PURE ONES:
THE \( W^B \) AND \( W^BT \) FROM THE OLD KINGDOM TO THE END OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

A Thesis Submitted to

The Department of Sociology, Anthropology, Psychology, and Egyptology

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts

by Amy M. Wilson

(under the supervision of Dr. Mariam Ayad)

December 2014
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For the Living

Lillian P. Wilson
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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the development of the wˁb-title from the Old Kingdom to the end of the Middle Kingdom. During the Old Kingdom, 59% of title-holders are linked to the royal mortuary cult, many of whom were promoted to the upper-ranking office of ḥm-nṯr. Of all of the known title-holders of the Old Kingdom, 46% were promoted to ḥm-nṯr. Although some wˁb.w continue to be linked to the royal mortuary cult in the Middle Kingdom, the majority of title-holders are now linked to the cult of a deity. Few wˁb-priests were promoted to (or served within) other priestly grades, e.g. ḥm-nṯr, ḥm-k3, ḫry-hbt, or s(t)m-priest. There is, however, a remarkable increase (4%) in the number of female title-holders during the Middle Kingdom. An investigation into issues of heredity and transfer of office revealed that the most common filial relationships for all historical periods were father-and-son and brother-and-brother. The information compiled within this study provides insight into the role of the wˁb in cult and society from the Old Kingdom to the end of the Middle Kingdom. A chronological index, containing the names and title-strings of 524 men and women that held this title from the 3rd Dynasty to the 13th Dynasty concludes this study.
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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The title 𓎀 (wˁb) or "pure one" is one of the most ubiquitous religious titles of the dynastic period. While previous studies have tended to focus on the upper-ranking titles of the priestly hierarchy, little attention has been given to lower-ranking titles, such as wˁb. This thesis aims to examine what part the wˁb.w in played in both cult and society from the Old Kingdom until the end of the Middle Kingdom. To that end, 524 instances of the title, held by men and women from the Old Kingdom until the end of the Middle Kingdom, were compiled and organized into a chronological index. This diachronic compilation of the title hopes to present the development and variation of the wˁb-title over this period of time. The index of all known title-holders and their title-strings, presented in this study, will hopefully serve as a useful reference to other scholars.

Literature Review

The priesthood in ancient Egypt has been the subject of several studies that range from the general overview by Sauneron1 to more focused investigations of the priesthood (or a specific title therein) during a narrow historical period. Few studies have focused on the priesthood in the Old Kingdom in preference of later periods that have significantly more textual material. Studies that focus on the Old Kingdom are limited to that on the female "god's servants of Hathor" (ḥmt-nṯr n Ḥwt-hr) by Galvin2 and the "one who sees the Great One" (m3-wr/wr-m3.w) by Moursi.3

Studies that focus on the New Kingdom include the High Priests of Amun until the 21st Dynasty by Lefèbvre,4 from the 21st to 23rd Dynasties by Kruchten,5 and until the end of the 25th Dynasty by Kees.6 Onstine’s study on "chantresses" (šmˁyt)7 and

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5 Kruchten, Jean-Marie, Les annales des prêtres de Karnak (XXI-XXIImes dynasties) et autres textes contemporains relatifs à l'initiation des prêtres d'Amon (Leuven: Département orientaliste, 1989).
Ayad’s examination of the God’s Wife of Amun focuses on women. Leclant examined various priests of the 25th Dynasty. An additional study on the eponymous priests of the Ptolemaic Period was done by Clarysse.

Methodology

Various works were consulted during the preparation of this thesis. \(W^b\)-titles from the Old Kingdom were collected from the index initially compiled by Murray and later expanded by Jones. Contemporary references to \(w^b.w\) were found within the Abusir Papyri, which include the archives of the mortuary complexes of Neferirkare-Kakai and Neferefre. Additional title-holders were found in Harvey's catalog of wooden statues from the Old Kingdom.

\(W^b\)-titles from the First Intermediate Period were gleaned from the indices of Murray, Jones, and Ward. The dating of First Intermediate Period monuments by Daoud was also useful in identifying title holders of this period. Those mentioned within the Hatnub graffiti were recorded by Anthes, which were later re-examined by Shaw.

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16 Murray, *Index*.
17 Jones, *Index*.
Wˁb-titles from the Middle Kingdom were collected from the index compiled by Ward\textsuperscript{22} and the supplement made by Fischer.\textsuperscript{23} Contemporary references to wˁb.w were found within the Lahun Papyri. The bulk of this material comes from the UCL archive, which was originally published by Griffith\textsuperscript{24} and was most recently re-examined by Collier and Quirke.\textsuperscript{25} Additional material comes from the Berlin archive, published by Lüddeckens.\textsuperscript{26} Borchardt published one additional article pertaining to this corpus.\textsuperscript{27} Mendoza's catalog of bronze statues was also consulted, although no additional title-holders from the Middle Kingdom were identified using her catalog.\textsuperscript{28}

This thesis is not intended to be an exhaustive list of all wˁb-titles and their title-holders. It is possible for other titles and title-holders to have existed, but had failed to be preserved within the archaeological and textual record; others may have yet to be discovered. Although the material from the Old and Middle Kingdoms is much more plentiful than that of the First Intermediate Period, the representation of any historical period should not be assumed to be complete. Remote archaeological sites have yet to be thoroughly investigated and published and surely others have yet to be discovered. Other information will be lost forever due to the continuous destruction of archaeological sites within Egypt.

**Overview**

Chapter 2 examines the meaning of ritual purity in ancient Egypt in order to contextualize the meaning of the title wˁb, or "pure one." The prerequisites for the title-holders are discussed, a reconstruction of the purification process is presented, and the

\textsuperscript{22} Ward, Index.
\textsuperscript{24} Francis Griffith, *Hieratic Papyri from Kahun and Gurob (Principally of the Middle Kingdom): The Petrie Papyri I-II* (London: B. Quaritch, 1898).
\textsuperscript{26} Erich Lüddeckens, *Ägyptische Handschriften* I (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1971).
\textsuperscript{27} Ludwig Borchardt, "Der zweite Papyrusfund von Kahun und die zeitlich Festlegung des mittleren Reiches der ägyptischen Geschichte," *ZÄS* 37 (1899): 89-122.
purificatory agents used in this process are briefly outlined. The tenable locations of the purification process are also mentioned.

Chapter 3 explores the status of the wˁb within the temple hierarchy in relation to the hm-nṯr, or "god's servant." The potential for the wˁb's promotion to other priestly ranks is also mentioned. The duties of the wˁb.w are also discussed, as based upon surviving textual and iconographic evidence from the Old through Middle Kingdoms.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6, present each wˁb-title as they occur throughout the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period, and Middle Kingdom, respectively. In each chapter, the titles are presented according to type, e.g. the wˁb-titles associated with the royal family, funerary practice, with a deity, etc. A summary of the widely-attested wˁb and wˁb nswt is provided in Chapters 4 and 6, as discussion of each these title-holders is unnecessary. For specialized wˁb-titles, each title-holder is individually discussed and familial relations are mentioned when known. A record of every known title-holder may be found within Appendices A, B, and C, which include each individual's full title-string as well as bibliographical references for each individual. At the end of each of these chapters there is a summary highlighting the overall trends of each historical period, with special attention given to the promotions of the title-holders, the heredity of the title, and gender (when applicable).

Hierarchical wˁb-titles, e.g. the wˁb ˁ3 or "great pure one," are discussed as they occur in the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period, and Middle Kingdom, in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, respectively. Further discussion of the hierarchical wˁb-titles is made within the concluding chapter in order to determine which divine cults maintained a hierarchical differentiation of wˁb.w, or "pure ones." The titles of wˁb wr or "grand pure one," wˁb bsi or "pure one who has been initiated," and the subsidiary title of ˤq or "enterer," are also discussed as they appear in the Middle Kingdom.

The conclusion, Chapter 7, presents an overview of the geographical distribution of wˁb-titles by period, a discussion of hierarchical and subsidiary wˁb-titles, the promotions of wˁb.w to higher offices within and beyond the priestly hierarchy, the gender of the title-holders, as well as heredity and transfer of office. All of this collective information will hopefully illustrate what it meant to be a wˁb, or "pure one," in ancient Egypt.
CHAPTER 2: \( \text{wˁb} \) AND THE DEFINITION OF RITUAL PURITY

The noun that forms the title \( \text{wˁb} \) or "pure one" is derived from the adjective \( \text{wˁb} \) "pure" and the verb \( \text{wˁb} \) "to purify."\(^{29}\) As early as the 3rd Dynasty, the title is rendered as [ Image 100x80 to 104x80 ],\(^{30}\) which depicts a vessel pouring liquid over a kneeling man whose arms are raised in adoration.\(^{31}\) From the First Intermediate Period until the end of the Middle Kingdom, the title is rendered as [ Image 100x80 to 104x80 ],\(^{32}\) which depicts a vessel pouring liquid over a phonetic complement (\( b \)) that has replaced the figure of the kneeling man with raised arms. The implication of ritual purity is clear from both the title's orthography as well as its literal translation. The word's usage also meant "to perform priestly service" in the Pyramid Texts (PT)\(^{33}\) and Coffin Texts (CT).\(^{34}\) The association of ritual purity and priestly service was so firmly embedded within Egyptian language and culture that it was preserved in Coptic as \( \text{OYG} \) for "priest."\(^{35}\) A Greek loanword was not used for priest.

This chapter seeks to explore the meaning of ritual purity - i.e. how ritual purification occurred, what agents were used in the purification process, and where purification occurred - as the basis from which to understand the \( \text{wˁb.w} \), or "pure ones." An understanding of the concept of ritual purity is essential to understand the performative role of the title-holder within sacred space.

The most basic concepts of purity and impurity are intrinsic to human nature. For example, Douglas' landmark study investigates the binary opposition between purity-sacred-order versus pollution-profane-chaos and the rationale for this division.\(^{36}\)

\(^{29}\) \text{Wb. I, 280-285; Wb. IV, 66.}
\(^{31}\) Analogous to [A4] and [A30]. Refer to: Gardiner, \textit{Egyptian Grammar}, 442 [A4], 445 [A30].
\(^{32}\) Gardiner, \textit{Egyptian Grammar}, 458 [D60].
Although her study does not include any examples specifically drawn from ancient Egypt, it is still a useful means for understanding this most basic dichotomy.

Further specifications of what constitutes "purity" are culturally specific and by their very nature cannot be generalized. Understanding the ancient Egyptian concept of purity is further problematic due to the subjectivity of the modern observer. 37 Nevertheless, the topic may be approached within its own theoretical framework. 38

Scholars have been reticent to formulate a definition of ritual purity from ancient Egyptian sources due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence. 39 Grieshammer notes that purity is required for both people and property and is a prerequisite for entry into sacred space. 40 Gee follows Grieshammer by defining purity as "those things required to enter sacred space." 41 Dieleman presents the most extensive definition, for which "purity could be defined as the physical and mental condition required to enter a sacred place, either a temple, tomb, palace or any spot where ritual is conducted for the occasion." 42 Meeks further observes that purity determines the effectiveness of ritual performance, 43 while Bonnet observes that purity is a transient state that must be continually restored by ritual performance; 44 thereby resulting in a perpetual cycle in which purity and ritual performance continually reinforce each other.

38 For a more rigorous theoretical approach to the study of ancient concepts and the problems associated with them, see Ritner's discussion of religion, magic and heka, in: Robert Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1993), 236-249.
39 "There are many sources, but very few are substantial, normative, and explicit at the same time." For further commentary, see: Joachim Quack, "Conceptions of Purity in Ancient Egyptian Religion," in Purity and the Forming of Religious Traditions in the Ancient Mediterranean World and Ancient Judaism, ed. Christian Frel and Christophe Nihan (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 115.
41 John Gee, "The Requirements of Ritual Purity in Ancient Egypt" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1998), 5.
Following Eliade's theory, in which the sacred may be defined in contrast to the profane, the meaning of purity may likewise be defined in opposition to what was regarded as an "abomination," or (bwt) in Egyptian. The concept of bwt encompasses a broad spectrum ranging from social evils, including crime (e.g. murder, theft, etc.), violation of ethical norms (e.g. partiality), and religious offenses (e.g. being impure in a sacred space), as well as a variety of things, including specific food products, animals, peoples, regions, etc. Purity may thus be defined as the absence of the above. The adjective wˁb was used to indicate a new and unblemished state, e.g. a blank sheet of papyrus, or a stone without any visible inclusions. The "Declaration of Innocence" of the Book of the Dead (BD) Chapter 125, uttered by the deceased prior to entry into the Hall of Justice, is exemplary of the concept of ethical purity, for which the deceased had not committed any social wrongs.

Based upon the above evidence, this author proposes that ritual purity in ancient Egypt was two-fold: purity of mind and purity of body. Purity of mind was achieved through abstaining from all practices considered bwt, which was later affirmed by the utterance of an oath. Purity of body was likewise achieved through avoidance of the impure, followed by a proscribed series of steps to remove any lingering impurities, each of which are described in further detail below.

50 James Harris, Lexicographical Studies in Ancient Egyptian Materials (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1961), 77; Shaw, Hatnub, 14.
51 Also known as the "Negative Confession."
52 Raymond Faulkner, trans. The Egyptian Book of the Dead: The Book of Going Forth by Day, being the Papyrus of Ani (royal scribe of the divine offerings), written and illustrated c. 1250 B.C.E., by scribes and artists unknown, including the balance of chapters of the books of the dead known as the Theban Recension, compiled from ancient texts, dating back to the roots of Egyptian civilization (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1994), 115-116.
2.I. The Purification Process

According to Blackman, ritual purification was accomplished through the following procedures: preliminary purification, bathing, cleansing the mouth, washing the feet, cleaning of nails, shaving (both face and head), depilation, as well as washing and censing prior to entry to the temple.\(^53\) Grieshammer only mentions washing, shaving, and donning white robes.\(^54\) Most recently, Gee has reconstructed a "ritual paradigm," which consists of the following ethical and physical procedures: making an oath, washing, censing, anointing, and investiture (to which additional steps may be added or repeated depending upon the ritual in question).\(^55\) The core of this paradigm is based on the rituals mentioned in the Pyramid Texts,\(^56\) Coffin Texts,\(^57\) and BD 145,\(^58\) as well as various texts from the Late Period.\(^59\) Although the officiants of the rituals contained within the mortuary texts are deceased, Grieshammer has convincingly argued that BD 125 is derived from the initiation texts reserved for priests entering the temple,\(^60\) and that by analogy, the deceased is being initiated into the afterlife.\(^61\) Other scholars have likewise argued for the overlapping use of mortuary texts by living officiants.\(^62\)

Ritual purification was the most essential requirement for the \(w^b.w\), or "pure ones," as indicated by their title. The earliest texts that form the basis of Gee's paradigm are contemporary to the temporal framework of this study, which is the reason his paradigm is followed here. Additional components of the purification process, such as

\(^{53}\) Emphasis was also placed upon washing hands, trimming nails, depilation, shaving, and dressing in clean clothes (although not necessarily in that order); for males, circumcision was also a prerequisite. Refer to: Aylward Blackman, "Purification (Egyptian)," in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* X, ed. James Hastings et al. (New York: Scribner's Sons, 1956), 476-477, 480-481.

\(^{54}\) Grieshammer, "Reinheit," 212.

\(^{55}\) Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 285-288, Table 7.3.


\(^{57}\) de Buck, *Coffin Texts* I-VII; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I-III.

\(^{58}\) Thomas Allen, trans., *The Book of the Dead or Going Forth by Day: Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians Concerning the Hereafter as Expressed in their Own Terms* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1974), 125-128.

\(^{59}\) Including the Opening of the Mouth, the Book of Breathing, etc. For a complete list, see: Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," Tables 7.1-3.


those mentioned by Blackman\textsuperscript{63} and Quack,\textsuperscript{64} are well-documented during the Late Period but not during the earlier historical periods relevant to this study. The purification process is outlined below in accordance with Gee's paradigm, and supplementary information from Late Period sources is included in footnotes.

2.1.1. Making an Oath

Based on his thematic analysis of the "Declaration of Innocence" in BD 125, Gee has identified the following themes on which individuals make oaths to proclaim their ethical purity: not doing evil, not stealing, not speaking evil, no disobedience, no harassment, no neglect, and no sexual misconduct.\textsuperscript{65} Many of these statements are followed by the affirmation, \textit{ink wˁb.kwi}, or "I am pure."\textsuperscript{66} The oath, therefore, constitutes an integral part of the purification process and precedes the act of physical purification that follows.

2.1.2. Washing

The hieroglyphic representation of (wˁb), "to be pure," depicts a vessel pouring liquid over a kneeling man with arms raised in adoration. Ritner notes that washing is a "technique of 'removal'" of impurity, and by extension, what is evil.\textsuperscript{67} Such an idea is conveyed in CT 335:

\begin{verbatim}
dr(.i) iw.i  
hsf.n itw.i  
sfr isf irt.i  
wˁb.n.i m ss.wy ipw wr.wy '3.wy  
nty m Nni-nsw
\end{verbatim}

I expelled my wrongdoing,
I dispelled my evils,
I removed the falsehood which I made,
For I have bathed in these grand, great pools that are in Nni-nsw.\textsuperscript{68}

The same spell is later preserved as BD 17.\textsuperscript{69}

\textsuperscript{63} Blackman, "Purification," 480.
\textsuperscript{64} Quack, "Conceptions of Purity," 122-128, 144-152.
\textsuperscript{65} Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 172-209.
\textsuperscript{66} Allen, \textit{Book of the Dead}, 97; Faulkner, \textit{Book of the Dead}, 115-116. Gee likens the "Negative Confession" of BD 125 to the sḏf3-try.t, or "negative promissory oath." Refer to: Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 288.
\textsuperscript{67} Ritner, \textit{The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice}, 102, n. 496; Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 291.
\textsuperscript{68} CT spell 335, in: de Buck, \textit{Coffin Texts} IV, 209-214; \textit{Urk}. V, 22-23; Faulkner, \textit{Coffin Texts} I, 260, 263 (with gloss).
\textsuperscript{69} BD spell 17, in: Faulkner, \textit{Book of the Dead}, 101-102, pl. 7-10.
Washing could take place in any variety of locations, real or mythical: the Nile, sacred lakes (e.g. the Lake of Natron and the Lake of Justice, Lake of Nun, Lake of Htp, Lake of the Jackal, Lotus Lake, Lake of Shu, Lake of Cool Water, Lake of the Netherworld, Lake of the Dw3t-dwellers, as well as other unnamed lakes), the sacred lake of a temple, in a basin or in a designated structure.

Aside from immersion within a body of water, washing is also accomplished by pouring water from containers, as illustrated by the hieroglyph above. The earliest-known lustration-vessel that may have been used for such a purpose dates to the reign of Den, which takes the form of an (ˁnḫ) whose top is partially enclosed by the arms of an inverted (k3), as shown in Fig. 1, below.

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71 CT spell 335, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts IV, 213e, 216/217c; Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 260, 263.
72 CT spell 279, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts IV, 26a; Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 210.
73 CT spell 255, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts III, 360f; Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 196. CT spell 362, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts V, 17i; Faulkner, Coffin Texts II, 4.
74 CT spell 33, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts I, 129b; Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 22. CT spell 551, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts VI, 150a; Faulkner, Coffin Texts II, 163.
75 CT spell 44, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts I, 187g; Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 36. CT spell 48, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts I, 212; Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 44.
76 CT spell 660, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts VI, 285p; Faulkner, Coffin Texts II, 231.
77 CT spell 61, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts I, 256g; Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 56. CT spell 345, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts IV, 374b; Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 280. CT spell 346, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts IV, 377b; Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 281. CT spell 725, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts VI, 355n; Faulkner, Coffin Texts II, 276. CT spell 754, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts VI, 383m; Faulkner, Coffin Texts II, 288. CT spell 761, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts VI, 391g; Faulkner, Coffin Texts II, 293.
78 CT spell 551, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts VI, 149g; Faulkner, Coffin Texts II, 163. CT spell 587, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts VI, 208i; Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 190. CT spell 891, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts VII, 101n; Faulkner, Coffin Texts III, 53.
79 CT spell 33, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts I, 130b; Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 22.
80 e.g. the celestial waters in CT spell 293, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts IV, 45; Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 218.
81 e.g. that performed by the God's Wife of Amun, as shown within Hatshepsut's Chapelle Rouge. Refer to: Ayad, God's Wife, 121, fig. 3.2; Franck Burgos and François Larché, La Chapelle Rouge: Le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout I (Paris: Éditions Recherches sur les Civilisations, 2006), 216 [Block No. 21].
82 For an overview, see: Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 25-29.
83 e.g. the Mansion of the White Bull (CT spell 37, in: Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 27), or the great tomb-plateau (CT spell 296, in: Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 220).
CT 293 refers to water being poured from *nmst*-jars by priests representing members of the Ennead:

\[
\text{[...]} w^{b.n.k} m fdt.w ipt nmst \, '3b \, w^{bt} \, PsdT \, im.sn \quad \text{[...]} \text{Purification water from the four pleasant } nmst\text{-jars belong to you, with which the Ennead were purified.}^{85}
\]

Purification scenes from the New Kingdom typically include a pair of gods (often Horus and Thoth or Horus and Seth) pouring water over the king from *hs*-vases.\(^{86}\) The act of washing performed by priests is further documented within a number of Late Period sources.\(^{87}\)

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\(^{85}\) CT spell 74, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts* I, 311; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 70.


In addition to washing the body, cleansing the mouth is also of utmost importance. According to Late Period texts, cleansing the mouth was made in preparation to utter the name of the deity; failure for a priest to do so could form grounds for an accusation.

2.1.3. Censing

Following the introductory libation spell of the Pyramid Texts, and following the offering of cold water in the Coffin Texts, is the act of censing, which formed an essential part of the purification process. In contrast to water and ointment (§2.1.4 below) being used as a means of removal of what is undesirable, incense was likely used as a means to add what is desirable, e.g. a pleasant smell. When coupled together, washing and censing symbolized the revivification of the physical body. According to a Late Period text, censing was considered a requirement to open the doors of heaven.

2.1.4. Anointing

Following the mouth-opening meal of the Pyramid Texts, and directly following censing in the Coffin Texts, is the act of anointing with various unguents (which may later be repeated in the same ritual). As with washing, anointing was considered a means of removal of what was bad or evil, as stated within PT 637:

\[
\begin{align*}
[...] & & h3 \ N \ iw.n.i \ \hr.k \ gd.ti \\
imh.i & & \tw \ \md.t \\
p\rt & & \irt \ \Hrw \\
imh.i & & \tw \ \im.s \\
gs.s & & n.k \ gs.k & & & & [...]
\end{align*}
\]

[...] O this N, I have come to you risen
I filled you with the oil
That comes forth from the eye of Horus.
I filled you with it.
It raises your bones for you,

---

90 PT spell 25 §17-18, in: Sethe, Pyramidentexte I, 10-12; Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, 4-5; Allen, Pyramid Texts, 19.
91 CT spell 936, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts VII, 137-138; Faulkner, Coffin Texts III, 70-71.
95 CT spell 936, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts VII, 138; Faulkner, Coffin Texts III, 71.
96 For a complete list of unguents and the order in which they were used within each text, see: Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 307, Table 7.5.
Alternatively, the act of anointing may also be considered a means of healing. In both the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, the act of anointing precedes the deceased's transformation into an 3h, or glorified dead.

2.1.5. Investiture

The Offering Ritual of the Pyramid Texts contains a presentation of linen, which is later preserved within the Coffin Texts as a presentation of clothing, incense, and the fire for burning the incense. These spells likely symbolize the garments that are to be donned by the deceased king at the end of this ritual. Elsewhere within the Coffin Texts, investiture takes place directly after bathing, as in CT 44:

[...] Go down, this Osiris N,
Go down [and] purify yourself with Re
within Lotus Lake;
Don the pure (i.e. priestly) garment [upon] the refuge
with the one who lives in his shroud.

In this case, the noun (wˁb.w) refers to the garment the deceased will wear after purification (wˁb) within Lotus Lake. Faulkner translates the word as "clean garment," although this word may in fact refer to the specific type of garment worn by a wˁb, and is therefore a priestly vestment. The term occurs only one other time within the Coffin Texts, in CT 61, which makes direct reference to the god Ptah.

98 Fayza Haikal, personal communication to author, October 16, 2013.
100 CT spell 897, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts, 106; Faulkner, Coffin Texts III, 55-56.
101 PT spell 81 §56-57, in: Sethe, Pyramidtexte I, 31-32; Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, 19; Allen, Pyramid Texts, 22.
102 CT spell 936, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts VII, 138; Faulkner, Coffin Texts III, 71.
103 CT spell 44, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts I, 187g-188a; Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 35-38. The divine epithet 'nh[w].m t3yt.f may refer to Ptah, Sokar, or Osiris; it is not included in Leitz's Lexikon.
104 See n. 75, above.
105 Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 38, n. 29.
106 de Buck, Coffin Texts I, 258f; Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 56-57.
Within CT 44, above, investiture takes place *tp ibw*, or "upon (or "on top of") the refuge."\(^{107}\) Within the story of Sinuhe,\(^{108}\) investiture takes place within the *pr dw3t*, or "House of the Morning."\(^{109}\) In both cases, investiture takes place within a designated structure.

Sauneron postulates that linen is the preferred material for priestly garments as clothes made from living animals could pollute the wearer and are therefore impure.\(^{110}\) In addition to linen garments, priests were also required to wear white sandals during their time of service.\(^{111}\) The priestly dress code is also mentioned in a number of Late Period texts,\(^{112}\) where those who did not observe the dress-code were subject to a significant fine.\(^{113}\)

### 2.II. Agents of Purification

Various agents of purification were employed within the process outlined above. Each of these substances, and their context within the various offering rituals, are outlined below.

#### 2.II.1. Water

Each of the hieroglyphic representations ⲳ, ⲿ, and ⲫ for (*wˁb*), "to be pure," contain a vessel from which water flows.\(^{114}\) Ⲭ (mw), or "water," was presumably the most commonly-used purifying agent in ancient Egypt, and the act of drinking water may

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\(^{107}\) Faulkner, *Coffin Texts* I, 38, n. 29.


\(^{114}\) Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 442 [A6], 448 [D60], and 463 [F17]. For variations used during the archaic period, see: Kahl, *Hieroglyphschrift in der 0.-3. Dynastie*, 905.
also have been thought to purify oneself internally. The Offering Ritual of the Pyramid Texts begins with a libation, which may be found at the end of PT 23:

\[
\begin{align*}
Wsir & \text{ iₜ.n.k msḏḏ.w N nb.w} \\
m& \text{d.w n rₜ.f ḏw} \\
Ḏḥwti & \text{ iₜ sw n Wsir} \\
in & \text{ md.w m rₜ n N ḏw} \\
dₙ.k & \text{ sw m drₜ.k} \\
Ḏd & \text{ md.w 4 m sfḫ.k im.f} \\
sₚ & \text{ m.k sfḥ.k im.f} \\
sₚ & \text{ t}
\end{align*}
\]

Osiris, you have seized all those who hate N, And speak against his name badly. Thoth, go, seize him to Osiris Bring [the one who speaks] evil words against the name of N You put him in your hand. Recite four times: Do not release him! Beware, lest you release him! Make libation.

The same opening spell is preserved in the Coffin Texts. Libation symbolized the inundation, and by extension, rejuvenation of the cosmos. Water continues to be a symbol of rebirth and rejuvenation throughout the Late Period.

2.II.2. Incense

\[
\begin{align*}
nᶆtᵣ
\end{align*}
\]

"Incense," is so inherently associated with purification that the substance's usage as a verb meant "to purify" as well as "to divinize." It is used to purify people, animals, offerings, as well as the fire that is used to burn enemies. Following a libation spell, the second step for purification in the Offering Ritual of the Pyramid Texts is censing, which is focused on the face of the recipient, as in PT 25:


116 PT spell 23 §16, in: Sethe, Pyramidtexte I, 8-9; Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, 4; Allen, Pyramid Texts, 19.

117 CT spell 936, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts VII, 137; Faulkner, Coffin Texts III, 70.


120 Dimitri Meeks, "Pureté et Impureté," 436.

121 As mentioned above.


124 Dimitri Meeks, "Pureté et Impureté," 436-437. Ritner notes that the ritual burning of wax figures of enemies was a common temple practice, and that furnaces were attached to temples specifically for this purpose, citing one example at Tanis as well as another potential example at Bubastis. For more information, see: Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice, 158.
LIKEWISE THE FACE AND EYES OF THE RECIPIENT REMAIN THE FOCUS OF CENSING IN CT 936. 126

2.II.3.a. Water and Natron

The third step of the Offering Ritual of the Pyramid Texts is cleansing the mouth with \( \text{bd} \) or "natron" (which is again repeated prior to ingestion of the offering meal), as found in PT spell 32:

\[
\begin{align*}
qbb.k \text{ } ip \text{ } n \text{ } Wsir & \quad \text{This your cold water has gone to Osiris,} \\
qbb.k \text{ } ip \text{ } n \text{ } h3 \text{ } N & \quad \text{This your cold water has gone to N,} \\
pr.w \text{ } hr \text{ } s3.k & \quad \text{Having come out} \\
pr.w \text{ } hr \text{ } Hr & \quad \text{To your son, Horus.} \\
iw.n.(i) \text{ } in.(i) \text{ } n.k \text{ } i rt \text{ } Hr.w & \quad \text{I came and I brought to you the Eye of Horus,} \\
qb ib.k \text{ } hr.s & \quad \text{So that you may be refreshed under it.} \\
in.(i) \text{ } n.k \text{ } sy \text{ } hr.k \text{ } tη.ty.k & \quad \text{I bring it to you under your sandals.} \\
m n.k \text{ } rgw \text{ } pri \text{ } im.k & \quad \text{Take to yourself the efflux that is come forth from you,} \\
n wrq ib.k \text{ } hr.s & \quad \text{Your heart will not grow weary under it.} \\
qdl \text{ } md.w \text{ } 4 \text{ } m \text{ } pr.t \text{ } hrw \text{ } n.k & \quad \text{Recite four times invocation of offerings for you:} \\
qb \text{ } bd \text{ } t\checkmark \text{ } 2 & \quad \text{Cold water [and] 2 pellets of natron. 127}
\end{align*}
\]

This spell was performed so that the king's mouth would be as clean as "the mouth of a sucking calf on the day of its birth." 128 The combination of water and natron is also used for washing the dead 129 as well as within medical procedures. 130

2.II.3.b. Milk

In the Coffin Texts, cleansing the mouth could also be performed with (\( \text{iršt} \)) or "milk," specifically the milk produced by a red cow, as we read in CT 96:

\[
\begin{align*}
[... \text{ iw i}:n \text{ Wsir } r.i \text{ } m \text{ } iršt & \quad \text{Osiris washed my mouth with the milk}
\end{align*}
\]

125 PT spell 25 §17-18, in: Sethe, Pyramidtexte I, 10-12; Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, 4-5; Allen, Pyramid Texts, 19.
128 PT spell 35 §27, in: Sethe, Pyramidtexte I, 19; Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, 7, n. 4; Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 298.
129 Blackman, "Some Notes on the Ancient Egyptian Practice of Washing the Dead", 117-124.
The red cow may reference a number of goddesses some of whom were syncretized with one another, e.g. Hathor, Mehet-Weret, or Nut. The color of the cow may be indicative of her solar association.

In addition to its cleansing properties, milk is also believed to have both protective and regenerative power. Hence, it could be used for transcending from one state to another, as in this case, from death to resurrection. Milk is also listed as one of the pure ingredients for the ritual of setting up a bier in the Coffin Texts.

2.II.4. *Smin*

The fourth step of the Offering Ritual mentions the deceased king tasting *(smin)*, as found within PT 34:

*Smin smin wpp r.k*  
*Smin, smin that opens your mouth,*

*h3 N dp k dpt f hnt sh.w-ngr*  
*Oh N, you taste its taste in front of the divine booths.*

*išš.w Ḥr.w smin*  
*That which Horus spits out is *smin,*

*išš.w Stẖ smin*  
*That which Seth spits out is *smin,*

*twt-ibb Nb.wy smin*  
*That which reconciles the Two Lords in *smin.*

*Qd md.w 4 ḫsmn [n].k m-ˁb Ḥr.w smsw nṯr.w*  
*Recite 4 times: You are purified together with the followers of Horus.*

*Bd šmˁ ṯ3 5 Nḥḥ*  
*Upper Egyptian natron of Nḥḥ, 5 pellets.*

While the precise meaning of the word is unknown, Faulkner notes that "[...] it is something that can be spat out, and apparently a pleasant substance which can calm the quarrelling gods." Blackman has suggested that the word be translated as "cream." Similarly, Allen has translated the word as "condensed milk." The word's context in...

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this part of the Offering Ritual, coupled with its positive connotation, indicate that it is in fact a pure substance.

2.II.5. Natron

The fifth step of the Offering Ritual is the presentation of \(\sqrt{2}\) (bd) or "natron," as found within PT 35:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sntr.k sntr Hr.w} & \quad \text{Your purification is the purification of Horus,} \\
\text{sntr.k sntr Sth} & \quad \text{Your purification is the purification of Seth,} \\
\text{sntr.k sntr Dḥwti} & \quad \text{Your purification is the purification of Thoth,} \\
\text{sntr.k sntr nṯr} & \quad \text{Your purification is the purification of the Divinity,} \\
\text{sntr.k sntr Ḍḥwti im.sn} & \quad \text{Your purification is enduring}^{139} \text{ among them;} \\
\text{r.k r n bḥs irt} & \quad \text{Your mouth is the mouth of a sucking calf} \\
\text{hrw ms.f im} & \quad \text{[On] the day of its birth.} \\
\text{bd ḥ3 ṯ3 5 Št-pt} & \quad \text{Lower Egyptian natron of Št-pt, 5 pellets.}^{140}
\end{align*}
\]

This spell is later preserved as CT 354, a Spell for a Bouquet.\(^{141}\) It is especially worthwhile to note that a \(wˁb\ imy 3bd.f\), or "pure one within his month," is the custodian of natron, for which CT 61 states in passing:

\[
[...]\text{ m ist n.ṯ n ḥsmn hn} \\
\text{in wˁb imy 3bd.f} \\
[...]\text{ who brings to you a chest of natron} \\
\text{by the pure one within his month.}^{142}
\]

Natron was sometimes used with incense,\(^{143}\) likely for its purificatory properties.

2.II.6. Oil

The sixth step of the Offering Ritual is anointing, for which a variety of oils (and perfume) are used.\(^{144}\) An Old Kingdom palette (BM EA6122) from Abydos\(^{145}\) was likely

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139 Faulkner reads this word as the name Dwn-\(\text{'n.wy}\). Refer to: Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 7, PT spell 35 §27, n. 2. See also: Faulkner, *Pyramid Texts*, 5, PT spell 25 §17, n. 2. Both Gardiner and Leitz translate the name as "the wing-spreaders." Refer to: Gardiner, "The Baptism of Pharaoh," 10; Leitz, *Lexikon VII*, 525-526.


142 CT spell 61, in: de Buck, *Coffin Texts I*, 259f; Faulkner, *Coffin Texts I*, 56.


used in this part of the Offering Ritual: The palette is divided into seven columns, each containing an oil-well naming an oil used in the ritual (Fig. 2, below). The types of oil and the order in which they are used for different rituals have been tabulated by Gee.\footnote{146}

Figure 2: Tablet, BM EA 6122

2.II.7. Additional Agents of Purification

2.II.7.a. Spittle

PT 455, a purification text, describes the ritual act of spitting as a means of purification:

\footnote{231.\footnote{146} Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 307, Table 7.5.}
See ye this purification of my father this Osiris N as one who is purified with snm [and] with natron, i.e. The saliva coming forth from the mouth of Horus, the saliva coming forth from the mouth of Seth, with which Horus is purified, with which the evil against Seth is released to the earth, Seth is released to the earth, Seth is purified with it; with which the evil against Seth is released to the earth, Seth is purified with it; with which the evil against Horus is released to the earth, This N is purified with it. The evil against him is released to the earth, Which Nwt.k-nw 147 did against you (sic), With the purification of your spirits.

On this Ritner comments: "Here, spittle not only conveys purification and healing, but further conducts corrupting evil away from the body, washing it off harmlessly onto the ground. Spitting thus constitutes a ritual washing, the basic meaning of 'purification' (wˁb) in Egyptian speech and practice." Spittle also appears as a purifying agent within CT 527:

[... wˁb.i wˁb isd pr m r Rˁ-Itm [...]

My purification is the purification of the spittle that came forth from the mouth of Re-Atum [...].

In this case, the spittle of a deity carries no corrupting evil as it has issued from the mouth of a divine and perfect being. The divine emanation is a pure substance which holds great power, as conveyed by the tale of the Secret Name of Re.

2.II.7.b. Myrrh

ˁntiw (ˁntiw), or "myrrh" is associated with purity in CT 194, a recitation for not eating feces:

[... wˁb.[i] m-m wˁb[w]

My purity is among the pure ones

At the side of the Lords of Eternity,

One who chews myrrh,

147 Leitz translates this name as "The hunters' hunting-ground (?)," although his translation uncertain. Refer to: Leitz, Lexikon III, 541.
149 Ritner, The Mechanics of Ancient Egyptian Magical Practice, 82. I would like to thank Ariel Singer for bringing this reference to my attention.
150 CT spell 527, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts VI, 119; Faulkner, Coffin Texts II, 152.
2.II.7.c. Beer and Wine

In his discussion of beer, Meeks mentions "la notion d'ivresse purificatrice," or the notion of purifying intoxication, with reference to the legend of the Destruction of Mankind. The drunkenness that characterizes the celebrations of Hathor may thus be considered a purificatory rite. In addition to other purifying agents, beer (ḥnqt) is listed as one of the ingredients for the ritual of setting up a bier in the Coffin Texts.

Meeks also proposes that wine could have been used in certain purification rituals, especially since mulled wine (šdḥ) was used in the mummification process, and as such constitutes a pure ingredient.

2.III. Where Purification Took Place

Both ancient Egyptian temples and tombs were an embodiment of sacred space, for which any person or thing that entered must be pure. The wˁb.w performed service at both of these locations, and would have had to ensure that they were in a pure state at the time of entry.

2.III.1. Temples

In addition to textual evidence, certain architectural features of the temple attest that purification was a requirement for entering the temple. For example, an inscription of Thutmose III on the doorpost of the temple of Amun in Heliopolis states:

\[
\text{wˁb ḫt nb ˁqt nbt r ḥwt ˁ3 iw wˁb}
\]

May all property and everything which enters into the great temple be pure; they are pure.

---

152 CT spell 194, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts III, 112h-j; Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 160.
156 CT spell 21, in: de Buck, Coffin Texts I, 61-63; Faulkner, Coffin Texts I, 12.
158 Urk. IV. 831.11.
Similar inscriptions have been found in later temples, such as that upon the entrance doorjamb of Ramesses II's temple at Beit el-Wali,\(^\text{159}\) several doorways throughout Ramesses III's temple at Medinet Habu,\(^\text{160}\) a doorpost of a side-entrance in the eastern wall of the temple of Edfu,\(^\text{161}\) a pillar in the pronaos of the temple of Esna,\(^\text{162}\) on the doorjamb of the temple of Kom Ombo,\(^\text{163}\) as well as upon the door in the northeast corner of the court between the first and second pylons of the temple of Isis in Philae.\(^\text{164}\) The rules of access are further outlined within the Book of the Temple, which has been the subject of a number of preliminary reports by Quack.\(^\text{165}\)

Architectural features which indicate the location of purification include: purification chapels (pr-\textit{dw3t}, or "House of the Morning"),\(^\text{166}\) purification scenes, and purification basins, about which Gee observes: "Purification is thus an important procedure that takes place upon arrival at the temple, and despite statements that the purification took place outside the temple proper, the purification basins, and chapels show that it may have often taken place just inside the walls."\(^\text{167}\) Temples dating to the Graeco-Roman Period typically include baths near the entrance (e.g. those at the

\[^{159}\text{Herbert Ricke et al., \textit{The Beit el-Wali Temple of Ramesses II I} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 10, pl. 4.}\]
\[^{161}\text{Edfu VI: 349/4-6. In: Dieleman, \textit{Priests, Tongues, and Rites}, 213.}\]
\[^{163}\text{Adolphe Gubtub, \textit{Textes fondamentaux de la théologie de Kom Ombo} (Le Caire: IFAO, 1973), 144-184.}\]
\[^{167}\text{Gee, "Requirements of Ritual Purity," 28-29.}\]
Serapeum in Alexandria,168 Karnak,169 Qasr Qaroun,170 and Taposiris Magna),171 and later, near churches (e.g. St. Sinuthius in Coptic Cairo).172 The act of washing, therefore, took place at the delineated edge of the sacred space.

2.III.2. Tombs

As the temple was sacred to the gods, the tomb was sacred to the 3ḫ.w, or glorified dead. Purification was likewise a requirement to enter the tomb as demonstrated by both textual evidence as well as the presence of purification basins outside of tomb chapels.173 The tomb of Mrrwi-k3.i (S 297) warns individuals to be pure

\[ \text{mi wˁb.sn r hwt nt nṯr} \quad \text{As they are pure for the temple of god.} \]  

Moreover the prerequisite of purity to enter the tomb is emphasized by the curses inscribed on Old Kingdom mastabas, which threaten those who may enter in an impure state, e.g. having recently engaged in sexual activity, broken dietary taboos, or have not bathed.175 In this case, observing the prerequisites for purity would have occurred prior to the officiant's arrival to the necropolis or tomb, while the last prerequisite of bathing could be completed at the entrance to the tomb.

CHAPTER 3: INITIATION, PROMOTION, AND DUTIES

This chapter discusses the initiatory status of the wˁb.w within the context of the priestly hierarchy. Their potential for promotion to higher levels within the priestly hierarchy is also discussed, followed by an overview of their roles and responsibilities. This chapter focuses on relevant textual and iconographic sources dating to the Old through Middle Kingdoms, with the ultimate aim of examining the performative role played by the wˁb.w within sacred space.

3.1. Initiation

Van Gennep’s landmark study on the rite of passage defines the function that underlies this rite: to distinguish the non-initiated from the initiated. Despite the inherent differences of any culturally specific ceremony, the function of the rite still remains universal, and may therefore apply to cultural contexts across time and space. As such, membership into any of the priestly grades in ancient Egypt would have been marked by a rite of passage, or a ritual event marking the transition from non-member to member. According to Van Gennep, a rite of passage consists of three main phases: preliminal rites, liminal (or threshold) rites, and postliminal rites. The preliminal and postliminal stages of initiation are reflected by the priestly grades of wˁb and ḥm-nṯr, respectively. Each title indicates a different level of initiation and corresponding access to sacred space, as demonstrated by the daily temple liturgies and temple initiation records that survive from the New Kingdom and Late Period.

The main prerequisite for becoming a wˁb was ritual purity, as discussed in the previous chapter. At the time of their appointment, the wˁb.w received the training that was necessary for them to complete their duties, as described by the Ramesside priest B3k-n-ḥms.w:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{sb3[.n].i r wˁb m pr Imn} & \quad \text{I was taught to be a pure one in the House of Amun} \\
\text{m s3 hr grt it.i [...]} & \quad \text{As a son under the hand of [his] father [...].}
\end{align*}
\]

177 Van Gennep, *Rites of Passage*, 21.
The title of *wˁb* represents the title-holder's preliminal status within the temple, for whom the prerequisites for admission have been met but initiation had not yet been completed. Due to their preliminal status, the *wˁb* were restricted to the outer areas of the temple and seem to not have had access to the inner sanctum, where the divine image is housed.\(^\text{180}\)

The liminal (or threshold) rite that serves to differentiate the preliminal *wˁb* from the postliminal *ḥm-nṯr* likely began with taking an oath, as discussed above (§2.I.1). According to Gee's hypothesis, the first "Declaration of Innocence" of BD 125 is sworn before the purification ritual, whereas the second "Declaration of Innocence" is sworn during initiation.\(^\text{181}\)

The rite of initiation is conveyed by the term [ bs/i ](bsi), which is commonly translated as "introduction," "initiation," etc.\(^\text{182}\) Haikal further elaborates:

> The word *bsi* describes an event that takes place at a particular moment and which involves other persons in addition to the postulant: it thus evokes a 'mystery ritual' which will transmute the postulant into a superior being as a result of the revelation of special secrets, or the secret image of the god.\(^\text{183}\)

This is confirmed by the biographical texts of *B3k-n-hns.w*, who upon serving as a *wˁb* for four years, was initiated into the position of *it-nṯr*, or "god's father."\(^\text{184}\) The extent to which arcane knowledge was gained prior, i.e. through study, or if such knowledge was revealed during the rite itself remains unknown.\(^\text{185}\) The rite of initiation may have also included what Assmann has termed "initiatory examinations,"\(^\text{186}\) or a test of this knowledge as expressed through equally arcane language:

---

\(^{180}\) A notable exception is the *wˁb* ˁ3 of Min and Thoth, who do seem to have had access to the inner sanctum; refer to: §4.I.4.A.b, §5.I.3.A.a, and §5.I.3.A.b.


\(^{184}\) CG 42155; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 296, 1-2. "The office of 'God's Father' seems to have permitted the holder access to the cult statue of the god, which may explain why Bakenkhons places particular emphasis on his initiation to this office […]." Frood, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt*, 45, n. 15.

\(^{185}\) For further discussion with modern examples, see: Haikal, "Religious Initiation and Restricted Knowledge," 137-138.

\(^{186}\) Assmann, *Death and Salvation*, 352-355.
In the initiatory examinations, there is a secret language, and the initiate demonstrates his mastery of it. [The initiate] knows the secret language belongs to the secret world to which it refers, and he may enter it.\textsuperscript{187}

Examples of such initiatory examinations occur throughout the various mortuary texts, for which the quintessential example is the deceased's entry into the Hall of Justice in BD 125.\textsuperscript{188} Once more Assmann observes:

We can understand these spells only if we know the specific rituals and myths to which they allude, and these would have been the local traditions of certain temples and festivals that granted the privilege of membership by initiation into their mysteries. Connected with every cult, there was a knowledge that was carefully guarded.\textsuperscript{189}

After the initiatory oath, the ritual sequence of the purification process was most likely repeated,\textsuperscript{190} this time finalized by an induction into the presence of the divine image inside of its shrine.\textsuperscript{191} Such an act of initiation was essential for any $w^{h}b$ to become a $hm$-$nṯr$, as seeing and caring for the divinity was the final component of the daily temple liturgy performed by the upper-ranking priest or priestess. A remarkably similar form of initiation is described in CT 492, in the context of the deceased's induction to the afterlife:

\begin{verbatim}
i b3.i 3ḫ.i ḥk3.i šwyt.i wn.n.k '3.wy pt sn.n.k sh3.w hrt smnt ḫkr.k r.k 'q.k hmr nṯr-'3 imy k3r.f m33.n.k Rˁ m irw.f mˁ3 [...]
O my soul, my spirit, my magic, my shade,
The double-doors of the sky open for you,
The gates of heaven open for you.
Affix your ornaments upon yourself,
So that you may enter to the great god who is in his shrine
And you see Re in his true form [...].\textsuperscript{192}
\end{verbatim}

The title of $hm$-$nṯr$ represents the title-holder's postliminal status within the temple hierarchy.\textsuperscript{193} Once the highest level of initiation has been completed and the person has assumed this higher title, the $hm$-$nṯr$ had access to the inner sanctum of the temple and

\textsuperscript{188} Faulkner, \textit{Book of the Dead}, 115-116.
\textsuperscript{189} Assmann, \textit{Death and Salvation}, 354.
\textsuperscript{190} "Le lien entre la pureté et le contact avec les dieux est bien attesté dans les textes magiques." Koenig, "L'eau et la Magie," 245.
\textsuperscript{191} Alexandre Moret, \textit{Le rituel du culte divin journalier en Égypte: d'après les papyrus de Berlin et les textes du temple de Séti 1er, à Abydos} (Paris: E. Leroux, 1902), pl. 1.
\textsuperscript{192} CT spell 492, in: de Buck, \textit{Coffin Texts VI}, 71-72; Faulkner, \textit{Coffin Texts II}, 134.
performed rituals in the presence of the divine image. The *hm.w-ntr* were *wˁb.w* prior to their completed initiation.\textsuperscript{194}

3.II. Promotions within the Priestly Hierarchy

As described above, the *wˁb* had the opportunity for advancement within the priestly hierarchy. The words \(\text{rdi} (\text{rdi})\) and \(\text{śḥnt} (\text{śḥnt})\) are used to indicate the placement or advancement of a person to a higher office.

The term \(\text{rdi} (\text{rdi})\) is perhaps most frequently used to refer to one's placement within an office, for which the biographical text of the priest *B3k-n-hns.w* is an example par excellence. After serving as a *wˁb* for 4 years, an *it-nṯr n Imn* for 12 years, a *hm-nṯr 3 n Imn* for 15 years, and as a *hm-nṯr 2 n Imn* for 12 years, he states:

\[
\begin{align*}
[...] \text{ḥsi}[.n].f wi si3[.n].f wi \h_r \text{bit.i} \\
\text{rdi}[.n].f wi r \h_m-nṯr ti p i n \text{Imn} m 27 \text{rnpt}
\end{align*}
\]

[... He favored me; he recognized me because of my character. He appointed me to First God's Servant of Amun for 27 years.\textsuperscript{195}]

Due to the recognition of his character, *B3k-n-hns.w* received four priestly promotions over the course of his lifetime. However, the title-strings on the back-pillar of his block-statues (GL WAF 38 and CG 42155) only record his highest titles; it is not until one reads the complete biographical text that one finds his *wˁb*-title. In this case, his *wˁb*-title may have been dropped from the title-string because it was not a title he held at the end of his life, or merely because it was not deemed as important as his latter positions.

During the First Intermediate Period, the term \(\text{śḥnt} (\text{śḥnt})\) is used to describe the advancement of *Dḥwti-nḥt* V (2-012M). After listing his titles and various epithets, Gr. 23 describes him as *śḥnt n Dḥwti st.f*, or "one whose position Thoth advanced."\textsuperscript{196} The phrase may collectively refer to all of *Dḥwti-nḥt* V's titles, or it may be a specific reference to his position as *wˁb ḫ3 n Dḥwti*, or "great pure one of Thoth." In the case of the latter, the phrase may refer either to his advancement to *wˁb ḫ3 n Dḥwti*, or to his advancement from *wˁb ḫ3 n Dḥwti* to another position, e.g. *imy-r hm.w-nṯr*, which he

\textsuperscript{195} GL WAF 38; Kitchen, *Ramesside Inscriptions* III, 298, 2-7; Frood, *Biographical Texts from Ramessid Egypt*, 40-42.
\textsuperscript{196} Anthes, *Felseninschriften*, 52-53; Shaw, *Hatnub*, 151.
also held. In either case, Ḍḥwti-nḥt V attributed his promotion to a favor from the god Thoth.

During the Middle Kingdom, Wp-w3.wt-ˁ3 (3-191M) does not use a verb to describe his acquisition of the title wˁb ˁ3 n Wsir. He merely states wˁb.n.i r tr.i n s33, or "I was a pure one at my time of knowledge," on his stela (Leiden V4).¹⁹⁷ He later went on to hold a number of priestly titles, including: s(t)m-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of opening the mouth), hṛp šndyt nbt r pr Mn.w or "director of every kilt in the temple of Min," imy-r ššrw m pr-wr or "overseer of the cloth/linen of the shrine of Upper Egypt," ḥm-nṯr of Maat, and imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr or "overseer of the god's servants."

The remainder of the title-holders discussed in this thesis have been identified as wˁb.w on the basis of their title-string. According to Baer, an individual's title-string represents "the accumulation of a lifetime."¹⁹⁸ In many cases the title of wˁb was held in addition to other priestly titles, e.g. ḥm-nṯr, ḥm-k3, hṛy-hbt, or s(t)m, as in each of the cases described above. Strudwick, in contrast, believes that the title-string represents a selection of titles held by the individual at the time in which their tomb or monument was decorated.¹⁹⁹ If this is the case, lower-ranking titles such as wˁb would be dropped from a title-string upon acquisition of any upper-ranking title such as ḥm-nṯr, as observed in the case of B3k-n-ḥns.w. However, this is not the case for the Old Kingdom: Of the 212 individuals surveyed from this period, 98 (46%) hold dual titles of wˁb and ḥm-nṯr in the same title-string (see discussion, §4.II); fewer hold dual titles of wˁb and ḥm-nṯr over subsequent periods (§5.II and §6.II). Helck observed the same pattern in the title-strings, remarking that a lower-ranking wˁb-title does not honor an upper-ranking ḥm-nṯr.²⁰₀ Therefore, the concurrence of wˁb and ḥm-nṯr within the same title-string are most likely

¹⁹⁷ P. Boeser, Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden II (Haag: M. Nijhoff, 1909), 3 [5], pl. 4.
¹⁹⁸ Klaus Baer, Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom: the Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), 35.
¹⁹⁹ Nigel Strudwick, The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom (London: KPI, 1985), 172. Using the monuments of Šd.ii-ptḥ called Šdw (2-005M) as an example, Strudwick demonstrates that the wˁb-title was among the titles received at the time of the title-holder's promotion to an administrative position. Šd.ii-ptḥ called Šdw held no other priestly titles. Refer to: Nigel Strudwick, "Three Monuments of Old Kingdom Treasury Officials," JEA 71 (1985): 44-45.
intended to indicate the individual's promotion within the priestly hierarchy, which is how they have been interpreted within this thesis.

3.III. Duties

This section examines surviving textual and iconographic evidence from the Old through Middle Kingdoms in order to better understand the performative role and responsibilities of the wˁb.w. The sources are discussed in chronological order below.

3.III.1. The Earliest Attestations

The earliest known reference to a wˁb occurs on two stelae, both of which were found within the same tomb in Helwan (247 H6), which dates to the late 3rd Dynasty. The first stela (No. 24), which was found in the ceiling of the tomb, is inscribed for Wp (1-018M), who holds the title of wˁb nswt, or "royal pure one." He is shown sitting on a chair, extending his right hand towards the offering table in front of him, while his left hand is clenched in a fist against his chest. He wears a short wig in which the hair is neatly arranged into small squares. He wears a long garment fastened at the left shoulder with a fringe and the length of the garment extends just below his knees. The words for unguent (ḥ3tt), incense (snṯr), and wine (irp) fill the upper space between his name and title and the offering list located at the far right. Below there is a group of signs representing a basin and ewer over a forearm with water, all of which combine to represent the act of washing. The sign-combination is followed by a plucked goose, a conical loaf of bread, and the sign for 1,000.

The second stela (No. 25), which was found in the east wall of the tomb, is inscribed for Nfr-stš (1-019M), who also holds the title of wˁb nswt, or "royal pure one." He is shown sitting on a chair, extending his right hand towards the offering table in front

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203 Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, 528 [W5].
204 Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, 528 [W10a].
205 Nicolas Grimal et al., Hieroglyphica: Sign List - Liste des Signes - Zeichenliste, 1 D-3 [D212a].
206 Kahl, Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.-3. Dynastie, 905 [3369].
207 Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, 473 [G54].
208 Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, 531 [X2].
209 Gardiner, Egyptian Grammar, 480 [M12].
of him, while most of his left arm is concealed by the garment that he is wearing; his left hand emerges from the garment clenched in a fist against his chest. The garment is tied in a bow at the left shoulder and extends to the lower-calf. He wears a short wig in which the hair is neatly arranged into small squares. The words for two different types of perfume (ḥknw and ib3) and incense (snṯr) fill the upper space between his name and title and the offering list located at the far right. Below there is a group of signs representing an ewer, basin, and a forearm with water, all of which combine to represent the act of washing. The sign-combination is followed by a plucked goose, the word for alabaster vase (šs) with the sign for 1,000, and the word for cloth (mnḥt) with the sign for 1,000.

It is worth noting that the two stelae shown above are the only ones recovered containing the hieroglyphic sign combination for washing from the entire cemetery in Helwan. Although Saad simply remarks that "washing the hands before meals was a habit always practised by the Ancient Egyptians," it cannot be a coincidence that the only two stelae containing this hieroglyphic sign combination belong to wˁb nswt, making the association between the title and the act of purification clear.

3.III.2. The Old Kingdom

An early reference to the performance of wˁb-service may be found upon the "duty table" within the rock-cut mastaba of Ni-k3-ˁnḥ in Tihna el-Gebel (No. 1/13), which dates to the reign of Userkaf. The tomb-owner, Ni-k3-ˁnḥ, holds the title of imy-r ḫm.w-nṯr or "overseer of god's servants." Although he does not explicitly hold the title of wˁb, he states:

210 Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 528 [W10a].
211 Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, 528 [W5].
212 Grimal et al., *Hieroglyphica*, 1 D-3 [D212a].
217 Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift*, 906 [3368].
218 Saad, *Ceiling Stelae*, 52.
219 *Urk*. I, 24-27.
in Ḥm n Wsr-k3.f wḏ
wˁb n Ḥt-hr nbt R-int
ir ḫ(w)t nb ˁqt.s r hwt-nṯr
ink is wˁb hr ḫ(w)t nb

His Majesty Userkaf commanded
wˁb-service for Hathor, Lady of R-int,
As everything that enters into the temple,
I am one who is pure over everything.²²¹

His Majesty Userkaf commanded
wˁb-service for Hathor, Lady of R-int,
As everything that enters into the temple,
I am one who is pure over everything.²²¹

Ni-k3-ˁnh's wife, nine sons, and two men whose filiation is not specified are likewise
appointed to perform wˁb-service for Hathor within his tomb-chapel. Here it is stated:

ir.f wḏt-mdw n msw.f
r wˁb n Ḥt-hr nbt R-int

He commanded of his children
to perform wˁb-service for Hathor, Lady of R-int.²²²

The "duty table" designates a fixed monthly wˁb-service for each individual, as well as a
fixed annual income for each person upon completion of their service. Ni-k3-ˁnh's wife,
Ḥkn.w-ḥḏ.t, holds the titles of rḥt nswt or "royal acquaintance" and nbt im3ḥw or
"provided one." Their nine sons are collectively referred to as hm.w-nṯr or "god's
 servants" in the text above, and the two men whose filiation is not specified each hold the
title of hm-k3, or "k3-servant." None of these individuals hold the title of wˁb, although
they have been appointed to perform wˁb-service. Wˁb-service most likely entailed
performing purification for the divine image located within the innermost sanctum,²²³
which only would have been accessible to the holder(s) of an upper-ranking title, e.g.
hm-nṯr. Ḥkn.w-ḥḏ.t, however, does not hold any such title and may be considered an
exceptional example. Nevertheless, all individuals received equal compensation for their
service, regardless of gender or title.

The greatest source of information on the role and responsibilities of the wˁb.w
during the Old Kingdom are the Abusir Papyri, which include the archives of the
mortuary complexes of Neferirkare-Kakai²²⁴ and Neferefre.²²⁵ References to wˁb.w in the
archives of Neferirkare-Kakai are rather sparse, while references to the wˁb.w within the
archives of Neferefre are far more plentiful by comparison.

The most commonly found theme in the papyri is the king's commands (wḏ)²²⁶
regarding access to the prt-ḥrw or "offerings," as found on fragments 18A, 19B, 20A,

²²³ Sauneron, The Priests of Ancient Egypt, 76-89.
²²⁴ Posener-Kriéger, Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï I-II.
²²⁵ Posener-Kriéger et. al., Abusir X.
²²⁶ For more information on this particular genre of documents, refer to: Harold Hays, "wḏ: The Context of
21F, 21G, 22D, 22K, and 22L.\textsuperscript{227} 18A is perhaps the most complete of these fragments, which grants permission to the \textit{wˁb.w} and \textit{ḥnty.w-š} to participate in offering rituals to receive a share of the offerings. The phrase, \textit{mi \textit{wˁb ḫnty-š}} or "as a pure one [and] land tenant" occurs frequently throughout these fragments, and implies that the \textit{wˁb.w} and \textit{ḥnty.w-š} were of relatively equal rank within the temple hierarchy;\textsuperscript{228} the \textit{wˁb.w} performed a ritual role with the \textit{ḥm.w-nṯr}, whereas the \textit{ḥnty.w-š} performed an administrative role.\textsuperscript{229} Posener-Kriéger et al. conclude that "[...] the land tenants and the \textit{wˁb}-priests took their shares in offerings presented beyond the intimate part of the temple,"\textsuperscript{230} i.e. at the outer part(s) of the temple, although the location of offering distribution is never specifically stated in any of the papyri. Regardless, the fragments collectively demonstrate that the distribution of food offerings was controlled by the state administration, as demonstrated by the king's decree (\textit{wḏ}) that regards the distribution of these goods.

Doxey states that female non-title-holders also performed \textit{wˁb-service}, for which they received the same compensation as their male title-holding counterparts.\textsuperscript{231} This claim, however, could not be substantiated.\textsuperscript{232}

The second most commonly found theme in the papyri is reference to the monthly service of the \textit{wˁb.w} and \textit{ḥnty.w-š}, as found within fragments 21H and 25B.\textsuperscript{233} Both of these fragments contain the phrase, \textit{imy.w 3bd (n) wˁb.w ḫnty.w-š}, or "who are in monthly service (of) pure ones [and] land tenants," which specifies that the service of the title-holders lasted for one month within the context of the \textit{phyle} system. The relationship to the \textit{phyle} system is clarified by fragment 25B, which is addressed to the director of a \textit{phyle} on duty and concerns all \textit{wˁb.w} on monthly service.

\textsuperscript{227} Additional king's commands that do not specify access to the \textit{prt-ḥrw} due to their fragmentary nature include papyrus fragments 19F, 20D, and 21J. For all, refer to: Posener-Kriéger et. al., \textit{Abusir X}, 234-236, 238-239, pls. 18-22.

\textsuperscript{228} Posener-Kriéger et. al. goes so far as to state that "[...] most of the king's commands concerning access of \textit{ḥnty-š}, \textit{wˁb}-priests, and \textit{ḥm-nṯr}-priests to \textit{prt-ḥrw} offerings indirectly attest to a practically equal social standing between these three categories of temple officials." Refer to: Posener-Kriéger et. al., \textit{Abusir X}, 372.


\textsuperscript{230} Posener-Kriéger et. al., \textit{Abusir X}, 365.


\textsuperscript{232} Denise Doxey, personal communication to author, November 22, 2013.

\textsuperscript{233} Posener-Kriéger et. al., \textit{Abusir X}, 238, 241, pl. 21, 25.
Fragment 44A specifies the duties of each phyle affiliated with the pyramid complex. The document begins with a list of personnel by phyle, division, and title; names are not included. The phyle imy-nfr.t, division i-north and division i-south each contain one shd wˁb.w, or "inspector of pure ones." The phyle imy-nfr.t, division hˁc-north contains two wˁb.w, whereas division hˁc-south does not specify any wˁb.w. The different areas of the pyramid complex are then listed, along with the title of the person responsible for its sealing. Among those responsible for the sealing of the pẖr, or the ceremonial circular passage around the pyramid, is a wˁb pr-ˁ3 or "pure one of the Great House" from the phyle imy-nfr.t, division hˁ. Among those responsible for sealing the rwt, or a gate that was probably connected to the ceremonial way around the pyramid, is another wˁb pr-ˁ3, from the phyle st, division ib. Although the wˁb-titles are identical, the precise area within which the title-holders serve depends upon the phyle and division with which they are affiliated.

Fragments 45-46 contain a protocol regarding the control of sealings within the mortuary temple as the phyle underwent their monthly rotation. The hierarchy of officials within the phyle remains unclear. For example, the phyle imy-wr 2 consisted of the title-holders in the following order: one imy-ht hm.w-nṯr, one wˁb, one member with no title, two hnty.w-š, and two additional members with no title. The wˁb, Iḥ3 (1-003M), is the only wˁb included within this document. However, none of the rooms within the temple list a wˁb as responsible for its sealing, and it is therefore unknown within which part of the temple Iḥ3 served. Fragment 46D, separate from fragments 45-46, lists a wˁb in association with the ḥrτt, or entrance area; the name of the title-holder is not

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234 Posener-Kriéger et. al., Abusir X, 260-262, pl. 44.
236 "In our text 44A, the term pẖr means a way around Raneferef's tomb during which might have been performed some ceremonies additional to the checking of sealings." Posener-Kriéger et. al., Abusir X, 261, n. 142.
237 "The context seems to indicate quite clearly that this gate was not inside but outside the temple and somehow linked with the way around the pyramid: the control of the gate and putting a seal on it followed the control of the pyramid and the circular way around it." Posener-Kriéger et. al., Abusir X, 262, n. 143.
238 Posener-Kriéger et. al., Abusir X, 262-264, pls. 45-46.
239 Posener-Kriéger et. al., Abusir X, 264, pl. 46.
240 Patricia Spencer, Studies in the lexicography of Ancient Egyptian buildings and their parts (Boston Spa: Britain Thesis Service, 1990), 43-54.
preserved upon this fragment. The ‘rr[y]t is again mentioned in fragment 87F,²⁴¹ with which at least two wˁb.w are associated: Rnsi (1-008I) and Ḥw-wi (1-009M); the title belonging to a third name is not preserved.

Fragments 6C and 6E refer to the nocturnal duty of the wˁb.w.²⁴² Fragment 6C contains a list of officiants, which includes one imy-ḥt ḫm.w-nṯr, one wˁb, and one hry-hbt, although the wˁb, Ni-sw-hnw (1-005M), may have sent a ḏt-servant in his place. The service takes place tp ḥwt, or on the roof of the temple, and most likely "consisted of observing the night sky, the movement of stars, performing prescribed rituals and, last but not least, setting the precise time for the commencement of the morning ritual."²⁴³ Fragment 6E merely includes the date of nocturnal duty for a wˁb whose name is not mentioned.

The wˁb.w may also have been involved in musical performance within the mortuary temple, as attested by the title [shd] wˁb.w sb3iw Ḥdt Nṭry-[b3.w]-Nṯr.f-r'ı', or "[inspector] of pure ones [and] flautist of the White Crown [and] (the pyramid) 'Divine-are-the-B3s-of-Neferefre,'" which appears only once within the archive of Neferefre, in fragment 18E.²⁴⁴ Posener-Kriéger et al. interpret the king's decree (wḏ) as pertaining to the cult of the goddess Nekhbet, for whom musical performances may have occurred within the hypostyle hall of Neferefre's mortuary temple.²⁴⁵ Whether or not all wˁb.w had access to the hypostyle hall, or if this area was reserved only for the [shd] wˁb.w sb3iw Ḥdt Nṭry-[b3.w]-Nṯr.f-r'ı', remains unclear.

In their conclusions concerning the personnel of Neferefre's mortuary temple, Posener-Kriéger et al. state: "[...] in rituals relating to the cult of statues, ḫm-nṯr-priests performed the fumigation whereas the land tenants and wˁb-priests unveiled and dressed the statues."²⁴⁶ However no reference to any particular papyrus fragment is provided by the authors, and no evidence in support of this conclusion could be found elsewhere in their publication. Based on the contents of the fragments discussed above, the wˁb.w were

²⁴¹ Posener-Kriéger et al., Abusir X, 313, pl. 87.
²⁴² Posener-Kriéger et al., Abusir X, 214-215, pl. 6.
²⁴³ Posener-Kriéger et al., Abusir X, 214.
²⁴⁴ Posener-Kriéger et al., Abusir X, 234-235, pl. 18.
²⁴⁵ Posener-Kriéger et al., Abusir X, 235.
²⁴⁶ Posener-Kriéger et al., Abusir X, 365.
active in the outer parts of the temple complex, and do not appear to have had access to
the inner sanctum, where the divine images were housed.

The temple decrees\textsuperscript{247} of Pepi II do not specifically mention the wˁb.w, although
they do reference the hmw-nṯr. Junker proposes that any wˁb-service for the temple was
performed by other priests, such as the hmnṯr, at this time.\textsuperscript{248} Such an interpretation is
also consistent with the "duty table" of Ni-k3-ˁnh, mentioned above.

3.III.3. The First Intermediate Period

The primary source of material that references the wˁb.w during the First
Intermediate Period comes from the graffiti in Hatnub that was inscribed for the
hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna).\textsuperscript{249} Four members of
this family held the title wˁb ˁ3 n Ḏḥwti or "great pure one of Thoth," the main deity of
this area. Graffito no. 17 provides some detail of the various rituals performed by the wˁb
ˁ3 n Ḏḥwti, which include: opening [the face], renewing the clay sealing, sprinkling water
for Thoth, offering incense for Thoth, slaughtering birds for the k3 of Thoth, fetching ibr-
and hknw-oil, making burnt offerings for the k3 of Thoth.\textsuperscript{250} This inscription suggests that
the upper-ranking wˁb ˁ3 did in fact have access to the inner sanctum of the temple, which
may also be due in part to the title-holder's status of imy-r hmw-nṯr and provincial ruler.

A secondary source of material comes from the decorated tombs of the nomarchs
themselves. The tomb (No. 5) of the title-holder Iḥ3-nḫt I (2-011M) shows himself
receiving an olive branch from two wˁb.w under the accompanying inscription: h3q n
Hwt-nṯr m-t wˁb.w in h3ty-ˁ hrp nsty imy-r hmw-nṯr wˁb ˁ3 n Ḏḥwti Iḥ3-nḫt I, or
"[receiving?] an olive branch for the temple from the pure ones by the hereditary
prince/nobleman, director/controller of the two thrones, overseer of the god's servants,

\textsuperscript{247} For the offerings in front of his statues in Abydos: Urk. I, 278-280; for the sanctuary of Min at Coptos:

\textsuperscript{248} "Vielleicht, daß hier der Gesamtdienst, die Reinigungszeremonien eingeschlossen, von den anderen
Priestern, vor allem den hmnṯr, übernommen wurde." Hermann Junker, \textit{Gîza VI} (Wien: Hölder-Pichler-
Tempsky, 1943), 13.

\textsuperscript{249} Grajetzki describes this line of hereditary rulers as originating with Iḥ3-nḥt I (2-011M). Refer to:
Wolfram Grajetzki, \textit{The Middle Kingdom of ancient Egypt: history, archaeology and society} (London:
Duckworth, 2006), 109-111. For a family tree, see: Peter Robinson, "'As For Them who Know Them, They
Shall Find Their Paths': Speculations on Ritual Landscapes in the 'Book of the Two Ways,'" in \textit{Mysterious
Lands}, ed. David O'Connor and Stephen Quirke (London: UCL Press, 2003), 143, fig. 8.3; Harco Willems,
\textit{Chests of life: a study of the typology and conceptual development of Middle Kingdom standard class
coffins} (Leiden: Ex Oriente Lux, 1988), 71.

\textsuperscript{250} Anthes, \textit{Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub}, 38-41, graffito no. 17, pl. 16; Shaw, \textit{Hatnub}, 148-149.
the great pure one of Thoth, *Iḥ3-nḥt* I."²⁵¹ While the significance of the olive branch remains uncertain, it is worthwhile to note that the *wˁb.w* were the ones who had come to complete this task.

The tomb of *Ḏḥwti-ḥtp* (No. 2) shows the depiction of a colossal statue being dragged by four registers of men, the third of which is preceded by the caption: *s3.w n wˁb.w Wnt,* or "phyle of pure ones of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna)."²⁵² The register contains 43 men; the last man pours water to facilitate the movement of the statue. The captions preceding the other registers identify the men as *ḏ3m.w n Imnt* or "troops of the West," *ḏ3m.w n ˁḥ3tyw* or "troops of warriors/cultivators," and *ḏ3m.w n I3btt,* or "troops of the East." The *wˁb.w* are the only priestly title-holders participating in this activity.

### 3.III.4. The Middle Kingdom

The Lahun Papyri²⁵³ comprise the greatest source of information on the lives and activities of the *wˁb.w* during the Middle Kingdom. Although these references provide significant insights into other aspects of the title, e.g. the transfer of office (further discussed in Chapter 7), less information survives detailing their responsibilities within the temple itself.

The most commonly found theme within the papyri is the transportation of goods by *wˁb.w,* as mentioned within the accounts papyri UC 32173 and UC 32194.²⁵⁴ According to UC 32173, one *ḥtmw* (and?) one *wˁb* brought a commodity to a place; no further details are preserved due to the fragmentary nature of the document. UC 32194, a list of produce brought on certain days by officials of the town and/or temple, provides slightly more information. Here, two *wˁb.w nswt,* or "royal pure ones," bring produce on the 10th and 20th day of the month, respectively. The destination of the produce is not specified within the document, and the name of only one of the title-holders is preserved: *Mikt* (3-146M). Nevertheless, both *wˁb* and *wˁb nswt* are responsible for bringing items to

²⁵² Newberry, *El Bersheh* I, pl. 15.
a certain location, a duty important enough to warrant a written record, and in the latter case, to be coordinated into a schedule between various priestly title-holders.

Related to the transportation of goods is a record of supplies for three Sobek cult temples (UC 32147G). The fragment contains a name-list of $w^b.w$, of which only the first name, $Mikt$ (3-145M), a $w^b$ $nswt$ or "royal pure one," is preserved. Below the names of the $w^b.w$ is the inscription $inw$ $hwtn$ $nt$ $Sbk$ $nb$ $Ddw$ [...] $Sbk$ $nb$ $Grk$b$f$ [...] $Snw$ $nb$ $rs$hwy [...]$, or "deliveries of the temples of Sobek Lord of Djedu [...], Sobek Lord of Geregbaf [...], Sobek Lord of Resehwy [...]," which suggests that the $w^b.w$ who comprised this list were responsible for bringing supplies to or from each of the aforementioned cult temples.

Reference to the payment of a $w^b$ is found in a name-list (UC 32281A). A surplus is given to $Nḥt$ (3-097M); the precise amount of the surplus is not preserved. The fragment is broken under the name of $Nḥt$, so no other names within the list survive. Another fragment (P. 10.214) records the income of an unnamed $w^b$ $nswt$ as "22 [...] 10 [...] 1 [...]," which may refer to measurements of bread, beer, and flour, respectively.

A papyrus fragment (unnumbered) containing a list of lower-ranking priests may make reference to the phyle system, as it mentions two $w^b$ $nswt$ $imy$ $bdf$, or "royal pure one(s) within his month." The document suggests that the $w^b$ $nswt$ worked on a monthly rotation, analogous to the system employed by the cult of Neferefre during the Old Kingdom.

Another topic found in the papyri pertains to statuary, as found in the accounts papyrus UC 32143B. The document contains a list of statues followed by the names and titles of temple staff. The purpose of the document may be an order for statues to be made for the named individuals, or perhaps is a list of temple staff required to perform service for these statues. The names and titles of temple staff include three $w^b.w$ $nswt$ or "royal pure ones": $It$ (3-144M), $S$-$n$-$wsr.t$ (3-149M), and $Sn.t$ (3-151F); other titles that are mentioned are $ibh$ or "libationer" and $šm$ $hw$ (n) $Ḥwt$-$hr$ or "singer of Hathor."

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255 Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 258-259.
256 It is unknown as to whether or not this is the same $Mikt$ mentioned in UC 32194 above, as the name occurs on two separate fragments that could not otherwise be correlated.
257 Collier and Quirke, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 136-137.
259 Borchardt, "Der zweite Papyrusfund von Kahun," 89-122.
A wˁb could summon another individual to work, as demonstrated by a roll-call of work-crews (UC 32170). The text contains four columns: a checkmark consisting of a black or red dash (indicating presence or absence), name and filiation, a second name (in red), followed by the name and title of an official. Imn.ii (3-277M), a wˁb ḥry s3 or "pure one who provides the back support service in the procession," is named within the fourth column, which indicates that he is an official who summoned another person for work, and is not a worker himself. Such a contract of labor was most likely for a debt that was owed to him.

3.IV. Summary

The title of wˁb reflects the individual's preliminal status in the temple, by which they were restricted to the outermost areas. During the Old Kingdom, their duties including sealing the pẖr, or ceremonial circular passage around the pyramid, as well as the rwt, or gate that was connected to this passageway. They also performed nightly duty on the roof of the temple, which likely consisted of observing the stars. Iconographic evidence from the First Intermediate Period shows that the wˁb.w were also engaged in non-ritual tasks, such as moving a colossal statue from Hatnub quarry. A number of records from the Middle Kingdom also show that the wˁb.w were responsible for bringing provisions to the temple from the outside.

261 Collier and Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 44-45.
262 According to Ezzamel, a black dot indicates the workman's presence whereas a red dot indicates absence, but does not provide further explanation. Refer to: Mahmoud Ezzamel, Accounting and Order (New York: Routledge, 2012), 277.
263 Rendered as: . This title is further discussed in: §6.1.5.D.1.
CHAPTER 4: WˁB-TITLES IN THE OLD KINGDOM

This chapter presents the various wˁb-titles of the Old Kingdom, and is divided into the three following broad sections: the wˁb-title (§4.I.1), wˁb-titles affiliated with the royal family (§4.I.2), funerary wˁb-titles (§4.I.3), and wˁb-titles associated with a deity (§4.I.4). Each individual title-holder is identified by number and any one of the following letters: "I," "F," or "M," which identify the title-holder's gender as "Indeterminable," "Female," or "Male." The number assigned to each title-holder corresponds to their number in the Old Kingdom Index (Appendix A), which includes each individual's full title-string as well as bibliographical references.

4.I.1 Wˁb and wˁbt

Aside from being "the most general term for priest," the word (wˁb), or "pure one," comprised a title in its own right. During the Old Kingdom, the title of wˁb was most commonly associated with the king's mortuary cult, as demonstrated by the prevalence of the titles wˁb nswt and wˁb n [King's Name]; see §4.I.2, below. The title is rarely associated with a deity until the Middle Kingdom, in contrast to the title of ḫm-nṯr, which by its very nature, is linked with a deity from its earliest attestation. The titles wˁb and ḫm-nṯr appear together within the royal mortuary cults of the Old Kingdom, and later within cults of deities during the Middle Kingdom onwards. According to Junker, the wˁb performed purification rites and ensured the purity of offerings, as per PT 21-197.

Sixteen title-holders have been identified from the Old Kingdom, one of whom was a woman who held the title of wˁbt: Iḥi (1-017F), whose name and titles are preserved upon a false door (CG 1449) of unknown provenance, which dates to the 6th

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264 Gardiner, Onomastica I, 53*.
265 Jones, Index, 368 [1360]; Murray, Index, pl. XVIII.
266 Hans Goedicke, "Die Laufbahn des Mṯn" MDIK 21 (1966): 8; Ward, Index, 79-83; Fischer, Supplement, 24-25; Naguib Kanawati, Akhmim in the Old Kingdom (Sydney: The Australian Centre for Egyptology, 1992), 238, n. 1478.
268 Junker, Giza VI, 13.
269 PT spells 21-197 §12-113, in: Sethe, Pyramidentexte I, 7-66; Faulkner, Pyramid Texts, 3-36; Allen, Pyramid Texts, 19-29.
270 Ranke, Personennamen I, 44 [20].
Dynasty or later. The false door belongs to her husband, *Id.ii* (1-121M), who held the title of *wˁb nswt*, or "royal pure one" and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *ḥm-nṯr Rˁ* or "god's servant of Re." He holds two additional titles: *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance" and *ḥry-sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret." Their children are identified by name without title; the same is true for *Id.ii*’s brother, who is also included upon the false door. *Iḥi* is the only female title-holder identified from the Old Kingdom.

### 4.1.2. *Wˁb*-Titles Affiliated with the Royal Family

This section examines the *wˁb*-titles that are affiliated with the royal family, i.e. *wˁb nswt*, *wˁb mwt-nswt*, and *wˁb ms.w.-nswt*. The section also includes the ubiquitous *wˁb n [King’s Name]*, for which there are several variations that are illustrated in Table 4.1.2.B. The title *wˁb pr-ˁ3* is presented as a subsection to *wˁb nswt pr-ˁ3*, under which the title may have been organized.

#### 4.1.2.A. *Wˁb nswt*

The title *wˁb nswt*, or "pure one of the king," has been subject to a range of interpretations by various scholars. Erman and Grapow state that the title refers to one in the service of the living and/or deceased king, and that the title-holder may have acted as bather and physician to the king. Ghalioungui has similarly classified the title as a "medical auxiliary." However, such an interpretation is unlikely, as most *wˁb nswt* do not hold medical titles in their title-strings (see Appendix A).

