Vestnik drevney istorii
81/2 (2021), 634–661
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Вестник древней истории
81/2 (2021), 634–661
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DOI: 10.31857/S032103910015606-9

DATING TOMB G 1111 AT GIZA

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Until recently the provenance of the offering basin known through the transcription in Urk. I, 165 remained uncertain. On the basis of a photograph from the George Andrew Reisner's archive in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Photo ID number: C10393_OS), it is possible to attribute to tomb G 1111 (Giza West Field). The present publication of the texts on the offering basin contains a number of corrections to the previous transcription by Kurt Sethe, as well as a commentary on the names and titles of the deceased and his son. Their names and titles show that both served as commanders of prospectors. A prosopography of all persons named *jww-nmtj* in the sources of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, as well as of the Old Kingdom holders of the office of *sḥḏ srjw* "inspector of prospectors", is compiled. In conclusion, it is suggested that the owner of the offering basin from tomb G 1111 is identical with *jww-nmtj* mentioned in inscription Sinai 13, which dates to the reign of *ḏd-kꜣ-rˁ jzzj*. This is currently the earliest date for a tomb in Cemetery G 1100 at Giza established through indirect synchronism.

Keywords: Giza, Old Kingdom Egypt, Old Kingdom expeditions, Old Kingdom onomastics, Old Kingdom titles, Middle Kingdom onomastics

Tomb G 1111 is located in south-east area of the northern part of cemetery G 1100 within the Giza West Field necropolis which is immediately adjacent to Cheops Pyramid and is the largest cemetery at Giza.

According to architectural appearance, iconographic style of reliefs and statuary typologies, the earliest monuments of cemetery G 1100 date to the late 4th or early 5th

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This article is a translation of: Богданов, И.В. К датировке гробницы G 1111 в Гизе. *Journal of Ancient History* [*Vestnik drevney istorii*] 81/2 (2021), 269–297. DOI: 10.31857/S032103910014827-2.

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my friend Dmitry O. Sychev who helped me in the completion of this study.

Dynasties[1]; however, most of the tombs of this group belong to the category of the secondary construction dated to the 6th Dynasty. The evidence of titles does not make possible to identify any reliable criteria for dating tombs of this cemetery before the end of the 5th Dynasty.

Epigraphy of the group of tombs G 1100 is modest and for the most part is not published. Porter & Moss' Topographical Bibliography provides only selected data on the tombs and monuments from this cemetery[2]:

G 1104 (statue of *zꜣ=j-ms(.j)*).

G 1105 (statue Cairo JdE37719[3]).

G 1109 (statue of *mrt-jb=j*).

G 1111 (offering basin, data reported in Porter & Moss are incorrect; see further).

G 1151 (the owner is *nfr-ḳd=j*).

G 1152 (wooden statue of a boy, unnamed).

G 1157 (unnamed statue).

G 1171 (the owner is *kꜣ=j-m-ṯnnt*).

All the materials found in tombs of cemetery G 1100 are now available on websites www.gizapyramids.org and giza.fas.harvard.edu. Here one can find archive photos of monuments from other tombs of this cemetery as well as those that were found on its territory. The following epigraphical materials should be added to the body of information presented in the Topographical Bibliography:

G 1105 and G 1107 (false door of *jḥj*, found in the debris between these tombs)[4].

G 1107 (offering table for a group of people: *smsw pr* «elder of the house» *nfr*, *mrtrt* (indicator of nobility for ladies, exact meaning is uncertain) *špst*, *zš* «scribe» *wp*, a woman named *rwḏ-zꜣw=s*, a man named *prjw(?)*; it contains a dedication by *ḥm-kꜣ* «*ka*-servant» *kꜣj*)[5].

G 1119 (offering basin of *jj-ꜥnḫ-n=f*, see further).

G 1123 (false door of *tbꜣš*)[6].

G 1152a (false door lintel of *nj-kꜣ=j-mjnw*)[7].

G 1156 (false door of *pṯḥ-ḥtp*)[8].

G 1162+1172 B (false door of *ttj*)[9].

G 1165 (offering basin of *ṯntj*, see further).

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[1] *PM* III.1 1974, 55–56. Statue Berkeley, Hearst Museum 6–19785 from tomb G 1109 dates to the end of the 4th or the beginning of the 5th Dynasties (Smith 1946, 62); this is the earliest dating for a monument from cemetery G 1100. Tomb G 1111 is immediately adjacent to the large mastaba G 1020, statues from where also date to this period (Smith 1946, 61; *PM* III.1 1974, 53).

[2] *PM* III.1 1974, 55–56.

[3] www.gizapyramids.org: B11698_OS; B11697_OS; B11696_OS; EG010647. Hereinafter references made to website www.gizapyramids.org are cited with only Photo ID number. Reading the name of the owner of the statue is problematic: *PM* III.1 1974, 55: *pt-pn-nswt*; Fischer 1976, 23: «this *nj-pt-nswt*»; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 502 [2131]: *Nzw-p.t-pn* (?) «der König des Himmels ist er (?)».

[4] www.gizapyramids.org: B11757_OS; B13057–01_OS. Dating: 6th Dynasty (according to his title *špsj nswt* «royal nobleman»).

[5] www.gizapyramids.org: C10453_OS.

[6] www.gizapyramids.org: C12692_OS; B12984_OS; C12693_OS; AAW888.

[7] www.gizapyramids.org: B8584_NS.

[8] www.gizapyramids.org: B7619_NS.

[9] www.gizapyramids.org: C12034_OS; C11216_OS.

G 1177 (statue of *kꜣ=j-pw-ptḥ*)[10].

The bulk of attendants and officials buried at G 1100 cemetery were engaged in construction (G 1123, G 1105, G 1162+1172 B, G 1165) and organization of expeditions (G 1104, G 1111, G 1171). Two police titles (G 1171, G 1177), offices held in the corporation of *ḥntjw-š* (G 1151, G 1152a) and some others, for example, the juridical one (G 1156), are also mentioned. Inscriptions in their tombs contain only a few important indicators for their dating. Most notable is titulary of *nfr-ḳd=j,* the owner of tomb G 1151, who held the office of *ḥm-nṯr rˁ m šzp(w)-<jb>-rˁ* «priest of Ra in the Sun temple Desire of the Sun»[11]. However, this title of a functionary in the cult of the Sun temple of king *nj-wsr-rˁ* cannot use as a reliable criterion for dating; according to other data tomb G 1151 should be dated later – to the second half of the 5th Dynasty[12]. Moreover, *nfr-ḳd=j* is the only known priest of Cheops (*ḥm-nṯr ḫwfw*) buried in cemetery G 1100.

Inscriptions on the offering basin from tomb G 1111 provide an opportunity to specify the date of development of cemetery G 1100.

OFFERING BASIN FROM TOMB G 1111

First of all, it is necessary to once again clear up misunderstanding about attribution of offering basins Boston MFA 13.3282 and 13.3283 which finding place is sometime attributed to tomb G 1111[13]. This is incorrect. According to data from the archive of G.A. Reisner, offering basin Boston MFA 13.3282 comes from G 1165 which belonged to *ṯntj*[14]. *jj-ˁnḫ-n=f* from tomb G 1119[15] was the owner of another offering basin, Boston MFA 13.3283.

According to documents from the archive of G.A. Reisner, another offering basin was found in G 1111 for which the following reference was made[16]: «Photo ID number:

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[10] Cairo JdE37716. Fischer 1960, 301–302, fig. 2; www.gizapyramids.org: B11753_OS; C11955_OS.

[11] *PM* III.1 1974, 56; the title is mentioned on the false door in situ in G 1151: www.gizapyramids.org: A6460_NS; A6478_NS, A6200_NS, A6458_NS. *nfr-ḳd=j* also held the following titles: *rḫ nswt* (*n*) *pr-ˁꜣ* «king's acquaintance of the palace», *ḥm-nṯr ḫwfw* «priest of Cheops», *wˁb nswt* «priest of the king», *ḥrj-sšt3* «secretary», *sḥḏ ḥntjw-š* (*pr-ˁꜣ*) «inspector of the (palace) attendants» and *jmj-rꜣ st ḥntjw-š pr-ˁꜣ* «overseer of the bureau of the palace attendants».

[12] Brovarski 2016, 86–87; cf. Nuzzolo 2018, 389–390 [74]: «Niuserre – Djedkare». A.M. Roth was inclined to identify him with *nfr-ḳd=j,* the owner of tomb G 2089 which she dated to the reigns of *nj-wsr-rˁ – jzzj* (Roth 1995, 94–95), however this dating is highly doubtful.

[13] *PM* III.1 1974, 55; Lehmann 1995, 27, 69.

[14] Lehmann 1995, Taf. 24; www.mfa.org/collections/object/offering-slab-140858; www.gizapyramids.org: C11990_OS. Dating: 6th Dynasty. There was a misunderstanding, probably because of a mistake in manuscript by G.A. Reisner who specified G 1111 as a place of discovery of offering basin of Tjenti (G 1165): Reisner, G.A. *A History of the Giza Necropolis III*. 1942 (unpublished manuscript). [Chap.] 17: [Analytic Overview of] Cemetery G 1000–1600: [Pt.] 7: Chronology of Cemetery G 1000–1600. [Pt.] VII. P. 034 (giza.fas.harvard.edu/photos/63607/full/: UM2901). Appendix G: Cemetery G 1000–1100. P. 015 (giza.fas.harvard.edu/photos/63676/full/: UM2970).

[15] www.gizapyramids.org: SC167191; see also: www.mfa.org/collections/object/offering-basin-of-iyankhenef-140860. Dating: late 6th Dynasty. The origin of the offering basin is also mentioned in Reisner's documentation. Corrections of data from the *PM* III are presented on the website www.gizapyramids.org (Photo ID C11990_OS and SC167191) and on the website giza.fas.harvard.edu/sites/270/full/. See also Piacentini 2002a, 95, n. 3; 2002b, 334. The reading of the name as *jj-ˁnḫ=f* is also likely.

[16] www.gizapyramids.org: C10393_OS; giza.fas.harvard.edu/ancientpeople/2881/full/.

C10393_OS. Western Cemetery Giza; View: G 1111. Cemetery G «1100: G 1111, Photographer: George Andrew Reisner. Photo date: July 1904».

Photograph C10393_OS of the offering basin can be found on the websites www.gizapyramids.org and giza.fas.harvard.edu. Despite this publication, so far no one has paid attention to the offering basin, although this object is of interest for many reasons.

Epigraphy of the offering basin has long been available through K. Sethe's transcription in *Urk*. I[17]. According to Sethe, the text was copied by W. Spiegelberg in 1907 from an object seen at an antiquities dealer at Giza. Sethe himself made a transcription after Spiegelberg's estampage. The offering basin was entered into the Topographical Bibliography (Porter & Moss)[18] with reference to *Urk*. I and, as a result, actually remained non-attributed. At present it is exclusively quoted according to publication in *Urk*. I[19].

According to the archive photograph C10393_OS, inscriptions on the offering basin from G 1111 basically correspond to the transcription published by Sethe in *Urk*. I, 165.

