....]
 [.....]....brought from the storeroom (?)...[.....]

The title *imy-r st* "Overseer of stores" is attested in UC32158⁵, and title of *hm k3 n imy-r st* "ka-servant of the storeroom overseer" in UC32170⁶.

4- *šn^c* "Food-Productions Sector"

The temple papyri attested the occurrence of a single area, *šn^c pr šn^c n htpw-ntr* "the food production area of the god's offerings" may have provided for all the institutions of *šhm sn-wsrt m3^c-hrw*¹ whereas the grain was apparently stored in a separate granary for each cult (*šnwt*)².

¹Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 179.

²*Wb*, IV, 1.

³Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 209.

⁴Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 75.

⁵*imy-r st snb.ty.fy imy-r st snb.f* "overseer of stores Senebtyfy, overseer of stores Senbef", Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 37; see also UC32166, col. 1 line 1,3, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical*, (2004);UC32151D See Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 267.

⁶His name is *sbk-h3-ist.f s3 m-s3.f* who worked as *hm-k3 n imy-r st ipi (?)*, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 45.

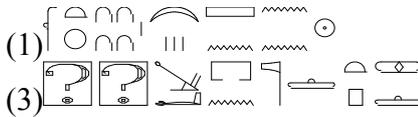
⁷The earliest known mention of those institutions comes from a seal of the IInd dynasty; the seal belonged to prince Perneb Perneb from the reign of either Hetep-Sekhemuy or his successor Raneb and may have been used to seal receipts for cloth (*sšr*) and metal brought to the *pr-šn^c*. See Kaplony, P., *Die Inschriften der Aegyptischen Frühzeit*, II, 1142– 3 fig. 367, Pl. 94; Balanda, S. Z., *Society and Government in Ancient Egypt*, 355. During the late VIth dynasty when as it seems most of the major *šn^cw* were being incorporated within temple complexes, see *URK, I*, 131, 6; Quirke, S., *Titles and Bureaux*, 64-66.

Berol.10048 and Berol.10319 contains the *imy- rn.f mrt nt šn^c [htp]w-ntr šhm [s]n-wsrt [m3^c-hrw]* "name-list of estate workers of the food production area of *šhm sn- wsrt m3^c- hrw*"³.

The fragments in Berol.10003A, verso, mentions the food production area of the divine offerings (*šn^c n htpw-ntr*)⁴, and Berol.10016 mentioned the title *imy-r šn^c* "Overseer of the food sector"⁵.

Josef Wegner suggested that the production and processing area at South-Abydos was located on the eastern end of the temple of Senwosret III, according to the extensive ceramic forms, in addition to the architectural remains which may be related to the production and processing of temple offerings⁶. So according to Wegner's opinion the *šn^c* in *šhm sn-wsrt* should have been situated somewhere in the immediate surroundings of the royal temple⁷. However, Zoltan Horvath suggested that the food production area would most likely be located to the south, southeast of the temple site (considering a rise of the rock on the west and on the north), which conforms to the arrangement of the Senwosret III complex⁸.

UC32137J is a fragment from journal entries recording festival and offerings⁹:



(1) *rnpt-sp 41 3bd 3 šmw* [.....]

(3) *šn^c n htpw-ntr* [.....]

(1) Regnal year 41 month 3 of summer [....]

(3) food-production sector of divine offerings [.....]

The UC32144A¹⁰ and UC32143A¹¹ mention *šn^c*... "food-production sector [.....]"¹², the UC32150A states [....] *šn^c nty hr.s* "[....] food-production sector which is in charge of it"¹³, and the small fragment UC32171 was most probably a heading for the list of people attached to the *šn^c*¹⁴.

The papyrus UC32269 is a table of accounts concerning goats which are given to various officials and sectors, among them *šn^c* "food-sector"¹⁵, and UC32168 verso, concerning livestock, we read in line 7 and 10 the expenditure given to the *šn^c*¹⁶:

¹See Quirke, S., in Quirke, S. (edit.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, New Discoveries and Recent Research, London, (1997), 29; Teodoro, M. D., in *CRE 14* (2013), 69.

²Berol.10055 vso, see Kaplony- Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, no. 43; Berol.10203 vso, see Kaplony- Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, no. 243; Berol.10307b, Unpublished Temple Journal; see Kaplony- Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, no. 412, and Quirke, S., in Quirke, S. (edit.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, 29; Berol.10414, Unpublished papyrus; see Kaplony- Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, no. 622.

³Unpublished papyrus, see Kaplony- Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, no. 38 and 429.

⁴Kaplony- Heckel, *Ägyptische Handschriften*, no. 3; Horváth, Z., in Silverman, D. & Simpson, W. K. & Wegner, J.(edits.), *Archaism and Innovation*, 183.

⁵Luft, U., *Chronologische Fixierung*, 58-59.

⁶Wegner, J., "The Organization of the Temple *Nfr-k3* of Senwosret III at Abydos", in *Ä&L 10*, (2000), 115–17, and 87, fig. 2.

⁷Wegner, J., in *Ä&L 10*, (2000), 117; Horváth Z., in Silverman D. & Simpson W. K. & Wegner J.(edits), *Archaism and Innovation*, 192.

⁸Horváth Z., in Silverman D. & Simpson W. K. & Wegner J. (edits), *Archaism and Innovation*, 192.

⁹Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 241.

¹⁰Verso, col.2, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 253.

¹¹Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 177.

¹²Attested also in UC32278D, *šn^c* "food-sector", Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 277.

¹³Fragment 1, col.1, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 39.

¹⁴Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 21.

¹⁵UC32269, verso, fragment 4, line 4, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 61.