Junker specifies that the title-holder is more likely connected to the royal mortuary cult, as demonstrated by the title *wˁb nswt n 3ḥt(y)-Ḥwfw* or "royal pure one of the (the pyramid) 'The-Horizon-of-Khufu,'" discussed in §IV.2, below.

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272 Yvonne Lemke, "Die nichtköniglichen Priesterinnen des Alten Reiches (4. – 6. Dynastie)" (PhD diss. Universität Würzburg, 2008), 197. I would like to thank Dr. Lisa Sabbahy for bringing this reference to my attention.

273 Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 54 [3].

274 Transcription of *nswt* follows Allen. Refer to: James Allen, *Middle Egyptian: an Introduction to the Language and Culture of Hieroglyphs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 463.

275 Jones, *Index*, 373 [1382]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII; *PM* III.2, R333.

276 *Wb*. I, 283 [5].


Alternatively, Goedicke argues that the *wˁb nswt* is a "pure one" who acts on behalf of the king as a royal agent.\(^{279}\) His assertion that the *wˁb* and *wˁb nswt* were not participants of the royal mortuary cult is erroneous, given the number of *wˁb*-titles that are linked to a specific pyramid complex, e.g. §II.1-VI.4, below. Rather, his statement seems to be a misunderstanding of the opposing functions of the *wˁb* and *ḥm-nṯr*,\(^ {280}\) which are known to have coexisted in both royal mortuary cults and divine cults.

Depending upon the specific title, the *wˁb nswt* may be connected to any of the following institutions: the palace,\(^ {281}\) robing room,\(^ {282}\) *mrt*-temple,\(^ {283}\) pyramid complex,\(^ {284}\) and in one particular case, with a deity.\(^ {285}\)

The earliest attested *wˁb*-title is *wˁb nswt*. The title appears on two late 3rd Dynasty stelae, each of which belong to *Wp* (1-018M)\(^ {286}\) and *Nfr-stš* (1-019M),\(^ {287}\) both of which were found within the same tomb in Helwan (247 H6).\(^ {288}\) Each man held the sole title of *wˁb nswt*. The title of *wˁb nswt* is the most commonly held *wˁb*-title of the Old Kingdom, held by no less than 125 individuals who are accounted for in this thesis (Appendix A: 1-018M - 1-141I; 1-179M).

4.1.2.A.a. *Wˁb nswt* (n) *pr-ˁ3*

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\(^{280}\) "Der königliche Totenkult wird von *ḥm-nṯr* "Göttesdienern" durchgeführt und nur für diese sind mit Königsnamen zusammengesetzte Bezeichnungen nachgewiesen. Ihre Funktion ist somit völlig anders gelagert als die der *wˁb* oder *wˁb-nswt*, bei denen eine institutionelle und keine individuelle Bindung besteht." Goedicke, "Die Laufbahn des *Mṯn*," 9, n. 5.

\(^{281}\) As demonstrated by the title, *wˁb nswt* (n) *pr-ˁ3*, or "royal pure one of the Great House," in: Jones, *Index*, 374 [1385].

\(^{282}\) As demonstrated by the title, *wˁb nswt* *ḏb3t*, or "royal pure one of the robing room," in: Jones, *Index*, 374-375 [1388].

\(^{283}\) As demonstrated by the title, *wˁb nswt* (m) *mrt(t)* *Wsr-k3.f*, or "royal pure one of the *mrt*-temple of Userkaf," in: Jones, *Index*, 374 [1386].

\(^{284}\) As demonstrated by the title *wˁb nswt* *n 3ḥt(y)-Ḥwfw*, or "royal pure one of the (the pyramid) 'Horizon of Khufu','" in: Jones, *Index*, 374 [1383].

\(^{285}\) As demonstrated by the title *wˁb nswt* *Ṣḥm.t*, or "royal pure one of Sekhmet," in: Jones, *Index*, 374 [1387].

\(^{286}\) Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 77 [16].

\(^{287}\) Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.

The title 𓊩𓊔 (wˁb nswt (n) pr-ˁ3), or "royal pure one of the Great House," is directly connected to the palace. Three title-holders are known, each of whom are discussed below.

The name and title of Sd-ḥtp (1-142M) are preserved upon a limestone statuette that was found within the serdab of his mastaba at Giza (G 8662), which dates to the early reign of Djedkare Isesi. His sole title is wˁb nswt pr-ˁ3.

The name and titles of Hnm.w-ḥtp(.w) (1-143M) are preserved upon an offering table (CG 1306) from his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 1/B 11), which dates to the 4th Dynasty. His only other title is ib3, or "dancer."

The name and titles of Rrmw (1-144M) are preserved upon a seated statue of himself with his son K3(.i)-ḥr-st.f (1-150M) and daughter shown on either side of his seat (39-1-17/Toledo 49.5), a limestone standing pair statue of himself with his wife (39-1-16/Toledo 49.4), as well as a limestone triad of two men (one of whom is Rrmw) and a small boy (39-1-18/JE 72138). All three statues were found in the serdab of the title-holder's tomb in Giza (G 2099), which dates to the late 5th Dynasty. Rrmw's son, K3(.i)-ḥr-st.f (1-150M), held the title wˁb nswt Sḫm.t, or "royal pure one of Sekhmet," and is discussed in §4.I.2.c below. Based upon this example, it may be possible that the title of wˁb nswt was hereditary, despite the difference in the father's affiliation with the palace and the son's affiliation with a deity.

4.I.2.A.a.i. Wˁb pr-ˁ3

The title 𓊩𓊔 (wˁb pr-ˁ3), or "pure one of the Great House," is directly connected to the palace and may be of lower-rank than the wˁb nswt (n) pr-ˁ3, discussed

289 Alternatively rendered as 𓊩𓊔. Jones, Index, 374 [1385]; PM III.2, R334; Wb. I, 283.
290 Name not included in Ranke's Personennamen.
293 Ranke, Personennamen I, 276 [6].
294 Borchardt, Denkmäler I, 5.
296 Name not included in Ranke's Personennamen.
298 Jones, Index, 371 [1372].
above. According to Junker, the *wˁb pr-ˁ3* performed the duties of a doctor.\(^{299}\) However, there is not enough remaining evidence with which to confirm Junker's interpretation. Rather, Fragment 44A of archive of the mortuary complex of Neferefre, specifies that a *wˁb pr-ˁ3* is responsible for sealing the *pẖr*, or ceremonial circular passage around the pyramid, as well as the *rwt*, or gate that was connected to this passageway.\(^{300}\) Two named title-holders are known, both of whom are discussed below. The title is also preserved on two sealing fragments from Abusir (1-146I and 1-147I).\(^{301}\)

The name and titles of *Mˁ3.t-ptḥ* (1-145M)\(^{302}\) are preserved on a false door that is *in situ* in the Menkaure Quarry Cemetery (MQ 134), which dates to the reign of Menkaure or later.\(^{303}\) In addition to being a *wˁb pr-ˁ3*, *Mˁ3.t-ptḥ* also held the title of *imy-r bˁ pr-ˁ3* or "overseer of unguent(?) of the Great House," which may be linked to his status as *wˁb pr-ˁ3*. He was initiated (or promoted) to *ḥm-nṯr* of Menkaure.

The name and titles of *Htp-3ḫ.ti* (1-148M)\(^{304}\) are preserved upon his wooden statue (JE 93170/SR 18276) that was found within his unnumbered tomb in Saqqara, which dates to the reign of Unas.\(^{305}\) It is also worthwhile to note that *Htp-3ḫ.ti* is also an *imy-r wˁb.w Sḥm.t*, or "overseer of the pure ones of Sekhmet."

4.I.2.A.b. *Wˁb nswt ḏb3t*

The title \(\begin{array}{c}
\text{ Nome } \\
\text{ Nome } \\
\text{ Nome } \\
\text{ Nome } \\
\text{ Nome } \\
\text{ Nome } \\
\end{array}\) (\(wˁb\ nswt\ ḏb3t\)), or "royal pure one of the robing room,"\(^{306}\) is another title that is associated with the palace as per the location of the *ḏb3t*, or "robing room."\(^{307}\) Both Hassan and Fischer agree on the translation of the word as "Royal Palace," although they disagree regarding the division of titles within the title-string, which is complicated by lacunae.\(^{308}\) Only one such title-holder is known, *Mmi* (1-
149M), whose name and titles are preserved within his mastaba within the Khafre Cemetery (No. 7), which dates to the 5th Dynasty or later. In addition to being a wˁb nswt ḏb3t, Mmi also held the titles of rḥ nswt or "royal acquaintance," shḏ hm.w-ntr Hwt-ḥr or "inspector of the god's servants of Hathor," and shḏ hs.w or "inspector of singers," the last of which may also be associated with a temple.

### 4.1.2.A.c. Wˁb nswt Sḫm.t

The title (wˁb nswt Sḫm.t), or "royal pure one of Sekhmet," refers to wˁb nswt specifically dedicated to the goddess Sekhmet. If the readings by Fischer and Jones are correct, then the title is exceptional because this is the only time in which the title wˁb nswt is linked with a deity. The title is fitting, considering Sekhmet's role as the protectress of the sun-god, as well as his heir and agent, the king. In contrast, Roth reads the hieroglyphs as: wˁb nswt, smr ḫtr.w, or "pure one of the king, companion of the ḫtr.w."

Only one title-holder is known, K3(.i)-ḥr-st.f (1-150M), whose name and titles are preserved upon a seated statue (39-1-17/Toledo 49.5) of his father, Rrmw (1-144M), on which he and his sister are shown on either side of their father's seat. The statue was found in the serdab of his father's tomb in Giza (G 2099), which dates to the 5th Dynasty. In addition to being a wˁb nswt Sḫm.t, K3(.i)-ḥr-st.f was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) hm-nṯr of Khufu, and held the title of ḫnty-š, or "land tenant." Because K3(.i)-ḥr-st.f's father, Rrmw, held the title of wˁb nswt pr-ˁ3, or "royal pure one in the Great House," it is possible that his wˁb nswt title was inherited.

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309 Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 149 [18].
311 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 78 [176]; *PM* III.2, 238.
312 Galvin, "Priestesses of Hathor," 109 [321M].
313 Jones, *Index*, 374 [1387].
316 Roth does not propose a translation of the word ḫtr.w. See: Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, 150-154.
317 Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 340 [17].
4.I.2.A.d. Wˁb mwt-nswt

The title (wˁb mwt-nswt), or "pure one of the king's mother," refers to her mortuary cult, for which the wˁb-title appears during the reign of Niuserre. The wˁb.w of the royal mortuary cult were often promoted to ḥm.w-nṯr of the royal mortuary cult (see below §4.II). Helck makes the same association between the wˁb.w mwt-nswt and the ḥm.w-nṯr of the king's mortuary cult, although this is not always the case as two of the five named title-holders were not promoted to ḥm-nṯr. The title is also attested on two seal fragments from Abusir (1-152I and 1-153I).

The name and titles of Mr-ḥwfw (1-048M) are preserved within his tomb in Giza (No. 6), which dates to the 5th Dynasty or later. Mr-ḥwfw holds two wˁb-titles: wˁb nswt or "royal pure one," and šḥḏ wˁb.w mwt-nswt or "inspector of the pure ones of the king's mother." He was promoted to ḥm-nṯr in the cults of Khafre and Menkaure. Mr-ḥwfw's other titles include: imy-r id.w n ḥwt ˁ3t or "overseer of young men of the Great Estate," ḥfsp nswt or "royal acquaintance," and imy-r st or "overseer of a department."

The name and titles of Ni-m3ˁ.t-rˁ (1-070M) are preserved in his unnumbered mastaba in Giza, which dates to the reign of Niuserre or later. Ni-m3ˁ.t-rˁ was a wˁb nswt or "royal pure one," and served as a wˁb in the pyramid complex of Niuserre and was promoted to ḥm-nṯr in the sun-temple of Niuserre. His title of imy-r wˁb.w mwt-nswt is most likely in reference to mwt-nswt Ḥˁ-mrr-nbt, who is named in the text for the reversion of offerings recovered from his tomb. Ni-m3ˁ.t-rˁ holds a variety of other titles that are affiliated with the palace: imy-r ḥst pr-ˁ3t or "overseer of the singing of the Great House," ḥrp tis(t) bity or "director of the tist-companions (?) of the King of Lower

319 Jones, Index, 371-372 [1375]; PM III.2, Y879.
323 Name not included in Ranke's Personennamen.
325 Baer, Rank and Title, 82 [199]; PM III.1, 213-214.
326 Ranke, Personennamen I, 172 [16].
327 Hassan, Gîza II, 211-225.
328 Baer, Rank and Title, 86 [227].
Egypt," *imy-r ṣḥmḥ-ib nb nfr m ḫnw ṣt3.w pr-ˁ3* or "overseer of all goodly entertainment in the residence and of the secret apartments of the Great House," or *stp-s3 ḫr(y?)-tp st nswt* or "bodyguard under the throne of the king (?)", *ḥry-sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *[imy-r] nb m ḫnw swt pr-ˁ3* or "[overseer of] all that is in the interior places of the Great House," *smr pr* or "companion of the house," and *imy ib n nb.f rˁ-nb* or "he who is in the heart of his lord every day."

The name and titles of *Itti* (1-151M) are preserved in his tomb in Giza (LG 68), which dates from the early 5th to 6th Dynasty. *Itti* was a *wˁb mwt-nswt* and was later promoted to *ṣḥḏ wˁb.w mwt-nswt* or "inspector of the pure ones of the king's mother." He was also an *imy-r ḥm.w-k3* or "inspector of k3-servants" and *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance." Kaplony believes that *Itti* may be the same man found on a relief (Strassburg VI-10), based upon an alternative reading of his titles. However, the man in question is a *ṣḥḏ wˁb.w (n) 3ḥt(y)-Ḫwfw* and *imy-ḥt ḥm.w-k3 mwt-nswt Hnti(t)-k3.w.s*, not a *ṣḥḏ wˁb.w mwt-nswt* and *imy-r ḥm.w-k3*.

The name and titles of *Ii-mrii* (1-154M) are preserved on a limestone drum lintel (UPM E13527) that was inscribed for him and his wife, dedicated by their son *Rwḏ* (1-016M). The limestone drum lintel was found in *Ii-mry* 's tomb in Giza (G 3098), which most likely dates to the 6th Dynasty due to the tomb's relationship to the other tombs within the cemetery. *Ii-mrii* 's only other title is *rḥ nswt*, or "royal acquaintance."

*Ii-mrii* 's son *Rwḏ* (1-016M) holds the titles of *wˁb* and *wˁb mwt-nswt*, and was promoted to *ḥm-nṯr* in the cults of Khufu, Khafre, and Djedefre. He also holds a number of other titles: *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance, s3b ḥry-wḏb* or "juridical master of reversion-offerings," *imy-ḥt s3w-prw* or "under-supervisor of police," and *s3b (imy-ḥt)*

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330 Jones offers two possible translations of this title: "overseer of all goodly entertainment in the residence and of the secrets of the Great House" and/or "overseer of all goodly entertainment in the secret apartments of the Great House." This author favors the latter translation. Refer to: Jones, *Index*, 233 [860].
331 Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 52 [16].
332 Kanawati, *Egyptian Administration*, 85 [45].
334 Heinrich Schäfer, *Priestergräber und andere Grabfunde vom ende des alten reiches bis zur griechischen zeit vom totentempel des Ne-user-rê* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908), 9-10, fig. 6.
335 Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 9 [16].
338 Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 221 [12].
s3w-prw or "juridical (under-supervisor) of police." Ii-mrii shares both of his titles with his son: wˁb mwt-nswt and rḫ nswt, both of which could be hereditary. Rwḏ's name and titles are also preserved upon a limestone offering stone (32-4-49) that was later found reused in G 1683B (1-154M). Here he is only identified as wˁb mwt nswt and s3b hry-wḏb.

4.1.2.A.e. Wˁb ms.w-nswt

The title (wˁb ms.w-nswt), or "pure one of the king's children," refers to the mortuary cult of the king's children, analogous to the wˁb nswt and wˁb mwt-nswt, above. There is only one known title-holder, Sp-n (1-079M), whose name and titles are preserved in the mastaba of Nfr-ihii, which dates to the late 5th Dynasty or later. Sp-n holds dual wˁb-titles: wˁb nswt or "royal pure one" and wˁb ms.w-nswt. He also holds the titles rḥ nswt or "royal acquaintance," hq3 Ḥwt-Ḫwfw or "chief of the estate of Khufu," ḥrp ḥrp.w n Ḥwt ˁ3t or "director of the directors of the Great Estate," and imy-r pr.w ms.w-nswt or "overseer of the houses of the royal children."

4.1.2.B. Wˁb n [King's Name]

The second most common wˁb-title of the Old Kingdom is the wˁb n [King's Name], which links a wˁb to a specific king, either by direct reference to the king's name,
pyramid complex, sun-temple, or as in one particular case, *mrt*-temple.\textsuperscript{344} For ease of reference, Table 4.I.2.B. illustrates the types of *wˁb*-title(s) that are associated with each king, which are numbered according to dynasty (Roman numerals) and reign (Arabic numerals). Each of the *wˁb*-titles associated with a king are discussed in chronological order in the following sub-sections.

The *wˁb* n [*king's name*] is a direct reference to the deceased king's name, but it does not specify a cult place, e.g. pyramid complex, sun-temple, or *mrt*-temple. This title may have been used in one or more of these locations, wherever service may have been performed in honor of the named king. The earliest-known king's name with which a *wˁb*-title is affiliated is Peribsen, the first king of the 2nd Dynasty (§II.1); the title-holder, however, lived during the 4th Dynasty. The next known *wˁb*-titles associated with a king's name reference Djedefre and Khafre, kings of the mid-4th Dynasty (§IV.3-4). The last known *wˁb*-titles linked to a king's name refer to Userkaf and Sahure, kings of the early 5th Dynasty (§V.1-2). It is also worthwhile to note that certain individuals could serve as *wˁb* for multiple kings, e.g. *Tp-mˁnḫ* (1-157M), who served as a *wˁb* of Sneferu, Khafre, Menkaure, Userkaf, and Sahure.

The earliest pyramid complex with which a *wˁb*-title is linked is with the Red Pyramid (Ḫˁ-Snfrw) of Sneferu in Dahshur (§IV.1). *Wˁb*-titles continued to be linked to pyramid complexes consistently through that of Teti, the first king of the 6th Dynasty (§VI.1). An exceptional case is the *wˁb* nswt for the Great Pyramid of Khufu in Giza (§IV.2). There are no known *wˁb*-titles linked to the cult places of Shepseskaf, who had a sarcophagus-shaped structure, and Shepseskare, whose pyramid was never completed. Although no pyramid is known for Djedefre, he still may have had a *wˁb*-title linked to his name (§IV.3), as mentioned above.

The title *wˁb* šnty (200), or "pure one of the šnty (200)," appears for the first time in association with the pyramid of Unas, the last king of the 5th Dynasty (§V.9). Although there is no known *wˁb* šnty (200) associated with the pyramid of Teti, the title is linked to every other pyramid until the end of the 6th Dynasty. The establishment of this

\textsuperscript{344} The *mrt*-temple is a shrine affiliated with Hathor within the king's mortuary complex, in which the sacred marriage of the king with his queen (i.e. the goddess Hathor) took place. For further explanation, see: Andrzej Ćwiek, "Relief Decoration in the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Old Kingdom: Studies in the Development, Scene Content and Iconography" (PhD Diss., Warsaw University, 2003), 33, n. 111; Winifred Barta, "Zur Lokalisierung und Bedeutung der *mrt*-Bauten," ZÄS 110 (1983): 98-104.
new Ṽb-title may have been linked to the discontinuation of the sun-temples and to the ḫnty. w-š overtaking the duties for the living king.

The only Ṽb-titles linked to sun-temples are those of Nḥn-Rˁ, the sun-temple of Userkaf; Sḥt-[Rˁ], the sun-temple of Sahure, and Ṣsp-ib-Rˁ, the sun-temple of Niuserre. These sun-temples belong to the kings of the early- and mid-5th Dynasty (§V.1-2, §V.6). Each of these titles are discussed in a sub-section under Ṽb Rˁ (§4.1.3.E.1).

Only one known Ṽb-title is linked to a mrt-temple, which is the Ṽb nswt (m) mrt(t) Wsr-k3.f or "royal pure one of the mrt-temple of Userkaf," for which the reading is ambiguous (§V.1c).

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Table 4.I.2.B: *Wˁb n [King's Name] of the Old Kingdom*

Legend:

- : *Wˁb*;
- : Pyramid;
- : Sun-Temple; 
- : 
- : 
- : *Wˁb-nswt (n) mrt-temple*;
- : *Wˁb-nswt*;
- : *Wˁb 200*;  X: No known associated *wˁb*-title

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty II</th>
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<tr>
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<td>IV.3</td>
<td>Horus Kheper Djedefre</td>
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<td>IV.4</td>
<td>Horus Userib Khafre</td>
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<td>IV.5</td>
<td>Horus Kakhet Menkaure</td>
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<td>IV.6</td>
<td>Horus Shepseskhet Shepseskaf</td>
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<th>Dynasty V</th>
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<td>V.2</td>
<td>Horus Nebkhau Sahure</td>
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<td>V.3</td>
<td>Neferirkare Kakai</td>
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<td>V.4</td>
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<td>V.5</td>
<td>Horus Neferkhaueh Neferefre</td>
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<td>V.6</td>
<td>Niuserre Ini</td>
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<td>V.7</td>
<td>Menkauhor Ikauhor</td>
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<td>V.8</td>
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<td>V.9</td>
<td>Horus Wadjtawy Unas</td>
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<td>VI.4</td>
<td>Neferkare Pepi II</td>
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**II.1. *Wˁb n Pr-ib-sn***

The title (wˁb n Pr-ib-sn), or "pure one of Peribsen," refers to the mortuary cult of Peribsen, and is attested by only one known title-holder, *In-k3.f* (1-156M), who lived during the 4th Dynasty. *In-k3.f*'s name and title are preserved upon a

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347 Junker, *Gîza VI*, 14 [1].

348 Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 36 [1].
false-door (CG 1384) from Saqqara that belongs to his father. His father, Šrī, holds the related title imy-r ḫnt.w Pr-ib-sn, or "overseer of the pure ones of Peribsen," to which is added the epithet, m ḥt(n)-nṯr m ḥwt Snd m swt.f nb, "in the necropolis in the temple of Snd, in all his places." From his title it is evident that the mortuary cult of Peribsen was attached to the mortuary cult of Sened, both of whom were kings of the 2nd Dynasty, and whose reigns predate the title-holders' lifetimes.

IV.1. Wˁb ḫˁ-Snfrw

The title (wˁb ḫˁ-Snfrw), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Sneferu-Appears-in-Splendor,'" refers to the Red Pyramid complex in Dahshur. Only one title-holder is known, Tp-m-ˁnh (1-157M), whose name and titles are preserved on a false-door (CG 1564) from his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 76/D 11), which dates to the mid-5th Dynasty. Tp-m-ˁnh served as a wˁb of several pyramid complexes that predated his lifetime, including those of Sneferu, Khafre (§IV.4), Menkaure (§IV.5), Userkaf (§V.1), and Sahure (§V.2). Likewise, he held several ḥm-nṯr titles, wherein he served as a ḥm-nṯr in the sun-temple of Userkaf, was a ḥm-nṯr of Khufu, as well as a ḥm-nṯr of Menkaure in the ḫ-palace of the residence. He also served as a ḥm-nṯr of the goddesses Hathor, Maat, Seshat, and Wadjet "the Water Pourer" cobra goddess. Tp-m-ˁnh was also a mortuary priest, as per his titles of ḥtm(w)-nṯr pr-ˁ3 or "god's sealer of the Great House" and sh(y-nṯr) Inpw or "one who belongs to the divine booth of Anubis." Other priestly titles include: ird Ṽ ndt-nṯr or "custodian of the divine image," ḥtm(w) md3t-nṯr pr-ˁ3 or "sealer of the god's books of the Great House," and shḏ ḥtmt(tyw) pr md3t-nṯr or

352 Jones, Index, 377 [1398]; Murray, Index, pl. XVIII; PM III.2, T888; von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 53 [P1].
354 Ranke, Personennamen I, 380 [2].
355 Borchardt, Denkmäler II, 28-30.
356 Mariette, Mastabas, 196-201.
357 Baer, Rank and Title, 151 [559]; Wildung, Die Rolle, 105 [g].
358 Helck, "Pyramidenstätten," 96 [2].
"inspector of sealers of the archive of the god (i.e. the king)." His non-priestly titles include: ḥry ššt3 or "one who is privy to the secret," ḥry ššr.w pr-ˁ3 or "keeper of the linen of the Great House," ḥry ḫt pr-ˁ3 or "custodian of property of the Great House," imy-r ḫr(yw) ṣḏ3t or "overseer of sealbearers," ḥrp ḥry.w /md3t nb.w or "director of all archivists/book-keepers," s3b smsw h3yt or "juridical elder of the court/audience hall," [n(y)?] ˁ.w (nw) nswt pr-ˁ3 or "[one who belongs to] the royal documents/portfolio of the Great House" (a phrase used in conjunction with other titles, possibly indicating that the appointment was bestowed upon the incumbent 'by royal decree'), and ḥry md3t or "keeper of documents."

IV.2. Wˁb nswt n 3ḫt-Ḫwfw

The title (wˁb nswt n 3ḫt-Ḫwfw), or "royal pure one of the (the pyramid) 'The-Horizon-of-Khufu,""359 refers to the Great Pyramid of Giza.360 The title is exceptional in that it is the only time that the title wˁb nswt is explicitly linked with a mortuary cult via the name of a pyramid complex.361 The pyramid complex functioned as its own administrative unit,362 which remained in operation until the end of the Old Kingdom.363

The earliest-known title-holder is Nfr.i (1-158M),364 whose name and titles are preserved within his unnumbered mastaba in Saqqara,365 which dates to the 4th Dynasty.366 Nfr.i holds dual wˁb-titles of wˁb nswt n 3ḫt-Ḫwfw and wˁb nswt, or "royal pure one." He was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) hm-nṯr of the goddess Wadjet, and was an imy-r n ḫn or "overseer of the [snake play]."367 His other titles include: imy-r gs-pr ir.w is or "overseer of the troop-house of tomb makers," ḥry ḫt pr-ˁ3

359 Jones, Index, 374 [1383]; Murray, Index, pl. XVIII; PM III.2, T337; von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 53 [P].
361 Junker, Giza VI, 14 [1].
363 Zibelius, Siedlungen, 13, n. 66.
366 For the date of the tomb, see discussions in: Nadine Cherpion, Mastabas et Hypogées d'Ancien Empire: Le Problème de la Datation (Bruxelles: Connaissance de l'Égypte Ancienne, 1989), 97-98; and Nicole Alexanian, Dahschur II (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1999), p. 76. n 309.
367 Abu-Bakr, Excavations at Giza 1949-1950, 39 [16].
or "custodian of property of the Great House," m3(3t) Ḥr or "one who beholds/seer of Horus," rḥ nswt or "royal acquaintance," ḥq3 hwt or "estate manager/property administrator," ḥq3 hwt ˁ3 or "chief/manager of a great estate/district," ḥrp ˁpr.w or "director of the crew," ḥrp ˁpr.w (nw) nfr.w or "director of a crew/section of recruits," s3b hry sgr or "juridicial official in charge of the offering/offerer(?)," shḏ (n) wi3/dpt or "inspector of the boat," and shḏ pr-ˁ3 or "inspector the Great House."

The only other known title-holder Q3.ii (1-159M), whose name and titles are preserved within his tomb (L 69) in Giza, which dates to the 5th or 6th Dynasty. He holds two titles (and two epithets), both of which are associated with the mortuary cult of Khufu: wˁb nswt n 3ḥt(y) (-Ḫwfw) and smsw h(3)yt n (3ḥt(y)-) Ḥwfw, or "elder of the (judicial) court of (the pyramid 'The-Horizon-of-) Khufu.'" Q3.ii's titles are a further indication that the royal mortuary cult remained in effect long after the king's death.

IV.3. Wˁb Ḏd.f-rˁ

The title (wˁb Ḏd.f-rˁ), or "pure one of Djedefre," refers to the mortuary cult of Djedefre. The title is problematic, as the sole attestation of the title has been superimposed over a portion of an individual's name. The title is preserved upon a false door of Ni-k3.w-Rˁ-Ḏd.f (Louvre E. 16263) from his mastaba in Abu Rawash (F 15), which is of controversial date. The excavator, Bisson de la Roque, originally read the title-holder's name as K3.w joined by the titles s3 nswt, wˁb Ḏd.f-rˁ, or "king's son, pure one of Djedefre;" Kanawati followed Bisson de la Roque's reading. However, Fischer has since pointed out that the title of wˁb is superimposed over the

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368 Ranke, Personennamen I, 332 [24].
369 Richard Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien II (Genève: Éditions de Belles Lettres, 1975), 34b; PM III.2, 211.
370 Jones, Index, 379 [1405]. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 53 [E1].
373 Fernand Bisson de la Roque, Rapport sur les Fouilles d'Abou-Roash (1922-1923) (Le Caire: IFAO, 1924), 29, pl. XI.
374 For dating to the reign of Djedefre or later, see: Ziegler, Catalogue, 154. For dating to the reign of Menkaure, see: Kanawati, Egyptian Administration, 121 [332]. For dating to the late 5th Dynasty or later, see: PM III.2, 5.
375 Bisson de la Roque, Rapport sur les Fouilles d'Abou-Roash (1922-1923), 29.
376 Kanawati, Egyptian Administration, 121 [332].
signs \( \text{nn} \), which comprise the first part of the name, \( \text{Ni-k3.w-Rˁ-Ḏd.f} \); both Porter and Moss\(^{377}\) as well as Ziegler\(^{378}\) follow Fischer's reading. Because \( \text{wˁb} \) does not appear to be an original component of the \( \text{Ni-k3.w-Rˁ-Ḏd.f} \)'s title-string, it is not further included here.

**IV.4.a. \( \text{Wˁb Ḫˁ.f-rˁ} \)**

The title \( \text{(wˁb Ḫˁ.f-rˁ)} \), or "pure one of Khafre,"\(^{379}\) refers to the mortuary cult of Khafre. Only one title-holder is known, \( \text{K3-dw3} \) (1-059M),\(^{380}\) whose name and titles are preserved within his mastaba in Giza (G 8472),\(^{381}\) which dates around the reign of Niuserre.\(^{382}\) \( \text{K3-dw3} \)'s full title is \( \text{hm-nṯr wˁb Ḫˁ.f-rˁ} \), or "god's servant [and] pure one of Khafre." He also holds the title of \( \text{wˁb nswt} \) or "royal pure one" and was promoted to \( \text{šḥḏ wˁb.w} \) or "inspector of pure ones." \( \text{K3-dw3} \) was later promoted to (or at the same time served as) \( \text{hm-nṯr} \) of three separate names of Khafre (\( \text{Ḥr-wsr-ib}, \text{Nb.ty-wsr-m}, \) and \( \text{Ḥˁ.f-rˁ} \)), and holds the title \( \text{ḥḥḥt ny Ḫˁ.f-rˁ wr} \), or "elder of the portal/forecourt of (the pyramid) 'Great-is-Khafre.'" \( \text{K3-dw3} \) was also a \( \text{hm-k3} \), or "k3-servant." He holds a number of other titles, including: \( \text{rḥ nswt} \) or "royal acquaintance," \( \text{imy-r pr} \) or "overseer of the house (steward)," \( \text{smsw hḥḥt} \) or "the eldest of the audience hall," and \( \text{ḥḥḥy sḥḥt3} \) or "one who is privy to the secret."

**IV.4.b. \( \text{Wˁb Wr-Ḥˁ.f-rˁ} \)**

The title \( \text{(wˁb Wr-Ḥˁ.f-rˁ)} \), or "pure one of the (the pyramid) 'Great-is-Khafre,'"\(^{383}\) refers to the second pyramid of Giza.\(^{384}\) Two title-holders are known, both of whom are discussed below.

\(^{377}\) *PM* III.1, 5.

\(^{378}\) As \( \text{Ni-k3.w-Dd.f-rˁ} \). See: Ziegler, *Catalogue*, 154-156.

\(^{379}\) Neither Jones nor Murray account for this title. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 55 [E1].

\(^{380}\) For closest parallel, see: Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 341 [6].

\(^{381}\) Hassan, *Gîza VI.3*, 93-110.

\(^{382}\) For dating before the reign of Niuserre, see: Wildung, *Die Rolle*, 200. For dating after the reign of Niuserre, see: Baer, *Rank and Title*, 150 [550].


The name and titles of *Tp-m-ˁnḫ* (1-157M) are preserved on a false-door (CG 1564) from his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 76/D 11), which dates to the mid-5th Dynasty. *Tp-m-ˁnḫ* served as a *wˁb* of several pyramid complexes that predated his lifetime, including those of Sneferu (§IV.1), Khafre, Menkaure (§IV.5), Userkaf (§V.1), and Sahure (§V.2). Likewise, he held several *hm-nṯr* titles, wherein he served as a *hm-nṯr* in the sun-temple of Userkaf, was a *hm-nṯr* of Khufu, as well as a *hm-nṯr* of Menkaure in the ˁḥ-palace of the residence. He also served as a *hm-nṯr* of the goddesses Hathor, Maat, Seshat, and Wadjet "the Water Pourer" cobra goddess. *Tp-m-ˁnḥ* was also a mortuary priest, as per his titles of *ḥtmt(w)-nṯr pr-ˁ3* or "god's sealer of the Great House" and *sh(y-nṯr) Inpw* or "one who belongs to the divine booth of Anubis." Other priestly titles include: *iry wndt-nṯr* or "custodian of the divine image," *ḥtmt(w) md3t-nṯr pr-ˁ3* or "sealer of the god's books of the Great House," and *šḥ ḫtmt(tyw) pr md3t-nṯr* or "inspector of sealers of the archive of the god (i.e. the king)." His non-priestly titles include: *hry sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *iry ssr.w pr-ˁ3* or "keeper of the linen of the Great House," *iry ḫt pr-ˁ3* or "custodian of property of the Great House," *imy-r ḫr(yw) sḏ3t* or "overseer of sealbearers," *ḥrp iry.w md3t nb.w* or "director of all archivists/book-keepers," *s3b smsw h3yt* or "juridical elder of the court/audience hall," *[n(y)?] ḫw (nw) nswt pr-ˁ3* or "[one who belongs to] the royal documents/portfolio of the Great House" (a phrase used in conjunction with other titles, possibly indicating that the appointment was bestowed upon the incumbent 'by royal decree'), and *iry md3t* or "keeper of documents."

The name and titles of *Itti* (1-160M) are preserved upon the chapel entrance drum lintel and door jamb of his mastaba in Giza (G 7391), as well as a fragmentary seated statue (Turin S. 1876); both the mastaba and statue date to the late 5th Dynasty. His sole priestly title is *wˁb Wr-Hˁ.f-rˁ.* *Itti's* other titles include: *rh nswt* or "royal acquaintance," *šḥ ḫw pr-ˁ3* or "inspector of the Great House," *imy-r pr-ˁ3* or "steward of the..."
Great House," and *imy-r k3t nt nswt* or "overseer of the king's works." It is also worthwhile to note that *Itti*"s relative, *Ḫˁ.f-rˁ-ˁnḫ*, served as a *shḏ wˁb.w Wr-Ḫˁ.f-rˁ* or "inspector of pure ones of the (the pyramid) 'Great-is-Khafre',"392 which indicates that members of the same family could be affiliated with the mortuary cult of the same king.

**IV.5. Wˁb Nṯry-Mn-k3.w-rˁ**

The title *(wˁb Nṯry-Mn-k3.w-rˁ)*, or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Divine-is-Menkaure',"393 refers to the third pyramid of Giza.394 Only one title-holder is known,395 *Tp-m-ˁnḥ* (1-157M),396 whose name and titles are preserved on a false-door (CG 1564)397 from his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 76/D 11),398 which dates to the mid-5th Dynasty.399 *Tp-m-ˁnḥ* served as a *wˁb* of several pyramid complexes that predated his lifetime, including those of Sneferu (§IV.1), Khafre (§IV.4), Menkaure, Userkaf (§V.1), and Sahure (§V.2).400 Likewise, he held several *ḥm-nṯr* titles, wherein he served as a *ḥm-nṯr* in the sun-temple of Userkaf, was a *ḥm-nṯr* of Khufu, as well as a *ḥm-nṯr* of Menkaure in the ˁḥ-palace of the residence. He also served as a *ḥm-nṯr* of the goddesses Hathor, Maat, Seshat, and Wadjet "the Water Pourer" cobra goddess. *Tp-m-ˁnḥ* was also a mortuary priest, as per his titles of *ḥtm(w)-nṯr pr-ˁ3* or "god's sealer of the Great House" and *sh(y-nṯr) Inpw* or "one who belongs to the divine booth of Anubis." Other priestly titles include: *iry wndt-nṯr* or "custodian of the divine image," *ḥtm(w) md3t-nṯr pr-ˁ3* or "sealer of the god's books of the Great House," and *shḏ htm(tyw) pr md3t-nṯr* or "inspector of sealers of the archive of the god (i.e. the king)." His non-priestly titles include: *ḥry sšt* or "one who is privy to the secret," *iry sšr.w pr-ˁ3* or "keeper of the linen of the Great House," *iry ht pr-ˁ3* or "custodian of property of the Great House," *imy-r*

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394 LÄ V, 5, n. 18.
396 Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 380 [2].
399 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 151 [559]; Wildung, *Die Rolle*, 105 [g].
400 Helck, "Pyramidenstäten," 96 [2].
hr(yw) sḏ3t or "overseer of sealbearers," hrp iry.w mḏ3t nb.w or "director of all archivists/book-keepers," s3b smsw h3yt or "juridical elder of the court/audience hall," [n(y)?] ś.w (nw) nswt pr-š3 or "[one who belongs to] the royal documents/portfolio of the Great House" (a phrase used in conjunction with other titles, possibly indicating that the appointment was bestowed upon the incumbent 'by royal decree'), and iry mḏ3t or "keeper of documents."

V.1.a. Wˁb Wsr-k3.f

The title (wˁb Wsr-k3.f), or "pure one of Userkaf," refers to the mortuary cult of Userkaf. Only one title-holder is known, Nfr (1-161M), whose name and titles are preserved upon an offering table (UC 19658) most likely from Saqqara or Abusir, and dates to the reign of Userkaf or later as per the title. Nfr serves as a wˁb of Userkaf and was subsequently promoted to hmr-nt of Re in the sun-temple of Userkaf. Nfr's other titles include: ḥry sšt3 or "one who is privy to the secret," ḫnty-š (n) pr-š3 or "land-tenant of the Great House," and ḥqw or "barber."

V.1.b. Wˁb Wˁb-swt-Wsr-k3.f

The title (wˁb Wˁb-swt-Wsr-k3.f), or "pure one of (Userkaf's pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf,'" refers to the king's pyramid in Saqqara. Six named title-holders are known, each of whom are discussed below. The title is also attested on three cylinder seals from Abusir (1-163I, 1-164I, and 1-165I).

The name and titles of Ffi (1-162M) are preserved upon an offering basin (CG 1359) from his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 2/B 10), which dates after the reign of

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401 Jones, Index, 370 [1370]. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, Königslisten, 57 [E1].
402 Ranke, Personennamen I, 194 [1].
404 Alternatively rendered as . Jones, Index, 369 [1366]; Murray, Index, pl. XVIII; PM III.2, T889; von Beckerath, Königslisten, 57 [P].
407 Ranke, Personennamen I, 142 [8].
408 Borchardt, Denkmäler I, 27.
Userkaf. Ffī served as a wˁb in the pyramid complex of Userkaf and was promoted to ḥm-nṯr in the sun-temple of Userkaf. He was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) ḥm-nṯr of Sokar and Ptah, and held other high ranking titles including imy-r ḥmwt(yw) n(t) ḫkr.w nswt or "overseer of the craftsmen of the king's ornaments/royal regalia" and imy-r ḥmwt(yw) or "overseer of craftsmen," both of which may be associated with the cult of Ptah, the patron god of craftsmen. Ffī also held two titles pertaining to food supplies that may be associated with the administration of the pyramid complex, i.e. imy-r šnwt, or "overseer of the granary," and imy-r šnwwt nswt, or "overseer of the royal granary."

The name and titles of Tp-m-ˁnḫ (1-157M) are preserved on a false-door (CG 1564) from his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 76/D 11), which dates to the mid-5th Dynasty. Tp-m-ˁnḫ served as a wˁb of several pyramid complexes that predated his lifetime, including those of Sneferu (§IV.1), Khafre (§IV.4), Menkaure (§IV.5), Userkaf, and Sahure (§V.2). Likewise, he held several ḥm-nṯr titles, wherein he served as a ḥm-nṯr in the sun-temple of Userkaf, was a ḥm-nṯr of Khufu, as well as a ḥm-nṯr of Menkaure in the ḫh-palace of the residence. He also served as a ḥm-nṯr of the goddesses Hathor, Maat, Seshat, and Wadjet "the Water Pourer" cobra goddess. Tp-m-ˁnḫ was also a mortuary priest, as per his titles of ḥtm(w)-nṯr pr-ˁ3 or "god's sealer of the Great House" and sh(y-nṯr) Inpw or "one who belongs to the divine booth of Anubis." Other priestly titles include: ird wnḏt-nṯr or "custodian of the divine image," ḥtm(w) md3t-nṯr pr-ˁ3 or "sealer of the god's books of the Great House," and shḏ ḥmt(tyw) pr md3t-nṯr or "inspector of sealers of the archive of the god (i.e. the king)." His non-priestly titles include: hry sšî3 or "one who is privy to the secret," ird sīr.w pr-ˁ3 or "keeper of the linen of the Great House," ird ḫt pr-ˁ3 or "custodian of property of the Great House," imy-r ḫr(yw) sd3t or "overseer of sealbearers," ḥrp ird.w md3t nb.w or "director of all archivists/book-keepers," s3b smsw h3yt or "juridical elder of the court/audience hall,"...
The name and titles of Ḥm-mn.(w) (1-166M) are preserved upon various stelae (CG 1415, 1417, 1556, and 1564) that were found within the mastaba of his father, of Tp-m-ˁnh (1-157M), which is located in Saqqara (No. 76/D 11) and dates to the mid-5th Dynasty. Ḥm-mn.(w) shares many of his father’s priestly titles, including: wḥb Wḥb-swt-Wṣr-k3.f, ḥm-nṯr in the sun-temple of Userkaf, ḥm-nṯr of the goddesses Hathor and Seshat, ḥrḥ sšt3 or "one who is privy to the secret," ḥtm(w)-nṯr pr-ˁ3 or "god's sealer of the Great House," and ḥtm(w) md3t-nṯr pr-ˁ3 or "sealer of the god's books of the Great House." Some titles are similar to that of his father, but are not completely identical, e.g. ḥm-nṯr of Menkaure and ḥm ţḥ, ʻwn smsw Inpw sḥy(-nṯr), or "senior pillar of Anubis who belongs to the (divine booth)." The number of priestly titles shared between father and son suggest that these titles are hereditary. The only titles that Ḥm-Mn.(w) does not share with his father are ḥtm(w)-nṯr or "god's sealer" and ḥm-nṯr Wṣr-k3.f or "god's servant of Userkaf." Unlike Tp-m-ˁnh, Ḥm-mn.(w) does not share any titles that are affiliated with Sahure, which suggests that he may have predeceased his father.

The name and titles of Špss-rˁ (1-167M) are preserved on the statue of Ni-ˁnh-rˁ (CG 55) from Saqqara, which dates to the 5th Dynasty. He served as a wḥb in the pyramid complex of Userkaf, and was promoted to imy-ht n wḥb.w Wḥb-swt-Wṣr-k3.f, or "under-supervisor of the pure ones of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf.'" Špss-rˁ was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) ḥm-nṯr of Neferirkare, as well as a ḥm-nṯr of Re and Hathor in the sun-temples of Neferirkare and Userkaf. Within the latter, he held the administrative title of sš ʻ(w) n(w) nswt m ḥtm(t) nb(t) ntt m Nḥn-Rš.
nht Hwt-ḥr, or "King's letter scribe in every treasury (which are) in Nḫn-Rˁ (and the) nht-sanctuary of Hathor." Špss-rš held one other title: ir(w)-šn nswt, or "maker of the king's hair."

The name and titles of K3.(i)-ḥp (1-168M)423 are preserved on a false door of unknown provenance (Berlin 11469),424 which dates to the 5th Dynasty or later.425 K3.(i)-ḥp served as a wḥb in the pyramid complex of Userkaf and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) hm-nṯr of Re in the sun-temple of Userkaf. He also holds the titles of: ḫnty-š pr-ꜣ3 or "land tenant of the Great House," ir(w) ʾnt pr-ꜣ3 or "manicurist of the Great House," and ḥry sšt3 or "one who is privy to the secret."

The name and titles of Dw3-rš (1-169M)426 are preserved on an offering basin (CG 1375)427 from his unnumbered tomb in Dahshur, which dates to the mid-5th Dynasty.428 His name and titles are also preserved upon two statues that were found within the Valley Temple of Sneferu in Dahshur.429 Dw3-rš held two lower-ranking titles within the pyramid complex of Userkaf: ḫnty-š or "land-tenant," and wḥb. He was promoted to ḥrp wḥb.w, or "director of pure ones." Dw3-rš held upper-ranking titles within the pyramid complex of Sneferu: imy-r Ḥˁ-Snfrw or " overseer of (the pyramid) 'Sneferu-Appears-in-Splendor,'" imy-r Ḥˁ.wy-Snfrw or " overseer of (the two pyramids) 'Sneferu-Appears-in-Glory,'" and hm-nṯr of Sneferu. He was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) hm-nṯr in the sun-temple of Userkaf. He also holds a number of non-priestly titles, including: imy-r k3t nt nswt or " overseer of the king's works," imy-r Imntt or " overseer of the West Nome (L.E. 3)," imy-r nswtyw or " overseer of the king's people," imy-r Ḥwt-ih(w)t or " overseer of Ḥwt-ih(w)t (capital of the West Nome (L.E. 3), precise location unknown)," ḫnty-š or "land tenant," imy-[r] prf-ꜣ3 or "steward of the Great House," smr or "companion," wr 10 šmꜣ or "greatest/great one of the 10 of Upper Egypt," ṣḥ nswt or "royal acquaintance," imy-r sš.w šmꜣ or " overseer of the phyles of Upper Egypt," ġ-[mr

423 Ranke, Personennamen I, 340 [16].
425 Baer, Rank and Title, 147 [540B].
426 Ranke, Personennamen I, 398 [19].
427 Borchardt, Denkmäler I, 34.
428 For mid-5th Dynasty or earlier, see: Strudwick, Administration, 163 [162]. For mid-5th Dynasty or later, see: Baer, Rank and Title, 155 [581].
Ḥr-sb3w-ḥnty-pt or "administrator of (the royal 'domain') 'Star-of-Horus-Foremost of Heaven' (reign of Djoser)," ḥry-sšt3 or "one who is privy to the secret," ḥry-sšt3 n nb.f or "secretary of his lord (i.e. the king)," and ḥq3 ḥwt ˁ3t or "chief/manager of a great estate/district."

V.1.c. ṭwʾ nswt (m) mrt(t) Wsr-k3.f

The title (wˁb nswt (m) mrt(t) Wsr-k3.f), or "royal pure one of the mrt-temple of Userkaf," is affiliated with the mrt-temple of Userkaf. Only one such title-holder is known, Pth-htp(.w) (1-170M), as per a transcription from his mastaba (D 51) by Mariette. If the transcription is correct, then the title is exceptional in that it is the only time in which the wˁb nswt is linked with a mrt-temple. In other transcriptions, however, the title is either completely unaccounted for or misinterpreted.

Aside from wˁb nswt (m) mrt(t) Wsr-k3.f, Pth-htp(.w) holds two other titles that are affiliated with Userkaf: ḥm-nṯr Wsr-k3.f or "god's servant of Userkaf," and ḥm-nṯr Rˁ [m] Nḥn-Rˁ or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Nḥn-Rˁ." He is also a ḥm-nṯr of the goddess Hathor. He also holds the title of ṭrḥ nswt, or "royal acquaintance."

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430 Jones, Index, 374 [1386]; Murray, Index, pl. XIX. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 57 [E1].
432 Ranke, Personennamen I, 141 [5].
433 Mariette, Mastabas, 314.
435 Based upon an inscription indicating that Hathor had a place of worship within the mrt-temple of Userkaf, Allam links Pth-htp's title, ḥm-nṯr Ḥwt-Hr with the mrt(t) Wsr-k3.f, completely bypassing the wˁb nswt-component of the title. Refer to: Schafik Allam, Beiträge zum Hathorkult (bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches) (Berlin: Bruno Hessling, 1963), 9, n. 4. For a critique of his interpretation, refer to: Marianne Galvin, "Priestesses of Hathor," 33.
V.2.a. \(w^{b} S_{3}h_{w-r^{c}}\)

The title \(w^{b} S_{3}h_{w-r^{c}}\), or "pure one of Sahure,"\(^{436}\) refers to the mortuary cult of Sahure. Only one title-holder is known, \(K^{3}(i)-m-sn.w\) (1-171M),\(^{437}\) whose name and titles are preserved upon the inner and outer lintels and drum of his chapel in Saqqara,\(^{438}\) which dates to the late 5th to early 6th Dynasty.\(^{439}\) \(K^{3}(i)-m-sn.w\) served as a \(w^{b}\) of Sahure and as a \(w^{b}\) within the pyramid complex of Niuserre. He was promoted to a \(h_{m-ngr}\) of Neferirkare, a \(h_{m-ngr}\) of both Hathor and Re in the sun-temple of Neferirkare, as well as a \(h_{m-ngr}\) in the pyramid complex of Niuserre. \(K^{3}(i)-m-sn.w\)'s service as both \(w^{b}\) and \(h_{m-ngr}\) within the pyramid complex of Niuserre is unique, as a \(w^{b}\)'s promotion to \(h_{m-ngr}\) usually occurs within a sun-temple (see discussion, §4.II). \(K^{3}(i)-m-sn.w\) also held two titles pertaining to food supplies that may be associated with the administration of the pyramid complex,\(^{440}\) i.e. \(imy\text{-}r\ \tilde{s}_{nwt}\), or "overseer of the granary," \(imy\text{-}r\ b^{h}t\ nb[t]\ nt\ ns_{w}t\) or "overseer of [all] the abundance of the king," and \(h_{r}y\text{-}t_{p}\ \tilde{s}_{nwt}\) or "employee/agent/servant of the granary." He also held the title \(r_{h}\ ns_{w}t\) or "royal acquaintance." It is also worthwhile to note that \(K^{3}(i)-m-sn.w\)'s father, \(S.h_{t}p.w\) (1-173M), served as a \(w^{b}\ H^{1}\text{-}b^{3}-S_{3}h_{w-r^{c}}\), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'" (see below). As \(K^{3}(i)-m-sn.w\) is the only known holder of the title \(w^{b}\ S_{3}h_{w-r^{c}}\,^{c}\), it is possible that the title is an abbreviated form of the longer composition \(w^{b}\ H^{1}\text{-}b^{3}-S_{3}h_{w-r^{c}}\) that is held by his father. Whether or not this is the case, the father and son were nevertheless \(w^{b}.w\) of the same king.

\(^{436}\) Jones, Index, 377 [1399]; PM II.2, W893. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 57 [E].

\(^{437}\) For closest parallel, see: Ranke, Personennamen I, 339 [23].

\(^{438}\) Cecil Firth and Battiscombe Gunn, Excavations at Saqqara: Teti Pyramid Cemeteries (Le Caire: IFAO, 1926), 157-158, pl. 63; Urk. I, 175 [2].

\(^{439}\) For the late 5th Dynasty, see: Strudwick, Administration, 149 [144]. For the reign of Niuserre to the early 6th Dynasty, see: Baer, Rank and Title, 143 [528].

The title \( \overline{\text{wˁb}} \overline{\text{Ḫˁ-b3-S3ḥw-rˁ}} \), or "pure one of (the pyramid) "The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor," refers to the king's pyramid in Abusir. Six title-holders are known.

The name and titles of \( \text{Tp-m-ˁnḫ} \) (1-157M) are preserved on a false-door (CG 1564) from his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 76/D 11), which dates to the mid-5th Dynasty. \( \text{Tp-m-ˁnḫ} \) served as a \( \overline{\text{wˁb}} \) of several pyramid complexes that predated his lifetime, including those of Sneferu (§IV.1), Khafre (§IV.4), Menkaure (§IV.5), Userkaf (§V.1), and Sahure. Likewise, he held several \( \overline{\text{ḥm-nṯr}} \) titles, wherein he served as a \( \overline{\text{ḥm-nṯr}} \) in the sun-temple of Userkaf, was a \( \overline{\text{ḥm-nṯr}} \) of Khufu, as well as a \( \overline{\text{ḥm-nṯr}} \) of Menkaure in the \( \overline{\text{ḥḫ}} \)-palace of the residence. He also served as a \( \overline{\text{ḥm-nṯr}} \) of the goddesses Hathor, Maat, Seshat, and Wadjet "the Water Pourer" cobra goddess. \( \text{Tp-m-ˁnḫ} \) was also a mortuary priest, as per his titles of \( \text{ḥtm(w)-nṯr pr-ˁ3} \) or "god's sealer of the Great House" and \( \text{šh(y-nṯr) Inpw} \) or "one who belongs to the divine booth of Anubis." Other priestly titles include: \( \text{iry wnḏt-nṯr} \) or "custodian of the divine image," \( \text{ḥtm(w) md3t-nṯr pr-ˁ3} \) or "sealer of the god's books of the Great House," and \( \text{šḥ(ḥḥṭmay) pr md3t-nṯr} \) or "inspector of sealers of the archive of the god (i.e. the king)." His non-priestly titles include: \( \text{ḥry sšt3} \) or "one who is privy to the secret," \( \text{iry ssr.w pr-ˁ3} \) or "keeper of the linen of the Great House," \( \text{ḥy pr-ˁ3} \) or "custodian of property of the Great House," \( \text{imy-r ḫṛ(yw) sḏ3t} \) or "overseer of sealbearers," \( \text{ḥrp ḥty pr md3t nb.w} \) or "director of all archivists/book-keepers," \( \text{s3b smsw h3yt} \) or "juridicial elder of the court/audience hall," \( \text{[n(y)?] w (nw) nswt pr-ˁ3} \) or "[one who belongs to] the royal documents/portfolio of the Great House" (a phrase used in conjunction with other titles, possibly indicating that the appointment was bestowed upon the incumbent 'by royal decree'), and \( \text{iry md3t} \) or "keeper of documents." He is the father of \( \text{Ḥm-mm.w} \) (1-166M), discussed above.

441 Jones, Index, 376-377 [1397]; Murray, Index, pl. XIX; PM III.2, T887; von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 57 [P].
442 LÄ V, 5, n. 21.
443 Ranke, Personennamen I, 380 [2].
444 Borchardt, Denkmäler II, 28-30.
445 Mariette, Mastabas, 196-201.
446 Baer, Rank and Title, 151 [559]; Wildung, Die Rolle, 105 [g].
447 Helck, "Pyramidenstätten," 96 [2].
The name and titles of N-ḥft-k3(.i) (1-172M)\textsuperscript{449} are preserved on a false door (CG 1484)\textsuperscript{449} from his mastaba in Saqqara (D47),\textsuperscript{450} which dates to the reign of Niuserre or earlier.\textsuperscript{451} N-ḥft-k3(.i) served as a wˁb within the pyramid complex of Sahure and as a wˁb within the sun-temple of Userkaf; an exception to the pattern wherein title-holders serve as a wˁb of a pyramid and are then promoted to ḥm-nṯr of a sun-temple. He was promoted to shḏ wˁb.w n Wˁb-swt-Wsr-k3.f, or "inspector of pure ones of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf,'" and was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) ḥm-nṯr of Horus-Anubis, although the location is not specified by the title. N-ḥft-k3(.i) also held the title of ḥry wḏb(w) (m) Ḥwt-ˁnḫ of "one who is in charge of the reversions (of offerings) in the House of Life." He holds a number of non-priestly titles, including: smr or "companion," ḥrp ˁḥ or "director of the ˁḥ-palace," ḥry sḥt3 n pr-dw3t or "privy to the secret of the House of the Morning," "iḥ-mr Ḥr-sb3w-ḥnty-pt or "administrator of (the royal 'domain') 'Star-of-Horus-Foremost of Heaven' (reign of Djoser)," [ḥnty-š] pr-ˁ3 or "[land-tenant] of the Great House," imy-r sšr-nswt or "overseer of royal cloth/linen," imy-r ḫkrw-nswt or "overseer of the king's regalia," ḥry w3wt or "master/controller/superior of the ways," and imy-r sqb(b)w pr-ˁ3 or "overseer of the cool chambers of the Great House."

The name and titles of Sn.nw-ˁnḫ(.w) (1-053M)\textsuperscript{452} are preserved on blocks (CG 1554)\textsuperscript{452} from his mastaba in Saqqara (D 52),\textsuperscript{454} which date to the reign of Sahure or later.\textsuperscript{455} His name and titles are also preserved on a fragment of a false door (Berlin 7728),\textsuperscript{456} as well as a table for sacred oils (CG 1337);\textsuperscript{457} compare to §2.II.6. Sn.nw-ˁnḥ(.w) held the title of wˁb nswt or "royal pure one." He also served as a wˁb of the pyramid of Sahure and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) ḥm-nṯr of Re in the sun-temple of Userkaf, as well as ḥm-nṯr of Userkaf and the god Re (which is most likely an abbreviation of the full title, ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m Nḥn-Rˁ). In addition to his priestly titles, he also

\textsuperscript{448} Ranke, Personennamen I, 168 [21].
\textsuperscript{449} Borchardt, Denkmäler I, 177-181.
\textsuperscript{450} Mariette, Mastabas, 304-309.
\textsuperscript{451} Baer, Rank and Title, 95 [282].
\textsuperscript{452} Ranke, Personennamen I, 310 [23].
\textsuperscript{453} Borchardt, Denkmäler, 14-15, pl. 59.
\textsuperscript{454} Mariette, Mastabas, 316-321.
\textsuperscript{455} Baer, Rank and Title, 125-126 [452].
\textsuperscript{456} Schäfer, Ägyptische Inschriften I, 40.
\textsuperscript{457} Borchardt, Denkmäler I, 18, pl. 6.
holds several administrative titles, including: *imy-r sš.w* *iry(w) iʰ/sprw* or "overseer of the scribes who are in *iʰ/sprw," *s3b imy-r sš.w* or "juridical overseer of scribes/overseer of scribes of the judiciary," *s3b sš sš.w* or "juridical scribe," *sš wsḥt* or "scribe of the broad hall," *shd sš.w* or "inspector of scribes," *shd sš.w wsḥt* or "inspector of scribes of the wsḥt-hall," and *s3b ḍ-ḥr or "juridical ḍ-ḥr official."

The name and titles of *Sḥtp.w* (1-173M)\(^{458}\) are preserved within the chapel of the tomb of his son *K3(.i)-m-sn.w* (1-171M) in Saqqara,\(^{459}\) which possibly dates to the reign of Djedkare.\(^{460}\) In addition to being a *wi*b of the pyramid of Sahure, he was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-nṯr* of Re in the sun-temple of Neferirkare and *hm-nṯr* of Neferirkare. *Sḥtp.w* also held three titles pertaining to food supplies that may be associated with the administration of the pyramid complex,\(^{461}\) i.e. *imy-r šnwty* or "overseer of the granary," *imy-r Šnwty* or "overseer of the two granaries," and *imy-r swt ḥtpwt ḏf3w* or "overseer of the departments of offerings and provisions;" the first of which was also held by his son, *K3(.i)-m-sn.w*.

The name and titles of *K3(.i)-m-nfr.t* (1-061M)\(^{462}\) are preserved upon the walls of his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 57/D 23),\(^{463}\) which dates to the reign of Niuserre or later.\(^{464}\) *K3(.i)-m-nfr.t* held the title of *wi*b *nswt*, or "royal pure one," and served as a *wi*b in the pyramids of both Sahure and Niuserre, and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-nṯr* in the sun-temples of Userkaf, Neferirkare, and Niuserre; he was also a *hm-nṯr* of Khafre, Neferirkare, Sahure, and the goddess, Maat. He also holds several administrative titles, including: *imy-r sš.w mrt* or "overseer of the (document) scribes of the *mrt*-people," *ḥrp sš.w* or "director of scribes," *ḥrp sš.w iry(w) iʰ/sprw* or "director of scribes connected with the *iʰ," *ḥrp sš.w wsḥt* or "director of scribes of the wsḥt-hall," *ḥrp sš.w m wsḥt ḏt* or "director of scribes of the great wsḥt-hall," *s3b imy-r sš.w* or "juridical overseer of scribes/overseer of scribes of the judiciary," *s3b imy-r sš.w m ḏ3ḏ3t wrt* or "juridical overseer of scribes of the Great Council," *s3b shd sš.w* or

\(^{458}\) Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 318 [18].

\(^{459}\) Firth and Gunn, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 165-166, pl. 63.

\(^{460}\) Baer, *Rank and Title*, 128 [462]; Strudwick, *Administration*, 134 [122].

\(^{461}\) Helck, "Pyramidenstädtchen," 98, n. 6.

\(^{462}\) Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 339 [20].


\(^{464}\) Baer, *Rank and Title*, 142 [523].
"judicial inspector of scribes," sš ıry(yw) iḇh /spr(w) iwn knmwt or "scribe of those concerned with the iḇh pillar of Kenmet," imy-r wsḥt or "overseer of the wsḥt-hall," wr 10 šmˁw or "greatest/great one of the 10 of Upper Egypt," wd wḏ'-mdw n hr(yw)-wḏb(w) or "arbitrator/giver of judgments to those in charge of reversions (of offerings)," mdw ḫytyt or "staff of the ḫytyt-people," n(y)-nst-ḥntt or "(one who belongs to) the foremost seat," ṟh nswt or "royal acquaintance," hry-wḏb(w) m ḫwt-ˁnh or "master of the reversion (of offerings) in the House of Life," hry-sšt3 or "one who is privy to the secret," hry-sšt3 n wḏ'-mdw or "privy to the secret of judgment/ determining cases," hry-sšt3 n ḫwt-wrt or "privy to the secret of the Great Court," hry-sšt3 (n) nb.f or "secretary of his lord (i.e. the king)," ḫrp wsḥt or "director of the broad hall," ḫry-tp nswt or "king's liegeman/royal chamberlain," and s3b ḫḏ-mr or "juridicial ḫḏ-mr official."

The name and titles of Nfr-k3(.i) (1-174M)465 are preserved on a false door (Brooklyn 37.33E) presumably from Saqqara, which dates to the 5th Dynasty.466 In addition to his priestly title of wˁb ḫˁ-b3-S3ḥw-rˁ, he also holds the administrative titles of imy-r sš.w (n) ḫprw, or "overseer of scribes of the crews," and sš, or "scribe." He also holds the title of ṟh nswt, or "royal acquaintance."

V.3.a. Wˁb B3-Nfr-ir-k3-rˁ

The title (wˁb B3-Nfr-ir-k3-rˁ) or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Neferirkare' / 'Neferirkare-is-a-B3',"467 refers to Neferirkare's pyramid in Abusir.468 Two title-holders are known.

The name and titles of Htp-hr-3ḥ.t.i (1-175M)469 are preserved upon a false door470 from his mastaba in Saqqara (D 60),471 which dates to the reign of Neferirkare or later.472

465 Ranke, Personennamen I, 200 [18].
466 Thomas James, Corpus of hieroglyphic inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum I (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1974), 15[41] and pl. 21 [41A].
467 Jones, Index, 370 [1371]; Murray, Index, pl. XIX; PM III.2, T881; von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 57 [P]. On the translation of the title, see: Hans Goedicke, "Two Mining Records from the Wadi Hammamat," RdE 41 (1990): 72, n. 35.
468 Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques II, 1; Montet, Géographie I, 42; LĀ V, 5, n. 22; Zibelius, Siedlungen, 74-75.
469 Ranke, Personennamen I, 258 [24].
471 Mariette, Mastabas, 340-348.
472 Baer, Rank and Title, 108 [357].
Htp-hr-3ḥ.t.i served as a wˁb in the pyramid complex of Neferirkare and was promoted to
(or at the same time served as) ḫm-nṯr in the sun-temple of Niuserre. He also served as a
ḥm-nṯr of the goddess Maat. He also held a number of non-priestly titles, many of which
were juridicial, including: s3b r Nhṣn or "juridicial official and mouth of Nekhen," smsw
h(3)yt or "elder of the (judicial) court," ḥry-sṣṭ3 n hwt-wrt or "privy to the secret of the
Great Court," and ḥry-sṣṭ3 or "one who is privy to the secret."

The name and titles of K3(.i)-pw-pṯ (1-176M) are preserved upon a false door
(CG 1563) from Saqqara, which dates to the late 5th Dynasty. K3(.i)-pw-pṯ held the
title of wˁb nswt or "royal pure one," and served as a wˁb in pyramid complexes of both
Neferirkare and Niuserre. He was promoted to (or at the same time served as) ḫm-nṯr in a
sun-temple of Neferirkare and the pyramid complex of Djedkare Isesi, and also served as a
ḥm-nṯr of the goddess Maat. K3(.i)-pw-pṯ held a number of diverse titles, including:
wr 10 šmʾ or "greatest/great one of the 10 of Upper Egypt," s3b ʾq-mr or "juridicial ʾq-mr
official," ḥry-sṣṭ3 or "one who is privy to the secret," imy-r sš.w or "oversee of scribes,
n(y)-ns.t-hntt or "(one who belongs to) the foremost seat," imy-r sp3wt šmʾ or "oversee
of the southern provinces of Upper Egypt (i.e. Nomes 1-7)," rḥ nswt or "royal
acquaintance," and imy-r ḫt ms.w nswt sp3wt šmʾ or "oversee of the property of the royal
children in the nomes of Upper Egypt (i.e. Nomes 1-7)."

V.3.b. Wˁb (n) B3-K3k3i

The title (wˁb (n) B3-K3k3i), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Kakai-
is-the-B3,',' is an alternative title referring to Neferirkare's pyramid in Abusir. Only
one named title-holder is known: Id.w (1-177M), whose name and titles are preserved
in a graffito in his tomb in Abusir. It is worthwhile to note that Id.w's titles affiliate him

475 For during the reign of Djedkare-Isesi, see: Piacentini, Scribes I, 480. For between the reign of
Djedkare-Isesi to Unas, see: Baud, Famille Royale II, 587-588 [231].
476 Jones, Index, 368 [1361]; Murray, Index, pl. XIX; von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 57 [P].
477 Zibelius, Siedlungen, 76-77.
478 Ranke, Personennamen I, 54 [10].
479 Miroslav Verner, "Die Königinmutter Chentkaus von Abusir und einige Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der
wˁb B3-Nfr-ir-k3-Rʾ rather than wˁb (n) B3-K3k3i: Baud, Famille Royale II, 420 [28].
with the institutions of the king's mother, Khentkaus (as ṣḥḏ hm.w-k3 mwt nswt-bity nswt-bity Hnt-k3.w.s or "inspector of the k3-servants of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt's mother (acting as) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Khentkaus"), as well as the royal children (as sš ms.w nswt or "scribe of the royal children"). He holds other administrative titles, including: s3b or "judge," sš [... ḥwt-ˁ3t or "scribe [...] of the great estate," and rḥ nswt or "royal acquaintance."

V.5. Wˁb Nṯry-b3.w-Nfr.f-rˁ

The title (wˁb Nṯry-b3.w-Nfr.f-rˁ), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Divine-are-the-B3s-of-Neferefre,'"\(^{480}\) refers to the king's pyramid in Abusir. The only known occurrence of this title is on a cylinder seal from Abusir/Abu Ghurob (1-178I);\(^{481}\) otherwise no named title-holders are known.

V.6. Wˁb Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-rˁ

The title (wˁb Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-rˁ), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre,'"\(^{482}\) refers to the king's pyramid in Abusir.\(^{483}\) Six title-holders are known.

The name and titles of K3(.i)-m-nfr.t (1-061M)\(^{484}\) are preserved upon the walls of his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 57/D 23),\(^{485}\) which dates to the reign of Niuserre or later.\(^{486}\) K3(.i)-m-nfr.t held the title of wˁb nswt, or "royal pure one," and served as a wˁb in the pyramids of both Sahure and Niuserre, and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) ḥm-nṯr in the sun-temples of Userkaf, Neferirkare, and Niuserre; he was also a ḥm-nṯr of Khafre, Neferirkare, Sahure, and the goddess, Maat. He also holds several administrative titles, including: imy-r sš.w mrt or " overseer of the (document) scribes of the mrt-people," ḥrp sš.w or "director of scribes," ḥrp sš.w iry(w) iˤḥ/sprw or "director of scribes connected with the iˤḥ," ḥrp sš.w wsḥt or "director of scribes of the wsḥt-hall,"

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\(^{480}\) Jones, Index, 375 [1389]; von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 59 [P].
\(^{481}\) A. Berlin 20382; Kaplony, Rollsiegel II, 284, pl. 81 [3].
\(^{482}\) Jones, Index, 372 [1376]; Murray, Index, pl. XIX; PM III.2, T886; von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 59 [P].
\(^{483}\) Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques III, 40; Montet, Géographie I, 42; LÄ V, 5, n. 24; Zibelius, Siedlungen, 96-98.
\(^{484}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 339 [20].
\(^{485}\) Simpson, The Offering Chapel of Kayemnofret; Mariette, Mastabas, 242-249.
\(^{486}\) Baer, Rank and Title, 142 [523].
hrp sš.w m wsḥt '3t or "director of scribes of the great wsḥt-hall," s3b imy-r sš.w or "juridical overseer of scribes/overseer of scribes of the judiciary," s3b imy-r sš.w m d3d3t wrt or "juridical overseer of scribes of the Great Council," s3b shḏ sš.w or "juridical inspector of scribes," sš ɪry(yw) i'ḥ /spr(w) iwn knmwt or "scribe of those concerned with the i'ḥ pillar of Kenmet," imy-r wsḥt or "overseer of the wsḥt-hall," wr 10 šmˁw or "greatest/great one of the 10 of Upper Egypt," wḏ wḏ-c-mdw n hr(yw)-wdḇ(w) or "arbiter/giver of judgments to those in charge of reversions (of offerings)," mdw rḥyt or "staff of the rḥyt-people," n(y)-nst-ḥntt or "(one who belongs to) the foremost seat," rḥ nswt or "royal acquaintance," hṛy-wḏb(w) m ḥwt-ʾnhḥ or "master of the reversion (of offerings) in the House of Life," hṛy-sšt3 or "one who is privy to the secret," hṛy-sšt3 n wḏ-c-mdw or "privy to the secret of judgment/ determining cases," hṛy-sšt3 n ḥwt-wrt or "privy to the secret of the Great Court," hṛy-sšt3 (n) nb.f or "secretary of his lord (i.e. the king)," hṛp wsḥt or "director of the broad hall," hṛy-tp nswt or "king's liegeman/royal chamberlain," and s3b ʾdq-mr or "juridical ʾdq-mr official."

The names and titles of Hnm.w-ḥtp(.w) (1-179M)\(^{487}\) and Ni-ʾnh-ḥnm.w (1-180M)\(^{488}\) are preserved in their mastaba-tomb located near the causeway of Unas in Saqqara, which dates either to the reign of Niuserre or Menkauhor.\(^{489}\) Both title-holders served as wḥ in the pyramid complex of Niuserre and were promoted to (or simultaneously were) ḫm-nṯr in the sun-temple of Niuserre. The title-strings of both men are similar although not exactly identical. The titles they hold in common include: ɪr(w) ʾnt nswt or "manicurist of the king," shḏ ɪry.w ʾnt nswt pr-ʾ3 or "inspector of the manicurists of the king (in) the Great House," mḥnk nswt or "intimate of the king," mḥnk nswt mrราว nb.f or "intimate of the king whom his lord loves," rḥ nswt or "royal acquaintance," imy-r ɪr.w-ʾnt pr-ʾ3 or "overseer of the manicurists of the Great House," mḥnk nswt m k3t ɪrt ʾnwt or "intimate of the king of the works of manicuring/care of hands and nails," and hṛy-sšt3 or "one who is privy to the secret." Hnm.w-ḥtp(.w) holds a number of titles that Ni-ʾnh-ḥnm.w does not, which include mḥnk nswt m ɪrw ʾnwt or "intimate of the king in (the practice of) manicuring," hṛy-sšt3 mrr(w) nb.f or "secretary whom his lord loves," wḥ nswt or "royal pure one," hṛy-sšt3 n nṯr.f or "privy to the

\(^{487}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 276 [6].

\(^{488}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 171 [21].

secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king)," and *mrrw nb.f* or "beloved of his lord." Moussa and Altenmüller postulate that the inclusion of *wˁb nswt* in *Hnm.w-ḥtp(.w)*'s title-string was to indicate his slightly lower rank than that of *Ni-ʾnh-ḥnm.w.* It is more likely, however, that *Hnm.w-ḥtp(.w)*'s initial *wˁb*-title was *wˁb nswt*, which was intended to indicate his affiliation with the royal mortuary cult prior to gaining the title *wˁb Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-rˁ*), which both men later share. Both men were also promoted to (or became) *hm-nṯr* in the sun-temple of Niuserre, which is of equal and higher status than their *wˁb*-title(s).

The name and titles of *K3(.i)-pw-pth* (1-176M) are preserved on a false door (CG 1563) from Saqqara, which dates to the late 5th Dynasty. *K3(.i)-pw-pth* held the title of *wˁb nswt* or "royal pure one," and served as a *wˁb* in pyramid complexes of both Neferirkare and Niuserre. He was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-nṯr* in a sun-temple of Neferirkare and the pyramid complex of Djedkare Iesi, and also served as a *hm-nṯr* of the goddess Maat. *K3(.i)-pw-pth* held a number of diverse titles, including: *wr 10 šmˁ* or "greatest/great one of the 10 of Upper Egypt," *ʾd-mr n s3b* or "juridicial *ʾd-mr* official," *ḥry-sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret," *imy-r ss.w* or "overseer of scribes," *n(y)-ns.t-ḥntt* or "(one who belongs to) the foremost seat," *imy-r sp3wt šmˁ* or "overseer of the southern provinces of Upper Egypt (i.e. Nomes 1-7)," *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance," and *imy-r ḫt ms.w nswt* or "overseer of the property of the royal children."

The name and titles of *Ni-m3ˁ.t-rˁ* (1-070M) are preserved in his unnumbered mastaba-tomb in Giza, which dates to the reign of Niuserre or later. *Ni-m3ˁ.t-rˁ* was a *wˁb nswt* or "royal pure one," a *wˁb* in the pyramid complex of Niuserre, and was promoted to *imy-r wˁb.w mwt-nswt* or "overseer of the pure ones of the king's mother," which is most likely in reference to *mwt-nswt Hˁ-mrr-nbty*, who is named within the text for the reversion of offerings within his tomb. He was also promoted to (or at the same

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493 For during the reign of Djedkare-Iesi, see: Piacentini, *Scribes I*, 480. For between the reign of Djedkare-Iesi to Unas, see: Baud, *Famille Royale II*, 587-588 [231].
494 Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 172 [16].
496 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 86 [227].
time served as) ḥm-nṯr in the sun-temple of Niuserre. Ni-m3.t-r holds a variety of other titles that are affiliated with the palace: imy-r hst pr-ˁ3 or "overseer of the singing of the Great House," hṛp tis(t) bity or "director of the tist-companions (?) of the King of Lower Egypt," imy-r shmḥ-ib nb nfr m ḫnw-št3w pr-ˁ3 or "overseer of all goodly entertainment in the residence and of the secrets of the Great House," stp-s3 ḥṛ(y?)-tp st nswt or "bodyguard under the throne of the king (?)," hṛy-sšt3 or "one who is privy to the secret," [imy-r] nb m ḫnw swt pr-ˁ3 or "[overseer of] all the interior places of the great house," smr pr or "companion of the house," and imy ib n nb.f rˁ-nb or "he who is in the heart of his lord every day."

The name and titles of K3(.i)-m-sn.w (1-171M) are preserved on the inner and outer lintels and drum of his chapel in Saqqara, which date from the late 5th to early 6th Dynasty. K3(.i)-m-sn.w served as a wˁb of Sahure and as a wˁb within the pyramid complex of Niuserre. He was promoted to (or at the same time served as) a ḥm-nṯr of Neferirkare, a ḥm-nṯr of both Hathor and Re in the sun-temple of Neferirkare, as well as a ḥm-nṯr in the pyramid complex of Niuserre. K3(.i)-m-sn.w's service as both wˁb and ḥm-nṯr in the pyramid complex of Niuserre is unique, as a wˁb's promotion to ḥm-nṯr usually occurs within a sun-temple (see discussion, §4.II). K3(.i)-m-sn.w also held two titles pertaining to food supplies that may be associated with the administration of the pyramid complex, i.e. imy-r šnwt, or "overseer of the granary," imy-r bˁḥt nb[t] nt nswt or "overseer of [all] the abundance of the king," and ḥry-tp šnwt or "employee/agent/servant of the granary." He also held the title ḥḥ nswt or "royal acquaintance."

V.7. Wˁb Nṯry-swt-Mn-k3w-ḥr

The title (wˁb Nṯry-swt-Mn-k3w-ḥr), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Divine-are-the-Places-of-Menkauhor,'" refers to the king's pyramid of unknown location, which is most likely in Saqqara. Only one title-holder is known,

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498 For closest parallel, see: Ranke, Personennamen I, 339 [23].
499 Firth and Gunn, Excavations at Saqqara, 157-158, pl. 63; Urk. I, 175 [16].
500 For the late 5th Dynasty, see: Strudwick, Administration, 149 [144]. For the reign of Niuserre to the early 6th Dynasty, see: Baer, Rank and Title, 143 [528].
502 Jones, Index, 375 [1391]; Murray, Index, pl. XIX; PM III.2, T884; von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 59 [P1].
503 Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques III, 109; Montet, Géographie II, 200; LÄ V, 5, n. 25; Zibelius, Siedlungen, 130-131.
Snfrw-nfr (1-181M), whose name and titles are preserved within his mastaba in Saqqara (E 6), which dates to the late 5th Dynasty or later. Snfrw-nfr served as a wˁb of Menkauhor's pyramid complex and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) ḥm-nṯr in the pyramid complex of his successor, Djedkare-Iseisi. His other titles pertain to singing, which include: imy-r ˁt or "overseer of singers" and imy-r šmḥ ib nb n nswt or "overseer of all royal amusements."

V.8. Wˁb Nfr-Issi

The title (wˁb Nfr-Issi), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-is-Iseisi,'" refers to the king's pyramid in Saqqara. Although a number of prominent families held high offices over several generations throughout his reign, only one holder of this title is known: S.mnh-wi-pth called Itwš (1-182M). S.mnh-wi-pth called Itwš's name and titles are partially preserved within his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 14/D 43), which dates to the reign of Djedkare. S.mnh-wi-pth called Itwš's wˁb-title is his sole priestly title; most of his other titles pertain to metal-working: bḏty pr-ˁ3 n(y) mrwt or "favorite metal-worker of the Great House," ḥrp drp.w nswt or "director of royal offerings," ḫkt nswt or "royal ornament," imy-r nb sšt3.w or "overseer of all secrets," imy-r wˁbt or "overseer of the wˁbt-chamber/mortuary workshop," imy-r pr.wy-nb.w or "overseer of the two houses of gold," [?] st ḏ3w [?] or "[?] necklace-stringer [of ḏ3w?]," imy-r ḥwt-nbw or "overseer of the mansion of gold (sculptors' workshop)," ḥrt nswt [m] pr-ˁ3 or "secretary of the king in the Great House," [st?] bt ḏ3w[?] or "[necklace-stringer? of bt ḏ3w[?]," bḏty pr-ˁ3 or "metal-worker of the Great House," [...] n m sšt3.f nb or "[...] in all his secrets."