Thus, the offering basin was discovered by G.A. Reisner in July 1904, and already in 1907 it was seen by W. Spiegelberg at an antiquities dealer; that is within those three years the object was simply stolen from the excavation site at Giza or from the temporary storage and reach the antiquities market. I do not know the present location of this offering basin.

The photograph on the website www.gizapyramids.org clarifies Sethe's reading of the inscriptions. Corrections relate only to reading the name in the inscription on the left side of the offering basin (line 3) and the final part of the offering formula. Besides that, the title before the name on the right side is not reproduced in *Urk*. I at all.

INSCRIPTIONS

Transcription of the offering basin according to *Urk*. I, 165.4 and Urk. I, 165.8–10: [illegible], Note by K. Sethe: „a. So in einer andern Inschrift desselben Steines".

Transcription of the offering basin according to photograph C10393_OS published on the website www.gizapyramids.org:

1. Right side:	[illegible]
2. Top:	[illegible]
3. Left side:	[illegible]
4. Bottom:	[illegible]

[17] *Urk*. I 1932–1933, 165.8–10.
[18] *PM* III.1 1974, 310.
[19] For example, Wilson 1947, 240; Strudwick 2005, 245–246; Hannig 2003, passim.

1. *sḥḏ srjw nj-ꜥnḫ=j-nmtj*	1. Inspector of prospectors *nj-ꜥnḫ=j-nmtj*.
2. *jmj-ḫt srjw nj-kꜣ=j-rꜥ ḏd(.j)*	2. Under-supervisor of prospectors *nj-kꜣ=j-rꜥ* says:
3. *jrj.n=j nw n jt=j sḥḏ srjw* [*j*]*w*(*w*)-*nmtj* (*j*)*r pr*(*t*) *n=f ḫrw jm*	3. «I made this for my father, inspector of prospectors [*j*]*w*(*w*)-*nmtj*, that invocation offerings come forth for him therein,
4. *m t ḥnḳt kꜣ* [*ꜣpd*] (*j*)*ḫt nb*(*t*) *bnrt rꜥ nb*	4. consisting of bread, beer, beef, [fowl], all sweet things every day».

Commentary on the offering formula

Line 3. *jrj.n=j nw n jt=j ...* (*j*)*r pr*(*t*) *n=f ḫrw jm* «I made this for my father..., that invocation offerings come forth for him therein». One of the customary grammatical patterns of the formula *prt-ḫrw* «invocation offering» is presented here: in pseudo-verbal construction (*j*)*r pr*(*t*) *ḫrw jm* «that invocation offerings come forth therein»[20]. As it is known, this formula in the form *sḏm=f* is represented by two patterns: *prj=f ḫrw* «he calls» (simple *sḏm=f*, structure: «he comes forth by the voice») and *ḏj=f prj ḫrw* «he calls» (structure: «he gives so that the voice would come forth» is, in this case, analytic, compound causative build on the pattern *ḏj=j rḫ=k* «I inform you, I bring to your attention» which in Middle Egyptian was also used as subjunctive: «I would like to inform you; I have to tell you»[21]). In the first pattern the subject of «calling out» is a person while in the second pattern the voice itself is «coming forth». Such inversion of subjects of relationship for the verb *prj* «to come» is also reflected in the passive form *sḏm.tj=f: prj.tj ḫrw* «(someone is) calling» (structure: «(someone is) coming out by the voice»). The formula in the infinitive *pr*(*t*) *ḫrw* is often used as a fixed expression which simply means «invocation, appeal» (to the deceased). Two directions of an action, however, still remain in its grammatical structure: it can be interpreted both as «coming forth by the voice» and as «coming forth of the voice». In our case the ritual appeal to the deceased is realized through inscriptions on the offering basin.

Line 4. (*j*)*ḫt nb*(*t*) *bnrt rꜥ nb* «...all sweet things every day». For a long time, this phrase has been considered the only example of plene spelling of the word *nbt* «all, any» after *jḫt* «thing» in combination (*j*)*ḫt nb*(*t*) «everything» that in the Old Kingdom always loses the ending -*t* in the word *nb*(*t*): [22]. Since this example was only written in Sethe's transcription in *Urk*. I, 165.10, it has raised serious doubts[23]. The concerns proved justified: according to the photograph C10393_OS from Reisner archive, here isn't merely *jḫt nbt* «everything», but the combination (*j*)*ḫt nb*(*t*) *bnrt* «all sweet things» which is well known from the formulae on other monuments[24]. The feminine ending -*t* in Sethe's transcription relates precisely to the word *bnrt* missed by him. Likewise, the preposition *n* in the transcription in Urk. I, 165.10 should be corrected to determinative pl. «3 grains» for the word *bnrt* «sweet».

[20] Clère 1935–1938, 771–773; Barta 1968, 26; Lapp 1986, 91–110, § 155–326, in particular 97–104, § 168–184.

[21] About this form, also attested in Old Egyptian, see Luft 1984, 103–111.

[22] Edel 1955–1964, 50–51, § 113.

[23] Sperveslage 2010, 221, Anm. 20.

[24] For this component of the offering formula: Barta 1963, 169 (Index); Kaplony 1963, 970 (1505); Lapp 1986, 134–138, 252 (§ 235–241); Hannig 2003, 203–205 {3691}, 422 {9875}; Daoud 2005, 140, pl. 70; Legros 2013, 154–155, 157 (g); Kanawati 2013, 351, fig. 2, 359, etc.

Commentary on the names

Three names are mentioned on the offering basin: *nj-ꜥnḫ=j-nmtj*, [*j*]*w*(*w*)-*nmtj* and *nj-kꜣ=j-rꜥ*.

Following Sethe, the name of the deceased in the third line of the declaration is traditionally restored as [*nj-ꜥnḫ*]-*nmtj* based of the perfectly preserved name *nj-ꜥnḫ=j-nmtj* in the first line (the right side). Nevertheless, as a matter of fact, this name is to be read as [*j*]*w*(*w*)-*nmtj*, which does not preclude from assuming that named on the right-hand *sḥḏ srjw* «overseer of prospectors» *nj-ꜥnḫ=j-nmtj* is still identical with him. Turns out the owner of the offering basin had two names with the element *nmtj,* the name of the god-wanderer, patron of travelers[25].

Both anthroponyms with divine name *nmtj* as a component are rare[26].

1. The name *nj-ꜥnḫ=j-nmtj* «my life belongs to the god *nmtj*» is built according to typical Old Egyptian pattern *nj-ꜥnḫ=j-NN* «my life belongs to (king or god) NN» or «NN owns my life». The following evidence of the name *nj-ꜥnḫ=j-nmtj*[27] are mentioned in the literature:

1.1. . False door Stockholm, Medelhavsmuseet, 11406[28]. Hypocoristic: *nj*[29]. Titles: *jmj-rꜣ mšꜥ* «general», *rḫ nswt* «king's acquaintance», [*ꜥḏ-mr grg*]*t mrr nb=f* «[administrator of settlement], beloved by his lord», *ḫrp wꜥbw nswt ꜣḫt*-[*ḫwfw*] «director of king's priests of the pyramid Horizon [of Cheops]». His eldest son and heir (*zꜣ=f smsw jwꜥw=f*) *jj-m-ḥtp* had similar titles: *sḥḏ wjꜣ* «captain (of crew) of the ship», *ḫrp* (*j*)*m*(*jw*)-*zꜣ* «director of the members of a phyle»[30], *ꜥḏ-mr grgt* «administrator of settlement», *ḫrp wꜥbw nswt* «director of king's priests». According to the titles, both relatives served in the river fleet, organizing expeditions.

1.2. . Relief Cairo CG 1479[31]. The example is doubtful as neither photograph nor the drawing of the inscription are published. This man was *ḥm-kꜣ* «funerary priest» of *rn*-(*j*)*rj,* father of leather worker *wtꜣ*. H. Ranke read his name as *nj-ꜥnḫ-zkr*[32]. K. Scheele-Schweitzer gives a combined reading *N*(*.j*)-*ꜥnḫ-ḥn.w*/*Nm.tj* «Besitzer von Leben ist die *ḥn.w*-Barke/Nemti» with a note: «M.E. ist die Lesung als *N*(*.j*)-*ꜥnḫ-Nm.tj* hier zu bevorzugen»[33]. Doubts about the name reading are related to multiple meaning of sign given by L. Borchardt, which is open to different readings: *nmtj*, *zkr*, or *ḥnw* «Sokar's boat»[34]. The reading *nj-ꜥnḫ=j-zkr* «my

[25] About the god *nmtj* see Berlev 1969, 3–30; Graefe 1980, 1–27, 43–46, 49; Leitz 2002, 242–244.

[26] For the Old Kingdom names with the component *nmtj*: Ranke 1935, 69–70; 1952, 36. Bland, Malek 1977, 119–120; Thirion 1985, 142; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, Nr. [173], [765], [913], [1364], [1546], [1553], [1612], [1652], [1904], [1934], [1968], [2065]–[2068], [2585], [2723], [3311].

[27] Bland, Malek 1977, 119–120; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 419 [1546].

[28] *PM* III.1 1974, 137; Junker 1943, 239–240, Abb. 101 (collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm/web/object/3016006). Dating: late 4th – early 5th Dynasty. Giza West Field.

[29] Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 449 [1740].

[30] For this title: Bogdanov 2018, 236, n. 60.

[31] Door jamb Cairo JdE30186: *PM* III.1 1974, 309; Borchardt 1937, 166 (without photograph). Dating: late 4th Dynasty. On the dating the relief see also Diego Espinel 2014, 46–48 (late 4th – early 5th Dynasty).

[32] Ranke 1952, 294.4.

[33] Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 421 [1553], Anm. 48.

[34] Thirion 1985, 126.

life belongs to Sokar»[35] is based only on credence to Borchardt's transcription; if it is right, then the sign is the ideographic name of the god Sokar. However, Sokar's name was not written with a single ideogram like *ḥnw*, so *nmtj* is the preferred reading.

1.3. On the offering basin published in *Urk*. I, 165 which is the subject of this study.

Thus, there are only two reliable evidences *for* the name *nj-ꜥnḫ=j-nmtj* in the Old Kingdom, and one of them is preserved exactly on the offering basin from G 1111.

2. Name *jww-nmtj* occurs more often, it has been attested both in the Old[36] and the Middle Kingdoms. By a strange coincidence it is not listed in H. Ranke's *Personennamen*. Scheele-Schweitzer's *Handbuch* cites the following data on this anthroponym:

2.1. 𓅱𓈖𓅱 *jww-nmtj*. Inscription Hatnub Gr. 2.7 dating back to *ttj*[37]. *ṯitle: jmj-rꜣ š* «overseer of the lake (i.e. the contingent of soldiers and craftsmen and their locations)»[38]. The reading of the name is doubtful. Hieratic original after G. Möller's copy: 𓅱𓈖𓅱.

2.2. 𓅱𓈖𓅱 *jww-nmtj*. Inscription Hatnub Gr. 3.2 dated to «year of the 14th occasion (of the counting)» i.e. 27/28th regnal year of king *ḥr nṯrj-ḫꜥw* (*ppj* II)[39]. Title: *ḫtmtj-nṯr* «treasurer of the god». He was the expedition chief and the author of the inscription. His identity with the first *jww-nmtj* who lived during the reigns of *ttj* is hardly possible as two graffiti are separated by 27 years.