¹⁶Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 57.

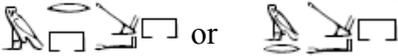
- (6) 
- (7) 
- (10) 
- (6) *sšm hnt rht pn*
 (7) *rnpt-sp 9 3bd 3 (?) prt sw 23 di r šnꜥ m sp3t....*
 (10) *[sw] 20 di r šnꜥ*

- (6) Expenditure out of this amount
 (7) Regnal year 9 month 3 (?) of winter day 23 given to food-sector in district of...
 (10) [day] 20 given to food-sector

UC32135B, states also the expenditure from out of the amount of a commodity is not mentioned as a result of the fragmentary condition of the papyrus, among officials and places given the expenditure is *šnꜥ* "food-production sector" and temple of Sobek¹.

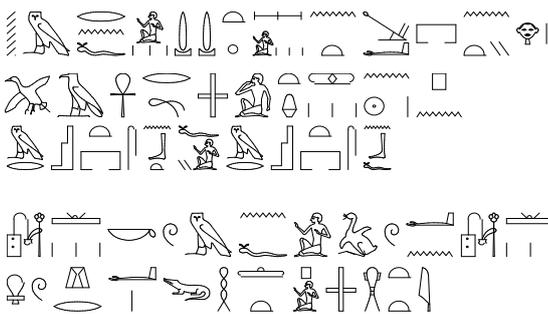
Staff of šnꜥ

The head of *šnꜥ* was "the overseer of the food sector"²



He worked as the supervisor of the brewing of beer and baking of bread³ and supplies all the food for the tomb of *h3ty-ꜥ4*.

The *šnꜥ* titles are attested for its various  "chambers" in which the various products or commodities were processed, Balanda mentioned 11 departments or chambers were in *šnꜥ*⁵, but the main chambers are those for *t* "bread", *hnkt* "beer", and *dkrw* "fruits"⁶. Each of these chambers was supervised by an  *imy-r st* "overseer of the storeroom"⁷. In the accounts of the El-Lahun papyri UC32158⁸, we find a record of some members of the "staff (*d3d3t*) of the *šnꜥ*" who receive some kind of food subsidy. Among them are two officials entitled *imy-r st*:



¹UC32135B (i and ii) recto, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 127.
²Berol.10016, Scharff, H.A., in *ZAS* 59, (1924), 20; Luft, U., *Chronologische Fixierung*, 58-56.
³Newberry, P. E. & Griffith, F.L., *Beni Hasan, in Archaeological Survey of Egypt*, London, Egypt Exploration Fund, vol.I (1893), 29.
⁴Newberry, P. E. & Griffith, F.L., *Beni Hasan, in Archaeological Survey of Egypt*, 7, 20 &35.
⁵Balanda, S. Z., *Society and Government in Ancient Egypt*, 364.
⁶Quirke, S., in *RdE* 37, (1986), 120. For more details see the evidence from Middle Kingdom inscriptions and papyri was assembled by Quirke, S., *Titles and Bureaux*, 66 and Franke, D., "Die Stele im Landesmuseum in Inv. Nr. 4403 Oldenburg. Zur Lebensmittelproduktion in der 13. Dynastie," in *SAK 10* (1983), 157-178.
⁷UC32197, UC32158.
⁸UC32158, col.2, line 2-3, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 37; see also UC32174, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 41.

imy-rn.f d3d3t nt šn^c nty hr
p3^c nh n wnm.t n hrw pn
imy-r st snb.ty.fy imy-r st snb.f
sš^c kw kwm.n.f t3w n sš^c kw rs
htmw hry-^c sbk-htp imy-s3 tti

Name list of food production sector board which is in charge of the victuals for the banquet of this day

Overseer of stores Senebtyfy, overseer of stores Senbef

Provisions secretary Kumnef, carrier of provisions secretary Res

Sealer assistant Sobekhotep, bodyguard Teti

There are also in each chamber of the *šn^c* a number of  *iry-^ct* "keeper of the chamber" and  *wdpw* officials or cupbearers¹. The *iry-^ct* officials were the workers i.e. bakers, brewers, etc. who made the articles of food², while *wdpw* were servants who carried the ready-made food to their places of destination³. These two types of functionaries were officials of low standing in the bureaucracy, little more, if that, than skilled laborers⁴.

The title related to *šn^c* in El-Lahun papyri:

Title	Translation	Papyri
<i>imy-r šn^c</i>	Overseer of the food sector	Berol.10016
<i>iry-^ct wdpw</i>	Keeper of the Chamber and Cupbearer	UC32142C
<i>wdpw</i>	Cupbearer	UC32280J
<i>iry-^ct n phr</i>	Keeper of chamber of patrol-stores	UC32144B
<i>imy-r st</i>	Overseer of the storehouse	UC32197,UC32158, UC32166
<i>imy-st-^c</i>	Assistant	UC32115B,UC32194, UC32230
<i>sš^c kw</i>	Provisions scribe	UC32158

Table (2): The Title related to *šn^c* in El-Lahun Papyri

¹Quirke, S., in *RdE* 37 (1986), 120.

²Newberry, P. E. & Griffith, F.L., *Beni Hasan, in Archaeological Survey of Egypt*, 29; Balanda, S. Z., *Society and Government in Ancient Egypt*, 363.

³Mariette, A., *Papyrus de Boulaq XVIII, published by A.Mariette, Les Papyrus Egyptiens du Musee de Boulaq, Cairo (1871-72)*, vol. II, Pl., XX, 17 no. 22.

⁴Balanda, S. Z., *Society and Government in Ancient Egypt*, 364.

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