504. Ranke, Personennamen I, 315 [20].
506. Baer, Rank and Title, 124 [446].
507. Jones, Index, 373 [1379]; Murray, Index, pl. XIX; PM III.2, T882; von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 61 [P].
508. Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques III, 87; LA V, 5, n. 26; Zibelius, Siedlungen, 110-111.
510. Ranke, Personennamen I, 307 [16].
511. Mariette, Mastabas, 296-297; Urk. I, 192 [3].
512. Baer, Rank and Title, 122-123 [436].
V.9.a. Wˁb Nfr-swt-Wnis

The title (wˁb Nfr-swt-Wnis), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas,'" refers to the king's pyramid in Saqqara. Only one named title-holder is known: Ṭsmw (1-183M), whose name and titles are preserved upon two fragments of a broken lintel within the mastaba of Ḥm.t-rˁ called Ḥmi in Saqqara, which dates to the reign of Unas or later, as per this title. Ṭsmw's wˁb-title is his sole priestly title. His other titles are: shḏ pr-ˁ3 or "inspector of the Great House," imy-ḥt pr-ˁ3 or "under-supervisor of the Great House," and imy-r wp(w)t or "overseer of commissions/apportionments." The title is also attested on a cylinder-seal of unknown provenance (1-184I).

514 Jones, Index, 373 [1380]; von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 61 [P1]. Edel alternatively reads the title as: wˁb ḫnty.w-š nw Nfr-swt-Wnis, or "pure land-tenants of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas.'" Refer to: Elmar Edel, "Zum Verständis der Inschrift des Jzj aus Saqqara," ZÄS 106 (1979): 107, fig. 1.
515 Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques III, 91; Montet, Géographie I, 43; Zibelius, Siedlungen, 113-114.
516 Name not included in Ranke's Personennamen.
517 Hassan, Excavations at Saqqara 1931-1932 III (Cairo: Department of Antiquities, 1941), 9, fig. 4, pl. 5.
518 Kaplony, Rollseigel II, 327-328, pl. 88 [23].
V.9.b. \( W^b \) \( \dot{s}nty \) (200) \( Nfr\text{-}swt-Wnis \)

The title \( W^b \dot{s}nty \) (200) \( Nfr\text{-}swt-Wnis \), or "pure one of the \( \dot{s}nty \) (200) of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas'\(^{519}\) refers to the pyramid of Unas in Saqqara.\(^{520}\) This is the first time in which a \( w^b \dot{s}nty \) (200) is linked to a pyramid complex. Baud observes that the new title indicates a new designation of priest,\(^{521}\) which Fischer remarks "does not seem to be a very lofty title;"\(^{522}\) for further discussion see §4.1.3.A.\(^{523}\) Only one such title-holder is known, \( K3-tp \) (1-185I),\(^{524}\) who lived during the late 6th Dynasty.\(^{525}\) \( K3-tp \) holds only two other titles: \( imy\text{-}r \ Nfr\text{-}isw.t-Wnis \) or "overseer of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas'" and \( imy\text{-}r \ hnty.w\text{-}\dot{s} \) or "overseer of the land tenants," the latter of which may also be in reference to the pyramid complex of Unas.

\(^{519}\) Neither Jones nor Murray account for this title. The rendering given here is based upon the information found in: Helck, "Pyramidenstäten," 104. The name of the pyramid follows that of: von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 61 [P1].

\(^{520}\) Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques III, 91; Montet, Géographie I, 43; Zibelius, Siedlungen, 113-114.

\(^{521}\) Baud, Famille Royale I, 25.

\(^{522}\) Fischer, Varia Nova, 3.


\(^{524}\) Name not included in Ranke's Personennamen.

\(^{525}\) Unfortunately, no other information is included in the sole publication referencing this title-holder. Refer to: Helck, "Pyramidenstäten," 104.
VI.1. Wb Ḍd-swt-Tti
The title ꝕ𓊧𓊢 (wˁb ḏḏ-swt-Tti), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti,'" refers to the king's pyramid in Saqqara. Only one title-holder is known, Ḥs.i (1-186M), whose name and titles are preserved within his unnumbered mastaba in Saqqara, which dates to the end of the reign of Teti. Ḥs.i held various ranks within the pyramid of Teti: ḫnty-š or "land-tenant," wˁb, imy-ḥt hm.w-nṯr or "under-supervisor of the god's servants," and shḏ hm.w-nṯr or "inspector of the god's servants." Interestingly, he is not named as a hm-nṯr of the pyramid, although he did hold the titles of hm-nṯr of the goddesses Maat and Heqat likely elsewhere. Ḥs.i holds several administrative and juridical titles in addition to his titles associated with the pyramid of Teti, which include: imy-ib n nswt or "confidant of the king," imy-r is n pr hry.w-wḏb or "overseer of the bureau of those in charge of reversion offerings," imy-r is (n) mrt or "overseer of the bureau of the mrt-people," imy-r is n hry-ḥtmt or "overseer of the bureau of the registry," imy-r wp(w)t (m prwy) or "overseer of apportionments (in the two houses)," imy-r wp(w)t ḫtpt-nṯr (m prwy) or "overseer of the division(s)/apportionment(s) of divine offerings in the two houses," imy-r wp(w)t ḫtpt-nṯr m T3-mḥw Ṣm.w ḏrw or "overseer of apportionments in the entire North and South," imy-r wp(w)t ḫtpt-nṯr m t3 r ḫr.f or "overseer of apportionments of the god's offering in the entire land," imy-r ḫḏw-mdw (nb št3) n ḫwt-wrt 6 or "overseer of determining (all secret) cases in the six great courts," imy-r n pr hry.w-wḏb.w or "overseer of the house/department of those in charge of reversion(s) (of offerings)," imy-r n ḫr(y)-ḥtmt or "overseer of the registry," imy-r ḫwt-wrt or "overseer of the great court/Hall of Justice," imy-r sgmt nbt or "overseer of all that is judged," mty n s3 or "regulator of a phyle," mdw Ṿḥy or "staff of the Ṿḥy-people," ḥry-sšt3 or "one who is privy to the secret," ḥry-sšt3 n ḫḏw-mdw or "privy to the secret of judgment/determining cases," ḥry-sšt3 n ḫḏ(m) nbt or "privy to the secrets of all commands," ḥry-sšt3 n ḫḏ(t)-mdw nbt (št3t) or "privy to the secrets of all (secret) proclamations/decrees," ḥry-sšt3 n nswt m swt.f nbt or "privy to the secrets of the king in all his cult-places," ḥrp sš.w or "director of scribes," ḥry-tp nswt or "king's liegeman/royal

526 Jones, Index, 375 [1392]; von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 63 [P].
527 Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques VI, 137; Montet, Géographie I, 43; Zibelius, Siedlungen, 273-274.
528 Ranke, Personennamen I, 254 [28].
chamberlain," sḫb imy-r šš.w or "juridicial overseer of scribes," sḫb ṣḏ-mr or "juridicial ṣḏ-mr official," sḫb šš or "juridicial scribe," sḫb šḥḏ šš.w or "juridicial inspector of scribes," šš ḫft hr or "scribe of royal records in the presence," and šš (n) s3 or "scribe of the phyle."

VI.2. Wˁb šnty (200) Mn-nfr-Ppy

The title (wˁb šnty (200) Mn-nfr-Ppy), or "pure one of the šnty (200) of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-Beauty-of-Pepi,'"530 refers to the pyramid of Pepi I in Saqqara.531 Only one such title-holder is known, Ḥnti-k3 called Ḥḫḫi (1-187M).532 whose name and titles are preserved within his tomb in Saqqara,533 which dates from the late reign of Teti to the early- to mid-reign of Pepi I.534 Ḥnti-k3 called Ḥḫḫi held various ranks within the pyramid of Pepi I: wˁb šnty (200), šḥḏ ḥm.w-nṯr, and šš n s3. Within the pyramid of Teti, he held the titles of: imy-ḫt ḥm.w-nṯr and šḥḏ ḥm.w-nṯr. He also held the title of s[ḥḥ] ḥm.w-nṯr ḥwt-k3-3ḥ[t] or "inspector of the god's servants of the K3-Chapel/funerary temple of the Horizon/tomb(?)." Ḥnti-k3 called Ḥḫḫi held a number of other priestly titles, most of which are funerary: s(t)m-priest or the chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth, ḥṛy ḥbt or lector priest, ḥṛy ḥbt ḥṛy-tp or chief lector priest, ḥṛy-ḥbt m3ʾ or true lector priest, wt(y) Inpw or embalmer of Anubis, ḥts(?) Inpw or the ḥts(?) of Anubis (precise reading unknown), sm3 Inpw or sm3-priest (stolist) of Anubis, and ḥm-nṯr of Thoth. He held a wealth of other titles, which include: ily pʾt or "hereditary prince/nobleman," ḥ3ty-ʾ or "count," smr wʾty or "sole companion," t3yty sḫb t3ty or "one of the curtain (chief justice and vizier)," ḥṛp šndt nbt or "director of every kilt," ḥṛy ššt3 nswt m swt.f nbt or "privy to the secret of the king in all his cult-places," ḥṛt ḥr.w or "controller/master of the Great Ones," imy-r swt špswt (nt) pr-ʾ3 or "overseer of the august places of the Great House," imy-r pr-nswt or "overseer of the king's domain," [ḥṛy ššt3] n wd(t)-mdw nbt or "[privy to the secret] of all proclamations/decrees," imy-r iʾw-r nswt or "overseer of the king's repast," im3ʾ or "gracious of arm," ḥṛp ns.ṭy or "director

530 Neither Jones nor Murray account for this title. For the name of the pyramid, see: von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 63 [P].
531 Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques III, 38; Montet, Géographie I, 29; Gardiner, Onomastica II, 122; Zibelius, Siedlungen, 93-95.
532 Ranke, Personennamen I, 273 [6].
533 Thomas James, The mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi (London: EES, 1953); Fischer, Varia Nova, 1-6.
534 Strudwick, Administration, 125-126 [109].
of the two thrones," ḫrp ḫšt km or "director of the black pot/jar," ṣš mdw-nṯr or "scribe of the god's book," šḥḏ pr-nswt or "inspector of the king's domain," imy-r ššr or "overseer of cloth/linen distribution," ḫry ššt3 n mdw-nṯr or "privy to the secret of the god's word(s)," šḥḏ db3t or "inspector of the robing room," imy-r ḫnty or "overseer of the sealed goods/treasury," ḫry ššt3 n pr-dw3t or "privy to the secret of the House of the Morning," imy-r ḫ3t nbt (nt) nswt or "overseer of all works of the king," imy-r šnwty or "overseer of the two granaries," imy-ib n nswt m swt.f nbt or "one who is in the heart of the king in all his places," imy-ib n nswt m t3wy.f or "one who is in the heart of the king in his two lands," imy-r ḫnty.w-š pr-ˁ3 or "overseer of the land-tenants of the Great House," imy-r šwy pr-ˁ3 or "overseer of the two weaving shops/sheds of the Great House," imy-r iswy (n) ḫkr.w nswt or "overseer of the two bureaux of the royal regalia/king's ornament," imy-r prwy-nbw or "overseer of the two houses of gold," imy-r prwy ḫḏ or "overseer of the two houses of silver," imy-r ššwy or "overseer of the two bird pools/fowling pools," imy-r niwt (mr) or "overseer of the pyramid town," ḫry-tp nswt (n) pr-ˁ3 or "king's liegeman of the Great House," imy-r šš.w ḫ3t ns (nw) nswt or "overseer of scribes of the royal documents," wr idt or "great of censing," ḫtm(ty)-bity or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt," ḫry ššt3 n m33t wˁ or "privy to the secret of seeing alone/of that to which (only) one sees," t3ty sšb t3ty m3ˁ or "true chief justice and vizier," imy-r ḫnty.w-š or "overseer of land-tenants," imy-r ššw or "overseer of the fowling pool/pond," imy-r pr-nswt nb stp-s3 or "overseer of the every royal domain/estate and stp-s3(?)," ḫ3ty-ˁ m3ˁ or "true count," and smr wˁty m3ˁ or "true sole companion."
VI.3. Wˁb šnty (200) Ḫˁ-nfr-Mr-n-rˁ

The title \( \text{wˁb šnty (200) Ḫˁ-nfr-Mr-n-rˁ} \), or "pure one of the šnty (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Merenre-Appears-in-Splendor,'"\(^{535}\) refers to the pyramid of Merenre in Saqqara.\(^{536}\) Only one such title-holder is known, \( I3rt(.i) \) (1-188M),\(^{537}\) whose name and titles are preserved on an architrave (CG 1634),\(^{538}\) false door (CG 1355),\(^{539}\) and offering table (CG 1523),\(^{540}\) all of which are from Saqqara, and date to the reign of Merenre or later.\(^{541}\) \( I3rt(.i) \)'s wˁb-title is only included upon the architrave, in which there is a partial-lacuna immediately before the title which Grdseloff reconstructs as wˁb šnty (200) Ḫˁ-nfr-Mr-n-rˁ based upon the presence of Ḫˁ-nfr-\[...\].\(^{542}\) \( I3rt(.i) \) served as a wˁb and as a ḫry-hḥ, or lector priest. He also held a number of administrative titles, which include: smr wˁty or "sole companion," imy-r ḫnty.w-š pr-ˁ3 or "overseer of the land tenants of the Great House," imy-r ipt or "overseer of the census(?)/cattle-count(?)," ss ṣs-dpt or "scribe of protection," imy-r ḫnty.w-š or "overseer of land tenants," ḥ3ty-ˁ or "count," ḫry ssrt3 n nswt m swt.f nb or "pry to secret of the king in all his cult-places," ḫtm(ty)-bty or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt," and šps nswt or "noble of the king."

VI.4. Wˁb šnty (200) Mn-ˁnḫ-Nfr-k3-rˁ

The title \( \text{wˁb šnty (200) Mn-ˁnḫ-Nfr-k3-rˁ} \), or "pure one of the šnty (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-life-of-Neferkare-Abides,'"\(^{543}\) refers to the pyramid of Pepi II in Saqqara.\(^{544}\) Only one title-holder is known, \( Dr-snḏ \) called \( Nfr-k3-rˁ-ˁnḫ \) (1-189M),\(^{545}\) whose name and titles are preserved within his tomb in Saqqara (N. VI).\(^{546}\)

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\(^{535}\) Neither Jones nor Murray account for this title. For the name of the pyramid, see: von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 63 [P].

\(^{536}\) Zibelius, Siedlungen, 182.

\(^{537}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 7 [1].

\(^{538}\) Borchardt, Denkmäler II, 101-102.

\(^{539}\) Borchardt, Denkmäler I, 25.

\(^{540}\) Borchardt, Denkmäler I, 224.

\(^{541}\) Baer, Rank and Title, 53 [15].


\(^{543}\) Neither Jones nor Murray account for this title. For the name of the pyramid, see: von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 65 [P].

\(^{544}\) Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques III, 36; Montet, Géographie I, 44; Zibelius, Siedlungen, 91.

\(^{545}\) Name not included in Ranke's Personennamen.

\(^{546}\) Gustave Jéquier, Tombeaux de particuliers contemporains de Pepi II (Le Caire: Service des antiquités de l'Egypte, 1983), 109-117.
which dates to the reign of Pepi II. His sole priestly title was *wˁb šnty (200) Mn-ˁnḫ-Nfr-k3-rˁ*. Dr-*snḏ* called *Nfr-k3-rˁ-ˁnḫ*’s other titles include: *ḥtm(ty)-bity* or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt," *smr wˁty* or "sole companion," *imy-r sqbbwy* or "overseer of the two cool rooms," *ḥry-tp ḏ3t* or "supervisor of linen/the wardrobe," *šps nswt* or "noble of the king," and *imy-r r nswt* or "overseer of the king’s speech."

4.1.3.1. *Wˁb šnty (200)*

The title *(wˁb šnty (200)) or "pure one of the šnty (200),"*548 has been subject to a range of interpretations by various scholars. The literal (and conventional) translation of the title suggests an obscure group of 200 members.549 The title is most likely connected to the royal mortuary cult, as demonstrated by its consistent linkage to the pyramid complexes from the end of the 5th Dynasty onward, as discussed above (§V.9, VI.2-4).550 The title also occurs in connection to the palace551 and to a phyle.552

Other scholars have rejected the numerical reading of šnty (200) in favor of other interpretations: Davies has proposed that the title refers to a rope god,553 following the pattern of *wˁb n [Deity].* Goedicke, in contrast, reads the title as *wˁb wty*, or "embalmer of the pure one," in which the coil of material, *(wt)*, means "to embalm;" hence the dual form of *(wty)* meaning "embalmer."554 Goedicke goes on to further argue that the *wˁb*-component of the title refers to Horus, i.e. the deceased king, as the "pure one."555

Seven title-holders are known, each of whom are discussed below.

547 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 156 [587].
550 As demonstrated by the titles: *wˁb šnty (200) Nfr-swt-Wnis* or "pure one of the šnty (200) of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas,'" *wˁb šnty (200) Mn-nfr-Ppy* or "pure one of the šnty (200) of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-Beauty-of-Pepi,'" *wˁb šnty (200) Ḥˁ-nfr-Mr-n-rˁ* or "pure one of the šnty (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Merenre-Appears-in-Splendor,'" *wˁb šnty (200) Mn-ˁnḫ-Nfr-k3-rˁ* or "pure one of the šnty (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-life-of-Neferkare-Abides.'" See also: Junker, *Gîza VI*, 15 [2].
551 As demonstrated by the title, *wˁb šnty (200) n pr-ˁ3*, or "pure one of the šnty (200) of the Great House," in: Jones, *Index*, 378-379 [1402]; Murray, *Index*, pl. XVIII.
552 As demonstrated by the title, *wˁb šnty (200) n s3*, or "pure one of the šnty (200) of the phyle," in: Jones, *Index*, 378-379 [1402].
554 Goedicke, "Gods and Priests by the Hundreds?," 73-79.
555 Goedicke, "Gods and Priests by the Hundreds?," 77.
The name and titles of Wsr (1-204M)\textsuperscript{556} are preserved on two pillars (CG 1550-1551) from Saqqara, which date to the 6th Dynasty.\textsuperscript{557} His sole priestly title is \textit{wˁb šnty (200)}. His other titles are: \textit{smr wˁty} or "sole companion," \textit{ḥry-tp nswt} or "king's liegeman/royal chamberlain," \textit{rḥ nswt} or "royal acquaintance," and \textit{imy-r sr.w} or "overseer of the sr.w-officials."

The name and titles of Ggi (1-205M)\textsuperscript{558} are preserved on a false door (CG 1455) from Saqqara, which dates to the 6th Dynasty.\textsuperscript{559} Ggi served as a \textit{wˁb šnty (200)}, and was promoted to \textit{imy-r hm.w-ntr n In-ḥr.t} or "overseer of the god's servants of Onuris (god of Thinis)," and \textit{shgd hm.w-ntr Hˁ-nfr-Mr-n-rˁ} or "inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-Beauty-of Merenre,'" although he did not hold the title of \textit{hm-ntr} himself. He also held the titles of \textit{ḥry ḫbt} or lector priest and \textit{mniw kmt} or "herdsman of (sacred) black cattle." Ggi also held a number of non-priestly titles, which include: \textit{ḥ3ty-ˁ} or "count," \textit{ḥtm(ty)-bity} or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt," \textit{smr wˁty} or "sole companion," \textit{imy-r ḫnty.w-š pr-ˁ3} or "overseer of land tenants of the Great House," \textit{sš n s3} or "scribe of a phyle," \textit{imy-r wp(w)t} or "overseer of commissions/apportionments," and \textit{ḥry-tp ˁ3 Nḫn} or "great overlord of the 3rd Upper Egyptian Nome (Hierakonpolis)."

The name and titles of Iḥii (1-206M)\textsuperscript{560} are preserved within the tomb of Mrrw-k3(.i) (LS 10), which dates to the reign of Pepi I or later.\textsuperscript{561} Iḥii holds only two titles: \textit{wˁb šnty (200)} and \textit{sš pr-ˁ3}, or "scribe of the Great House."

The name and titles of Issi-ḥˁ-\ldots (1-207M)\textsuperscript{562} are preserved upon a fragment of a false door (CG 1438)\textsuperscript{563} from a mastaba in Saqqara (H 10),\textsuperscript{564} which dates to the reign of Pepi I or later, as per his other titles. Issi-ḥˁ-\ldots served as a \textit{wˁb šnty (200)} and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) \textit{hm-ntr} of the \textit{mrt}-temple of Pepi I. He also held the titles of \textit{imy-r wp(w)t Mn-nfr-Mry-rˁ} or "overseer of commissions/apportionments of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-Beauty-of-Merenre,'" \textit{imy-r wp(w)t} or "overseer of commissions/apportionments" (which may be an abbreviation of the former titles).

\textsuperscript{556} Ranke, \textit{Personennamen I}, 85 [6].
\textsuperscript{557} Borchardt, \textit{Denkmäler II}, 8-9.
\textsuperscript{558} Ranke, \textit{Personennamen I}, 352 [22].
\textsuperscript{559} Borchardt, \textit{Denkmäler I}, 142-143.
\textsuperscript{560} Ranke, \textit{Personennamen I}, 44 [22].
\textsuperscript{561} Georges Daressy, \textit{Le Mastaba de Mera} (Le Caire: IFAO, 1898), 567.
\textsuperscript{562} Ranke, \textit{Personennamen I}, 45 [24].
\textsuperscript{563} Borchardt, \textit{Denkmäler I}, 120.
\textsuperscript{564} Mariette, \textit{Mastabas}, 456.
title), *smr wˁty* or "sole companion," *shd pr ˁ3* or "inspector of the Great House," and *ḥry sšt3 n pr-dw3t* or "privy to the secret of the House of Morning."

The name and titles of *Iw.f-n-ptḥ* (1-208M)\(^{565}\) are preserved in his unnumbered mastaba in Giza,\(^{566}\) which dates to the reign of Pepi I or later.\(^{567}\) *Iw.f-n-ptḥ* holds the sole priestly title of *wˁb šnty* (200) in addition to a number of administrative titles, which include: *ḥnty-š Mn-nfr-Ppy* or "land tenant of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides,'" *imy-r st ḫnty.w-š pr-ˁ3* or "overseer of the department of land tenants of the Great House," *mdḫ ḡwrwt ˁ3t* or "carpenter of the great shipyard," *imy-r is n […] š pr-ˁ3* or "overseer of the bureau of [...] of the Great House," *šps nswt* or "noble of the king," and *smr pr* or "companion of the house."

The name and titles of *ˁnḫ-ni-nb.f* (1-209M)\(^{568}\) are preserved in his tomb in Saqqara,\(^{569}\) which dates to the reign of Pepi II.\(^{570}\) *ˁnḫ-ni-nb.f* held two priestly titles: *wˁb šnty* (200) and *ḥry-hbt*, or lector priest. He also held the following titles: *smr wˁty* or "sole companion," *šps nswt* or "noble of the king," *smr pr* or "companion of the house," *imy-r st* or "overseer of a storehouse/department," *smr wˁty* or "sole companion," and *imy-r wp(w)t* or "overseer of commissions/apportionments."

The name and titles of *Ḏˁ.w* called *Šm3i* (1-210M)\(^{571}\) are preserved in his unnumbered tomb in Deir el-Gebrawi,\(^{572}\) which dates to the reign of Pepi II or later.\(^{573}\) *Ḏˁ.w* called *Šm3i* held various titles associated with the pyramid of Pepi II: *ḥnty-š, imy-ḥt ḫm.w-nṯr*, and *shd ḫm.w-nṯr*; his title of *wˁb šnty* (200) may in fact be in reference to this pyramid. He also held a number of other priestly titles, which include: *mdw Ḥp* or "herdsman of Apis," *ḥrp sḥt Ḥr* or "director of the net of Horus," *ḥry-hbt [ḥry-tp] or chief lector priest, *imy-r wp(w)t ḥtp(w)t-nṯr m prwy* or "overseer of the division(s)/apportionments of divine offerings in the two houses," and *s(t)m-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth).* *Ḏˁ.w* called *Šm3i* also held a number of provincial titles, which include: *iry-pˁt* or "hereditary prince/nobleman," *r3 P nb* or "mouth of every Pe-
ite/Butite," *Nhny* or "one of Nekhen," *ḥry-tp Nḥb* or "overlord of el-Kab," *ḥtm(ty)-ḥity* or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt," *ḥry-tp ˁ3 n T3-wr* or "great overlord of the Grand Land (U.E. 8, or the area of This and Abydos)," *ḥwty-ˁ3t* or "one who belongs to the Great Estate," *imy-r Šmˁw* or "overseer of Upper Egypt," *ḥq3 ḥwt* or "estate manager/property administrator," *ḫrp mwt* or "sole companion," *ḥry-tp ˁ3 (n) 3tft* or "great overlord of the Viper Mountain Nome (U.E. 12, the *Cerastes* nome)," *imy-r šnwty* or "overseer of the two granaries," *imy-ḥr ṣwty* or "overseer of the two treasuries," *imy-ḥr sḏwty* or "overseer of the two bird pools/fowling pools," *ḥr pḥnt nbw* or "director of every kilt," "[ḥry] ṣ[št3 n sḏm]t wˁ* or "secretary of that which one alone judges," and *ḥry ˁ3 r Šmˁ* or "one who is in the door to the south." He was posthumously granted the title of *ḥ3ty-ˁ* or "count."

4.1.3.B. *Wˁb šnty (200) pr-ˁ3*

The title (*wˁb šnty (200) pr-ˁ3*), or "pure one of the *šnty* (200) of the Great House," is linked to the palace. Fischer suggests that this title is merely a variant rendering of the title *wˁb šnty (200)*; here it is treated as a separate title. Only one title-holder is known, *N(i)-ˁnh-Ppi (1-211M)*, whose name and titles are preserved within the tomb of *Mrrwi-k3.i* (LS 10), which dates to the reign of Pepi I or later. *N(i)-ˁnh-Ppi* holds two titles: *wˁb šnty (200) pr-ˁ3* and *ḥps nswt*, or "noble of the king."

Another potential title-holder is *Wsr (1-204M)*, as there is a lacuna before the title *wˁb šnty (200)*, where a *pr-ˁ3* could have been (CG 1551). However he is not included in this particular sub-section due to this uncertainty, but rather as a *wˁb šnty (200)*, above. 

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574 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 157 [592].
577 Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 3, n. 15.
578 Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 171 [9].
580 Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 85 [6].
4.I.3.C. Wˁb šnty (200) n s3

The title ꞌḫns.n (wˁb šnty (200) n s3), or "pure embalmer of the phyle," is linked to the phyle system. Only one title-holder is known, Hns.w called Ḥtp (1-212M), whose names and titles are preserved on a doorjamb belonging to Ppy-nḥt, which was found in fill discarded west of the Ramesses Portal Temple in Abydos. The doorjamb dates to the 6th Dynasty. Hns.w called Ḥtp holds dual funerary titles: wˁb šnty (200) n s3 and wˁ b m n(?) m wˁbt or "one in 10 in the workshop/mortuary workshop." He also holds dual juridicial titles: smsw (n) h(3)yt or "elder of the (judicial) court" and nḥt-hrw hwt-wrt or "tallyman of the lawcourt."

4.I.4. Wˁb-Titles Affiliated with a Deity

This section examines the wˁb-titles that are affiliated with or to a deity, e.g. wˁb W3ḏt, wˁb Nnty, etc. The upper-ranking title wˁb ˁ3 is discussed at the beginning of this section, which includes subsections dedicated to wˁb (n) Pṯḥ and wˁb Mn.w, as each of these titles appears to have been hierarchically organized under the direction of a wˁb ˁ3. The section also includes wˁb Rˁ, for which the title-holder served the god most commonly within a sun-temple of a specific king, e.g. Nḥn-Rˁ, the sun-temple of Userkaf, or Sḥt-[Rˁ], the sun-temple of Sahure. The title of wˁb n [Deity] later becomes prevalent during the Middle Kingdom, as shown in §6.I.3.


The title ꝎScarab (wˁb ˁ3 Pṯḥ), or "great pure one of Ptah," is the head of the wˁb.w within the cult of Ptah. With regard to this hierarchical title, Fischer states, "once the rank of 'great wˁb-priest' was established, it must have conveyed a considerable

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582 Jones, Index, 378-379 [1402].
584 Ranke, Personennamen I, 270 [16].
degree of importance when it referred to a cult so central and well-established as that of Ptah." Yet despite the title-holders' implied upper rank within the priesthood, they do not hold any other distinctively high titles, e.g. (wr ḫrp ḥmwt) or "master of craftsmen," which was commonly held by the high priests of Ptah of Memphis. The title of wˁb ī3 is linked to the titles shḏ and šps nswt.

Only one title-holder is known from the Old Kingdom, Irt-ptḥ called Iri (1-190M), whose name and titles are preserved on a false-door (E 14318) presumably from Saqqara, which dates to the 6th Dynasty. Irt-ptḥ called Iri held various ranks within the cult of Ptah: wˁb (n) Pṯh, wˁb ī3 Pṯh, and sš Ḥmt-nṯr m ḥwt Pṯh or "scribe of the god's treasure in the temple of Ptah." He also held a number of other priestly titles that ranked above wˁb: it-nṯr or "god's father," sš ī3(? m ḥnw Skr or "great noble/spirit in the barque of Sokar," shḏ s(t)m.w or "inspector of s(t)m-priests (chief celebrants in the rite of Opening the Mouth)," and sš Ḥtp.t-nṯr or "scribe of the god's offerings (responsible for keeping the register of offerings to the temple)." Irt-ptḥ called Iri held only two additional titles: šps nswt or "noble of the king" and smr-pr or "companion of the house."

4.1.4.A.a.i. Wˁb (n) Pṯh

The title (wˁb (n) Pṯh), or "pure one of Ptah," is a lower-ranking title within the cult of Ptah. As Ptah is the patron of craftsmen, his wˁb.w were associated with overseeing craftsmen. Even the most diverse functions associated with this god gave rise to a specialized title, e.g. st (n) Pṯh, or "libationer of Ptah," and perhaps it is for this reason that the hierarchy within the cult of Ptah is so well-defined. Five title-holders are known, three of whom contain the god's name in their names.

590 Name not included in Ranke's Personennamen.
591 Fischer, "A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar," 25-29, pl. XV.
592 Rendered as: šš Ḥtp.t-nṯr. Fischer translates the title as "noble great (of years?) in the bark of Sokar." Refer to: Fischer, "A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar," 25, 27-28 [4].
594 Begelsbacher-Fischer, Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt, 126-127, 147.
595 Begelsbacher-Fischer, Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt, 126-127, 147.
596 Baud, Famille Royale II, 623.
The name and titles of Špss-ḥt I (1-191M)\(^{597}\) are preserved upon a false door (BM 32/682)\(^{598}\) from his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 48/C 1),\(^{599}\) which dates to the reign of Niuserre.\(^{600}\) Špss-ḥt I was a high priest of Ptah of Memphis,\(^{601}\) and accordingly held a variety of priestly titles, which include: \(w^t\)b of Ptah, \(hm-ntr\) of Ptah and Sokar, \(ḥrp\) \(s(t)m.w\) or "director of \(s(t)m\)-priests (chief celebrants in the rite of Opening the Mouth)," \(imy-r\) \(pr\) \(Skr\) or "overseer of the temple of Sokar," \(imy-r\) \(w^t\)bt or "overseer of the \(w^t\)bt-chamber/mortuary workshop," \(hm-ntr\) \(M3^t\) \(m\) \(swt\) \((i)ptn\) \(n\) \(hrty-b3q.f\) or "god's servant of Maat in these (cult) places of him who is under his olive tree,"\(^{602}\) \(hm-ntr\) \(R^v\) \(m\) \(3ḥt-R^c\) or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) \(3ḥt-R^c\)," \(hm-ntr\) \(R^v\) \(m\) \(Nḥn-R^c\) or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) \(Nḥn-R^c\)," \(hm-ntr\) \(R^v\) \(m\) \(St-ib-R^c\) or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) \(St-ib-R^c\)," \(hm-ntr\) \(R^v\) \(m\) \(Śsp-ib-R^c\) or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) \(Śsp-ib-R^c\)," \(hm-ntr\) \(Ḥwt-hr\) \(m\) \(swt\) \(nb(w)t\) or "god's servant of Hathor in all places/everywhere," \(hm-ntr\) \(Ḥr(w)\) \(m\) \(ḥnt-wr\) or "god's servant of Horus in \(ḥnt-wr\),"\(^{603}\) \(hm-ntr\) \(Ḥr(w)\) \(Ḫnty-mdf\) or "god's servant of Horus \(Ḫnty-mdf\) (one of the titles of the high priest of Ptah at Memphis),"\(^{604}\) \(hm-ntr\) \(Ḫnty-i3t.f\) or "god's servant of \(Ḫnty-i3t.f\) (alias of Ptah),"\(^{605}\) \(hm-ntr\) \(Ḫnty-Ṯnnt\) or "god's servant of \(Ḫnty-Ṯnnt\)," \(hm-ntr\) \(Skr\) \(m\) \(swt.f\) \(nbt\) or "god's servant of Sokar in all his places (sanctuaries)," \(hm-ntr\) \(Ḏd-špss\) or "god's servant of \(Ḏd-špss\) (alias of Ptah),"\(^{606}\) and \(i3w\) \(n\) \(Ḥwt\) \(Pth\) or "elder of the Mansion of Ptah." His other titles primarily pertain to overseeing craftsmen,\(^{607}\) which include: \(wr\) \(ḥrp.w\) \(hmwt\) or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen," \(wr\) \(ḥrp.w\) \(hmwt\) \(m\) \(prwy\) or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the Two Houses," \(wr\) \(ḥrp.w\) \(hmwt\) \(n\) \(r^c\) \(ḥb\) or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the day of the festival," \(mḥnk\) \(ns\)\(w\) or "intimate of the king," \(ḥrp\)

\(^{597}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 326 [19].


\(^{599}\) Mariette, Mastabas, 110-114; PM III.2, 464.

\(^{600}\) Baer, Rank and Title, 75-76 [164].

\(^{601}\) Charles Maystre, Les Grands Prêtres de Ptah de Memphis (Freiburg, Schweiz: Universitätsverlag, 1992), 226-231 [3-4].


\(^{603}\) Sandman Holmberg, The God Ptah, 175-176 [10].

\(^{604}\) Sandman Holmberg, The God Ptah, 174-175 [9].

\(^{605}\) Sandman Holmberg, The God Ptah, 173-174 [8].


\(^{607}\) Begelsbacher-Fischer, Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt, 126-127; Sandman Holmberg, The God Ptah, 51-52.
ḥmwt(yw) nbt or "director of all craftsmen," ḥry sšt3 n nṯr.f or "privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king)," n imy-ib n nb.f or "one who belongs to the heart/favorite of his lord," imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nswt or "overseer of all the works of the king," ḥry sšt3 or "one who is privy to the secret," ḥrp ḥwt ṭḥnt or "director of the mansion of faience," and imy-r s(w)t-dš3w or "overseer of the department(s) of offerings."

The name and titles of Špss-pṭḥ II (1-192M)⁶⁰⁸ are preserved within his mastaba in Saqqara (No. 50/ C 9),⁶⁰⁹ which dates to the mid-5th Dynasty. Špss-pṭḥ II was a high priest of Ptah of Memphis,⁶¹⁰ and accordingly held a variety of priestly titles, which include: wib of Ptah, ḥm-nṯr of Ptah and Sokar, ḥrp s(t)m.w or "director of s(t)m-priests (chief celebrants in the rite of Opening the Mouth)," imy-r pr Skr or "overseer of the temple of Sokar," and imy-r wibt or "overseer of the wibt-chamber/mortuary workshop." His other titles primarily pertain to overseeing craftsmen,⁶¹¹ which include: wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen," wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt m prwy or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the Two Houses," wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt n rˁ ḫb or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the day of the festival," mḥnk nswt or "intimate of the king," ḥrp ḥmwt(yw) nbt or "director of all craftsmen," ḥry sšt3 n nṯr.f or "privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king)," and n imy-ib n nb.f or "one who belongs to the heart/favorite of his lord."

The name and titles of S3b.w called Ibb.i (1-193M)⁶¹² are preserved within his mastaba that he shares with Špss-pṭḥ IV (1-194M) in Saqqara (Nos. 37-38 [E 1, 2 and H 3]),⁶¹³ which dates from the mid- to late-reign of Teti.⁶¹⁴ S3b.w called Ibb.i was a high priest of Ptah of Memphis,⁶¹⁵ and accordingly held a number of priestly titles, which include: wib (n) Pṯḥ or "pure one of Ptah," ḥm-nṯr Pṯḥ or "god's servant of Ptah," ḥm-nṯr Skr or "god's servant of Sokar," ḥrp s(t)m.w or "director of s(t)m-priests (chief celebrants in the rite of Opening the Mouth)," imy-r pr Skr or "overseer of the temple of Sokar," imy-r wibt or "overseer of the wibt-chamber/mortuary workshop," imy-r ḥwt Skr m swt

⁶⁰⁸ Ranke, Personennamen I, 326 [19].
⁶⁰⁹ Mariette, Mastabas, 129-130.
⁶¹⁰ Maystre, Les Grands Prêtres de Ptah de Memphis, 231 [5].
⁶¹¹ Begelsbacher-Fischer, Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt, 126-127.
⁶¹² Ranke, Personennamen I, 299 [17].
⁶¹³ Mariette, Mastabas, 373-388.
⁶¹⁴ Strudwick, Administration, 130 [116].
⁶¹⁵ Maystre, Les Grands Prêtres de Ptah de Memphis, 236-244 [16-20].
"oversee of the temple(s)/cult-place(s)/sanctuaries of Sokar in all places/wheresoever," 

"imy-ḥt hm.w-ntr Nfr-swt-Wnis" or "under-supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas,'" 

"imy-ḥt hm.w-ntr Dd-swt-Tti" or "under-supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti,'" 

"hm-ntr M3ˁt m swt (i)ptn n hry-b3qf" or "god's servant of Maat in these (cult) places [and] him who is under his olive tree,"

"hm-ntr Rˁ m 3ḫt-Rˁ" or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) 3ḫt-Rˁ," 

"hm-ntr Rˁ m Nḥn-Rˁ" or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Nḥn-Rˁ," 

"hm-ntr Rˁ m St-ib-Rˁ" or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) St-ib-Rˁ," 

"hm-ntr Rˁ m Šsp-ib-Rˁ" or "god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Šsp-ib-Rˁ," 

"hm-ntr Ḥwt-ḥr m swt nb(w)t" or "god's servant of Hathor in all places/everywhere," 

"hm-ntr Ḥr(.w) m ḫnt-wr" or "god's servant of Horus in ḫnt-wr,"

"hm-ntr Ḥr(.w) Ḫnty-mdf" or "god's servant of Ḫnty-mdf (one of the titles of the high priest of Ptah at Memphis)," 

"hm-ntr Ḫnty-i3t.f" or "god's servant of Ḫnty-i3wt.f (alias of Ptah)," 

"hm-ntr Ḫnty-Ṯnnt" or "god's servant of Ḫnty-Ṯnnt," 

"hm-ntr Skr m swt.f nbt" or "god's servant of Sokar in all his places (sanctuaries)," 

"hm-ntr Dd-špss" or "god's servant of Dd-špss (alias of Ptah)." 

His other titles primarily pertain to overseeing craftsmen, which include:

wr ḫrp.w hmwt" or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen," 

"wr ḫrp.w hmwt m pr.wy" or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the Two Houses," 

"wr ḫrp hmwt m pr.wy n rˁ ḥb" or "greatest of the directors of the craftsmen in the Two Houses who belongs to the day of the festival," 

"wr ḫrp.w hmwt n rˁ ḥb" or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the day of the festival," 

"mḥnk nswn" or "intimate of the king," 

"hrp hmwt(yw) nbt" or "director of all craftsmen," 

"hry sšt3 n ntr.f" or "privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king)," 

"n imy-ib n nb.f" or "one who belongs to the heart/favorite of his lord," 

"imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nswn" or "overseer of all the works of the king," 

"wr ḫrp.w hmwt ḏb3t(y?)" or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen of the ḏb3t(y?)," 

"hry sšt3" or "one who is privy to the secret," 

"hry sšt3 n nswn m swt.f nbt" or "privy to the secret of the king in all his cult-places," 

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617 Sandman Holmberg, The God Ptah, 175-176 [10].
618 Sandman Holmberg, The God Ptah, 174-175 [9].
621 Begelsbacher-Fischer, Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt, 126-127; Sandman Holmberg, The God Ptah, 51-52.
The name and titles of Špss-ṽḥ IV (1-095M)\(^{623}\) are preserved within his mastaba that he shares with S3b.w called Ibb.i (1-094M) in Saqqara (Nos. 37-38 [E 1, 2 and H 3]),\(^{624}\) which dates from the mid- to late-reign of Teti.\(^{625}\) Špss-ṽḥ IV is a high priest of Ptah of Memphis,\(^{626}\) and held a variety of priestly titles, which include: \textit{wˁb} of Ptah, \textit{hm-nṯr} of Ptah and Sokar, \textit{hm-nṯr} of the pyramids of Unas and Teti, \textit{ḥrp s(t)m.w} or "director of \textit{s(t)m}-priests (chief celebrants in the rite of Opening the Mouth)," \textit{imy-r pr Skr} or "overseer of the temple of Sokar," and \textit{imy-r wˁbt} or "overseer of the \textit{wˁbt}-chamber/mortuary workshop." His other titles primarily pertain to overseeing craftsmen,\(^{627}\) which include: \textit{wr ḫrp.w ḫmwt} or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen," \textit{wr ḫrp.w ḫmwt m prwy} or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen in the Two Houses," \textit{wr ḫrp.w ḫmwt n rˁ ḫb} or "greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the day of the festival," \textit{mḥnk nswt} or "intimate of the king," \textit{ḥrp ḫmwt(yw) nbt} or "director of all craftsmen," \textit{ḥry sšt3 n nṯr.f} or "privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king)," and \textit{n imy-ib n nb.f} or "one who belongs to the heart/favorite of his lord." Špss-ṽḥ IV is probably the son of S3b.w called Ibb.i, above.\(^{628}\)

The name and titles of Irt-ṽḥ called Iri (1-190M),\(^{629}\) are preserved on a false-door (E 14318) presumably from Saqqara, which dates to the 6th Dynasty.\(^{630}\) Irt-ṽḥ called Iri held various ranks within the cult of Ptah: \textit{wˁb (n) Pḥ, wˁb ˁ3 Pḥ}, and \textit{sš ḫmt-nṯr m ḫwt Pḥ} or "scribe of the god's treasure in the temple of Ptah." He also held a number of other priestly titles that ranked above \textit{wˁb: it-nṯr} or "god's father," \textit{sˁḥ ˁ3(?)} \textit{m ḫnw Skr} or "great

\(^{622}\) Strudwick, \textit{Administration}, 130 [116].
\(^{623}\) Ranke, \textit{Personennamen I}, 326 [19].
\(^{625}\) Strudwick, \textit{Administration}, 130 [116].
\(^{626}\) Maystre, \textit{Les Grands Prêtres de Ptah de Memphis}, 244-247 [21-25].
\(^{627}\) Begelsbacher-Fischer, \textit{Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt}, 126-127.
\(^{628}\) Strudwick, \textit{Administration}, 130 [116].
\(^{629}\) Name not included in Ranke's \textit{Personennamen}.
\(^{630}\) Fischer, "A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar," 25-29, pl. XV.
noble/spirit in the barque of Sokar," or "inspector of s(t)m-priests (chief celebrants in the rite of Opening the Mouth)," and sš htp-t-nṯr or "scribe of the god's offerings (responsible for keeping the register of offerings to the temple)." Irt-ptḥ called Iri held only two additional titles: Šps nswt or "noble of the king" and smr-pr or "companion of the house."

The title-strings for this particular group are highly consistent, which suggests that the personnel within the cult of Ptah systematically acquired a proscribed set of titles pertaining to both cult and craftsmanship. It is also worthwhile to note that four of the five title-holders share the title mḥnk nswt, or "intimate of the king," which Hassan observes is "nearly always given to the director of some art or craft and is one of the titles of the high priest of Ptah." It does, however, remain unknown as to why the four high priests of Ptah retain the lower-ranking title wˁb (n) Pṯḥ, but do not include the upper-ranking title wˁb ˁ3 Pṯḥ within their title-strings. The sole holder of the title wˁb ˁ3 Pṯḥ, Irt-Pṯḥ called Iri (1-190M), was not a high priest of Ptah of Memphis.

4.1.4.A.b. Wˁb ˁ3 n Mn.w

The title (wˁb ˁ3 n Mn.w), or "great pure one of Min," is an upper-ranking title within the priestly hierarchy of the cult of Min. Only three titles are attested within the priestly hierarchy of Min during the Old Kingdom: wˁb ˁ3 n Mn.w, imy-ḥt Mn.w or "under-supervisor of Min," and sm3 Mn.w or sm3-priest (stolist) of Min; the title of ḥm-nṯr is not attested. Although Gauthier and McFarlane claim that the...

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631 Rendered as: Fischer translates the title as "noble great (of years?) in the bark of Sokar." Refer to: Fischer, "A Group of Sixth Dynasty Titles Relating to Ptah and Sokar," 25, 27-28 [4].
632 Hassan, Gīza II, 7, n. 1.
633 For a discussion of the grammatical composition of the title, see: Ward, "Old Kingdom sš ˁ nsw n hḥt-hr, 'Personal Scribe of Royal Records', and Middle Kingdom sš ˁ n nsw n hḥt-hr, 'Scribe of the Royal Tablet of the Court,'" 383. Title not included in: Begelsbacher-Fischer, Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt.
634 LĪ VI, 388-389, n. 37; Gardiner, Onomastica I, 54*; McFarlane, The God Min, 296-297.
635 "Ḥm-nṯr-Propheten des Min scheinen nicht belegt zu sein." Refer to: Begelsbacher-Fischer, Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt, 104.
636 "Le prêtre wˁb avait donc accès au saint des saints, où trônait la statue divine, et il entrait en communication directe avec le dieu. Il oignait d'huile (ou de fard) cette statue, l'habillait (ou l'ornait), la portait sur l'épaule aux jours de fête où elle était promenée en procession, et la hissait jusqu'à son reposoir." Henri Gauthier, Le Personnel du Dieu Min (Le Caire: IFAO, 1931), 32.
637 "The wˁb in Min's cult may have been concerned with the maintenance of the god's sanctuary, its statue, sacred books and offerings, as well as with the transportation of the god in festival processions."

McFarlane, The God Min, 296.
wˁb of Min had access to the divine sanctuary and performed the daily cult ritual for the god, such access was likely restricted to the wˁb ˁ3. Only one title-holder is known from the Old Kingdom, Ḥss.ii (1-195M),638 whose name and titles are preserved on a false door (CG 1407)639 of unknown provenance, which dates to the reign of Pepi I or later.640 Ḥss.ii held the title of ḫnty-š of the pyramid of Pepi I, which suggests that he resided at the capital of Memphis prior to joining the cult of Min, which was centered in Koptos (modern Qift).641 Ḥss.ii held two upper-ranking titles within this cult: wˁb ˁ3 n Mn.w or "great pure one of Min" and sḥḏ pr-Mn.w or "inspector of the temple of Min;" he also held the title of ḫry-hbt or lector priest. His only other title was ʾps nswt, or "noble of the king."

Lefèbvre suggests that the wˁb and ḫry-hbt were of equal rank within the priestly hierarchy, and Gauthier suggests that by analogy, the wˁb ˁ3 and ḫry-hbt ḫry-tp were of equally upper-rank.642 While each of these assessments may be true for later periods, this is not the case during the Old Kingdom. The only known wˁb ˁ3 that holds a lector-title is Ḥss.ii (1-195M), who holds the title of ḫry-hbt rather than ḫry-hbt ḫry-tp; the aforementioned wˁb ˁ3 (n) Pṯḥ do not hold any lector-titles. A correlation between wˁb ˁ3 and ḫry-hbt ḫry-tp does not occur until the Middle Kingdom, as discussed in §6.II.

4.1.4.B. Wˁb W3ḏ.t

The title (wˁb W3ḏ.t), or "pure one of Wadjet,"643 is attested on a cylinder seal (1-196I) from Abusir/Abu Gurob that dates to the reign of Djedkare.644 Kaplony notes that the title wˁb may have been complemented by the title ḫm-nṯr, as the wˁb-title appears to have comprised part of a longer inscription.645 No named title-holders are known from the Old Kingdom.

638 Ranke, Personennamen I, 255 [17].
639 Borchardt, Denkmäler I, 69-70.
640 For dating to the reign of Pepi I and later, see: Baer, Rank and Title, 107 [349A]. For dating to the First Intermediate Period, see: Helck, "Pyramidenstätten," 103.
641 McFarlane, The God Min, 67; Kanawati, Akhmim, 237-238.
642 Gauthier, Le Personnel du Dieu Min, 33-34.
643 Jones, Index, 369 [1365].
644 A Berlin 16575; Kaplony, Rollsiegel II, 325, pl. 89 [Djedkare, 20].
645 A Berlin 16575; Kaplony, Rollsiegel II, 325.
4.I.4.C.  Wˁb Wp-w3.wt

Despite references to the title in numerous publications (wherein it is cited as the sole example of a female wˁb(t) title-holder), the Old Kingdom attestation of the title (wˁb Wp-w3.wt), or "pure one of Wepwawet," is erroneous. Rather, the title in question is a misreading of the following inscription (which contains an epithet of Neith): ḥm-nṯr Nt wpt w3.wt m swt.s nb(t) wˁb(t), or "god's servant of Neith, who opens the way from all her pure places." No other examples are known from the Old Kingdom, and as such the title does not appear until the Middle Kingdom (§6.I.3.B.5).

4.I.4.D.  Wˁb Nmty

The title (wˁb Nmty), or "pure one of Nemty," refers to the god of the Viper Mountain Nome (U.E. 12), or "the wanderer," whose name may be alternatively read as ˁnty or "the clawed one." Only one title-holder is known, Ṭnti (1-197M), whose name and titles are preserved within his mastaba at Saqqara (B1), which dates to the late 5th Dynasty. Ṭnti served as a wˁb of Nemty and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) ḥm-nṯr of Khufu and ḥm-nṯr Ḥnmt Hr-wr m swt.f nbwt or "god's servant of Khnum foremost of Hur in all his (cult-) places (sanctuaries)." He also held the priestly title of ḥtm(w)-nṯr wi3 or "god's sealer of the barque." Ṭnti held a number of other various titles, some of which are military: rḥ nswt or "royal acquaintance," nfr-idw or "recruit," ḫrp ˁpr.w or "director of the crew," ṣps or "noble," wršˁ r mšˁ or "watcher/attendant to the army," imy-r wp(w)t or "overseer of commissions/apportionments," wr ḫ or "great one of the ḫ-Palace," ḥtm(w) or "sealer," smsw is(t) or

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646  Aylward Blackman, "On The Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy", JEA 7 (1921): 24; Gardiner, Onomastica II, 73*; Jones, Index, 370 [1368]; Murray, Index, pl. XVIII; Pirenne, Institutions II, 489 [88].
647  Wb. I, 283 (13); Lepsius, Denkmäler II, 100b; Mariette, Mastabas, 162 [C 26].
648  LÁ IV, 1103-1104, n. 10; Jones, Index, 370 [1368].
649  Jones, Index, 373 [1381]; Murray, Index, pl. XVIII.
650  Also compare to the biune god of the 10th Upper Egyptian Nome, Nmtwy, or the "Two Wanderers." Refer to: Олег Берлев, "Сокол, Плывущий В Ладье', Иероглиф И Бог," Вестник древней истории I (1969): 3-30.
652  Ranke, Personennamen I, 392 [10].
653  Mariette, Mastabas, 87-89.
654  For dating to the late 5th Dynasty, see: Miroslav Barta, "The Title Inspector of the Palace during the Egyptian Old Kingdom," Archiv Orientální 67 (1999): 17-20. For dating to the mid-4th Dynasty or later, see: Baer, Rank and Title, 153 [569].
"elder of the is(t)-chamber," ḫrp ˁḥ or "director of the ˁḥ-Palace," and ḫrp ˁḥ nswt or "director of the royal canal/pool."

4.1.4.E. Wˁb Rˁ

The title ḫrp ˁḥ (wˁb Rˁ), or "pure one of Re,"655 pertains to the king's sun-temple,656 as per the title-strings that contain this title in addition to wˁb Rˁ n [Sun-Temple] that are discussed in the following sub-sections.

The name and titles of Ṭii (1-198M)657 are preserved upon a false door (CG 1380)658 found within the mastaba of Ḥm-rˁ in Saqqara (No. 6/C 15),659 which dates to the reign of Sahure or later.660 Ṭii's title of wˁb Rˁ is most likely in reference to the sun-temple of Sahure, as he also holds the title ḫrp ˁḥ m Sḥt-[Rˁ]. Ṭii holds no other priestly titles. He holds two additional titles, both of which pertain to fishing and fowling: ˁḏ-mr wḥˁ.w 3pd.w or "overseer of fishers/fowlers," imy-r ˁḥ or "overseer of the bird pool/fowling pool."

The name and titles of N-ḫft-k3(.i) (1-172M)661 are preserved on a false-door (CG 1484)662 from his tomb in Saqqara (D 47),663 which dates to the reign of Niuserre or earlier.664 N-ḫft-k3(.i)'s title of wˁb Rˁ is most likely in reference to the sun-temple of Userkaf, as he also holds the title ḫrp ˁḥ m Nḥn-Rˁ. He served as a wˁb within the the sun-temple of Userkaf and as a wˁb within pyramid complex of Sahure; an exception to the pattern wherein title-holders serve as a wˁb of a pyramid and are then promoted to (or at the same time serve as) ḫm-nṯr of a sun-temple. He was promoted to shḥ ˁḥ.m Rˁ n Wˁb-swt-Wsr-k3.f; or "inspector of pure ones of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf,'" and was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) ḫm-nṯr of Horus-Anubis, although a location is not specified by the title. N-ḫft-k3(.i) also held the title ḫhr wḏb(w) (m) Hwt-ˁnh of "one who is in charge of the reversions (of offerings) in the

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656 Begelsbacher-Fischer, Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt, 152-172.
657 Ranke, Personennamen I, 389 [30].
658 Borchardt, Denkmäler I, 37-41.
659 Mariette, Mastabas, 137-142.
660 Baer, Rank and Title, 152 [565].
661 Ranke, Personennamen I, 168 [21].
662 Borchardt, Denkmäler I, 177-181; de Rougé, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques, 83.
663 Mariette, Mastabas, 304-309.
664 Baer, Rank and Title, 95 [282].
House of Life." He holds a number of non-priestly titles, including: smr or "companion," ḥṛp ˁḥ or "director of the 'ḥ'-palace," ˁḥ-sšt3 n pr-dw3t or "privy to the secret of the House of the Morning," ˁḏ-mr Ḥr-sb3w-ḥnty-pt or "administrator of (the royal 'domain') "Star-of-Horus-Foremost of Heaven' (reign of Djoser)," [ḥnty-š] pr-ˁ3 or "[land-tenant] of the Great House," imy-r sšr-nswt or "overseer of royal cloth/linen," imy-r ḫkrw-nswt or "overseer of the king's regalia," ḥry w3wt or "master/controller/superior of the ways," and imy-r sqb(b)w pr-ˁ3 or "overseer of the cool chambers of the Great House."

The name and titles of Sn.nw (1-199M) are preserved upon a granite seated statue (MFA 06.1879), which was found under a fallen architrave at the entrance to a chapel (G 2034) near his mastaba (G 2032) in Giza, which may date as early as the 5th Dynasty. Sn.nw's title-string does not reference any specific sun-temple, so it remains unknown as to within which particular one he served. Wˁb Rˁ is his sole priestly title. His other titles are: ḥtm(w) šspt nswt or "sealer of the royal šspt-cloth," rḥ nswt n pr-ˁ3 or "royal acquaintance of the Great House," and hry-pr n ḏb3t, or "major-domo of the robing room."

4.1.4.E.a. Wˁb Rˁ n [Sun-Temple]

A consistent pattern found within the title-strings thus far is that a title-holder often serves as a priest at both sanctuaries of the king, most commonly as a wˁb of the pyramid complex before being promoted to (or at the same time serving as) ḥm-nṯr of the sun-temple. Nuzzolo suggests that "the ḥm-nṯr and wˁb titles may have been complementary during the 5th Dynasty, each of them pointing to a specific aspect of the king's nature: his divinity expressed through the ḥm-nṯr title serving his name, and his purity expressed through the wˁb nswt title." The title of wˁb of the sun-temple is relatively uncommon, except for the following examples from the sun-temples of Userkaf, Sahure, and Niuserre. The title of wˁb is not directly linked to any other sun-temples.

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665 Ranke, Personennamen I, 310 [21].
667 Nuzzolo, "The V Dynasty Sun Temples Personnel," 293.
4.1.4.E.a.i. Wˁb Rˁ m Nḫn-Rˁ

The title (wˁb Rˁ m Nḫn-Rˁ), or "pure one of Re in (the sun-temple) Nḫn-Rˁ," refers to the sun-temple of Userkaf.669 Only one title-holder is known, N-hft-k3.(i) (1-172M),670 whose name and titles are preserved on a false-door (CG 1484) from his tomb in Saqqara (D 47),671 which dates to the reign of Niuserre or earlier.672 N-hft-k3.(i) served as a wˁb within the sun-temple of Userkaf and as a wˁb within pyramid complex of Sahure; an exception to the pattern wherein title-holders serve as a wˁb of a pyramid and are promoted to (or at the same time serve as) ḥm-nṯr of a sun-temple. He was promoted to shḏ wˁb.w n Wˁb-swt-Wsr-k3.f, or "inspector of pure ones of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf,'" and was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) ḥm-nṯr of Horus-Anubis, although a location is not specified by the title. N-hft-k3.(i) also held the title of hry wḏb(w) (m) Ḥwt-ˁnḫ of "one who is in charge of the reversions (of offerings) in the House of Life." He holds a number of non-priestly titles, including: smr or "companion," ḥrp ‘ḥ or "director of the ‘ḥ-palace," ḥry sšt3 n pr-dw3t or "privy to the secret of the House of the Morning," ḡ-d mr Ḥr-sb3w-hnty-pt or "administrator of (the royal 'domain') 'Star-of-Horus-Foremost of Heaven' (reign of Djoser)," [ḥnty-š] pr-i3 or "[land-tenant] of the Great House," imy-r sšr-nswt or "overseer of royal cloth/linen," imy-r ẖkrw-nswt or "overseer of the king's regalia," ḥry w3wt or "master/controller/superior of the ways," and imy-r sqb(b)w pr-i3 or "overseer of the cool chambers of the Great House."

The title is also attested on a cylinder seal from Abusir (1-163I), which dates to the reign of Sahure or later.673 The cylinder seal collectively refers to a wˁb and ḥm-nṯr of the sun-temple of Userkaf; such a phenomenon only occurs on one other cylinder seal (1-200I) in reference to the sun-temple of Niuserre (§4.1.3.E.a.iii, below).674

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671 Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 168 [21].


674 Baer, *Rank and Title*, 95 [282].

675 Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, 193, pl. 61 [Sahure 25].

676 Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, 314-315, pl. 86 [7].
4.I.4.E.a.ii. Wˁb Rˁ m Sḫt-[Rˁ]

The title (wˁb Rˁ m Sḫt-[Rˁ]), or "pure one of Re in (the sun-temple) Sḫt-[Rˁ],"\(^{677}\) refers to the sun-temple of Sahure.\(^{678}\) Only two priests are known to have served in this sun-temple: Ṭii (1-198M),\(^{679}\) who held the rank of wˁb, and ˁṯm3, who held the rank of ḥm-nṯr.\(^{680}\) Ṭii's name and titles are preserved upon a false door (CG 1380)\(^{681}\) found within the mastaba of Ḥm-Rˁ in Saqqara (No. 6/C 15),\(^{682}\) which dates to the reign of Sahure or later.\(^{683}\) Ṭii holds dual wˁb-titles: wˁb Rˁ and wˁb Rˁ m Sḥt-[Rˁ]; he holds no other priestly titles. His other titles pertain to fishing and fowling: ˁḏ-mr wḥˁ.w 3pd.w or "overseer of fishers/fowlers," imy-r sš or "overseer of the bird pool/fowling pool."


The title (wˁb [Rˁ m] Šsp-ib-Rˁ), or "pure one [of Re] in (the sun-temple) Šsp-ib-Rˁ,"\(^{684}\) refers to the sun-temple of Niuserre.\(^{685}\) The title is attested on a cylinder-seal (1-200I) from Abu Ghurob (Inv. No. 3792).\(^{686}\) The cylinder seal collectively refers to a wˁb and ḥm-nṯr of the same sun-temple; such a phenomenon only occurs on one other cylinder seal (1-163I) in reference to the sun-temple of Userkaf (§4.I.3.E.a.i, above).\(^{687}\)


\(^{679}\) Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 389 [30].


\(^{681}\) Borchardt, *Denkmäler* I, 37-41.

\(^{682}\) Mariette, *Mastabas*, 137-142.

\(^{683}\) Baer, *Rank and Title*, 152 [565].

\(^{684}\) Neither Jones, Murray, nor Begelsbacher-Fischer account for this title.


\(^{686}\) Inv. No. 3792; Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, 314-315, pl. 86 [Djedkare 7].

\(^{687}\) Kaplony, *Rollsiegel* II, 193, pl. 61 [25].
4.I.4.F. Wˁb Sḫm.t

The title (wˁb Sḫm.t), or "pure one of Sekhmet," may be considered both a priestly as well as a medical title. As the bringer of pestilence, Sekhmet also had the power to heal the sick, the power of which may have extended to the wˁb.w that served her. The inclusion of the title within P. Ebers implies a medical connotation to the title-holder, although they are only described as taking the pulse. In some cases, the title occurs with swnw, or "physician," which continued well into the 18th Dynasty. On occasion, the swnw wˁb acted as "veterinary priests," overseeing butchery and ensuring that the animal is fit for human and divine consumption. Based upon a later example, Lefèbvre proposes that the wˁb.w Sḫm.t in particular may have also cared for living animals as veterinarians. Three title-holders are known.

The name and titles of Ipsḫ (1-201M) are preserved on a statue from Giza, which dates to the reign of Khufu or later. Ipsḫ held dual wˁb-titles of wˁb nswt and wˁb Sḫm.t, and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) hm-nṯr of Khufu. He held no other titles.

The name and titles of Wnn-nfr.(w) (1-202M) are preserved within the mastaba of Pḥ-ḥtp.(w) I in Saqqara (D 62), wherein he is presiding over a butchery scene. In addition to being a wˁb Sḫm.t, he held the upper-ranking medical title of shḏ swnw, or "inspector of physicians."

688 Alternatively rendered as Jones, Index, 377-378 (1400); Murray, Index, pl. XVIII.
692 Ghalioungui, The Physicians of Pharaonic Egypt, 9; Lefèbvre, Médecine Égyptienne, 25.
696 Lefèbvre, Médecine Égyptienne, 25.
697 Name not included in Ranke's Personennamen.
699 Ranke, Personennamen I, 79 [19].
700 Margaret Murray, Saqqara Mastabas I (London: Histories and Mysteries of Man, 1989), pl. 11.
An unnamed title-holder (1-203M) is depicted within the mastaba of Sḥm-ʾnh-pṯḥ (No. 20/D 41) in Saqqara, where he is shown holding the foreleg of a bull in a slaughtering scene. He is identified solely by the title, wʾb Sḥm.t.

Although Lefébvre cites a certain Ir-n-3ḥ.t.(i) (1-011M) as a wʾb Sḥm.t (with the presumption that the name of Sḥm.t was intentionally omitted from the title), Ir-n-3ḥ.t.(i)'s titles are in fact: imy-r pr-ʿ3 wʾb swnw or "overseer of the Great House, pure one, physician." The titles may also be read continuously, as "overseer of the pure ones [and] physicians of the Great House;" Leibovitch translates the combination of wʾb swnw as "medecins purificateurs" or "purifying physicians" of the palace. Because Sekhmet is not included in Ir-n-3ḥ.t.(i)'s title-string, he is not included here as a wʾb Sḥm.t.

Similarly, Begelsbacher-Fischer assumes that a certain Ni-ʾnh-sḥm.t is a wʾb Sḥm.t on the basis of his name, which invokes the "departmental goddess," although he does not carry the title of wʾb per se; Jonckheere also cites Ni-ʾnh-sḥm.t as a wʾb Sḥm.t. As such Ni-ʾnh-sḥm.t is not included here as a title-holder.

Baud believes that the title of wʾb Sḥm.t, like other medical titles, was hereditary. However, there does not appear to be any geneaological link between the known title-holders of the Old Kingdom.

4.II. Summary

The earliest attested wʾb-title is wʾb nswt, or "royal pure one," which occurs during the late 3rd Dynasty. Afterward, the title wʾb nswt proliferates for the remainder of the Old Kingdom. Of the 212 known title-holders of the Old Kingdom, 125 (59%) hold a

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702 Alternatively read as Ir(w)-n-3ḥt(y) by: R. Charles, "Dr. Frans Jonckheere. Les Médecins de l'Egypte Pharaonique (Compte Rendu)," *RdE* 13 (1961): 143-144.
708 Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt*, 252.
709 Jonckheere, "Chirurgien Égyptien," 32.
710 Baud, *Famille Royale* II, 268.
title affiliated with the mortuary cult of the royal family, whether it be of the king (wˁb-nswt), king's mother (wˁb mwt-nswt), or king's children (wˁb ms.w-nswt).

The earliest known wˁb-title affiliated with a specific king is in reference to Peribsen, a king of the 2nd Dynasty. The title-holder himself lived during the 4th Dynasty, which indicates that the mortuary cult of Peribsen continued long after his death. The next wˁb-title affiliated with a king does not occur until Sneferu, for which the title is in reference to the Red Pyramid complex at Dahshur. The wˁb-title associated with the king's pyramid remains consistent for the remainder of the 4th Dynasty. Only one exception occurs, for which the wˁb-title associated with Khufu's pyramid at Giza is in fact a wˁb-nswt.

At the onset of the 5th Dynasty, wˁb-titles are affiliated with various complexes of the same king, e.g. the pyramid, sun-temple, and mrt-temple, etc. of Userkaf and Sahure. The wˁb-titles associated with the pyramid complex of Neferirkare interchangeably invoke the king's prenomen and nomen, although they in fact refer to the same monument; no wˁb-titles are associated with any other monuments of this king. The wˁb-titles once again exclusively refer to the king's pyramid complex until the reign of Unas, for whom there is both a wˁb of his pyramid complex in addition to a wˁb šnty (200) of his pyramid complex. The title wˁb šnty (200) continues to be used in association with the king's pyramid complex for the duration of the 6th Dynasty, with the exception of Teti, for whom no wˁb šnty (200)-title is known.

Overall the wˁb-titles of the Old Kingdom show a trend in which the title-holder served as a wˁb prior to being promoted to (or at the same time served as) a ḫm-nṯr. Of the 212 known wˁb.w of the Old Kingdom, 98 (46%) became (or were also) ḫm-nṯr. Of the 98 wˁb.w that became ḫm-nṯr, 66 (67%) held the title of wˁb nswt. Of these, a distinct pattern emerges: 61 of 66 (92%) wˁb nswt became the ḫm-nṯr of a deceased king; only 5 wˁb nswt became another type of ḫm-nṯr-title (three became ḫm-nṯr of Re, one became ḫm-nṯr of Wadjet, and one held the generic title of ḫm-nṯr with no further specification). Nine (14%) held the funerary title of ḫm-k3, or "k3-servant." This pattern reinforces the interpretation that the title wˁb nswt is affiliated with the royal mortuary cult.

Another pattern emerges in which the wˁb.w affiliated with the royal mortuary cult (i.e. wˁb nswt and/or wˁb of a pyramid) were promoted to (or simultaneously held the
title of) ḫm-nṯr of a sun-temple. Of the 98 wˁb.w that became (or were also) ḫm-nṯr, 27 (27.5%) became ḫm-nṯr of a sun-temple. Of these, 10 (38%) were wˁb nswt and 18 (69%) were wˁb of a pyramid; overlap in percentages is due to title-holders who hold dual titles of wˁb nswt and wˁb of a pyramid. The only two ḫm-nṯr of a sun-temple that did not derive from the royal mortuary cult were Ṣpss-pth (1-191M) and S3b.w called Ibb.i (1-194M), both of whom were wˁb of Ptah.

Of the 98 wˁb.w that became (or were also) ḫm-nṯr, only six (6%) derive from the cult of a deity: Four wˁb.w of Ptah, one wˁb of Nemty, and one wˁb of Sekhmet. All of the wˁb.w of Ptah were promoted to ḫm.w-nṯr of Ptah and Sokar; Ṣpss-pth (1-191M) held several ḫm-nṯr titles in sun-temples, while S3b.w called Ibb.i (1-194M) had several additional ḫm-nṯr titles in both the pyramid complexes and sun-temples. The wˁb of Nemty, Ṭnti (1-198M), became (or was also) a ḫm-nṯr of Khnum and of Khufu. The wˁb of Sekhmet, ḫpsḫ (1-202M), became (or was also) a ḫm-nṯr of Khufu. The last two examples indicate that cross-over from serving as a wˁb of a deity to a ḫm-nṯr of the royal mortuary cult was possible. Whether or not this was a frequent occurrence cannot be determined based upon the small sample size.

A small group of cylinder seals (1-163I, 1-164I, 1-165I, 1-179I, and 1-201I) are also worthy of mention. Each of these seals contain dual wˁb- and ḫm-nṯr-titles, but do not name a title-holder. It is possible that these seals could be used collectively by any wˁb or ḫm-nṯr within their specific cult location, e.g. the pyramid and sun-temple of Userkaf (1-163I, 1-164I, and 1-165I), or the pyramid and sun-temple of Niuserre (1-201I); 1-179I does not specify a cult location.