2.3. 𓅱𓈖𓅱 *jww-nmtj*. Inscription in Wadi Maghara[40]. Title: *jmj-rꜣ sr*(*jw*) «overseer of prospectors». It dates back to *rnpt m-ḫt zp 4 ṯnwt jḥw ꜥwt nb* «year after the 4th occasion of the counting all the large and small cattle», i.e. 8th/9th regnal year of king *ḏd-kꜣ-rꜥ jzzj*.

2.4. 𓅱𓈖𓅱 *jww-nmtj*. The name is attested on one or two figurines from the series of so-called Execration texts of the Old Kingdom[41]. Altogether, four pots with the Execration texts containing 435 names of rebellious Nubians and Egyptians (some of them duplicated) were discovered at Giza. Dating marks going back to year (*m*)-*ḫt zp-5* «after the 5th occasion (of the counting)» i.e. to 10th/11th regnal year of unknown king remained on three pots, and namely:

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[35] Ranke 1935, 172.1; 298.9 (?); Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 424 [1564], 630 [2987] (?).

[36] Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 222 [173].

[37] Anthes 1928, 19, Taf. 9.

[38] About this title: Bogdanov 2019, 137, n. 109. Translation of Graffito 6 from Gebel el-Silsila which was published with low-quality photograph, incorrect transcription and faulty transliteration (Graffito 6. GeSW.RIS.9: Nilsson, Faraman, Said 2018, 78) is also given here. However, previously published translation of this inscription (Osing 2004, 5) was not taken into account either by the publishers or me. Given the J. Osing's article I made a new, slightly corrected translation, although it as well does not purport to be accurate until a quality publication appears: *jmj-rꜣ š rsj* «overseer of the southern lake» *kꜣ=j-m-ṯnnt*(*?*), *jmj-rꜣ š rsj* «overseer of the southern lake» *ḫnzw-ḥtp*, *ḫrj-ꜥ smntjw* 260 (?) «under (their) supervision: 260 (?) guides» (only from photograph, transcription is missing), *jmj-rꜣ š mḥtj* «overseer of the northern lake» *ꜥnḫ-m-ꜥ-rꜥ*, *ḥrp ꜥpr š rsj* «captain of a squad of the southern lake» *nfr-sšm-ptḥ*, *zš š* «scribe of the lake» *mrw*.

[39] Anthes 1928, 20, Taf. 10.

[40] Inscription Sinai 13: Weill 1904, 109–116 (11–12); *Urk*. I 1932–1933, 56.6–8; Gardiner, Peet, Černý 1952, pl. 7; Baines, Parkinson 1997, 9–27, fig.1; Tallet 2018, 304.

[41] Abu Bakr, Osing 1973, 107 (AB100), Taf. 42–43; Osing 1976a, 139 (RB83), Taf. 44 (doubtful).

1. Pot of series AB: (*m*)-*ḫt zp 5 ꜣbd* 3 *prt hrw* 29 «year after the 5th occasion (of the counting), 3rd month of the seed season, 29th day»[42];

2. Pot of series J: (*m*)-*ḫt zp-5 ꜣbd 3 prt hrw* 22 «year after the 5th occasion (of the counting), 3rd month of the seed season, 22nd day»[43];

3. Pot of series RK: (*m*)-*ḫt zp 5 ꜣbd* 2 *prt hrw* 5 «year after the 5th occasion (of the counting), 2nd month of the seed season, 5th day»[44].

According to these data the ritual, in the course of which the pots were buried, lasted over 55 days (from at least *ꜣbd* 2 *prt hrw* 5 «5th day of 2nd month of the seed season» to *ꜣbd* 3 *prt hrw* 29 «29th day of 3rd month of the seed season»). I think that burial of the figurines with the names of Nubian rebels at Giza was the result of the punitive campaign of king *mrj.n-rˁ* to Nubia which was accomplished in his 9th/10th regnal year. Campaign rock inscriptions, devoted to that event, contain the following dates from the reign of *mrj.n-rˁ*[45]: *zp 5 ṯnwt ꜣbd 2 šmw hrw 24* «year of the 5th occasion of the counting, 2nd month of the harvest season, 25th day»[46], and *zp 5 ṯnwt ꜣbd 2 šmw hrw 28* «year of the 5th occasion of the counting, 2nd month of the harvest season, 28th day»[47]. If one accepts dating of the figurines with the Execration texts to the reign of *mrj.n-rˁ*, that means that they were made 6–8 months later than the above-mentioned graffiti[48]. During that period of time (between 2nd month of the harvest season of year of the 5th occasion of the counting and 2nd month of the seed season of year after the 5th occasion of the counting) king *mrj.n-rˁ* reached Nubia, defeated rebels, drew up a list of those who had been slain or executed, came back and performed the rite of burying the pots with the figurines of the rebels at Giza. The name *jww-nmtj* is typical exactly for the expedition members; thus, that military man or prospector repeatedly visited Nubia in the line of duty. Most of the rebels, listed on the occasion of their rebellion suppression, had Nubian names[49], and only a few dozen held Egyptian names[50], at that Nubians with Egyptian names were singled out

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[42] Abu Bakr, Osing 1973, 131, Taf. 31–32. The earliest case of spelling of the word «day of month» in the form *zjw*/*zw* (*Wb*. IV, 57.8–58.1; Meeks 1998, I, 309, 77.3422) dates back to the 11th Dynasty (stela of *rdjw-ḫnmw*: Cairo CG 20543, line 14 (Lange, Schäfer 1908, 166). Dendera; cf. Schenkel 1965, 113, Anm. i); possibly, this word was derived from verb *zj* «pass on» and initially sounded as (*j*)*z*(*j*)*w* «time, period» (Osing 1976b, I, 113; II, 588, Anm. 512). Existence of the word *zw* «day of month» in the Old Kingdom is actually doubtful (cf. Edel 1955–1964, 182, § 420; Hannig 2003, 1079–1080; 2006, 2118–2120); in this regard, hereinafter I propose for the ideogram «calendar day» conditional reading *hrw* rather than *sw* which became almost generally accepted.

[43] Junker 1947, 31, Abb. 8, Taf. 6b; Abu Bakr, Osing 1973, 131.

[44] Osing 1976a, 154–155, Taf. 52.

[45] Third inscription (*Urk*. I 1932–1933, 111; between Aswan and Philae) does not include any date.

[46] Kaiser *et al.* 1976, 79; Seidlmayer 2005, 290–291, Anm. 11, Taf. 6b. Rock niche of the temple of Satet on Elephantine Island. The name of king *nfr-kꜣ-rˁ* without indication of the regnal year is also attested herein.

[47] *Urk*. I 1932–1933, 110.10–16. Island of Hesse, the First Cataract of the Nile.

[48] Inscription Hatnub VI (Anthes 1928, 14, Taf. 5 = *Urk*. I 1932–1933, 256.18) also dates to the year after the 5th occasion of the counting (10th/11th regnal year) of *mrj.n-rˁ*.

[49] Osing 1976a, 160–164.

[50] Osing 1976a, 158–159, 164.

as a special group since they were clarified by the title *nḥsj* «Nubian»[51], though not always. Some persons were of the mixed descent[52] which attests to the long-term contacts between Egyptians and Nubians. This impressive union of Nubians and Egyptians was in vassal dependence on Egypt for a long period of time, however for unknown reasons they rose in rebellion at the end of the reign of *mrj.n-rꜥ*. Egyptian *jww-nmtj* probably was a member of the expeditionary contingent in Nubia that became involved in the native rebellion and paid for that.

This list of holders of the name *jww-nmtj* should be supplemented with the data collected by Michelle Thirion[53]:

2.5. *jww-nmtj*. A gift bearer with the title *smr* «courtier»[54].

2.6. *jww-nmtj*. Statue Liverpool, World Museum, 1967.4[55]. He held the office of *jmj-rꜣ st ḫntjw-š pr-ꜥꜣ* «overseer of the bureau of the palace attendants» and was the son of the statue owner, *jmj-rꜣ mšꜥ* «military commander» and *jmj-jrtj* «captain» *sbk-ḥtp,* who also held the ritual title *jmꜣḫw ḫr nmtj* «revered with *nmtj*»[56]. According to this title, both of them were natives of the 18th (Sharuna – el-Kom el-Ahmar/Sawaris)[57], 12th (Deir el-Gebrawi – El-Atawla) or 10th nomes of Upper Egypt where the cult of the god *nmtj* was practiced. Another son of *sbk-ḥtp*, also named *sbk-ḥtp*, was *jmꜣḫw ḫr st-jrt nb ḏdw jnpw nb spꜣ nmtj nb ṯbt* «revered with Osiris lord of Busiris, Anubis lord of Sepa, and Nemty lord of Qau». If my reading of the settlement name as *ṯbt* «bottoms of the feet» (having in mind the cut off clows of the god *nmtj*) is correct, then it is the first occurrence of the name of the city Antaeopolis (*ṯbw*), and it is about that the god *nmtj* which cult localized in the 10th nome of Upper Egypt.

2.7. *jw(w)-nmtj-wr{t}*[58]. This masculine name is sometimes read as *jwt-nmtj* or *nmtj-jwt*[59], however, judging from the photograph, it should be exactly read as *jw(w)-nmtj-wr{t}*, i.e. *jw(w)-nmtj* Elder (with the false feminization of the epithet *wr* «Elder»

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[51] Osing 1976a, 159–160. Remarkable example: leader («foreign ruler», *ḥkꜣ-ḫꜣst*) of all rebels had the Egyptian name *ꜥnḫ-wnjs* «*wnjs* will live»; his Nubian name was *jꜣtrꜣs* (Abu Bakr, Osing 1973, 112–113 [199], Taf. 52–53).

[52] This fact is established by the filiation data: Osing 1976a, 160.

[53] Thirion 2003, 178.

[54] Labrousse, Lauer, Leclant 1977, 108–109, fig. 99, doc. 73. Dating: *wnjs*.

[55] Reference data: *PM* VIII.1 1999, 280 (801–221–420); www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/artifact/statue-of-sobekhotep (unsatisfactory photographs). Ihnasiya el-Medina. Dating: late Old Kingdom – beginning of the First Intermediate Period.

[56] Jones 2000, 25 (116), 28–29 (132–134); a Middle Kingdom ritual title *jmꜣḫw ḫr nmtj nb ꜣtft* «revered with *nmtj* – lord of the 12th nome of Upper Egypt» is also known (Fischer 1974, 19 (fig. 21), 21–22 (fig. 29), 25–26 (fig. 24)). About the god *nmtj nb ꜣtft* «*nmtj* – lord of the 12th nome of Upper Egypt» on private monuments up to the 18th Dynasty see also Abdel-Raziq 2017, 3–8, fig. 1–2.

[57] About the title *jmꜣḫw ḫr nmtj* «revered with *nmtj*» for noblemen of the 18th nome of Upper Egypt in the Old Kingdom see Müller, Schenkel, Gomaà 2004, I, 114, 130, 145, 173, 193; II, Taf. 56–57, 77, 91–92, 130, 167.

[58] Cairo CG 20440 (Lange, Schäfer 1902b, Taf. 31; 1908, 38). Abydos. Dating: late 13th Dynasty. The major part of the inscriptions on the stela were made in hieratic script.

[59] Thirion 2003, 178; cf. Ranke 1935, 69.17.

because of a mistake made when transferring the hieratic text into stone[60]). This person is shown in the bottom register of the stela: his name was chiseled while several columns of the text, preceding it, were written in ink – nowadays, these inscriptions are completely lost. Name and title of the owner of the stela are written on the top in a mixture of hieratic and ideographic script, and the ideographic inscription on the *arch* of the stela changes the writing direction and the order of signs several times. The owner held the office of *jmj-rꜣ zꜣ n ḫrtjw-nṯr* «overseer of a phyle of the craftsmen of the necropolis», and his name is probably also to be read *jw*(*w*)*-nmtj-wr*. If this is so, then the owner was depicted on the stela two times. The boy with the title *zꜣ=s* «her son», standing behind the mother, also bears the name in honor of the god *nmtj*: *nmtj-nḫt*. Such propensity of the family for the cult of the god *nmtj* makes it possible to assume that it originated from the 13th or 18th nome of Upper Egypt.

Several other names should be added to these data:

2.8. *jww-nmtj*. Graffito in Gebel Abrak (Eastern Desert)[61]. Title: *jmj-rꜣ 10 srjw smntjw* «overseer of the ten prospectors and guides»[62].

2.9.1. *jw*(*w*)*-nmtj*[63]. A servant of *jꜣm,* the owner of the stela. O.D. Berlev revealed three cases of scriptiones plenae of the divine name *nmtj* in anthroponyms on this stela: *nmtj-ꜥnḫ*(=*f*) fem. (twice) and *nmtj-ꜥnḫ=f* masc[64]., however the name *jw*(*w*)*-nmtj* with the same scriptio plena Berlev read simply as *nmtj*, although the sign «legs» in it is obvious: .

2.9.2–3. The name *jw*(*w*)*-nmtj* in the similar form was also attested on stelae Cairo CG 20520 (masc.)[65] and Rio de Janeiro, Museu Nacional, 627 [2419] (fem.)[66]. This name was included in Ranke's *Personennamen* as an alternative to the simple name *nmtj* in scriptio plena[67]. The name *nmtj* without the 'falcon on a boat' ideogram on the other stelae should also be understood as the divine name *nmtj* adopted as the personal

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[60] Cf. reading of this name as *Nmtj-jwjj nḏs*{*t*} «*Nmtj-jwjj* Junior» in Abu Bakr, Osing 1973, 107, Anm. 26–27. About writing *nḏs* «junior» with redundant *t* (and reading *nḏs*{*t*}) compare example of the masculine name *jtj=sn-nḏs*{*t*} (Moussa 1972, 290, Taf. 29). However, in this case the epithet *wr* «Elder» was used rather than *nḏs* «Junior».

[61] de Bruyn 1958, 97–98, pl. 14 (1).

[62] Reading *zš* «scribe» instead of the numeral *mḏw* (10) is implausible (cf. de Bruyn 1958, 97; Eichler 1993, 91 (188); Jones 2000, 218 (814)) since the title *jmj-rꜣ zšw* «overseer of scribes» is not used without specifying the name of the department. For the reading see also Fischer 1985, 31, n. 24.

[63] Stela Lyon, Le Musée des Beaux-Arts 1969–134 (*PM* VIII.3 2007, 204 (803–030–370)); formerly Guimet C13: Moret 1909, 29–31, pl. 12 (13); collections.mba-lyon.fr/fr/search-notice/detail/1969-134-stele - b4398http://www.bubastis.be/art/musee/lyon/lyon_086a.html). Many members of this family are also depicted on stela Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, CI.325 (or Leiden V 111: *PM* VIII.3 2007, 166 (803–030–039); Boeser 1909, 7 [21], Taf. 20). Dating: early 12th Dynasty.

[64] Berlev 1969, 18–20.

[65] *PM* V 1937, 73; Lange, Schäfer 1902b, Taf. 36; 1908, 121; Simpson 1974, pl. 50 (ANOC32.1). Abydos.

[66] *PM* VIII.3 2007, 86 (803–026–718); Kitchen 1990, I, 16–17; II, pl. 1–2 (1), with a mistake in the transcription of the name. Abydos.

[67] Ranke 1935, 204.13–15, with references to Cairo CG 20077, 20098, 20520, 20591, 20605; to be added: Abydos field no. ANC11543: (Adams 2010, 5–7, fig. 4–5).

name[68] considering to the parallels on the other stelae or to the names of the relatives (for example, the name *nmtj-ḥtp* on stela Cairo CG 20605[69], *nmtj-wr* on stela Cairo CG 20520[70], Antaeopolite names on stela Cairo CG 20591[71]). This is why the sign «legs» 𓍿 could also not be the determinative for the hypothetic name *nmtj* «wanderer» from the verb *nmt* «walk, wander»: the name *nmtj* always meant only the god-wanderer. Although, on rare occasions, the divine name *nmtj* is presented only by the ideogram «legs» with the phonetic complements (𓍿𓏏𓅱)[72], the sign 𓍿 after the ideogram of the falcon-god on a boat was not reliably attested. In this regard, I distinguish the name 𓅓𓏏𓅱𓍿 from the simple name *nmtj* in scriptio plena and read it as *jw(w)-nmtj* despite the fact that the element *jw(w)* is presented in it as a single sign "legs", i.e. in the form which does not occur in the full variants of the name *jw(w)-nmtj*.

2.10. 𓅱𓅓𓏏𓅱𓍿𓅱𓅱𓂋 *jww-nmtj-wr* (т.е. *jww-nmtj* Elder). Stela Sinai 85[73].

Spelling the name in inscriptions Abrak (2.8) and Sinai 85 (2.10) is of interest. In the first case the writer violated the rule of pronouncing the divine name honoris causa, in the second case the component *jww* is presented in the full form. Thus, it is necessary to read the name as *jww-nmtj* «coming of *nmtj*» where *jww* is nomen actionis from the verb *jwj* «come». The word *jww* «coming»[74] means the child himself who impersonated «appearance» (of a certain god) before the father.

The reading of the name as *jww-nmtj* is confirmed by several examples of the names from the Old and the Middle Kingdoms that were formed on the similar principle – with the initial nomen actionis from the verb *jwj* «come». This pattern coexisted with the similar derivatives in the form *sḏm=f* or with a pseudo-participle from the verb *jwj*. The following examples of the names with nomen actionis *jww/jwt* «coming» can be found in the anthroponymy of the Old and the Middle Kingdoms:

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[68] The name *nmtj* with the ideogram of falcon on a boat occurs frequently: Ranke 1935, 69.16. The tradition of giving to a child the name of a deity (*ḏḥwtj, ḥr, nmtj, ḥwt-ḥr*, etc.) without any epithet appeared in the Middle Kingdom. The Old Kingdom names *ḫnsw* (fem.) and *ḫnmw=j/ḫnmt=j* are not related to the gods *ḫnzw* and *ḫnmw* respectively (another reading: Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 603 [2783], 615–616 [2861]–[2863]).

[69] Lange, Schäfer 1902b, Taf. 48; 1908, 243–244. Abydos.

[70] *jmj-rꜣ pr* «householder» *nmtj-wr* (𓅓𓏏𓅱𓍿𓅱𓅱𓂋) on stela Cairo CG 20520 and *jmj-rꜣ pr* «householder» *nmtj-wr* (𓅱𓅓𓏏𓅱𓍿𓅱𓅱𓂋) on stela Leiden, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, L.XI.2 (Leiden V 108: Boeser 1909, 13 [50], Taf. 38; Simpson 1974, pl. 16 (ANOC7.2) are apparently the same person (Franke 1984, 217 (325)).

[71] *PM* V 1937, 58; Lange, Schäfer 1908, 230. Abydos; about ancestry of some members of this family from the 10th nome of Upper Egypt see Ilin-Tomich 2017, 84, 211.

[72] Indisputable examples from the Coffin texts: Graefe 1980, 9.

[73] Gardiner, Peet, Černý 1952, pl. 23; Černý 1955, 92–94. Dating: 4th regnal year of king [*jmn-m-ḥꜣt* III]. Serabit el-Khadim.

[74] About «coming (of the god)»: Hannig 2006, 100. For example, appearance of the god Sobek signifies the renaissance in the shrines of the gods – inhabitants of the Underworld (*jmjw-dwꜣt*) and inhabitants of waves (*jmjw-nwj*): *ḫꜥj sbk wḥm.n=f mswt m jww=f jp nfrw* «when Sobek appears, he revives by his coming (everyone) in particular and in general» (*pRamesseum* VI (BM EA 10759), col. 116–117: Gardiner 1957, 53, pl. 3; cf. Vernus 1980, 118; Assmann 1999, 462. Dating: *jmn-m-ḥꜣt* III). In this text, the terms *jp / nfrw* are a combination of opposites with the meaning "particular / general" or "special / common".

1. *jww-bꜣ* «coming of the sacred Ram»[75]. Double *waw* indicates the form nomen actionis from the verb *jwj* «come».

2. *jww-bnw* «coming of phoenix». Two individuals are known who have that name attested in the different spelling: *1)* [76] and *2)* [77].

3. *jww-ptḥ*. This name in the form nomen actionis is mentioned on a stela of the First Intermediate Period[78]. A similar name, but in a different form, is attested in the Second Intermediate Period: *ptḥ-jw.j* where *jw.j* is a pseudo-participle[79].

4. *jwt-n=j-ptḥ* «coming of Ptah to me» masc[80]. where the word *jwt* «coming» (in the feminine gender) was formed according to another model of nomen actionis[81].

5. *jw(w)-n=j-sbk* «coming of Sobek to me»[82] where the word *jww* «coming» is nomen actionis with the *w*-ending as in the name *jww-nmtj*[83]. *Nqmen ꜥśtiqnis is used in*

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[75] Cf. Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 222 [172]: *Jw(j).w-Bꜣ* «kommend ist der (heilige) Bock»; Gundacker 2013, 45: *Jwjw-Bt* «Bata soll kommen!»; Gundacker 2014, 67: *Jwjw-Bꜣ* «Der heilige Bock soll kommen!».

[76] Stela BM EA 1486 [1136] (Budge 1912, pl. 52; Fischer 1987–1988, 19–20, 23, fig. 3. Dating: 9th/10th Dynasty.

[77] Stela Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum 14333 (Generalverwaltung 1913, 121. Dating: 9th/10th Dynasty. Both stelae probably originate from El-Qasr wa's Sayyad necropolis (Brovarski 2018, 361, n. 83). For reading the name cf. Ranke 1935, 97.10; 1952, 277.10; Schindler von Wallenstern 2011, 231.

[78] Stela Firenze, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, 6367 (1760) (Bosticco 1959, 22, fig. 15 (15); Fischer 1964, 80–81, pl. 24 (27). Naqada). Cf. Ranke 1935, 138.12.

[79] Stela BM EA 329 [1371] (Budge 1913, 7, pl. 16; Vernus 1987, 146–149, pl. 26 (46). Edfu). Cf. stela Aix-en-Provence, Musée Granet, 849.1.367 (*PM* VIII.1 1999, 91: (803–027–141); Barbotin 2020, 56–59 (7). Abydos (?)) where the name of the same pattern but with a different spelling is attested: with the reading *ptḥ-jw.j*.