Each of the 98 wˁb.w that became (or were also) ḫm.w-nṯr are shown in Table 4.II.1, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix A.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>wˁb-title</th>
<th>ḫm-nṯr-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḫ3 (1-003M)</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>ḫm-nṯr; god's servant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3(i)-ni-nswt (1-010M)</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>ḫm-nṯr pr-ˁ3; god's servant of the Great House.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.II.1: Wˁb.w with ḫm-nṯr-Titles During the Old Kingdom
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>wˁb-title</th>
<th>ḥm-nṯr-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hii-ḫwfw (1-012M)</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr; god's servant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥ3g.i (1-013M)</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr bikwy-nbw; god's servant of the Two Horuses of Gold (Khufu).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwḏ 1 (1-016M)</td>
<td>wˁb mwt nswt, wˁb; pure one of the king's mother, pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Ḥwfw, ḥm-nṯr Ḥˁ.f-rˁ, ḥm-nṯr Ḥdfrˁ; god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of Khafre, god's servant of Djedefre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3.(i)-m-qd.(i) 1-020M</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Snfrw, ḥm-nṯr [...]t; god's servant of Sneferu, god's servant of [...]t.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3.(i)-rs.(w) (1-021M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Snfrw; god's servant of Sneferu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptḥ-ḥtp.(w) (1-022M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Ḥwfw; god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥmt-nw (1-023M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Ḥwfw; god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni-sw-qd (1-026M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Ḥwfw, ḥm-nṯr Ḥr Mḏdw; god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of the Horus Medjedu (Khufu).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ṣnh-wd.s (1-028M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Mn-k3w-rˁ; god's servant of Menkaure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nfr-ir.t-n.f (1-035M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Ḥwt-ḥr, ḥm-nṯr S3ḥw-Rˁ; god's servant of Hathor, god's servant of Sahure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥp-dw3 (1-039M)</td>
<td>shḏ wˁb.w nswt; inspector of the royal pure ones.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr M3ˁ.t, ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m St-ib-Rˁ, ḥm-nṯr Ḥr-ḥty, ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m Ṣsp-ib-Rˁ, ḥm-nṯr Wsrw; god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) St-ib-Rˁ, god's servant of Horakhty, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Ṣsp-ib-Rˁ, god's servant of Wsrw.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥˁi-b3.w-pth (1-040M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr S3ḥw-Rˁ, ḥm-nṯr Nfr-ir-k3-rˁ, ḥm-nṯr [Rˁ] m St-ib-Rˁ, ḥm-nṯr Nfr-ḥr-Rˁ, ḥm-nṯr Ny-wsr-Rˁ; god's servant of Sahure, god's servant of Neferirkare, god's servant (of Re) in (the sun-temple) St-ib-Rˁ, god's servant of Neferefre, god's servant of Niuserre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name (No.)</td>
<td>wˁb-title</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr-title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sḫm-k3(.i) (1-042M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr Hwt-Hr m St-ib-Rˁ, Ḥm-nṯr Ni-wsr-rˁ, Ḥm-nṯr M3ˁ.t, Ḥm-nṯr Sd; god's servant of Hathor in (the sun-temple) St-ib-Rˁ, god's servant of Niuserre, god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Sed.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ū3-š (1-045M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr mwt nswt; god's servant of the king's mother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr-hwfw (1-048M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr Hˁ.f-rˁ, Ḥm-nṯr Mn-k3w-rˁ; god's servant of Khafre, god's servant of Menkaure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nfr-hr-n-cut : Ffi (1-047M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr Hˁ.f-rˁ, Ḥm-nṯr Mn-k3w-rˁ; god's servant of Khafre, god's servant of Menkaure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣn.w.Br-šn(w) (1-053M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt, wˁb Hˁ.b3-S3hw-rˁ; pure one of the king, pure one of the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr Wsr-k3.f, Ḥm-nṯr Nh3-Rˁ, Ḥm-nṯr Rˁ; god's servant of Userkaf, god's servant of (the sun-temple) Nh3-Rˁ, god's servant of Re.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nfr-msḏr-hwfw (1-054M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr (Hwfw); god's servant (of Khufu).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni-sw-rdi (1-056M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr Hr Mḏdw; god's servant of the Horus Medjedu (Khufu).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3-dw3 (1-059M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt, shḏ wˁb.w; royal pure one, inspector of pure ones.</td>
<td>Ḥm k3, Ḥm-nṯr Hˁ.f-rˁ, Ḥm-nṯr Hr-wsr-ib, Ḥm-nṯr Nbti-wsr-m, Ḥm-nṯr wˁb Hˁ.f-rˁ; k3-servant, god's servant of Khafre, god's servant of Hr-wsr-ib (Khafre), god's servant of Nbti-wsr-m (Khafre), god's servant and pure one of Khafre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ūnḫ(.i)-m-ˁ/k3(.i) (1-060M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr M3ˁ.t, Ḥm-nṯr S3hw-rˁ, Ḥm-nṯr Mn-swt-Ny-wsr-rˁ, Ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m Nh3-Rˁ [St-ib-nb.f rˁ-nb], Ḥm-nṯr Hq.t; god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Sahure, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Nh3-Rˁ [St-ib-nb.f rˁ-nb], god's servant of Heqat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name (No.)</td>
<td>wˁb-title</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr-title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3(i)-m-nfr.t (1-061M)</td>
<td>ḳˁb Mn-swt Ni-wsr-rˁ, ḳˁb nswt, ḳˁb ḫˁ-b3-S3ḥw-rˁ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', pure one of the king, pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr B3-Nfr-ir-k3-rˁ, ḥm-nṯr M3ˁt, ḥm-nṯr M3ˁt nḥt nḥ, ḥm-nṯr Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-rˁ, ḥm-nṯr Nfr-ir-k3-rˁ, ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m Nh-n-Rˁ, ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m St-ib-Rˁ, ḥm-nṯr ḫˁ-f-rˁ, ḥm-nṯr S3ḥw-rˁ, ḥm-nṯr Šsp-ib-Rˁ; god's servant of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Neferirkare' / 'Neferirkare-is-a-B3', god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Maat mistress of life, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', god's servant of Neferirkare, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Nh-n-Rˁ, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) St-ib-Rˁ, god's servant of Khafre, god's servant of Sahara, god's servant of (the sun-temple) Šsp-ib-Rˁ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nfr (1-063M)</td>
<td>ḳˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr ḫˁ-f-rˁ; god's servant of Khafre.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nh-t-k3.i (1-064M)</td>
<td>ḳˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr S3ḥw-rˁ; god's servant of Sahure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥtp-ni-ḥt (1-065M)</td>
<td>ḳˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr ḫwfw; god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sd3w(g) (1-068M)</td>
<td>ḳˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr S3ḥw-rˁ, ḥm-nṯr ḫˁ-b3-S3ḥw-rˁ; god's servant of Sahure, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Nh-n-Rˁ, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pn-mrw (1-069M)</td>
<td>ḳˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Mn-k3w-rˁ, imy-r ḥm.w-k3; god's servant of Menkaure, overseer of k3-servants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni-m3ˁ.t-rˁ (1-070M)</td>
<td>ḳˁb Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-rˁ, ḳˁb nswt; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', overseer of the pure ones of the king's mother, royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m Šsp-ib-Rˁ; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Šsp-ib-Rˁ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni-k3.w-ḥt (1-071M)</td>
<td>ḳˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr ḫwfw; god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.II.1: $Wˁb.w$ with $Ḥm-nṯr$-Titles During the Old Kingdom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>$wˁb$-title</th>
<th>$ḥm-nṯr$-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$Ḏḏ.f-ḥwfw$ (1-073M)</td>
<td>$wˁb$ nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>$ḥm-nṯr$ $Ḥr(\cdot)-Mḏdw$, $ḥm-nṯr$ Bikwy-nbw; god's servant of the Horus $Mḏdw$ (Horus name of Khufu), god's servant of the Two Falcons of Gold (Golden Falcon name of Khufu).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Sbk-ḥtp(w)$ (1-075M)</td>
<td>$wˁb$ nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>$ḥm-nṯr$ $Ḥwfw$, $ḥm-nṯr$ $Ḥr(\cdot)-Mḏdw$, $ḥm-nṯr$ Bikwy-nbw; god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of the Horus $Mḏdw$ (Horus name of Khufu), god's servant of the Two Falcons of Gold (Golden Falcon name of Khufu).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Nī-sw-qd$ (1-077M)</td>
<td>$wˁb$ nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>$ḥm-nṯr$ $Ḥwfw$; god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Nfr-qd$ (1-078M)</td>
<td>$wˁb$ nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>$ḥm-nṯr$ $Ḥwfw$, $ḥm-nṯr$ $R^{\epsilon} m$ Šsp-ib-$R^{\epsilon}$; god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Šsp-ib-$R^{\epsilon}$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Pḥn-ḥṯ$ (1-083M)</td>
<td>$wˁb$ nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>$ḥm-nṯr$ $Ḥwfw$; god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Nfr$ [I] (1-085M)</td>
<td>$wˁb$ nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>$ḥm-nṯr$ $Ḥr(\cdot)-Mḏdw$, $ḥm-nṯr$ Mḏd-r-nbty, imy-r $ḥm.w$-k3; god's servant of the Horus $Mḏdw$ (Horus Name of Khufu), god's servant of Mḏd-r-nbty (Nebty Name of Khufu), overseer of k3-servants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Sḥm-k3(i)$ (1-086M)</td>
<td>$wˁb$ nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>$ḥm-nṯr$ $R^{\epsilon} m$ Šsp-ib-$R^{\epsilon}$, $ḥm-nṯr$ $Ḥwfw$, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Šsp-ib-$R^{\epsilon}$, god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ʾnh-špss-ḵ3.f: Ss-k3-r$ (1-090M)</td>
<td>$wˁb$ nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>$ḥm-nṯr$ $Ḥʾf.r^{\epsilon}$, imy-r $ḥm.w$-k3, $shḏ$ $ḥm.w$-k3; god's servant of Khafre, overseer of k3-servants, inspector of k3-servants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Iḏsn$ (1-091M)</td>
<td>$wˁb$ nswt, $shḏ$ $wˁb.w$; royal pure one, inspector of pure ones.</td>
<td>$ḥm-nṯr$ $Ḥwfw$; god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$ʾnh.tifi$ (1-092M)</td>
<td>$wˁb$ nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>$ḥm-nṯr$ $Ḥwfw$; god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Iw.f-n.i-ḥṯ$ (1-094M)</td>
<td>$wˁb$ nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>$ḥm-nṯr$ $[...,shḏ]$ $ḥm.w$-k3; god's servant of $[...], inspektor of k3-servants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Šnw$ (1-097M)</td>
<td>$wˁb$ nswt, $shḏ$ $wˁb.w$ nswt; royal pure one, inspector of the royal pure ones.</td>
<td>$ḥm-nṯr$ $Ḥwfw$; god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.II.1: Wˁb.w with Ḥm-nṯr-Titles During the Old Kingdom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>wˁb-title</th>
<th>Ḥm-nṯr-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>K3.w (1-100M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr Ḫwfw, ṣḥḏ ḫm.w-k3; god's servant of Khufu, inspector of k3-servants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mnw (1-107M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr Ḫwfw, Ḥm-nṯr Ḫr(.w)-Mḏdw, Ḥm-nṯr bikwy-nbw, Ḥm-nṯr Mḏd-r-nbty; god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of the Horus Mḏdw (Horus Name of Khufu), god's servant of the Two Falcons of Gold (Golden Falcon name of Khufu), god's servant of Mḏd-r-nbty (Nebty Name of Khufu).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr-ˁnḫ.f (1-108M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr Ḫwfw; god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrw-k3 (1-109M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr Ḫwfw; god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni-msti (1-110M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr, ḫm.w-k3; god's servant, under-supervisor of k3-servants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḫwfw-snḫ(.w) (1-112M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr Ḫr(.w)-Mḏdw, Ḥm-nṯr Ḫwfw; god's servant of the Horus Mḏdw (Horus name of Khufu), god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥnw (1-113M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr Mn-k3w-rˁ, ṣḥḏ ḫm.w-k3; god's servant of Menkaure, inspector of k3-servants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṣḥm-ˁnḫ-hpḥ (1-115M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḫm-nṯr Mḏd-r-nbty; under-supervisor of k3-servants of the royal instructors, god's servant of Menkaure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni-sw-qd (1-116M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr Ḫwfw; god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D3g (1-118M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr Ḫm.w-Hwfw; god's servant of Khnum-Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3(.i)-ḥ(w)i.f (1-119M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr Ḫwfw; god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Id.ii (1-121M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr Rˁ; god's servant of Re.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dnḫ-skḏ (1-123M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Ḥm-nṯr Ḫr(.w)-Mḏdw; god's servant of the Horus Mḏdw (Horus Name of Khufu).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name (No.)</td>
<td>wˁb-title</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr-title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
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<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˁnḫ-nb.f (1-124M)</td>
<td>ḫ3styw Nṯry-Mn-k3w-rˁ, wˁb nswt; overseer of pure ones and foreign conscripts of (the pyramid) 'Divine-is-Menkaure', royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Mn-k3w-rˁ; god's servant of Menkaure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iwn.i (1-125M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Ḫwfw; god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ir.w-k3-rˁ (1-127M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Ḫwfw, ḥm-nṯr Ḫr(.w)-Mḏdw; god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of the Horus Mḏdw (Horus Name of Khufu).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni-ˁnḫ-khfw (1-130M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Ḫr(.w)-Mḏdw; god's servant of the Horus Mḏdw (Horus Name of Khufu).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Q3r (1-136M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Ḫwfw, ḥm-nṯr Ḫwt-hr; god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of Hathor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tti (1-140M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Ḫwfw; god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M3ˁ.t-pḥ (1-145M)</td>
<td>wˁb pr-ˁ3; pure one of the Great House.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Mn-k3w-rˁ; god's servant of Menkaure.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3(.i)-ḥr-st.f (1-150M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt Sḫm.t; royal pure one of Sekhmet.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Ḫwfw; god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Śri (N/A)</td>
<td>imy-r wˁb.w Pr-ib-sn m ḥr(t)-nṯr m ḥwt Snd m swt.f nb; overseer of the pure ones of Peribsen in the necropolis in the temple of Sened in all his places.</td>
<td>imy-r ḥm.w-k3 n Snd, ḥm-nṯr Snd m (m ḥwt ist), imy-r ḥm.w-k3 n Snd m ḥr(t)-nṯr; overseer of the k3-servants of Sened (in the necropolis), god's servant of Sened (in the 'portal'), overseer of the k3-servants of Sened in the necropolis.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name (No.)</td>
<td>wˁb-title</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr-title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tp-m-ˁnḥ II (1-157M)</td>
<td>wˁb Hˁ-b3-S3hw-rˁ, wˁb Hˁ-Snfrw, wˁb Ngy-Mn-k3.w-rˁ, wˁb Wr-Hfft-rˁ, wˁb Wˁb-swts-Wsr-k3.f; pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor', pure one of (the pyramid) 'Sneferu-Appears-in-Splendor', pure one of (the pyramid) 'Divine-is-Menkaure', pure one of (the pyramid) 'Great-is-Khafre', pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr M3ˁ.t, ḥm-nṯr Ḫwfw, ḥm-nṯr W3ḍt/Qḥbw.t, ḥm-nṯr S33t, ḥm-nṯr [Rˁ m] Nḫn-Rˁ, ḥm-nṯr, ḥm-nṯr Ḥr(w) (m) Nḫn-Rˁ, ḥm-nṯr Ḥwt-hr, ḥm-nṯr Mn-k3.w-rˁ (m?) 'ḥ-ḥnw; god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of Wadjet/'The Water Pourer' cobra goddess, god's servant of Seshat, god's servant [of Re] in (the sun-temple) Nḫn-Rˁ, god's servant, god's servant of Horus (in the sun-temple) Nḫn-Rˁ, god's servant of Hathor, god's servant of Menkaure in the ˁḥ-palace(?) of the residence.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nfr.i (1-158M)</td>
<td>wˁb nsrw, ḥm-nṯr Ḫwfw; royal pure one, pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-Horizon-is-Khufu'.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr W3ḍt; god's servant of Wadjet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nfr (1-161M)</td>
<td>wˁb Wsr-k3.f; pure one of Userkaf.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m Nḫn-Rˁ; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Nḫn-Rˁ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ffi (1-162M)</td>
<td>wˁb n Wˁb-swts-Wsr-k3.f; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m Nḫn-Rˁ, ḥm-nṯr Pḥ, ḥm-nṯr Skr; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Nḫn-Rˁ, god's servant of Ptah, god's servant of Sokar.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (1-164I)</td>
<td>wˁb Wˁb-swts-Wsr-k3.f, [wˁb-] nsrw; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', royal [pure one].</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m Nḥn-Rˁ, […] ḥm-nṯr [Ḥr Ir-m3ˁ.t] (?) ; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Nḥn-Rˁ, […] god's servant of the Horus Ir-m3ˁ.t (Horus name of Userkaf).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (1-165I)</td>
<td>[wˁb-] nsrw, wˁb Wˁb-swts-Wsrk3.f; royal [pure one], pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr [Wsrk3.f], ḥm-nṯr Ḥr-ir-m3ˁ.t […] ; god's servant [of Userkaf], god's servant of the Horus Ir-m3ˁ.t (Horus name of Userkaf) […]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>(No.)</td>
<td>(w'b)-title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Hm-Mn.w)</td>
<td>(1-166M)</td>
<td>(w'b\ W'b-swt-Wsr-k3.f); pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Spss-r^s)</td>
<td>(1-167M)</td>
<td>(imy-\h-t) (n) (w'b.w) (W'b-swt-Wsr-k3.f), (w'b) (W'b-swt-Wsr-k3.f); under-supervisor of the pure ones of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(K3.(i)-hp)</td>
<td>(1-168M)</td>
<td>(w'b) (n) (W'b-swt-Wsr-k3.f); pure one of (Userkaf's pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Dw3-r^s)</td>
<td>(1-169M)</td>
<td>(w'b) (n) (W'b-swt-Wsr-k3.f), (hrp) (w'b.w); pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', director of the pure ones.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Pth-)htp.(w)</td>
<td>(1-170M)</td>
<td>(w'b) (nswt) (m) (mrt(t)) (Wsr-k3.f); royal pure one of the (mrt)-temple of Userkaf.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(K3.(i)-m-)snw</td>
<td>(1-171M)</td>
<td>(w'b) (S\h-w-r^s), (w'b) (Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r^s); pure one of Sahure, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>wˁb-title</th>
<th>ḥm-nṯr-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N-lḥt-kš(.i) (1-172M)</td>
<td>wˁb Rˁ m Nḥn-Rˁ, ṣḥḏ wˁb.w n Wˁb.swt-Wṣr-kš.f, wˁb Ḥˁ-b3-Sḥw-rˁ; pure one of Re in (the sun-temple) Nḥn-Rˁ, inspector of pure ones of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Ḥr Inpw ḫnty pr ġmswt; god's servant of Horus-Anubis who presides over the suite.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.ḥtp.w (1-173M)</td>
<td>wˁb Ḥˁ-b3-Sḥw-rˁ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr M3ˁ.t, ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m Sšp-ib-Rˁ; god's servant of Maat; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Sšp-ib-Rˁ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥtp-ḥr-3ḥ.t.i (1-175M)</td>
<td>wˁb B3-Nfr-irk3-Rˁ, wˁb nswt, wˁb Mn-swt-Ni-wṣr-rˁ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Neferrakare' / 'Neferrakare-is-a-B3', royal pure one, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr M3ˁ.t, ḥm-nṯr Rˁ Ḥwt-ḥr m Sṭ-ib-Rˁ; god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Sṭ-ib-Rˁ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kš(.i)-pwt (1-176M)</td>
<td>wˁb B3-Nfr-irk3-Rˁ, wˁb nswt, wˁb Mn-swt-Ni-wṣr-rˁ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Neferrakare' / 'Neferrakare-is-a-B3', royal pure one, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr M3ˁ.t, ḥm-nṯr Rˁ Ḥwt-ḥr m Sṭ-ib-Rˁ; god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Sṭ-ib-Rˁ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (1-178I)</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr; god's servant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥnm.w-ḥtp(.w) (1-179M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt, wˁb Mn-swt-Ni-wṣr-rˁ; royal pure one, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m Sšp-ib-Rˁ; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Sšp-ib-Rˁ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni-ˁḥn-ḥnm.w (1-180M)</td>
<td>wˁb Mn-swt-Ni-wṣr-rˁ; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m Sšp-ib-Rˁ; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Sšp-ib-Rˁ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snfrw-nfr (1-181M)</td>
<td>wˁb Nṯrt-swt-Mn-kš.w-ḥr; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Divine-are-the-Places-of-Menkauhor'.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Nfr-Dḥ-kš-rˁ; god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-is-Djedkare'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥš.i (1-186M)</td>
<td>wˁb Dḥ-swt-Tṭi; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti'.</td>
<td>īmy-ḥt ḥm.w-nṯr Dḥ-swt-Tṭi, ḥm-nṯr M3ˁ.t, ḥm-nṯr Ḥqt, ṣḥḏ ḥm.w-nṯr Dḥ-swt-Tṭi; under-supervisor of god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Heqat, inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name (No.)</td>
<td>$w^b$-title</td>
<td>$hm$-$n^tr$-title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Hnti-k3$ : Ilyhi (1-187M)</td>
<td>$w^b$ šnty (200) Mn-nfr-Ppy; pure one of the šnty (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides'.</td>
<td>$shd$ hm.$w$-$n^tr$ Mn-nfr-Ppy, $shd$ hm.$w$-$n^tr$ Dd-swrt-Tti, imy-$ht$ hm.$w$-$n^tr$ Dd-swrt-Tti, $hm$-$n^tr$ pr Dhwy, s[hd]$ hm.$w$-$n^tr$ hw$tk3$-$3$h[t]; inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides', inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', under-supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', god's servant of the house of Thoth, inspector of the god's servants of the K3-Chapel/funerary temple of the Horizon/tomb(?).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Sps$-$s$-$pth$ I (1-191M)</td>
<td>$w^b$ Ptḥ; pure one of Ptah.</td>
<td>$hm$-$n^tr$ Ptḥ, $hm$-$n^tr$ Skr, $hm$-$n^tr$ M3$^i$ $m$ swt (i)ptn n hry-b3$qt$, $hm$-$n^tr$ R$^i$ $m$ 3$h$t-R$^i$, $hm$-$n^tr$ R$^i$ $m$ Nh$n$-R$^i$, $hm$-$n^tr$ R$^i$ $m$ St-ib-R$^i$, $hm$-$n^tr$ R$^i$ $m$ $Ssp$-ib-R$^i$, $hm$-$n^tr$ $Hwt$-$h$ $m$ swt (i) nb(w)t, $hm$-$n^tr$ $Hr$ $(w)$ $m$ hnt-wr, $hm$-$n^tr$ $Hr$ $(w)$ Hnty-mdf, $hm$-$n^tr$ Hnty-i3$t.f$, $hm$-$n^tr$ Hnty-Tnt, $hm$-$n^tr$ Skr $m$ swt $(f$ nbt, $hm$-$n^tr$ Dd-$sp$ss; god's servant of Ptah, god's servant of Sokar, god's servant of Maat in these (cult) places, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) 3$h$t-R$^i$, god's servant f Re in (the sun-temple) Nh$n$- R$^i$, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) St-ib-R$^i$, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) $Ssp$-ib-R$^i$, god's servant of Hathor in all places/everywhere, god's servant of Horus in hnt-wr, god's servant of Hnty-mdf (one of the titles of the high priest of Ptah at Memphis), god's servant of Hnty-i3wt.f (alias of Ptah), god's servant of Hnty-Tnt, god's servant of Sokar in all his places (sanctuaries), god's servant of Dd-$sp$ss.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Sps$-$s$-$pth$ II (1-192M)</td>
<td>$w^b$ Ptḥ; pure one of Ptah.</td>
<td>$hm$-$n^tr$ Ptḥ, $hm$-$n^tr$ Skr; god's servant of Ptah, god's servant of Sokar.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Table 4.II.1: $W^{b.w}$ with $Hm-ntr$-Titles During the Old Kingdom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>$w^{b}$-title</th>
<th>$hm$-$ntr$-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$S3.b.w$ : $Ibb.i$ (1-193M)</td>
<td>$w^{b}$ $Pth$; pure one of Ptah.</td>
<td>$hm$-$ntr$ $Pth$, $hm$-$ntr$ $Skr$, $imy$-$ht$ $hm$-$ntr$ $Nfr$-$swt$-$Wnis$, $imy$-$ht$ $hm$-$ntr$ $Dd$-$swt$-$Tti$, $hm$-$ntr$ $M3'$-$i$-$m$ $swt$ (i)$ptn$ $n$ $hnty$-$b3$qf, $hm$-$ntr$ $R^{6}$ $m$ $3$h$t$-$R^{6}$, $hm$-$ntr$ $R^{6}$ $m$ $N$h$n$-$R^{6}$, $hm$-$ntr$ $R^{6}$ $m$ $St$-$ib$-$R^{6}$, $hm$-$ntr$ $R^{6}$ $m$ $Śsp$-$ib$-$R^{6}$, $hm$-$ntr$ $Hwty$-$hr$ $m$ $swt$ $nb$(w)t, $hm$-$ntr$ $Hr$(w) $m$ $ḥnt$-$wr$, $hm$-$ntr$ $Hr$(w) $Hnty$-$mdf$, $hm$-$ntr$ $Hnty$-$i3$t,f, $hm$-$ntr$ $Hnty$-$Ṭnt$, $hm$-$ntr$ $Skr$ $m$ $swt$f $nb$t, $hm$-$ntr$ $Dd$-$śpss$; god's servant of Ptah, god's servant of Sokar, under-supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas', under-supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', god's servant of Maat in these (cult) places, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) $3$h$t$-$R^{6}$, god's servant f Re in (the sun-temple) $N$h$n$-$R^{6}$, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) $St$-$ib$-$R^{6}$, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) $Śsp$-$ib$-$R^{6}$, god's servant of Hathor in all places/everywhere, god's servant of Horus in $ḥnt$-$wr$, god's servant of $Hnty$-$mdf$ (one of the titles of the high priest of Ptah at Memphis), god's servant of $Hnty$-$i3$t,f (alias of Ptah), god's servant of $Hnty$-$Ṭnt$, god's servant of Sokar in all his places (sanctuaries), god's servant of $Dd$-$śpss$.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Śpss$-$pth$ IV (1-194M)</td>
<td>$w^{b}$ $Pth$; pure one of Ptah.</td>
<td>$hm$-$ntr$ $Pth$, $hm$-$ntr$ $Skr$, $hm$-$ntr$ $Dd$-$swt$-$Tti$ $m$ $nḥt$, $hm$ $ntr$ $Nfr$-$swt$-$Wnis$; god's servant of Ptah, god's servant of Sokar, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$Ṭnti$ (1-197M)</td>
<td>$w^{b}$ $Nmty$; pure one of Nemty.</td>
<td>$hm$-$ntr$ $Hḥm.w$ $ḥnty$ $Hr$-$wr$ $m$ $swt$f $nbwt$, $w^{b}$ $Nmty$, $hm$-$ntr$ $Hwfy$; god's servant of Khnum foremost of Hur in all his (cult-)places (sanctuaries), god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 4.II.1: Wˁb.w with Ḥm-nṯr-Titles During the Old Kingdom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>wˁb-title</th>
<th>Ḥm-nṯr-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (1-200I)</td>
<td>( wˁb , Ḥm-nṯr , [Rˁ , m] , Šsp-ib-Rˁ, , Mšn, [n]tr , w[^b] , Mšn, swt, Ni-wsr-rˁ; ) pure one [and] god's servant [of Re in] (the sun-temple) ( Šsp-ib-Rˁ, ) god's [servant and] pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.</td>
<td>( wˁb , Ḥm-nṯr , [Rˁ , m] , Šsp-ib-Rˁ, , [h[m, n]tr , w[^b] , Mšn, swt, Ni-wsr-rˁ; ) pure one [and] god's servant [of Re in] (the sun-temple) ( Šsp-ib-Rˁ, ) god's [servant and] pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipsḫ (1-201M)</td>
<td>( wˁb , nswt, , wˁb , Shlm, t; ) royal pure one, pure one of Sekhmet.</td>
<td>( Ḥm-nṯr , Ḥwfw; ) god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Issi-ḥ3- […] (1-207M)</td>
<td>( wˁb , šnty , (200); ) pure one of the šnty (200).</td>
<td>( Ḥm-nṯr , mrt , Mry-rˁ; ) god's servant of the mrt-temple of Pepi I.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of \( wˁb.w \) who served in other priestly offices (e.g. ḫry-ḥbt, s(t)m, etc.) are by comparison quite low. Of the 212 known \( wˁb.w \) of the Old Kingdom, six (3%) became (or were also) ḫry-ḥbt, or lector priests. Of the six \( wˁb.w \) that held the title of ḫry-ḥbt, five (83%) were \( wˁb \, šnty \, (200); \) the sole exception (17%) was a \( wˁb \, ṣ3 \, n \, Mn\, w. \) Each of the six \( wˁb.w \) that held lector-titles are shown in Table 4.II.2, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix A.

### Table 4.II.2: Wˁb.w with Lector-Titles During the Old Kingdom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>wˁb-title</th>
<th>Ḥry ḫbt-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ḥnti-k3 : Iḥḥi (1-187M)</td>
<td>( wˁb , šnty , (200) , Mšn, ṯr, Ppy; ) pure one of the šnty (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides'.</td>
<td>( Ḥry , ḫbt, , Ḥry , ḫbt , ḫry-tp, , Ḥry-ḥb , m3; ) lector priest, chief lector priest, true lector priest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫ3rt(i) (1-188M)</td>
<td>( wˁb , šnty , (200) , ḫ³, nfr, Mr, n, rˁ; ) pure one of the šnty (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Merenre-Appears-in-Splendor'.</td>
<td>( ḫry-ḥbt; ) lector priest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥss.ii (1-195M)</td>
<td>( wˁb , ṣ3 , n , Mn, w; ) great pure one of Min.</td>
<td>( ḫry-ḥbt; ) lector priest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gg.i (1-205M)</td>
<td>( wˁb , šnty , (200); ) pure one of the šnty (200).</td>
<td>( ḫry , ḫbt; ) lector priest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nh-nḫ-nb.f (1-209M)</td>
<td>( wˁb , šnty , (200); ) pure one of the šnty (200).</td>
<td>( ḫry-ḥbt; ) lector priest.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.II.2: Wˁb.w with Lector-Titles During the Old Kingdom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>wˁb-title</th>
<th>ḫry ḫbt-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Šm3.i: (1-210M)</td>
<td>wˁb šnty (200); pure one of the šnty (200).</td>
<td>ḫry-ḥbt [ḥry-tp]; [chief] lector priest.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of wˁb.w that became (or were also) s(t)m-priests is similarly low: Of the 212 known wˁb.w of the Old Kingdom, 7 (3%) became s(t)m-priests, or the chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth. Of the seven wˁb.w that served as s(t)m-priests, five (71%) were wˁb of Ptah (including one wˁb ˁ3 Ptḥ), while two (28.5%) were wˁb šnty (200). Each of the seven wˁb.w that held s(t)m-titles are shown in Table 4.II.3, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix A.

Table 4.II.3: Wˁb.w with S(t)m-Titles During the Old Kingdom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>wˁb-title</th>
<th>s(t)m-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ḩnti-k3 : Iḥḥi (1-187M)</td>
<td>wˁb šnty (200) Mn-nfr-Ppy; pure one of the šnty (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides'.</td>
<td>s(t)m; s(t)m-priest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irt-Ptḥ : Iri (1-190M)</td>
<td>wˁb ˁ3 Ptḥ; great pure one of Ptah.</td>
<td>shḏ s(t)m.w; inspector of s(t)m-priests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Špss-ḥḥ I (1-191M)</td>
<td>wˁb Ptḥ; pure one of Ptah.</td>
<td>ḫrp s(t)m.w; director of s(t)m-priests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Špss-ḥḥ II (1-192M)</td>
<td>wˁb Ptḥ; pure one of Ptah.</td>
<td>ḫrp s(t)m.w; director of s(t)m-priests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sb.w : Ibb.i (1-193M)</td>
<td>wˁb Ptḥ; pure one of Ptah.</td>
<td>ḫrp s(t)m.w; director of s(t)m-priests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Špss-ḥḥ IV (1-194M)</td>
<td>wˁb Ptḥ; pure one of Ptah.</td>
<td>ḫrp s(t)m.w; director of s(t)m-priests.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šm3.i: (1-210M)</td>
<td>wˁb šnty (200); pure one of the šnty (200).</td>
<td>s(t)m; s(t)m-priest.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 212 known wˁb.w of the Old Kingdom, 32 (15%) held scribal titles. The wˁb.w that hold scribal titles are shown in Table 4.II.4, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix A.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>wˁb-title</th>
<th>sš-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ibii (1-031M)</td>
<td>wˁb ns wt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>imy-r sš.w; overseer of scribes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nfr-ir.t-n.f (1-035M)</td>
<td>wˁb ns wt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>s3b imy-r sš.w; juridical overseer of scribes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nfr-n-Hwfw (1-036M)</td>
<td>wˁb ns wt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>sš ˁ.w; scribe of interpreters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hp-dw3 (1-039M)</td>
<td>sḥḏ wˁb.w ns wt, inspector of the royal pure ones.</td>
<td>imy-r sš.w, sḥḏ sš.w, s3b imy-r sš, s3b sḥḏ sš.w; overseer of scribes, juridical inspector of scribes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shm-k3.(i)-nds (1-043M)</td>
<td>wˁb ns wt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>s3b sḥḏ sš.w; juridical inspector of scribes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sn.nw-ˁnḫ.(w) (1-053M)</td>
<td>wˁb ns wt, wˁb Hˁ-b3-S3ḥw-rˁ; royal pure one, pure one of the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'.</td>
<td>imy-r sš.w iry(w) iˁḥ/sprw, s3b imy-r sš.w, s3b sš, sš wsḥt, sḥḏ sš.w, sḥḏ sš.w wsḥt; overseer of the scribes who are in iˁḥ/sprw, juridical overseer of scribes/overseer of scribes of the judiciary, juridical scribe, scribe of the broad hall, inspector of scribes, inspector of scribes of the wsḥt-hall.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3.(i)-pw-nswt : K3.i (1-055M)</td>
<td>wˁb ns wt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>sš ˁ.nswt, s3b sš ˁ.pr.w; royal document scribe, juridical scribe of the crews.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ˁnḫ.(i)-m-nk3.(i) (1-060M)</td>
<td>wˁb ns wt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>hrp sš.w nt iˁḥ/sprw; director of scribes connected with the iˁḥ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name (No.)</td>
<td>wˁb-title</td>
<td>sš-title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3(.i)-m-nfr.t (1-061M)</td>
<td>wˁb Mn-swt Ni-wsr-r, wˁb nswt, wˁb Hf-b3-S3hw-r; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', royal pure one, pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor',</td>
<td>imy-r sš.w mrt, ḫrp sš.w, ḫrp sš.w ivery(w) ḫ/sprw, ḫrp sš.w wsḥt, ḫrp sš.w m wsḥt ī3t, sšb imy-r sš.w, sšb imy-r sš.w m d3d3t wrt, sšb šḥḏ sš.w, sš ivery(yw) ḫ/spr(w) iwn knmrw, overseer of the (document) scribes of the mrt-people, director of scribes, director of scribes connected with the īḥ, director of scribes of the wsḥt-hall, director of scribes of the great wsḥt-hall, juridical overseer of scribes/overseer of scribes of the judiciary, juridical overseer of scribes of the Great Council, juridical inspector of scribes, scribe of those concerned with the īḥ pillar of Kenmet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nhḥ-k3.i (1-064M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>sḥḏ sš.w šnwt, sḥḏ sš.w ī.w (nw) nswt šnwt; inspector of scribes of the granary, inspector of the scribes of the royal documents of the granary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni-sw-qd (1-077M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>sš; scribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Štwi (1-087M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>sḥḏ sš.w šnwt; inspector of scribes of the granary.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li-mrii (1-103M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>sḥḏ sš.w ī.w (nw) nswt pr-ḥḏ, sḥḏ sš.w (n) sšr nswt; inspector of scribes of the royal documents of the treasury, inspector of scribes of the royal linen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni-sw-rdi (1-111M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>sš; scribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3(.i)-m- nh (1-117M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>sš pr-ḥḏ; scribe of the treasury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh-nb.f (1-124M)</td>
<td>imy-r wˁb.w ḫ3stwy Nṯry-Mn-k3w-r, wˁb nswt; overseer of pure ones and foreign conscripts of (the pyramid) 'Divine-is-Menkaure', royal pure one.</td>
<td>šwḥrt nswt; scribe of the royal dockyard.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ṭti (1-140M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>sš; scribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (1-153I)</td>
<td>wˁb mwt [nswt]; pure one of the [king's] mother.</td>
<td>sš, sšb sš; scribe, juridical scribe.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.II.4: Wˁb.w with Scribal-Titles During the Old Kingdom
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>(wˁb)-title</th>
<th>(sš)-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Unknown (1-165I)</td>
<td>[(wˁb)-(nswt, wˁb) (Wˁb)-(swt-Wsrk3.f); [pure one] of the king, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.]</td>
<td>(sš) (nswt); royal scribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Špss-r(s) (1-167M)</td>
<td>(imy-h₃t) (n) (w&quot;b).w (W&quot;b)-(swt-Wsr-k3.f), (w&quot;b) (W&quot;b)-(swt-Wsr-k3.f) , under-supervisor of the pure ones of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.</td>
<td>(sš) ({(w)})) (n) ((w)) (m) (ḥtm(t)) (ntt) (m) (Nḥn-R(s)) (nḥt) (Hwt-hr); king's letter scribe in every treasury (which are) in (the sun-temple) (Nḥn-R(s)) (and the) (nḥt)-sanctuary of Hathor.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nfr-k3.i (1-174M)</td>
<td>(w&quot;b) (Ḥˁ-b₃-S₃ḥw-r(s)); pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-(B₃) of Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'.</td>
<td>(imy-r) (sš).(w) ((n)) (pr).(w), (sš); overseer of scribes of the crews, scribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3(.i)-pw-(pth) (1-176M)</td>
<td>(w&quot;b) (B₃-Nfr-(i)-(r)-(k₃)-(r)); (w&quot;b) (nswt, w&quot;b) (Mn)-(swt-Ni-wsr-r(s)); pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-(B₃) of Neferrirakare' / 'Neferrirakare-is-a-(B₃)', royal pure one, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.</td>
<td>(imy-r) (sš).(w); overseer of scribes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Id.w (1-177M)</td>
<td>(w&quot;b) ((n)) (B₃-K₃k₃(i); pure one (of the pyramid) 'Kakai-is-the-Soul'.</td>
<td>(sš) (m).(w) (nswt, sš) ( [...]) (ḥwt-(s)(₃)(t); scribe of the royal children, scribe [of the] great estate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name (No.)</td>
<td>wˁb-title</td>
<td>sš-title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unknown</strong> (1-178I)</td>
<td>wˁb ḥry-sšt3 Nṯry-b3.w-Nfr.-f-r'; pure one [and] privy to the secret of (the pyramid) 'Divine-are-the-B3s-of-Neferefre'.</td>
<td>sš-nṯr; scribe of the divine books.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Unknown</strong> (1-184I)</td>
<td>imy-ḥt wˁb.w, wˁb-Nfr.-iswt-Wnis; under-supervisor of the pure ones, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas'.</td>
<td>sš pr-md3t nṯr, m33 sš.w št3.w; scribe of the house of documents/archives/scriptorium of the god (i.e. the king), beholder of the secret writing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hs.i</strong> (1-186M)</td>
<td>wˁb Ḏd-swT-Tti; pure one of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti'.</td>
<td>ḥrp sš.w, s3b imy-r sš.w, s3b sš, s3b ṣḥḏ sš.w, sš ˁ.w (nw) nswt ḫt ḫr, sš (n) sš; director of scribes, juridicial overseer of scribes, juridicial scribe, juridicial inspector of scribes, scribe of royal records in the presence, scribe of the phyle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ḥnti-k3 : Iḥḥi</strong> (1-187M)</td>
<td>wˁb šnty (200) Mn-nfr-Ppy; pure one of the šnty (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides'.</td>
<td>sš md3t-nṯr, sš n sš Mn-nfr-Ppy, imy-r sš.w ˁ.w (nw) nswt; scribe of the god's book, scribe of the phyle of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides', overseer of scribes of the royal documents.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>I3rt(i)</strong> (1-188M)</td>
<td>wˁb šnty (200) Ḥi-nfr-Mr-n-r'; pure one of the šnty (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Merenre-Appears-in-Splendor'.</td>
<td>sš gs-dpt; scribe of protection.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ir-Ptḥ : Iri</strong> (1-190M)</td>
<td>wˁb ˁ3 Ptḥ; great pure one of Ptah.</td>
<td>sš ḫmt-nṯr m ḫw Ptḥ, sš ḥtp.t-nṯr; scribe of the god's treasure in the temple of Ptah, scribe of the god's offerings (responsible for keeping the register of offerings to the temple).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>S3b.w : Ibb.i</strong> (1-193M)</td>
<td>wˁb Ptḥ; pure one of Ptah.</td>
<td>sš qd št3 n wdt-mdw; scribe of the secret documents of the decrees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gg.i</strong> (1-205M)</td>
<td>wˁb šnty (200); pure one of the šnty (200).</td>
<td>sš n sš; scribe of a phyle.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4.II.4: \( wˁb.w \) with Scribal-Titles During the Old Kingdom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>( wˁb )-title</th>
<th>sš-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iḥii (1-206M)</td>
<td>( wˁb šnty (200) ); pure one of the ( šnty ) (200).</td>
<td>( sš ) pr-ˁ3; scribe of the Great House.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the 6th Dynasty, the title \( wˁb \) ˁ3 appears to be linked with two other titles: \( shḏ \) or "inspector" and \( śps \) ns\( w\)t, or "noble of the king." Irt-\( pth \) called Iri (1-190MM), held the titles of \( wˁb \) ˁ3 and \( shḏ \) s(t)m.w, while Hss.ii (1-195M), held the titles of \( wˁb \) ˁ3 \( n \) \( Mn.w \) and \( shḏ \) pr \( Mn.w \); both also held the non-priestly title of \( śps \) ns\( w\)t, or "noble of the king."

Nine filial relationships have been identified in which one or more family members share a \( wˁb \)-title. Of these, seven (78%) are shared between father and son(s). Of the \( wˁb \)-titles shared by father and son(s), three (43%) are an identical \( wˁb \)-title, i.e.: \( Sḥm-k3.(i) \) \( (wˁb \) ns\( w\)t, 1-042M) and \( Sḥm-k3.(i)-nds \) \( (wˁb \) ns\( w\)t, 1-043M), \( Ii-mrii \) \( (wˁb \) mwt ns\( w\)t, 1-153M) and \( Rwd \) I/II \( (wˁb \) mwt ns\( w\)t, 1-016M/1-055M), \( Tp-m⁻\( ḏnḥ \) \) \( (wˁb \) Wˁb-swt-Wsr-k3.f, 1-157M) and \( Ḥm-Mn.(w) \) \( (wˁb \) Wˁb-swt-Wsr-k3.f, 1-166M), and \( S3b.w \) called \( Ibb.i \) \( (wˁb \) Ptḥ, 1-193M) and \( Špss-\( pth \) IV \( (wˁb \) Ptḥ, 1-194M). The remaining four (57%) \( wˁb \)-titles shared by father and son(s), are not identical, i.e.: \( Rrmw \) (1-044M) with \( Ni-sw-qd \) (1-077M) and \( K3.(i)-hr-st.f \) (1-150M), \( Iḥii \) (1-017F). \( Iḥii \) holds the title of \( wˁb \)-ns\( w\)t, while \( Ibb.i \) holds the title of \( wˁb \).

It is possible that more filial relationships exist in which \( wˁb \)-titles were shared, but filiation is not certain. Table 4.II.5 illustrates the filial relationships in which one or more family members share a \( wˁb \)-title.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Son</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shm-k3.(i) (1-042M) wˁb nswt: royal pure one</td>
<td>Shm-k3.(i)-ngs (1-043M) wˁb nswt: royal pure one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rrmw (1-044M) wˁb nswt pr-ˁ3: royal pure one of the Great House</td>
<td>Ni-sw-qd (1-077M) wˁb nswt: royal pure one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ii-mrii (1-153M) wˁb mwt nswt: pure one of the king's mother</td>
<td>Rwḏ I/II (1-016M/1-055M) wˁb mwt nswt: pure one of the king's mother wˁb: pure one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tp-m-ˁnh (1-157M) wˁb Hˁ-b3-S3hw-rˁ: pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor' wˁb Hˁ-Snfrw: pure one of (the pyramid) 'Sneferu-Appears-in-Splendor' wˁb Nṯry-Mn-k3.w-rˁ: pure one of (the pyramid) 'Divine-is-Menkaure' wˁb Wr-Hˁ-fˁ-rˁ: pure one of (the pyramid) 'Great-is-Khafre' wˁb Wˁb-swt-Wsr-k3.f: pure one of (Userkaf's pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'</td>
<td>Ḥm-mn(w) (1-166M) wˁb Wˁb-swt-Wsr-k3.f: pure one of (Userkaf's pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.ḥtp.w (1-173M) wˁb Hˁ-b3-S3hw-rˁ: pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'</td>
<td>K3(.i)-m-snw (1-171M) wˁb S3hw-rˁ: pure one of Sahure, wˁb Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-rˁ: pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3b.w : Ibb.i (1-193M) wˁb Pḥ: pure one of Ptah</td>
<td>Špss-pḥt IV (1-194M) wˁb Pḥ: pure one of Ptah</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šr(y) (N/A) imy-r wˁb.w Pr-ib-sn: overseer of the pure ones of Peribsen</td>
<td>In-k3.f (1-156M) wˁb Pr-ib-sn: pure one of Peribsen</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brother</th>
<th>Husband</th>
<th>Wife</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ni-sw-qd (1-077M) wˁb nswt: royal pure one</td>
<td>K3(.i)-hr-st.f (1-150M) wˁb nswt Shm.t: royal pure one of Sekhmet</td>
<td>Iḫi (1-017F) wˁb: pure one</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥmn.w-ḥtp(w) (1-179M) wˁb nswt: royal pure one wˁb Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-rˁ: pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'</td>
<td>Ni-ˁnh-ḥmn.w (1-180M) wˁb Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-rˁ: pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 5: WˁB-TITLES IN THE FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

This chapter presents the wˁb-titles attested during the First Intermediate Period, beginning with wˁb (§5.1.1), the wˁb-titles affiliated with the royal family (§5.1.2), and the wˁb-titles affiliated with a deity (§5.1.3). The number assigned to each title-holder corresponds to their number in the First Intermediate Period Index (Appendix B), which includes each individual's full title-string as well as bibliographical references.

5.1.1. Wˁb

The title (wˁb), or "pure one," is attested from the 5th Dynasty onwards, as discussed in §4.1.1. By the First Intermediate Period, the title is rendered as: and . Both spellings may appear on the same monument, for example, the Meir coffin (CG 28068) belonging to Ii-n.i (2-001M). In addition to several epithets, Ii-n.i holds two wˁb-titles: wˁb and stp s3 hr(y) wˁb.w, or "councillor, supervisor of the pure ones."

Only one other title-holder is known from this period, Rn.w (2-002M), whose name and title are preserved within a graffito in Hatnub (Gr. 27), which dates to the time of Nomarch Nḥr.i I. Rn.w's sole title is wˁb. His son, Hnm(.w)-ḥtp (2-0015M), holds the title of wˁb n Ḏḥwti, or "pure one of Thoth."

5.1.2. Wˁb-Titles Affiliated with the Royal Family

This section examines the titles wˁb nswt and wˁb n [King’s Name]. Each of these title-holders is affiliated with the royal mortuary cult in Memphis, for which priestly service continued into the First Intermediate Period.

5.1.2.A. Wˁb nswt

The title (wˁb nswt), or "royal pure one," was attested from the 2nd Dynasty onwards, and was the most popular wˁb-title of the Old Kingdom. Only one title-
holder is known from the First Intermediate Period,\textsuperscript{717} \textit{[I]m[i]-st-k[3.i]} (2-003M),\textsuperscript{718} whose name and titles are preserved upon a false door (Leipzig 3136) and standing pair statue (Cairo JE 43960) from his tomb in Giza (G 4351).\textsuperscript{719} \textit{[I]m[i]-st-k[3.i]} held the title of \textit{wˁb nswt} and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) \textit{hm-nṯr} of Khufu. His other titles include: \textit{s3b ˁḏ-mr pr-ˁ3} or "judge and administrator of the Great House" and \textit{imy-r prwy-ˁḥ3.w} or "overseer of the two Houses of Weapons."

\textit{5.1.2.B. Wˁb n [King’s Name]}

The titular formula \textit{wˁb n [King’s Name]} was the second most common \textit{wˁb}-title of the Old Kingdom and was attested from the 4th Dynasty onwards. The title frequently occurs in reference to the king's pyramid complex, and infrequently in reference to his sun-temple or \textit{mrt}-temple; all variants were discussed within the previous chapter (§4.1.2.e). By the First Intermediate Period, however, only one variant of this title remains, which is in reference to the pyramid complex of Pepi II.

\textsuperscript{717} For dating to the 6th Dynasty or later, see: Baer, \textit{Rank and Title}, 56-57 [36]. For dating to the First Intermediate Period, see: \textit{PM} III.1, 126.

\textsuperscript{718} Name not included in Ranke's \textit{Personennamen}.

\textsuperscript{719} \textit{PM} III.1, 126.
5.1.2.B.a. Wˁb šnty (200) Mn-ⁿḥ-Nfr-k3-rˁ

The title \( \text{wˁb šnty (200) Mn-ⁿḥ-Nfr-k3-rˁ} \), or "pure one of the šnty (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-life-of-Neferkare-Abides,'"\(^{720}\) refers to the pyramid of Pepi II in Saqqara.\(^{721}\) Three title-holders are known from this period: \( Iri \) (2-004I), Šd.ii-\( pth \) called Šdw (2-005M), and one individual whose name is unknown (2-006I). While the title references Pepi II (for which the earliest possible date would be his reign), the three known title-holders are buried within the Teti Pyramid Cemetery, which suggests that their internment took place after the reign of Pepi II and during the early First Intermediate Period.\(^{722}\) For this reason they are included within this chapter.

The names and titles of \( Iri \) (2-004I)\(^{723}\) and the unknown individual (2-006I) are both preserved on architrave block fragments found in Saqqara, both of which date to the early First Intermediate Period.\(^{724}\) Unfortunately neither fragment is published, and therefore the complete title-strings of each of these individuals could not be included within this thesis.\(^{725}\)

The name and titles of Šd.ii-\( pth \) called Šdw (2-005M)\(^{726}\) are preserved on a false door (present location unknown)\(^{727}\) and an architrave block (RC 1737),\(^{728}\) both of which originate from Saqqara and date to the First Intermediate Period.\(^{729}\) The false door contains the following three titles: \( \text{sḥḏ pr-nswt} \) or "inspector of the royal domain," \( \text{sḥḏ ḥb₃t} \) or "inspector of the robing room," and \( \text{sḥḏ pr-ˁ3} \) or "inspector of the Great House." The architrave block contains both of Šd.ii-\( pth \) called Šdw’s priestly titles: \( \text{wˁb šnty (200) [Mn-ⁿḥ-Nfr-k3-rˁ Ppy]} \) and \( \text{imy-r wp(w)t [ḥtp(w)t-nṯr] Mn-ⁿḥ-Nfr-k3-rˁ Ppy} \) or "overseer of distribution of divine offerings of (the pyramid), 'The-Life-of-Neferkare-

\(^{720}\) Neither Jones nor Murray account for this title. For the name of the pyramid, see: von Beckerath, Kônigsnamen, 65 [P].

\(^{721}\) Gauthier, Dictionnaire des noms géographiques III, 36; Montet, Géographie I, 44; Zibelius, Siedlungen, 91.

\(^{722}\) For this reasoning, Daoud includes Šd.ii-\( pth \) called Šdw within his Corpus. See: Daoud, Corpus of Inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period from the Memphite Necropolis, 65. For more information regarding the date of Šd.ii-\( pth \) called Šdw’s monuments, see: Nigel Strudwick, "Three Monuments of Old Kingdom Treasury Officials," \( \text{JEA} \) 71 (1985): 44-45; Strudwick, Administration, 142 [134].

\(^{723}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 41 [1].

\(^{724}\) Daoud, Corpus of Inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period from the Memphite Necropolis, 65.

\(^{725}\) PM \( \text{III.2, 569 (Iri)} \) and 570 (unknown).

\(^{726}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 331 [17].

\(^{727}\) PM \( \text{III.2, 545}. \)


\(^{729}\) Strudwick, Administration, 141-142 [134].
Abides." In addition to his titles of shd ḏb3t and shd prˁ3, the architrave block also includes three other high-ranking administrative titles: mty n s3 or "regulator of a phyle," imy-r prwy-hdq or "overseer of the two treasuries," and imy-r is.wy hkr nswt or "overseer of the two bureaux of the royal regalia/king's ornament." The architrave block most likely reflects a promotion that took place later in his career and after the false door was completed.  

5.1.3. Wˁb-Titles Affiliated with a Deity

This section examines the wˁb-titles that are affiliated with a deity, beginning with the upper-ranking title wˁbˁ3, followed by the wˁbˁ3 n Mn.w and wˁbˁ3 n Ḏḥwti, under which the wˁb(n) Mn.w and wˁb n Ḏḥwti appears to have been hierarchically organized. This section also includes the wˁb(n) Slḥm.t, which is continue to be attested at this time.

5.1.3.A. Wˁbˁ3

The title (wˁbˁ3), or "great pure one," is a hierarchical wˁb-title that does not specify a cult. During the Old Kingdom, the title was attached to the cults of deities, i.e. the wˁbˁ3 n Ptḥ and wˁbˁ3 n Mn.w, as discussed in the previous chapter (§4.1.3.A.a-b). The earliest-known holder of the title wˁbˁ3 that does not specify a particular deity dates to the First Intermediate Period. Two title-holders are known from this period.

The name and titles of Wsr (2-007M) are preserved upon a false door from Saqqara, which dates to the 10th dynasty. Wsr held two titles: wˁbˁ3 and shd hm.w-ngr, or "inspector of god's servants." As with his wˁb-title, the shd-title does not reference a particular deity. The remainder of his title-string consists of epithets invoking Ḋd-Șps̄s
(alias of Ptah), as well as the gods Osiris and Anubis. Daoud proposes that the invocation of Ḥd-Špss within Wsr's title-string links him to the cult of Ptah.

The name and titles of Tti-ḥr-mnḥt (2-008M) are preserved upon a fragment of a double false door (Gl. 118) from Saqqara, which dates to late 10th Dynasty. Tti-ḥr-mnḥt holds two priestly titles: wˁb ʿ3 and shy-nṯr, or "one who belongs to the divine booth," the latter of which was attested since the late 3rd Dynasty. He also holds the title of htm(ty)(-bity) or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt." He does not hold a sḥḏ-title.

5.1.3.A.a. Wˁb ʿ3 n Mn.w

The title (wˁb ʿ3 n Mn.w), or "great pure one of Min," is the head of the wˁb.w of Min. During the Old Kingdom, the title is rendered as: 𓊱𓊨𓊢, as attested by the sole known title-holder, Ḥss.ii (1-095M). During the First Intermediate Period, the title is rendered as: 𓊱𓊨𓊢, as attested by the only known title-holder, In-it.f (2-009M), whose name and titles are preserved upon a stela possibly from Koptos (modern Qift) (BM 325 [1247]; Fig. 3), which dates to the First Intermediate Period. In-it.f's sole title is wˁb ʿ3 n Mn.w. During the Old Kingdom, the title wˁb ʿ3 seemed to be linked with the title šps nswt, or "noble of the king." Here it is worthwhile to note that this title is absent In-it.f's titulary. It is additionally worthwhile to note that his brother, Mn.w-nḥt(w) (2-010M), holds the subordinate title of wˁb (n) Mn.w, or "pure one of Min," discussed below.

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737 Daoud also notes that "the lack of occurrences of wˁb ʿ3 in association with any royal cult would also suggest that Wsr was serving a god other than a king." See: Daoud, *Corpus of Inscriptions of the Herakleopolitan Period from the Memphite Necropolis*, 19, n. 193.
738 Name not included in Ranke's *Personennamen*.
741 For a discussion of how the title is rendered in this particular example, see: Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 48, n. 33.
742 Jones, *Index*, 369 [1364]. For a discussion of the grammatical composition of the title, see: Ward, "Old Kingdom sš ʿn nsw n hft-hr, 'Personal Scribe of Royal Records', and Middle Kingdom sš ʿn nsw n hft-hr, 'Scribe of the Royal Tablet of the Court'," 383.
744 Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 34 [1].
745 British Museum, *Hieroglyphic Texts III*, pl. IX.
746 Cf. Gauthier, who dates the stela to the end of the Middle Kingdom: Gauthier, *Le Personnel du Dieu Min*, 32.
5.I.3.A.a.i. \( W'^b \ (n) \ Mn.w \)

The title \( \text{\textit{Wˁb (n) Mn.w}} \), or "pure one of Min," is first attested in the First Intermediate Period, although it presumably existed during the Old Kingdom due to the existence of the upper-ranking title \( w'^b \ ˁ3 \ n \ Mn.w \), or "great pure one of Min." Only one title-holder is known, \( Mn.w-nḥt.(w) \) (2-010M), whose name evokes the name of the god whom he served. \( Mn.w-nḥt.(w) \)'s name and titles are preserved upon a stela (BM 325 [1247], Fig. 3) possibly from Koptos (modern Qift), which he dedicated to his brother, \( In-\text{it.f} \) (2-009M), the \( w'^b \ ˁ3 \ n \ Mn.w \), or "great pure one of Min," mentioned above.\(^{747}\)

![Figure 3: Stela, BM 325 [1247]](image-url)

Stela BM 325 [1247] displays two family members that belong to the cult of Min: \( In-\text{it.f} \) the \( w'^b \ ˁ3 \ n \ Mn.w \) (2-009M) and his brother \( Mn.w-nḥt.(w) \) the \( w'^b \ (n) \ Mn.w \) (2-010M). In the first register, \( In-\text{it.f} \), the deceased brother to whom the stela is dedicated, is

\(^{747}\) British Museum, \textit{Hieroglyphic Texts} III, pl. IX.
represented seated on a chair, smelling a flower in his left hand. His hair or wig falls to his shoulders. He wears a broad collar and a long kilt that extends to his mid-calf. His chair is flat with a low back, and its legs take the form of animal feet. The offering table in front of him is generously piled with offerings. Seated on the other side of the table is *Mn.w-nḥt(.w)*, who dedicates the stela to his brother. *Mn.w-nḥt(.w)* is represented seated on a chair, extending his right hand toward the offering table in front of him, while his left hand is grasping a scroll in his lap. His hair is cut short. He wears a broad collar and a long kilt that extends to his mid-calf. His chair is flat with a low back, and its legs take the form of animal feet. In the next register, four women are shown, each of whom holds the title *nbt pr*, or "mistress of the house." In the last register, two more brothers are shown, but neither holds a title other than *sn.f* or "his brother." At last *Mn.w-nḥt(.w)* is shown again, this time sharing an offering table with a woman identified as *snt.f*, or "his sister," who is depicted at the smallest scale of all the individuals in the bottom register.

The hierarchy of family members and their titles is quite clear on this stela. Of a total of four brothers, only two hold *wˁb*-titles, both of whom hold a higher status than the brothers who hold no title at all. The difference in rank of the two title-holding brothers is worthy of consideration. It is possible that *In-it.f*, who holds the highest title, is the eldest brother of the family. It is also possible that there could only be one of *wˁb ˁ3 n Mn.w* at a time, for which reason *Mn.w-nḥt(.w)* could not hold the same title during his brother's tenure, and it is for this reason that the stela identifies him by the lower-ranking title, *wˁb (n) Mn.w*. Whether or not *Mn.w-nḥt(.w)* assumed the higher title upon his brother's death is unknown.

5.I.3.A.b. *Wˁb ˁ3 n Ḍḥwti*

The title *(wˁb ˁ3 n Ḍḥwti)*, or "great pure one of Thoth," appears for the first time within the titularies of the hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna) from the late First Intermediate Period to early Middle Kingdom. Each of these title-holders are included in this chapter in an effort not to break

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749 Grajetzki describes this line of hereditary rulers as originating with *Īḫ3-nḥt I* (2-011M). Refer to: Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*, 109-111. For a family tree, see: Robinson, "'As For Them who Know Them, They Shall Find Their Paths,'" 143, fig. 8.3; Willems, *Chests of Life*, 71.
their continuous lineage across chapters. The titles of both the upper-ranking wˁb Ḥwtn and lower-ranking wˁb Ḥwtn appear at this time, although the title ḥm(t)-nṯr (n) Ḥwtn or "god's servant of Thoth," had already been attested since the 4th Dynasty. The main sources of information about this family of title-holders come from their tombs in el-Bersheh and from graffiti in Hatnub. Four nomarchs held this title.

The name and titles of Ḥ3-nḫt I (2-011M) are preserved in his tomb (No. 5) in el-Bersheh, which dates to the 11th Dynasty. Ḥ3-nḫt holds the dual priestly titles of wˁb Ḥwtn, and imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr, or "overseer of the god's servants," he also holds the epithets wˁb ḥy mh.f Ḥ3w or "pure of hands when he fills the bowl," twr ḥy or "clean of hands," and mr[r] Ḥwtn nb Ḥmnw or "beloved of Thoth, Lord of Hermopolis." The rest of his title-string reflect his status as nomarch: Ḥ3ty-ˁ or "hereditary prince/nobleman," ḥp ns.ty or "director/controller of the two thrones," ḥy-tp Ḥwtn or "great overlord/chief of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna)," mrrw nṯr.w.s nb.w or "beloved of all her gods," Ḥtm(ty)-bity or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt," smr wˁty or "sole companion," ṛḥ nswt or "royal acquaintance," imy-r Imntt or "overseer of the Western Desert," t3tyt s3b Ḥ3ty or "he of the curtain chief justice and vizier," ḥy-tp Ḥwt- nbw or "chief of Hatnub," wr m i3t.f or "great in his office," Ḥ3 sḥ.f or "great in his rank," Ḥnty st m pr nswt or "foremost of seat in the palace," Ḥ3 m t3wy Ḥr(w) or "great of name in the Two Lands of Horus," imy-r [...] or "overseer of [...]" sb3 Ḥr Ḥnty pt or "student of Horus foremost of the sky," mṛ ṛw or "beloved of the king," and mrrw.f or "his beloved."

The name and titles of Ḥwtn-nḫt V (2-012M) appear in three separate graffiti (Gr. 17, 755 Gr. 23, 756 and Gr. 26757) in Hatnub, all of which date from the time of Nomarch Nh.r.i 758 to the reign of Amenemhat I. Ḥwtn-nḫt V holds the dual priestly titles of: wˁb

750 Begelsbacher-Fischer, Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt, 190-197.
752 Newberry, El Bersheh II, 30-35, pl. 17.
753 Denise Doxey, Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: a social and historical analysis (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 66-67, Table 11. Contra the reading of Newberry, El Bersheh II, 32-33, pl. 13 [20].
754 Doxey, Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom, 66-67, Table 11.
755 Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, 38-41, graffito no. 17, pl. 16; Shaw, Hatnub, 148-149.
756 Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, 52-53, graffito no. 23, pl. 20; Shaw, Hatnub, 151.
757 Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, 59-62, graffito no. 26, pl. 28; Shaw, Hatnub, 153.
758 Shaw, Hatnub, Appendix 5.
759 Robinson, "As For Them who Know Them, They Shall Find Their Paths," 143, fig. 8.3; Willems, Chests of Life, 71.
West-Asyutian period, as his name appears in the Coffin of Thoth at Thebes. His other titles include: [ḥtm(ty)-]bity or "[sealer of the] King of Lower Egypt" and smr wꜣty or "sole companion." Graffito no. 17 provides insight into the rituals performed for Thoth by ḏḥwti-nḫt V, which include: opening [the face], renewing the clay sealing, sprinkling water for Thoth, offering incense for Thoth, slaughtering birds for the k3 of Thoth, fetching ibr- and ḥknw-oil, making burnt offerings for the k3 of Thoth.761 Graffito no. 17 also identifies ḏḥwti-nḫt V as the son of the hereditary ruler of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna), Nḥr.i I, while Gr. 23 and 26 identify him as the son of ḏḥwti-ḥtp, his mother. ḏḥwti-nḫt V is the uncle of Nḥr.i II (2-013M) and grand-uncle of ḏḥwti-nḫt VI (2-014M), with whom he shares his priestly titles.

The name and titles of Nḥr.i II (2-013M) are preserved within his tomb (No. 7) in el-Bersheh, which dates to the reign of Senusret I.762 Because of his lineage within the hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna), he is included in this chapter. Nḥr.i II holds the dual priestly titles of: wꜣb ʿ3 n ḏḥwti and imy-r ḫm.w-nṯr, or "overseer of the god's servants." His remaining titles identify him as a hereditary ruler of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna): ḥ3ty-ꜣ or "hereditary prince/nobleman," ḫrp ns.ty or "controller of the two thrones," and wr [...] or "great [...]." He is the nephew of ḏḥwti-nḫt V (2-012M) and father of ḏḥwti-nḫt VI (2-014M), with whom he shares his priestly titles.

The name and titles of ḏḥwti-nḫt VI (2-014)763 are preserved upon his coffin (CG 28123)764 from his tomb (No. 1) in el-Bersheh, which dates between the reigns of Senusret I and Amenemhat II.765 Because of his lineage within the hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna), he is included in this chapter. ḏḥwti-nḫt VI holds the dual priestly titles of: wꜣb ʿ3 n ḏḥwti and imy-r ḫm.w-nṯr, or "overseer of the

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760 Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 66-67, Table 11.
761 Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub*, 38-41, graffito no. 17, pl. 16; Shaw, *Hatnub*, 148-149.
762 Newberry, *El Bersheh II*, 37, pls. 18-19; Robinson, "As For Them who Know Them, They Shall Find Their Paths," 143, fig. 8.3; Willems, *Chests of Life*, 71.
763 Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 408 [7].
765 Newberry, *El Bersheh II*, 17-26; Robinson, "As For Them who Know Them, They Shall Find Their Paths," 143, fig. 8.3; Willems, *Chests of Life*, 71.
god's servants." His remaining titles identify him as a hereditary ruler of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15): ḫ3ty-ꜣ or "hereditary prince/nobleman" and ḫrp nsty or "controller of the two thrones." All of his titles are identical to those held by his father, Nḥr.i II (2-013M); he also shares his priestly titles with his great-uncle, ḋḥwti-nḥt V (2-012M). Curiously, his wˁb-title is included upon his coffin, but is not inscribed upon the walls of his tomb.

Although Robinson references "the wab-priest of the Eleventh Dynasty called Kay" whose descendants became the hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna), Kay's title could not be confirmed. It is possible that he held the title wˁb ˁ3 n ḋḥwti, which is consistently held for (at least) three generations of his lineage, shown above.

5.I.3.A.b.i. Wˁb n ḋḥwti

The title (wˁb n ḋḥwti), or "pure one of Thoth," appears for the first time in Hatnub (Gr. 27) during the time of Nomarch Nḥr.i I. Although the title-holder Ḥnm.w-ḥtp(w) (2-015M) does not come from the line of governors who hold the upper-ranking title of wˁb ˁ3 n ḋḥwti, he does hold the titles of: nds n ḫnw or "citizen of the residence" and Ṳḥ nn ḫ3ty-ꜣ or "one who is known by the hereditary prince/nobleman." Ḥnm.w-ḥtp(w)'s sole priestly title is wˁb n ḋḥwti. The graffito also identifies him as the son of the wˁb, Rn.w (2-002M), above.

The wˁb.w in the cult of Thoth in the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna) appear to be comprised of the hereditary rulers who hold the upper-ranking title of wˁb ˁ3 n ḋḥwti and of (at least) one individual who held the lower-ranking title of wˁb n ḋḥwti who were known to (and possibly chosen by) the governing family.

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766 Robinson, "'As For Them who Know Them, They Shall Find Their Paths,'" 139. I would like to thank Nicholas Brown for bringing this reference to my attention.
767 Peter Robinson, personal communication to author, June 15, 2014. "Of Kay we know only the name from genealogies, without titles, and there are no monuments or inscriptions attributable to him [...]" Newberry, El Bersheh II, 11.
768 Ward, Index, 83 [689].
769 Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, 62-63, graffito no. 27, pl. 28; Shaw, Hatnub, 154.
770 Shaw, Hatnub, Appendix 5.
771 Ranke, Personennamen I, 276 [6].
5.I.3.B. Wˁb (n) Sḫm.t

The title (wˁb (n) Sḫm.t), or "pure one of Sekhmet" may be considered both a priestly and medical title, as discussed above (§4.I.4.F). During the Old Kingdom, the title is written: or. By the First Intermediate Period, the title is rendered as. Three title-holders are known from this time.

The name and titles of Hr-š.f-nḫt(.w) (2-016M) are preserved by a graffito in Hatnub (Gr. 15), which dates to year 4 of Nomarch Nhri I. Hr-š.f-nḫt(.w) served as a wˁb (n) Sḫm.t and was promoted to imy-r wˁb.w Sḫm.t, or "overseer of the pure ones of Sekhmet." He also held the upper-ranking imy-r ḥk₃.w, or "overseer of magicians." In addition to his priestly titles, he was a wr swnw n nswt, or "great physician of the king."

The name and titles of Iḥ3-nḫt (2-017M) are contained in the same graffito in Hatnub (Gr. 15) that mentions Hry-š.f-nḫt(.w), above. Iḥ3-nḫt's sole priestly title is wˁb (n) Sḫm.t, with which his other titles may be related: sš ḥrt or "scribe of the ḥrt," qni or "brave one," and ḥmwwt n wnwt or "one who is skilled in his profession." His scribal title is especially worthy of note, as the ḥrt refers to the entrance area of the temple to which the wˁb.w were known to have access, according to the earlier Abusir Papyri (Fragments 46D and 87F). It is also likely that Iḥ3-nḫt, being a scribe, is the one who inscribed Graffito no. 15.

The name and titles of Nḥt (2-018M) are preserved by another graffito in Hatnub (Gr. 21), which dates to year 6 of Nomarch Nhri I. Nḥt holds two titles: wˁb (n) Sḫm.t and sš ḥrt, or "scribe of the ḥrt." The inscription identifies him as the son of Iḥ3-nḫt. Based upon these shared titles, it is tempting to conclude that Nḥt of Graffito no. 21 is the son of Iḥ3-nḥt (2-016M) of Graffito no. 15, above.

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772 Ward, Index, 83 [686].
773 Ranke, Personennamen I, 253 [1].
774 Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, 34, graffito no. 15, pl. 19; Shaw, Hatnub, 147.
775 Shaw, Hatnub, Appendix 5.
777 Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, 34, graffito no. 15, pl. 19; Shaw, Hatnub, 147.
778 Spencer, Studies in the lexicography of Ancient Egyptian buildings and their parts, 43-54.
779 Posener-Kriéger et. al., Abusir X, 264, pl. 46; 313, pl. 87.
780 Ranke, Personennamen I, 209 [16].
781 Anthes, Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub, 47, graffito no. 21, pl. 20; 150.
782 Shaw, Hatnub, Appendix 5.
5.II. Summary

Due to the problematic nature of identifying material from the First Intermediate Period, only 18 title-holders are included in this chapter. The number and variety of wˁb-titles known from the First Intermediate Period pale in comparison to those attested from the Old and Middle Kingdoms.

Remnants of the royal mortuary cult within Memphis are visible through the attestation of the titles wˁb nswt and wˁb šnty (200) [Mn-ˁnḫ-ˁNfr-k3-rˁ Ppy], the latter of which is linked to the pyramid of Pepi II. No other wˁb-titles appear to fill the void in the functions of the royal mortuary cult until the Middle Kingdom.

The title wˁb ‘3 initially occurs in the late 6th Dynasty, at which time the title occurs with sḥḏ and šps nswt in the same title-string, as is the case of Irt-Pḥ called Iri (1-190M) and Ḥss.ii (1-195M). The pattern partly continues into the 10th Dynasty with Wsr (2-007M), who holds the titles wˁb ‘3 and sḥḏ ḥm.w-nṯr, although he does not hold the title šps nswt. The pattern, however, seems to have been broken by the latter part of the same dynasty, as Tii-hr-mnḥt (2-008M) does not hold the titles of sḥḏ nor šps nswt with the title of wˁb ‘3. In-it.f (2-009M) does not hold any title other than wˁb ‘3 n Mn.w. The title šps nswt is absent from all of the title-holders' title-strings contained in this chapter, suggesting that it was not at all used during the First Intermediate Period.

The hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna), Ih3-nḥt I (2-011M), Ḥwtniḥt V (2-012M), Nhr.i II (2-013M), and Ḥwti-nḥt VI (2-014) display a different pattern with the title wˁb ‘3 n Ḥwtn, wherein it is consistently paired with the title imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr. The transition between the linkage of the title with sḥḏ to imy-r is most likely due to provincial difference, and does not necessarily indicate a diminishment in the rank of the wˁb ‘3.

The trend of a title-holder serving as a wˁb prior to being promoted to (or at the same time serving as) ḥm-nṯr continues into the First Intermediate Period. Of the 18 known wˁb.w of the First Intermediate Period, six (33%) became (or were also) ḥm-nṯr. Of these, only one (17%) held the title of wˁb nswt; this individual went on to serve as a ḥm-nṯr of Khufu, which falls within the overall trend of the Old Kingdom. The remaining five (83%) held the upper-ranking title of wˁb ‘3 n Ḥwtn, with which the title may have been held in tandem and may not necessarily reflect a promotion per se. Each of the six
that became (or were also) ḥm.w-nṯr are shown in Table 5.II.1, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix B.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>wˁb-title</th>
<th>ḥm-nṯr-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[I]m[i]-st-k[3.i] (2-003M)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Ḥwfw; god's servant of Khufu.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wsr (2-007M)</td>
<td>wˁb ˁ3; great pure one.</td>
<td>sḥḏ ḥm.w-nṯr; inspector of god's servants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ih3-nḥt I (2-011M)</td>
<td>wˁb ˁwy r ḥtp.f, wˁb ˁ3 n Ḏḥwti; pure of hands for his satisfaction, great pure one of Thoth.</td>
<td>imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr; overseer of the god's servants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḏḥwti-nḥt V (2-012M)</td>
<td>wˁb ˁ3 n Ḏḥwti; great pure one of Thoth.</td>
<td>imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr; overseer of the god's servants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nḥr.i II (2-013M)</td>
<td>wˁb ˁ3 n Ḏḥwti; great pure one of Thoth.</td>
<td>imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr; overseer of the god's servants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḏḥwti-nḥt VI (2-014M)</td>
<td>wˁb ˁ3 n Ḏḥwti; great pure one of Thoth.</td>
<td>imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr; overseer of the god's servants.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

None of the known wˁb.w of this period served within any other priestly rank, e.g. ḥm-k3, ḥry ḥbt, or s(t)m-priest.

Of the 18 known wˁb.w of the First Intermediate Period, two (11%) held scribal titles: Ih3-nḥt (2-017M), and his son, Nḥt (2-018M). Both men held the identical titles of wˁb (n) Sḥm.t and sš ˤrryt, or "scribe of the ḥḥāyr." Two of the three known wˁb.w Sḥm.t of this period held scribal titles (67%). The wˁb.w who held scribal-titles are shown in Table 5.II.2, below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>wˁb-title</th>
<th>sš-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ih3-nḥt (2-017M)</td>
<td>wˁb (n) Sḥm.t; pure one of Sekhmet.</td>
<td>sš ˤrryt; scribe of the ḥḥāyr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nḥt (2-018M)</td>
<td>wˁb (n) Sḥm.t; pure one of Sekhmet.</td>
<td>sš ˤrryt; scribe of the ḥḥāyr.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Six filial relationships have been identified in which one or more family members share a \textit{wˁb}-title. Of these, three (50\%) are shared between father and son. Of the \textit{wˁb}-titles shared by father and son(s), two (67\%) are an identical \textit{wˁb}-title, i.e.: \textit{Nhr.i} II (\textit{wˁb} ʰ3 \textit{n ḏhwtn}; 2-013M) and \textit{Ḏhwtn-nḥt} VI (\textit{wˁb} ʰ3 \textit{n ḏhwtn}; 2-014M), \textit{ḥ3-nḥt} (\textit{wˁb} (n) \textit{šm.t}; 2-017M) and \textit{Nḥt} (\textit{wˁb} (n) \textit{šm.t}; 2-018M). The remaining case of \textit{wˁb}-titles shared by father and son(s), are not identical (33\%), i.e.: \textit{Rnw} (2-002M) and \textit{Ḥnm.(w)-ḥtp} (2-015M).

Two (33\%) of the six filial relationships are avuncular. The first is between uncle \textit{Ḏhwtn-nḥt} V (2-012M) and nephew \textit{Nhr.i} II (2-013M). The second is between great-uncle \textit{Ḏhwtn-nḥt} V (2-012M) and grand-nephew \textit{Ḏhwtn-nḥt} VI (2-014M). In this lineage, the title \textit{wˁb} ʰ3 \textit{n ḏhwtn} was transferred from uncle to nephew as the former did not have any children. The title was then transferred from father to son, which has thus resulted in the uncle, nephew, and grand-nephew having identical priestly titles.

One (17\%) of the six filial relationships are between brothers, i.e.: \textit{In-it.f} (2-009M) and \textit{Mnw-nḥt} (2-010M). \textit{In-it.f} held the upper-ranking title of \textit{wˁb} ʰ3 \textit{n Mnw} and predeceased his brother, \textit{Mnw-nḥt}, who held the lower-ranking title of \textit{wˁb} \textit{n Mnw}; it is possible that \textit{In-it.f} was the elder brother of \textit{Mnw-nḥt}. Although their titles are not identical, both brothers served within the cult of Min.

It is possible that more filial relationships exist in which \textit{wˁb}-titles were shared, but filiation is not certain. Table 5.II.3 illustrates the filial relationships in which one or more family members share a \textit{wˁb}-title.

\begin{table}[h!]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Father} & \textbf{Son} \\
\hline
\textit{Rnw} (2-002M) & \textit{Ḥnm.(w)-ḥtp} (2-015M) \\
\textit{wˁb}: pure one & \textit{wˁb n ḏhwtn}: pure one of Thoth \\
\hline
\textit{Nhr.i} II (2-013M) & \textit{Ḏhwtn-nḥt} VI (2-014M) \\
\textit{wˁb} ʰ3 \textit{n ḏhwtn}: great pure one of Thoth & \textit{wˁb} ʰ3 \textit{n ḏhwtn}: great pure one of Thoth \\
\hline
\textit{ḥ3-nḥt} (2-017M) & \textit{Nḥt} (2-018M) \\
\textit{wˁb} (n) \textit{šm.t}: pure one of Sekhmet & \textit{wˁb} (n) \textit{šm.t}: pure one of Sekhmet \\
\hline
\textbf{Uncle} & \textbf{Nephew} \\
\hline
\textit{Ḏhwtn-nḥt} V (2-012M) & \textit{Nhr.i} II (2-013M) \\
\textit{wˁb} ʰ3 \textit{n ḏhwtn}: great pure one of Thoth & \textit{wˁb} ʰ3 \textit{n ḏhwtn}: great pure one of Thoth \\
\hline
\textbf{Great Uncle} & \textbf{Grand Nephew} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Heredity of \textit{Wˁb}-Titles During the First Intermediate Period}
\end{table}
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.II.3: Heredity of $W^b$-Titles During the First Intermediate Period</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\text{Dhwti-nh}t$ V (2-012M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$w^b$ $^3$ $n$ $\text{Dhwti}$: great pure one of Thoth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(Elder?)</em> Brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{In-it.f}$ (2-009M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$w^b$ $^3$ $n$ $\text{Mn.w}$: great pure one of Min</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 6: WˁB-TITLES IN THE MIDDLE KINGDOM

This chapter presents the wˁb-titles attested during the Middle Kingdom, beginning with wˁb (§6.I.1), the wˁb-titles affiliated with the royal family (§6.I.2), funerary wˁb-titles (§6.I.3), the hierarchical and non-hierarchical wˁb-titles affiliated with a deity, divine epithet, or cult center (§6.I.4), processional wˁb-titles, which are affiliated with carrying the divine image during festivals (§6.I.5), and a wˁb-title that refers to a temple (§6.I.6). The number assigned to each title-holder corresponds to their number in the Middle Kingdom Index (Appendix C), which includes each individual's full title-string as well as bibliographical references.

6.I.1. Wˁb and wˁbt

The title (wˁb), or "pure one," continues to be rendered in the same form introduced during the First Intermediate Period. This most basic form of the title, which does not specify any particular cultic affiliation, becomes the most prevalent during the Middle Kingdom, being held by at least 134 known individuals (Appendix C: 3-001M - 3-134F).

By the late Middle Kingdom, the title of wˁb is occasionally found in tandem with the subsidiary title (ˁq), or "enterer," which underscores the title-holder's right of entry into sacred space. Presumably, the title of wˁb was held by someone who had already fulfilled the requirements to enter the outermost limits of sacred space (§2.II, p. 14), and so it is possible that the supplementary title of ˁq grants the title-holder access to a different area within the delineated sacred space, or perhaps slightly further access therein. This title appears to have been held exclusively by males. Although female ˁqyt have been identified as offering bearers, none of them have been found to hold a wˁb-title. Because ˁq is not a wˁb-title, it is here identified as a subsidiary title. It is not

783 Wb. I, 283; Ward, Index, 77 [628].
784 Georges Daressy, "Rapport sur les fouilles à Sa el-Hagar," ASAE 17 (1917): 239.
785 Ward observes that "the ˁqyt, on the other hand, is found only among household servants and offering bearers and nothing suggests that these women were associated with temples. It is probably that these servants were allowed to enter the private family quarters just as the ˁq was allowed into the home of a deity." Refer to: William Ward, Essays on feminine titles of the Middle Kingdom and related subjects (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1986), 5-6.
indicative of a hierarchical \textit{wˁb}-title, such as the \textit{wˁb} \textit{n ḥq3}, which is often held in addition to other upper-ranking titles within the priestly hierarchy; see §6.1.4.

6.I.2. \textit{Wˁb}-Titles Affiliated with the Royal Family

This section examines the \textit{wˁb}-titles that are affiliated with the royal family, i.e. \textit{wˁb nswt} and \textit{wˁb n ḥq3}. It also includes the \textit{wˁb} \textit{n [King's Name]}, for which all known Middle Kingdom variations are illustrated in Table 6.I.2.C.

6.I.2.A. \textit{Wˁb nswt}

The title \textit{wˁb nswt}, or "royal pure one,"\textsuperscript{787} recurs in the Middle Kingdom, but is held by significantly fewer people than had been originally attested during the Old Kingdom. Fifteen named title-holders are known from this time. Unless otherwise stated, \textit{wˁb nswt} is the sole title of each person. The title also occurs on five papyrus fragments from Lahun, on which no names are preserved (3-137I,\textsuperscript{788} 3-142I,\textsuperscript{789} 3-143I,\textsuperscript{790} 3-153I,\textsuperscript{791} and 3-154I\textsuperscript{792}).

The name and title of \textit{Iw-snb} (3-135M)\textsuperscript{793} are preserved on a scarab (UC 11358) from Lahun, which typologically dates to the 11th Dynasty or later.\textsuperscript{794}

The name and title of \textit{Snb.f} (3-136M)\textsuperscript{795} are preserved on an obsidian scarab (UC 26118) from Koptos (modern Qift),\textsuperscript{796} which typologically dates to the 11th Dynasty or later.\textsuperscript{797}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{787} Ward, \textit{Index}, 81 [671]; \textit{Wb. I}, 283.
\item \textsuperscript{788} This papyrus fragment is a list of priests in the Lahun Papyri, wherein the title is qualified as \textit{wˁb nswt imy 3bd.f}, or "royal pure one within his month," which suggests that the title-holders may have operated on the monthly rotation of service also known as the \textit{phyle} system. Refer to: Borchardt, "Der zweite Papyrusfund von Kahun," 94.
\item \textsuperscript{789} P. 10.209b is a letter concerning the family members of a certain \textit{wˁb nswt} whose name has been lost. The names of the sender and the recipient are likewise not preserved. Refer to: Lüddeckens, \textit{Ägyptische Handschriften} I, 109 [252].
\item \textsuperscript{790} P. 10.214 contains a table of officials' income of bread, beer, flour, etc., wherein the title \textit{wˁb nswt} is included. Refer to: Lüddeckens, \textit{Ägyptische Handschriften} I, 109 [252].
\item \textsuperscript{791} UC 32114E \textit{vso} is part of a table with abbreviations of titles, for which the interpretation remains uncertain. Refer to: Collier and Quirke, \textit{The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts}, 218-219.
\item \textsuperscript{792} UC 32149E is a very small fragment of an accounts papyrus. Refer to: Mark Collier and Stephen Quirke, eds., \textit{The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts}, 262-263.
\item \textsuperscript{793} Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} I, 15 [22].
\item \textsuperscript{794} Martin, \textit{Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals}, 12 [76], pl. 15 [27].
\item \textsuperscript{795} Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} I, 314 [5].
\item \textsuperscript{796} William Petrie, \textit{Koptos} (London: B. Quaritch, 1896), 24, pl. 24 [5].
\item \textsuperscript{797} Martin, \textit{Egyptian administrative and private-name seals}, 121 [1569], pl. 15 [5].
\end{itemize}
The name and title of In-it.f (3-138M)\textsuperscript{798} are preserved on a papyrus fragment (P. 10.406a-h, m-o) from Lahun, which dates from the reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III.\textsuperscript{799} The fragment contains a list of supplies, wherein In-it.f is mentioned with the sole title of wˁb nswt.

The name and title of It (3-139M)\textsuperscript{800} are preserved on a papyrus fragment (P. 10.201a) from Lahun, which dates from the reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III.\textsuperscript{801} The fragment contains a priest list, in which It is mentioned.

The name and title of Nfr.t (3-140F)\textsuperscript{802} are preserved on a papyrus fragment (P. 10.237a+b) from Lahun, which dates from the reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III.\textsuperscript{803} The fragment contains a list of fabric and metal objects which are being brought to the pr ḫḏ of the temple, wherein Nfr.t is mentioned.

The name and title of Sn[t] (3-141F)\textsuperscript{804} are preserved on a papyrus fragment (P. 10.094) from Lahun, which dates from the reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III.\textsuperscript{805} The fragment contains the daily entries for food, e.g. of bread, beer, leeks, etc., as well as the entries of the serving priestess, who in this case is Sn[t].

The name and titles of It (3-144M), S-n-wsr.t (3-149M),\textsuperscript{807} and Sn.t (3-151F)\textsuperscript{808} are preserved upon a papyrus fragment (UC 32143B) from Lahun, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\textsuperscript{809} The fragment contains a list of statues followed by the names and titles of temple staff, among which It, S-n-wsr.t, and Sn.t are mentioned. In each case, the title is broken between two lines.

The name and titles of Mikt (3-145M)\textsuperscript{810} are preserved on a papyrus fragment (UC 32147G) from Lahun, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\textsuperscript{811} The fragment includes a record of supplies of three Sobek cult temples (Djedu, Geregbaf, and Resehwy) in the

\textsuperscript{798} Ranke, Personennamen I, 34 [5].
\textsuperscript{799} Lüddeckens, Ägyptische Handschriften I, 237 [603].
\textsuperscript{800} Ranke, Personennamen I, 49 [7].
\textsuperscript{801} Lüddeckens, Ägyptische Handschriften I, 103 [239].
\textsuperscript{802} Ranke, Personennamen I, 201 [10].
\textsuperscript{803} Lüddeckens, Ägyptische Handschriften I, 129 [305].
\textsuperscript{804} Ranke, Personennamen I, 296 [21].
\textsuperscript{805} Lüddeckens, Ägyptische Handschriften I, 44 [80].
\textsuperscript{806} Ranke, Personennamen I, 49 [7].
\textsuperscript{807} Ranke, Personennamen I, 279 [1].
\textsuperscript{808} Name not included in Ranke, Personennamen.
\textsuperscript{809} Collier and Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 250-251.
\textsuperscript{810} Ranke, Personennamen I, 146 [19].
\textsuperscript{811} Collier and Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 258-259.
Fayoum, wherein Mikt's name is mentioned. Mikt held dual titles of wˁb nswt and wty, or "embalmer." Based upon the provenance of the fragment, as well as a shared title, it is possible that Mikt (3-145M) and Mikt (3-146M, below) are the same individual.

The name and titles of Mikt (3-146M)\(^{812}\) and \([...]\) (3-152I) are preserved on a papyrus fragment (UC 32194) from Lahun, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^{813}\) The fragment contains a list of produce (ˤq.w) brought on certain days by officials of the town and/or temple, for which Mikt was responsible for bringing provisions after Month 1 of Summer, Day 10, while \([...]\) was later responsible for bringing provisions on Day 20.

The name and title of S3-sp\(\text{-}\)w-\(\text{-}\)n-\(\text{-}\)ḥb (3-146M)\(^{814}\) are preserved on a stela (E. 16012) from Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^{815}\)

The name and title of Sbi.s (3-148M)\(^{816}\) are preserved on a rectangular stela (CG 20520) from Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^{817}\)

The name and titles of Snb (3-150M) are preserved on a stela (Nr. 91) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^{818}\)

6.1.2. B. Wˁb n hq3

The title (wˁb n hq3), or "pure one of the ruler,"\(^ {819}\) appears for the first time during the Middle Kingdom, and may be a variant of the title wˁb nswt, discussed above. The only known title-holder is Ḫwi[...] (3-155M),\(^{820}\) whose name and title are preserved on a scarab (Fitzwilliam E.Sc.200) of unknown provenance, which typologically dates to the 12th Dynasty or later.\(^{821}\) Ḫwi[...]'s sole title is wˁb n hq3.

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\(^{812}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 146 [19].

\(^{813}\) Collier and Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 100-101.

\(^{814}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 284 [15].


\(^{816}\) Name not included in Ranke, Personennamen.

\(^{817}\) Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine II, 116-122.

\(^{818}\) Ernst Bergmann, "Inchriftliche Denkmäler der Sammlung Ägyptischer Alterthümer des Österreichischen Kaiserhauses," Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes 9 (1887): 61 [5].

\(^{819}\) Ward, Index, 82 [680].

\(^{820}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 265 [26].

\(^{821}\) Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 93 [1189], pl. 19 [16].
The titular formula (The King's Name), which serves to link the title-holder to a specific king by directly referring to a king's name or mortuary complex, continues throughout the Middle Kingdom. One new variation of this titular formula appears during the reign of Sankhkare Mentuhotep III in reference to his shrine (§XIb.2). For ease of reference, Table 6.I.2.C illustrates the types of -title(s) that are associated with each king, which are numbered according to dynasty (Roman numerals) and reign (Arabic numerals). Each of the -titles associated with a king are discussed in chronological order in the following sub-sections.

The (The King's Name) is a direct reference to the deceased king, but does not specify a mortuary complex. This title may have been used in one or more cult locations, wherever service may have been performed in honor of the named king. The oldest king's name with which a -title is affiliated at this time is with Sneferu, the first king of the 4th Dynasty (§IV.1); the title-holder, however, lived during the Middle Kingdom. The earliest -titles that are associated with a king's name during the Middle Kingdom reference Mentuhotep II and Mentuhotep III (§XIb.1-2). The next known -title associated with a king's name references Amenemhat I, the founder of the 12th Dynasty (§XII.1).

The first mortuary complex with which a -title is linked during the Middle Kingdom is with the mortuary complex (3ḫ-sw2t-Imn) of Mentuhotep II in Deir el-Bahari (§XIb.1). The next -title linked to a cult place is that of a shrine of Mentuhotep III (§XIb.1). No other known -titles are linked to mortuary complexes until that of Senusret III and Amenemhat III, the fifth and sixth kings of the 12th Dynasty, respectively. The -title linked to Senusret III refers to his mortuary complex (W3ḥ-š(sw)t-H(k3w-r) in Abydos (§XII.5), while the -title linked to Amenemhat III may refer to the Black Pyramid in Dahshur (§XII.6).

Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 43 [37].

The -title refers to , which Ward associates with the pyramid of Amenemhat II. Refer to: Ward, Index, 79 [641a]. However, the name of Amenemhat II's pyramid is , which does not match the title here. This author proposes that the title refers to the pyramid of Amenemhat III, whose name
Table 6.I.2.C: Wˁb n [King's Name] of the Middle Kingdom

Table: Legend:
- Wˁb
- Shrine
- Pyramid
- No associated wˁb-title

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dynasty 4</th>
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<td>IV.1</td>
<td>Horus Nebmaat Sneferu</td>
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<td>Nebhepetre Mentuhotep II</td>
<td>Wˁb</td>
<td>Pyramid</td>
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<tr>
<td>XIb.2</td>
<td>Sankhkare Mentuhotep III</td>
<td>Wˁb</td>
<td>X</td>
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<tr>
<td>XIb.3</td>
<td>Nebtawy Mentuhotep IV</td>
<td>Wˁb</td>
<td>X</td>
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<th>Dynasty 12</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>XII.1</td>
<td>Sehetepibre Amenemhat I</td>
<td>Wˁb</td>
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<tr>
<td>XII.2</td>
<td>Kheperkare Senusret I</td>
<td>X</td>
<td></td>
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<td>XII.3</td>
<td>Nubkhaure Amenemhat II</td>
<td>X</td>
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<td>XII.4</td>
<td>Khakheperre Senusret II</td>
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<td>XII.5</td>
<td>Khakaure Senusret III</td>
<td>Wˁb</td>
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<td>XII.6</td>
<td>Nimaatre Amenemhat III</td>
<td>Pyramid</td>
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<td>XII.7</td>
<td>Maekherure Amenemhat IV</td>
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<td>XII.8</td>
<td>Sobkkare Sobekneferu</td>
<td>X</td>
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<th>Dynasty 13</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No wˁb-titles known.</td>
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</table>

**IV.1. Wˁb [Snfrw]**

The title ΡPasswordField (wˁb [Snfrw]), or "pure one [of Sneferu]," refers to the mortuary cult of Sneferu. Only one title-holder is known, S3-hwt-hr (3-116M), whose name and titles are preserved on his statue that was found within the open court of the Valley Temple of Sneferu in Dahshur. Although Sneferu's mortuary cult was established in the 4th Dynasty, the statue is attributed to the Middle Kingdom, which suggests that the cult of Sneferu either had a remarkable longevity or was revived during the Middle Kingdom. S3-hwt-hr's titulary is exclusively comprised of wˁb-titles of various rank: wˁb, wˁb ˤ3, and wˁb [Snfrw]. His father, Mn.w-snfrw (3-089M) held the sole title of wˁb.

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826 Ward notes: "The king's name is not preserved, but this can only be Sneferu due to the find-spot." See: Ward, *Index*, 83 [683]. For all renderings of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 53 [1].
827 Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 283 [20].
829 Ward, *Index*, 83 [683].
XIb.1.A. Wˁb n Nb-hpt-rˁ m3ˁ ḫrw

The title (wˁb n Nb-hpt-rˁ m3ˁ ḫrw), or "pure one of Nebhepetre, true of voice," refers to mortuary cult of Mentuhotep II. All known attestations of this title appear in graffiti near the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari; the title is not attested elsewhere. The title occurs 13 times, but only 10 title-holders are named: Iibb (3-156M), Iibb (3-157M), Iwii-n-pš? (3-158M), Inf.w (3-159M), ḫ3m (1-160M), Šd-ḥth (1-161M), Mrīi-snb[...](3-162M), Nf-iw (3-163M), Šw-imn[...] (3-164M), and [...]mn (3-165I). The remaining three attestations do not include the name of the title-holder (e.g. 3-166I and 3-168I), although one inscription does identify the title-holder (3-167M) as the son of a certain wˁb, Mrīi-snb (3-037M). The graffiti collectively dates to the 12th Dynasty.

Approximately two-thirds (67%) of the graffiti in this area were made by wˁb.w. Of the wˁb.w of Mentuhotep II, wˁb n Nb-hpt-rˁ is the sole title of each title-holder (see Appendix 3). Three attestations are especially worthy of attention as they contain genealogies linking one title-holder to another; i.e. Inf.w (3-159M) is identified as the parent of Iibb (3-157M), both of whom hold the title wˁb n Nb-hpt-rˁ; Iwii-n-pš? (3-158M) is identified as the son of In[-]t.f (3-232M) and grandson of R[n].f-snb(w) (3-164M)...

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830 Fischer, Supplement, 15 [669a]. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 79 [T6].
831 Wilhelm Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti (Inschriften und Zeichnungen) aus der thebanischen Nekropolis, herausgegeben und bearbeitet (Heidelberg, C. Winter, 1921), 77 [924b]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 40 [6]. Name not included in Ranke, Personennamen.
832 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 77 [924c, e]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 40 [7]. Name not included in Ranke, Personennamen.
833 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 80 [967]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 41 [12]. Name not included in Ranke, Personennamen.
834 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 77 [924c, e]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 40 [7]. Name not included in Ranke, Personennamen.
835 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 78 [931]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 41 [8]; Ranke, Personennamen I, 59 [2].
836 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 78 [934]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 41 [9]; Ranke, Personennamen I, 330 [22].
837 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 80 [961b]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 41 [10]. Name not included in Ranke, Personennamen.
838 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 78 [930b]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 41 [11]. Name transposed; compare to: Ranke, Personennamen I, 13 [20].
839 Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 41 [14]. Name not included in Ranke, Personennamen.
840 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 77 [922]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 41 [13].
841 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 79 [949]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 41 [22].
842 Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 41 [33].
843 Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 41 [24].
844 Winlock, Rise and Fall, 77-90.
236M), the latter two of whom are both wˁb (n) Imn; and one unnamed individual (3-167M) is identified as the son of Mrii-snb (3-037M), who holds the title of wˁb. Winlock proposes that the graffiti was made by wˁb.w who were annually sent up to the cliffs to watch for the bark of Amun for the Feast of the Valley.

**XIb.1.B. Wˁb Mnt.w n 3ḥ-swt-Imn**

The title (wˁb Mnt.w n 3ḥ-swt-Imn), or "pure one of Montu, of (the pyramid) 'Glorious-are-the-Places-of-Amun," refers to Mentuhotep II's pyramidal mortuary complex in Deir el-Bahari; note the usage of the △-determinative. Only one title-holder is known, Ni-sw (3-169M), whose name and title are preserved in a graffito near the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, which Winlock proposes was made by wˁb.w whom had been sent up to the cliffs to watch for the bark of Amun for the Feast of the Valley. The graffito dates to the 12th Dynasty. Ni-sw holds the dual titles of wˁb Mnt.w n 3ḥ-swt-Imn and imy st-ˁc, or "helper/functionary."

**XIb.2.A. Wˁb Sˁnḫ-k3[-rˁ]**

The title (wˁb Sˁnḫ-k3[-rˁ]), or "pure one of Sankhka[re]," refers to Mentuhotep III. All known attestations of the title appear in graffiti near the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari; the title is not attested elsewhere. The title occurs eight times, but only four title-holders are named: Imn.ii (3-170M), Rn(.i)-snb(w) (3-171M), S3-s-n-wsr.t (3-172M), and S-n-wsr.t (3-173M). The remaining four

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845 The feminine △ or "t" is indicated consistently within the genealogical inscription. However, Spiegelberg marks each occurrence as [sic], which is later copied by Winlock. Refer to: Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 80 [967]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 41 [12].

846 Winlock, Rise and Fall, 77-90.

847 Fischer, Supplement, 14 [641bis]; von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 79 [P].

848 Ranke, Personennamen I, 173 [12].

849 Winlock, Rise and Fall, 77-90.

850 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 79 [948]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 40 [2].

851 Fischer, Supplement, 15 [681a]. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 81 [T1], without cartouche.

852 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 78 [932]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 43 [36]; Ranke, Personennamen I, 31 [13].

853 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 79 [944]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 43 [38]; Ranke, Personennamen I, 222 [26].

854 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 77 [920b], 81 [975]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 42 [34]. Name not included in Ranke, Personennamen.

855 Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 43 [35]; Ranke, Personennamen I, 279 [1].
attestations do not specify the name of the title-holder (3-174I, 3-175I, 3-176I, and 3-177I). The graffiti collectively dates to the 12th Dynasty.

Each title-holder holds the title of $w^b S'nh-k3[-r']$, which in two cases is complemented by the name $Mnt.w-htp$, or Mentuhotep III. Only one unnamed title-holder (3-174I) holds a second priestly title of $hry-hbt$, or lector priest. Winlock proposes that the graffiti was made by $w^b.w$ who were annually sent up to the cliffs to watch for the bark of Amun for the Feast of the Valley.

XII.2.B. $W^b sh S'nh-k3-r' m^3 h rw$

The title ($w^b sh S'nh-k3-r' m^3 h rw$), or "pure one of the shrine of Sankhkare, true of voice," most likely refers to the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep III, located on Thoth Hill. Only one title-holder is known, $Imn.ii$ (3-178M), whose name and title are preserved by a graffito near the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, which dates to the 12th Dynasty. $Imn.ii$'s sole title is $w^b sh S'nh-k3-r' m^3 h rw$. Winlock proposes that the graffiti were made by $w^b.w$ who had been sent up to the cliffs to watch for the bark of Amun for the Feast of the Valley.

XII.1. $Wb n S'htp-ib-r'$

The title ($w^b n S'htp-ib-r'$), or "pure one of Sehetepibre," refers to Amenemhat I. Two attestations of the title are known, both of which are held by a certain $Gb.w$, which may in fact refer to one individual title-holder (3-179M+3-180M). The

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856 Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 43 [43].
857 Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 43 [44].
858 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 81 [972]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 43 [45].
859 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 78 [928g]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 43 [46].
860 Winlock, Rise and Fall, 77-90.
861 The extraneous $\underline{j}$ is almost certainly a scribal error. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 81 [T1]. This title is not included within Ward's Index or Fischer's Supplement.
863 Ranke, Personennamen I, 31 [13].
864 Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 43 [37].
865 Winlock, Rise and Fall, 77-90.
866 Ward, Index, 83 [684]. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, Königsnamen, 83 [T2].
867 Ranke, Personennamen I, 350 [16].
name and titles of Gb.w are preserved upon two scarabs (MMA 30.8.648 and an unnumbered example within the Michaelides Collection) of unknown provenance, both of which date from the 12th to 13th Dynasties. The sole title contained upon both scarabs is wˁb n Sḥtp-ib-rˁ.

XII.5. Wˁb W3ḥ-s(w)t-Ḥk3w-rˁ-m-3bdw

The title (wˁb W3ḥ-s(w)t-Ḥk3w-rˁ-m-3bdw), or "pure one of 'Enduring-are-the-Places-of-Khakaure' in Abydos," refers to the mortuary temple complex of Senusret III in south Abydos. Only one title-holder is known, Nḥr.i (1-181M), whose name and title are preserved on a scarab sealing (7598 [48-1-2]) found within Building A of the town of Wah Sut, which dates to the reign of Senusret III. Nḥr.i's sole title is wˁb W3ḥ-s(w)t-Ḥk3w-rˁ-m-3bdw. Wegner notes that "the association of a wab/purification priest with the W3ḥ-s(w)t-Ḥk3w-rˁ-m3ˁ-hrw-m-3bdw marks it as a cult foundation dedicated to that pharaoh."

XII.6. Wˁb m Sḫm-Imn.ii

The title (wˁb m Sḫm-Imn.ii), or "pure one of (the pyramid) 'Mighty-is-Ameny," may refer to the Black Pyramid, or the pyramid of Amenemhat III in Dahshur. Only one title-holder is known, S3-nr (3-182M), whose name and titles are preserved upon a stela (BM EA839) of unknown provenance, which dates to the 12th Dynasty. S3-nr's sole priestly title is wˁb m Sḫm-Imn.ii.

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868 Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 131 [1712-1713], pl. 37 [25].
869 This title is not included within Ward's *Index* or Fischer's *Supplement*. For rendering of the king's name, see: von Beckerath, *Königsnamen*, 85 [T3].
870 Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 208 [23].
874 Ward associates the title with the pyramid of Amenemhat II (see note above). However, the name of Amenemhat II's pyramid is ḫs, which does not match the title here. This author proposes that the title refers to the pyramid of Amenemhat III, whose name is not otherwise known.
875 Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 283 [1].
6.I.3. Funerary $wˁb$-Titles

This section examines funerary $wˁb$-titles, which have increased in number since earlier periods. Although the title $wˁb \, šnty \,(200)$ was consistently linked to the pyramid complexes from the end of the 5th Dynasty, the title is no longer explicitly linked to the royal mortuary cult in the Middle Kingdom. Several other funerary $wˁb$-titles also appear at this time, which include: $wˁb \, hr.t$, $wˁb \, n \, b3.w \, hrt-ntr$, $wˁb \, n \, sh-ntr$, and $wˁb \, n \, k3$. The diversification of funerary $wˁb$-titles in the Middle Kingdom suggests a shift in the affiliation of the title-holder from the royal mortuary cult to that of private individuals. Each of the titles are discussed in their respective subsections below.

6.I.3.A. $Wˁb \, šnty \,(200)$

The title (wˁb šnty (200)), or "pure one of the šnty (200)," is most likely affiliated with the royal mortuary cult, as per §4.I.3.A-C. Only one title-holder is known: $D3g.i \,(3-291M)$, whose name and titles are preserved in his tomb in Thebes, which dates to the early 12th Dynasty. $D3g.i$ holds a number of priestly titles, which include: $wˁb \, šnty \,(200)$, s(t)m-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth), [...] hs3t or "[...] Hesat," $hm-ntr$, and $hm-ntr$ of Horus. $D3g.i$'s other titles suggest that he enjoyed a relatively high status as: iry pˁt or "hereditary prince/nobleman," $ḥ3ty-ʾ$ or "count," $ḥrp \, šndyt \, nbt$ or "director of every kilt," and imy-r [...] or "overseer of [...]."

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877 Ranke, Personennamen I, 396 [4].
878 The surviving decoration within the tomb of $D3g.i$ is highly fragmentary, for which Davies has reconstructed much of his title-string. Refer to: Norman de Garis Davies, Five Theban Tombs: (Being Those of Mentuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemawäy and Tati) (London: EEF, 1913), 28-39, pls. 31-37.
6.I.3.B. Wˁb ḥr.t

The title ꜫꜥꜫⲣ.t / ꜫꜥꜫꜫ.t (wˁb hr.t), or "pure one of the tomb,"879 is a funerary wˁb-title associated with a tomb. The dual renderings of the word hr.t in the title suggest two different types of tomb due to the two different determinatives. Five title-holders are known. Unless otherwise stated, wˁb hr.t is their sole title.

The name and title880 of Tti (3-293M)881 are preserved upon a block statue (Baltimore 22.163) of unknown provenance,882 which dates to the reign of Senusret III.883

The name and title884 of Rdi-ni-ptḥ (3-284M)885 are preserved upon a block statue (Brooklyn 39.602) of unknown provenance, which dates to the 12th Dynasty.886 Based on this inscription, Vernus initially argued that the wˁb-title does not refer to a tomb or necropolis, but rather to an elevated place or object possibly associated with the god Ptah, as per his alternative reading of the title and the title-holder's name. He later retracted this interpretation upon consideration of further evidence from the New Kingdom.887 The title ꜫꜥꜫꜫ.t most likely refers to a different type of tomb (hr.t) than the title ꜫꜥꜫropolis, which is used within a rock-cut tomb-chapel at Meir; in this regard it is especially unfortunate that the provenance of this statue is not known.

The name and title888 of Ppy (3-294M)889 are preserved on the lower part of his statue from Saqqara,890 which dates to the Middle Kingdom.891 The statue is unique: Ppy

880 Rendered as ꜫꜥꜫꜫ.t.
881 Ranke, Personennamen I, 384 [4].
882 George Steindorff, Catalogue of the Egyptian sculpture in the Walters Art Gallery (Baltimore: The Trustees, 1946), 49 [49], pl. 12 [91].
884 Rendered as ꜫꜥꜫꜫ.t.
885 Ranke, Personennamen I, 228 [3].
886 Thomas James, Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1974), 59-60 [139] and pl. 40 [139].
888 Rendered as ꜫꜥꜫꜫ.t.
889 Ranke, Personennamen I, 131 [18].
890 Quibell, Excavations at Saqqara, 73, pl. 11.
891 Vernus, "Encore une fois le titre wˁb hr.t," 7.
sits with his legs folded under him at an angle. His hands rest on the top of his thighs, with his right hand placed over his left hand. Quibell observed that this statue "can be paralleled in the figures of women depicted on a small scale at their husbands' feet."\(^{892}\)

The titles\(^{893}\) of two unnamed individuals (3-285M and 3-286M) are preserved within the rock-cut tomb-chapel (No. 4) of Wḥ.ḥtp\(\cdot\)w III in Meir, which dates to the 12th Dynasty.\(^{894}\) The pair of w\(\ddot{b}\).w hr.t are shown carrying low tables laden with food, following a pair of hm.w-k3, or "k3-servants," who carry a basin and other vessels probably containing beverages.

6.I.3.C. W\(\ddot{b}\) n b3.w hr.t-nṯr

The title \(\text{\begin{tikzpicture}[baseline=-0.5ex] \draw (0,0) -- (0.5,0) -- (0.5,0.5) -- (0,0.5) -- cycle;\end{tikzpicture}}\) (w\(\ddot{b}\) n b3.w hr.t-nṯr) or "pure one of the b3.w of the necropolis,"\(^{895}\) is a funerary w\(\ddot{b}\)-title. Two title-holders are known; their sole title is w\(\ddot{b}\) n hr.t-nṯr.

The name and title of ṭnḥ.w (3-287M)\(^{896}\) are preserved on a stela (CG 20050) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^{897}\)

The name and title of ṭn.ti-ḥtp\(\cdot\)w (3-288M)\(^{898}\) are preserved on a stela (CG 20034) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^{899}\)

6.I.3.D. W\(\ddot{b}\) n sḥ-nṯr

The title \(\text{\begin{tikzpicture}[baseline=-0.5ex] \draw (0,0) -- (0.5,0) -- (0.5,0.5) -- (0,0.5) -- cycle; \end{tikzpicture}}\) (w\(\ddot{b}\) n sḥ-nṯr), or "pure one of the Divine Booth,"\(^{900}\) is a funerary w\(\ddot{b}\)-title referring to a divine booth or shrine.\(^{901}\) An example of this type of title occurs in reference to Mentuhotep III (§XIb.2.B), above. Two title-holders are known, W\(\ddot{b}[...]\)w[...] (3-289I) and Nhṭ (3-290M),\(^{902}\) both of whose names and titles are preserved

\(^{892}\) Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 73, pl. 11.
\(^{893}\) Rendered as \(\text{\begin{tikzpicture}[baseline=-0.5ex] \draw (0,0) -- (0.5,0) -- (0.5,0.5) -- (0,0.5) -- cycle;\end{tikzpicture}}\).
\(^{894}\) Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir* III, pl. 24.
\(^{895}\) Ward translates the title as "priest of the stonemasons." Refer to: Ward, *Index*, 83 [681].
\(^{896}\) Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 68 [6].
\(^{897}\) Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 59-60.
\(^{898}\) Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 70 [2].
\(^{899}\) Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* I, 42-43.
\(^{900}\) Fischer, *Supplement*, 16 [683a].
\(^{901}\) Fischer notes, "the last sign more probably represents sḥ rather than ḫb 'festival,' but the choice is uncertain, since writing tend to be interchanged both in the Old and Middle Kingdom." Refer to: Fischer, *Supplement*, 16.
\(^{902}\) Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 209 [16].
by a graffito located between Mahatta and Aswan, the precise location of which was not further specified by de Morgan. The graffito dates to the Middle Kingdom, and both individuals hold the sole title of \( w^b n \, sh-nfr \).

6.I.3.E. \( W^b n \, k3 \)

The title \( \mathbb{U} \, (w^b n \, k3) \), or "pure one of the \( k3 \)," is a funerary \( w^b \)-title that may have functioned in conjunction with the widely attested \( hm-k3 \), or "\( k3 \)-servant." The title does not appear until the Middle Kingdom, and is attested by only one known title-holder, \( Mn.w-htp.w \) (3-292M), whose name and title are preserved on a stela (Turin 94) of unknown provenance. \( Mn.w-htp.w \)'s sole title is \( w^b n \, k3 \).

6.I.4. \( W^b \)-titles Affiliated with a Deity, Divine Epithet, or Cult Center

This section examines the \( w^b \)-titles that are affiliated with a deity, divine epithet, or cult center. Hierarchical \( w^b \)-titles, or the presence of an upper-ranking \( w^b \, ^t3 \) that is distinguished from a lower-ranking \( w^b \), initially appear within the cults of Ptah and Min during the Old Kingdom. By the Middle Kingdom, a number of other \( w^b \)-titles appear that suggest further hierarchical refinements among the \( w^b.w \). These titles include: \( w^b \, wr \) or "grand pure one," \( w^b \, bsi \) or "pure one who has been initiated," as well as the subsidiary title of \( ^tq \) or "enterer."

The use of \( ^t3 \) and \( wr \) to qualify a priestly title also occurs with the title of \( hry-hbt \), or lector priest. As with the \( w^b \, ^t3 \), the usage of \( hry-hbt \, ^t3 \) occurs in association with a deity, i.e. \( hry-hbt \, ^t3 \, n \, B3st.t \), or "great lector priest of Bastet." The title also occurs in reference to a specific place, i.e. \( hry-hbt \, ^t3 \, pr-nfr \) or "great lector priest of the funerary workshop." The title \( hry-hbt \, wr \), in contrast, does not appear linked to a deity, although it does occur in reference to a specific place, i.e. \( hry-hbt \, wr \, n \, gb3t \) or "grand lector priest..."
of the robing room." It is therefore probable that the designation of ˤ3 or wr reflects where the title-holder is working, especially with ˤ3 most often being linked to a divine cult. A difference in rank between the ˤ3 and wr is not implied; indeed, Ward translates both the words ˤ3 and wr synonymously as "chief." Both wˁb ˤ3 and wˁb wr likely oversaw lower-ranking wˁb.w.

The title wˁb bsi, or "pure one who has been initiated," indicates that the title-holder has undergone a form of initiation that serves to further distinguish them from the rest of the wˁb.w, but not the complete form of initiation that was reserved for the upper-ranking ḥm-nṯr, as discussed in Chapter 3. Such a partial initiation may have enabled the title-holder to complete ritual tasks that were not possible for one who was merely wˁb.

The subsidiary title of ˁq, or "enterer," sometimes accompanies the title of wˁb, as discussed above in §6.I.1. Because ˁq is not explicitly a wˁb-title, it is here designated as a subsidiary title. The title underscores the title-holder's right of entry into sacred space, but does not indicate an elevated rank like the wˁb ˤ3 or wˁb wr, nor having undergone a partial form of initiation, such as the wˁb bsi. The proposed hierarchy of wˁb-titles is shown in Table 6.I.4.A, below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6.I.4.A: Hierarchy of Wˁb-Titles in the Middle Kingdom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wˁb ˤ3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wˁb bsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wˁb ˁq</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wˁb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The hierarchy of wˁb-titles outlined above remain subordinate to other grades of the priestly hierarchy, e.g. ḥm-nṯr, as discussed in Chapter 3.

The cults in which the wˁb.w are organized under an upper-ranking wˁb ˤ3 are shown in the left column of Table 6.I.4.B. The cults in which no upper-ranking wˁb ˤ3 is known are listed in the right column of Table 6.I.4.B.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 6.I.4.B: Hierarchical vs. Non-Hierarchical Wˁb-titles in the Middle Kingdom</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hierarchical wˁb-titles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

909 Ward, Index, 141 [1210]. For the generic form of title, refer to: Ward, Index, 141 [1209a].
910 Ward, Index, 140-141.
The hierarchical $w^b.w$-titles of a deity, divine epithet, or cult center, are discussed in §6.I.4.A. The upper-ranking title $w^b \ ˁ3$ is discussed first, immediately followed by the respective entry-level title below. For example, the $w^b \ ˁ3 \ n \ Inpw$ is discussed in §6.I.4.A.1, followed by the $w^b \ (n) \ Inpw$ in §6.I.4.A.1.a. The titles are discussed in alphabetical order by deity. The titles of $w^b \ wr$ and $w^b \ bsi$, which are not explicitly linked to the cult of a deity, are discussed at the end of this section. All non-hierarchical $w^b$-titles (i.e. $w^b \ n \ [Deity]$), which are not organized under an upper-ranking $w^b \ ˁ3$, are examined in §6.I.4.B. These titles are also discussed in alphabetical order by deity below.

6.I.4.A. $w^b \ ˁ3$

The title $\text{wˁb ˁ3}$ or "great pure one" does not specify a particular deity. The title was initially attested during the First Intermediate Period. At this time, the title was rendered: $\text{wˁb ˁ3}$, as attested by the two known title-holders, $Wsr$ (2-007M) and $Tti-ḥr-mnḥt$ (2-008M), both of whom are discussed in the previous chapter. By the Middle Kingdom, the title is rendered as $\text{wˁb ˁ3}$. Six title-holders are known from this time.

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The name and titles of S3-hwt-hr (3-116M) are preserved on his statue that was found within the open court of the Valley Temple of Sneferu in Dahshur. Although Sneferu's mortuary cult was established in the 4th Dynasty, the statue is attributed to the Middle Kingdom, which suggests that the cult of Sneferu either had a remarkable longevity or was revived during the Middle Kingdom. S3-hwt-hr's titulary is exclusively comprised of wˁb-titles of various rank: wˁb, wˁb ˁ3, and wˁb [Snfrw]. His father, Mn.w-snfrw (3-089M) held the sole title of wˁb.

The name and titles of Imn.ii (3-183M) are preserved on a scarab (JdE 34083) from Memphis (modern Mit Rahina), which typologically dates to the 12th Dynasty or later. Imn.ii holds the dual titles of wˁb ˁ3 and hм-k3, or "k3-servant."

The name and titles of Iḥ3 (3-185M) are preserved on a rectangular coffin (CG 28090) from Bersheh, which dates to the Middle Kingdom. Although Iḥ3 holds several epithets, wˁb ˁ3 is his sole title.

The name and titles of Hnm.w-ˁ3 (3-186M) and Hnm.w-nḥt (3-187M) are preserved on a stela (CG 20092) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom. Both Hnm.w-ˁ3's and Hnm.w-nḥt's sole title is wˁb ˁ3.

The name and titles of Nn.i (3-184M) are preserved on a scarab of unknown provenance, which dates to the early Second Intermediate Period. Nn.i holds two titles: wˁb ˁ3 and nfr, or "recruit."


The title (wˁb ˁ3 n Inpw), or "great pure one of Anubis," is the head of the wˁb.w of Anubis. Although various hm-nṯr (n) Inpw titles appear as early as

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912 Ranke, Personennamen I, 283 [20].
913 Fakhry, The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II, 17-18 [3], fig. 293.
914 Ward, Index, 83 [683].
915 Ranke, Personennamen I, 31 [13].
916 Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 21 [199], pl. 36 [33].
917 Ranke, Personennamen I, 44 [6].
918 Lacau, Sarcophages antérieurs au nouvel empire, 30-37.
919 Ranke, Personennamen I, 275 [6].
920 Ranke, Personennamen I, 276 [1].
921 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine I, 112-113.
922 Ranke, Personennamen I, 205 [9].
923 Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 62 [751], pl. 41 [36].
924 Ward, Index, 79 [647]. Although this title is included in Ward's Index, the title could not be verified within his citation.
the 4th Dynasty, no \( w^\text{b} \)-title is attested within the priestly hierarchy until the Middle Kingdom.

6.1.4.1.1.a. \( w^\text{b} (n) \text{Inpw} \)

The title \( \text{\textcircled{ }} \text{\textcircled{ }} \text{\textcircled{ }} \text{\textcircled{ }} (w^\text{b} n \text{Inpw}) \), or "pure one of Anubis," is an entry-level \( w^\text{b} \)-title within the cult of Anubis, as opposed to the upper-ranking \( w^\text{b} \text{\textcircled{3}} n \text{Inpw} \), discussed above. Three title-holders are known. Unless otherwise stated, \( w^\text{b} n \text{Inpw} \) is their sole title.

The name and title of \( \text{Dd}.w-\text{sbk} (3-188M) \) are preserved on a stela (Inv. Nr. 23/66) from Abydos, which dates to the 12th Dynasty.

The name and title of \( \text{Rn}(i)-\text{snb}(w) (3-189M) \) are preserved on a stela (CG 20289) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.

The name and titles of \( \text{Nh}.i (3-190M) \) are preserved on his stela (UC 14418) of unknown provenance, which dates to the late Middle Kingdom. \( \text{Nh}.i \)'s sole priestly title is \( w^\text{b} (n) \text{Inpw} \). He also holds a pair of administrative titles: \( s3\text{b} \text{iry N\text{\textsc{h}}n} \) or "juridical official and mouth of Nekhen" and \( w^\text{ty} \text{pw m t3 pn} \) or "sole one of this land."

6.1.4.1.2. \( w^\text{b} \text{\textcircled{3}} n \text{Wsir} \)

The title \( \text{\textcircled{ }} \text{\textcircled{ }} \text{\textcircled{ }} \text{\textcircled{ }} (w^\text{b} \text{\textcircled{3}} n \text{Wsir}) \) is the "great pure one of Osiris." Although the title \( \text{hm-ntr} (n) \text{Wsir} \) was attested at the end of the 5th Dynasty, no \( w^\text{b} \)-titles are included within the priestly hierarchy until the Middle Kingdom. Only one title-holder is known, \( \text{Wp-w3.wt-\text{\textcircled{3}}} (3-191M) \), whose name and titles are preserved on a stela (Leiden V4) from Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom. \( \text{Wp-w3.wt-\text{\textcircled{3}}} \) holds various

925 Begelsbacher-Fischer, Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt, 19-20, 27.
926 Ward, Index, 79 [642].
927 Ranke, Personennamen I, 402 [24].
929 Ranke, Personennamen I, 222 [26].
930 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine I, 303-304.
931 Ranke, Personennamen I, 207 [15].
932 Harry Stewart, Egyptian Stelae, Reliefs and Paintings from the Petrie Collection II (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1979), 27 [113].
933 Ward, Index, 79 [648].
934 Begelsbacher-Fischer, Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt, 123-124.
935 Ranke, Personennamen I, 77 [21].
936 P. Boeser, Leiden II, 3 [5], pl. 4.
priestly titles, which include: wˁb ˁ3 n Wsir, s(t)m-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of opening the mouth), ḫrp šndyt nbt r pr Mn.w or "director of every kilt in the temple of Min," imy-r sšrw m pr-wr or "overseer of the cloth/linen of the shrine of Upper Egypt," ḥm-nṯr of Maat, and imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr or "overseer of the god's servants." Two other titles may refer to his right to access sacred space: sr i3t ṯsst or "official who unties the knot" and m33 in nw n pr or "one who sees what is brought to the temple." Wp-w3.wt-ˁ3's other titles suggest that he enjoyed a relatively high status: ivery pˁt or "hereditary prince/nobleman," ḥ3ty-ˁ or "count," htm(ty)-bity or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt," smr wˁty or "sole companion," ḫnty swt m ˁt or "foremost of seat in the estate," and ṣpss ḥry.s or "respected/esteemed before it."

6.1.4.A.2.a. Wˁb n Wsir

The title (wˁb n Wsir) is the "pure one of Osiris." Four title-holders are known.

The name and titles of Sn(.i)-pw (3-192M) and S-n-wsr.t (3-193M) are preserved on a stela (CG 20030) from the eastern slope of Middle Cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom. Sn(.i)-pw, for whom the stela is inscribed, holds the sole title of wˁb ḥm-nṯr n Wsir, or "pure one [and] god's servant of Osiris," whereas S-n-wsr.t, who is mentioned upon the stela, only holds the title of wˁb n Wsir.

The name and titles of Snb-ty.fy (3-194M) and Sn(.i)-pw (3-195M) are preserved on a stela (CG 20334) from the Northern Cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom. Snb-ty.fy and Sn-pw, both of whom are mentioned upon the stela, hold the sole title of wˁb n Wsir.

937 This title may "refer to opening of sealed doorways, which were tied and knotted prior to the application of the seals." Refer to: Denise Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom: a social and historical analysis* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 178-179.
938 Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 178-179.
939 Ward, *Index*, 81 [664].
940 Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 308 [17].
941 Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 279 [1].
943 Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 314 [23].
944 Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 308 [17].

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6.1.4.A.3.1. \( W^b \; '3 \; n \; Hwt-hr \)

The title \( W^b \; '3 \; n \; Hwt-hr \) is the "great pure one of Hathor."\(^{946}\) Although various \( hm(t)-nṯr \; (n) \; Hwt-hr \) titles appear in the 4th Dynasty,\(^{947}\) no \( W^b \)-titles are attested within the priestly hierarchy until the Middle Kingdom. Only one title-holder is known, \( Snb.i \) (3-196M),\(^{948}\) whose name and titles are preserved on a stela (CG 20780) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^{949}\) \( Snb.i \) holds dual priestly titles: \( W^b \; '3 \; n \; Hwt-hr \) and \( s(t)m\)-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of the Opening the Mouth). He also held two additional titles: \( hq3 \; hsy.f \; m^3 \) or "ruler whom he truly praises" and \( imy-r \; h3tyw \) or "overseer of the foremost ones."

6.1.4.A.3.2. \( W^b \; '3 \; n \; Hwt-hr \; nb[t] \; Tp-ihw \; hry-ib \; Hnm.w-swt \)

The title \( W^b \; '3 \; n \; Hwt-hr \; nb[t] \; Tp-ihw \; hry-ib \; Hnm.w-swt \), or "great pure one of Hathor, Lady of Aphroditopolis, in the midst of 'Favorite-of-Places',"\(^{950}\) refers to the head of the \( W^b.w \) of Hathor, Lady of Aphroditopolis (modern Atfih), the capital of the Knife Nome (U.E. 22).\(^{951}\) Ward attributes the place-name \( hry-ib \; Hnmw-swt \), or "Favorite-of-Places," to Senusret I's pyramid in Lisht. However, the name of Senusret I's pyramid is \( ptr-t3wy \), or "Overlooking-the-Two-Lands," which does not match the toponym within this title. Only one title-holder is known, \( Sbk-ḥr.(w) \) (3-197M),\(^{952}\) whose name and title are preserved upon a scarab (unnumbered) of unknown provenance, which typologically dates to the 12th Dynasty or later.\(^{953}\) \( Sbk-ḥr.(w)\)'s sole title is \( W^b \; '3 \; n \; Hwt-hr \; nb[t] \; Tp-ihw \; hry-ib \; Hnm.w-swt \).

6.1.4.A.3.a. \( W^b \; n \; Hwt-hr \; nb[t] \; Iwn.t \)

The title \( W^b \; n \; Hwt-hr \; nb[t] \; Iwn.t \), or "pure one of Hathor, Lady of Dendera"\(^{954}\) is an entry-level \( W^b\)-title within the cult of Hathor, Lady of Dendera,

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\(^{946}\) Ward, Index, 80 [652].

\(^{947}\) Begelsbacher-Fischer, Untersuchungen zur Göterwelt, 53-78.

\(^{948}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 313 [23].

\(^{949}\) Lange und Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine II, 409.

\(^{950}\) Ward, Index, 80 [653].

\(^{951}\) Gardiner, Onomastica II, 119*.

\(^{952}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 305 [3].

\(^{953}\) Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 88 [1125], pl. 19 [9].

\(^{954}\) Ward, Index, 82 [673].
the capital of the Crocodile Nome (U.E. 6). Four title-holders are known; \( w^b n Hwt-hr nb[t] Iwn.t \) was their sole title.

The name and title of \( Rn(i)-snb(w) \) (3-198M)
are preserved on a scarab (BM 41564) of unknown provenance, which typologically dates to the 11th Dynasty or later.

The name and title of \( W3d-sinw \) (3-199M)
are preserved on a calcite fragment of unknown provenance, which dates to the reign of Senusret III.

The name and title of \( Nh.i \) (3-200M)
are preserved on a stela (CG 20030) from the eastern slope of the middle cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.

The name and title of \( S3-\text{hi} \) (3-201M)
are preserved on a stela (CG 20334) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.

6.I.4.A.4. \( W^b \text{'}3 n \text{ } Hr \text{ } Bhd.tii \)

The title \( \text{'}3 n \text{ } Hr \text{ } Bhd.tii \), or "great pure one of Horus the Behedite," is the head of the \( w^b.w \) of Horus the Behedite, whose cult center is located in the Horus Nome (U.E. 2, Edfu). Only one title-holder is known, \( Snb[...] \) (3-202M), whose name and title are preserved on a stela from the tomb of Isi in Edfu, which dates to the Middle Kingdom. \( Snb[...]'s sole title is \( w^b \text{'3 n Hr Bhd.tii.} \)

6.I.4.A.4.a. \( W^b n Hr Bhd.t \)

The title \( w^b n Hr Bhd.t \), or "pure one of Horus the Behedite," is an entry-level \( w^b \) title within the cult of Horus the Behedite, whose cult center is

\(^{955}\) Gardiner, *Onomastica II*, 30*.

\(^{956}\) Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 222 [26].

\(^{957}\) Martin, *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, 68 [831], pl. 5 [6].

\(^{958}\) Name not included in Ranke, *Personennamen I*.


\(^{960}\) Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 207 [15].

\(^{961}\) Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine I*, 38-40.

\(^{962}\) Ranke, *Personennamen I*, 283 [17].

\(^{963}\) Lange and Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine I*, 38-40.

\(^{964}\) Ward, *Index*, 80 [654].


\(^{966}\) Ward, *Index*, 82 [675].
located in the Horus Nome (U.E. 2, Edfu). Two title-holders are known, both of whom hold \( w^b \ n \ Hr \ Bhd.t \) as their sole title.

The name and title of \( Hwi \) (3-203M)\(^967\) are preserved on a stela from the tomb of \( Isi \) in Edfu, which dates to the reign of Sobekhotep IV.\(^968\) \( Hw(.i) \)'s full title is: \( w^b \ q \ n \ Hr \ Bhd.t \), or "pure one [and] enterer of Horus the Behedite."

The name and title\(^969\) of \( Hr-³ \) (3-204M)\(^970\) are preserved on a stela from the tomb of \( Isi \) in Edfu, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^971\)

6.1.4.4.4.b. \( W^b(t) \ n \ Hr \)

The title \( W^b(t) \ n \ Hr \), or "pure one of Horus,\(^972\) an entry-level \( W^b \)-title in the cult of Horus, for which no cult center is specified. Although various \( hm-ntr (n) \ Hr \) titles (or those of the god's epithets) appear in the 4th Dynasty,\(^973\) no \( W^b \)-titles were included in the priestly hierarchy until the Middle Kingdom. Two title-holders are known, both of whom hold \( W^b(t) \ n \ Hr \) as their sole title.

The name and title of \( Snb-tyfy \) (3-205M)\(^974\) are preserved on a stela (BM 335 [210]) of unknown provenance, which dates to the 13th Dynasty.\(^975\)

The name and title of \( Ptḥ-hṭp(.w) \) (3-206M)\(^976\) are preserved on a stela from Edfu, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^977\) Although \( Ptḥ-hṭp(.w) \) appears to hold the feminine form of the title \( W^bt (n) \ Hr \), this is most certainly a scribal error, as \( Ptḥ-hṭp(.w) \) is a man.

\(^{967}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 267 [12].
\(^{969}\) Rendered as: \( \mathfrak{H}^\mathrm{b}-(\mathfrak{H})^\mathrm{r} \).
\(^{970}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 246 [9].
\(^{971}\) Alliot, "Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933)," 33; Alliot, "Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé dans l'Égypte ancienne," 107 [19].
\(^{972}\) Ward, Index, 82 [674].
\(^{973}\) Begelsbacher-Fischer, Untersuchungen zur Göttewelt, 79-95.
\(^{974}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 314 [23].
\(^{975}\) British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts V, pl. 14.
\(^{976}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 141 [5].
\(^{977}\) Alliot, "Rapport sur les fouilles de Tell Edfou (1933)," 30 [5].
6.I.4.A.5. wˁb ˁ3 n Ḫns.w

The title (wˁb ˁ3 n Ḫns.w), or "great pure one of Khonsu," is the head of the wˁb.w of Khonsu. Only one title-holder is known: S3-nb.t-iwn.t (3-207M), whose name and title are preserved on a scarab (Baltimore 42.18) of unknown provenance, which typologically dates to the 12th Dynasty or later. S3-nb.t-iwn.t's sole title is wˁb ˁ3 n Ḫns.w.

6.I.4.A.5.a. wˁb n Ḫns.w and Wˁbt nt Ḫns.w

The titles (wˁb n Ḫns.w) and (wˁbt nt Ḫns.w), or "pure one of Khonsu," is an entry-level wˁb-title of Khonsu. Aside from the generic wˁb and wˁbt, attested from the 6th Dynasty and later, this is the only wˁb-title linked to the cult of a deity which reflects the gender of the title-holder (in contrast to the wˁb n Imn, which remains in the masculine form despite the gender of the title-holder; see §6.I.4.B.1). Three title-holders are known.

The name and title of Dd.w-nšm.t (3-208M) are preserved on a stela (UC 14457) of unknown provenance, which dates to the 12th Dynasty. Dd.w-nšm.t's sole title is wˁb n Ḫns.w.

The name and titles of Iˤḥ-ms (3-007M) are preserved on a stela (C. 25) of unknown provenance, which dates to the 12th Dynasty. Iˤḥ-ms holds two wˁb-titles, wˁb and wˁb (n) Ḫns.w. Within the lunette of the stela, he is identified as wˁb, while in the text below, he is identified as a wˁb n Ḫns.w. The name Iˤḥ-ms means "the moon is born," and by extension is a reference to the god Khonsu, who is associated with the moon. It is worthwhile to note that two other individuals are named Iˤḥ-ms (3008M and 3-009M) on the same stela, both of whom also carry the title of wˁb.

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978 Ward, Index, 80 [655].
979 Ranke, Personennamen I, 282 [21].
980 Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 101 [1302], pl. 3 [9].
981 Ward, Index, 82-83 [680a, 691]. Ward believes that the feminine form of the title is in fact an abbreviated form of the longer composition, wˁbt nt Ḫns.w m W3st, discussed below.
982 Ranke, Personennamen I, 402 [22].
983 Stewart, Petrie Collection II, 26 [109].
984 Ranke, Personennamen I, 12 [19].
The name and title of Smn.t (3-209F) are preserved on a stela (CG 20056) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the 13th Dynasty. In addition to her wˁb-title, she is also identified as the mother of the scribe Nfr-ḥtp, for whom the stela is dedicated.

6.I.4.A.5.b. Wˁbt nt Hns.w m W3s.t

The title (wˁbt nt Hns.w m W3s.t), or "pure one of Khonsu in Thebes," is an entry-level feminine wˁb-title in the cult of Khonsu in Thebes. Only one title-holder is known: Snb.tysy-Smn.t (3-210F), whose name and title are preserved upon a stela (CG 20240) from the Northern Cemetery of Abydos, which may date to the 13th Dynasty. Snb.tysy-Smn.t's sole title is wˁbt nt Hns.w m W3s.t.


The title (wˁb ˁ3 n Hnm.w nb Š3y-sḥtp), or "great pure one of Khnum, Lord of Shashotep," is the head of the wˁb.w of Khnum, Lord of Shashotep (modern Shutb), the capital of the Seth-animal Nome (U.E. 11). Although the title ḥm-nṯr (n) Hnm.w titles appear in the 4th Dynasty, no wˁb-titles are included within the priestly hierarchy until the Middle Kingdom. Only one title-holder is known: Hnm.w-nḫt (3-211M), whose name and titles are preserved on his coffin from Rifeh, which dates to the 12th Dynasty. Hnm.w-nḫt holds two titles: wˁb ˁ3 n Hnm.w nb Š3y-sḥtp and s3 ḥ3ty-ˁ, or "son of the count." It is also worthwhile to note that Hnm.w-nḫt's name invokes Khnum, the god to whom his wˁb-title is dedicated.

986 Ranke, Personennamen I, 307 [14].
988 Edith Guest, "Women's Titles in the Middle Kingdom," Ancient Egypt (1926): 46-47.
989 Ranke, Personennamen I, 314 [25], 307 [14].
990 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine I, 262-263.
991 Ward, Index, 80 [656].
992 Begelsbacher-Fischer, Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt, 42-49.
993 Ward, Index, 83 [692].
994 William Petrie, Gizeh and Rifeh (London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1907), pl. 13G.
6.1.4.7.1. Wˁb ˁ3 n Sbk

The title (wˁb ˁ3 n Sbk) is the "great pure one of Sobek." Only one title-holder is known, Imn.ii (3-212M), whose name and titles are preserved on a scarab (BM 48724) of unknown provenance, which typologically dates to the 11th Dynasty or later. Imn.ii's sole title is wˁb ˁ3 n Sbk.

6.1.4.7.2. Wˁb ˁ3 n Sbk nb Rḥ.wy

The title (wˁb ˁ3 n Sbk nb Rḥ.wy), or "great pure one of Sobek, Lord of Rḥ.wy," is the head of the wˁb.w of Sobek, Lord of Rḥ.wy, whose cult center is located within the northwestern delta, in the vicinity of modern Alexandria. Only one title-holder is known, […]y (3-213I), whose fragmentary name and title are preserved on a scarab (UC 11359) from Lahun, which typologically dates to the 11th Dynasty or later. […]y's sole title is wˁb ˁ3 n Sbk nb Rḥ.wy.

6.1.4.7.3. Wˁb ˁ3 n Sbk Ṭd.ty

The title (wˁb ˁ3 n Sbk Ṭd.ty), or "great pure one of Sobek of Crocodilopolis," is the head of the wˁb.w of Sobek of Crocodilopolis (modern Medinet al-Fayoum), the capital of the Lower Laurel Nome (U.E. 21). Only one title-holder is known, Ṯnh.w (3-214M), whose name and title are preserved on a stela (CG 20616) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom. Ṯnh.w's sole title is wˁb ˁ3 n Sbk Ṭd.ty.

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996 Ward, Index, 80 [657].
997 Ranke, Personennamen I, 31 [13].
998 Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 21 [200], pl. 8 [5].
999 Ward, Index, 80 [658].
1000 Jean Yoyotte, "Le Soukhos de la Maréotide et d'autres cultes régionaux du Dieu-Crocodile d'après les cylindres du Moyen Empire," BIFAO 56 (1957): 82-83.
1001 Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 136 [1779], pl. 9 [2].
1002 Ward, Index, 80 [659].
1003 Ranke, Personennamen I, 68 [6].
1004 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine I, 255-256.
6.1.4.A.7.a. Wˁb n Sbk

The title (wˁb n Sbk) is the "pure one of Sobek."\(^{1005}\) Three title-holders are known, each of whom held the sole title of wˁb n Sbk.

The name and titles of Sw-m-ˤ (3-215M) are preserved on a stela (Inv. N. 7601) from Sheikh Abd el-Qurneh, which dates to the 13th Dynasty.\(^{1006}\)

The name and titles of Pn.w (3-216M)\(^{1007}\) are preserved on a stela (CG 20030) from the middle cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^{1008}\)

The name and titles of Rn(.i)-snb(w) (3-217M)\(^{1009}\) are preserved on a tomb stela (BT 8) from Latopolis, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^{1010}\) His son, Snb-mi-3w (3-220M) holds the title of wˁb n Sbk nb Swmnw.

6.1.4.A.7.b. Wˁb n Sbk nb Swmnw

The title (wˁb n Sbk nb Swmnw), or "pure one of Sobek, Lord of Sumenu,"\(^{1011}\) is an entry-level wˁb-title in the cult of Sobek, Lord of Sumenu, located in the vicinity of Thebes (U.E. 4).\(^{1012}\) Three title-holders are known, each of whom hold the sole title of wˁb n Sbk nb Swmnw.

The name and title of Iw.f-n.i (3-218M)\(^{1013}\) are preserved on a scarab (Michaelides collection, unnumbered) of unknown provenance, which typologically dates to the 12th Dynasty or later.\(^{1014}\)

The name and title of Wr-ni-nṯr (3-219M)\(^{1015}\) are preserved on a stela (NME 31) from Abydos, which dates from the 12th to 13th Dynasties.\(^{1016}\)

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\(^{1005}\) Ward, Index, 83 [682].
\(^{1006}\) Sergio Bosticco, Le stele egiziane dall’Antico al Nuovo Regno (Roma: Istituto poligrafico dello Stato, 1959), 58, pl. 60.
\(^{1007}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 133 [6].
\(^{1008}\) Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine I, 38-40.
\(^{1009}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 222 [26].
\(^{1010}\) Henry Lutz, Egyptian Tomb Steles and Offering Stones of the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1927), 9 [87].
\(^{1011}\) Fischer, Supplement, 15 [682a].
\(^{1013}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 14 [7].
\(^{1014}\) Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 11 [64].
\(^{1015}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 81 [10].
\(^{1016}\) Bengt Patterson, "Ägyptische Privatstelen aus dem Mittleren Reich — neun Denkmäler in schwedischem Besitz," Orientalia Suecana 17 (1968): 20, fig. 6.
The name and title of Snb-mi-3w (3-220M) are preserved on a tomb stela (BT 8) from Latopolis, which dates to the Middle Kingdom. Snb-mi-3w’s sole title is wˁb n Sbk nb Swmnw. His father, Rn-snb (3-217M) also holds the title of wˁb n Sbk.

6.1.4.A.8. Wˁb ‘3 n Spd.w

The title (wˁb ‘3 n Spd.w) is the "great pure one of Sopdu." Only one title-holder is known, Nh.ii (3-222M), whose name and title are preserved on a stela (NME 29) from Abydos, which dates to the mid-12th Dynasty. Nh.ii's sole title is wˁb ‘3 n Spd.w.

6.1.4.A.8.a. Wˁb n Spd.w

The title (wˁb n Spd.w) is the "pure one of Sopdu." Only one title-holder is known, Ihii-snb(.w) (3-223M), whose name and title are preserved on a papyrus fragment (UC 32293) from Lahun, which dates to the Middle Kingdom. The fragment is a legal document pertaining to Ihii-snb(.w), who is identified solely by the title wˁb n Spd.w. It is possible that Ihii-snb(.w) (3-223M) is the same person as Ihii-snb(.w) (3-270M), due to a similarity in the spelling of their fathers' names as well as the similarities in their titles, both of which invoke Sopdu.

6.1.4.A.8.b. Wˁb n Spd.w nb i3btt

The title (wˁb n Spd.w nb i3btt) is the "pure one of Sopdu, Lord of the East." Only one title-holder is known, Šf [...] (3-224I), whose name and title are preserved in a papyrus (UC 32164) from Lahun, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.

1017 Ranke, Personennamen I, 313 [2].
1018 Lutz, Museum of Anthropology and Ethnology of the University of California, 9 [87].
1019 Ward, Index, 80 [660].
1020 Ranke, Personennamen I, 207 [19].
1021 Patterson, "Ägyptische Privatstelen aus dem Mittleren Reich - neun Denkmäler in schwedischem Besitz," 16, fig. 3.
1022 Title not included in Ward's Index.
1023 Ranke, Personennamen I, 45 [1].
1024 Collier and Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical, 122-123.
1025 Title not included in Ward's Index.
1026 Collier and Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical, 112-113.
The fragment is a list of members (wpwt) of a household. Ṣḥḥ’s sole title is wˁb n Spd.w nb i3btt.

6.1.4.9. Wˁb ˁ3 n nbt pt

The title (wˁb ˁ3 n nbt pt), or "great pure one of the Mistress of the Sky," invokes a divine epithet which may be used to refer to most goddesses. In this case, the epithet most likely refers to Hathor, Lady of Cusae (U.E. 14), and is the only known location in which this wˁb-title occurs. The divine epithet also appears in the priestly titles of the hereditary rulers of this nome during the 12th Dynasty. The main source of information about this family of title-holders comes from their tombs in Meir. Only one nomarch held the upper-ranking title of wˁb ˁ3 n nbt pt: Wh.w-ḥtp(.w) II (3-225M), whose name and titles are preserved in his tomb-chapel (B. 2), which dates from the reign of Senusret I to Amenemhat II. Wh.w-ḥtp(.w) II holds a number of priestly titles which include: wˁb ˁ3 n nbt pt, ḥm-nṯr, s3 ir ḫr h3t or "son of one who acted (in the same capacity) formerly," imy-r ḫm.w-nṯr or "overseer of the god's servants," imy-r ḫm.w-nṯr n Ḥwt-ḥr nb t Qis or "overseer of the god's servants of Hathor Lady of Cusae," s(t)m-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth), s(t)m n nb t3wy or s(t)m-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands, ḫry-ḥbt ḫry-tp or chief lector priest, sš md3t nṯr or "scribe of the god's documents," and imy-r ḫm.w-nṯr n nbt r ḏr or "overseer of the god's servants of the mistress of all." The divine epithet nbt r ḏr, or "Mistress of All," is not attested before the Middle Kingdom, and may refer to Isis, Hathor, Sekhmet, among others; Blackman proposes that the divine epithet refers to Hathor. Wh.w-ḥtp(.w) II also holds the title of ḫry sšt3 n m33t wˁ, or "privy to the secret of seeing alone," which may reflect his right to access sacred space. The rest of his title-string reflects his status as nomarch: iry pˁt or "hereditary prince/nobleman,"

1027 Ward, Index, 79 [650].
1028 This epithet may be used to refer to: Isis, Amaunet, Anukis, Anat, Astarte, Wadjet, Bastet, Pakhet, Maat, Mut, Menhit, Mehit, Neith, Nut, Nebetuu, Nephys, Nekhbet, Hathor, Heqet, Sothis, Sekhmet, Satis, Qadesh, Taweret, Tjenenet, etc. For a full list, see: Leitz, Lexikon IV, 49-50. For the context of the epithet within this tomb, see: Blackman, The Rock Tombs of Meir II, 2.
1029 For a family tree, see: Grajetzki, The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt, 108, fig. 23.
1030 Ranke, Personennamen I, 84 [9].
1032 For a full list, see: Leitz, Lexikon IV, 170.
1033 Blackman proposes that the divine epithet refers to Hathor. Refer to: Blackman, The Rock Tombs of Meir II, 3.
ḥ3ty-³ or "count," ḥtm(ty)-bity or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt," smr w³ty or "sole companion,"¹⁰³⁵ ḥrp šndyt nbt or "director of every kilt," ḥww w³ snwfy.f or "unique personality without rival," ḥry-tp ³ n sp³t Nḏft (sic) or "great overlord of the Lower Sycamore and Viper Nome (U.E. 14, capital Qusiya)," ṛḥ ns wt m³³ mᵢᵣw.f or "true royal acquaintance whom he loves," ṛḥ ns wt ḥṣy.f ṣn m³³ or "royal acquaintance whom he truly praises," and ḥrp nbw or "director of gold." Wh.w-ḥtp.(w) IV is within the same line of governors as Wh.w-ḥtp.(w) IV (3-226M), although how these two individuals are related is not known.¹⁰³⁶

6.1.4.4.A.9.a. Wˁb n nbt pt

The title (wˁb n nbt pt), or "pure one of the Mistress of the Sky," is held by a later hereditary ruler of the 14th Upper Egyptian Nome (capital Qusiya): Wh.w-ḥtp.(w) IV (3-226M),¹⁰³⁷ whose name and titles are preserved in his tomb-chapel (C. 1) in Meir, which dates from the reign of Senusret II to Senusret III.¹⁰³⁸ Wh.w-ḥtp.(w) IV holds a number of priestly titles, which include: wˁb n nbt pt, imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr or "overseer of the god's servants," [ḥry] sš3 sḥy-nṯr or "privy to the secret of the divine booth," and s(t)m n nbt t³wy or s(t)m-priest of the Lady of the Two Lands; he also holds the epithet, wˁb ˁwy or "pure of hands."¹⁰³⁹ His remaining titles reflect his status as nomarch: iry p³t or "hereditary prince/nobleman," ḥ3ty-³ or "count," smr w³ty or "sole companion," and ḥtm(ty)-bity or "sealer of the King of Lower Egypt." It is not known why Wh.w-ḥtp.(w) IV holds the lower-ranking title of wˁb n nbt pt in comparison to Wh.w-ḥtp.(w) II's upper-ranking title of wˁb ³ n nbt pt, especially since they are both members of the same lineage.¹⁰⁴⁰

¹⁰³⁴ Compare to m³³ nfr.w nb.f. Refer to: Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 178-179.
¹⁰³⁵ Likely referring to the title of ḥm-nṯr that immediately precedes this title. Refer to: Blackman, *The Rock Tombs of Meir II*, 2.
¹⁰³⁶ Wh.w-ḥtp.(w) IV’s "relation to his predecessors in office is not known for sure." Refer to: Grajetzki, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt*, 109.
¹⁰³⁷ Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 84 [9].
¹⁰³⁹ Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom*, 67, Table 11.
¹⁰⁴⁰ Compare to the hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna) in the First Intermediate Period, in which the nomarchs held the upper-ranking title of wˁb ³ n ḏḥwti, but those outside of the lineage held the lower-ranking title of wˁb n ḏḥwti.
6.I.4.A.10. Wˁb ˁ3 m Ḥwt-nbw

The title (wˁb ˁ3 m Ḥwt-nbw) is the "great pure one of Hatnub." Only one such title-holder is known, Wsr-inr (3-227M), whose name and titles are preserved by a rock inscription in Shatt er-Rigal, which dates to the Middle Kingdom. Wsr-inr's titles are: wˁb ˁ3 m Ḥwt-nb, gnwty m ˤḥ or "sculptor in the ˤḥ-palace," and imy-r gnwtyw or "overseer of sculptors." It is possible that cult statues were manufactured in the vicinity of the quarry site, which may explain why Wsr-inr holds two sculptor-titles in addition to his wˁb-title. He, being a great pure one, would ensure that the transformation of the raw material into the divine image was not polluted in the manufacturing process. Simpson has also suggested that the toponym Ḥwt-nbw is an oblique reference to Hathor, as she is often identified as the patroness of the material being exploited from quarries, and at Hatnub no goddess is otherwise identified with travertine.


The title (wˁb ˁ3 m T3-wr 3bḏw) is the "great pure one in the Thinite Nome/Abydos." Only one title-holder is known, Rwḏ (3-228M), whose name and titles are preserved upon a stela (CG 20514) from the perimeter of the northeast district of the northern cemetery at Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom. Rwḏ holds a number of priestly titles, which include: wˁb ˁ3 n T3-wr 3bḏw, imy ḫnt or "one who is in the forecourt," ˁ3 m t3 ḏsr or "great one who is in the holy land," and sšmw wbnt Rˁ dmd t3wy or "leader of the appearances of Re, who unites the two lands." He was also promoted to (or at the same time served as) ḫm-nṯr or "god's servant."

The title □□□□ (wˁb n 3bḏw), or "pure one of Abydos," is an entry-level wˁb-title in Abydos, as compared to the upper-ranking wˁb ḥry-s3 n 3bḏw, above. Two title-holders are known.

The name and titles of Id.i (3-229M) are preserved on a stela from Abydos, which dates from the end of the First Intermediate Period to the early 12th Dynasty. Id.i holds the dual wˁb-titles of wˁb n 3bḏw and wˁb ḥry-s3 n 3bḏw or "pure one who provides the back support service in Abydos." He is also identified as the father of Wnm.i, a htm(w)-nṯr, or "god's sealer."

The name and title of S3-in-ḥr.t (3-230M) are preserved on a stela (E. 30) from Abydos, which dates from the 12th to 13th Dynasties. The stela contains a conventional scene of the harvest, transport, and threshing of grains, the duties of which are performed by men with various wˁb-titles. S3-in-ḥr.t is shown reaping grain, while two other wˁb.w carry away the grain in a large basket; the thresher is not identified by a title. S3-in-ḥr.t's sole title is wˁb n 3bḏw.


The title □□□□ (wˁb wr), or "grand pure one," is not attested before the Middle Kingdom. It is an upper-ranking title which does not specify a particular deity, like the wˁb ḥry-s3, which has been attested since the 6th Dynasty and most commonly linked to the cult of a specific deity (e.g. Ptah, Min, etc.). The use of ḥry-s3 and wr to qualify a title also occurs with the priestly title of ḥry-ḥbt. As with the wˁb ḥry-s3, the usage of ḥry-ḥbt ʾ3 occurs in association with a deity, i.e. ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-s3 n B3st.t, or "great lector priest of Bastet." The title also occurs in reference to a specific place, i.e. ḥry-ḥbt ḥry-s3 pr-nfr or "great lector.
priest of the funerary workshop. The title ḫry-ḥbt wr, in contrast, does not appear linked to a deity, although it does occur in reference to a specific place, i.e. ḫry-ḥbt wr n ḏb3t or "grand lector priest of the robing room." It is therefore probable that the designation of ṭ3 or wr reflects where the title-holder is working, especially with ṭ3 often being linked to a divine cult. A difference in rank between the ṭ3 and wr is not implied; indeed, Ward translates both the words ṭ3 and wr synonymously as "chief." The title wˁb wr is attested by only one known title-holder, Pth-hṭp(.w) (3-231M), whose name and titles are preserved on a stela from the Tomb of Isi in Edfu, which dates to the Middle Kingdom. His sole title is wˁb wr. The title may be unique to Edfu.


The title (wˁb bsi), or "pure one who has been initiated," refers to a wˁb who has undergone a form of initiation, perhaps a variation of that discussed in Chapter 3. Only one title-holder is known, S3-mnt.w (3-114M), whose name and titles are preserved on a stela (CG 20712) from Thebes, which dates to the Middle Kingdom. S3-mnt.w holds the priestly titles of wˁb, ṭq or "enterer," wˁb n nb lwnty, wˁb bsi, and ibḥ n nswt or "libationer of the king." His title of wˁb bsi suggests that he had been given a higher level of initiation than those who are merely designated as wˁb and ṭq, but perhaps not the full form of initiation reserved for an upper-ranking ḥm-nṯr. S3-mnt.w is the father of Qm3.w.n.i (3-119M), who also holds the title of wˁb.

1056 Ward, Index, 140 [1207].
1057 Ward, Index, 141 [1210]. For the generic form of title, refer to: Ward, Index, 141 [1209a].
1058 Ward, Index, 140-141.
1059 Ranke, Personennamen I, 141 [5].
1060 Alliot, "Un nouvel exemple de vizir divinisé dans l'Égypte ancienne," 103.
1061 Ward translates the title as "priest who reveals (secrets)," while Fischer translates the title as "priest who is admitted," analogous to the title ṭq, or "enterer." Refer to: Ward, Index, 81 [664a]; Fischer, Supplement, 55 [664a].
1062 Ranke, Personennamen I, 282 [7].
1063 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine II, 337-338.
The title (wˁb n Imn), or "pure one of Amun," is a wˁb-title in the cult of Amun that was held by both men and women, which is not reflected by the gender of the title. Eighteen named title-holders are known. Unless otherwise stated, wˁb n Imn is their sole title. The title is also preserved on a statue fragment (CG 972) from the Temple of Mut in Karnak, on which no name is preserved (3-248M).

The name and title of Ni-ptḥ-wsr (3-234M) are preserved on a stela (JE 51733) from Saqqara, which dates to the 12th Dynasty.

The names and titles of In[-it].f (3-232M), Wsr-nht (3-233M), Nfr (3-235M), R[n].f-snb(.w) (3-236M), Rn-snbii (3-237M), Dd.i (3-238M), and Dd.w (3-239M) appear in graffiti near the mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, all of which have been collectively dated to the 12th Dynasty. Approximately two-thirds (67%) of the graffiti in this area were made by wˁb.w. Winlock proposes that the graffiti was made by wˁb.w who were annually sent up to the cliffs to watch for the bark of Amun for the Feast of the Valley. One inscription is especially worthy of attention as it contains a genealogy linking three title-holders to each other; i.e. R[n].f-snb(.w) (3-236M) is identified as the father of In[-it].f (3-232M), who in turn is identified as the father of Iwii-n-p[š?] (3-158M), a wˁb n Nb-ḥpt-rˤ. In this

1064 Ward, Index, 79 [641].
1065 Borchardt, Statuen und statuetten, 9.
1066 Name not included in Ranke's Personennamen.
1068 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 80 [967]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 41 [12]; Ranke, Personennamen I, 34 [5].
1069 Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 44 [51]; name not included in Ranke's Personennamen.
1070 Winlock, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 81-82 [968, 981]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 40 [1]; Ranke, Personennamen I, 194 [1].
1071 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 80 [967]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 41 [12]. Although both authors transcribe the name as R.f-snb, R[n].f-snb(.w) is most likely intended. Refer to: Ranke, Personennamen I, 223 [17].
1072 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 81 [977]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 44 [52]. Name not included in Ranke's Personennamen.
1073 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 80 [960]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 44 [53]; Ranke, Personennamen I, 402 [1].
1074 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 77 [924a]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 44 [54]; Ranke, Personennamen I, 402 [13].
1075 Winlock, Rise and Fall, 77-90.
1076 Winlock, Rise and Fall, 77-90.
1077 Winlock, Rise and Fall, 77-90.
1078 The feminine ḫt or "t" is indicated clearly and consistently within the genealogical inscription. However, Spiegelberg marks each occurrence as [sic], which is later copied by Winlock. Refer to:
inscription, In[-it].f is identified as the s3t (sic.) mry of R[n].f-snb(.w). Although In[-it].f is identified as s3.t, the feminine ω (.t) suffix is absent from both the adjective mry as well as his wˁb-title, suggesting that the suffix is a scribal error. The same error occurs again within the following line, with the identification of Iwii-n-p[ś?] as s3t (sic.). As above, the wˁb-title is not feminized, which suggests that the feminine ω (.t) suffix is in fact another scribal error. The feminine ω (.t) suffixes were originally marked as sic in the original transcription by Spiegelberg and the later transcription by Winlock. The names of all three of these individuals show no further indication of being feminine, and as such, have been marked as masculine ("M") within this thesis.

The name and title of Ḥns.w-nfr (3-240M)1079 are preserved on a scarab (UC 11442) of unknown provenance, which typologically dates to the 12th Dynasty or later.1080

The name and title of Imn-m-h3.t (3-241M)1081 are preserved on a stela (Marseille No. 28) from Abydos, which dates to the 13th Dynasty.1082

The name and title of Nn-nḫn (3-242F)1083 are preserved on a statue fragment (CG 887) from Thebes, which dates to the 13th Dynasty.1084 In addition to her wˁb-title, Nn-nḫn is also identified as s3t, or "daughter."1085

The name and title of Rn(.i)-snb(w) (3-243M)1086 are preserved on a stela (BM EA 1348) of unknown provenance, which may date to the reign of Wahibre Iaib.1087

The names and title of Ibi (3-244M)1088 and Imn-ḥtp(.w) (3-245M)1089 are preserved on a stela (CG 20020) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.1090

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1079 Name not included in Ranke, Personennamen.
1080 Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 95 [1215], pl. 18 [16].
1081 Ranke, Personennamen I, 28 [8].
1083 Ranke, Personennamen I, 205 [20].
1084 Borchardt, Statuen und statuetten, 137-139.
1085 Another woman, Wˤr.t (3-133F), is identified as a wˁb.t upon the same monument. The reason as to why the feminine ω or "t" is absent from Nn-nḫn's wˁb-title is unknown.
1086 Ranke, Personennamen I, 222 [26].
1087 British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts IV, pl. 27.
1088 Ranke, Personennamen I, 20 [10].
1089 Ranke, Personennamen I, 30 [12].
1090 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine I, 19-20.
The name and titles of \( \text{Rn}(i)-\text{snb}(\text{w}) \) (3-100M)\(^{1091}\) are preserved on a stela (CG 20545) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^{1092}\) \( \text{Rn}(i)-\text{snb}(\text{w}) \) holds dual \( \text{w}^\beta \)-titles of \( \text{w}^\beta \) and \( \text{w}^\beta \text{n Imn} \).

The name and titles of \( \text{Hp.w} \) (3-246I)\(^{1093}\) are preserved on a stela (CG 20695) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^{1094}\) \( \text{Hp.w} \)'s full title is \( \text{w}^\beta \text{ f n Imn} \), or "pure of hand [for] Amun." \( \text{Hp.w} \) also holds the additional title of \( \text{imy}[\text{-st-}]\text{q pr} \), or "helper/functionary of the house," which may refer to a temple.

The name and titles of \( \text{Snb-mi.f} \) (3-247M)\(^{1095}\) are preserved on a stela (CG 20450) from Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^{1096}\)

6.1.4.B.2. \( \text{W}^\beta \text{n In-\text{hr.t}} \)

The title \( \text{w}^\beta \text{ n In-\text{hr.t}} \), or "pure one of Onuris,"\(^{1097}\) is a \( \text{w}^\beta \)-title within the cult of Onuris. Two title-holders are known: \( \text{Wnm.w} \) (3-249M)\(^{1098}\) and \( S[3-\text{in-}\text{hr.t}] \) (3-250M),\(^{1099}\) both of whose names and titles are preserved on a stela (E. 30) from Abydos, which dates from the 12th to 13th Dynasties.\(^{1100}\) The stela shows both domestic and agricultural scenes. On the top register, \( \text{Wnm.w} \) is shown boiling a piece of meat on a skewer in a two-handled cauldron, while on the bottom register, \( S[3-\text{in-}\text{hr.t}] \) is shown plowing, although both his oxen and plow are now lost. Both men hold the sole title of \( \text{w}^\beta \text{ n In-\text{hr.t}} \), while \( \text{Wnm.w} \) is additionally identified as \( \text{sn.f} \), or "his brother." It is additionally worthwhile to note that the name of \( S[3-\text{in-}\text{hr.t}] \) means "the son of Onuris," the god to whom his \( \text{w}^\beta \)-title is dedicated.

\(^{1091}\) Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} I, 222 [26].

\(^{1092}\) Lange and Schäfer, \textit{Grab- und Denksteine} II, 169-171.

\(^{1093}\) Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} I, 238 [14, 16, 17].

\(^{1094}\) Lange and Schäfer, \textit{Grab- und Denksteine} II, 322-323.

\(^{1095}\) Name not included in Ranke's \textit{Personennamen}.

\(^{1096}\) Lange and Schäfer, \textit{Grab- und Denksteine} II, 45-46.

\(^{1097}\) Ward, \textit{Index}, 79 [643].

\(^{1098}\) Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} I, 79 [14].

\(^{1099}\) Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} I, 280 [26].

6.I.4.B.3. Wˁb n Itm

The title (wˁb n Itm) or "pure one of Atum,"\(^\text{1101}\) is a wˁb-title within the cult of Atum. Two title-holders are known.

The name and titles of Hnm.w-nḥt (3-251M)\(^\text{1102}\) are preserved on a stela (Inv. No. 2851) of unknown provenance, which dates to the 12th Dynasty.\(^\text{1103}\) Hnmw-nḥt holds two titles: wˁb n Itm and iry t.t, or "hall-keeper."

The name and title of P3-nti-nî (3-252M)\(^\text{1104}\) are preserved on a stela (CG 20334) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^\text{1105}\) P3-nti-nî's sole title is wˁb n Itm.


The title (wˁb n W3ḏ.t), or "pure one of Wadjet,"\(^\text{1106}\) was initially attested during the 5th Dynasty on a cylinder seal from Abusir/Abu Gurob (1-196I);\(^\text{1107}\) §4.I.4.B. During the Old Kingdom, the title is rendered as: 𓊜𓊝. By the Middle Kingdom, the title is rendered as: 𓊜𓊝, as attested by the two following title-holders: Hpr-k3-rˤ (3-253M)\(^\text{1108}\) and D33 (3-254M),\(^\text{1109}\) whose names and titles are preserved upon a stela (E. 16012) from Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^\text{1110}\) Both Hpr-k3-rˤ's and D33's sole title is wˁb n W3ḏ.t.

6.I.4.B.5. Wˁb n Wp-w3.wt

The title (wˁb n Wp-w3.wt), or "pure one of Wepwawet,"\(^\text{1111}\) is a wˁb-title in the cult of Wepwawet, which is not attested until the Middle Kingdom; see

\(^{1101}\) Ward, Index, 79 [644].

\(^{1102}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 276 [1].

\(^{1103}\) Alexandre Moret, Catalogue du Musée Guimet: Galerie égyptienne (Paris: E. Leroux, 1909), 12-13 [C6].

\(^{1104}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 114 [5].

\(^{1105}\) Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine I, 346-347.

\(^{1106}\) Fischer, Supplement, 14 [662a].

\(^{1107}\) Full title-string: wˁb W3ḏt mrr(w) nb.f, or "pure one of Wadjet whom his lord loves." Refer to: Kaplony, Rollsiegel II, 325, pl. 89 [Djedkare, 20].

\(^{1108}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 269 [1].

\(^{1109}\) Ranke, Personennamen I, 404 [12].

\(^{1110}\) Philippus Miller, "A Family Stela in the University Museum, Philadelphia," JEA 23 (1937): pl. 3.

\(^{1111}\) Ward, Index, 81 [663].
§4.I.4.C. Only one title-holder is known, *Nfr-iw* (3-255M), whose name and title are preserved upon a stela (CG 20142) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.

6.1.4.B.6. *Wˁb n Bnn*

The title (wˁb n Bnn), or "pure one of Bnn," may refer to the bennu-bird. Only one title-holder is known, *In-bnn* (3-256M), whose name and titles are preserved upon a stela of unknown provenance (Louvre C 178), which dates to the 12th Dynasty. *In-bnn* is the son of *Hr-bnn*, whose name employs the same aberrant spelling of bnn as his name and wˁb-title. It is possible that the title wˁb n Bnn may be a direct reference to the mortuary cult of the title-holder's father, and by extension, is also a reference to the bennu-bird. In-bnn's sole title is wˁb n Bnn.

6.1.4.B.7. *Wˁb n Ptḥ*

The title (wˁb n Ptḥ), or "pure one of Ptah," was initially attested by four title-holders in Memphis from the mid-5th to 6th Dynasties (1-191M, 1-192M, 1-193M, 1-194M); §4.I.4.A.a.i. During the Old Kingdom, the title is rendered as: or . By the Middle Kingdom, the title is rendered as: , as attested by the only known title-holder from this period, *Mr-Ḥr(.w)* (3-257M). The name and title of *Mr-Ḥr(.w)* are preserved upon a stela (CG 20030) from the eastern slope of the middle cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom. *Mr-Ḥr(.w)'s* sole title is wˁb n Ptḥ.

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1112 Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 194 [7].
1114 According to Fischer, the title contains an aberrant spelling of the word Bnw, which is not attested elsewhere. Refer to: Fischer, *Supplement*, 14 [664bis].
1115 Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 34 [19].
1116 Gayet, *Musée du Louvre*, pl. 33.
1117 Ward, *Index*, 81 [665].
1118 Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 161 [6].
6.1.4.B.8. Wˁb n Mn.w

The title (wˁb n Mn.w), or "pure one of Min," is not attested until the First Intermediate Period, although the title presumably existed in the Old Kingdom due to the existence of the upper-ranking title, wˁb ˤ3 n Mn.w, or "great pure one of Min," as discussed in §4.1.4.A.b. During the First Intermediate Period, the title is rendered as: (wˁb n Mn.w). By the Middle Kingdom, the title remained virtually unchanged, except for the inclusion of the genitival (n), which is how the title is rendered by the only known title-holder from this time, Nniw (3-258M).1121 The names and titles of Nniw are preserved upon his statue (RPM 4565) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.1122 Nniw's sole title is wˁb n Mn.w.

6.1.4.B.9.a. Wˁb n Mnš.w

The title (wˁb n Mnš.w), or "pure one of Montu," is a wˁb-title within the cult of Montu. Three title-holders are known, each of whom hold the sole title of wˁb n Mnš.w. The title is also preserved on an accounts fragment (UC 32120D) from Lahun, on which no name is preserved (3-262I).1124

The name and titles of Imn-m-ḥ3.t (3-259M) are preserved on a stela (BM EA903) of unknown provenance, which dates to the 13th Dynasty.1125

The name and titles of Ii (3-260M) are preserved on a stela (Genf. D51) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.1126

The name and titles of S3-dd (3-261M) are preserved on a stela (CG 20432) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.1130

1120 Ward, Index, 81 [666].
1121 Ranke, Personennamen I, 205 [7].
1123 Ward, Index, 81 [667].
1124 Collier and Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 222-223.
1125 Ranke, Personennamen I, 28 [8].
1126 British Museum, Hieroglyphic Texts II, pl. 47.
1127 Ranke, Personennamen I, 8 [10].
1128 Wilhelm Spiegelberg and Balthasar Pörtner, Ägyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine aus süddeutschen Sammlungen III (Straßburg: Schlesier & Schweikhardt, 1979), 6-7, pl. 3.
1129 Masculine equivalent of S3.t-dd. Refer to: Ranke, Personennamen I, 294 [26].
1130 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine II, 30-31.
The title $wˁb n Mnṯ.w m M3dw$, or "pure one of Montu in Madu," is a $wˁb$-title within the cult of Montu of Madu (modern Medamud), located in the vicinity of Thebes (U.E. 4). Only one title-holder is known, $Ib.(i)-iˤ.(w)$ (3-263I), whose name and titles are preserved on a scarab (JdE 41377) from Matariya, which typologically dates to the 12th Dynasty or later. $Ib.(i)-iˤ.(w)$'s sole title is $wˁb n Mnṯ.w m M3dw$.