[80] Cf. Ranke 1952, 358 [138,13]; Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 222 [176]; Gundacker 2013, 45; Gundacker 2014, 67: everyone is reading and understanding this name in the same way: *jwt-n=j-ptḥ* «möge Ptah zu mir kommen».

[81] Tomb LG 77 (*PM* III.1 1974, 212; Lepsius 1849–1859, II, Bl. 34d; *Urk*. I 1932–1933, 8.14; www.gizapyramids.org: A7429_NS; Kormysheva *et al.* 2015, 25, fig. 15, pl. 2, 14a–b. Giza East Field. Dating: 5th Dynasty). Cf. the name in *sḏm=f* form, with the same meaning: *ptḥ-jw(j)=f-n=j* «Ptah, he came to me» (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 362 [1146]).

[82] Relief Krannert Art Museum, University of Illinois, Champage-Urbana 1974–11–1; collection.kam.illinois.edu/Obj3799. Dating: *ppj* II.

[83] Cf. reading in Gundacker 2010, 70; Gundacker 2013, 44; Gundacker 2014, 67: (*J*)*mj-n=j-Śbkw* «Komm zu mir, Sobek!» (m.). I interpret the grammatical form of the similar examples given in Gundacker 2010, 70: Ex. (53, *dwꜣ-n=j-Rꜥw*), Ex. (54, *ḥsj-n=j-Ptḥ*), and Ex. (55, *jꜣj-n=j-Ptḥ*)) as the perfective relative form. It is difficult to translate these names, though the common content is approximately like the following: *dwꜣ.n-rꜥ* «the one who (came) by the grace of Ra» («begged for from the Sun»), *ḥzj.n-rꜥ* «the one who (came) by the grace of Ra» («blessed by the Sun»; it is worth noting that the verb *ḥzj* «favor, praise, reward» always expresses action of a lord with respect to a subordinate or a father to his son, and not vice versa) and *jꜣj.n-ptḥ* «the one who came through prayer to Ptah» («begged for from Ptah»). Analogues of these names with a participium perfecti passivi (i.e. without *n*) and with the same meaning are also known: *dwꜣ-rꜥ* (cf. Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 743 [3770]: «der Re preist»), *ḥzj-rꜥ* (cf. Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 554 [2510]: «Gelobter des Re»), *jꜣjw-ptḥ* (cf. Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 207 [61]: «Verehrer des Ptah»).

the nʿmes Nq. 4 ʿnd 5 insteʿd qf the simple sḏm=f form (as in the name pattern *jj-n=j*-NN «NN came to me»[84]).

6. *jww-wp(j)-w3wt* «coming of Wepwawet», he is also known by the name *nfr-jww* «good coming» which his father also held[85]. The variant *nfr-jww* with the epithet *nfr* «good» confirms the meaning of the word *jww* «coming» as nomen actionis once more. The Middle Kingdom names of this type with the element *nfr* were divided into two patterns: *nfr-jww*[86] *ʿnd jww-nfr* «good coming»[87], to which adjoined the name *jww-nfrt* «coming of the beauty»[88]. The name *jww-nfr/ nfr-jww* occurs dozens of times in the Middle Kingdom, both for men and women. On the contrary, the equally widespread name *jww-nfrt* occurs only for women and only in the Middle Kingdom. Its Old Kingdom prototype *nfrt-jww=s* «beauty, (this is) her coming»[89] gives more reason to see the goddess Hathor in this «beauty». This explains the constant carrying forward the word *nfrt* «beauty» in the Middle Kingdom name *jww-nfrt* whereas position of the verb *nfr* «be good» in the name *jww-nfr/ nfr-jww* is not stable; thus, the name patterns of *jww-nfr/ nfr-jww* (masc./fem.) and *jww-nfrt* (only fem.) are not equivalent. The name pattern with pseudo-participle *nfrt-jj.tj* «the beauty is coming» (Nefertiti) on the Middle Kingdom material is not attested. In this name, as before, Hathor is the deity who is hiding under the name *nfrt* «beauty»[90], which appeared during the 18th Dynasty and survived into the Ptolemaic period (also in the form *t3-nfr(t)-jj.tj*).

7. *nfr-jww-ḥwt-ḥr* «coming of Hathor is good»[91]. The female name in which *jww* «coming» can be understood only as nomen actionis.

A compound name *jmn-m-ḥ3t-nfr-jw(w)*[92] is also known, however in this case *nfr-jw(w)* is only the second name of the man[93].

The feminine names *ḥwt-ḥr-jw(j).t(j)* «Hathor is coming»[94] and *sḫt-jw(j).t(j)* «Sekhet (*Field-goddess*) is coming»[95] should be considered as pseudo-participial constructions, built according to a name pattern with the masculine subject *k3=j-jw(j.j)/ k3=j-jw(j).w* «my *Ka* is coming», with the element *k3* in the initial position[96]. Generally, the

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[84] Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 212–213 [97]–[103].

[85] Stela Cairo CG 20142 (Lange, Schäfer 1902a, 167–168; 1902b, Taf. 13). Abydos. Dating: 13th Dynasty.

[86] Ranke 1935, 194.7–8. There are two examples from the Old Kingdom: Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 462 [1839].

[87] Ranke 1935, 15.21, 194.7.

[88] Ranke 1935, 201.13–14.

[89] Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 490 [2038].

[90] Ranke 1935, 201.12, 364.2; cf. ibidem, 194.5.

[91] Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 462 [1840], with reading *Nfr-jww-ḥw.t-ḥr.w(?)* «gut ist, daß Hathor kommt»; Gundacker 2014, 96, Ex. (109): «Vollkommen ist, daß Hathor kommt!».

[92] Stela Coll. Figeac (Marseille): Gauthier-Laurent 1933, 75–80, pl. 7.

[93] Vernus 1971, 196 (13); Vernus 1986, 8 (19).

[94] Tomb QH 90. Edel 2008, II, 1135–1136, Text 6; Taf. 63. cf. Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 222 [177]: *Jw.t-ḥw.t-ḥr.w* «möge Hathor kommen».

[95] El-Hagarsa D4. Woodward, Kanawati 1995, pl. 5a, 24, 27; cf. Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 222 [178]; Gundacker 2013, 45; 2014, 67: *Jw.t-sḫ.t* «möge Sechet kommen».

[96] Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 693 [3423]. The form *k3=j-jw(j).w* is an example of existence of the pseudo-participial ending.*w* for the verb *jj/jwj* «come» already in Old Egyptian (cf. Edel 1955–1964, 272, § 573; 278, § 579), which further demonstrates the diatopic character of

sign «legs» in the name *ḥwt-ḥr-jj.tj* / *ḥwt-ḥr-jw*(*j*)*.tj*[97] *wʿs mʿde purpqsely mqre śqmpliśʿted tq the sign jj* (𓇋), since in the name form *jww*/*jwt* «coming» this sign was never used, only the sign *jw* (𓅱); on the contrary, this simple sign *jw* (𓅱) was sometimes used to form a pseudo-participle – for example, the name *ḥwt-ḥr-jw*(*j*)*.tj* «Hathor is coming» on stela Louvre C111[98] is presented in the full writing: 𓉐𓇋𓅱𓅱𓏏. Thus, the pseudo-participle from the verb *jwj* in this name is presented in two forms: *jj.tj* and *jw*(*j*)*.tj* «she is coming» which also occurs in other names.

Taking into account the anthroponymic material, military officers, expedition members and travelers often held the name *jww-nmtj* which indicated that they followed footsteps of their fathers who served in the same professional sphere. A separate group is made up of those born in the 10th, 12th or 18th nomes of Upper Egypt (Nos. 2.6, 2.7, 2.9.1–2, 3(?)) who got their names with the component *nmtj* out of reverence for the local god of their nomes, the Falcon on a boat.

3. Author of the inscription on the offering basin, son of *jww-nmtj*, had the name *nj-kꜣ=j-rʿ* «my Ka belongs to Ra».

This name was fairly common in the Old Kingdom. Scheele-Schweitzer's *Handbuch* provides data about eight bearers of this name[99]. Besides them, the following persons are known:

3.1. *špsj nswt jmj-rꜣ ḳdw* «king's nobleman, overseer of builders» *nj-kꜣ=j-rʿ*, father of *jmꜣḫ*(*w*)*t* «revered» *ṯtj*[100]. *ḥis śqrrespqndenśe tq sḥḏ ḳdw*, *sḥḏ ḥmw-kꜣ* «inspector of builders,

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divergence between the pseudo-participial forms, with the endings *.j* and *.w*, as well without any ending in Egyptian language. Cf. the names *jj-kꜣ=j* «my *Ka* came» and *jj-kꜣw=j* «my *Kau* came» in the form *sḏm=f* (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 216–217 [124]–[126]).

[97] Ranke 1935, 235.7–8 (with reference to stelae Cairo CG 20076 and CG 20473; Louvre C111; Wien ÄS108). To add: *1)* stela Louvre E27211 (Ziegler 1990, 74–77 (8); *2)* inscription Kumma 452 = Khartoum, Sudan National Museum 34381 (Hintze, Reineke 1989, I, 127; II, Taf. 172); *3)* stela Langres 110 (Gauthier-Laurent 1931, 110–111, pl. 1); *4)* statue Dahshur Magazine 160 (Fakhry 1961, 20, fig. 295, pl. 57A; Schulz 1992, I, 128–129 (053); II, Taf. 22c); *5)* stela Moscow, The Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts I.1.a.1136 (Hodjash, Berlev 1982, 86–87 (40)); *6)* stela Cairo CG 20656 (Lange, Schäfer 1902b, Taf. 50; 1908, 289; Stefanović 2011, 98, 100); *7)* stela Cairo CG 20228 (Lange, Schäfer 1902a, 248; 1902b, Taf. 17). All the examples date to the Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period.

[98] https://collections.louvre.fr/en/ark:/53355/cl010022897. Dating: 13th Dynasty. The owner of the stela *kkj* held a rare title *jrj-ḫtm*(*j*)*t* «he who is in charge of the sealed property» (Hannig 2006, 346) which existed within the community of low-rank court administration from the end of the 5th and during the 6th Dynasties (Jones 2000, 334 (1231); Hannig 2003, 179–180; Bogdanov 2017b, 166–167; the title is also attested on the false door of *sbk-ḥtp* in tomb G 2420 (www.gizapyramids.org: A7580_NS. A7588_NS); on the sealings *ḏd-kꜣ-rʿ* 27 and 30 (Kaplony 1981, IIA, 330–331, 333–334; IIB, Taf. 89–90), and on the false door of *ḳdw* (Cairo CG 57196 = SR2/15892; Kamal El-din 2009, 19–26. Saqqara (?). Dating: 8th–9th Dynasties. This person, who held the office of *jrj-ḫtm*(*j*)*t* (*pr-ꜥꜣ*) «he who is in charge of the sealed property (of the palace)», was also *jmj-ḫt ḫntjw-š pr-ꜥꜣ*, *sḥḏ ḫntjw-š pr-ꜥꜣ* and *ḫntj-š* of the pyramid *mn-nfr-mrj-rʿ*; he should be added, under No. 8, to the list of holders of the combined offices of *ḫntjw-š* and *jrj-ḫtm*(*j*)*t* in Bogdanov 2017b, 166–167)). In the narrative context, the title *jrj-ḫtmt* «contract holder (?)» is attested in the inscription on the statue base of *ḥr-jr-ꜥꜣ*, line 13 (Perdu 2016, 92–93, 115, n. ao), pl. 10. Dating: *psmṯk* II *nfr-jb-rʿ*).