The title $wˁb Rˤ Ḥr(.w)-3ḫ.ti$, or "pure one of Re-Horakhty," is a $wˁb$-title within the cult of Re-Horakhty. Only one attestation of the title is known. The title is preserved within a graffito near the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, with which no name is preserved (3-264I). Winlock proposes the graffiti in this area was made by $wˁb.w$ who were annually sent up to the cliffs to watch for the bark of Amun for the Feast of the Valley. The inscription dates to the 12th Dynasty, and is not attested elsewhere.

The title $wˁb (n) Sḥm.t$, or "pure one of Sekhmet" continues to be rendered in the form introduced during the First Intermediate Period; §5.I.3.B. Four title-holders are known from this time.

The names and titles of $Nfr-tm-m-s3.f$ (3-265M) and $Nḏm.w-snḫ.(w)$ (3-266M) are preserved on an unnumbered stela of unknown provenance, which dates to the reign of Amenemhat III. $Nfr-i3t-m-s3.f$ is the father of $Nḏmw-snḫ.(w)$, both of

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1131 Ward, Index, 81 [668].
1132 Gardiner, Onomastica II, 26*-27*.
1133 Ranke, Personennamen I, 19 [4].
1134 Martin, Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals, 14 [97], pl. 17 [13].
1135 This title is not included within Ward's Index or Fischer's Supplement.
1136 Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 79 [946d]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 44 [62].
1137 Winlock, Rise and Fall, 77-90.
1138 Ward, Index, 83 [686].
1139 Ranke, Personennamen I, 200 [27].
1140 Ranke, Personennamen I, 216 [5].
1141 Frans Jonckheere, Les médecins de l'Egypte pharaonique: essai de prosopographie (Bruxelles: Fondation égyptologique reine Elisabeth, 1958), fig. 16.
whom share the sole title of *imy-r wˁb.w Sḥm.t*, or "overseer of the pure ones of Sekhmet."

The name and titles of *Snb* (3-267M)\(^{1142}\) are preserved on a stela (CG 20391) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^{1143}\) *Snb*’s sole title is *wˁb n Sḥm.t*.

The name and titles of *Sn-ˤˤ* (3-268M)\(^{1144}\) are preserved on a stela (CG 20735) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^{1145}\) *Sn-ˤˤ*’s sole title is *wˁb n Sḥm.t*.

6.I.4.B.12. *Wˁb n Št̄.t nbt 3bw*

The title *(wˁb n Št̄.t nbt 3bw)*, or "pure one of Satis, Lady of Elephantine,"\(^{1146}\) is a *wˁb*-title within the cult of Satis, Lady of Elephantine. Only one title-holder is known, *Mrí* (3-269M),\(^{1147}\) whose name and title are preserved by an inscription on a rock below the western rampart of Kumma Fort, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^{1148}\) *Mrí*’s sole title is *wˁb n Št̄.t nbt 3bw*.


The title, *(wˁb nb Iwnyt)*, or "pure one of the Lord of Esna,"\(^{1149}\) is a *wˁb*-title in the cult of the Lord of Esna, a divine epithet which may refer to the god Montu, or his syncretized form as Montu-Re or Montu-Horus-Re.\(^{1150}\) Only one title-holder is known, *S3-mnṯ.w* (3-114M),\(^{1151}\) whose name and titles are preserved on a stela (CG 20712) from Thebes, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\(^{1152}\) *S3-mnṯ.w* holds the following priestly titles: *wˁb, ‘q* or "enterer," *wˁb n nb Iwnyt*, *wˁb bsi* or "pure one who is initiated," and *ibḥ n nswt* or "libationer of the king." It is worthwhile to note that the title-

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\(^{1142}\) Ranke *Personennamen* I, 312 [15].
\(^{1144}\) Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 312 [13].
\(^{1146}\) Ward, *Index*, 83 [687].
\(^{1147}\) Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 160 [1].
\(^{1148}\) Dows Dunham, *Second Cataract Forts* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1960), 166 [RIK 119c, Lepsius E4].
\(^{1149}\) Ward, *Index*, 81 [669].
\(^{1150}\) Leitz, *Lexikon* III, 577.
\(^{1151}\) Ranke, *Personennamen* I, 282 [7].
\(^{1152}\) Lange und Schäfer, *Grab- und Denksteine* II, 337-338.
holder's name, \textit{S3-mnṯ.w} means "son of Montu," the god to whom the epithet in his \textit{wˁb}-title most likely refers. \textit{S3-mnṯ.w} is the father of \textit{Qm3.w.n.i} (3-119M), who also holds the title of \textit{wˁb}.

\textbf{6.1.4.B.14. \textit{Wˁb Ṣn(i)}}

The title \(\text{𓊪𓊩𓊡𓊩} \text{𓊥𓊩} \text{𓊫} \text{(wˁb Ṣn(i)))}, or "pure one of Thinis,"\footnote{Title not included in Ward's \textit{Index}.} is a \textit{wˁb}-title that refers to Thinis, which is located within the 8th Upper Egyptian Nome. Only one title-holder is known, \textit{Snb.b} (3-270M),\footnote{Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} I, 315 [2].} whose name and titles are preserved in Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446, which was found in Thebes and dates to year 10 of the reign of Amenemhat III.\footnote{William Hayes, \textit{A papyrus of the late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum (Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446)} (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1955), 25, 30, 144.} \textit{Snb.b}'s name appears in the papyrus as the one who is responsible for a fugitive; \textit{wˁb Ṣn} is his sole title.

\textbf{6.1.4.B.15. \textit{Wˁb n Ḏrty}}

The title \(\text{𓊪𓊩𓊡𓊩} \text{𓊭} \text{(wˁb n Ḏrty)}\), or "pure one of Tod,"\footnote{Title not included in Ward's \textit{Index}.} is a \textit{wˁb}-title that refers to Djerty (modern Tod), which is located in the vicinity of Thebes (U.E. 4). Only one title-holder is known, \textit{Ii-mr} (3-271M),\footnote{Ranke, \textit{Personennamen} I, 9 [14].} whose name and title are preserved on a stela (Bolton 10.20/12) from Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\footnote{V. Donohue, \textit{Bolton Museum and Art Gallery: The Egyptian Collection} (Bolton: Bolton Museum, 1966), 19.} \textit{Ii-mr}'s sole title is \textit{wˁb n Ḏrty}.

\textbf{6.1.5. Processional \textit{Wˁb}-Titles}

Processional \textit{wˁb}-titles, or titles that refer to the \textit{wˁb}'s position when carrying the divine image in a procession, appear for the first time during the Middle Kingdom. This section examines all of the known processional \textit{wˁb}-titles, beginning with one that takes hierarchical form, \textit{wˁb ˁ3 imy-wr.t}, or "great pure one of the West Side." All other non-hierarchical processional \textit{wˁb}-titles are discussed after in alphabetical order.
6.I.5.A. Wˁb ˁ3 imy-wr.t

The title 𓊂𓊇𓊌 (wˁb ˁ3 imy-wr.t), or "great pure of the West Side,"\textsuperscript{1159} is a hierarchical title that may refer to the title-holder's position in a procession.\textsuperscript{1160} Only one title-holder is known, Ḥr(w) (3-272M),\textsuperscript{1161} whose name and titles are preserved upon a stela (CG 20339) from the northern cemetery of Abydos, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\textsuperscript{1162} Ḥr(w)'s sole title is wˁb ˁ3 imy-wr.t.

6.I.5.B. Wˁb nm(?) n [Sbk] nb Šd.ty

The title 𓊋𓊞𓊌 (wˁb nm (sic) n [Sbk] nb Šd.ty), or "processional(?) pure one of Sobek, Lord of Crocodilopolis,"\textsuperscript{1163} refers to one who carries the divine image of Sobek, Lord of Crocodilopolis in processions. The verb of motion 𓊃𓊓 (nm) means "to travel,"\textsuperscript{1164} and is the word most likely intended in this title.\textsuperscript{1165} Only one title-holder is known, Wr-ni-nṯr (3-221M),\textsuperscript{1166} whose name and title are preserved on a stela (C 39) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom.\textsuperscript{1167} Wr-ni-nṯr's sole title is wˁb nm (sic) n [Sbk] nb Šd.ty.

6.I.5.C. Wˁb rmn Ḥ3byw

The title 𓊋𓊓𓊌 (wˁb rmn Ḥ3byw), or "pure one who raises the Ḥ3byw,"\textsuperscript{1168} refers to one who carries the Ḥ3byw, or cult image. The word 𓊓 (rmn)

\textsuperscript{1159} Ward, Index, 79 [646].
\textsuperscript{1160} Compare to imy-wr.t, the name of a phyle during the Old Kingdom. Refer to: Ann Roth, Egyptian phyles in the Old Kingdom, 9-20.
\textsuperscript{1161} Ranke, Personennamen I, 245 [18].
\textsuperscript{1162} Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine I, 350.
\textsuperscript{1163} Fischer, Supplement, 13 [670a].
\textsuperscript{1164} Wb. II, 263-265.
\textsuperscript{1165} As originally copied by: Paul Pierret, Recueil d’inscriptions inédites du Musée Égyptien du Louvre: traduites et commentées II (Paris: Franck, 1878), 23. See comment by: Fischer, Supplement, 13 [670a].
\textsuperscript{1166} Ranke, Personennamen I, 81 [10].
\textsuperscript{1167} Pierret, Louvre II, 23 [C 39].
\textsuperscript{1168} Fischer, Supplement, 15 [672a]. Fischer notes that "the title is of interest because it is not otherwise known until Dynasty 18," yet nevertheless obscure as it is not included in Al-Ayedi's Index or Taylor's Index. Refer to: Fischer, Supplement, 15. Contra: Abdul Al-Ayedi, Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious, and Military Titles of the New Kingdom (Ismailia: Obelisk Publications, 2006); Jeanette Taylor, An Index of Male Non-Royal Egyptian Titles, Epithets & Phrases of the 18th Dynasty (London: Museum Bookshop Publications, 2001).
refers to the "bearer" or "supporter" of a processional shrine, which in this case belongs to an obscure deity. Only one title-holder is known, Ns-pr-nḫt (3-283M), whose name and title are preserved on a stela (CG 20409) of unknown provenance, which dates to the Middle Kingdom. Ns-pr-nḫt's sole title is wˁb rmn H3byw.


The title (wˁb hry-s3), or "pure one who provides the back support service in the procession," is a processional title. Hry-s3 is a nisba-adjective meaning "behind," "below," or "following," thus referring to a rear carrier in a procession. Six title-holders are named in the Lahun Papyri, each of whom hold the sole title of wˁb hry-s3, unless otherwise stated. The title also occurs in a petition concerning the tenure of an official post (UC 32055), for which no name is preserved (3-274M).

The name and titles of Iḥii-snb(.w) called W3ḥ (3-273M) are preserved in a deed of conveyance (UC 32058) by W3ḥ himself. W3ḥ is identified on the recto of the document as holding the title of wˁb hry-s3 n Spd.w nb i3btt, while on the verso he is only identified as wˁb hry-s3. It is possible that his full title was wˁb hry-s3 n Spd.w nb i3btt, for which wˁb hry-s3 was an abbreviation, due to the placement of the long- and short-titles - both of which refer to the same individual - within the same document. This is the most convincing case for titular abbreviation found in the undertaking of this thesis. In all

1170 Name not included in Ranke’s Personennamen.
1171 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine II, 9-11.
1172 Although Ward renders the title as (with listed as a variant), the first spelling is not contained within any of the original texts that he cites. Refer to: Ward, Index, 82 [676].
1173 Wolfhart Westendorf, "Der Priestertitel wˁb hr(j)-s3," in Miscellanea Aegyptologica: Wolfgang Helck zum 75. Geburtstag, eds. Hartwig Altenmüller and Renate Germer (Hamburg: Archäologisches Institut der Universität Hamburg, 1989), 193. Contra Ward, who translates the title as "priest in charge of a phyle." Refer to: Ward, Index, 82 [676]. Collier and Quirke alternatively translate the title as "pure-priest in charge of the protection(?)." Refer to: Collier and Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical, passim; Collier and Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, passim.
1174 Wb. IV, 11-12.
1175 Hermann Ranke, Die Ägyptischen Personennamen I (Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin, 1935), 45 [1], 72 [26].
other cases (below), the title wˁb ḥry-s3 constitutes a title in its own right. The same example is mentioned again in §6.I.5.D.3.

The name and title of Sbk-snfrw (3-275M)\textsuperscript{1178} are preserved on a fragment (P. 10.069) containing daily entries of events and the priest who is on duty, wherein Sbk-snfrw is mentioned.\textsuperscript{1179}

The name and title of [...]nb(?)-iry-r-3w (3-276M) are preserved on a table of account concerning fields (UC 32186), which most likely dates to year 26 of the reign of Amenemhat III.\textsuperscript{1180} [...]nb(?)-iry-r-3w is the owner of the fields in question.

The name and title of Imn.ii (3-277M)\textsuperscript{1181} are preserved in a roll-call of work crews (UC 32170).\textsuperscript{1182}

The name and title of Wr-nb(.i) (3-278M)\textsuperscript{1183} are preserved in a field yield account (UC 32189).\textsuperscript{1184}

The name and title of Ppi[...] (3-279M)\textsuperscript{1185} are preserved on a very small accounts fragment (UC 32108C).\textsuperscript{1186}

6.I.5.D.2. Wˁb ḥry-s3 n 3bḏw

The title (wˁb ḥry-s3 n 3bḏw), or "pure one who provides the back support service in Abydos,"\textsuperscript{1187} is a processional title referring to the rear carrier in a procession in the cult center of Abydos. Only one title-holder is known, Id.i (3-229M),\textsuperscript{1188} whose name and titles are preserved on a stela from Abydos,\textsuperscript{1189} which dates from the end of the First Intermediate Period to the early 12th Dynasty.\textsuperscript{1190} Id.i holds two wˁb-titles, the

\textsuperscript{1178} Name not included in Ranke's Personennamen.
\textsuperscript{1179} Lüddeckens, Ägyptische Handschriften I, 32 [54].
\textsuperscript{1180} Collier and Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 74-75.
\textsuperscript{1181} Ranke, Personennamen I, 31 [13].
\textsuperscript{1182} Collier and Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 44-45.
\textsuperscript{1183} Ranke, Personennamen I, 81 [12].
\textsuperscript{1184} Collier and Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 76-77.
\textsuperscript{1185} Ranke, Personennamen I, 131 [12].
\textsuperscript{1186} Collier and Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 210-211.
\textsuperscript{1187} The translation of this title follows that of Westendorf for (wˁb ḥry-s3), presented above. Refer to: Westendorf, "Der Priesterstitel wˁb ḥr(j)-s3," 193. Contra Ward, who translates the title as "priest in charge of a phyle of Abydos." Refer to: Ward, Index, 82 [677].
\textsuperscript{1188} Ranke, Personennamen I, 53 [23].
\textsuperscript{1189} Peter Munro, "Die beiden Stelen des Wnmi aus Abydos," ZÄS 85 (1960): pl. 4.
\textsuperscript{1190} Due to this individual's inclusion in Ward's Index, as well as the prevalence of other wˁb ḥry-s3 title-holders within the Lahun Papyri dating to the Middle Kingdom (see above), Id.i has been included within this chapter (rather than in the previous chapter on the First Intermediate Period).
lower-ranking wˁb n 3bdw or "pure one of Abydos," and wˁb hry-s3 n 3bdw or "pure one who provides the back support service in Abydos." He is also identified as the father of Wnm.i, a htm(w)-ntr, or "god's sealer."

6.1.5.D.3. Wˁb hry-s3 n Spd.w nb i3btt

The title (wˁb hry-s3 n Spd.w nb i3btt), or "pure one who provides the back support service in the procession of Sopdu, Lord of the East," is a processional title referring to the rear carrier of the god, Sopdu, Lord of the East. Two title-holders are named in Lahun Papyri. The title also occurs in a petition concerning tenure of an official post (UC 32055), for which no name is preserved (3-274M).

The name and titles of Ihii-snb(w) called W3ḥ (3-273M) are preserved in a deed of conveyance (UC 32058) by W3ḥ himself. W3ḥ is identified on the recto of the document as holding the title of wˁb hry-s3 n Spd.w nb i3btt, while on the verso he is only identified as wˁb hry-s3. It is possible that his full title was wˁb hry-s3 n Spd.w nb i3btt, for which wˁb hry-s3 was an abbreviation.

The name and title of another (yet possibly the same) Ihii-snb(w) called W3ḥ (3-280M) are preserved in a deed of transfer of labor (UC 32167). W3ḥ's sole title is wˁb hry-s3 n Spd.w nb i3btt.

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1191 Ward renders the title as , but this does not reflect the original spelling contained within the Lahun Papyri. The translation of this title follows that of Westendorf for (wˁb hry-s3), presented above. Refer to: Westendorf, "Der Priestertitel wˁb hry(j)-s3," 193. Contra Ward, who translates the title as "priest in charge of a phyle of Sopdu, Lord of the East." Refer to: Ward, Index, 82 [678].
1192 Collier and Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical, 102-103.
1193 Ranke, Personennamen I, 45 [1], 72 [26].
1194 Collier and Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical, 104-105.
1195 Ranke, Personennamen I, 45 [1], 72 [26].
1196 Collier and Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical, 118-119.
6.I.5.E. Wˁb nt Gs-i3by

The title (wˁb nt Gs-i3by), or "pure one of the East Side," is a feminine wˁb-title that may refer to the title-holder's position in a procession, analogous to the wˁb ˁ3 imy-wr.t, mentioned above (§6.I.5.A). Only one title-holder is known, špsi.t (3-281F), whose name and title are preserved within a fragment from the Lahun Papyri (UC 32163) listing the household members in the household of the soldier Sneferu. špsi.t's sole title is wˁb nt Gs-i3by.

6.I.6. Wˁb-Titles Pertaining to the Temple
6.I.6.A. Wˁb n rwd pr špss

The title (wˁb n rwd pr špss), or "pure one of the noble stairway of the temple," is a wˁb-title affiliated with the temple. Only one title-holder is known, Rdi(.wi)-ḥnm(.w) (3-282M), whose name and title are preserved upon a stela (CG 20543) from Dendera, which dates to the Middle Kingdom. Rdi(.wi)-ḥnm(.w)'s sole priestly title is wˁb n rwd pr špss.

6.II. Summary

By the Middle Kingdom, the change in rendering from to may be observed in nearly all wˁb-titles. The only exceptions in which the title continues to be rendered as are: wˁb m Shm-Imny, wˁb šnty (200), and wˁb ˁ3 m Ḥwt-nbw, possibly because they date to the early Middle Kingdom. This wide scale change may be due to any variety of reasons, ranging from the desire to write a more simplified form to a change in the title itself, e.g. in regard to priestly requirement, role, or duties.

During the Middle Kingdom, the wˁb-title becomes linked with the title, "enterer." This subsidiary title emphasizes the title-holder's right of entry into sacred

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1197 Ward, Index, 84 [693]. Also mentioned in: Blackman, "On the Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy," 24, n. 7.
1198 Contra: Ward, who believes that the title refers to a location such as the eastern border of the delta. Refer to: Ward, Essays, 6.
1199 Ranke, Personennamen I, 327 [2].
1200 Collier and Quirke, The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical, 110-111.
1201 Ward translates this title as "priest of the stairway of the noble temple." Refer to: Ward, Index, 82 [672].
1202 Ranke, Personennamen I, 228 [8].
1203 Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine II, 164-167.
space, which may permit one to enter further into sacred space than one who is
designated as wˁb only. The title wˁb bsi further suggests that a wˁb could undergo a form
of initiation within the temple, giving the title-holder further access to delineated sacred
space than had been the case in earlier periods. This, however, was not the full form of
initiation reserved for an upper-ranking hm-nṯr.

There is an increase in the variety of funerary wˁb-titles, e.g. wˁb šnty (200), wˁb
hr.t, wˁb n b3.w hrt-nṯr, wˁb n sh-nṯr, and wˁb n k3 during the Middle Kingdom. Although
the title wˁb šnty (200) was consistently linked to the pyramid complexes since the end of
the 5th Dynasty, the title is no longer explicitly linked to the royal mortuary cult in the
Middle Kingdom. The diversification of other funerary wˁb-titles suggests a shift in the
affiliation of the title-holder from the royal mortuary cult to that of private individuals.

Although the hierarchical title of wˁb ˁ3 initially appears during the late 6th
Dynasty, it is not until the Middle Kingdom that the title is found in nearly half (44%) of
the cults of deities that include wˁb-titles in their priestly hierarchy. The title of wˁb ˁ3,
which had been previously linked to the titles of šps nswt (in the Old Kingdom) and shd
(from the Old Kingdom through mid-First Intermediate Period) is no longer explicitly
linked to any other title in the Middle Kingdom. The new hierarchical title of wˁb wr,
which emerges during the Middle Kingdom, likewise does not appear to be linked to any
other title.

The number of known female title-holders significantly increases during the
Middle Kingdom. Of the 294 known title-holders of the Middle Kingdom, 12 (4%) were
women. Of these, five were were wˁb(t) (42%), three (25%) were wˁb nswt in Lahun, two
(17%) were wˁb of Khonsu in Abydos, one (8%) was a wˁb of Amun in Thebes, and one
(8%) was wˁbt nt Gs-i3by. These women are detailed in Table 6.II.1, below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>Title-String</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Di.s</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>11th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-002F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I-entrée(w)</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: Middle Cemetery, eastern slope</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-074F</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name (No.)</td>
<td>Title-String</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Date</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥkkw.ti (3-110F)</td>
<td>wˁb, mˁ3 ḫrw; pure one, true-of-voice.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wˁr.t (3-133F)</td>
<td>snt.f n mwt.f, wˁb.t; his sister of his mother, pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>13th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ãnh.t (3-134F)</td>
<td>wˁb.t, mˁ3 ḫrw; pure one, true of voice.</td>
<td>Edfu</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nfr.t (3-140F)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sn[t] (3-141F)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sn.t (3-151F)</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smn.t (3-209F)</td>
<td>wˁbt nt Ḥns.w m W3st; pure one of Khonsu in Thebes.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>13th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snb.tysy-Smn.t (3-210F)</td>
<td>wˁbt nt Ḥns.w m W3st; pure one of Khonsu in Thebes.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>13th Dynasty (?))</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nn-nḫn (3-242F)</td>
<td>s3t, wˁb (n) Imn; daughter, pure one of Amun.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>13th Dynasty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Špsi.t (3-281F)</td>
<td>wˁbt nt Gs-i3by; pure one of the East Side.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 294 known wˁb.w of the Middle Kingdom, only five (2%) became (or were also) ḥm-nṯr. Of the wˁb.w that held the title of ḥm-nṯr, two (40%) were in the cult of Osiris, two (40%) were in the cult of the Mistress of the Sky, and one (20%) was a wˁb šnty (200); two (40%) held the hierarchical title of wˁb ˁ3 in their respective cult. Each of the five wˁb.w that held a ḥm.w-nṯr-title are shown in Table 6.II.2, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix C.
### Table 6.II.2: \( W^b.w \) with \( Hm-n\texttr{}-\textt{} \) -Titles During the Middle Kingdom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>( w^b)-title</th>
<th>( hm-n\texttr{})-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( Wp-w3.wt-) (3-191M)</td>
<td>( w^b ) ( ^3 ) ( n ) ( Wsir ); great pure one of Osiris.</td>
<td>( hm-n\texttr{} ) ( M3^t.i ), ( imy-r ) ( hm.w-n\texttr{} ); god's servant of Maat, overseer of the god's servants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( Sn.i-pw ) (3-192M)</td>
<td>( w^b ) ( hm-n\texttr{} ) ( n ) ( Wsir ); pure one [and] god's servant of Osiris.</td>
<td>( w^b ) ( hm-n\texttr{} ) ( n ) ( Wsir ); pure one [and] god's servant of Osiris.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( Wh.w-htp(w) ) II (3-225M)</td>
<td>( w^b ) ( ^3 ) ( n ) ( nb.t pt ); great pure one of the Mistress of the Sky.</td>
<td>( hm-n\texttr{} ), ( imy-r ) ( hm.w-n\texttr{} ), ( imy-r ) ( hm.w-n\texttr{} ) ( n ) ( Hwt-Hr nb.t Qis ), ( imy-r ) ( hm.w-n\texttr{} ) ( n ) ( nb.t r dr ); god's servant, overseer of the god's servants, overseer of the god's servants of Hathor Lady of Cusae, overseer of the god's servants of the mistress of all.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( Wh.w-htp(w) ) IV (3-226M)</td>
<td>( w^b ) ( nb.t pt ); pure one of the Mistress of the Sky.</td>
<td>( imy-r ) ( hm.w-n\texttr{} ); overseer of the god's servants.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( D3g.i ) (3-291M)</td>
<td>( w^b ) ( \text{( s)nty} ) (200); pure one of the ( \text{( s)nty} ) (200).</td>
<td>( hmn\texttr{} ) ( Hr ) [...], ( hmn\texttr{} ); god's servant of Horus [...], god's servant.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 294 known \( w^b.w \) of the Middle Kingdom, only two (1%) became (or were also) \( hmn\texttr{} \). Of these, one (50%) held the generic title of \( w^b \), whereas the the other (50%) held the upper-ranking title of \( w^b \) \( ^3 \). Both title-holders are shown in Table 6.II.3, below. Their complete title-strings may be found in Appendix C.

### Table 6.II.3: \( W^b.w \) with \( Hm-k3\)-Titles During the Middle Kingdom

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>( w^b)-title</th>
<th>( hmn\texttr{})-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>( Ppi-snb(w) ) (3-088M)</td>
<td>( w^b ); pure one.</td>
<td>( hm ) ( k3 ); ( k3)-servant.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>( Imn.ii ) (3-183M)</td>
<td>( w^b ) ( ^3 ); great pure one.</td>
<td>( hm ) ( k3 ); ( k3)-servant.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The number of \( w^b.w \) who became (or were also) \( hry-htb \), or lector priest, is similarly low. Of the 294 known \( w^b.w \) of the Middle Kingdom, seven (2%) held lector-titles. Of the seven \( w^b.w \) that held a lector-title, one individual (14%) held the upper-
ranking title of $w^b\,^3$ with the upper-ranking title of $hry\,-\,htb\,\,hry\,-\,tp$ or "chief lector priest." The concurrence of these titles suggests that these titles may have been of similar rank within the temple hierarchy, as previously suggested by Gauthier\textsuperscript{1204} and Lefèbvre.\textsuperscript{1205} The seven $w^b\,w$ that held lector-titles are shown in Table 6.II.4, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>$w^b$-title</th>
<th>$hry,-,htb$-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nb.w</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>$hry,-,htb$; lector priest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>$hry,-,htb,n,[...]$; lector priest of [...]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iw.f</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>$hry,-,htb$; lector priest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Itf</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>$hry,-,htb$; lector priest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R$^,,,hpt,(w)$</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>$hry,-,htb$; lector priest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^b,S^,,nh,-,k3,-,r^,,v$; pure one of Sankhkare.</td>
<td>$hry,-,htb$; lector priest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wh.$w,-,,hpt,(w)$ II</td>
<td>$w^b,^3,n,,nbt,,pt$; great pure one of the Mistress of the Sky</td>
<td>$hry,-,htb,,hry,-,tp$; chief lector priest.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 294 known $w^b\,w$ of the Middle Kingdom, six (2%) became (or were also) $s(t)m$-priest, or the chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth. Of the six $w^b\,w$ that held $s(t)m$-titles, three (50%) held the upper-ranking title of $w^b\,^3$. The high percentage suggests that the position of $s(t)m$-priest may have been more readily accessible to those who held an upper-ranking title in the priestly hierarchy. Of the six $w^b\,w$ that held $s(t)m$-titles, two (33%) were $w^b\,w$ of the Mistress of the Sky. The dichotomy of $w^b$- and $s(t)m$-titles held by the $w^b\,w$ of the Mistress of the Sky is especially worthy of note: The upper-ranking $w^b\,^3$ of the Mistress of the Sky served as $s(t)m$-priest for the deceased king (the "Lord of the Two Lands") while the lower-ranking $w^b$ of the Mistress of the Sky served as $s(t)m$-priest for the deceased queen (the "Lady of the Two Lands"). These

\textsuperscript{1204} Gauthier, \textit{Le Personnel du Dieu Min}, 33-34.
\textsuperscript{1205} Lefèbvre, \textit{Histoire des grands prêtres d'Amon de Karnak}, 16-17.
six $w^b.w$ are shown in Table 6.II.5, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>$w^b$-title</th>
<th>$s(t)m$-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kw (3-039M)</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>$s(t)m$; $s(t)m$-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wp-w3.wt-'3 (3-191M)</td>
<td>$w^b$ '3 $n$ Wsir; great pure one of Osiris.</td>
<td>$s(t)m$; $s(t)m$-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snb.i (3-196M)</td>
<td>$w^b$ '3 $n$ $Hw$-hr; great pure one of Hathor.</td>
<td>$s(t)m$; $s(t)m$-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wḫw-ḥtp(.w) II (3-225M)</td>
<td>$w^b$ '3 $n$ nb $pt$; great pure one of the Mistress of the Sky.</td>
<td>$s(t)m$, $s(t)m$ $n$ nb $t3$wy; $s(t)m$-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth), $s(t)m$-priest of the Lord of the Two Lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wḫw-ḥtp(.w) IV (3-226M)</td>
<td>$w^b$ nb $pt$, $w^b$ 'wy; pure one of the Mistress of the Sky, pure of hands.</td>
<td>$s(t)m$ $n$ nb $t3$wy; $s(t)m$-priest of the Lady of the Two Lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D3g.i (3-291M)</td>
<td>$w^b$ šnty (200); pure one of the šnty (200).</td>
<td>$s(t)m$; $s(t)m$-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of the 294 known $w^b.w$ of the Middle Kingdom, only four (1%) held scribal titles. Such a decrease may reflect an increased degree of specialization by the title-holder, for which they do not appear to be employed in an administrative career over the course of their lifetime. The four $w^b.w$ that hold scribal-titles are shown in Table 6.II.6, below. The complete title-string of each individual may be found in Appendix C.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (No.)</th>
<th>$w^b$-title</th>
<th>$sš$-title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sbk-nḥt (3-027M)</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>$sš$; scribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P3-ḥrwḥ (3-071M)</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>imb $r$ $sš$.w; overseer of scribes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iw-mnh (3-076M)</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>$sš$; scribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wḥw-ḥtp(.w) II (3-225M)</td>
<td>$w^b$ '3 $n$ nb $pt$; great pure one of the Mistress of the Sky</td>
<td>$sš$ $md3t$ $nt$; scribe of the god's documents.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Forty-eight filial relationships have been identified in which one or more family members share a wˁb-title. Of these, 11 (23%) are shared between father and son. Of the wˁb-titles shared by father and son(s), there are nine (82%) cases in which one or more of their wˁb-titles are identical (and to which others are often added): Ir (wˁb, 3-079M) and Hr-bḥd.ti-msi.w (wˁb, 3-101M), Hr-bḥd.ti-msi.w (wˁb, ˁq, 3-101M) and Hr-ḥtp(.w) (wˁb, ˁq, 3-108M), Mn.w-snfrw (wˁb, 3-089M) and S3-hwt-hr (wˁb, 3-116M), Hr-nḥt(.w) (wˁb, ˁq, 3-103M) and Hr-nḥt(.w) (wˁb, ˁq, 3-104M), ḫw.ii (wˁb, ˁq 3-111M) and ḫr-ḥtp(.w) (wˁb, ˁq, 3-107M), S3-mnt.w (wˁb, 3-114M) and Qm3.w.n.i (wˁb, 3-119M), Intf.w (wˁb Nb-hpt-rˁ, 3-159M) and libb (wˁb Nb-hpt-rˁ, 3-157M), R[n].f-snb(.w) (wˁb (n) Imn, 3-236M) and In[-it].f (wˁb (n) Imn, 3-232M), and Nfr-tn-m-s3.f (imy-r wˁb.w Sḫm.t, 3-265M) and Nḏnw-snb(.w) (imy-r wˁb.w Sḫm.t, 3-266M). The two cases (18%) in which the wˁb-titles shared by father and son are not identical is that of Rn(.i)-snb(w) (3-217M) and Snb-mi-3w (3-220M), and In[-it].f (3-232M) and Iwii-n-p[š?] (3-158M).

Three (6%) of the 48 filial relationships are between grandfather and grandson. Of these, two (67%) share identical wˁb-titles: Ir (wˁb, 3-079M) and Hr-ḥtp(.w) (wˁb, 3-108M), and Wnis-r-gs-pth (wˁb, 3-084M) and Wnis (wˁb, 3-085M). The remaining case (33%) in which grandfather and grandson do not share identical wˁb-titles is that of R[n].f-snb(.w) (3-236M) and Iwii-n-p[š?] (3-158M). The grandfather R[n].f-snb(.w) holds the title of wˁb (n) Imn, while the grandson, Iwii-n-p[š?], holds the title wˁb Nb-hpt-rˁ.

One (2%) of the 48 filial relationships is between a parent and child of indeterminable gender, i.e.: Mrii-snb (3-037M) and a person whose name is unknown (3-167I), neither of whom share an identical wˁb-title.

Thirty-three (69%) of the 48 filial relationships are between brothers, 28 of which are contained within one stela (CG 23045) that was found within the Northern Cemetery of Abydos. All (100%) brothers share the identical title of wˁb. All of the filial relationships are shown in Table 6.II.7, below.

No husband-and-wife relationships are known from the Middle Kingdom.
| Table 6.11.7: Heredity of $W^{ib}$-Titles During the Middle Kingdom |
|---|---|
| **Father** | **Son** |
| *Ir* (3-079M)  
$w^{ib}$: pure one | *Hr-bhd.ti-msi.w* (3-101M)  
$w^{ib}$, 'q: pure one, enterer |
| *Hr-bhd.ti-msi.w* (3-101M)  
$w^{ib}$, 'q: pure one, enterer | *Hr-htp.(w)* (3-108M)  
$w^{ib}$, 'q: pure one, enterer |
| *Mn.w-snfrw* (3-089M)  
$w^{ib}$: pure one | *S3-hwt-hr* (3-116M)  
$w^{ib}$, $w^{ib}$ '3, $w^{ib}$ Snfrw: pure one, great pure one, pure one of Sneferu |
| *Hr-nht.(w)* (3-103M)  
$w^{ib}$, 'q: pure one, enterer | *Hr-nht.(w)* (3-104M)  
$w^{ib}$, 'q: pure one, enterer |
| *Hw:ii* (3-111M)  
$w^{ib}$, 'q: pure one, enterer | *Hr-htp.(w)* (3-107M)  
$w^{ib}$, 'q: pure one, enterer |
| *S3-mnt.w* (3-114M)  
$w^{ib}$, 'q, $w^{ib}$ nb Iwny.t, $w^{ib}$ bsi: pure one, enterer, pure one of the Lord of Esna, pure one who is initiated. | *Qm3.w.n.i* (3-119M),  
$w^{ib}$: pure one |
| *Inf.w* (3-159M)  
$w^{ib}$ Nb-hpt-r'': pure one of Nebhepetre | *Iibb* (3-157M)  
$w^{ib}$ Nb-hpt-r'': pure one of Nebhepetre |
| *R[n].f-snb.(w)* (3-236M)  
$w^{ib}$ n Sbk; pure one of Sobek | *In[-it].f* (3-232M)  
$w^{ib}$ n Imn: pure one of Amun |
| *In[-it].f* (3-232M)  
$w^{ib}$ n Imn: pure one of Amun | *Iwii-n-p[š?]* (3-158M)  
$w^{ib}$ Nb-hpt-r'': pure one of Nebhepetre |
| *Mntt-snlt* (3-037I)  
$w^{ib}$: pure one | *Unknown* (3-167I)  
$w^{ib}$ Nb-hpt-r'': pure one of Nebhepetre |
| **Parent** | **Child** |
| **Grandfather** | **Grandson** |
| *Ir* (3-079M)  
$w^{ib}$: pure one | *Hr-htp.(w)* (3-108M)  
$w^{ib}$: pure one |
| *Wnis-r-gs-pth* (3-084M)  
$w^{ib}$: pure one | *Wnis* (3-085M)  
$w^{ib}$: pure one |
| *R[n].f-snb.(w)* (3-236M)  
$w^{ib}$ n Imn: pure one of Amun | *Iwii-n-p[š?]* (3-158M)  
$w^{ib}$ Nb-hpt-r'': pure one of Nebhepetre |
| **Brother** | **Brother** |
| *Ib.w* (3-046M)  
$w^{ib}$: pure one | *W3h-k3* (3-052M)  
$w^{ib}$: pure one |
| *Imn.ii* (3-077M)  
$w^{ib}$: pure one | *S3-mnt.w* (3-115M)  
$w^{ib}$: pure one |
| *Ir(w)-ns* (3-080M)  
$w^{ib}$: pure one | *Mnt.w-ḥtp.w* (3-091M)  
$w^{ib}$: pure one |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Brothers within CG 23045</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Im3.w (3-047M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-it.f (3-050M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whm.i (3-055M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mmi (3-056M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdi.s (3-058M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rdi.s ˁ3 (3-059M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Šd.ii (3-063M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dd.w (3-064M)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS

This thesis examined the title wˁb, or "pure one," from the Old Kingdom to the end of the Middle Kingdom. The title has been presented in the context of ritual purity, with specific reference to the purification process, the agents used in that process, as well as the locations where this process may have taken place. The hierarchical status of the wˁb was then examined in comparison to the ḥm-nṯr. The role and responsibilities of the wˁb were then explored according to the primary sources available for each historical period, e.g. the Abusir Papyri of the Old Kingdom, textual and iconographic evidence from the First Intermediate Period, and the Lahun Papyri of the Middle Kingdom. The subsequent chapters presented an inventory of wˁb-titles as they occurred throughout the Old Kingdom, First Intermediate Period, and Middle Kingdom. Each of these titles was presented according to type, i.e. those associated with the royal mortuary cult, a deity, etc.

This final chapter presents an overview of the geographical distribution of wˁb-titles by time period, a discussion of hierarchical and subsidiary wˁb-titles, the promotions from wˁb to other positions within the priestly hierarchy (e.g. ḥm-nṯr, ḫry-hbt, s(t)m, etc.) as well as those that hold scribal titles, a discussion on the gender of title-holders with special attention given to female title-holders, and closes with an overview of the heredity and transfer of office.

7.I. Geographical Distribution by Time Period

7.I.1. The Old Kingdom

During the Old Kingdom, the majority of known title-holders are attested within the vicinity of Memphis, the royal residence and capital of Egypt. Of the 212 known title-holders, 194 (91.5%) are located within the Memphite area: 113 (59%) from Giza, 55 (28%) from Saqqara, 20 (10%) from Abusir, 4 (2%) from Dahshur, and 2 (1%) from Helwan. The distribution of title-holders within the Memphite area is shown in Chart 1, below.

\[1206\] The monuments of 10 (21%) title-holders from this period are unprovenanced.
Of the 212 known title-holders of the Old Kingdom, eight (4%) are attested outside of the Memphite capital: three (37.5%) in Sheikh Said, one (12.5%) in Deir el-Gebrawi, one (12.5%) in Dishasha, one (12.5%) in Abydos, one (12.5%) in Hagarsa, and one (12.5%) in Hammamiya. The distribution of title-holders outside of the Memphite area is shown in Chart 2, below.
These sites were the seats of provincial administrators that functioned as semi-independent local rulers. The office of the provincial administrator was hereditary and was usually kept within the same family for several generations. One of these hereditary rulers, Dš.w called Šm3.i (1-210M), who is identified as irt-p’t, ḥ3ty-ε, etc. also held the title of wˁb šnty (200). Two other title-holders outside of the Memphite area held ḡq3-titles within their title-string, which also suggest that they had an upper-ranking status in their respective nomes: Wr-irim (1-032M) and N-hft-k3(i) (1-037M). K3(i)-m-nfr.t (1-044M) held dual manegerial titles of imy-r ṣ’t nswt and imy-r ḥwt ˁ3t, while Ḥns.w called Ḥtp’s (1-212M) titles affiliate him with the judiciary system. The remaining three title-holders (1-044I, 1-029M, and 1-039M) held no other titles in addition to their wˁb-title that may be used to indicate their status. The names and titles of all eight individuals are shown in Table 7.I.1, below.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title-String</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wr-irni</td>
<td><em>rḥ nsrw, ḥrq3 ḥwt, ḭmy-r wp(w)t, sšm t3, ḭmy-r niwwt m3w, ḡw b n wsr, ḡmr nṯr Nỉ-wsr-rˁ</em>; royal acquaintance, estate manager/property administrator, overseer of commissions/apportionments, leader of the land, overseer of the new settlements, royal pure one, god's servant of Niuserre.</td>
<td>Sheikh Said: Tomb 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N-hft-k3(.)i</td>
<td><em>rḥ nsrw, ḭrq3 niw ṭ(r(t)-ršt, ḡw b n wsr; royal acquaintance, chief of the Southern Goat City (U.E. 20), royal pure one.</em></td>
<td>Dishasha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3(.)-m-nfr.t</td>
<td><em>rḥ nsrw, ḭmy-r 3t nsrw, ḭmy-r ḥwt ḥ3t, ḡw b nswt; royal acquaintance, overseer of the royal 3t(?), overseer of the Great Estate, royal pure one.</em></td>
<td>Hagarsa: Tomb of Ka-em-nofer, south chamber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td><em>ḥmr ḭmy-r wp(w)t, ḡw b nsrw; overseer of commissions/apportionments, royal pure one.</em></td>
<td>Hammamiya: Tomb of Khenenastes, west wall</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mn.w-htp.w</td>
<td>ḡw b nsrw, royal pure one.</td>
<td>Sheikh Said: Tomb 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>K3(.)-hp</td>
<td>ḡw b nsrw; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Sheikh Said: Tomb 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dˁ.w : Šm3.i</td>
<td><em>iry-pˁt, h3ty-ˁ, mdw Ḥp, r3 P nb, ḡrp šḥt Ḥr, Ḫmy, hry-tp Nhḥb, ḡmt(ty)-bty, hry-tp ṭ3 n T3-wr, Ḫwty-ˁ3t, ḭmy-r Šmˁw, Ḫq3 ḥwt, smr wˁty, ḭry-hbt [hrty-tp], šḥḏ Ḥm.w-nṯr Mn-w-Nfr-k3-rˁ, ḡmr-ḥtn Nhḥ-Nfr-k3-rˁ, ḡhnty-š Mn-w-Nfr-k3-rˁ, ḭmy-tp ṭ3 (nt) 3ft, ḭmy-r šnwty, ḭmy-r prwy-ḥḏ, ḭmy-r ššwy, ḡw b šnty (200), ḭmy-r wp(w)t Ḥtp(w)-ntn m prwy, s(t)ṁ, ḡḥp šḥḏ nb.t, [hrty] s[št3 n sḏm]t ḡw, iry ṭ3 r Šmˁ; hereditary prince/nobleman, count, herdsman of Apis, mouth of every Pe-ite/Butite, director of the net of Horus, one of Nekhen, overlord of el-Khab, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, great overlord of the Grand Land Nome (U.E. 8, or the area of This-Abydos), one who belongs to the Great Estate, overseer of Upper Egypt, estate manager/property administrator, sole companion, [chief] lector priest, inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-life-of-Neferkare', under-supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-life-of-Neferkare', land tenant of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-life-of-Neferkare', great overlord of the Viper Mountain Nome (U.E. 12, the <em>Cerastes</em> nome), overseer of the two granaries, overseer of the two treasuries, overseer of the two bird pools/fowling pools,</em></td>
<td>Deir el-Gebrâwi: tomb of Dˁ.w : Šm3i</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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pure one of the šnty (200), overseer of the division(s)/apportionments of divine offerings in the two houses, s(t)m-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth), director of every kilt, secretary of that which one alone judges, one who is in the door to the south.

Ḫns.w : Ḥtp
smsw (n) h(3)ýt, wʰb šnty (200) n s3, im3hw, nḥt-hrw ḫwrt-wrt, w³ m ṣdg(?) m ṣwb(?) ; elder of the (judicial) court, pure one of the šnty (200) of the phyle, revered one, tallyman of the lawcourt, one in 10 in the workshop/mortuary workshop.

Abydos: West of Ramesses Portal Temple

7.1.2. The First Intermediate Period

By the First Intermediate Period, the majority of known title-holders shifts to the provinces of Upper Egypt, primarily the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna), the Double Falcon Nome (U.E. 5, Koptos), and the Lower Sycamore and Viper Nome (U.E. 14, Meir). Of the 18 known title-holders from this period, 12 (67%) are from Upper Egypt. Of these, nine (75%) are from the Hermopolis Magna (U.E. 15): three are from the tombs of the hereditary rulers in Deir el-Bersheh and six are from the alabaster quarry that they controlled in Hatnub. Two (17%) title-holders were identified in Koptos (U.E. 5), and one (8%) was identified in Meir (U.E. 14). The distribution of title-holders throughout Upper Egypt is shown in Chart 3, below.
Three (75%) of the four hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna) are identified as ḫ3ty-ˁ; all four (100%) of them held the upper-ranking priestly titles of wˁb ˁ3 and imy-r ḫm.w-nṯr within their title-strings, which secured their position at the top of the administrative and religious hierarchies of the province. One of the two known title-holders from Koptos (modern Qift) also held the title of wˁb ˁ3, but was not identified by any other title that suggested a high status such as ḫ3ty-ˁ; the same is true for the one known title-holder from Meir (2-001M).

Six (33%) title-holders were identified within the Memphite area, which continued to be an important center during the Herakleopolitan Kingdom (9th-10th Dynasties). Within this area, five (83%) title-holders were identified in Saqqara, which was still used as a necropolis by the Herakleopolitan kings. Only one (17%) title-holder was identified in Giza, [I][m][i]-st-k[3.i] (2-003M). The distribution of title-holders within the Memphite area is shown in Chart 4, below.
7.1.3. The Middle Kingdom

During the Middle Kingdom, the attestations of title-holders are far more widespread throughout Egypt, with the largest concentrations being found in Abydos (24%), Thebes (20%), and Lahun (13%); 19% of the materials examined were of unknown provenance. Concentrations of title-holders are expected at both Thebes and Lahun, as they are the capitals of the 11th and 12th Dynasties, respectively. Abydos, a long established cult-centre, saw the highest concentration of title-holders throughout this period; a dramatic increase from the single attestation that is known from the Old Kingdom. Wˁb-titles were also found as far afield as Nubia and Palestine, with eight attestations (3%) found in Nubia and one inscription (<0%) found at Tell el-Duweir (modern Lachish, Palestine), both of which also reflect Egyptian outreach into these areas during the Middle Kingdom. The total distribution of title-holders throughout Egypt is shown in Chart 5, below.\footnote{Values <0% are not shown.}
7.II. Promotions and Other Employment

7.II.1. Promotions within the Priestly Hierarchy

The wˁb-title indicates the title-holder's lower status, from which one could be promoted to an upper-ranking position within the priestly hierarchy, e.g. ḫm-nṯr, ḫm-k3, ḫḥy-ḥbt, or s(t)m-priest, as discussed in §3.II. The Old Kingdom saw the greatest opportunity for upward-mobility. Of the 212 known wˁb.w of the Old Kingdom, 98 (46%) became (or were also) ḫm-nṯr, 9 (14%) became (or were also) ḫm-k3, 6 (3%) became (or were also) ḫḥy-ḥbt, and 7 (3%) became (or were also) s(t)m-priest. For a detailed discussion, see §4.II.

The opportunity for upward-mobility within the priestly hierarchy continues during the First Intermediate Period, albeit on a much smaller scale and with no variability between grades. The only known promotion from this period was from wˁb to ḫm-nṯr. Of the 18 known wˁb.w of the First Intermediate Period, 6 (33%) became (or were also) ḫm-nṯr. For a detailed discussion, see §5.II.

The possibility of promotion to other priestly grades continues during the Middle Kingdom, but on a greatly diminished scale. Of the 294 known wˁb.w of the Middle
Kingdom, 5 (2%) became (or were also) ḫm-nṯr, 2 (1%) became (or were also) ḫm-k3, 7 (2%) became (or were also) ḫry-ḥbt, and 6 (2%) became (or were also) a s(t)m-priest. For a detailed discussion, see §6.II. The promotion of ḥwˁb.w to other priestly grades is shown in Table 7.II.1, below.

| Table 7.II.1: Promotions within the Priestly Hierarchy Over Time |
|---------------------------------|---|---|---|---|---|
|                                | ḥwˁb | ḫm-nṯr | ḫm-k3 | ḫry-ḥbt | s(t)m |
| Old Kingdom                    | 212  | 98     | 9     | 6       | 7     |
| First Intermediate Period      | 18   | 6      | 0     | 0       | 0     |
| Middle Kingdom                 | 294  | 5      | 2     | 7       | 6     |
| Total                           | 524  | 109    | 11    | 13      | 13    |

7.II.2. Employment Beyond the Priestly Hierarchy

Aside from the potential of being promoted within the priestly hierarchy, the ḥwˁb.w also had the potential of being employed in the administrative sector. A trend observed across all historical periods was for the ḥwˁb.w to hold scribal titles (e.g. sš) within their title-strings. During the Old Kingdom, 32 (15%) held scribal titles. By the First Intermediate Period, 2 (11%) held scribal titles. During the Middle Kingdom, the number dwindles to a mere 4 (1%). Table 7.II.2 shows the concurrence of ḥwˁb- and scribal-titles over time, below.

| Table 7.II.2: ḥwˁb.w with Scribal-Titles Over Time |
|-----------------------------------------------|---|---|
| Old Kingdom                                  | 32 | 212 |
| First Intermediate Period                    | 2  | 18  |
| Middle Kingdom                               | 4  | 294 |

The title-strings of the Old Kingdom are typically lengthy and often belong to diverse career sectors, for which the ḥwˁb has a chance of holding an administrative position such as sš. The title-strings of the Middle Kingdom are by comparison quite short and are often restricted to no more than two titles. By the Middle Kingdom, the concurrence of a ḥwˁb-title with a sš-title in the same title-string has all but disappeared, which may be due to an increased degree of career specialization, which in turn resulted in a decreased crossover of the ḥwˁb to other career sectors.
7.III. Hierarchical and Subsidiary Wˁb-Titles

7.III.1. Hierarchical Titles

The hierarchical title \textit{wˁb ˁ3}, or "great pure one," displays its own unique development. During the Old Kingdom, the title occurs exclusively in the cults of Ptah of Memphis and of Min, the latter of which has no known provenance. Regardless of cultic affiliation, the title is linked to the titles \textit{sḥḏ} and \textit{šps nswt}. Of the six known divine cults that include \textit{wˁb.w} within their hierarchy during the Old Kingdom, only two (33\%) include the hierarchical title \textit{wˁb ˁ3}.

During the First Intermediate Period, the title \textit{wˁb ˁ3} appears singularly, without reference to any specific cult. The title also continued to be linked to the cult of Min, centered at Koptos (modern Qift). The stela from Qift (BM 325 [1247]) suggests that the title of \textit{wˁb ˁ3 n Mn.w} may have been held by one individual at a time (see discussion, §5.II). In cases where the title appears singularly, or in reference to the cult of Min, it is no longer linked to the titles \textit{sḥḏ} and \textit{šps nswt}. The title \textit{wˁb ˁ3} also appears within the cult of Thoth, where it is held in tandem with \textit{imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr} by the hereditary rulers of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna). Of the three known divine cults that include \textit{wˁb.w} in their hierarchy during the First Intermediate Period (i.e. of Min, Sekhmet, and Thoth), two (67\%) include the hierarchical title \textit{wˁb ˁ3} (i.e. i.e. of Min and Thoth). The high percentage yielded from the small sample size is due to the scarcity of material identified from this time period.

By the Middle Kingdom, the title \textit{wˁb ˁ3} appears to have become far more widespread, and is linked to the cults of several deities: Anubis (provenance unknown), Osiris (Abydos), Hathor (Abydos), Horus (Edfu), Khonsu (Abydos), Khnum (Rifeh), Sobek (Lahun, Abydos, Sheikh Abd el-Qurna, Latopolis), Sopdu (Abydos and Lahun), and the divine epithet \textit{nbt pt}, or "Mistress of the Sky" (Meir); Table 6.1.4.B. Of the 17 known divine cults that include \textit{wˁb.w} within their hierarchy, 12 (70.5\%) include the hierarchical title of \textit{wˁb ˁ3}. The perceived increase in frequency of this title may be misleading when compared to earlier periods due to better representation within the archaeological record. Nevertheless, the adoption of this title indicates that these cults maintained a high number of \textit{wˁb.w} who needed to be overseen by an upper-ranking \textit{wˁb ˁ3}.
The title is also associated with the centers of Hatnub (wˁb ˁ3 m Ḥwt-nbw) and the Thinite Nome/Abydos (wˁb ˁ3 m T3-wr 3bdw); §6.I.5.A. Because these titles do not reference the cult of any specific deity, the author proposes that these title-holders may have overseen wˁb.w across multiple cults in each of their respective locations. The title wˁb ˁ3 was also included among processional titles, as indicated by the title wˁb ˁ3 imy wr.t, who may have led the wˁb.w of a designated section within a procession. This title specifically occurs within the area of Abydos (§6.I.5.A).

The hierarchical title wˁb wr, or "grand pure one," appears for the first time in Edfu during the Middle Kingdom (§6.I.4.A.12). Based upon an analogy of the ḫry-ḥbt being qualified by ˁ3 and wr, it is possible that the wˁb wr is equal in rank to the wˁb ˁ3.

The different designations of the title are most likely a reflection of where the title-holder is working. In this case, the title wˁb wr may be unique to Edfu.

The hierarchical title of wˁb bsi, or "pure one who has been initiated," also appears for the first time in Edfu during the Middle Kingdom (§6.I.4.A.13). The title indicates that the title-holder has undergone a form of initiation that serves to further distinguish them from the rest of the wˁb.w, but not the complete form of initiation that was reserved for the upper-ranking ḥm-nṯr, as discussed in Chapter 3. Such a partial initiation may have enabled the title-holder to complete ritual tasks that were not possible for one who was merely wˁb.

7.III.2. Subsidiary Titles

Because ˁq is not explicitly a wˁb-title, it is here designated as a subsidiary title. Thirteen individuals hold the subsidiary title of ˁq or "enterer" in addition to their title of wˁb, all of whom lived during the Middle Kingdom. Eight (61%) resided in Edfu, one (8%) in Thebes, and one inscription (8%) was found in Tell el-Duweir (modern Lachish, Palestine); the remaining three (23%) are of unknown provenance.

The complete form of the title held by Ḥwi (3-203M), one of the eight title-holders in Edfu, is: wˁb ˁq n Ḥr Bḥd.t or "pure one [and] enterer of Horus the Behedite." It is quite likely that the other subsidiary titles from the same site are also in reference to the Horus of Edfu. The other titles of S3-mnṯ.w (3-114M), the title-holder in Thebes, invoke nb Iwnyt, or the "Lord of Esna," a divine epithet which may refer to the god Montu, or his
The complete form of the title held by [Iw]/f-n.i (3-044M), the title-holder from Palestine, is: [wˁb] ˁq n Nḥbt or "pure one [and] enterer of Nekhbet." The three attestations of unknown provenance are also noteworthy, as each references a different deity: Satis (3-060M), the wrš (3-065M), and Sobek, Lord of Sumenu (3-072M). The distribution of subsidiary title-holders is shown in Chart 6, below.

Chart 6: Distribution of Subsidiary Title-Holders

Five filial relationships have been identified in which one or more family members have the subsidiary title of ˁq. All five (100%) of these relationships are between father and son. Of these, two (40%) share the subsidiary title of ˁq, while the remaining three (60%) do not. Each of these relationships are shown in Table 7.III.2, below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Son</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wˁb: pure one</td>
<td>wˁb, ˁq: pure one, enterer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḫr-hḥtp(.w) (3-108M)</td>
<td>ḫr-hḥtp(.w) (3-108M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wˁb: pure one</td>
<td>wˁb: pure one</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Table 7.III.2: Heredity of Subsidiary Titles

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Father</th>
<th>Son</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ḥr-nḥt(.w) (3-103M)</td>
<td>Ḥr-nḥt(.w) (3-104M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wḇ, q; pure one, enterer</td>
<td>wḇ, q; pure one, enterer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ḥw.ii (3-111M)</td>
<td>Ḥr-ḥtp(.w) (3-107M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wḇ, q; pure one, enterer</td>
<td>wḇ, q; pure one, enterer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S3-mnṯ.w (3-114M)</td>
<td>Qm3.w.n.i (3-119M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wḇ, q, wḇ nb Iwny.t, wḇ bsi: pure one, enterer, pure one of the Lord of Esna, pure one who has been initiated.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.IV. Gender

A total of 524 individuals were examined in this study. Of these, 459 men (87.5%) and 13 women (2%) held wḇ-titles; 49 title-holders (9%) are of indeterminable gender. Although the number of known female title-holders pales in comparison to the number of known male title-holders, their very existence makes it possible to conclude that the title was not restricted by gender, especially by the Middle Kingdom, in which greatest number of female title-holders are known. Of the 13 women that are known to have held wḇ-titles, only one (8%) lived during the Old Kingdom, while all remaining title-holders lived during the Middle Kingdom (92%). The gender of title-holders for each historical period are shown in Table 7.IV, below.

Table 7.IV: Gender of Title-Holders Over Time

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Indeterminable</th>
<th>Total:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Old Kingdom</td>
<td>193</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Intermediate Period</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total:</td>
<td>459</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>524</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first known woman to hold the title of wḇt was ḫḥḫḫ Iḥi (1-017F), whose name and titles are preserved upon a false door (CG 1449) of unknown provenance, which dates to the 6th Dynasty or later. Iḥi is identified as ḥmt.f or "his wife," mrt.f or "his beloved," im3ḥt.f or "his provided one," and lastly, as wḇt. The false door is

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1209 Not to be confused with the masculine Iḥii, the musician and son of Hathor. For variant renderings, see: Leitz, Lexikon I, 542-543. The designation of Iḥi as a feminine name is clearly indicated by its context on the false door, hence Ranke's identification of Iḥi as a feminine name with specific reference to CG 1449. Refer to: Ranke, Personennamen I, 44 [20].
inscribed for her husband, *Id.ii* (1-121M), who held the title of *wˁb nswt* and was promoted to (or at the same time served as) *hm-nṯr Rˁ*, or "god's servant of Re." Both individuals held *wˁb*-titles, and may have served within the same cult(s). *Id.ii* holds two additional titles: *rḥ nswt* or "royal acquaintance" and *ḥry-sšt3* or "one who is privy to the secret." Their children are identified by name without title; the same is true for *Id.ii*'s brother, who is also included on the false door. *Iḥi* is the only female title-holder identified from the Old Kingdom.

The attestations of the next known female title-holders do not occur until the Middle Kingdom. It is possible that additional female title-holders existed during the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, for which no evidence survives. By this time, a small variety of *wˁb*-titles were held by women. These titles include: *wˁb(t)* (held by five, 42%), *wˁb nswt* (held by three, 25%), *wˁbt nt Ḫns.w m W3st* (held by two, 17%), *wˁb (n) Imn* (held by one, 8%), and *wˁbt nt Gs-i3by* (held by one, 8%). The types of *wˁb*-titles held by women are shown in Chart 7, below.

**Chart 7: Titles Held by Women**

![Chart 7: Titles Held by Women](image)

The generic title of *wˁb(t)* is the most widely attested title in terms of both number and geographic distribution. Of the five known female title-holders of the Middle Kingdom, two (40%) are attested in Abydos (3-002F and 3-074F), one (20%) is attested
in Lahun (3-110F), one (20%) is attested in Thebes (3-133F), and one (20%) is attested in Edfu (3-134F). Their title-strings do not further specify the cults in which they served.

Other female wˁb-titles seem to occur within specific geographical areas; e.g. the female wˁb nswt are found in Lahun, the female wˁbt nt Ḥns.w m W3st are found in Abydos, etc. The female holders of the title wˁb nswt are all known from fragments of the Lahun Papyri, which shed additional light on the role of the title-holder. The first fragment (P. 10.237a+b) contains a list of fabric and metal objects which are being brought to the pr ḥḏ of the temple, a task that the title-holder, Nfr.t (3-140F), may have completed. Another fragment (P. 10.094) names Sn[t] (3-141F) as the priestess on duty in addition to the daily entries for food. The last fragment (UC 32143B) contains a list of statues followed by the names and titles of temple staff, which includes Sn.t (3-151F) and two other wˁb nswt: It (3-144M) and S-n-wsr.t (3-149M). The names of the title-holders, most notably, are of mixed gender. The purpose of the document may be an order for statues to be made for the named individuals, or perhaps is a list of temple staff required to perform service for these statues.

Both of the known wˁbt nt Ḥns.w m W3st are preserved upon two stelae from Abydos, both of which date to the 13th Dynasty and possibly reference the same woman: Snb.tysy-Smn.t (3-210F) and Smn.t (3-209F). Both stelae (CG 20056 and CG 20240) were inscribed for the scribe Nfr-ḥtp. Both women hold the title of wˁbt nt Ḥns.w m W3st, but it is only on CG 20056 that Smn.t is identified as mwt.f or "his mother."

The female wˁb (n) Imn is attested in Thebes. Nn-nḫn (3-242F), was identified on a stela from Thebes (CG 887) where she is identified as s3t "daughter," but holds no other titles. Another woman, Wˤr.t (3-133F), was identified as a wˁb upon the same monument; she is also identified as snt.f or "his sister" and mwt.f or "his mother." Although the direct filiation between the two women remains unclear, Nn-nḫn and Wˤr.t were nevertheless members of the same family.

The wˁbt nt Gs-i3by is preserved upon another fragment of the Lahun Papyri (UC 32163), which lists the members in the household of the soldier Snfrw. Špsi.t (3-281F) appears at the top of a list of women identified as nmḥyt nt ḫryw-nṯr wˤrt mḥtt, or "ward[s] of the cemetery-workers, northern sector." Blackman proposes that Špsi.t is the
widow of the soldier Snfrw,\textsuperscript{1210} hence her placement at the top of the list. Quirke believes that the entire list represents a kinship unit,\textsuperscript{1211} whereas Kóthay proposes that the latter part of the list represents an association of people within the same trade, "one aim of which could have been to provide support for dead members' families."\textsuperscript{1212} Because Špst heads the list and is identified as \textit{wˁbt nt Gs-i3by}, it is possible that she is the official responsible for those identified as wards beneath her name, analogous to \textit{Snb.b}'s (3-270M) responsibility for the fugitive mentioned in Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446.\textsuperscript{1213} She is elsewhere identified in UC 32164\textsuperscript{1214} as just the \textit{st nt Gs-i3by}, or "woman of Gs-i3by."

Of the 12 known \textit{wˁbt} of the Middle Kingdom, five (42\%) are attested in Lahun, four (33\%) are attested in Abydos, two (17\%) are attested in Thebes, and one (8\%) is attested in Edfu. The geographical distribution of female title-holders is shown in Chart 8, below.

\textbf{Chart 8: Geographical Distribution of Female Title-Holders During the Middle Kingdom}

\begin{center}
\includegraphics{chart8.png}
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{1210} Blackman, "On the Position of Women in the Ancient Egyptian Hierarchy," 24.
\textsuperscript{1211} Stephen Quirke, "Women of Lahun 1850-1700BC: An Exercise in Historical Archaeology," in \textit{Archaeology and Women}, ed. Sue Hamilton et al. (Walnut Creek: Left Coast Press, 2007), 253.
\textsuperscript{1213} Hayes, \textit{Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446}, 25, 30, 144.
\textsuperscript{1214} Collier and Quirke, \textit{The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical}, 112-113.
7.V. Heredity and Transfer of Office

A total of 63 filial relationships in which one or more family members share a wˁb-title have been identified from the Old through Middle Kingdoms. Two types of filiation are consistently found throughout all historic periods: father-and-son and brother-to-brother. For all historical periods examined in this thesis, there are 22 (35%) known relationships between parent and child. Of these, there are 21 (95%) relationships between father and son. In only one case (4.5%), the gender of the offspring is not known.

For all historical periods, there are 33 (36%) known relationships from brother-to-brother. This is being presented as the second most common type of filiation due to high amount of relationships contained within CG 23045, which has potentially skewed the results.

Other varieties of filiation seem to be unique to their historic period. The sole (1.5%) case of a husband-and-wife sharing a wˁb-title occurs within the Old Kingdom. During the First Intermediate Period, two (3%) relationships are known between (great-) uncle and (grand-) nephew, after which the title continued to be passed from father-to-son. In the Middle Kingdom, one (1.5%) relationship is known between a grandfather and grandson. All types of filiation that occur within different historical periods are shown in the Venn Diagram, below.
The office of $w^b$ could also be bought, as indicated by a fragment of the Lahun Papyri (UC 32055), a petition concerning the tenure of the office of $w^b \ hry-s3 \ n \ Spdw \ nb \ i3bt.t$ (§6.1.5.B.3). The exchange took place between two individuals who do not appear to be otherwise related. Indeed, it is the son of the former $w^b$ who petitions for collection of the debt owed to his father in exchange for his title. This is the only known reference to the sale of the office, and it remains unclear as to whether or not such exchanges were commonplace.

\begin{quote}
\textsuperscript{1215} Collier and Quirke, \textit{The UCL Lahun Papyri: religious, literary, legal, mathematical, and medical}, 102-103.
\end{quote}
## ABBREVIATIONS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>ASAE</td>
<td>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AUC</td>
<td>American University in Cairo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BD</td>
<td>Book of the Dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIFAO</td>
<td>Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BM</td>
<td>British Museum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CdÉ</td>
<td>Chronique d'Égypte</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG</td>
<td>Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CT</td>
<td>Coffin Texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EEF/S</td>
<td>Egypt Exploration Fund/Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IFAO</td>
<td>Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIFAO</td>
<td>Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GM</td>
<td>Göttinger Miscellen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JARCE</td>
<td>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JEA</td>
<td>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JNES</td>
<td>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MDAIK</td>
<td>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MFA</td>
<td>Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MMA</td>
<td>Metropolitan Museum of Art</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PT</td>
<td>Pyramid Texts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RdÉ</td>
<td>Revue d'Égyptologie</td>
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<tr>
<td>ZÄS</td>
<td>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</td>
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</table>
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## APPENDIX A

### OLD KINGDOM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title-String</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publication(s)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1-003M</td>
<td>ḫḥ3</td>
<td>wˁb, ḫm-nṯr; pure one, god's servant.</td>
<td>P. Abusir-Raneferef, 45-46Ad</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Neferefre</td>
<td>Posener-Kriéger et al., <em>Abusir</em>, X, 375; Ranke, <em>Personennamen I</em>, 44 [6].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-005M</td>
<td>Ni-sw-hnw</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>P. Abusir-Raneferef, 6C</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Neferefre</td>
<td>Posener-Kriéger et al., <em>Abusir</em>, X, 377; Ranke, <em>Personennamen I</em>, 178 [3].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-006I</td>
<td>Ni-kš.w-rš</td>
<td>wˁb, ḏt; pure one, servant of the funerary estate.</td>
<td>P. Abusir-Raneferef, 59Ab</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Neferefre</td>
<td>Posener-Kriéger et al., <em>Abusir</em>, X, 377; Ranke, <em>Personennamen I</em>, 180 [23].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>Rnsi[...]</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>P. Abusir-</td>
<td>5th Dynasty,</td>
<td>Posener-Kriéger et al., <em>Abusir</em></td>
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</table>

237
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title-String</th>
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<th>Publication(s)</th>
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<tr>
<td>0081</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Raneferef, 87F</td>
<td>reign of</td>
<td>X, 378.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-009M</td>
<td>Ḥwš-šw</td>
<td>wšb; pure one.</td>
<td>P. Abusir-Raneferef, 87F</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign</td>
<td>Posener-Kriéger et al., <em>Abusir</em> X, 378; Ranke, <em>Personennamen</em> I, 266 [3].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-012M</td>
<td>Ḥšn-ḥfwf</td>
<td>ṣḥw ḫnty.w-š, ṣḥw ḫnty.w-š, ṣḥw, ḫry-sšt³, ḫm-nṯr; royal acquaintance, inspector of land tenants (written twice), pure one, one who is privy to the secret, god's servant.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2407</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G139; PM III.1, 92-93; Reisner, &quot;Note,&quot; 26-27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-013M</td>
<td>Hššg.i</td>
<td>ṣḥw ḫnty, ṣḥw, ḫqš ḫwš Issi, ḫm-nṯr bikwy-nbw, imy-r šḥw ḫfw, imy-r ššrt nt 3ḥt- ḫfw, imy-r ih.w; royal acquaintance, pure one, chief of the chapel of Iseesi, god's</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2352</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>PM III.1, 84; Simpson, <em>Mastabas of the Western Cemetery</em>, 33-35; Smith, &quot;Linen List,&quot; 135.</td>
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<td>No.</td>
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<td>Title-String</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Publication(s)</td>
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<td>-----</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-014M</td>
<td>P3-tn</td>
<td>servant of the Two Horuses of Gold (Khufu), overseer of the fields of Khufu, overseer of the milk herd of (the pyramid) 'The-Horizon-of-Khufu', overseer of cattle.</td>
<td>Giza: Hearst Expedition of the University of California (1903-5), Cemeteries G 1000-1400.</td>
<td>5th to 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Berkeley Museum 6.19690; Berkeley Exhibition Catalogue, 38; Lutz, <em>Statues</em>, 13-14, pls. 20-21; PM III.1, 177.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-016M</td>
<td>Rwd I</td>
<td>rḥ nswt, ḫm-ntr Hwf-w, ḫm-ntr Ḫ.f-r, ḫm-ntr Ḑdf-r, s3b ḥry-wḏb, w'b mwt nswt, imy-ḥt s3w-prw, s3b (imy-ḥt) s3w-prw, w'b; royal acquaintance, god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of Khafre, god's servant of Djedefre, juridical master of reversion-offerings, pure one of the king's mother, under-supervisor of police, juridical (under-supervisor) of police (?), pure one.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 3086</td>
<td>6th Dynasty</td>
<td>CG 57042; UPM E13526; Baud, &quot;Reine-mère,&quot; 13; Fisher, <em>Minor Cemetery</em>, 34-35; Kanawati, <em>Egyptian Administration</em>, 107 [213], Pirenne, <em>Institutions II</em>, 417, 422 [97]; PM III.1, 98.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>Iḥi</td>
<td>hmt.f, mrt.f, im3ḥt.f, w'b; his wife, his</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>6th Dynasty</td>
<td>CG 1449; Lemke,</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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<th>No.</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>017F</td>
<td>(wife of Id.ii, 1-121M)</td>
<td>beloved, his provided one, pure one.</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>or later</td>
<td>&quot;Priesterinnen,&quot; 197.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-018M</td>
<td>Wp</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Helwan: Tomb 247 H6</td>
<td>Late 3rd Dynasty</td>
<td>Saad, Ceiling Stela, 48-50 [24], fig. 33, pl. 29.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-019M</td>
<td>Nfr-stš</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Helwan: Tomb 247 H6</td>
<td>Late 3rd Dynasty</td>
<td>Saad, Ceiling Stela, 51-53 [25], fig. 34, pl. 30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-020M</td>
<td>K3(.i)-m-qd(.i)</td>
<td>hm-nṯr Snfrw, [im3ḥw] ḫr nb.f, wˁb nswt, im3ḥw ḫr nṯr '3, ṭḥ ṭḥ nswt, mrr n nb.f, ḫr nṯr [3]t, ḫry-śšt3, [... swt.f nbt, ḫnty [...] , nb im3ḥw ḫr nṯr-'3; god's servant of Sneferu, [revered] with his lord, royal pure one, revered with the great god, royal acquaintance, beloved of his lord, god's servant of [...]t, one who is privy to the secret, [...] in all his places, foremost [...], possessor of reverence with the great god.</td>
<td>Dahshur: Mastaba of Kem-Kadu</td>
<td>4th dynasty, reign of Sneferu</td>
<td>Barsanti, &quot;Rapport,&quot; 203.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-021M</td>
<td>K3(.i)-rs(.w)</td>
<td>s3.f, ṭḥ nswt, mrr n nb.f, hm-nṯr Snfrw, wˁb nswt, im3ḥw ḫr nb.f, im3ḥw; his son, royal acquaintance, beloved of his lord, god's servant of Sneferu, royal pure one, revered with his lord, revered one.</td>
<td>Dahshur: Mastaba of Kars</td>
<td>4th Dynasty, reign of Sneferu or later</td>
<td>Barsanti, &quot;Rapport,&quot; 201.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-022M</td>
<td>Pth-ḥtp(.w)</td>
<td>qbh nmt, wˁb nswt, hm-nṯr Hwfw, hry-śšt3 nb.f; butcher of the slaughterhouse, royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, secretary of his lord (i.e. the king).</td>
<td>Giza: Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>4th Dynasty, reign of Khufu or later</td>
<td>Giza Archives Photo: A7012_NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-023M</td>
<td>Ḥmt-nw</td>
<td>ṭḥ nswt, imy-r ḫm.w-k3, wˁb nswt, hm-nṯr Hwfw, imy-r pr n ḫm.w-k3 s3 nswt K3wˁb, imy-r pr n wrt ḫst s3t nswt Mrs'nb, imy-r</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 5210</td>
<td>4th Dynasty, reign of Khufu or later</td>
<td>Baud, &quot;Reine-mère,&quot; 13; Dunham and Simpson, Mersyankh III, 4; Flentye,</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-024I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Giza</td>
<td>4th Dynasty, reign of Khafre or later</td>
<td>Kaplony, <em>Rollsiegel II</em>, 78, pl. 26 [58, Khafre].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-025M</td>
<td>Mry-rˁ-ḥps(w)ḥs(w) pr-ˁ3, nb im3ḥw, sḥmḥ ib n nb.f m hst, nfrt rˁ- nb, mrr nb.f, shd (n) hst mˁ3t, hsi nfrt, rḥ nswt, irr mrrt nb.f m hs nfr, wˁb nswt, im3ḥw ḫr nṯr-ˁ3;</td>
<td>Saqqara: Mastaba C22</td>
<td>Mid- to late-4th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>Mariette, <em>Mastabas</em>, 154.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>singer of the Great House, possessor of reverence, one who gladdens/entertains the heart of his lord with beautiful singing every day, beloved of his lord, lesser overseer of singing to the flute(?), beautiful singer, royal acquaintance, one who does what his lord desires in beautiful singing, royal pure one, revered with the great god.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-027M</td>
<td>Iri</td>
<td>nb im3ḥw, wˁb nswt, rḥ nswt; possessor of reverence, royal pure one, royal</td>
<td>Saqqara or Giza: Position</td>
<td>4th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>BM 1169; BM, <em>Hieroglyphic Texts</em> I, pl. 17; PM III.2, 692.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-028M</td>
<td>ḫnḫ-wḏ.s</td>
<td>ḫnḫ mḏ3t pr-ˁr, ḫnḫ nswt, ḫnḫ-nṯr Mn-k3w-r, ḫnḫ mḏ3t pr(?)-nṯr, ḫnḫ ns, nb</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Louvre 25369; Mostafa, <em>Opfertafeln</em>, pl. 31; Vandier, &quot;Ankhoudjës,&quot; 145-155, pl. 10-11.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-029M</td>
<td>K3-tp</td>
<td>hṛp m sỉ, hṛp ḫw nswt [?], hṛ Ṽ swt, ḫw ns, ḫw nswt; director of a phyle, director of</td>
<td>Saqqara or Giza:</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>BM 1181; BM, <em>Hieroglyphic Texts</em> VI, pl. 19; PM III.2, 693.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-030M</td>
<td>Ni-k3.w-r</td>
<td>ḫw Ṽ swt, ḫh Ṽ n Ṽ.m-k3, ḫh Ṽ n Ṽs(w), mrr nb.f, ḫ Ṽ ns, ḫh Ṽ n Ṽw-swt-Wsr-k3.f,</td>
<td>Saqqara: Mastaba</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Mariette, <em>Mastabas</em>, 313.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-031M</td>
<td>Ibii</td>
<td>imy-r šš.w, wḏ ns, ḫr-sšt3; overseer of scribes, royal pure one, one who is privy to the secret.</td>
<td>Giza: East Field,</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>PM III.1, 202.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-032M</td>
<td>Wr-irn</td>
<td>Ṽ Ṽ swt, ḫq3 Ṽ w, imy-r wp(w)t, ššm Ṽ t3, imy-r niwswt m3w, ḫw Ṽ swt, ḫh Ṽ Ṽ nṯr Ni-wsr-r; royal acquaintance, estate manager/property administrator, overseer of commissions/apportionments, leader of the land, overseer of the new settlements, royal pure one, god's servant of Niuserre.</td>
<td>Sheikh Said: Tomb 25</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Davies, <em>Sheikh Said</em>, pl. 13; Fischer, <em>Dendera</em>, p. 19, n. 83.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-033M</td>
<td>Mmi</td>
<td>$\text{w'ib nswt; royal pure one.}$</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, D 32+32 A</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Leipzig 2560; Hildesheim 2; Junker, <em>Giza IX</em>, 107; Lehmann, Kat. G16; PM III.1, 110; Urk. I, 141A-B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-034M</td>
<td>Mriri-nswt</td>
<td>$\text{rḥ nswt, w'ib nswt, nḥt-hrw n šnwt n ḫnw, sḥḏ iry.w-ḥt šnwt n ḫnw, sḥḏ iry.w-md3t n } $\text{wię nswt; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, strong-of-voice of the granary of the Residence, inspector of custodians of property of the granary of the Residence, inspector of archivists of the royal documents.}$</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 1301</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Fischer, &quot;Old Kingdom Example,&quot; 44; Lehmann, Kat. G79; PM III.1, 61.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-035M</td>
<td>Nfr-ir.t-n.f</td>
<td>$\text{hm-nṯr Ḥwt-hr, sḥḏ hry-sšt3 nṯr r.f, im3ḫw hr nb.f, s3b imy-r sš.w, w'ib nswt, hm-nṯr S3ḥw-Rr, hry-sšt3 n nb.f r'nb; god's servant of Hathor, inspector of those privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king), revered with his lord, juridical overseer of scribes, royal pure one, god's servant of Sahure, secretary of his lord every day.}$</td>
<td>Saqqara Mastaba D55</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Mariette, <em>Mastabas</em>, 326.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-036M</td>
<td>Nfr-n-Ḥfwf</td>
<td>$\text{rḥ nswt, sḥḏ n id.w, šps nswt, sš }$\text{wię, ḫrp }$\text{pr.w (nw) nfr.w, w'ib nswt, sḥḏ n wi3;} $\text{royal acquaintance, inspector of the young men, noble of the king, scribe of interpreters, director of a crew/section of recruits, royal pure one, inspector of the boat.}$</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Fischer, <em>Orientation</em>, 64, fig. 65.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-037M</td>
<td>N-hft-k3.(i)</td>
<td>$\text{rḥ nswt, héq3 niwt }$\text{r(t)-rst, w'ib n nswt;} $\text{royal acquaintance, chief of the Southern Goat City (U.E. 20), royal pure one.}$</td>
<td>Deshadasheh</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Fischer, <em>Dendera</em>, p. 19, n. 83; Petrie, <em>Deshasheh</em>, pl. 33 [28].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>Spss-rź</td>
<td>$\text{w'ib nswt; royal pure one.}$</td>
<td>Giza: West</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G10-11;</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>038M</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Field, D 23</td>
<td></td>
<td>Kayser, <em>Pelizaeus-Museum</em>, fig. 12; PM III.1, 110.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-039M</td>
<td>Ḥp-dw3</td>
<td>s3ḥ, šḥd ṡwḥ.w nsw, ṣm-y r ṣṣ.w, ḫm-nṯr M3ˁt, šḥd ṣṣ.w, s3ḥ ṣm-y r ṣṣ, s3ḥ šḥd ṣṣ.w, ḫm-nṯr Rˁ m St-ib-Rˁ, ḫm-nṯr Hr-ḥḥty, ḫm-nṯr Rˁ m Ṣsp-ib-Rˁ, ḫm-nṯr Wsrw, ṣḥ nswt, ḫḥr-sšt3 n nṯr.f; judge, inspector of the royal pure ones, overseer of scribes, god's servant of Maat, inspector of scribes, juridical overseer of scribes, juridical inspector of scribes, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) St-ib-Rˁ, god's servant of Horakhty, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Ṣsp-ib-Rˁ, god's servant of Wsrw, royal acquaintance, privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king).</td>
<td>Saqqara: Mastaba D 59</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Mariette, <em>Mastabas</em>, 336.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-040M</td>
<td>Ḥˁ-b3.w-prtḥ</td>
<td>ṭmḥk nswt, ṣm-y r ṣḥ.w-šn pr-ˁt3, ṣḥ wḥ nswt, ḫḥr-sšt3 n nṯr r.f, ḫm-nṯr S3ḥw-rˁ, ḫm-nṯr Nfr-r-k3-rˁ, ḫḥr-sšt3 n nb.f, ḫm-nṯr [Rˁ] m St-ib-Rˁ, ḫm-nṯr Nfr.f-rˁ, ḫm-nṯr Ny-wsr-rˁ, ṣḥ nswt, mrr n nb.f, […] ṭmḥw ḫḥ nswt, ṭmḥw ḫḥ Inpw; intimate of the king, overseer or hairdressers of the Great House, royal pure one, privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king), god's servant of Sahure, god's servant of Neferirkare, secretary of his lord (i.e. the king), god's servant (of Re) in (the sun-temple) St-ib-Rˁ, god's servant of Neferefre, god's servant of Niuserre, royal</td>
<td>Saqqara Mastaba D42</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Mariette, <em>Mastabas</em>, 295.</td>
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<td>1-041M</td>
<td>Ḫwfw-ḥtp(w)</td>
<td>rḥ nswt, wˁb nswt; royal acquaintance, royal pure one.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2353</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G129; PM III.1, 84; Simpson, <em>Western Cemetery</em>, 33-37.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-042M</td>
<td>Sḫm-k3(.i)-(Father of Sḫm-k3(.i)-nds, 1-043M)</td>
<td>s3b r Nḥn, hry-sšt3, im3ḥw ḫr nṯr, ḫm-nṯr Hwt-Hṛ m St-ib-Rˁ, ḫm-nṯr Ni-wsr-rˁ, s3b Nḥn n hwt-wrt, wḏ-mdw m3ˁ n hry(w)-wḏb(w), ḫm-nṯr M3ˁt, im3ḥw ḫr nṯr-ˁ3, mṛy nb.f, wˁb nswt, ḫm-nṯr Sd, ḫ(r) M3ˁt n nb.f, rḥ nswt; juridicial official and mouth of Nekhen, one who is privy to the secret, revered with the god, god's servant of Hathor in (the sun-temple) St-ib-Rˁ, god's servant of Niuserre, juridicial official and mouth of Nekhen of the Great Court/Tribunal, true giver of orders to those in charge of reversions (of offerings), god's servant of Maat, revered with the great god, beloved of his lord, royal pure one, god's servant of Sed, one who seeks out what is right for his lord, royal acquaintance.</td>
<td>Saqqara: Tomb of Sekhemkha</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Murray, <em>Saqqara Mastabas</em>, pl. 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-043M</td>
<td>Sḫm-k3(.i)-nds (Son of Sḫm-k3, 1-042M)</td>
<td>s3.f smsw, im3ḥw, s3b sḥd sš.w, wˁb nswt, rḥ nswt; his eldest son, revered one, juridicial inspector of scribes, royal pure one, royal acquaintance.</td>
<td>Saqqara: Tomb of Sekhemkha</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Murray, <em>Saqqara Mastabas</em>, pl. 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-044M</td>
<td>K3(.i)-m-nfr.t</td>
<td>rḥ nswt, imy-r 3t nswt, imy-r hwt ˁ3t, wˁb nswt; royal acquaintance, overseer of the</td>
<td>Hagarseh: Tomb of Ka-em-nofer,</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Fischer, <em>Dendera</em>, p. 19, n. 83; Petrie, <em>Athribis</em>, pl. 2.</td>
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<td>1-045M</td>
<td>D3-š</td>
<td>ṭb nswt, hm-ntr mwt nswt; royal pure one, god's servant of the king's mother.</td>
<td>Giza: West field, D 39+40</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Leipzig 2561; Cairo JE 37820; Cairo JE 37825; Junker, <em>Giza IX</em>, plan 2; Lehmann, Kat. G20; PM III.1, 111-112.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-046M</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>imy-r wp(w)t, ṭb nswt; overseer of commissions/apportionments, royal pure one.</td>
<td>Hemamieh: Tomb of Khenmtkaus, west wall</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Petrie, <em>Hemamieh</em>, pl. 9; Fischer, <em>Dendera</em>, p. 19, n. 83.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-047M</td>
<td>Im3-ni.t</td>
<td>ṭb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Giza: Central Field, G 8426</td>
<td>5th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>Hassan, <em>Giza IV</em>, 203-207; Lehmann, Kat. G328; PM III.1, 252.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-048M</td>
<td>Mr-ḥwfw</td>
<td>nb im3ḥw lḥr Mn-k3.w-rḥ, ṣḥḏ ṭb.w mwt nswt, imy-r id.w n hwt Št, hm-ntr Ḥfr-st, hm-ntr Mn-k3w-rḥ, ṭb nswt, ṭḥ nswt, imy-r st; possessor of reverence with Menkauare, inspector of pure ones of the king's mother, overseer of young men of the Great Estate, god's servant of Khepre, god's servant of Menkaure, royal pure one, royal acquaintance, overseer of a department.</td>
<td>Giza: East Field, Service Tomb 6</td>
<td>5th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>Fakhry, <em>Sept tombeaux</em>, 3, 19-25, 28-32; PM III.1, 213-214.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-050M</td>
<td>Rnp.t-nfr.t</td>
<td>ṭb nswt, hm-ntr mwt-nswt; royal pure one, god's servant of the king's mother (Khentkaus [I] ?).</td>
<td>Giza: Central Field, G 8602</td>
<td>5th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>Hassan, <em>Giza III</em>, 160-165; PM III.1, 257.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-051M</td>
<td>Nḏ.w</td>
<td>ṛḥ nswt, ṱb nswt; royal acquaintance, royal pure one.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2175</td>
<td>Early 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Fisher, &quot;Expedition,&quot; 22; Lehmann Kat. G115; PM III.1, 80; Reisner, Giza, 268-269, 313; Smith, <em>Egyptian Sculpture and Painting</em>, 191.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-052M</td>
<td>ḫm.w-nфр</td>
<td>ṱb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2175</td>
<td>Early 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Fisher, &quot;Expedition,&quot; 22; Lehmann Kat. G115; PM III.1, 80; Reisner, Giza, 268-269, 313; Smith, <em>Egyptian Sculpture and Painting</em>, 191.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-053M</td>
<td>ṣn.nw-ˁnh(w)</td>
<td>imy-r ṱś.w iry(w) iḥ/sprw, s3b imy-r ṱś.w, s3b ṱś, ṱś wšḥt, ṱḍ ṱś.w, ṱḥ ṱś.w wšḥt, wḇ nswt, wḇ ḫt-b3-Sḥw-rs, Ḥm-nṯr Wšr-k3.f, Ḥm-nṯr Ṯḥ-Rs, Ḥm-nṯr Ṯḥ-Rs, s3b qdr-mr, imḥw ḫr nṯr, imḥw ḫr nṯr.</td>
<td>Saqqara: East of the Step Pyramid, Position Unknown [D 52]</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Sahure or later</td>
<td>Königliche Museen zu Berlin, <em>Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin I</em>, 40; Baer, <em>Rank and Title</em>, 125 [452]; Mariette, <em>Mastabas</em>, 319; PM III.2, 582; Piacentini, <em>Scribes</em>, 465 [E.Sa.42]; Tiradritti, &quot;Vassalli,&quot; 73 (f. 46v, 1r).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-054M</td>
<td>ṣfr-ḥwfw</td>
<td>smr pr, imy-r st ḫnty.w-š pr.1.3, ḫnty-ib nb.j, hṛy-sšt3, imy-r šwí pr-1.3 ṱ nswt, imy-r ṱ h3w, ṱb nswt, Ḥm-nṯr (Ḥwfw); companion of the house, overseer of the department of</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2240</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Sahure to Unas</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G124; Roth, <em>Cemetery of Palace Attendants</em>, 162-166.</td>
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<td>1-055M</td>
<td>K3(.i)-pw-nswt : K3.1</td>
<td>land tenants of the Great House, one who is in the heart of his lord, one who is privy to the secret, overseer of the two canals of the Great House, one who belongs to the royal documents, overseer of the arsenal, royal pure one, god's servant (of Khufu).</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 4651 and G 1741</td>
<td>Early to Mid-5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Baud, &quot;Reine-mère,&quot; 13; Brovarski, &quot;Beaded Collars,&quot; 149-150, 154, 159; Brovarski, &quot;Boxes and Chests,&quot; 28-29, 39, 44, 49; Hawass, &quot;Interview,&quot; 24; Hawass, &quot;Unique Statues,&quot; 25-38; PM III.1, 135.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-056M</td>
<td>Ni-sw-rdi</td>
<td>royal pure one, one who is privy to the secret, land tenant of the Great House, god's servant of the Horus Medjedu (Khufu), overseer of commissions of land tenants of the Great House.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2156</td>
<td>Mid-5th Dynasty</td>
<td>PM III.1, 80.</td>
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<td>1-059M</td>
<td>K3-dw3</td>
<td>rḥ nswt, imy-r pr, ḥm k3, wḥ nswt, ḥn-nṯr Hˁ.f-rˁ, ḫr nṯr-ˁ3, ᵀsw ḫ3i, ᵐ3ḥw,</td>
<td>Giza: Central</td>
<td>5th Dynasty,</td>
<td>Lotosblume,&quot; 269, 272, 277; PM III.1, 146-148; Reisner, Giza, 214-215, 311, 321, 325, 328, 330, 344; Reisner and Fisher, &quot;Preliminary Report,&quot; 227-252; Reisner and Smith, Hetep-Heres, 51; Simpson, Mastabas of the Western Cemetery, 3, 18; Smith, &quot;Inscriptional Evidence,&quot; 113-128; Smith, Egyptian Sculpture and Painting, 165.</td>
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<td>slḥ g ḥw b.w, ḫr sšt3, ᵀsw h3i ṭ ny Hˁ.f-rˁ wr, ḥn-nṯr ḫr-wsr-ib, ḥn-nṯr ᵀbti-wsr-m, ḥn-nṯr wḥ Hˁ.f-rˁ; royal acquaintance, overseer of the house (steward), k3-servant, royal pure one, god's servant of Khafre, revered with the great god, the eldest of the audience hall, revered one, inspector of pure ones, one who is privy to the secret, elder of the portal/forecourt of (the pyramid) 'Great-is-Khafre', god's servant of ḫr-wsr-ib (Khafre), god's servant of ᵀbti-wsr-m (Khafre), god's servant and pure one of Khafre.</td>
<td>Field, G 8472</td>
<td>before or after the reign of Niuserre</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-060M</td>
<td>ˁnh(.i)-m-ˁ-</td>
<td>sḥ b ˁḏ-mr, n(y)-nsi-hmtt, ḫr kḥmwt, ḫr-y sšt3 n mdw-nṯr, ḥn-nṯr M3ˁt, wr 10 šm c ḫw, ḫr-tp nswt, imy-r ḫwt-wrt, ḥn-nṯr S3ḥw-rˁ,</td>
<td>Saqqara: North</td>
<td>5th Dynasty,</td>
<td>Baer, Rank and Title, 150 [550]; Hassan, Giza VI.3, 93-110; Wildung, Rolle I, p. 200(g).</td>
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<td></td>
<td>k3(.i)</td>
<td>of the Step Pyramid, No. 67</td>
<td>of the Step</td>
<td>reign of Niuserre or</td>
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<td>Pyramid, No. 67</td>
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<td>wˁb nswt, ḥm-ndata Mn-swt-Ny-wsr-rˁ, mrr(w) nb.f, im3ḥrw ḥr nṯr.f, ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m Nḥn-Rˁ [St-ib-nb.f rˁ-nb], wḏ-mdw št3(w) (n) hry-wḏb(w), hry-sšt3, hry-sšt3 n wḏ(t)-mdw nt nswt, hry-sšt3 n nṯr.f, imy-r k3t nt nswt, imy-r swt htpw ḏf3w, hry- sšt3 n wḏˁ-mdw, ḫrp ſš.w nt iˁḥ/sprw, imy-r nt ˁḥ, imy-r pr ˁḥ3w, imy-r wp(w)t nt nswt, ḥm-nṯr Hqtt, mdw ṭḥyt, hry-wḏb n Hwt ˁnh; juridicial ˁḏ-mr official, one who belongs to the foremost seat, pillar of knmwt, privy to the secret of the god's word(s), god's servant of Maat, Greatest/Great one of the 10 of Upper Egypt, king's liegeman/royal chamberlain, overseer of the Great Court/Hall of Justice, god's servant of Sahure, royal pure one, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', beloved of his lord, revered with his god, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Nḥn-Rˁ [St-ib-nb.f rˁ-nb], giver of secret orders to those in charge of reversion(s) (of offerings), one who is privy to the secret, privy to the secret of all proclamations/decrees of the king, privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king), overseer of the king's works, overseer of the departments of offerings and provisions, privy to the secret of judgment/determining cases, director of</td>
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<td>[D 16]</td>
<td>later</td>
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<td>1-061M</td>
<td>K3(.i)-m-nfr.t</td>
<td>scribes connected with the iˁḥ, overseer of the ˁḥ-palace, overseer of the house of weapons/arsenal, overseer of royal commissions, god's servant of Heqat, staff of the Rḥyt-people, one who is in charge of reversions (of offerings) in the House of Life.</td>
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of the Great Council, judicial inspector of scribes, scribe of those concerned with the 8th pillar of Kenmet, overseer of the wsḥt-hall, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', royal pure one, pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor', greatest/great one of the 10 of Upper Egypt, arbitrator/giver of judgments to those in charge of reversion (of offerings), staff of the ṭḥt-people, (one who belongs to) the foremost seat, royal acquaintance, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Neferrirke' / 'Neferrirke-is-a-B3', god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Maat mistress of life, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', god's servant of Neferrirke, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) ṭḥt-R, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) ṭḥt-ib-R, god's servant of Khafre, god's servant of Sahure, god's servant of (the sun-temple) ṭḥt-ib-R, master of the reversion (of offerings) in the House of Life, one who is privy to the secret, privy to the secret of judgment/determining cases, privy to the secret of the Great Court, secretary of his lord (i.e. the king), director of the broad hall, king's liegeman/royal chamberlain, juridicial ḫ-mr official, revered one,
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<td>1-062M</td>
<td>Ḥtp-3ḥ.ti</td>
<td>ḥḥ nswt, wb nswt, ṣḥḏ ḥm.w-nṯr Ḥwfw, imy-r mšš, imy-r ḥḥ-Ḥwfw, ḫrp imy.w ššš; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, inspector of the god's servants of Khufu, expedition leader, overseer of (the pyramid) 'The-Horizon-of-Khufu', director of members of a phyle.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 1208</td>
<td>Mid-5th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G73; PM III.1, 58; Reisner, &quot;Report,&quot; 73; Reisner, <em>Giza</em>, fig. 159.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-064M</td>
<td>Nḥt-k3.i</td>
<td>ḥḥ nswt, wb nswt, ḥm-nṯr S3ḥw-rˁ, ṣḥḏ ss.w śnw.t, ṣḥḏ ss.w św ˁw (nw) nswt śnw.t; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, god's servant of Sahure, inspector of scribes of the granary, inspector of the scribes of the royal documents of the granary.</td>
<td>Giza: Central Field, G 8220</td>
<td>Mid-5th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>Hassan, <em>Giza</em> VII, 21-33; Lehmann, Kat. G369; PM III.1, 240.</td>
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<td>1-065M</td>
<td>Ḥtp-ni-pṯḥ</td>
<td>ḥḥ nswt, ḫnty-ś (n) pr-ˁš, wb nswt, ḥm-nṯr Ḥwfw, imy-r st n pr-ˁ3 (?); royal acquaintance, land tenant of the Great House, royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, overseer of the department of the Great House (?).</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 5290</td>
<td>Mid-5th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>PM III.1, 158.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-066M</td>
<td>S.ˁnḥ.w</td>
<td>ḥḥ nswt, wb nswt; royal acquaintance, royal pure one.</td>
<td>Giza: Central Field, G 8406</td>
<td>Mid-5th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>Hassan, <em>Giza</em> III, 219-222; PM III.1, 256.</td>
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<td>1-067M</td>
<td><em>Ir-n-r</em>³</td>
<td>[imy-r] hm.w-k3, w'b nswt; [overseer of] k3-servants, royal pure one.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2156b</td>
<td>Mid-5th to 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>PM III.1, 79.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-068M</td>
<td><em>Sd3w(g)</em></td>
<td>w'b nswt, hm-nṯr S3hw-r³, hm-nṯr R³ m Nhₜ-R³, rḥ nswt, imy-r gawtyw/qstyw, hm-nṯr H³-b3-S3hw-r³; royal pure one, god's servant of Sahure, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Nhₜ-R³, royal acquaintance, overseer of sculptors, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor'.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 1012</td>
<td>Mid-5th to 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Junker, <em>Gīza IX</em>, 107-118; Lehmann, Kat. G52; PM III.1, 52-53.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-069M</td>
<td><em>Pn-mrw</em></td>
<td>w'b nswt, hm-nṯr Mn-k3w-r³, imy-r hm.w-k3; royal pure one, god's servant of Menkaure, overseer of k3-servants.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2197</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Dunham, <em>Egyptian Department</em>, 45; Fisher, &quot;Expedition,&quot; 19-21; Lehmann, Kat. G121; Manuelian, &quot;Penmeru Revisited,&quot; 3-48; Manuelian, &quot;Excavating the Old Kingdom,&quot; 149; PM III.1, 82-83; Reisner, Giza, 292; Reisner and Fisher, &quot;Preliminary Report,&quot; 247; Simpson, <em>Mastabas of the Western Cemetery</em>, 16, 24-27; Smith, <em>Ancient Egypt</em>, 53.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-070M</td>
<td><em>Ni-m³.t-r</em>⁵</td>
<td>imy-r hst pr⁻³, hṛp tis(t) bity, imy-r šmḥḥ-b Ṽb nb Ṽfr m Ṽhw-št³w pr⁻³, stp-s³ ḫrp(?)⁻tp st nswt, ḫṛy-šḥt³, [imy-r] nb m Ṽhw swt pr⁻³, ḫṛy-šḥt³, [imy-r] Ṽb nb fr⁻³nb, hm-nṯr R³ m Šp⁻ib-R³, w'b Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r³, imy-r w'b mwt-nswt, w'b nswt; overseer of the singing of the Great House, director of the</td>
<td>Giza: Central Field, G 8900</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Allen, &quot;Non-Royal Afterlife,&quot; 16, n. 59; Baud, &quot;Reine-mère,&quot; 14-15; Hassan, <em>Gīza II</em>, 202-225; Helck, &quot;Pyramidenstätten,&quot; 105; Kamal, &quot;Comte de Galarza,&quot; 121; Lehmann, Kat. G361; PM III.1, 282-284.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-071M</td>
<td>Ni-k3.w-ḥm-nṯr ḫwy</td>
<td>tist-companions (?) of the King of Lower Egypt, overseer of all goodly entertainment in the residence and of the secrets of the Great House, bodyguard under the throne of the king (?), one who is privy to the secret, [overseer of] all the interior places of the great house, companion of the house, he who is in the heart of his lord every day, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Šsp-ib-Rˁ, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', overseer of the pure ones of the king's mother, royal pure one.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2099</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G110; Manuelian, &quot;Penmeru Revisited,&quot; 34; Manuelian, &quot;Excavating the Old Kingdom,&quot; 150; PM III.1, 70; Roth, <em>Cemetery of Palace Attendants</em>, 150-154.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-072M</td>
<td>Nfr-ḥwy</td>
<td>wḥb nswt, ḫm-ḥmr ḫwyw; royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2098</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Roth, <em>Cemetery of Palace Attendants</em>, 142-149; Roth, &quot;Little Women,&quot; 286-287; Shirai, &quot;Ideal and Reality,&quot; 331-333.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-073M</td>
<td>Ḫrḥ-ḥwy</td>
<td>imy-r ḫnty.w-š pr-ʿ3, ḫrwy-šḥtš n nswt m ḫnw šḥtš pr-ʿ3, ḫrwy-šḥtš n nb.f, wḥb nswt, ḫrp ʿḥ, (imy-r) šwy (pr-ʿ3); overseer of land tenants of the Great House, privy to the secret of the king in the secret interior of the Great House, secretary of his lord (i.e. the king), royal pure one, director of the ʿḥ-palace, (overseer of) the two canals(?) of (the Great House).</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2098</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G142; PM III.1, 255</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-074M</td>
<td>Ḫrḥ-mn-tḥw</td>
<td>imy-r ḫnty.w-š pr-ʿ3, wḥb nswt, ḫmr-</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2098</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G142; PM III.1, 255</td>
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<td>073M</td>
<td>nṯr Hr(.w)-Mḏdw, ḥm-nṯr Bikwy-nbw; overseer of apportionments/commissions of the land-tenants of the Great House, royal pure one, god's servant of the Horus Mḏdw (Horus name of Khufu), god's servant of the Two Falcons of Gold (Golden Falcon name of Khufu).</td>
<td>Field, G 2420</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>93; Reisner, &quot;Note, 26, 30.</td>
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<tr>
<td>074M</td>
<td>Ḥwfw-ḥnwḥi</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2407</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G139; PM III.1, 92-93; Reisner, &quot;Note,&quot; 26-27.</td>
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<tr>
<td>075M</td>
<td>Sbk-ḥtp(.w)</td>
<td>iry ḫnt pr-ˁ3, wˁb nswt, ḥm-nṯr Ḥwfw, ḥry-sšt3, ḥm-nṯr Hr(.w)-Mḏdw, ḥm-nṯr Bikwy-nbw; one who is in charge of the sealed goods of the Great House, royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, one who is privy to the secret, god's servant of the Horus Mḏdw (Horus name of Khufu), god's servant of the Two Falcons of Gold (Golden Falcon name of Khufu).</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2420</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G142; PM III.1, 93; Reisner, &quot;Note, 26, 30.</td>
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<tr>
<td>076M</td>
<td>K3(.i)-m-st</td>
<td>wˁb nswt, ḫnty-š; royal pure one, land tenant.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2407</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G139; PM III.1, 92-93; Reisner, &quot;Note,&quot; 26-27.</td>
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<tr>
<td>077M</td>
<td>Ni-sw-qd (Son of Rrmw, 1-044M; brother of K3(.i)-ḥr-st.f, 1-150M)</td>
<td>s3.f n ḫt.f; wˁb nswt, sš, ḥm-nṯr Ḥwfw; his son of his body, royal pure one, scribe, god's servant of Khufu.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2099</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G110; Manuelian, &quot;Penmeru Revisited,&quot; 34; Manuelian, &quot;Excavating the Old Kingdom,&quot; 150; PM III.1, 70; Roth, Cemetery of Palace Attendants, 150-154; von Kānel, Prêtres-ouab, 11-16 [9].</td>
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<tr>
<td>078M</td>
<td>Nfr-qd</td>
<td>rh nswt pr-ˁ3, shḏ ḫnty.w-š pr-ˁ3, ḥm-nṯr Ḥwfw, wˁb nswt, ḥry-sšt3, ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m Šsp-</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 1151</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G67; Lutz, Statues, 21-22; PM III.1, 56;</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-079M</td>
<td>Sp-n</td>
<td><em>rḫ nswt, wˁb nswt, wˁb ms.w-nswt, ḥqʒ Hwt-Hwfw, ḫrp ḫrp.w n Hwt ẖ3t, imy-r pr.w ms.w-nswt</em>; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, pure one of the king's children, chief of the estate of Khufu, director of the directors of the Great Estate, overseer of the houses of the royal children.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, Mastaba of Nfr-ḥii (unnumbered)</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>Abu-Bakr, <em>Giza I</em>, 31 [3] and n. 1, fig. 29; Baud, <em>Famille royale</em>, 191, tb. 12 [C.2] and n. 509, 347(a), 561 [199], 657; Helck, &quot;Pyramidenstäten,&quot; 105; PM III.1, 50; Siedlmayer and Ziermann, &quot;Friesinschrift,&quot; 169.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-082M</td>
<td>Wr-mr.w</td>
<td>wˁb nswt, ḥm nṯr Hk3, ḥm nṯr Snfrw, ḥm nṯr Hˁ.f-rˁ; royal pure one, god's servant of Heka, god's servant of Snefru, god's servant of Khafre.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 7851</td>
<td>Late 5th to 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Mycerinus, 281.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-084M</td>
<td>Ni-k3-min</td>
<td>wˁb nswt, ḥnty-š; royal pure one, land tenant.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 1152a</td>
<td>Late 5th to 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>PM III.1, 56.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-085M</td>
<td>Nfr [I]</td>
<td>rḥ nswt, wˁb nswt, ḥm-nṯr Ḥr(w)-Mḏdw, ḥm-nṯr Mḏd-r-nbty, imy-r pr, imy-r ḥm.w-k3; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, god's servant of the Horus Mḏdw (Horus Name of Khufu), god's servant of Mḏd-r-nbty (Nebty Name of Khufu), overseer of the house, overseer of k3-servants.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 4761</td>
<td>Late 5th to 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Junker, Gīza III, 39; PM III.1, 137-138.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-086M</td>
<td>Ṣḥm-k3.(i)</td>
<td>ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m Šsp-ib-Rˁ, ḥr-y-sšt3, imy-r st ḥnty.w-š pr-ˁ3, wˁb nswt, ḥm-nṯr ḫwfw, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Šsp-ib-Rˁ, one who is privy to the secret, overseer of the department of land tenants of the Great House, royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 1029</td>
<td>Late 5th to 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G58; PM III.1, 53; Reisner, Giza, 256, 362-363; Reisner and Fisher, &quot;Preliminary Report,&quot; 227-252; Roth, &quot;Little Women,&quot; 286-287; Simpson, Mastabas of the Western Cemetery, 1-6; Smith,</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-087M</td>
<td>Śtwi</td>
<td>rḥ nswt, w’b nswt, imy-r hm.w-k3, shḏ sš.w šnwt; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, overseer of k3-servants, inspector of scribes of the granary.</td>
<td>Giza: Shetwi (unnumbered mastaba excavated by Junker)</td>
<td>Late 5th to 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Junker, <em>Gīza IX</em>, 184-191; PM III.1, 106.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-089M</td>
<td>K3(.i)-mqd(.i)</td>
<td>rḥ nswt, w’b nswt; royal acquaintance, royal pure one.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 5040</td>
<td>Late 5th to 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Curto, <em>Ghīza</em>, 51-58; Junker, <em>Gīza VII</em>, fig. 1; PM III.1, 145.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-090M</td>
<td>‘nh-špss-k3-rʾ</td>
<td>rḥ nswt, ḥry-tp Nhḥ, ḥm-ntr Hʾf-rʾ, w’b nswt, sšw Sṛqt pr-ˁ3, imy-r hm.w-k3, shḏ hm.w-k3; royal acquaintance, overlord of el-Kab, god’s servant of Khafre, royal pure one, magician of Selkis of the Great House, overseer of k3-servants, inspector of k3-servants.</td>
<td>Giza: Central Field, G 8983</td>
<td>Late 5th to mid-6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Hassan, <em>Gīza II</em>, 15-31; Lehmann, Kat. G393; PM III.1, 272.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-091M</td>
<td>13sn</td>
<td>imy-r 6 Ḥnty.w-š pr-ˁ3, (imy-r) ḥryw-š n ṃ nswt, w’b nswt, sḥḏ w’b.w, Ḥnty-š, ḥry-sšt3, ḥm-ntr Ḥwfw; overseer of six land tenants of the Great House, overseer of the authorizations of the royal decrees, royal</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2196</td>
<td>5th to 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Flentye, &quot;Meresankh III,&quot; 76, n. 60; Kendall &quot;Rock-Cut Tomb,&quot; 104, n. 1; Lehmann, Kat. G120; Manuelian, &quot;Penmeru Revisited,&quot; 3, 47;</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-093M</td>
<td>Wr-k3</td>
<td>rḫ nswt, w'b nswt, hm-nṯr Ḫwfw; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 4911</td>
<td>5th to 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Curto, <em>Ghiza</em>, 74; PM III.1, 141.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-094M</td>
<td>Iw.f-n.i-pth</td>
<td>hm-nṯr [...] w'b nswt, šḥd hm.w-k3; god's servant of [...], royal pure one, inspector of k3-servants.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 1309</td>
<td>5th to 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>PM III.1, 61.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-095M</td>
<td>Mri-’nh</td>
<td>ḫnty-š pr-š3, w'b nswt, rḥ nswt; land tenant of the Great House, royal pure one, royal acquaintance.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 5482</td>
<td>5th to 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Junker, <em>Gīza</em> VIII, 22; PM III.1, 164.</td>
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<tr>
<td>096M</td>
<td>097M</td>
<td>Šnw wˁb nswt, ḫm-nṯr Ḥfwf, ṣḥḏ wˁb. w nswt, ṛḥ nswt, ḥr nswt, ḥr nswt, ḫm-nṯr Ḥfwf</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 1351</td>
<td>5th to 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Junker, <em>Giza</em> IX, 5; PM III.1, 62.</td>
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<tr>
<td>098M</td>
<td>099I</td>
<td>K3.i ṛḥ nswt, ṣḥḏ ḫm.w-nṯr, wˁb nswt; royal acquaintance, inspector of god's servants, royal pure one.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, D 208</td>
<td>5th to 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G43; PM III.1, 116.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100M</td>
<td>101M</td>
<td>K3.w.wˁb nswt, ḫm-nṯr Ḥfwf, ṣḥḏ ḫm.w-k3, ṭḏ ḫm.w-nswt; royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, inspector of k3-servants, carpenter of the royal house.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, D 30.</td>
<td>5th to 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>PM III.1, 110.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102M</td>
<td>103M</td>
<td>K3.(i)-ḥr-st.f ṛḥ nswt pr-ˁ3, wˁb nswt, ṣḥḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-ˁ3, ṭḏ sqbb pr-راعرَةَ، ṭḏ sqbb pr-راعرَةَ</td>
<td>Giza: Central Field, G 8808</td>
<td>5th to early 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Hassan, <em>Giza</em> VI, 73-79; PM III.1, 262.</td>
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<td>1-103M</td>
<td><em>Iš-mri</em></td>
<td><code>wˁb nswt, shd sš.w </code>w (nw) nswt pr-hdq, shd sš.w (n) sšr nswt`; royal pure one, inspector of scribes of the royal documents of the treasury, inspector of scribes of the royal linen.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, Iymery [I] (unnumbered mastaba excavated by Junker)</td>
<td>6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Junker, <em>Gīza</em> X, 143-147; Lehmann, Kat. G330; PM III.1, 218.</td>
</tr>
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<td>1-104M</td>
<td><em>Itf-nn</em></td>
<td><code>rḥ nswt, wˁb nswt</code>; royal acquaintance, royal pure one.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 1304</td>
<td>6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G80; PM III.1, 69.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-106M</td>
<td><em>(nḥ.(i)-m-)</em> rˁ</td>
<td><code>wˁb nswt</code>; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Giza: Ankhmare (2) (unnumbered mastaba excavated by Junker)</td>
<td>6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Junker, <em>Gīza</em> V, 124-126; PM III.1, 103.</td>
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<td>1-107M</td>
<td><em>Mnw</em></td>
<td><code>wˁb nswt, hm-nṯr Hfw[w, hm-nṯr Hr(w)-Mḏdw, hm-nṯr bikwy-nbw, hm-nṯr Mḏd-r-nbty, ḫnty-š pr-</code>ṣ, ḥry-sšt3, sb3 nswt`; royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of the Horus <em>Mḏdw</em> (Horus Name of Khufu), god's servant of the Two Falcons of Gold (Golden Falcon name of Khufu), god's servant of <em>Mḏd-r-nbty</em> (Nebty Name of Khufu), land tenant of the Great House, one who is privy to the secret, royal instructor.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, Minu</td>
<td>6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Junker, <em>Gīza</em> VI, 232-237; PM III.1, 140.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-108M</td>
<td>Mr-ˁnḫ.f</td>
<td>ṛḥ nsňt, ṭb nswť, ḥmnt-rr Ḥwfw, ithub pr; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, overseer of the house.</td>
<td>Giza: Central Field, G 8870</td>
<td>6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Hassan, <em>Giza</em> III, 14-22; PM III.1, 278-279.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-110M</td>
<td>Ni-msti</td>
<td>ṛḥ nsňt, ithub pr, ḥmnt-rr, ṭb nswť, ṭb-ḥt ḥmnt.w-k3, ithub sšr, ḥmr ṭb smsw; royal acquaintance, overseer of the house, god's servant, royal pure one, under-supervisor of k3-servants, overseer of cloth distribution, director of the follower(s).</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2366</td>
<td>6th Dynasty</td>
<td>PM III.1, 85; Simpson, <em>Mastabas of the Western Cemetery</em>, 32-33.</td>
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<td>1-111M</td>
<td>Ni-sw-rdi</td>
<td>ṭb nswť, ṭb; royal pure one, scribe.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 5032</td>
<td>6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. 203; Manuelian, &quot;Redi-nes,&quot; 55-78; PM III.1, 145; Urk. I, 226 [143].</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-112M</td>
<td>Ḥwfw-snbd (.w)</td>
<td>ṭb nswť, ḥmnt-rr Ḥr(.w)-Mdāw, ḥmnt-rr Ḥwfw, ṭb ḥnty.w-s pr-ˁ3, ithub wp(w)t ḥnty.w-s pr-ˁ3; royal pure one, god's servant of the Horus Mdāw (Horus name of Khufu), god's servant of Khufu, inspector of land tenants of the Great House, overseer of apportionments/commissions of land tenants of the Great House.</td>
<td>Giza: Khufuseneb [II] (unnumbered mastaba excavated by Junker)</td>
<td>6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Junker, <em>Giza</em> VII, 126-133; PM III.1, 153.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-113M</td>
<td>Ḥnw</td>
<td>ṛḥ nsňt, ṭb nswť, ḥmnt-rr Mn-k3w-rˁ, ṭb ḥmnt.w-k3; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, god's servant of Menkaure, inspector</td>
<td>Giza: Central Field, G 8816</td>
<td>6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Fischer, &quot;Old Kingdom Example,&quot; 247; Hassan, <em>Giza</em> II, 159-168; PM III.1, 261.</td>
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| 1-114M | $\text{Sn}(i)\text{-}
\text{wḥm}.\text{w}$ | $\text{wōb nswt, ḥm-}k\text{3; royal pure one, }k\text{3-servant.}$ | Giza: West Field, G 2132 | 6th Dynasty | Manuelian, "Re-examination of Reisner," 230; PM III.1, 75; Reisner, "Meresankh," 60. |
| 1-115M | $\text{Sḥm-}’\text{nh-}
\text{pḥ}$ | $\text{wōb nswt, ḫṛp šḥ, imy-}ḥ\text{t ḥm-}k\text{3 n sb3t(yw) nswt, ḥm-nṭr Mn-}k\text{3-w-rs; royal}
\text{pure one, director of the dining hall, under-supervisor of }k\text{3-servants of the royal}
\text{instructors, god’s servant of Menkaure.}$ | Giza: Central Field, G 8981 | 6th Dynasty | Allen, "Non-Royal Afterlife," 10, n. 10; Hassan, Gīza II, 32-45; Lehmann, Kat. G387; PM III.1, 272. |
| 1-116M | $\text{Ni-}\text{sw-}
\text{qd}$ | $\text{imy-r wp(w)ḥ t ūnty.w-}\text{s pr-}w3, \text{imy-r st ūnty.w-}\text{s pr-}w3, \text{ṣḥḏ ūnty.w-}\text{s pr-}w3, \text{imy-r 10 pr-}w3, \text{ir yḥm}t \text{pr-}w3, \text{wōb nswt, ḫṛ(}-\text{sśt3),}
\text{imy-}ḥ\text{t ūnty.w-}\text{s pr-}w3, \text{hm-nṭr Ḫwfw;}$
\text{overseer of apportionments/commissions of land tenants of the Great House, overseer of the department of land tenants of the Great House, inspector of land tenants of the Great House, overseer of ten people of the Great House, one who is in charge of the sealed goods of the Great House, royal pure one, one who is privy (to the secret), under-supervisor of land tenants of the Great House, god’s servant of Khufu.}$ | Giza: Kednes [II] (unnumbered mastaba excavated by Junker) | 6th Dynasty | Junker, Gīza VII, 133-138; PM III.1, 152. |
| 1-117M | $\text{K3}(i)\text{-}
\text{m-}
\text{’nḥ}$ | $\text{ṛḥ nswt, ṣḥḏ n iry.ḥ-}ḥ\text{t pr-ḥd, ṣḥḏ ḥm-}
\text{w-nṭr, ḥṛy-}\text{sśt3 (n) ṭḥm (nt) nswt, wōb nswt, sś pr-ḥd, ṣḥḏ (n) pr-ḥd; royal acquaintance,}
\text{inspector of custodians of the property of the treasury, inspector of god’s servants, privy to the secret of the king’s treasure, royal pure one, scribe of the treasury,}$ | Giza: West Field, G 4561 | 6th Dynasty | Brovarski, "Boxes and Chests," 28, 31, n. 2; Junker, Gīza III, 44-45; Kanawati, "Decoration of Burial Chambers," 55-58, 60; PM III.1, 131-133; Simpson, Mastabas of the Western Cemetery, 1, n. 14, 21, 264 |
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<tr>
<td>1-118M</td>
<td>D3g</td>
<td>$r\ h\ nswt, \ w'b\ nswt, \ hm-ntr\ Hnm.w-Hwfw$; royal acquaintance, royal pure one, god's servant of Khnum-Khufu.</td>
<td>Giza: Central Field, G 8975</td>
<td>6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Hassan, <em>Giza</em> II, 46-64; Lehmann, Kat. G407; PM III.1, 271.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-119M</td>
<td>K3(.i)-hi(w)i.f</td>
<td>$shd\ hnty.w-$ pr-$\bb$3, $w'b\ nswt, shd\ hnty.w-$3, \ r\ h\ nswt, \ hm-ntr\ Hwfw, hry\ (n)\ tm(?)$; inspector of land tenants of the Great House, royal pure one, inspector of land tenants, royal acquaintance, god's servant of Khufu, supervisor of the Tm(?).</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2136</td>
<td>Mid-6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Junker, <em>Giza</em> III, 39-40; Lehmann, Kat. G111; Manuelian, &quot;Re-exmaination of Reisner,&quot; 223; PM III.1, 76; Roth, &quot;Little Women,&quot; 294.</td>
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<td>1-120M</td>
<td>Ḥtp.i</td>
<td>$w'b\ nswt, \ royal\ pure\ one.$</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, D 211</td>
<td>6th Dynasty, reign of Merenre-Pepi II</td>
<td>Harvey, <em>Wooden Statues</em>, 214-215 [A51]; Lehmann, Kat. G45; PM III.1, 116-117.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-121M</td>
<td>Id.ii (husband of Iḥi, 1-017F)</td>
<td>$r\ h\ nswt, \ hm-ntr\ R', \ hry-s$t$3, \ im3$w\ [hr\ ntr-$\bb$3, \ w'b\ nswt; royal acquaintance, god's servant of Re, one who is privy to the secret, revered [with the] great [god], royal pure one.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>6th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>CG 1449.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-122M</td>
<td>Nfr-k3</td>
<td>$w'b\ nswt, \ iry\ ḥt\ pr-$\bb$3, (iry) is, \ iry\ s$r\ ssf, \ hry-wdb.w\ rhyt; royal pure one, custodian of property of the Great House, custodian of the is-chamber(?), keeper of linen and bolts of linen(?), one who is in charge of reversions (of offerings) of the rhyt-people.</td>
<td>Giza, East Field: Neferka (unnumbered mastaba excavated by Schiaparelli)</td>
<td>Late 6th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>Curto, <em>Ghiza</em>, 13-31; PM III.1, 215.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>Dnh-skd</td>
<td>$w'b\ nswt, \ hm-ntr\ Hr.(w)-Mgdw$; royal pure</td>
<td>Giza: West</td>
<td>6th</td>
<td>Junker, <em>Giza</em> VI, 232-237; PM</td>
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<tr>
<td>123M</td>
<td>123M</td>
<td>one, god's servant of the Horus Mḏdw (Horus Name of Khufu).</td>
<td>Field, East of Minu (G 4851)</td>
<td>Dynasty?</td>
<td>III.1, 140 (Minu).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-124M</td>
<td>ˁnḫ-nb.f</td>
<td>sqd n wi3, sš wḥrt nswt, ʻry-ḥt pr- astronomers, imy-r [...] pr- astronomers, imy-r [...] pr- astronomers, sḥḏ pr- astronomers, imy-r [...] pr- astronomers, ḫ3styw Nṯry-Mn-k3w-r, wḥb nswt, ḫm-nṯr Mn-k3w-r, ḥm nswt; rower/oarsman of a boat, scribe of the royal dockyard, custodian of property of the Great House, overseer of [...].</td>
<td>Giza: MQ 130</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Saleh, &quot;Mycerinus Pyramid Complex,&quot; 149-150.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-127M</td>
<td>ˀr.w-k3-r</td>
<td>imy-r wp(w)t, wḥb nswt, ḫnty-š, ḫm-nṯr Ḫwfw, ḫm-nṯr Ḫr(w)-Mḏdw, ḫry-sšt3; overseer of commissions/apportionments, royal pure one, land tenant, god's servant of Khufu, god's servant of the Horus Mḏdw (Horus Name of Khufu), one who is privy to the secret.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2236</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Giza Archives Photo: B9121_NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-128M</td>
<td>ˀw3</td>
<td>wḥb nswt, ḥḥ nswt, ḫnty-š, ḫry-sšt3 Nṯry-Mn-k3w-r, gs, imy-r gs.w ḫry- astronomers, nswt, ṭbw</td>
<td>Giza: Provenance</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Donadoni Roveri, Sarcofagi Egizi, pl. 36.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-129M</td>
<td>Mn.w-ḥtp.w</td>
<td>nswt, imy-r ḫtyw ḫrt (sic) md3t nt ḫrt nt ḫy-hb; royal pure one, royal acquaintance, land tenant, privy to the secret of (the pyramid) 'Divine-is-Menkaure', leather-worker, overseer of leather-workers and royal assistants, sandal-maker of the king, overseer of manufacturers of writing material/papyrus rolls(?)</td>
<td>Sheikh Said: Tomb 25</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Davies, <em>Sheikh Said</em>, pl. 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-135M</td>
<td>Snb</td>
<td>wˁb nswt, royal pure one.</td>
<td>Giza: G 2467</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G.151; PM III.1, 95.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-137M</td>
<td>K3.i</td>
<td>ṛḥ nswt, wˁb nswt; royal acquaintance, royal pure one.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Turin S.1850/1.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-138M</td>
<td>K3(.i)-pw-nswt</td>
<td>ḭmy-r qd.w n wˁbt, ḫry-sšt3 (n) wˁbt, wˁb nswt, ḭmy-r qd.w n pr-dw3t, nb im3ḥw ḫr nṯr ‘3, ḭmy-r qd.w n sḥwt nb(wt), mṛy it.f, im3ḥw ḫr it.f, im3ḥw ḫr mwt.f; overseer of the builders/masons of the workshop, privy to the secret of the workshop, royal pure one, overseer of the builders/masons of the House of the Morning, possessor of reverence with the great god, overseer of builders/masons of all the fields, beloved of his father, revered with his father, revered with his mother.</td>
<td>Saqqara: Tomb of Kaemhesit and Kapunesut, serdab of Kapunesut</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Harvey, <em>Wooden Statues</em>, 182-183 [A35].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-140M</td>
<td>Tti</td>
<td>wˁb nswt, ḥm-nṯr Ḥwfw, ṣš; royal pure one, god's servant of Khufu, scribe.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, near G 5130</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Jánosi, &quot;G 4712,&quot; 60, fig. 3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-141I</td>
<td>Ṭnti</td>
<td>ṛḥ nswt, im3ḥw, ḭmy-r gs-pr, wˁb nswt, ḫry-sšt3; royal acquaintance, provided one, overseer of the troop-house (of workers), royal pure one, one who is privy to the</td>
<td>Giza: No. 7</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>Mariette, <em>Mastabas</em>, 538.</td>
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<td>1-142M</td>
<td>Sd-htp</td>
<td>wꜣb nswt pr-ˁ3; royal pure one of the Great House.</td>
<td>Giza: Central Field, G 8662</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, early reign of Djedkare Isesi</td>
<td>Hassan, Gīza III, 108-114; Kanawati, Egyptian Administration, 119 [317]; Kendall, &quot;Rock-Cut Tomb,&quot; 107, n. 11; Lehmann, Kat. G392; PM III.1, 259.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-143M</td>
<td>Hnm.w-ḥtp(w)</td>
<td>wꜣb nswt pr-ˁ3, ḫb3; royal pure one of the Great House, dancer.</td>
<td>Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 4 [B 11]</td>
<td>5th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>CG 1306; Lieblein, Dictionnaire, no. 1725; Mariette, Mastabas, 102, 435; PM III.2, 449.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-144M</td>
<td>Rrmw (Father of Ni-sw-qd (1-077M); K3(.i)-ḥr-st.f, 1-150M)</td>
<td>ṛḥ nswt, wꜣb nswt pr-ˁ3; royal acquaintance, royal pure one of the Great House.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2099</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G110; Manuelian, &quot;Penneru Revisited,&quot; 34; Manuelian, &quot;Excavating the Old Kingdom,&quot; 150; PM III.1, 70; Roth, Cemetery of Palace Attendants, 150-154; von Känel, Prêtres-ouâb, 11-16 [9].</td>
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<td>1-146I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>wꜣb pr-ˁ3; pure one of the Great House.</td>
<td>Abusir: The Pyramid complex of Khentkaus</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Djedkare</td>
<td>Verner, Abusir III, 100, pl. 22, (285/A/78).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-147I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>wꜣb pr-ˁ3, ḫry sšt3; pure one of the Great House, one who is privy to the secret.</td>
<td>Abusir: The Pyramid</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of</td>
<td>Verner, Abusir III, 114, pl. 25 (386/A/78e).</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-149M</td>
<td>Mmi</td>
<td>ṛḥ nswt, ᵚḏ ḥm.w-nṯr Ḥwt-hṛ, ḫṛy šśtš, ṛḥ nb išštš, ḫš ḥḥs.w, imḥw ḫr nṯr-št, nb.f; royal acquaintance, inspector of the god's servants of Hathor, one who is privy to the secret, royal pure one of the Robing Room, inspector of the singers, revered with the great god, revered with his lord.</td>
<td>Giza: Central Field, Khafre Cemetery, No. 7</td>
<td>5th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>Baer, <em>Rank and Title</em>, 78 [176]; Fischer, <em>Varia Nova</em>, 215, n. 286-287; Galvin, <em>Priestesses</em>, 109 [321M]; Hassan, <em>Gȋza VII</em>, 45 [4], fig. 38; PM III.2, 238.</td>
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<td>1-150M</td>
<td>K3.(i)-ḥr-st.f</td>
<td>ṛḥ Ṣḥ ḥḥst.t, wḥ nswt ᵚḏ ḥḥst.t, ḫḥnt-š; his beloved son, royal pure one of Sekhmet, god's servant of Khufu, land tenant.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 2099</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Lehmann, Kat. G110; Manuelian, &quot;Penmeru Revisited,&quot; 34; Manuelian, &quot;Excavating the Old Kingdom,&quot; 150; PM III.1, 70; Roth, <em>Cemetery of Palace Attendants</em>, 150-154; von Känel, <em>Prêtres-ouâb</em>, 11-16 [9].</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-151M</td>
<td>Itti</td>
<td>ṛḥ nswt, ṛḥ nb nswt, ᵚḏ ḥm.w-k3, nb nb išštš, ṛḥ nb nb nswt; royal acquaintance, pure one of the king's mother, overseer of the k3-servants,</td>
<td>Giza: East Field, LG 68</td>
<td>Early 5th to 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Kanawati, <em>Egyptian Administration</em>, 85 [45]; Kaplony, <em>Die Rollseigel II</em>, 4; Lepsius, <em>Denkmäler</em> II, 92b;</td>
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<td>N/A</td>
<td>Šri</td>
<td><em>imy-r hm.w-k3 n Snd, ḥr nswt, ḥm-nṯr Snd m (m rwt ist), tp(y) s3w(?), imy-r hm.w-k3 n Snd m ḥḥ(t)-nṯr, imy-r wʾb.w Pr-ib-sn m ḥḥ(t)-nṯr m ḥwt Snd m swt.f nb</em>; overseer of the k3-servants of Sened (in the necropolis), royal acquaintance, god's servant of Sened (in the 'portal'), chief of s3w (<em>snsm?</em>), overseer of the k3-servants of Sened in the necropolis, overseer of the pure ones of Peribsen in the temple of Sened in all his places.</td>
<td>Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, B 3</td>
<td>4th Dynasty</td>
<td>CG 1384; Fischer, &quot;Graphic Transposition,&quot; 123 [B1]; Junker, Gīza VI, 14 [1]; Kaiser, &quot;Sened und Peribsen,&quot; 49, n. 5; Mariette, Mastabas, 92-93; Moret, Mon. Piot. 25, 280, fig. 1, pl. 21; Pirenne, Institutions I, 351 [63]; PM. III.2, 490; Ward, &quot;Scribes,&quot; 383, n. 9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-157M</td>
<td>Tp-m-ʿnḥ</td>
<td>*wʾb Ḥt-b3-S3ḥw-rʾ, ḥry sšt3, ʿry ṣšr.w pr-ʾ3, ʿry ḫt pr-ʾ3, ḥm-nṯr M3ʾt, ḥm-nṯr Ḥwfw, imy-r ḫyw(yw) sḏ3t, wʾb Ḥt-Snfrw, ḥṛp ṣḥt wʾb Ṣḏ3t nb.w, wʾb Nṯry-Mn-k3.w-rʾ, ḥm-nṯr W3ḏt/Qḥwt, wʾb Wr-Hʾfrʾ, ṣḥt wḏt-nṯr, ḥm-nṯr Ṣṯm(w) md3t-nṯr pr-ʾ3, ṣḥt sṃśw h3yt, ḥm-nṯr Ṣḥ3t, ḥm-nṯr [ʾRʾ m] Nḥn-Rʾ, ṣḥy-nṯr Ṣḥpw, ḥm-nṯr, ṣḥḏ ḥḥtmt(yw) pr md3t-nṯr, ḥm-nṯr Ḥr(.w) (m) Nḥn-Rʾ, ṣḥb Ṣḏ3t nb.w, ḥm-nṯr Ḥwḥt-ḥfr, ḥm-nṯr Mn-k3.w-rʾ (m?) ṣḥ-hnw; pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor', one who is privy to the secret, keeper of the linen of the Great House, custodian of property of the Great House, god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Khufu, overseer of sealbearers, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Sneferu-Appears-in-Splendor', director of Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 76 [D 11]</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Sahure</td>
<td>CG 1564(e); Baer, Rank and Title, 151 [559]; Mariette, Mastabas, 196, 198; PM III.2, 483; Wildung, Rolle, 105 [g]; Zibelius, Siedlungen, 184.</td>
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| 1-158M | Nfr.i | *imy-r gs-pr ir.w is, iry ḫỉ pr-ˁ3, wˁb nswt, wˁb nswt n 3ḥt(y)-Ḥwfw, m3(3t) Ḥr, ḫḥ nswt, nb im3ḥw ḫr nṯr, ḥm-nṯr W3ḏt, ḫqˁ hwt, ḫqˁ hwt ˁ3, ḫṛp ˁpr.w, ḫṛp ˁpr.w (nw) nfr.w, s3b ḫṛy qsr, ṣḥḏ (n) wi3/dpt, ṣḥḏ pr-ˁ3, imy-r n [...]*; overseer of the troop- | Giza: West Field | 4th Dynasty or later | Abu Bakr, *Giza I*, 39 [4], 46 [4], fig. 37; Alexanian, *Dahschur II*, 76 n. 309; Cherpion, *Mastabas*, 97 [7], pl. 11; Chevereau, "prosopographie des cadres"
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<tr>
<td>1-159M</td>
<td>Q3.ii</td>
<td>house of tomb makers, custodian of property of the Great House, pure one of the king, pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-Horizon-is-Khufu', one who beholds/seer of Horus, royal acquaintance, possessor of reverence with the god, god's servant of Wadjet, estate manager/property administrator, chief/manager of a great estate/district, director of the crew, director of a crew/section of recruits, juridicial official in charge of the offering/offerer(?), inspector of the boat, inspector the Great House, overseer of the [snake play].</td>
<td>Giza: East Field, LG 69</td>
<td>5th-6th Dynasties</td>
<td>Lepsius, <em>Denkmäler</em> II, 34b; PM III.1, 211.</td>
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<td>1-160M</td>
<td>Itti</td>
<td>rh nswt, shd pr-³, imy-r pr-³, imy-r k3t nt nswt, w'b Wr-Hf'r³; royal acquaintance, inspector of the Great House, steward of the Great House, overseer of the king's works, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Great-is-Khafre'.</td>
<td>Giza: East Field, G 7391</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Curto, <em>Ghiza</em>, 34-46; Lehmann, Kat. G252-G253; PM III.1, 193; Reisner, <em>Giza</em>, 312; Smith, <em>Egyptian Sculpture and Painting</em>, 297, 316.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-161M</td>
<td>Nfr</td>
<td>hm-nfr R³ m Nh₇n-R³, ḫry sš³, w'b Wsr-k3.f, mrr nb.f r³-nb, im3hw ḫr nfr-³, ḥnty-š (n) pr-³, ḥ'qw; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Nh₇n-R³, one who is privy to the secret, pure one of Userkaf, revered</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Userkaf or later</td>
<td>Stewart, <em>Petrie Collection II</em>, 35 [no. 151], pl. 37.1.</td>
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<td>1-163I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>w'b Rˁ m Nḥn-Rˁ, irr-wḏt nswt-bity S3ḥw-rˁ, ḥm-nṯr Wsr-k3.f, mrr(w) nb.f, ir-wḏt nb.f, w'b [hm-nṯr] Wˁb-sw't-Wsr-k3.f, w'b ūm-nṯr Wˁb-sw't-Wsr-k3.f, mrr(-Wsr-k3.f) rˁ-nb; pure one of Re in (the sun-temple) Nḥn-Rˁ, one who does that the king of upper and lower Egypt Sahure commands, god's servant of Userkaf, beloved of his lord, one who does what his lord commands, pure one [god's servant] of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', pure one [and] god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', beloved (of Userkaf) every day.</td>
<td>Abusir</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Sahure or later</td>
<td>Kaplony, <em>Rollsiegel</em> IIA, 193 [Sahure 25]; IIB, pl. 61.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-164I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>ūm-nṯr Rˁ m Nḥn-Rˁ, mrr(w) nb.f, w'b Wˁb-sw't-Wsr-k3.f, ḫr-ššt3, [...] ūm-nṯr [Ḥr Ir-</td>
<td>Abusir</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of</td>
<td>Kaplony, <em>Rollsiegel</em> IIA, 194-196 [Sahure 26]; IIB, pl. 61.</td>
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<td>1-165I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>m3ˁt (?), irr wḏt n nb.f, [wˁb-] nswt, [wr] swnw [pr-ˁ3], hry-sšt3 [...]; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Nḥn-Rˁ, beloved of his lord, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', one who is privy to the secret, [...] god's servant of the Horus Ir-m3ˁt (Horus name of Userkaf), one who does what his lord commands, royal [pure one], [chief] physician [of the Great House], one who is privy to the secret [...].</td>
<td>Abusir</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Sahure or later</td>
<td>Kaplony, <em>RollsiegeI</em> IIA, 196-197 [27]; IIB, pl. 61; Piacentini, <em>Scribes</em>, 350 [E.As.15].</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-166M</td>
<td>Ḫm-mn.w (Eldest son of Tp-m-nḫ, 1-157M)</td>
<td>ḫtm(w)-nṯr, ḫm-nṯr Nḥn-Rˁ, ḫm-nṯr Ḥr(w) (m) Nḥn-Rˁ, hry ssšt3, sh(y-nṯr) Inpw, ḫm-nṯr Wsr-k3.f, ḫm-nṯr Ḥwt-hr, ḫm-nṯr Sš3t, ḫtm(w) mḏ3t-nṯr pr-ˁ3, ḫm-nṯr Mn-k3.w-rˁ m ḫnw, ḫm ḫḥ, iwn smsw Inpw sh(y-nṯr), wˁb Wˁb-sw-Wsr-k3.f; god's sealer, god's servant of (the sun-temple) Nḥn-Rˁ, god's servant of Horus in (the sun-temple) Nḥn-Rˁ, one who is privy to the secret, one who Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 76 [D 11]</td>
<td>Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 76</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Sahure</td>
<td>CG 1415, 1417, 1556, 1564; Musée Guimet B10; Borchart, <em>Denkmäler</em> I, 89-91, pl. 20; II, 17-18, 28-30, pls. 61, 64; Mariette, <em>Mastabas</em>, 196-201; McFarlane, <em>The God Min</em>, 59 [095]; Zibelius, <em>Siedlungen</em>, 62.</td>
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<td>1-167M</td>
<td>Spss-ršt</td>
<td>belongs to the divine booth of Anubis, god's servant of Userkaf, god's servant of Hathor, god's servant of Seshat, god's sealer of the god's books of the Great House, god's servant of Menkaure in the residence, servant of the ˁḥ-palace, senior pillar of Anubis who belongs to the (divine booth), pure one of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf'.</td>
<td>Saqqara</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Neferirkare or later</td>
<td>Borchardt, <em>Statuen I</em>, 48-49, pl. 14; Piacentini, <em>Scribes</em>, 507 [E.Sa.76.1f]; PM III.2, 723.</td>
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<td>1-168M</td>
<td>K3(i)-ḥp</td>
<td>ḫm-nṯr Rˁ m Nḫn-Rˁ, ḫnty-š pr-ˁ3, im3ḥw ḫr nb.f, mrr(w) nb.f, ir(w) 'nt pr-ˁ3, wˁb n Wˁb-swt-Wsr-k3.f, ḥry sšt3, im3ḥw ḫr nṯr ˁ3; god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Nḫn-Rˁ, land tenant/tenant-farmer of the Great House, revered with his lord, beloved of his lord, manicurist of the Great House,</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>5th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>Berlin 11469; Königliche Museen zu Berlin, <em>Ägyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin I</em>, 44; Baer, <em>Rank and Title</em>, 147 [540B]; Helck, &quot;Pyramidenstätten,&quot; 97 [4].</td>
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<td>1-170M</td>
<td>Pth-ḥtp(.w)</td>
<td>ṛḥ nswt, ḫm-nṯr Rˁı [m] Nḥn-Rˁı, ḫm-nṯr Ḥwt-ḥr, ṭḥ hps nswt (m) m rḥt (t) Wsr-k3.f, ḫm-nṯr Wsr-k3.f, royal acquaintance, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Nḥn-Rˁı, god's servant of Hathor, royal pure one of the mrt-temple of Userkaf, god's servant of Userkaf.</td>
<td>Saqqara: East of the Step Pyramid, Position Unknown, D 51</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Userkaf or later</td>
<td>Allam, Hathorkult, 9, n. 4; Barta, &quot;mrt-Bauten,&quot; 99 [2a]; Galvin, Priestesses, 33(B), no. 61M; Mariette, Mastabas, 314; PM III.2, 581; Zibelius, Siedlungen, 100.</td>
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<td>1-171M</td>
<td>K3(.i)-m-snw (Son of S.ḥtp.w, 1-173M)</td>
<td>ṭḥ hps S3ḥw-rı, ḫm-nṯr Nfr-ir-k3-rı, ḫm-nṯr Mns-wt-Ni-wsr-rı, ṛḥ nswt, [...], B3-Nfr-ir-k3-rı, ṭḥ ṭḥ bḥt nb[t] nt nswt, ṭḥ hps Mns-wt-Ni-wsr-rı, ḫm-nṯr Rı Ḥwt-ḥr m St-ib-Rı, ḫr-tp šnwt; overseer of the granary, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) St-ib-Rı, pure one of Sahure, god's servant of Neferirkare, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', royal acquaintance, [...], of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Neferirkare/Neferirkare-is-a-B3', overseer of all the abundance of the king, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', god's servant of Re [and] Hathor in (the sun-temple) St-ib-Rı, employee/agent/servant of the granary.</td>
<td>Saqqara: Around Teti Pyramid</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Niuserre or later</td>
<td>Baer, Rank and Title, 143 [528]; Firth-Gunn, TPC I, 157 [3], pl. 63; PM III.2, 541-542; Strudwick, Administration, 149 [144]; Urk. I, 175.</td>
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<td>1-172M</td>
<td>N-lḥfšt-k3(.i)</td>
<td>ṭḥ hps šmr, ḫrḥ šmt, ḫmr ẖr nb.f, hṛy sšt3 n pr-dwšt, ḫr ḫmr wb(w) (m) Ḥwt-šmt, ḫm-nṯr Ḥr</td>
<td>Saqqara: East of the Step</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of</td>
<td>CG 1484(g); Baer, Rank and Title, 95 [282]; de Rougé,</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-173M</td>
<td>S.ḥtp.w (Father of K3.(i)-m-snw, 171M)</td>
<td>Inpw ḫnty pr šmswt, ʾḏ-mr Hr-šb3w-ḥnty- pt, [ḥnty-š] pr-ʾ3, imy-r šṣr-nswt, imy-r ḥkrw-nswt, wʾb Rʾ m Nḥn-Rʾ, shḏ wʾb.w n Wʾb-swtx-WSr-k3.f, mrr(w) nb.f, im3ḥw ḫr nb.f, ḥry w3wt, im3ḥw ḫr ḥtr, wʾb Ḥ3-b3-S3ḥw-rʾ, imy-r sq(b)w pr-ʾ3; companion, director of the ʾḥ-palace, revered with his lord, privy to the secret of the House of the Morning, one who is in charge of the reversions (of offerings) in the House of Life, god's servant of Horus-Anubis who presides over the suite, administrator of (the royal 'domain') 'Star-of-Horus- Foremost of Heaven' (reign of Djoser), [land-tenant] of the Great House, overseer of royal cloth/linen, overseer of the king's regalia, pure one of Re in (the sun-temple) Nḥn-Rʾ, inspector of pure ones of (the pyramid) 'Pure-are-the-Places-of-Userkaf', beloved of his lord, revered with his lord, master/controller/superior of the ways, revered with the god, pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor', overseer of the cool chambers of the Great House.</td>
<td>Pyramid, Position Unknown [D 47]</td>
<td>Sahure or later</td>
<td>Inscript. Hiérog., pl. 83; Hassan, Gīza VI.2, 126 [48]; Mariette, Mastabas, 308; PM III.2, 580.</td>
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<td>1-174M</td>
<td>Nfr-k3.i</td>
<td>imy-r sš.s.w (n) 'pr.r.w, sš, w'b ḫt-b3-S3hw-r', rḥ nswt; overseer of scribes of the crews, scribe, pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Sahure-Appears-in-Splendor', royal acquaintance.</td>
<td>Dahshur</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Brooklyn Museum 37.33E; James, Corpus, 15 [41], pl. 21 [41A]; Piacentini, Scribes, 447-448 [E.Sa.31]; PM III.2, 735.</td>
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<td>1-175M</td>
<td>Ḥtp-hr-3ḫ.t.i</td>
<td>im3ḥw ḫr nṯr-ˁ3, im3ḥw ḫr nsrw, sšb ˁḏ-mr, ḫry-sšt3, nṯr-ˁ3, n(y)-nst-ḫntt, ḥmr-nṯr M3ˁt, ḥmr-nṯr Rˁ Ḥwt-ḥr m St-ib-Rˁ, ḫry-sšt3; revered with the great god, revered with the king, juridical official and mouth of Nekhen, elder of the (judicial) court, god's servant of Maat, privy to the secret of the Great Court, pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Neferirkare' / 'Neferirkare-is-a-B3', beloved of his lord, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Sšp-ib-Rˁ, one who is privy to the secret.</td>
<td>Saqqara: West of the Step Pyramid enclosure, D 60</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Niuserre</td>
<td>Baer, Rank and Title, 108 [357]; Holwerda and Boeser, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, pl. 17; Lichtheim, Ancient Egyptian Literature I, 16; Mariette, Mastabas, 347; Mohr, Hetep-Her-Akhti, 87; PM III.2, 593; Urk. I, 50-51.</td>
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<td>1-176M</td>
<td>K3.(i)-pw-pth</td>
<td>wr 10 šmˁ, sšb ˁḏ-mr, ḫry-sšt3, im3ḥw ḫr nṯr-ˁ3, imy-r sš.s.w, im3ḥw ḫr sn, im3ḥw pw ḫr nṯr-ˁ3, n(y)-nst-ḫntt, ḥmr-nṯr M3ˁt, ḥmr-nṯr Rˁ Ḥwt-ḥr m St-ib-Rˁ, w'b B3-Nfr-ir-k3-r', im3ḥw ḫr nsrw, ḫry-sšt3, n(y)-nst-ḫntt, ḥmr-nṯr M3ˁt, ḥmr-nṯr Rˁ Ḥwt-ḥr m St-ib-Rˁ, w'b B3-Nfr-ir-k3-r', im3ḥw ḫr nsrw, ḫry-sšt3, n(y)-nst-ḫntt, ḥmr-nṯr M3ˁt, ḥmr-nṯr Rˁ Ḥwt-ḥr m St-ib-Rˁ, w'b B3-Nfr-ir-k3-r', im3ḥw ḫr nsrw, ḫry-sšt3, n(y)-nst-ḫntt, ḥmr-nṯr M3ˁt, ḥmr-nṯr Rˁ Ḥwt-ḥr m St-ib-Rˁ, w'b B3-Nfr-ir-k3-r'; greatest/great one of the 10</td>
<td>Saqqara: Position unknown</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>CG 1563(f), 1567, 1711, 57160-57161; Baer, Rank and Title, [517]; Baud, Famille royale, 587 [231]; Borchardt, Denkmäler II, 26-28, 36-37, 150, pls. 64, 67; Piacentini, Scribes, 480 [E.Sa.54]; PM III.2, 693.</td>
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<td>1-177M</td>
<td><em>Id.w</em></td>
<td>of Upper Egypt, juridical 'ḏ-mr official, one who is privy to the secret, revered with the great god, overseer of scribes, revered with them, revered with the great god, (one who belongs to) the foremost seat, god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Re [and] Hathor in (the sun-temple) <em>St-ib-R</em>[^1], pure one of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Neferirkare' / 'Neferirkare-is-a-B3,' revered with the king, overseer of the southern provinces of Upper Egypt (i.e. Nomes 1-7), beloved of his lord, royal acquaintance, royal pure one, god's servant of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-is-Iseesi', overseer of the property of the royal children in the nomes of Upper Egypt (i.e. Nomes 1-7), pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.</td>
<td>Abusir</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Djedkare</td>
<td>Verner, &quot;Die Königsmutter Chentkaus,&quot; 259 [2], pl. 16a, b; Verner, &quot;Excavations at Abusir,&quot; 166; Verner, <em>Forgotten Pharaohs</em>, 87.</td>
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<td>1-178I</td>
<td><em>Unknown</em></td>
<td><em>hm-nṯr, ḫry-sšt3 Ḥwt-hr R</em>[^2] m <em>St-ib-R</em>[^3], *wḥb ḫry-sšt3 Ḥnty-h3.w-Nṯry-b3.w-Nfr-f-r[^4], ss-nṯr, ḫry-sšt3 B3-Nfr-ir-k3-r[^5], irr mrr(t)-nb.f; god's</td>
<td>Abusir/Abu Ghurob</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Neferefre or Kaphlony, <em>Rollsiegel II</em>, 284, pl. 81(3);</td>
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<td>1-179M</td>
<td>Ḥnm.w-htp(w) (Brother of Ni-ˁnḫ-hmn, 1-180M)</td>
<td>servant, privy to the secret of the cult of Hathor [and] Re in (the sun-temple) St-ib-Rˁ, pure one [and] privy to the secret of (the pyramid) 'Divine-are-the-B3s-of-Neferefre', scribe of the divine books, privy to the secret of (the pyramid) 'The-B3-of-Neferirkare' / 'Neferirkare-is-a-B3', one who does what his lord loves.</td>
<td>later</td>
<td>Moussa and Altenmüller, <em>Nianchchnum</em>, pl. 46; PM III.2, 641.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-180M</td>
<td>*Ni-*nth-ḥnm.w (Brother of Hnm.w-ḥtp(.w), 1-179M)</td>
<td>*ir(w) nt nswt, shḏ iry.w nt nswt pr-į3, mḥnk nswt, mḥnk nswt mrrw nb.f, nb im3ḥw ḫr ntr-į3, ṛḫ nswt, ḫm-ntr R šsp-ib-R, wḥb Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-r, imy-r ṭn pr-į3, mḥnk nswt m k3t irt nswt, ḥry-sšt3, im3ḥw ḫr nswt, nb im3ḥw ḫr ntr-į3; manicurist of the king, inspector of the manicurists of the king (in) the Great House, intimate of the king, intimate of the king whom his lord loves, possessor of reverence with the great god, royal acquaintance, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Šsp-ib-R, pure one (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', overseer of the manicurists of the Great House, intimate of the king of the works of manicuring/care of hands and nails, one who is privy to the secret, revered with the king, revered with the god.</td>
<td>Saqqara: Around the Pyramid-Complex of Unas</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Niuserre or Menkauhor</td>
<td>Moussa and Altenmüller, <em>Nianchchnum</em>, pl. 47; PM III.2, 641.</td>
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<td>1-182M</td>
<td>S.mnh-wi-pth : Itwš</td>
<td>bdty pr-‘3 n(y) mrwt, ḫṛp ḫṛt ḫswt, ḫkṛt ḫswt, imy-r nb sšt3.w, imy-r ḫwbt, imy-r ḫrw- nb ḫw, [?] ḫd3w [?], ḫmy-r ḫwtnb, ḫry sšt3 n ḫswt [m] pr-‘3, [st?] bř ḫd3w[?], bdty pr-‘3, […] n m sšt3.f nb, mty nb.f, […] swt nb.f, ḫm3ḫw ḫṛ nb.f, w‘b Nhfr-Isesi; favorite metal-worker of the Great House, director of royal offerings, royal ornament, overseer of all secrets, overseer of the wḥt-chamber/mortuary workshop, overseer of the two houses of gold, [?] necklace-stringer [of ḫd3w?], overseer of the mansion of gold (sculptors' workshop), secretary of the king in the Great House, [necklace-stringer? of] bř ḫd3w[?], metal-worker of the Great House, […] in all his secrets, beloved of his lord, […] in all his places, revered with his lord, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-is-Isesi'.</td>
<td>Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 14</td>
<td>5th dynasty, reign of Djedkare</td>
<td>Baer, <em>Rank and Title</em>, 122 [436]; Baud, <em>Famille royale</em>, 25, n. 87; Mariette <em>Mastabas</em>, 297; PM III.2, 452; Schott, &quot;Metallarbeiter,&quot; 29; <em>Urk</em>. I, 192, 3.</td>
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<td>1-183M</td>
<td>ḏsw</td>
<td>sḏḥ pr-‘3, w‘b Nhfr-sw-wns, ḫmy-ḥt pr-‘3, ḫmy-r ḫrw(t); inspector of the Great House, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas', under-supervisor of the Great House, overseer of commissions/apportionments.</td>
<td>Saqqara: Mastaba of Ḥmt-Ry called Ḥmi</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Unas or later</td>
<td>Baud, <em>Famille royale</em>, 25, n. 88; Hassan, <em>Excav. At Saqqara</em> III, p. 9 [3], fig. 4, pl. 5.</td>
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<td>1-184I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>ḫmy-ḥt w‘b.w, ḫry sšt3, sš pr-mḏ3t ṭn, m3 sš.w ṭš3.w, w‘b-Nḥfr-sw-wns; under-supervisor of the pure ones, one who is privy to the secret, scribe of the house of documents/archives/scriptorium of the god</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Unas or later</td>
<td>Kaplony, <em>Rollsiegel</em> II, pl. 88 [23].</td>
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<td>1-185I</td>
<td>K3-tp</td>
<td><em>imy-r Nfr-swt-Wnis, imy-r ḫnty.w-š, wˁb šnty (200) Nfr-swt-Wnis</em>; overseer of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas', overseer of the land tenants, pure one of the šnty (200) of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas'.</td>
<td>Saqqara?</td>
<td>Late 6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Helek, &quot;Pyramidenstätten,&quot; 104.</td>
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<td>1-186M</td>
<td>Ḥs.i</td>
<td>*imy-ib n nswt, imy-r is n pr ḫry.w-wdb, imy-r is (n) mrt, imy-r is n ḫry-ḥtmt, imy-r wp(w)t (m prwy), imy-r wp(w)t ḫpt-nṯr (m prwy), imy-r wp(w)t ḫpt-nṯr m T3-mhw Ṣmˁw ḥrw, imy-r wp(w)t ḫpt-nṯr m T3 r ḡr.f, imy-r wdˁ-mdw (nb št3) n ḫwt-wrt 6, imy-r n pr ḫry.w-wdb.w, imy-r n ḫr(y)-ḥtmt, imy-r ḫwt-wrt, imy-r ṣḏmt nbt, imy-ḥt ḫm.w-nṯr Ḑd-swt-Tti, Ṣw pl Ḑd-swt-Tti, mty n š3, mdw Ṣḥt, ḫm-nṯr M3ˁt, ḫm-nṯr Ḥqt, ḫr(y)-ššt3, ḫr(y)-ššt3 n wdˁ-mdw, ḫr(y)-ššt3 n wdt nbt, ḫr(y)-ššt3 n wd(t)-mdw nbt (št3), ḫr(y)-ššt3 n nswt m swt.f nbt, ḫnty-š Ḑd-swt-Tti, ḫrp sš.w, ḫr(y)-ššt3 nswt, Ṣšb imy-r sš.w, ššb ḏmr, ššb sš, ššb šḥḏ sš.w, šš ʾw (nw) nswt ḫl ḫr, sš (n) š3, šḥḏ ḫm.w-nṯr Ḑd-swt-Tti; confidant of the king, overseer of the bureau of those in charge of reversion offerings, overseer of the bureau of the mrt-people, overseer of the bureau of the registry, overseer of apportionments (in the</td>
<td>Saqqara: Around Teti Pyramid</td>
<td>6th Dynasty, reign of Teti</td>
<td>Kanawati-Abder-Raziq, <em>Teti Cemetery V</em>, 12 [16], 22, pl. 52.</td>
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<td>two houses), overseer of the division(s)/apportionment(s) of divine offerings in the two houses, overseer of apportionments in the entire North and South, overseer of apportionments of the god's offering in the entire land, overseer of determining (all secret) cases in the six great courts, overseer of the house/department of those in charge of reversions (of offerings), overseer of the registry, overseer of the great court/Hall of Justice, overseer of all that is judged, under-supervisor of god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', pure one of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', regulator of a phyle, staff of the Rḥyt-people, god's servant of Maat, god's servant of Heqat, one who is privy to the secret, privy to the secret of judgment/determining cases, privy to the secrets of all commands, privy to the secrets of all (secret) proclamations/decrees, privy to the secrets of the king in all his cult-places, land-tenant of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', director of scribes, king's liegeman/royal chamberlain, juridicial overseer of scribes, juridicial ʿḏ-ʿmr official, juridicial scribe, juridicial inspector of scribes, scribe of royal records in the</td>
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| 1- 187M | Ḫnti-k3 : Ḫḥḥi | try p3t, Ḫ3ty-ʃ, smr wapy, t3ty s3b t3ty, s(t)hm, ḫrp šnt nbt, šḥḫ hm.w-nṯr Ḫd-swty-Tti, ḫry ḫḥt, ḫry ḫḥt ḫryn-pw, ḫnty(?), ḫnty, ḫry s3t3 nswt m swf bn, ḫry ḫrw, šḥḫ hm.w-nṯr Mn-nfr-Ppy, imy-r swt špswt (nt) pr-ʃ3, imy-r pr-nswt, [hryst3] n wq(t)-mdw nbt, imy-r iʃ-w-r nswt, im3-ʃ, ḫhp nsty, ḫhp Ḫ3t s km, šš md3t-nṯr, šḥḫ pr-nswt, imy-r sšr, ḫry s3t3 n mdw-nṯr, šḥḫ Ḫ3t3, imy-r ḫnty, ḫry s3t3 n pr Dw3t, šš n š3 Mn-nfr-Ppy, wš šnty (200) Mn-nfr-Ppy, imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nswt, imy-r šnwty, imy-ib n nswt m swf bn, imy-ib n nswt m t3wy, imy-hš Ḫm.w-nṯr Ḫd-swty-Tti, imy-r ḫnty.w-ʃ pr-ʃ3, imy-r šwy pr-ʃ3, imy-r ššw (n) ḫkr.w nswt, imy-r prwy-nbw, imy-r prwy ḫḥ, imy-r ššw, imy-r nswt (mr), ḫryn-t3 nswt (n) pr-ʃ3, imy-r sš.h w-nw nswt, wr idt, ḫm-nṯr pr Ḫḥwty, ḫhnty (ty)-bity, s[ḥd] Ḫm.w-nṯr Ḫwt-k3-3ḥ[t], ḫry s3t3 n m33t w, t3ty s3b t3ty m3, imy-r ḫnty.w-ʃ, imy-r sšw, imy-r pr-nswt nb sšp-s3, Ḫ3ty-ʃ m3, ḫhr-ḥb m3, smr wapy m3; hereditary prince/nobleman, count, sole companion, one of the curtain (chief justice and vizier), s(t)hm-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth), director of every kilt, | Saqqara: North of the Pyramid, Around Teti Pyramid | Late 6th Dynasty, reign of Teti to early/mid-Pepy I | Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 3, n. 15, 251; James, *Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekh*, 9-10; PM III.2, 508-511; Strudwick, *Administration*, 125 [109].
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<td></td>
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<td>inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', lector priest, chief lector priest, embalmer of Anubis, (?) of Anubis (precise reading unknown), <em>sm3</em>-priest (stolist) of Anubis, privy to the secret of the king in all his cult-places, controller/master of the Great Ones, inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides', overseer of the august places of the Great House, overseer of the king's domain, [privy to the secret] of all proclamations/decrees, overseer of the king's repast, gracious of arm, director of the two thrones, director of the black pot/jar, scribe of the god's book, inspector of the king's domain, overseer of cloth/linen distribution, privy to the secret of the god's word(s), inspector of the Robing Room, overseer of the sealed goods/treasury, privy to the secret of the House of the Morning, scribe of the phyle of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides', pure one of the <em>šnty</em> (200) of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides', overseer of all works of the king, overseer of the two granaries, one who is in the heart of the king in all his places, one who is in the heart of the king in his two lands, under-supervisor of the god's servants of</td>
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<td>1-188M</td>
<td>13rt(i)</td>
<td>(the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', overseer of the land-tenants of the Great House, overseer of the two weaving shops/sheds of the Great House, overseer of the two bureaux of the royal regalia/king's ornament, overseer of the two houses of gold, overseer of the two houses of silver, overseer of the two bird pools/fowling pools, overseer of the pyramid town, king's liegeman of the Great House, overseer of scribes of the royal documents, great of censing, god's servant of the house of Thoth, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, inspector of the god's servants of the K3-Chapel/funerary temple of the Horizon/tomb(?), privy to the secret of seeing alone/of that to which (only) one sees, true chief justice and vizier, overseer of land-tenants, overseer of the fowling pool/pond, overseer of the every royal domain/estate and stp-s3(?), true count, true lector priest, true sole companion.</td>
<td>Saqqara: North-West of Pyramid of Merenre I, unnumbered tomb</td>
<td>6th Dynasty, reign of Merenre or later</td>
<td>CG 1355, 1523, 1634; Baer, Rank and Title, 53 [15]; Borchardt, Denkmäler I, 25, 224; II, 101-102; Grdseloff, &quot;Deux Inscriptions Juridiques,&quot; 29, fig. 1; Maspero, Trois Années, 200-201 [3]; Piacentini, Scribes, 556,</td>
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<td>1-189M</td>
<td>Dr-snḏ : Nfr-k3-rc- nh</td>
<td>Perfection-of-Merenre-Appears-in-Splendor', overseer of the census(?)/cattle-count(?), scribe of protection, overseer of land tenants, count, privy to secret of the king in all his cult-places, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, noble of the king, revered one, revered with Anubis, revered with the great god.</td>
<td>Saqqara: North-East of Pyramid of Pepi II, N. VI</td>
<td>6th Dynasty, reign of Pepi II</td>
<td>[G.Sa.4]; PM III.2, 674.</td>
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<td>1-190M</td>
<td>Irt-Pth : Iri</td>
<td>Šps nswt, smr-pr, sš ḫtmt-nṯr m hw t Pth, sš ḫtp-nṯr, it-nṯr, sš'h t(?), m hw m Skr, sḏ s(t)m.w, w'b 3 Pth, im3ḥw, im3ḥw ḫr Pth-Skr, im3ḥw ḫr nṯr 3; noble of the king, companion of the house, scribe of the god's treasure in the temple of Ptah, scribe of the god's offerings (responsible for keeping the register of offerings to the temple), god's father, great noble/spirit in the barque of Sokar, inspector of s(t)m-priests (chief celebrants in the rite of Opening the Mouth), great pure one of Ptah, provided</td>
<td>Saqqara</td>
<td>6th Dynasty, no later than the reign of Pepi II</td>
<td>Philadelphia University Museum E.14318; Fischer, &quot;Sixth Dynasty Titles,&quot; 28 [6], pl. 15; Kanawati, <em>Akhmim</em>, 238, n. 1479; McFarlane, <em>The Cult of Min</em>, 296, n. 1605; Piacentini, <em>Scribes</em>, 563 [G.Sa.11]; PM III.2, 746; Ranke, &quot;The Egyptian Collections of the University Museum,&quot; 30, fig. 16.</td>
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<td>1-191M</td>
<td>Špss-pth I</td>
<td>wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt, wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt m prwy, wr ḥrp.w ḥmwt n rˁ ḫb, ḥm-nṯr Pḥ, ḥm-nṯr Skr, ḥrp s(t)m.w, mḥnk nswt, imy-r pr Skr, imy-r wˁbt, ḥrp ḥmwt(Īy) nbt, ḥry sšt3 n nṯr.f, wˁb Pṯ, n imy-ib n nb.f, imy-r k3t nbt (nt) nswt, ḥm-nṯr M3ˁt m swt (i)ptn n ḥr-y-b3qf, ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m 3ḥt-Rˁ, ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m Nḥn-Rˁ, ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m St-ib-Rˁ, ḥm-nṯr Rˁ m Šp-ib-Rˁ, ḥm-nṯr Ḥwt-ḥr m swt nb(w)t, ḥm-nṯr Ḥr.(w) m ḥnt-wr, ḥm-nṯr Ḥr.(w) Ḥnty-mdf, ḥm-nṯr Ḥnty-i3t.f, ḥm-nṯr Ḥnty-Ṯmnt, ḥm-nṯr Skr m swt.f nbt, ḥm-nṯr Ḥd-špss, ḥry sšt3, ḥrp hwt ṯḥnt, imy-r s(w)t-df3w, i3w n ḥwt Pṯ;</td>
<td>Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 48 [C1]</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Niuserre</td>
<td>Begelsbacher-Fischer, <em>Götterwelt</em>, 126-127, n. 1, 147, 279; BM 32 [682]; BM, <em>Hieroglyphic Texts</em> I.2, pl. 10-13; Fischer, &quot;Sixth Dynasty Titles,&quot; 29 [6], no. 42; Hassan, <em>Gîza</em> II, 7; Mariette, <em>Mastabas</em>, 110-114; Maystre, <em>Ptah</em>, 226 [3]; PM III.2, 464; Stolk, <em>Ptah</em>, 36; <em>Urk</em>. I, 51-53.</td>
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<td>1-192M</td>
<td>Špss-pth II</td>
<td>these (cult) places of him who is under his olive tree, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) 3ḥt-Rˁ, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Nḥn-Rˁ, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) St-ib-Rˁ, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Šsp-ib-Rˁ, god's servant of Hathor in all places/everywhere, god's servant of Horus in ḫnt-wr, god's servant of Horus Ḥnty-mdīf (one of the titles of the high priest of Ptah at Memphis), god's servant of Ḥnty-i3wt.f (alias of Ptah), god's servant of Ḥnty-Īnmt, god's servant of Sokar in all his places (sanctuaries), god's servant of Ḗd-špss (alias of Ptah), one who is privy to the secret, director of the mansion of faience, overseer of the department(s) of offerings, elder of the Mansion of Ptah.</td>
<td>Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 50 [C9]</td>
<td>Mid-5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Fischer, &quot;Sixth dynasty Titles,&quot; 29 [6], no. 42; Mariette, Mastabas, 130; Maystre, Ptah, 231 [5]; Pirenne, Institutions III, 520 [3]; PM III.2, 464-465.</td>
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<td>1-193M</td>
<td>S3b.w : Ibb.i</td>
<td>the king, overseer of the temple of Sokar, overseer of the wˁbt-chamber/mortuary workshop, director of all craftsmen, privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king), pure one of Ptah, one who belongs to the heart/favorite of his lord.</td>
<td>Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, Nos. 37-38 [E 1, 2 and H 3]</td>
<td>6th Dynasty, mid- to late-reign of Teti</td>
<td>Bienkowski and Tooley, <em>Liverpool Museum</em>, 67, fig. 102; Borchardt, <em>Denkmäler</em> I, 91-101, pl. 21; II, 31-34, pl. 65; Fischer, &quot;Sixth dynasty Titles,&quot; 29 [6], no. 42; Mariette, <em>Mastabas</em>, 375[B]; Maystre, <em>Ptah</em>, 236 [17]; Piacentini, <em>Scribes</em>, 617-619 [G.Sa.60]; Pirenne, <em>Institutions</em> III, 522 [4]; PM III.2, 460-461; Strudwick, <em>Administration</em>, 130 [116].</td>
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<td>Houses who belongs to the day of the festival, greatest of the directors of craftsmen belonging to the day of the festival, god's servant of Ptah, god's servant of Sokar, director of s(t)m-priests, intimate of the king, overseer of the temple of Sokar, overseer of the w'ht-chamber/mortuary workshop, director of all craftsmen, privy to the secret(s) of his god (i.e. the king), pure one of Ptah, one who belongs to the heart/favorite of his lord, overseer of all the works of the king, overseer of the temple(s)/cult-place(s)/sanctuaries of Sokar in all places/wheresoever, under-supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Perfect-are-the-Places-of-Unas', under-supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Steadfast-are-the-Places-of-Teti', greatest of the directors of craftsmen of the ḥbt(y?), god's servant of Maat in these (cult) places of him who is under his olive tree, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) ḡt-Rā, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Nḥn-Rā, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) St-ib-Rā, god's servant of Re in (the sun-temple) Ṣsp-ib-Rā, god's servant of Hathor in all places/everywhere, god's servant of Horus in ḫnt-wr, god's servant of Horus Ḥnty-mdꜣf (one of the titles of the</td>
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<td>1-194M</td>
<td>Špss-pṭḥ IV (Son of S3b.w: Ibb.i, I-194M)</td>
<td>high priest of Ptah at Memphis), god's servant of Ḥnty-ỉ3wt.f (alias of Ptah), god's servant of Ḥnty-Ṭmnt, god's servant of Sokar in all his places (sanctuaries), god's servant of Ḥḏd-šps (alias of Ptah), one who is privy to the secret, privy to the secret of the king in all his cult-places, privy to the secret of all works, director of the ḍḥnk.w of the king, scribe of the secret documents of the decrees, noble of the king, revered one of Ptah, revered with Anubis, revered with every sovereign, revered with Ptah, revered with the king, revered with the great god, revered with Sokar.</td>
<td>Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, Nos. 37-38 [E 1, 2 and H 3]</td>
<td>6th Dynasty, mid- to late-reign of Teti</td>
<td>de Rougeé, <em>Inscriptions Hieroglyphiques</em>, pl. 92; Fischer, &quot;Sixth Dynasty Titles,&quot; 29 [6], no. 42; Mariette, <em>Mastabas</em>, 377B; Maystre, <em>Ptah</em>, 244 [21], 246 [24]; Murray, <em>Saqqara Mastabas</em> I, pl. 28; PM III.2, 460-461.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>Ḥss.ii</td>
<td>(\text{im}^3\text{ḥw}, \text{ḥrt-hḥt}, \text{ḥps nswt}, \text{w^\text{št} } \text{ḥm nmr.w}, \text{ḥnty-š Mn-nfr-p̣py}, \text{ṣḥd pr-Mn.w}); provided one, lector priest, noble of the king, great pure one of Min, land-tenant of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides', inspector of the temple of Min.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>6th Dynasty, reign of Pepi I or later</td>
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<td>1-</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>(\text{w^}\htm (\text{hm-nfr}) W\text{ḥm.t}, mrr(w) nb.f); pure one [and god's servant] of Wadjet, beloved of his lord.</td>
<td>Abusir/Abu Gurob</td>
<td>5th Dynasty, reign of Djedkare</td>
<td>Kaplony, <em>Rollsiegel II</em>, pl. 89 [Djedkare, 20].</td>
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<td>1-</td>
<td>ṫnti</td>
<td>(\text{ḥrt nswt, nfr-idw, ḫṛp 'pr.w, ṣps, wrš^\dagger r mš^\dagger, ḫtm(w)-nfr wi3, ḫnty-r wp(w)t, ḫm-nfr ḫnm.w ḫnty ḫr-wr m swt.f nbwt, w^\htm Nmty, wr^\ḥ, ḫtm(w), ḫm-nfr ḫhwf, smsw is(t), ḫṛp ḫ, ḫṛp š nswt}); royal acquaintance, recruit, director of the crew, noble,</td>
<td>Saqqara: North of the Step Pyramid, No. 71 [B 1]</td>
<td>Late 5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Baer, <em>Rank and Title</em>, 153 [569]; Mariette, <em>Mastabas</em>, 88-89; PM III.2, 482.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>Tii</td>
<td>'qd-mr ḫm.w 3pd.w, ṛw Rˁ, ṛw Rˁ m Sḥt-[Rˁ], ḫm-sš, ṛw [...]; overseer of</td>
<td>Saqqara: North</td>
<td>5th Dynasty,</td>
<td>CG 1380; Baer, <em>Rank and Title</em>, 152 [565]; Mariette, <em>Mastabas</em>, 140.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198M</td>
<td></td>
<td>fishers/fowlers, pure one of Re, pure one of Re in (the sun-temple) Sḥt-[Rˁ],</td>
<td>of the Step</td>
<td>reign of Sahure</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>overseer of the bird pool/fowling pool, pure one [...].</td>
<td>Pyramid, No. 6</td>
<td>or later</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>Sn.nw</td>
<td>ṛw Rˁ, ḫm(w) šspt nswt, ṟḫ nswt n pr-ˁ3, ḫrj-pr n ṭḥ[t]; pure one of Re,</td>
<td>Giza: West</td>
<td>5th Dynasty</td>
<td>Fischer, &quot;Varia Aegyptiaca,&quot; 25; Fischer, <em>Varia Nova</em>, 214, n. 275, pl. 47.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199M</td>
<td></td>
<td>sealer of the royal šspt-cloth, royal acquaintance of the Great House,</td>
<td>Field, G 2032</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>major-domo of the Robing Room.</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>ḫm-ntr [Rˁ m] Sḥsp-ib-Rˁ, ṛw ṛw Mn-swt-Ni-wsr-rˁ; overseer of</td>
<td>Abu Ghurob</td>
<td>5th Dynasty,</td>
<td>Kaplony, <em>Rollsiegel</em> II, 314-315, pl. 86 [7].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200I</td>
<td></td>
<td>apportionment(s)/commissions in (the sun-temple) Šsp-ib-Rˁ, pure one</td>
<td></td>
<td>reign of</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>[and] god's servant [of Re in] (the sun-temple) Šsp-ib-Rˁ, god's [servant</td>
<td></td>
<td>Niuserre or</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and] pure one of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre', overseer of</td>
<td></td>
<td>later</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>commissions/apportionments of (the pyramid) 'Firm-are-the-Places-of-Niuserre'.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-201M</td>
<td>Ipšḥ</td>
<td>ḫwvw, wˁb nswt, nb im3ḥw ḫt nb.f, mrr nb.f ḫt nb, wˁb Shm.t; god's servant of Khufu, pure one of the king, possessor of reverence with his lord, beloved by his lord every day, pure one of Sekhmet.</td>
<td>Giza: Southeast corner of Tomb No. 5</td>
<td>4th Dynasty, reign of Khufu or later</td>
<td>Moursi, <em>Gedenkschrift Barta</em>, 289.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-204M</td>
<td>Wsr</td>
<td><em>smr wˁty, ḫry-tp nswt, im3ḫw, rḥ nswt, imy-r sr.w, wˁb šnty (200)</em>; sole companion, king's liegeman/royal chamberlain, provided one, royal acquaintance, overseer of the sr.w-officials, pure one of the šnty (200).</td>
<td>Saqqara: West of Step Pyramid</td>
<td>6th Dynasty</td>
<td>CG 1550-1551; PM III.2, 613.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-205M</td>
<td>Gg.i</td>
<td><em>h3ty-ˁ, ḫtm(ty)-bity, * smr wˁty, imy-r ḫnty.w-š pr-ˁ3, im3ḫw ḫr Pth-Skr, sš n s3, imy-r wp(w)t, wˁb šnty (200), ḫry ḫbt, ḫry-tp ‘3 Nhḫn, imy-r ḫm.w-nṯr n ln-hr.t, mniw kmt, im3ḫw ḫr nṯr ‘3, im3ḫw ḫr nb.f, sḥḏ ḫm.w-nṯr Ḫˁ-nfr-Mr-n-rˁ;</em> count, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, overseer of land tenants of the Great House, revered with Ptah-Sokar, scribe of a phyle, overseer of commissions/apportionments, pure one of the šnty (200), lector priest, great overlord of the Rural Nome (U.E. 3, Hierakonpolis), overseer of the god's servants of Onuris (god of Thinis), herdsman of (sacred) black cattle, revered with the great god, revered with his lord, inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-Beauty-of Merenre'.</td>
<td>Saqqara</td>
<td>6th Dynasty</td>
<td>CG 1455.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-206M</td>
<td>Iḥii</td>
<td><em>sš pr-ˁ3, wˁb šnty (200)</em>; scribe of the Great House; pure one of the šnty (200).</td>
<td>Saqqara: Tomb of Teta-meri</td>
<td>6th Dynasty, reign of Pepi I or later</td>
<td>Daressy, <em>Mastaba de Mera</em>, 562, 567.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-207M</td>
<td>Issi-h3- [...]</td>
<td><em>imy-r wp(w)t Mn-nfr-Mry-rˁ, smr wˁty, wˁb šnty (200), ḫm-nṯr mrt Mry-rˁ</em>, imy-r</td>
<td>Saqqara: Mastaba H 10</td>
<td>6th Dynasty, reign of Pepi</td>
<td>CG 1438; Mariette, <em>Mastabas</em>, 456.</td>
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<td>1-208M</td>
<td>Iw.f-n-ptḥ</td>
<td>ḫnty-š Mn-nfr-Ppy, wḥ šnty (200), imy-r st ḫnty.w-š pr-ˁ3, mḏḥ wḥrwṭ ˁ3t, imy-r is n [...] š pr-ˁ3, šps nswt, smr pr; land tenant of (the pyramid) 'The-Perfection-of-Pepi-Abides', pure one of the šnty (200), overseer of the department of land tenants of the Great House, carpenter of the great shipyard, overseer of the bureau of [...] of the Great House, noble of the king, companion of the house.</td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 4941</td>
<td>6th dynasty, reign of Pepi I or later</td>
<td>Baud, &quot;Reine-mère,&quot; 13; Junker, Gīza VII, 24-28; Lehmann, Kat. G200; PM III.1, 143.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-209M</td>
<td>ˁnḫ-ni-nb.f</td>
<td>smr wšty, ḫry-ḥbt, im3ḥw, šps nswt, smr pr, imy-r st, im3ḥw ḫr nṯr ˁ3 nb pt, smr wšty, wḥ šnty (200), imy-r wp(w)t, im3ḥw ḫr n nb.f; sole companion, lector priest, provided one, noble of the king, companion of the house, overseer of a storehouse/department, revered with the great god Lord of the Sky, sole companion, pure one of the šnty (200), overseer of commissions/apportionments, revered with the great god Lord of the Sky.</td>
<td>Saqqara: North of the Pyramid of Pepi II, position unknown.</td>
<td>Late 6th Dynasty, reign of Pepi II</td>
<td>Jéquier, &quot;Tombes Particuliers,&quot; 134-136; PM III.2, 679.</td>
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<td>No.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-210M</td>
<td>ṯw : Šm3i</td>
<td>ʿ3 n T3-wr, ḥwty-ʿ3t, imy-r Šmʾw, ḥq3 ḡwt, smr ṭwty, ḥry-hbt [ḥry-tp], ṣḏ ḡm.ʾw-nṯr  Mn-ʾnh-Nfr-k3-rʾ, imy-ḥt ḡm.ʾw-nṯr  Mn-ʾnh-Nfr-k3-rʾ, ḡnty-š  Mn-ʾnh-Nfr-k3-rʾ, ḥry-tp ʾ3 (n) ʿ3ft, imy-r ṣnwty, imy-r prwy-hḏ, imy-r ṣswy, wʾb šnty (200), imy-r wp(w)t  ḡtp(w)t-nṯr m prwy, s(t)m, ḥrp ṣḏnt nbt, [ḥry] sfšt3 n ṣḏm[t wʾ, ʿry ʾ3 r Šmʾ; hereditary prince/nobleman, count, herdsman of Apis, mouth of every Pe- ite/Butite, director of the net of Horus, one of Nekhen, overlord of el-Kab, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, great overlord of the Grand Land Nome (U.E. 8, or the area of This-Abydos), one who belongs to the Great Estate, overseer of Upper Egypt, estate manager/property administrator, sole companion, [chief] lector priest, inspector of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-life-of-Neferkare', under-supervisor of the god's servants of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-life-of-Neferkare', land tenant of (the pyramid) 'Firm-is-the-life-of-Neferkare', great overlord of the Viper Mountain Nome (U.E. 12, the Cerastes nome), overseer of the two granaries, overseer of the two treasuries,</td>
<td>Deir el-Gebrâwi: tomb of ṯw : Šm3i</td>
<td>6th Dynasty, reign of Pepi II or later</td>
<td>Davies, <em>Deir el-Gebrawi</em> II, 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
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<tr>
<td>1-211M</td>
<td><strong>Ni-ˁnḫ-Pipi</strong></td>
<td>overseer of the two bird pools/fowling pools, pure one of the šnty (200), overseer of the division(s)/apportionments of divine offerings in the two houses, s(t)m-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of Opening the Mouth), director of every kilt, secretary of that which one alone judges, one who is in the door to the south.</td>
<td>Saqqara: Tomb of Teta-Meri</td>
<td>6th Dynasty, reign of Pepi I or later</td>
<td>Daressy, <em>Mastaba de Mera</em>, 567.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1-212M</td>
<td><strong>Ḫns.w: Ḥtp</strong></td>
<td>pure one of the šnty (200) pr-ˁ3, šps nswt; elder of the (judicial) court, pure one of the šnty (200) of the phyle, revered one, tallyman of the lawcourt, one in 10 in the workshop/mortuary workshop.</td>
<td>Abydos: West of Ramesses Portal Temple</td>
<td>6th Dynasty</td>
<td>Simpson, <em>Inscribed Material</em>, 6, fig. 4.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**APPENDIX B**