[99] Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 443 [1698].

[100] Offering basin from tomb G 6027 A (www.gizapyramids.org, Field number: 38–2–13).

inspector of funerary priests» *nj-kꜣ=j-rˁ*, a servant of *jj-mrj*, owner of tomb G 6020[101], remains questionable since presence of the title *špsj nswt* «king's nobleman» for *nj-kꜣ=j-rˁ* on the offering basin is a clear evidence in favour of dating to at least the reign of *ttj* while usually tomb G 6020 (*jj-mrj*) is reasonably dated to at least the first half of the 5th Dynasty.

3.2. *nj-kꜣ=j-rˁ*, son of *ḫˁj-mrr-nbtj*, grandson of *ḫwfw-snb* and *ḥnwt=sn*[102].

Commentary on the titles

Two titles from the sphere of the organization of expeditions are attested on the offering basin:

1. *nj-kꜣ=j-rˁ*: *jmj-ḫt srjw* «under-supervisor of prospectors».

2. *nj-ˁnḫ=j-nmtj* / *jww-nmtj*: *sḥḏ srjw* «inspector of prospectors».

Range of problems connected with interpretation of the lexical item *srj* «presage, forecast, predict» etc.[103] Social designations from the sphere of lexicography of *srj* deserve a separate study; this is why for the present I limit myself to categorical conclusions on the initial results of my own study which hopefully shall be completed soon.

Considering the meaning of the word *sr*(*j*) «official, office-holder»[104], many scholars interpreted the term *sr*(*j*)*w* in the expedition titles as «officials»[105]. However, it should be noted that actually the *office sr*(*j*) «official» did not existed in the Old Kingdom. The term *sr*(*j*) in Old Egyptian was used in the meaning derived from the verb «envisage», however with many nuances depending on occupation of the holder: «auditor, controller, agent, informer, scout». In most of the narrative contexts (i.e. outside the titulary) it appeared as a general notion *sr*(*j*) «official» with the non-determined content. The title *sr*(*j*) transformed into a functional office only in the expedition nomenclature where to it was included with the meaning «geological explorer, prospector». It occurs mostly in the hierarchical titles *jmj-rꜣ sr*(*j*)*w* / *sḥḏ sr*(*j*)*w* «overseer / inspector of prospectors».

The contingents of *srjw* often appear in the titles together with the crew of *smntjw* which is indicative of resemblance of their functions. And because *smntjw* are usually determined as «guides»[106], then for the title *srjw* a suitable equivalent is «prospectors»; it is derived from the verb *sr*(*j*) in the meaning «survey the routes, plot the sailing directions» which were widely used, in particular, in the Coffin Texts. Units of «prospectors»-*srjw* were generally a part of the expeditionary force in the quarries of the Sinai, Wadi Hammamat, Hatnub, Nubia and other remote locations. Nevertheless, according to the titles of their superiors, *srjw* could serve in the Nile valley as well. Functions of such *srjw* in Egypt itself, probably, were to accompany goods and to send reports along the

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[101] Weeks 1994, 51, fig. 42 {2.120}.

[102] www.gizapyramids.org: PDM_06135; PDM_06142; Giza Abu Bakr Cemetery. Dating: 5th Dynasty.

[103] Cannuyer 2010, passim.

[104] *Wb*. IV, 188.3–189.9; Jones 2000, 909 (3331); Cannuyer 2010, 577–579.

[105] Goelet 1982, 200–201 (n. 199); Fischer 1985, 31; Eichler 1993, 169; Martin-Pardey 1994, 159–160, 162; Moreno García 1997, 108; Jones 2000, 229–230 (849–851), 909 (3331–3335), 966–967 (3564–3565), *et al*.

[106] The title-nisba *smntj* is apparently derived from the word *smnt* «knapsack, bag» (*Wb*. IV, 135.18; Yoyotte 1975, 44–55; Jones 2000, 228–230 (846–851), 872 (3191); 891 (3262), 966 (3563); Mostafa 2014, 156, fig. 21, 158, 165, n. g, 166, n. b).

routes that were plotted by them, while outside of the Nile valley they were conducting the prospecting. The ordinary *srjw* and *smntjw*, along with different categories of soldiers and craftsmen, had a very modest status, so there are almost no inscriptions of them[107].

1. *The title jmj-ḫt srjw «under-supervisor of prospectors»*.

I chose for the rank *jmj-ḫt* (literally meaning «one who follows, one who goes after») the *conditional* translation «under-supervisor»[108]. This rank was the second in the phyle of employees directly after «inspector» *sḥḏ*. In the Middle Kingdom the hierarchic rank *jmj-ḫt* disappeared from almost all government bodies, apart from the police: it remained only as part of the title *jmj-ḫt zꜣw-prw* «under-supervisor of policemen (*or gendarmes, literally «sons of the house(s)»*)»[109].

The title *jmj-ḫt srjw* «under-supervisor of prospectors» held by the author of the inscription, *nj-kꜣ=j-rˁ*, is unique. The only parallel to it from the sphere of organization of the expeditions, is the office of *jmj-ḫt smntjw* «under-supervisor of guides» which occurs very rarely as well:

1. In graffito of *ḥtpw* in the form *jmj-ḫt smntjw mrr nb=f* «under-supervisor of guides beloved of his lord»[110].

2. On a sealing with the name of king [*ḥr*] *wsr-ḫˁw* from Buhen[111].

3. On a sealing with the name of king *ḥr ḏd-ḫˁw*, *ḏd-kꜣ-rˁ* from Edfu in the form [*jmj*]-*ḫt smntjw jrr wḏt nb=f* «under-supervisor of guides who does what his lord commands»[112].

The unique title in Wadi Hammamat, published in transcription as *jmj-ḫt mšˁ* «under-supervisor of army»[113], should most likely be read as *jmj-ḫt smntjw* «under-supervisor of guides".

The only known namesake of *nj-kꜣ=j-rˁ* served in the administration of the contingent of *srjw* is *wr mḏw šmˁw zš* «great (among) the tens of Upper Egypt, scribe»[114] *nj-kꜣ=j-rˁ*. He

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[107] Data about the single title *smntj* of Middle Kingdom, presented in Rainer Hannig's dictionary, are either incorrect (for example, on stela Cairo CG 20457 it is the personal name *mnjw*, cf. Fischer 1996a, 177) or doubtful (for example, on stela «cCassirer» (Schlögl 1978, 49, 155; cf. Meeks 1998, II, 327, 78.3547) a title of musician is mentioned, most probably, it means «castanets or sistrum player» (*srwj*?/*sḫmj*?) rather than *smntj*), or represent the group spelling (Hannig 2006, 2212 {28076}). About the ordinary title *srj*: Tallet 2012a, I, 218–219, II, 154 (CCIS247).

[108] Jones 2000, 282–298 (1017–1090); Hannig 2003, 130–132.

[109] Jones 2000, 296 (1081): «under-supervisor of sons-of-houses (police)»; Hannig 2003, 132; 2006, 240–241.

[110] Wadi Hammamat M 156: Couyat, Montet 1912, 93, pl. 33; see also photographs of the inscriptions on the website ancienegypte.fr/ouadi_hammamat/page2.htm (45.jpg). To the reading of the inscription: Bogdanov 2018, 239, n. 75.

[111] Kaplony 1981, IIA, 227; IIB, Taf. 69 (*nfr-ir-kꜣ-rˁ* 28). See also fragments of the title *jmj-ḫt smntjw* (?): Kaplony 1981, IIB, Taf. 16 (*rˁ-ḫˁ-f* 16); 46 (*mn-kꜣw-rˁ* 39); 64 (*sꜣḥw-rˁ* 44); 132 (K.u. 138); 133 (K.u. 139); about reading cf. IIA, 124–125, 204, 500.

[112] Moeller, Marouard 2020, 16.

[113] Wadi Hammamat M 161: Couyat, Montet 1912, 93 (without photograph); cf. Jones 2000, 287–288 (1044).

[114] Another reading of the title: Jones 2000, 845–846 (3085) (*zš wr(w) 10 šmˁw*). The element *zš* «scribe» in this title should be considered as a functional addition to *wr mḏw šmˁw* «great (among) the tens of Upper Egypt».

left behind many monuments[115], and his titulary is exclusively rich with offices from different spheres of activity[116]. He was a priest *ḥm-nṯr* of kings [*sꜣḥ*]*w*-[*rˁ*], *ḥr* [*wsr-ḫˁ*]*w* (*nfr-jrj-kꜣ-rˁ*), *ḥr st-jb-tꜣwj* (*nj-wsr-rˁ*) and *ḥm-nṯr rˁ* «priest of the Sun» in the Sun temples [*st*]-*jb*-[*rˁ*] (of king *nfr-jrj-kꜣ-rˁ*) and *šzp*(*w*)-*jb-rˁ* (of king *nj-wsr-rˁ*). The main activity *nj-kꜣ=j-rˁ* related to the ministry of food where he held several offices[117]: [*jmj-rꜣ*] *šnwtj* «overseer of the (department of) two granaries», [*jmj-rꜣ*] *zšw mḏꜣt n*(*j*) *šnwt* «overseer of scribes of documents for the (department of) granary», *jmj-rꜣ šnwt n*(*j*)*t ḫnw* «overseer of the (department of) granary for residence», *ḫrj-tp šnwt* «overseer of the (department of) granary», *sḥḏ zšw šnwt* «inspector of scribes of the (department of) granary»[118]. The title *jmj-rꜣ šnwt* «overseer of the (department of) granary» was also held by his son *ˁnḫ-m-ˁ-rˁ*. *nj-kꜣ=j-rˁ* himself was also involved into organization of cattle breeding and hunting which is evidenced by such his titles as *jmj-rꜣ ḥwt-ˁꜣt* «overseer of the great estate», *jmj-rꜣ ḥwt-jḥwt* «overseer of the estate for the cattle breeding (with the town determinative)», *jmj-rꜣ ꜣpdw-š* «overseer of pond-fowl»[119], *jmj-rꜣ pḥww nb* «overseer of all marshlands», *jmj-rꜣ nww nb* «overseer of all hunters», *jmj-rꜣ bjtjw nb* «overseer of all bee-keepers»[120]. Such unusual offices as *jmj-rꜣ* (*ḫrjw*)-*sbꜣ nb* «overseer of all parasol bearers»[121] and *jmj-rꜣ msw nswt* (*prw*) *m prwj* «overseer of the (houses of) king's children in the two houses» can also be added into this group.

The title *jmj-rꜣ srjw* 𓅓𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏 on false door Cleveland 1964.91 looks unusual[122]; writing of the word *srj* by only the ideogram of the official without any phonetic complement is reliably attested only in inscription Sinai 19 written by *sḥḏ srjw* 𓏏𓏏 «inspector of

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[115] *PM* III.2 1981, 696–697. The monuments of *nj-kꜣ=j-rˁ* include: 1–2. Statue Cleveland Museum of Art 1964.90 and fragments of false door Cleveland Museum of Art 1964.91 (Andreu 1997, 21–30; Fischer 1997, 178–179; Hamza Awad 2006, 73–87; Berman, Bohač 1999, 128–132 (71–72); www.clevelandart.org/art/1964.91; www.clevelandart.org/art/1964.90); 3. Statue Brooklyn 49.215 (James 1974, 13 (36), pl. 19; www.brooklynmuseum.org/opencollection/objects/3544); 4–5. Statues New York, MMA 52.19 and 48.67 (www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/543900; www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/543901). Probably from Saqqara. Dating: *nj-wsr-rˁ*.

[116] About titles of *nj-kꜣ=j-rˁ* see also Baud 1999, II, 481, no. 103 (V 6); Nuzzolo 2018, 360–361 [51]; Florès 2015, 417 (Ni/Sa/1).

[117] The Old Kingdom «overseers of the granary / two granaries» performed the functions of the agriculture ministers. This office was reliably attested from the beginning of the 5th Dynasty (Strudwick 1985, 251–275).

[118] The title *ḫrj-tp šnwt* «chief of the (department of) granary» is mentioned on statues Cleveland Museum of Art 1964.90, New York, MMA 52.19 and 48.67; the titles *rḫ nswt* «king's acquaintance» and *sḥḏ zšw šnwt* «inspector of scribes of the (department of) granary» is attested only on statue Brooklyn 49.215.

[119] For the reading *ꜣpdw-mr/š* «channel-bird, pond-fowl» see Hayes 1951a, 53, fig. 13 (170–181); 1951b, 92–93; Wassell 1991, II, 27–28, n. 98; Bailleul-LeSuer 2016, 29, 341, 377–378, 381. Cf. Andreu 1997, 22; Fischer 1997, 178; Jones 2000, 52 (258); Diego Espinel 2006, 87; Hamza Awad 2006, 75, 80; Nuzzolo 2018, 360: everyone is reading the title as *sš*(*.w*)*?*, or as *ꜣpd*(*w*), or as *ꜣpd*(*w*)-*mr*/*š*. Reading in Florès 2015, 417: «(*j*)*m*(*y*)-*r*(*ꜣ*) *sꜣ mr*?».

[120] Reading in Hamza Awad 2006, 75, 78: «*jmj-rꜣ* [...] *bjt nb*(*.w*)?» is incorrect.

[121] Cf. readings in Hamza Awad 2006, 75, 78: «*jmj-rꜣ sb*[...] *nb*(*.w*)?»; Nuzzolo 2018, 360: «*imy-r sb*(*w*) [...] *nb*(*w*)»; Florès 2015, 417: «(*j*)*m*(*y*)-*r*(*ꜣ*) *sb* [...?] *nb*». About this title: Bogdanov, Bolshakov 2004, 23; this article was afterwards reprinted in English: Bolshakov 2005, 47, n. j).

[122] Review of the readings of this title in the inscription: Hamza Awad 2006, 75, 83–84.

prospectors» *snnw jdw*[123]. *Nevertheless, the title jmj-rꜣ srjw* on false door Cleveland 1964.91 apparently has nothing to do with the organization of expeditions. The titulary of *nj-kꜣ=j-rˁ* is in many respects similar to the titulary of *dmḏ*[124] *whq ˁlsq held the qffiśe qf* 𓄿𓅱𓂝𓂋𓂋 *jmj-rꜣ srjw* and also was *jmj-rꜣ zš* «overseer of the fowling pool» (the sense of the title is not known), *jmj-rꜣ šnjw-tꜣ nb* «overseer of all vegetation», *jmj-rꜣ pḥww* «overseer of marshlands», *jmj-rꜣ wḥˁw* «overseer of fowlers/fishermen» and a priest of the Sun (*ḥm-nṯr rˁ*) in the Sun temples *sḫt*(*-rˁ*) (of king *sꜣḥw-rˁ*) and *st-jb-*(*rˁ*) (of king *nfr-jrj-kꜣ-rˁ*)[125].

According to these indirect data, the office of *jmj-rꜣ srjw* held by *dmḏ* and *nj-kꜣ=j-rˁ* was probably related to the management of auditors[126] or guides[127]. Needless to say, that the bosses themselves did not participated in the trips – their status did not allow them. Here, as in the expedition inscriptions, the title *srjw* – in broad sense «informer, prospector, auditor, researcher» – has one meaning but different content. In Egypt *srjw* could play a role of attendants of the military or fiscal missions, and in expeditions the many professional miners and prospectors were called by the same title.

Thus, competence of two persons named *nj-kꜣ=j-rˁ* with the resembling titles turns out to be ghost and their identity – unreliable.

2. *The title sḥḏ srjw «inspector of prospectors»*[128].

Bearers of the title *sḥḏ srjw* can be divided into two categories: 1. The expedition members as inspectors of prospectors. 2. Officials of the fiscal service, «inspectors of auditors». The first ones left their inscriptions outside of Egypt, the others, with few exceptions, are known from the monuments from their own tombs in the Memphite region, at Giza and Saqqara. Since it is not easy to identify the functions of officials from the second group, I present their prosopography separately.

1. The expeditionary *sḥḏw srjw* «inspectors of prospectors» left inscriptions in the Sinai, in Wadi Hammamat and Hatnub.

1.1. A collective: 𓏏𓏏𓄿𓅱𓂝𓂋𓂋𓂋

year of king *ḥr nṯrj-ḫʿw* (*ppj* II *nfr-kꜣ-rʿ*). The numeral 20 after the title, with the determinative A1 pl. instead of the name, look strange, although it is understandable in the standard name list of the crew.

1.2. *jḥj-n=s* (son of?) *ḥnkw*(?): *sḥḏ srjw* [*smntjw*] «inspector of prospectors and [guides]». Inscription Wadi Hammamat M 151[130]. E. Eichler[131] identified the author of the inscription *jḥj-n=s*[132] *with ʿnḫ-mrj-rʿ/ jḥj-n=s* of stela Cairo CG 1483[133], however his equating is absolutely arbitrary. *ʿnḫ-mrj-rʿ/ jḥj-n=s* was an important nobleman, «overseer of the (department) of all the works of the king» (*jmj-rꜣ kꜣt nbt nt nswt*), but *jḥj-n=s* from Wadi Hammamat was only the commander of an expedition crew.

1.3. *jd*[*w?*]: [*sḥḏ?*] *srjw* «[inspector?] of prospectors». Hieratic ink inscription on gypsum Ayn Soukhna CCIS250[134].

1.4. *wꜣš-k*(*ꜣ=j*), *ḥtp-n=j-j*, *nj-sbk:* three persons with a collective title *sḥḏ srjw* «inspector of prospectors». Inscription Sinai 13[135]. All the three as holders of this office are not attested in other sources.

1.5. *ḥtp*: *sḥḏ srjw* «inspector of prospectors». Inscription Ayn Soukhna CCIS214[136].

1.6. *sꜣbj-km*: *mšʿ sḥḏ srjw* «expeditionary inspector of prospectors». Inscription Sinai 20[137]. The ideogram of the soldier with the meaning *mšʿ* «army, expedition, campaign» stands in front of the title. The title is written in accordance with the habitual standard for the titles with the element *pr-ʿꜣ*, which as a stand-alone title simply means «palace attendant» and in most other cases is put in front of the title as the place of service, for example, as in the title *rḫ nswt pr-ʿꜣ* «king's acquaintance of the palace». Nevertheless, it should be recognized that the ideogram *mšʿ* herein means «campaign, march» rather than

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mistake in the transcription (cf. Anthes 1928, 20, Anm. 12: he believes that it is the drawing that is incorrect, and not the transcription). Although in the facsimile of the hieratic inscription made by G. Möller it is the sign *ḥḏ* which is obvious and not *m*, everybody is oriented to the hieroglyphic transcription which results in a mistake. Based on this uncertain reading, M.A. Lebedev devoted half a page of the text to description of activities of the expedition members with the title *sms.w* which he interpreted as «foremen of (carpenter shops)» (Lebedev 2015, 84, 419) although they were not mentioned in the expedition inscriptions at all.

130 Couyat, Montet 1912, 92, pl. 34. Dating: 8th Dynasty.

131 Eichler 1993, 75.

132 To the reading of the name *jḥj-n=s*: Fischer 1996a, 60–61; cf. Scheele-Schweitzer 2014, 260 [451]: *Jḥ.y-n=s* (?)/*N*(*.j*)*-sw-Jḥ.y* (?) «ein *Jḥ.y* für sie! (?)/ er gehört dem Ihi (?)».

133 *PM* III.2 1981, 586; Borchardt 1937, 174–175, Bl. 39. Dating*: mrj.n-rʿ – ppj* II.

134 Tallet 2012a, I, 227, II, 161–162; 2018, 305; 2020, 6 [Doc. 2], pl. 4–5. Dating: [*rnpt-zp*] *7 ꜣbd 4 šmw hrw 4* «[year] of the 7th occasion (of the counting), 4th month of the harvest season, 4th day», i.e. 13/14th regnal year of king *ḏd-kꜣ-rʿ jzzj*.

135 Weill 1904, 109–116 (11–12); *Urk*. I, 1932–1933, 56.6–8; Gardiner, Peet, Černý 1952, pl. 7; Baines, Parkinson 1997, 9–27, fig. 1; Tallet 2018, 304. Wadi Maghara. Dating: *rnpt m-ḫt zp 4 ṯnwt jḥw ʿwt nb* «year after the 4th occasion of the counting of all the large and small cattle» i.e. 8/9th regnal year of king *ḏd-kꜣ-rʿ jzzj*.

136 Tallet 2012a, I, 197–198, II, 137; 2012b, 109, 114, fig.5; 2020, 15–16 [Doc. 6], pl. 14. Dating: late 5th or 6th Dynasties. The transcription by P. Tallet: Judging from the photograph, the usual determinative A1 follows the sign *sr*, and the small sign *ḫꜣst* is absent at all.

137 *PM* VII, 342; Gardiner, Peet, Černý 1952, pl. 10; Černý 1955, 65; Edel 1983, 165. Wadi Maghara. Dating: *jzzj* – 6th Dynasty. Cf. Eichler 1993, 36.

«army». Similar method was used in the title of *jdw*: *jmj-r3 srjw mšʿ* «expeditionary overseer of prospectors»[138], which is also attested with the sign *mšʿ* «army» in the postposition and determinative A1 in the title of *ḥtp*: *jmj-(r3) srjw mšʿ*[139].

1.7. *snnw jdw:* *sḥḏ srjw* «inspector of prospectors». Inscription Sinai 19 (CCIS8)[140]. With high probability he is identical with [*sḥḏ?*] *srjw jd*[*w?*] (1.3)[141].

1.8. *k3j*: *sḥḏ srjw smntjw* «inspector of prospectors and guides». Inscriptions Wadi Hammamat M 163, M 166, M 167[142]. The title spellings are following[143]: (M 163); (M 167, M 166). *k3j* also held offices of *ḫrp ʿprw nfrw* «captain of a squad of recruits» and *jmj-r3 10 wj3* «overseer of ten of a boat (*i.e. 10 boatmen*)» (Wadi Hammamat M 165).

2. Interpretation of the title *sḥḏ srj*(*w*) in tomb inscriptions depends solely on the context, namely on the accompanying titles clarifying the sphere of activity and other indirect criteria. In most cases the title *srjw* should be understood as «auditors, fiscal agents, informers», although it could also be the expedition members as shown in the case of the offering basin from tomb G 1111. Prosopography of bearers of the title *sḥḏ srj*(*w*) on the monuments from the Memphite region include the following persons:

2.1. *ʿnḫ-k3k3j:* *sḥḏ srj*(*w*) *jrj-jḫt jz nwd*(*w*) *ḫkr*(*w*) *nswt* «inspector of auditors, custodian of property of the division of unguents of the (department of) king's regalia»[144]. That functionary was an official of the department of king's regalia (*ḫkr*(*w*) *nswt*) which was divided into two offices (*jzwj*)[145]. One of them included a division of *nwd*(*w*) unguents[146], where *ʿnḫ-k3k3j* worked as a petty clerk, performing, in particular, the functions of an «inspector of auditors», which is not surprising given the value of products manufactured at the department establishments.

2.2. *nj-ʿnḫ=j-b3stt*: *sḥḏ srj*(*w*). He was a funerary priest ("*ka*-servant", *ḥm-k3*) of the tomb owner, *ḏf3w,* who held the office of *jmj-r3 prwj-ḥḏwj* «overseer of the double silver-house»[147]. That nobleman, who was the head of the entire finance department, appointed his proper servant *nj-ʿnḫ=j-b3stt* a clerk at government service; his status was the same as that of *ʿnḫ-k3k3j* (2.1).

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[138] Inscription Sinai 21 (CCIS9). Gardiner, Peet, Černý 1952, pl. 10; Černý 1955, 65; Edel 1983, 165–169, Abb. 3a–b; Tallet 2012a, I, 30, II, 10; 2018, 305. Wadi Maghara. Dating: *jzzj*(?).

[139] CCIS13. Tallet 2012a, II, 12; cf. ibidem, I, 32 (the determinative A1 is absent from the transcription). Wadi Maghara. Dating: 2nd half of 5th-6th Dynasties.

[140] Gardiner, Peet, Černý 1952, pl. 9; Černý 1955, 65; Edel 1983, 158–163, Abb. 1a–b; Tallet 2012a, I, 29, II, 10; 2018, 305. Wadi Maghara. Dating: *ḏd-k3-rʿ*.

[141] Tallet 2018, 108–109.

[142] Couyat, Montet 1912, 93–94. Dating: 6th Dynasty.

[143] There are no photographs of the inscriptions in Couyat & Montet's publication. I used photographs available on the website ancienegypte.fr/ouadi_hammamat/page2.htm (33.jpg, 41.jpg).

[144] False door Cairo CG 1424 (*PM* III.2 1981, 458; Borchardt 1937, 105. Saqqara, tomb D31). Dating: first half of the 5th Dynasty.

[145] Bogdanov 2017a, 83–84.

[146] About the element *nwdw* «unguents» in the titles see Koura 2003, 74–76.

[147] The false door in tomb D25: Mariette 1889, 254; Petrie, Murray 1952, pl. 14. Saqqara. Dating: *nj-wsr-rʿ*.

2.3. *nfr-jḥj:* *sḥḏ srj(w)*[148]. He was also holding the title *rḫ nswt* «king's acquaintance» which was the lowest indicator of nobility. Occupation of *nfr-jḥj* remains uncertain.

2.4. *nṯr-nfr:* *sḥḏ srj(w)*[149]. Occupation is uncertain.

2.5. *ḫww-rꜥ:* *sḥḏ srjw*. He held a unique priestly title *ḥm-ntr ḫnmw mrj ḥr* «priest of Khnum beloved by Horus»[150]. Occupation is uncertain.

2.6. *kꜣ=j-ꜥpr*[151]: *jmj-rꜣ srjw*, *sḥḏ n(j) srjw*. Other titles: *rḫ nswt* «king's acquaintance», *sḳd n wjꜣ* «rower of a boat»[152], [...] *sr n š*[...]*? wjꜣ* «[...] boat», *nst-ḫnt(j)t* «upper throne», *wḏꜥ-mdw m ḥwt-*[*wrt*] «judge in the Hall of Justice»[153], *wḏ-mdw n(j) ḥrj(w)-wḏbw* «giver of orders of the (department of) distribution»[154], *jmj-rꜣ mšꜥ* «general», *jmj-rꜣ šnwt* «overseer of kraal»[155]. This person combined naval, military and judicial titles in his titulary. According to the naval titles *kꜣ=j-ꜥpr*, I tend to interpret the group *srjw* on his relief as the expedition members, prospectors.

3. *Dubia*:

3.1. *jnj*, who held the title *smsw wḫr(j)t*, *sḥḏ* [...] «elder of the dockyard[156], inspector [...]»[157]. The reading *sḥḏ sr(w) ḳ*[*nb*]*t* «inspector of the law [court] *sr(w)*-officials (?)» indicated by the publisher is incorrect.

3.2. *bbj* held the title *sḥḏ nfr(w) srjw(?)* «overseer of recruits and prospectors (?)»[158]. Possibly the sign *sr* happened to be here by chance instead of the determinative «child»

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[148] False door Saqqara Magazine no. 19545 (El-Tonssy, Yossef 2014, 450–451, Taf. 17, fig. 2). Dating: first half of the 5th Dynasty.

[149] The reliefs Cairo CG 1451; CG 1529 (*PM* III.1 1974, 308; Borchardt 1937, 137, 228, Bl. 34). Giza. Dating: late 4th Dynasty.

[150] Two blocks in the wall of tomb G 2230+2231 (Roth 1995, 160, pl. 118c, 199; www.gizapyramids.org: A8221_NS). Dating: *wnjs*.

[151] Lintel from tomb G 8853 (*PM* III.1 1974, 262–263; Hassan 1936, 155, 157, fig. 185). Dating: second half of the 5th Dynasty.

[152] Jones 2000, 981 (3621); Hannig 2003, 1248.

[153] Jones 2000, 411 (1511).

[154] Jones 2000, 407–408 (1500).

[155] According to Selim Hassan's transcription and interpretation (Hassan 1936, 155, 157), the title means «the overseer of the granary», which is incorrect. The title is to be read *jmj-rꜣ šnw* «overseer of kraal» (Jones 2000, 252–253 (914–915); to add the title of *ḏfꜣ-nswt* (architrave from tomb G 1171: www.gizapyramids.org: C12000_OS) who also held the title *ḫrp ꜥpr sḳd(w) jz(t) wjꜣ* «captain of a squad of the boat crew». For the meaning of term *šnwt/šnw* in the title *jmj-rꜣ šnw* as «kraal, circular camp» of Nubian tribes see Abu Bakr, Osing 1973, 101, 106, 109, 110; Osing 1976a, 135, 137, 155; see also Bogdanov 2014, 7, 14, note 9). There is no reason to confuse «police» *šnṯ* (*šnṯ* > *šnt*) with «squad» *šnw(t)*. Usage of this term in Egyptian military titles indicates that Nubian soldiers serving in Egyptian army were recruited in units based on their tribal affiliation.

[156] Jones 2000, 899–900 (3301); Hannig 2003, 1144.

[157] Fragments of relief Excav. no. 150b/GG/1995 from the tomb of *ḳꜣr* Junior (Bárta 2009, 150, 186–187, fig. 6.3.10–6.3.11).

[158] Kuhlmann 2005, 244–246, Abb. 1–4. Dating: *rnpt m-ḫt zp 12 ṯn(wt) ꜥwt nb(t)* «year after the 12th occasion of the counting of all the small cattle» (24/25th years of Cheops' reign).

for the word *nfrw* «recruits». In another graffito of *bbj* his title is already given in a more standard form: *sḥḏ*(*w*) *nfrw stp-zꜣ* «overseer(s) of recruits of security» *jj-mrj* and *bbj*[159].

TO THE IDENTIFICATION OF *sḥḏ srjw* «OVERSEER OF PROSPECTORS» *jww-nmtj*

It is possible to single out two persons with the name *jww-nmtj*, serving in the administration of *srjw*, among the authors of the inscriptions. I present their data according to prosopography of the bearers of the name *jww-nmtj* given above:

2.3. *jww-nmtj*. Title: *jmj-rꜣ sr*(*jw*) «overseer of prospectors». Inscription Sinai 13 from *rnpt m-ḫt zp 4 ṯnwt jḥw ꜥwt nb* «year after the 4th occasion of the counting of all the large and small cattle», i.e. 8th/9th regnal year of king *ḏd-kꜣ-rꜥ jzzj*.

2.8. *jww-nmtj*. Title: *jmj-rꜣ 10 srjw smntjw* «overseer of ten prospectors and guides». Graffito in Gebel Abrak (Eastern desert).

Discrepancies in the ranks *jmj-rꜣ*/*sḥḏ* «overseer/inspector» are non-essential in this case. Two cases of combination of these ranks in the sphere of *srjw* corporation can be distinguished: 1. In the titulary of *kꜣ=j-ꜥpr* who mentions the titles *jmj-rꜣ srjw* and *sḥḏ n*(*j*) *srjw* in his own tomb. 2. According to P. Tallet[160], *jdw* (or *snnw jdw*) mentioned in inscriptions Sinai 19 (CCIS8), Sinai 21 (CCIS9), Sinai 22 (CCIS7)[161] and CCIS250 is one and the same person, a member of the expedition to the Sinai under the reign of king *ḏd-kꜣ-rꜥ jzzj*. Therefore, he held the offices of *sḥḏ srjw* (mentioned in CCIS8 and CCIS250) and *jmj-rꜣ srjw* (mentioned in CCIS9) at the same time.

There is nothing worth saying about *jww-nmtj* of the Abrak inscription; besides, it is difficult to date it exactly. As for *jww-nmtj* (2.3) of inscription Sinai 13, nothing prevents this identification. Almost certainly, this official is identical with the owner of the offering basin from tomb G 1111, this is why the tomb should also be dated to the reign of *ḏd-kꜣ-rꜥ jzzj*.

Since long, inscription Sinai 13 has attracted great attention *from* many researchers owing to its unusual content[162]. The list of members of the expedition to the turquoise mines presented therein includes the preamble which is often considered as the first evidence on the divine oracle in Egypt. According to this text, the expedition to the Sinai was inspired by finding the god's assignment on the precious stone in the broad court of the temple *nḫn-rꜥ* «Stronghold of the Sun», the Sun temple of king *wsr-kꜣ=f*. The offering basin from tomb G 1111 may prove to be the first monument belonging to a member of that expedition – overseer and inspector of prospectors-*sr*(*jw*) *jww-nmtj*.

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[159] Kuhlmann 2005, 247–251, Abb. 5.
[160] Tallet 2018, 108–109.
[161] Tallet 2012a, I, 28, II, 9; 2018, 305. Wadi Maghara.
[162] Literature review: Baines, Parkinson 1997, 10–11; see also Kammerzell 2001, 153–164.

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