**FIRST INTERMEDIATE PERIOD**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Title-String</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publication(s)</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2-001M</td>
<td><em>Ii-n.i</em></td>
<td>*im3h y ḥr 3st, w/b, im3ḥy ḥr psḏt ‘3t, stp s3 ḥr w/b, im3ḥy ḥr Nt, im3ḥy ḥr Nbt–Ḥwt, <em>im3ḥy ḥr [...] nṯr wrt, im3ḥy ḥr S[r]qt; revered with Isis, pure one, revered with the Great Ennead, protector/court councilor supervisor of the pure ones, revered with Neith, revered with Nepthys, revered with [...] the Great Gods, revered with Serket.</em></td>
<td>Meir</td>
<td>11th Dynasty?</td>
<td>CG 28073 (Mummy), CG 28068 (Mask), CG 28068 (Coffin); Lacau <em>Sarcophages I</em>, 162, 165-166, pl. 16, 21; Gillam, &quot;14th Upper Egyptian Nome,&quot; no. 39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-002M</td>
<td><em>Rn.w</em> (Father of Ḥm(w)-ḥtp, 2-0014M)</td>
<td><em>w/b; pure one.</em></td>
<td>Hatnub, Gr. 27</td>
<td>Nomarch <em>Nhr.i I</em></td>
<td>Hatnub Gr. 27; Anthes, <em>Felseninschriften</em>, 62-63, pl. 28; Shaw, <em>Hatnub</em>, 154 [27].</td>
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<tr>
<td>2-003M</td>
<td><em>[I][m][i]-st-k[3.i]</em></td>
<td><em>s3b ‘g–mr pr–‘3, imy–r prwy–ḥ3.w, w/b nswt, ḥm–nṯr Ḥwfw; judge and administrator of the Great House, overseer of the two Houses of Weapons, pure one of the king, god's servant of Khufu.</em></td>
<td>Giza: West Field, G 4351</td>
<td>First Intermediate Period</td>
<td>Junker, <em>Giza VI</em>, 208-217; Lehmann, Kat. G175; PM III.1, 126-127.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2-005M</td>
<td><em>Šd.ii-pṭḥ : Šd.w</em></td>
<td><em>šḥḏ pr-nswt, šḥḏ ḥb3.t, mty n s3, šḥḏ pr–‘3, w/b šnty (200) Ḫm–nḥ–Nfr–k3–rḥ</em></td>
<td>Saqqara: Around Teti</td>
<td>Early First Intermediate Period</td>
<td>Firth-Gunn, <em>TPC</em> I, 196 [27]; PM III.2, 545; Strudwick,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-007M</td>
<td>Wsr</td>
<td><em>im3ḥw, im3ḥw ḫr Ḫd-Špss, im3ḥw ḫr nb f, shd hm.w-nṯr, wˁb ˁ3, im3ḥw ḫr nṯr-ˁ3 nb pt, im3ḥw ḫr Ḫnpw</em>; revered one, revered with Ḫd-Špss (an alias of Ptah), revered with his lord, inspector of god's servants, great pure one, revered with the great god lord of the sky, revered [with] Osiris, revered with Anubis.</td>
<td>Saqqara: Around Teti Pyramid</td>
<td>10th Dynasty</td>
<td>Daoud, <em>Corpus of Inscriptions</em>, 18-20; Firth-Gunn, <em>TPC</em> I, 183 [5]; II, pl. 70 [1]; Fischer, &quot;Sixth Dynasty Titles,&quot; 29, n. 41; PM III.2, 545.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-008M</td>
<td>Tti-ḥr-mnḥt</td>
<td><em>ḥtm(ty)(-bity), shy-nṯr, wˁb ˁ3</em>; sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, one who belongs to the divine booth, great pure one.</td>
<td>Saqqara: Around Teti Pyramid</td>
<td>Late 10th Dynasty</td>
<td>Fischer, <em>Varia Nova</em>, 48, n. 33; Fischer, &quot;Sixth Dynasty Titles,&quot; 29, n. 41; PM III.2, 563; Quibell, <em>Excav. At Saqqara</em> II, pl. 7 [3].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-009M</td>
<td>In-it.f (Brother of Mn.w-nḥt, 2-010M)</td>
<td>wˁb ˁ3 n Mn.w, nb im3ḥw; great pure one of Min, possessor of reverence.</td>
<td>Qift?</td>
<td>13th to 17th Dynasty</td>
<td>BM 325 [1247]; BM, <em>Hieroglyphic Texts</em> III, pl. 9; Gauthier, <em>Personnel</em>, 32; Lefebvre, <em>Histoire des grandes prétres d'Amon</em>, 13-16.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-010M</td>
<td>Mn.w-nḥt (Brother of Int.f, 2-009M)</td>
<td>wˁb (n) Mn.w; Pure one of Min.</td>
<td>Qift?</td>
<td>13th to 17th Dynasty</td>
<td>BM 325 [1247]; BM, <em>Hieroglyphic Texts</em> III, pl. 9; Gauthier, <em>Personnel</em>, 32; Lefebvre, <em>Histoire des grandes prétres d'Amon</em>, 13-16.</td>
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<tr>
<td>2-011M</td>
<td>Iḥ3-nḥt I</td>
<td>h3ty-ˁ, ḫrp ns.ty, imy-r ḫm.w-nṯr, hry-tp ˁ3 n Wn.t, mrrw nṯr.w.s nb.w, im3ḥy ḫr nṯr-ˁ3 nb pt, htm(ty)-bity, smr wˁty, rḥ nswt, imy-r Imntt, im3ḥy ḫr Wsir, t3yty s3b t3ty, hry-tp Hwt-nbw, wr m i3t.f. ˁ3 m sˁḥ.f, ḫnty st m pr nswt, mrrha] Dḥwṭi nb Ḥmnw, ˁ3 ũn m t3wy ḫṛ(.w), imy-r [...], im3ḥy, m3ˁ hrw, sb3 ḫr ḫnty pt, wˁb ˁwy mh.f h3w, mry nswt, mrrha.f, wˁb ˁ3 n Dḥwṭi, twr ˁwy; hereditary prince/nobleman, director/controller of the two thrones, overseer of the god's servants, great overlord/chief of the Hare Nome (U.E. 15, Hermopolis Magna), beloved of all her gods, revered one with the great god lord of the sky, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, royal acquaintance, overseer of the Western Desert, revered with Osiris, he of the curtain chief justice and vizier, chief of Hatnub, great in his office, great</td>
<td>Bersheh: Tomb No. 5, inner chamber, front wall, right side</td>
<td>11th Dynasty</td>
<td>Newberry, <em>Bersheh II</em>, pl. 17.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Dynasty</td>
<td>References</td>
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<tr>
<td>2-012M</td>
<td>Dḥwti-nḫt V</td>
<td>in his rank, foremost of seat in the palace, beloved of Thoth Lord of Hermopolis, great of name in the Two Lands of Horus, overseer of [...], revered one, true of voice, student of Horus foremost of the sky, pure of hands when he fills the bowl, beloved of the king, his beloved, great pure one of Thoth, clean of hands.</td>
<td>Hatnub Gr. 17, 23, 26</td>
<td>Hatnub Gr. 17, 23, 26; Anthes, Felseninschriften, 38-41, 52-53, 59-62, pls. 16, 20, 28; Shaw, Hatnub, 148 [17], 151 [23], 153 [26].</td>
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<tr>
<td>2-013M</td>
<td>Nḥr.i II</td>
<td>[ḥtm(ty)-]ḥbity, smr wˁty, imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr, wˁb ˁ3 n Dḥwti, ḥ3ty-ˁ, ḫrp nsty, imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr, wr [...], wˁb ˁ3 n Ḏḥwti; revered one, hereditary prince/nobleman, controller of the two thrones, overseer of the god's servants, great [...], great pure one of Thoth.</td>
<td>Bersheh: Tomb No. 7</td>
<td>Newberry, Bersheh II, 37, pls. 18-19.</td>
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<td>2-014M</td>
<td>Dḥwti-nḥt VI</td>
<td>[im3ḥy ˁ3, ḥ3ty-ˁ, ḫrp ns.ty, imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr, mˁ3 ḫrw, imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr, wˁb ˁ3 n Dḥwti; revered with the great god, hereditary prince/nobleman, revered one, controller of the two thrones,</td>
<td>Bersheh: Tomb No. 1</td>
<td>CG 28123; Lacau Sarcophages I, 136-142.</td>
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<td>Year</td>
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<td>Title</td>
<td>Notes</td>
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<tr>
<td>2-012M</td>
<td>Dhwti-nht V</td>
<td>revered with the god, true of voice, overseer of the god's servants, great pure one of Thoth.</td>
<td>Hatnub, Gr. 27; Anthes, <em>Felseninschriften</em>, 62-63, pl. 28; Shaw, <em>Hatnub</em>, 154 [27].</td>
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<tr>
<td>2-002M</td>
<td>Hnm(.w)-ḥtp (Son of Rn.w)</td>
<td>wḥb n Dhwti, nds n ḫnw, ṛḥ nn ḫ3ty-ḥ; pure one of Thoth, citizen of the residence, one who is known by the hereditary prince/nobleman.</td>
<td>Hatnub, Gr. 27; Anthes, <em>Felseninschriften</em>, 62-63, pl. 28; Shaw, <em>Hatnub</em>, 154 [27].</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-016M</td>
<td>Iḥ3-nḥt (Father? of Nḥt)</td>
<td>sš ṣrryt, wḥb (n) Ṣḥm.t, qni, ḥmwwt n ṣwnw; scribe of the ṣrryt, pure one of Sekhmet, brave one, one who is skilled in his profession.</td>
<td>Hatnub, Gr. 15; Anthes, <em>Felseninschriften</em>, 34, pl. 19; Shaw, <em>Hatnub</em>, 147 [15].</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2-017M</td>
<td>Nḥt (Son? of Iḥ3-nḥt)</td>
<td>sš ṣrryt, wḥb Ṣḥm.t; scribe of the ṣrryt, pure one of Sekhmet.</td>
<td>Hatnub, Gr. 21; Anthes, <em>Felseninschriften</em>, 47, pl. 20; Shaw, <em>Hatnub</em>, 150 [21].</td>
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## APPENDIX C

### MIDDLE KINGDOM

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<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Publication(s)</th>
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<tr>
<td>3-001M</td>
<td>Nṯr-ḥb</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>11th Dynasty</td>
<td>Petrie, <em>Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos</em>, pl. 22.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-002F</td>
<td>Di.s</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>11th Dynasty</td>
<td>Petrie, <em>Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos</em>, pl. 25 [5], bottom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-003I</td>
<td>[...]\ḥw-i3m</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>11th Dynasty</td>
<td>Petrie, <em>Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos</em>, pl. 25 [5], no.15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-004M</td>
<td>H3w</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Buhen: Gebel Turob</td>
<td>11th-13th Dynasty</td>
<td>Smith, &quot;The Rock Inscriptions of Buhen,&quot; 50 [28], fig. 9 [28].</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-007M</td>
<td>Iḥ-ms</td>
<td>wˁb, wˁb ḫns.w; pure one, pure one of Khonsu.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Gayet, <em>Musée du Louvre</em>, pl. 26.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-010M</td>
<td>Inm.ii</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Saqqara</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>JE 51733; Vernus, &quot;Deux Inscriptions de la XIIe Dynastie,&quot; pl. 14.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-012M</td>
<td>Inmn-m-h3.t</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 44 [no. 55].</td>
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<td>3-014M</td>
<td>Bb.i</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 44 [56]. Cf. Spiegelberg, <em>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 78 [938].</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-016M</td>
<td>Mnṯ.w-ḥtp.w</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, <em>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 77 [924f]; Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 44 [57].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-017M</td>
<td>Mnṯ.w-ḥtp.w</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, <em>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 78 [935]; Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 44 [58].</td>
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<td>3-018M</td>
<td>Mnṯ.w-ḥtp.w</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, <em>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 78 [936a]; Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 44 [59].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>Mnṯ.w-ḥtp.w</td>
<td>wt, wˁb; embalmer, pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, <em>Ägyptische und other Graffiti</em>.</td>
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<td>019M</td>
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<tr>
<td>3- 020M</td>
<td>Mrīī-$r^c$</td>
<td>$w^5b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Saqqara</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>JE 51733; Vernus, &quot;Deux Inscriptions de la XIIe Dynastie,&quot; pl. 14.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3- 021M</td>
<td>Nb-$f^3$</td>
<td>$w^5b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 81 [969a]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 44 [61].</td>
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<tr>
<td>3- 022M</td>
<td>Nb.$w$</td>
<td>$hbr$-$hbt$; lector priest, pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 77 [925]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 44 [68].</td>
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<tr>
<td>3- 023M</td>
<td>Nb-$k3$.$w-!r^c$</td>
<td>$w^5b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Saqqara</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>JE 51733; Vernus, &quot;Deux Inscriptions de la XIIe Dynastie,&quot; pl. 14.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3- 024M</td>
<td>ʾn.$ti-m-s3$.f</td>
<td>$w^5b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Saqqara</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>JE 51733; Vernus, &quot;Deux Inscriptions de la XIIe Dynastie,&quot; pl. 14.</td>
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<td>3- 025M</td>
<td>Nfr-$k3$.$r^c$</td>
<td>$w^5b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Saqqara</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>JE 51733; Vernus, &quot;Deux Inscriptions de la XIIe Dynastie,&quot; pl. 14.</td>
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<td>3- 026M</td>
<td>Nfr-$k3$.$r^c$-$nb$-$niwt(.i)$</td>
<td>$w^5b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Saqqara</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>JE 51733; Vernus, &quot;Deux Inscriptions de la XIIe Dynastie,&quot; pl. 14.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3- 027M</td>
<td>Sbk-$nḥt$</td>
<td>$w^5b$, ss; pure one, scribe.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 82 [982a]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 44 [69].</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-028M</td>
<td><em>Snb</em></td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, <em>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 78 [937a]; Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 44 [63].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-029M</td>
<td><em>Snb.w</em></td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, <em>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 82 [983]; Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 44 [64].</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-031I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^b$, <em>ḥrḥ-yḥbt n […]</em>; pure one, lector priest of […].</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, <em>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 80 [964]; Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 44 [67].</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-032I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 45 [70]. Cf. Spiegelberg, <em>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 78 [928a-b].</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-033M</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Saqqara</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>JE 51733; Vernus, &quot;Deux Inscriptions de la XIIe Dynastie,&quot; pl. 14.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-034M</td>
<td><em>Mmi</em></td>
<td><em>im3ḥy</em>, $w^b$; revered one, pure one.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>12th Dynasty?</td>
<td>FM 31649; Allen, <em>Field Museum</em>, 16-17.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-035M</td>
<td><em>Bs-n-iwy</em></td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Mentuhotep III or later</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, <em>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 79 [944]; Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 43 [38].</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-036M</td>
<td><em>Mrti-snb</em></td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Mentuhotep III or later</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, <em>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 82 [984]; Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 42 [23].</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-037M</td>
<td>Mrii-snb (Father of Unknown, 3-167I)</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Mentuhotep III or later</td>
<td>Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 42 [24].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-038M</td>
<td>S-n-wsr.t</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>El-Lisht: Found in debris outside brick enclosure wall pyramid of Senusret I, near North Court entrance</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret II-Amenemhat IV</td>
<td>MMA 32.1.148; Hayes, <em>Scepter of Egypt</em> I, 191 (there called &quot;Kuy-nofre-waḥ, chief $w^b$ and $stm$ priest of Senwosret&quot;); Martin, <em>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</em>, 97 [1251], pl. 32 [32].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-039M</td>
<td>Kw</td>
<td>$w^b$, $st(t)m$, $m^3, hrw$; pure one, $s(t)m$-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of opening the mouth), true of voice.</td>
<td>El-Lisht: Found in debris outside brick enclosure wall pyramid of Senusret I, near North Court entrance</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret II-Amenemhat IV</td>
<td>JdE 58839; Hayes, <em>Scepter of Egypt</em> I, 191; Martin, <em>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</em>, 129 [1690a], pl. 42 [32]; Ranke, <em>Personennamen I</em>, 343 [24].</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-041M</td>
<td>Gb.w</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Sinai: Serabit el-Khadim</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat III, year 6</td>
<td>Gardiner et al., <em>Inscriptions of Sinai</em>, no. 90.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-042M</td>
<td>Hnm.w-htp(w)</td>
<td>$im^3, hry, Nbt-Hwt$, $m^3, hrw$, $im^3, hry, Psdt$, $im^3, hry, Srq$, $w^b$, $im^3, hry, 3st$, $im^3, hry, Psdt$</td>
<td>Meir: Between Deirout to the north and Deir</td>
<td>Late 12th Dynasty?</td>
<td>Gillam no. 419; Kamal, &quot;La Zone Comprise entre Déirout au Nord et Déir-el-Ganadlah, au Sud,&quot; 106-</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-043M</td>
<td>/S/nb</td>
<td>wrt, im3ḥy ḫr Nt, im3ḥy ḫr Imstỉ, im3ḥy ḫr Św, im3ḥy ḫr Tfnwt, im3ḥy ḫr Dw3[mw]t.f, im3ḥy ḫr H'py, im3ḥy ḫr Gb, im3ḥy ḫr Nwt, im3ḥy ḫr Qbhsnw.f; revered with Nepthys, true of voice, revered with the Great Ennead, revered with Serket, pure one, revered with Isis, revered with the Great Ennead, revered with Neith, revered with Imseti, revered with Shu, revered with Tefnut, revered with Duamutef, revered with Hapy, revered with Geb, revered with Nut, revered with Qebehsenuf.</td>
<td>el-Ganadlah to the south</td>
<td>12th dynasty or later</td>
<td>Pushkin Museum no. 5575; Vandier, &quot;Le Groupe de Mémi,&quot; 103.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-044M</td>
<td>/[l]w.f-n.i</td>
<td>[wˁb], ˁq n Nḫbt, nb im3ḥ; [pure one], enterer of Nekhbet, possessor of reverence.</td>
<td>Tell el-Duweir (Lachish): Tomb 129</td>
<td>12th to 13th Dynasty</td>
<td>Palestine Archaeological Museum 33.1954; Martin, <em>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</em>, 11 [63], pl. 23 [32]; PM VII, 372; Ranke, <em>Personennamen</em> I, 14 [7]; Rowe, <em>Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs</em>, 14-15, pl. II [50]; Tufnell, <em>Lachish IV</em>, 95, pls. 30 [37], 31 [37].</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-045M</td>
<td>Iwii</td>
<td>wˁb, mˁ3 ḫrw; pure one, true-of-voice.</td>
<td>Abydos: North Offering</td>
<td>12th to 13th Dynasty</td>
<td>ANOC no. 60.2; Simpson, <em>The Terrace of the Great God at</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
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<td>3-046M</td>
<td><em>Ib.w</em></td>
<td><em>wˁb</em>; pure one.</td>
<td>Chapel, 60.2</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Abidos</em>, 21, pl. 42.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-047M</td>
<td><em>Im3.w</em></td>
<td><em>sn.f, wˁb</em>; his brother, pure one.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown 12th to 13th Dynasty</td>
<td></td>
<td>BM 253 [363]; <em>BM, Hieroglyphic Texts</em> III, 7.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-048M</td>
<td><em>Imn.ii-snb-nbk3.w-m-h3.t</em></td>
<td><em>wˁb</em>; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery 12th to 13th Dynasty</td>
<td></td>
<td>CG 23045f; Kamal, <em>Tables d'Offrandes</em>, 39-41.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-049M</td>
<td><em>Imn-hpt(.w)</em></td>
<td><em>sn.f, wˁb</em>; his brother, pure one.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown 12th to 13th Dynasty</td>
<td></td>
<td>University of Liverpool, E. 30; Kitchen, &quot;An Unusual Stela,&quot; 15, fig. 2, pl. 3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-050M</td>
<td><em>In-it.f</em></td>
<td><em>sn.f, wˁb, mˁ3 ḫrw</em>; his brother, pure one, true-of-voice.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery 12th to 13th Dynasty</td>
<td></td>
<td>CG 23045e; Kamal, <em>Tables d'Offrandes</em>, 39-41.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-051M</td>
<td>ˁnḫ-s-n-wsr.t</td>
<td><em>wˁb</em>; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos? 12th to 13th Dynasty</td>
<td></td>
<td>BM 247 [220]; <em>BM, Hieroglyphic Texts</em> IV, 43.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-052M</td>
<td><em>W3ḥ-k3</em></td>
<td><em>sn.f, wˁb</em>; his brother, pure one.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown 12th to 13th Dynasty</td>
<td></td>
<td>BM 253 [363]; <em>BM, Hieroglyphic Texts</em> III, 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-053M</td>
<td><em>Wnm.w</em></td>
<td><em>wˁb</em>; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: Provenance unknown, possibly Tomb 303 or 305 12th to 13th Dynasty</td>
<td></td>
<td>University of Liverpool, E. 30; Kitchen, &quot;An Unusual Stela,&quot; 15, fig. 2, pl. 3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td><em>Wnm.w</em></td>
<td><em>wˁb</em>; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: 12th to 13th Dynasty</td>
<td></td>
<td>University of Liverpool, E. 30;</td>
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<td>054M</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Provenance unknown, possibly Tomb</td>
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<td>Kitchen, &quot;An Unusual Stela,&quot; 15, fig. 2, pl. 3.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-055M</td>
<td>Wḥm.i</td>
<td>sn.f, wˁb; his brother, pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>12th to 13th</td>
<td>CG 23045e; Kamal, <em>Tables d'Offrandes</em>, 39-41.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-057M</td>
<td>Mnt.w-m.f</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: North Offering Chapel, 60.2</td>
<td>12th to 13th</td>
<td>ANOC no. 60.2; Simpson, <em>The Terrace of the Great God at Abydos</em>, 21, pl. 42.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-060M</td>
<td>Hnm.w-htp(.w)</td>
<td>wˁb, ‘q hr ššm n Stt; pure one, enterer leading Satis.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>12th to 13th</td>
<td>Chicago Or. Inst. 18566; Allen, <em>Art Institute of Chicago</em>, 143-144; Martin, <em>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</em>, 97 [1239], pl. 19 [5]; Pier, &quot;Typical Middle Kingdom Scarabs,&quot; 41 [8].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-061M</td>
<td>S3-in-hr.t</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: Provenance Unknown, possibly Tomb</td>
<td>12th to 13th</td>
<td>University of Liverpool, E. 30; Kitchen, &quot;An Unusual Stela,&quot; 11, fig. 1, pl. 2.</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>3-062M</td>
<td>S3-in-ḫr.t</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: Provenance unknown, possibly Tomb 303 or 305</td>
<td>12th to 13th Dynasty</td>
<td>University of Liverpool, E. 30; Kitchen, &quot;An Unusual Stela,&quot; 15, fig. 2, pl. 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-063M</td>
<td>Šd.ii</td>
<td>sn.f, wˁb; his brother, pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>12th to 13th Dynasty</td>
<td>CG 23045d; Kamal, Tables d'Offrandes, 39-41.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-064M</td>
<td>Dd.w</td>
<td>sn.f, wˁb; his brother, pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>12th to 13th Dynasty</td>
<td>CG 23045e; Kamal, Tables d'Offrandes, 39-41.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-065M</td>
<td>Wḥm.w-snb-si</td>
<td>wˁb, ‘q n wrš(?), mr; pure one, enterer of the wrš(?), beloved.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>Late 12th-Early 13th Dynasty</td>
<td>Michaelides Collection; Martin, Egyptian administrative and private-name seals, 38 [425a].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-066M</td>
<td>Ḥˤ-ḫpr-rˤ-snb(w)</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos?</td>
<td>Late 12th-Mid-13th Dynasty</td>
<td>Hermitage Inv. No. 1077; Bolshakov and Quirke, The Middle Kingdom Stelae in the Hermitage III, 73-78; Lieblein, Denkmäler, 21-22, Taf. 21-13, Kat. Nr. 32; Golénischeff, Ermitage Impérial, 158 [1077]; Lieblein, Hieroglyphisches Namen-Wörterbuch: Supplement, Nr. 1637; Струве, Этюды, 273, 295, no. 7; Берлев, &quot;стел Среднего царства,&quot; 69.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-067M</td>
<td>Sbk-htp-nḥt</td>
<td>wˁb [...] ; pure one [...].</td>
<td>El-Lisht: Pyramid</td>
<td>12th to 18th Dynasty</td>
<td>MMA 09.180.1217; Martin, Egyptian administrative and</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>3-071M</td>
<td>P3-hṛwi</td>
<td>ḫṛy-pḥt, hḥty-ḥf, m ḫnt sḥ3 nswt, imy-r ṣḥ. wḥb; hereditary prince/nobleman, count, one who is in the presence of the king's son, overseer of scribes, pure one.</td>
<td>Athribis (near Benha).</td>
<td>13th Dynasty, reign of Sekhemkare or later</td>
<td>BM 277 [1346]; BM, Hieroglyphic Texts IV, 22.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-072M</td>
<td>Rn(.i)-ḥnb(.w)</td>
<td>wḥb, 'q n Sbk nb Swmnw, mḥ3 hṛw; pure one, enterer of Sobek Lord of Swmnw (Mahamid), true of voice.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>13th to 17th Dynasty</td>
<td>MMA 10.130.276; Hayes, Burial Chamber of the Treasurer Sobkmose from er Rizeikat, 29, n. 4; Mace, &quot;Murch Collection,&quot; 12; Martin, Egyptian administrative and private-name seals, 68 [830], pl. 18 [10].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-073M</td>
<td>ḫḥmr</td>
<td>wḥb; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Bolton 10.20/12; Donohue, Bolton, 19.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-074F</td>
<td>I-.nḥ(w)</td>
<td>wḥb; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: Middle Cemetery, eastern slope</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20030i, Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine I, 38-40 [13-4].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-075M</td>
<td>Iw.f</td>
<td>wḥb, ḫṛy-hḥbt; pure one, lector priest.</td>
<td>Edfu</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Engelbach,&quot;Steles,&quot; 118.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>Iw-ḥmḥ</td>
<td>sḥ, wḥb; scribe, pure one.</td>
<td>Semna: on E.</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Dunham and Janssen, Second</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>076M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>face near top of a small rocky hill a little NE. of Cemetery S. 800</td>
<td>Kingdom</td>
<td><em>Cataract Forts</em> I, 133 [RIS 13b].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-077M</td>
<td><em>Imn</em>.ii (Brother of S3-Mnt.w, 3-115M)</td>
<td><em>sn.b, m'/3 hrw</em>; his brother, pure one, true of voice.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Boeser, <em>Leiden</em> II, 13 [51], pl. 39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-078M</td>
<td><em>In</em></td>
<td><em>w'b</em>; pure one.</td>
<td>Buhen: Hill A, southern, external side of fallen boulder</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Smith, &quot;The Rock Inscriptions of Buhen,&quot; 45 [5].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-079M</td>
<td><em>Ir</em> (Father of Hr-bḥd.ti-msi.w, 3-101M; grandfather of Hr-HTP(.w), 3-098M)</td>
<td><em>w'b</em>; pure one.</td>
<td>Edfu</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Entry No. 46.786; Engelbach, &quot;Report,&quot; 65-66; Engelbach, &quot;Steles,&quot; 129.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-080M</td>
<td><em>Ir(w)-ns</em> (Brother of Mnt.w-ḥtp.w, 3-091M; brother of Mnt.w-m-s, 3-090M)</td>
<td><em>s3.f, w'b, m'/3 hrw</em>; his son, pure one, true of voice.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Boeser, <em>Leiden</em> II, 13 [51], pl. 39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-081M</td>
<td><em>Itf</em></td>
<td><em>ḥry-hbt, w'b</em>; lector priest, pure one.</td>
<td>Dahshur: Valley Temple of Sneferu, court</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Fakhry, <em>Monuments of Sneferu</em> II, 53-55 [6], fig. 353.</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>3-082M</td>
<td><em>Itf</em></td>
<td><em>wˁb</em> [?]; pure one [?].</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Stuttgart no. 12; Spiegelberg and Pörtner, <em>Agyptische Grabsteine und Denksteine</em> I, 9 [12].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-083M</td>
<td><em>Id</em></td>
<td><em>wˁb</em>; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Bolton 10.20/11; Donohue, <em>Bolton</em>, 18.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-085M</td>
<td><em>Wnis</em> (Grandson of <em>Wnis-r-gs-pth</em>, 3-084M)</td>
<td><em>wˁb</em>; pure one.</td>
<td>Saqqara</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Moussa, &quot;A Stela from Saqqara,&quot; 82, pl. 14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-086M</td>
<td><em>Wsrf[...]</em></td>
<td><em>wˁb</em>; pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</em>, 238-239 [UC 32137C].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-087M</td>
<td><em>Bb.i</em></td>
<td><em>im3ḥw, wˁb, mˁ3 ḫrw</em>; revered one, pure one, true of voice.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Ledrain, <em>Bibliothèque Nationale</em>, pl. 9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-088M</td>
<td><em>Ppi-snbt(w)</em></td>
<td><em>s3.f, mry.f, wˁb, hmr-k3</em>; his son, his beloved, pure one, k3-servant.</td>
<td>Edfu: Tomb of Isi</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Alliot, &quot;Un nouvel exemple,&quot; 96.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-089M</td>
<td><em>Mn.w-snfrw</em> (Father of <em>S3-hwt-ḥr</em>, 3-116M)</td>
<td><em>wˁb, mˁ3 ḫrw</em>; pure one, true-of-voice.</td>
<td>Dahshur: Valley Temple of Sneferu, open court</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Fakhry, <em>Monuments of Sneferu</em> II, 17-18 [3], fig. 292-293.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-090M</td>
<td><em>Mнт.w-m-š</em> (Brother of <em>Ir(w)-ns</em>, 3-080M; brother of <em>Mнт.w-htp.w</em>, 3-091M)</td>
<td><em>s3.f, mry.f, wˁb</em>; his son, his beloved, pure one.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Boeser, <em>Leiden</em> II, 13 [51], pl. 39.</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>3-091M</td>
<td><em>Mnṯ.w-ḥtp.w</em> (Brother of <em>Ir(w)-ns</em>, 3-080M; brother of <em>Mnṯ.w-m-š</em>, 3-090M)</td>
<td><em>s3.f, mry.f, wˁb</em>; his son, his beloved, pure one.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Boeser, <em>Leiden</em> II, 13 [51], pl. 39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-092I</td>
<td><em>Nb.i</em></td>
<td><em>s3t.f, wˁb</em>; his daughter, pure one.</td>
<td>Edfu</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20623c; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> II, 262-263; Engelbach, &quot;Steles,&quot; 130.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-093M</td>
<td><em>N-rḥ.tw.f</em></td>
<td><em>wˁb</em>; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</em>, 48-49 [UC 32121 (VI.17)].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-094M</td>
<td><em>Nh[.ii]-n.i</em></td>
<td><em>wˁb</em>; pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Bolton 10.20/11; Donohue, <em>Bolton</em>, 18.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-095M</td>
<td><em>Nhḥ</em></td>
<td><em>wˁb</em>; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Garstang, <em>Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt</em>, pl. 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-096M</td>
<td><em>Nh.ti</em></td>
<td><em>wˁb</em>; pure one.</td>
<td>Beni Hassan: Tomb no. 90</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</em>, 136-137 [UC 32281A].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-097M</td>
<td><em>Nh.t</em></td>
<td><em>wˁb</em>; pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Fakhry, <em>Monuments of Sneferu</em> II, 53-55 [6], fig. 353.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| 3-099M  | *Rn.f-rs(.w)*      | *wˁb*; pure one.              | Provenance Unknown  | Middle Kingdom | CG 20545g, Lange and Schäfer, * }
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<tr>
<td>100M</td>
<td>100M</td>
<td>one of Amun.</td>
<td>Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>Kingdom</td>
<td><em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> II, 169-171.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-102M</td>
<td>Ḥr-m-h3.t</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Edfu</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Daressy, &quot;Monuments d'Edfou,&quot; 52.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-103M</td>
<td>Ḥr-nḫt(.w) (Father of Ḥr-nḥt(.w), 3-104M)</td>
<td>wˁb, ḫw.ii; pure one, enterer.</td>
<td>Edfu?</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20499b; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> II, 90-91 [B5-6]; Engelbach, &quot;Steles,&quot; 133.</td>
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<td>3-104M</td>
<td>Ḥr-nḥt(.w) (Son of Ḥr-nḥt(.w), 3-103M)</td>
<td>wˁb, ḫw.ii; pure one, enterer.</td>
<td>Edfu?</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Entry No. 46.785; Engelbach, &quot;Report,&quot; 66; Engelbach, &quot;Steles,&quot; 133.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-105M</td>
<td>Ḥr-hr-hw.t.f</td>
<td>wˁb, ḫw.ii; pure one, enterer.</td>
<td>Edfu</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20329c; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> I, 342; Engelbach, &quot;Steles,&quot; 133.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-106M</td>
<td>Ḥr-hr-ḥp.t.i</td>
<td>s3.f, ḫw.ii; his son, pure one, enterer.</td>
<td>Edfu</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Entry No. 46.784; Engelbach, &quot;Report,&quot; 64-65; Engelbach, &quot;Steles,&quot; 133.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-107M</td>
<td>Ḥr-ḥp(.w) (Son of Ḥw.ii, 3-111M)</td>
<td>s3.f, ḫw.ii; ḫw.ii; mˁ3 ḫrw, nb im3ḥw; his son, pure one, enterer, true-of-voice, possessor or reverence.</td>
<td>Edfu</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Entry No. 46.786; Engelbach, &quot;Report,&quot; 65-66; Engelbach, &quot;Steles,&quot; 133.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-108M</td>
<td>Ḥr-ḥp(.w) (Son of Ḥr-</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Edfu</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Entry No. 46.786; Engelbach, &quot;Report,&quot; 65-66; Engelbach, &quot;Steles,&quot; 133.</td>
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<td>3-109M</td>
<td>Ḥkk.w</td>
<td>īmy[st]-ḥt, wˁb; helper, pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>&quot;Steles,&quot; 133.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-110F</td>
<td>Ḥkkw.ti</td>
<td>wˁb, mˁ3 ḫrw; pure one, true-of-voice.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Petrie, Illahun, Kahun, and Ghurob, 5, pl. 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-111M</td>
<td>Ḥw.ii (Father of Ḥr-.ḥtp(.w), 3-107M)</td>
<td>wˁb, ʿq; pure one, enterer.</td>
<td>Edfu</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Entry No. 46.784; Engelbach, &quot;Report,&quot; 64-65; Engelbach, &quot;Steles,&quot; 133.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-112M</td>
<td>Ḥntiw-k3</td>
<td>wˁb, sˁ3; pure one, son.</td>
<td>Dahshur: Valley Temple of Sneferu, court</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Fakhry, Monuments of Sneferu II, 53-55 [6], fig. 352.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-113M</td>
<td>Ḥnm.w-nḥt</td>
<td>wˁb; pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20092f, Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine I, 112-113 [F8].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-114M</td>
<td>S3-mnṯ.w (Father of Qm3.w.n.i, 3-119M)</td>
<td>wˁb, ʿq, wˁb n nb ʾwny.t, ibḥ n nswt, wˁb ḫsi; pure one, enterer, pure one of the Lord of Esna, libationer of the king, pure one who is initiated.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20712, Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine II, 337-338.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-115M</td>
<td>S3-mnṯ.w (Brother of Imln.ii, 3-077M)</td>
<td>sn.f, wˁb, mˁ3 ḫrw; his brother, pure one, true of voice.</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Boeser, Leiden II, 13 [51], pl. 39.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>S3-ḥwt-ḥr</td>
<td>wˁb, ʾm3ḥw, wˁb ʿ3, wˁb [Snfrw];</td>
<td>Dahshur: Valley</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Fakhry, Monuments of Sneferu II,</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>116M</td>
<td>Son of Mn.w-snfrw, 3-089M</td>
<td>pure one, revered one, great pure one, pure one [of Sneferu].</td>
<td>Temple of Sneferu, open court</td>
<td>Kingdom</td>
<td>17-18 [3], figs. 291-293.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-117M</td>
<td>Sbk-[...]</td>
<td>wʾb; pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</em>, 238-239 [UC 32137C].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-119M</td>
<td>Qm3.w.n.i</td>
<td>sʾḥ, wʾb; his son, pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20712b, Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine II</em>, 337-338.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-120M</td>
<td>Dd(.w)-Ḥns.w</td>
<td>wʾb; pure one.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Pörtner, <em>Athens</em>, 2 [4], pl. 2 [4].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-122M</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>wʾb, imy-ḥnt; pure one, one who is in the forecourt.</td>
<td>Meir: Tomb Chapel B, no. 4</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Blackman, <em>Meir III</em>, pl. 14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-123M</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>wʾb, imy-ḥnt; pure one, one who is in the forecourt.</td>
<td>Meir: Tomb Chapel B, no. 4</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Blackman, <em>Meir III</em>, pl. 14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-124M</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>wʾb, imy-ḥnt; pure one, one who is in the forecourt.</td>
<td>Meir: Tomb Chapel B, no. 4</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Blackman, <em>Meir III</em>, pl. 14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-125M</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>wʾb; pure one.</td>
<td>Meir: Tomb Chapel B, no. 4</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Blackman, <em>Meir III</em>, pl. 17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-126M</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>wʾb.w; pure ones. [44 men]</td>
<td>Bersheh: Tomb no. 2</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Newberry, <em>Bersheh I</em>, pl. 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-127M</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>wʾb.w; pure ones. [1 man, thought to represent multiple].</td>
<td>Bersheh: Tomb no. 5, inner</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Newberry, <em>Bersheh II</em>, pl. 17.</td>
</tr>
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<td>No.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-128I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</em>, 90-91 [UC 32173 (XXXVI.1)]; Griffith, <em>Hieratic Papyri</em> 1, 42, II, pl. 15 (verso).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-129I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</em>, 218-219 [UC 32114E vso].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-130I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</em>, 296-297 [UC 32305 (lot XLIX fragments)].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-131M</td>
<td>$R-3w$</td>
<td>$w^b$; pure one.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown Late Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>UC 14349; Page, <em>Egyptian Sculpture</em>, 42-43 [45]; Petrie, <em>Handbook</em>, 1915, 30 [418].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-132M</td>
<td>$Dhwiti$</td>
<td>$s3.f, w^b$; his son, pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>Late Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 976; Borchardt, <em>Statuen und Statuetten</em>, 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-133F</td>
<td>$W^9r.t$</td>
<td>$snt.f n mwt.f, w^b$; his sister of his mother, pure one.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>13th Dynasty</td>
<td>CG 887; Borchardt, <em>Statuen und Statuetten</em>, 137-139.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-134F</td>
<td>$nḥ.t$</td>
<td>$w^b$; $m^3$ $ḥrw$; pure one, true of voice.</td>
<td>Edfu</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Alliot, &quot;Rapport,&quot; 34 [17].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-135M</td>
<td>$Iw-snḥ$</td>
<td>$w^b$ $nswt$; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun 11th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>UC 11358; Martin, <em>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</em>, 12 [76], pl. 15 [27]; Newberry, <em>Scarabs</em>, 141, pl. XVI [I]; Petrie, <em>Buttons and Design Scarabs</em>, pl. XXIV [12.Wa].</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>$Snḥ.f$</td>
<td>$w^b$ $nswt$; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Qift/Koptos</td>
<td>11th Dynasty</td>
<td>UC 26118; Martin, <em>Egyptian...</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
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<tr>
<td>136M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>or later</td>
<td>administrative and private-name seals, 121 [1569], pl. 15 [5]; Petrie, Koptos, 24, pl. 24 [5].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-137I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^b nswt$; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III</td>
<td>Borchart, &quot;Der zweite Papyrusfund,&quot; 94.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-138M</td>
<td><em>In-it.f</em></td>
<td>$w^b nswt$; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III</td>
<td>P. 10.406a-h, m-o; Lüddeckens, Ägyptische Hanschriften I, 237 [603].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-139M</td>
<td><em>It</em></td>
<td>$w^b nswt$; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III</td>
<td>P. 10.201a; Lüddeckens, Ägyptische Hanschriften I, 103 [239].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-140F</td>
<td><em>Nfr.t</em></td>
<td>$w^b nswt$; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III</td>
<td>P. 10.237a+b; Lüddeckens, Ägyptische Hanschriften I, 129 [305].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-141F</td>
<td><em>Sn[t]</em></td>
<td>$w^b nswt$; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III</td>
<td>P. 10.094; Lüddeckens, Ägyptische Hanschriften I, 44 [80].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-142I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^b nswt$; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III to</td>
<td>P. 10.209b; Lüddeckens, Ägyptische Hanschriften I, 109 [252].</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>3-143I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III</td>
<td>P. 10.214; Lüddeckens, <em>Ägyptische Handschriften</em> I, 112 [260].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-144M</td>
<td>It</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</em>, 250-251 [UC 32143B].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-145M</td>
<td>Mikt</td>
<td>wˁb nswt, wty; royal pure one, embalmer.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</em>, 258-259 [UC 32147G].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-147M</td>
<td>S3-sp.d.w-y-n-hb</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Pennsylvania University Museum E 16012; Miller, &quot;A Family Stela,&quot; pl. 1.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-148M</td>
<td>Sb.s</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: Middle Cemetery, North Slope</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20520h, Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> II, 116-122 [H5].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-149M</td>
<td>S-n-wsr.t</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</em>, 250-251 [UC 32143B].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-150M</td>
<td>Snb</td>
<td>wˁb nswt; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Austrian Imperial Family Collection Stele Nr. 91; Bergmann, &quot;Inschriftliche Denkmäler,&quot; 61 [5].</td>
</tr>
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<td>No.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-151F</td>
<td>Sn.t</td>
<td>$w^{ib} nswt$; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</em>, 250-251 [UC 32143B].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-152I</td>
<td>[...].f</td>
<td>$w^{ib} nswt$; royal pure one.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</em>, 100-101 [UC 32194 (LV.8)]; Griffith, <em>Hieratic Papyri I</em>, 63-64, II, pl. 26.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-153I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^{ib} nswt$; pure one of the king.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</em>, 218-219 [UC 32114E vso].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-154I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^{ib} nswt$; pure one of the king.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts</em>, 262-263 [UC 32149E]; Collier and Quirke, <em>The UCL Lahun Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical, and Medical</em>, 14-15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-155M</td>
<td>Hwi[...]</td>
<td>$w^{ib} n hq3$; pure one of the ruler.</td>
<td>Provenance unknown</td>
<td>12th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>Fitzwilliam E.Sc.200; Martin, <em>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</em>, 93 [1189], pl. 19 [16]; Fitzwilliam Museum, <em>Catalogue</em>, no. 159.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-156M</td>
<td>Iibb</td>
<td>$w^{ib} Nb-hpt-r^r$; pure one of Nebhepetre.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, <em>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 77 [924b]; Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 40 [6].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-157M</td>
<td>Iibb (Son of Intf.w, 3-159I)</td>
<td>$s^3, w^{ib} Nb-hpt-r^r$; son, pure one of Nebhepetre.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, <em>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 77 [924c, e]; Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 40 [7].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-158M</td>
<td>Iwii-n-p[?] (Father of In[-</td>
<td>$w^{ib} Nb-hpt-r^r$; pure one of Nebhepetre.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, <em>Ägyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 80 [967]; Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 40 [7].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>3-159M</td>
<td>Intf.w</td>
<td>wᵇ Nb-hpt-rᵗ; pure one of Nebhepetre.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, <em>Agyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 77 [924c, e]; Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 40 [7].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-159M</td>
<td>Šd-pth</td>
<td>wᵇ n Nb-hpt-rᵗ m³ḥ ḫrw; pure one of Nebhepetre, true of voice.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, <em>Agyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 78 [931]; Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 41 [8].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-161M</td>
<td>Mrii-snb [...]</td>
<td>wᵇ Nb-hpt-fᵗ; pure one of Nebhepetre.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, <em>Agyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 81 [969b]; Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 41 [10].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-164M</td>
<td>Šw-imn [...]</td>
<td>wᵇ Nb-hpt-rᵗ; pure one of Nebhepetre.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 41 [14].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-166I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>wᵇ Nb-hpt-rᵗ; pure one of Nebhepetre.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, <em>Agyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 79 [949]; Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 41 [22].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>3-167I</td>
<td>Unknown (Born of Mrri-snb, 3-037M)</td>
<td>$w^b\text{ Nb-hpt-r}^\prime$; pure one of Nebhepetre.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 42 [24].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-168I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^b\text{n Nb-hpt-r}^\prime$; pure one of Nebhepetre.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 42 [33].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-169M</td>
<td>Ni-sw</td>
<td>$\text{imy-st}^\prime$, $w^b\text{ Mnṯ.w n 3h-swt-lmn}$; helper/functionary, pure one of Montu, of (the pyramid) 'Glorious-are-the-Places-of-Amun.'</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 40 (2, and cf. 3-4). Cf. Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 79 [948].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-170M</td>
<td>Imn.ii</td>
<td>$w^b\text{ Snh-k3-r}^\prime$; pure one of Sankhkare.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 79 [932].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-171M</td>
<td>Rn(.i)-snb(w)</td>
<td>$[w^b?]\text{ Snh-k3-r}^\prime$; pure one of Sankhkare.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 79 [944]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 43 [36]. Cf. Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 78 [932].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-172M</td>
<td>S3-sn-wsr.t</td>
<td>$w^b\text{ Snh-k3-r}^\prime$, $w^b\text{ Mnṯ.w-htp}$; pure one of Sankhkare, pure one of Mentuhotep [III].</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 77 [920b], 81 [975]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 42 [34].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-173M</td>
<td>S-n-wsr.t</td>
<td>$w^b\text{ [sic] Mnṯ.w-htp [nswt-bity Snh-k3-r}^\prime\text{ m3 hrw}, m3 hrw}$; pure one of Mentuhotep [Sankhkare], true of voice.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 43 [35].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-174I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^b\text{ Snh-k3-r}^\prime$, hry-hbt; pure one of Sankhkare, lector priest.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 43 [43].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-175I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^b\text{ Snh-k3-r}^\prime$; pure one of Sankhkare.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 43 [44].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-176I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^b\text{ Snh-k3-r}^\prime$; pure one of Sankhkare.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 43 [45]. Cf. Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 78 [932].</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>3-177I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>wˁb Sˁnḫ-k3-ḫˁ; pure one of Sankhkare.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, <em>Agyptische und andere Graffiti</em>, 81 [972].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-178M</td>
<td>Inm.ii</td>
<td>wˁbb [sic] ṣḥ Sˁnḫ-k3-ḫˁ mˁ3 ḫrw; pure one of the booth of Sankhkare (Mentuhotep III) true of voice.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, pl. 43 [46].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-179M</td>
<td>Gb.w</td>
<td>wˁb n Sḥtp-ib-rˁ; pure one of Sehetepibre (Amenemhat I).</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Michaelides Collection; Martin, <em>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</em>, 131 [1713]; Ranke, <em>Personennamen I</em>, 350 [16].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-181M</td>
<td>Nhr.i</td>
<td>wˁb W3ḥ-s(w)t-Ḫˁ-k3.w-ʳˁ-mˁ3-ḥrw-m-3bdw; pure one of 'Enduring-are-the-Places-of-Khakaure, true of voice' in Abydos.</td>
<td>Wah Sut: Building A</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III</td>
<td>7598 (48-1-2); Wegner, &quot;Excavations at the Town of Enduring-are-the-Places-of-Khakaure-Maa-Kheru-in-Abydos,&quot; 34, 38, fig. 17 [3].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-182M</td>
<td>S3-nr</td>
<td>sn.f, mry.f, n(y) st ib.f nswt, wˁb m Sḥm-Imny, mˁ3 ḫrw, nb im3ḥw;</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>BM 147 [839]; BM, <em>Hieroglyphic Texts</em> II, pl. 7.</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>3-183M</td>
<td>Imn.ii</td>
<td>his brother, his beloved, belonging to his king's affection, pure one of (the pyramid) 'Mighty-is-Ameny', true of voice, possessor of reverence.</td>
<td>Memphis (Mit Rahina)</td>
<td>12th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>JdE 34083; Martin, <em>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</em>, 21 [199], pl. 36 [33]; Newberry, <em>Scarab-Shaped Seals</em>, 14 [36052], pl. I.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-184M</td>
<td>Nn.i</td>
<td>wˁb ḫ3, ḥm k3, whm 'nh, nb im3ḥ; great pure one, k3-servant, repeating life, possessor of reverence.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>15th Dynasty</td>
<td>Martin, <em>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</em>, 62 [751], pl. 41 [56]; Ranke, <em>Personennamen I</em>, 205 [9].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-185M</td>
<td>Iḥ3</td>
<td>im3ḥy, wˁb ḫ3, mˁ3 hrw, im3ḥy ḫr ḫpy, im3ḥy ḫr Qbḥsw.nw.f, im3ḥy ḫr Imswt, im3ḥy ḫr Dw3mwt.f, im3ḥy ḫr Nbt-Hwt, im3ḥy ḫr 3st, nb im3ḥw; revered one, great pure one, true of voice, revered with Hapy, revered with Qebehsenuf, revered with Imseti, revered with Duamutef, revered with Nepthys, revered with Isis, possessor of reverence.</td>
<td>Bersheh</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 28090; Lacau, <em>Sarcophages</em>, 30-37.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-186M</td>
<td>Ḥnm.ḥf</td>
<td>wˁb ḫ3; great pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20092f; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine I</em>, 112-113 [F6].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-187M</td>
<td>Ḥnm.ḥf</td>
<td>wˁb ḫ3; great pure one.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20092f; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine I</em>, 112-113</td>
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<td>3-188M</td>
<td><em>Dd.</em>-<em>w-sbk</em></td>
<td><em>wˁb (n) Inpw, mˁ3 ħrw</em>; pure one of Anubis, true of voice.</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Inv. Nr. 23/66; Kaiser, <em>Berlin Char.</em>., 42 [427], fig. 427.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-189M</td>
<td><em>Rn(i)-snb(w)</em></td>
<td><em>wˁb (n) Inpw</em>; pure one of Anubis.</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20289b; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> I, 303-304 [B4].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-190M</td>
<td><em>Nh.i</em></td>
<td><em>s3b irt Nḫn, wˁty pw m t3 pn, wˁb (n) Inpw, mˁ3 ħrw</em>; juridical official and mouth of Nekhen, sole one of this land, pure one of Anubis, true of voice.</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Late Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>UC 14418; Stewart, <em>Petrie Collection</em> II, 27 [113].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-191M</td>
<td><em>Wp-w3.</em>-<em>wt-ˁ3</em></td>
<td><em>irt pˁt, ḥ3ty-ˁ, ḫtm(ty)-bity, smr wˁty, s(t)m, ḥrp ˁnty nb ˁ pr Mn.w, ḥm-nṯr Mˁ.t, sr i3t ˁstt, wˁb ˁ3 n Wsir, imy-r sšrw m pr-wr, ḥnty swt m ˁ t, spss ḥry.s, m33 in nw n pr, im3ḥy, imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr, nb im3ḥw</em>; hereditary prince/nobleman, count, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, sole companion, s(t)m-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of opening the mouth), director of every kilt in the temple of Min, god's servant of Maat, official who unties the knot, great pure one of Osiris, overseer of cloth/linen of the shrine of Upper Egypt, foremost of seat in the estate, respected/esteemed before it, one</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Leiden V4; Boeser, <em>Leiden</em> II, 3 [5], pl. 4.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-192M</td>
<td>Sn(i)-pw</td>
<td>( w^b \text{hm-nfr n Wsir, m}^3 \text{ hrw}; ) pure one [and] god's servant of Osiris, true of voice.</td>
<td>Abydos: Middle Cemetery, eastern slope</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20030b; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> I, 38-40 [B1-2].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-193M</td>
<td>S-n-wsr.t</td>
<td>( w^b \text{n Wsir}; ) pure one of Osiris.</td>
<td>Abydos: Middle Cemetery, eastern slope</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20030d; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> I, 38-40 [D6].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-194M</td>
<td>Snb-tyfy</td>
<td>( w^b \text{n Wsir}; ) pure one of Osiris.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery, eastern slope</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20334e; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> I, 346-347 [E3].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-195M</td>
<td>Sn(i)-pw</td>
<td>( w^b \text{n Wsir}; ) pure one of Osiris.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery, eastern slope</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20334e; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> I, 346-347 [E3].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-196M</td>
<td>Snb.i</td>
<td>( \text{im}3\text{hw, w}^b \text{'}3 \text{n Hwt-\text{hr, shtp, s(t)m, mrrt sn[f, f, hq3 hsy:} \text{m}^3 \text{, imy-r h3tyw, m}^3 \text{ hrw; revered one, great pure one of Hathor, pacified, s(t)m-priest (chief celebrant in the rite of opening the mouth), one whom [his] brother loves, ruler whom he truly praises, overseer of the foremost ones, true of voice.} )</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20780a; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> II, 409 [A1-5].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-197M</td>
<td>Sbk-\text{hr}.(w)</td>
<td>( \text{w}^b \text{'}3 \text{n Hwt-\text{hr nb[t]} Tp-ihw hry-ib Hnmw-swt; great pure one of Hathor, Lady of Aphroditopolis} )</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>12th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>Fraser, <em>Catalogue</em>, 14 [108]; Martin, <em>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</em>, 88 [1125].</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-198M</td>
<td>Rn(.i)-snb(w)</td>
<td>$w^{b} b n Hwt-hr nb[t] Iwn.t$; pure one of Hathor, Lady of Dendera.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>11th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>BM 41564; Martin, <em>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</em>, 68 [831], pl. 5 [16].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-199M</td>
<td>W3d-sinw</td>
<td>$w^{b} b n Hwt-hr nb[t] Iwn.t$; pure one of Hathor, Lady of Dendera.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III</td>
<td>Vernus, &quot;Un Fragment du Moyen Empire,&quot; 256, fig. 2.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-200M</td>
<td>Nh.i</td>
<td>$w^{b} b n Hwt-hr nb[t] Iwn.t, m$3 $hrw$; pure one of Hathor, Lady of Dendera, true of voice.</td>
<td>Abydos: Middle Cemetery, eastern slope</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20030g; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> I, 38-40 [G1-2].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-201M</td>
<td>S3-ḥi</td>
<td>$w^{b} b n Hwt-hr nb[t] Iwn.t$; pure one of Hathor, Lady of Dendera.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20334e; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> I, 346-347 [E4].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-202M</td>
<td>Snb[...]</td>
<td>$w^{b} s n Hr Bhd.tii$; great pure one of Horus the Behedite.</td>
<td>Edfu: Tomb of Isi</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Alliot, &quot;Un Nouvel Exemple,&quot; 108.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-203M</td>
<td>Ḥwi</td>
<td>$w^{b} q n Hr Bhd.t$; pure one [and] enterer of Horus the Behedite.</td>
<td>Edfu: Tomb of Isi</td>
<td>13th Dynasty, reign of Sobekhotep IV</td>
<td>Alliot, &quot;Un Nouvel Exemple,&quot; 108 [20]; Alliot, &quot;Rapport,&quot; 33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-204M</td>
<td>Hr-ḥ$^3$</td>
<td>$w^{b} b n Hr Bhd.t, im$3 $hw$; pure one of Horus the Behedite, provided one.</td>
<td>Edfu: Tomb of Isi</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Alliot, &quot;Un Nouvel Exemple,&quot; 107 [19]; Alliot, &quot;Rapport,&quot; 33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-205M</td>
<td>Snb-tyfy</td>
<td>$w^{b} b n Hr, m$3 $hrw$; pure one of Horus, true of voice.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>13th Dynasty</td>
<td>BM 335 [210]; BM, <em>Hieroglyphic Texts</em> V, 14.</td>
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<td>206M</td>
<td></td>
<td>Horus, true of voice.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>S3-nb.t-iwn.t</td>
<td>(w^{b} \ 3 \ n \ Hns.w); great pure one of Khonsu.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Baltimore 42.18; Martin, <em>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</em>, 101 [1302], pl. 3 [9]; Ranke, <em>Personennamen</em> I, 282 [21].</td>
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<td>207M</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>Dd(w)-nšm.t</td>
<td>(w^{b} n \ Hns.w, \whm \ 'nh); pure one of Khonsu, repeating life.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>UC 14457; Stewart, <em>Petrie Collection II</em>, 26 [109].</td>
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<td>208M</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>Smn.t</td>
<td>(w^{b}t nt \ Hns.w \ m \ W3st); pure one of Khonsu in Thebes.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>13th Dynasty</td>
<td>CG 20240b; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine I</em>, 262-263 [B6].</td>
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<td>209F</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>Snb.tysy-Smn.t</td>
<td>(w^{b}t nt \ Hns.w \ m \ W3st); pure one of Khonsu in Thebes.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>13th Dynasty</td>
<td>CG 20056f; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine I</em>, 66-68; Guest, &quot;Women's Titles,&quot; 46-47; Blackman, &quot;On the Position of Women,&quot; 24.</td>
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<td>210F</td>
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<td>3-</td>
<td>Hnm.w-nht</td>
<td>(im3hywanb \ 3 \ n \ Hnmw \ nb \ S3y-shtp, s3 \ h3ty-t); im3hy h\rp Imsti, (im3hy h\rp Šw, im3hy h\rp Tfnwt, (im3hy h\rp Dw3mwt.f, im3hy h\rp 3st, (im3hy h\rp ngr.w \ wr, im3hy h\rp Srtq, (im3hy h\rp Nbt-Hwt, im3hy h\rp Psdt (3t, im3hy h\rp Nt, im3hy h\rp H'py, (im3hy h\rp Gb, im3hy h\rp Nwt, (im3hy h\rp Qbhsnw.f); revered one, great pure one of Khnum Lord of Shay-sehotep, son of the count, revered with Imseti, revered with Shu, revered with Tefnut, revered with Duamutef, revered with Isis, revered with the great gods,</td>
<td>Rifeh</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Petrie, <em>Gizeh and Rifeh</em>, pl. 13G.</td>
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<td>211M</td>
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<td>3-212M</td>
<td>Imn.ii</td>
<td>wˁb ˁ3 Sbk; great pure one of Sobek.</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>11th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>BM 48724; Martin, <em>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</em>, 21 [200], pl. 8 [5].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-213I</td>
<td>[...]y</td>
<td>wˁb ˁ3 n Sbk nb Rhwy; great pure one of Sobek in Rhwy (northwest delta, vicinity of Alexandria).</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>11th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>UC 11359; Martin, <em>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</em>, 136 [1779], pl. 9 [2]; Petrie, <em>Buttons and design scarabs</em>, pl. XXIV [12.Wb]; Sotheby, Wilkinson &amp; Hodge, <em>Catalogue of the Amherst Collection</em>, no. 736.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-214M</td>
<td>฿nh.w</td>
<td>wˁb ˁ3 n Sbk Śdty; great pure one of Sobek of Crocodilopolis.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20616d; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine II</em>, 255-256 [D1].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-215M</td>
<td>Sw-m-ᵗ</td>
<td>wˁb n Sbk, mˁ3 ḫrw; pure one of Sobek, true of voice.</td>
<td>Thebes: Sheikh Abd el-Qurneh</td>
<td>13th Dynasty</td>
<td>Inv. N. 7601; Bosticco, <em>Le stele egiziane</em>, 58 [60]; Pellegrini, &quot;Glanures,&quot; 216-217, n. 2; Wb. Beleg. III, 297, n. 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-216M</td>
<td>Pn.w</td>
<td>wˁb n Sbk, mˁ3 ḫrw; pure one of Sobek, true of voice.</td>
<td>Abydos: Middle Cemetery, eastern slope</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20030f, Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine I</em>, 38-40 [F6].</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-217M</td>
<td>Rn.(i)-snb(w) (Father of Snb-mi-3w, 3-</td>
<td>wˁb n Sbk; pure one of Sobek.</td>
<td>Latopolis</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Bt. 8; Lutz, <em>Egyptian Tomb Steles</em>, 9 [87], pl. 44.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-218M</td>
<td>Iw.f-n.i</td>
<td>wˁb n Sbk nb Swmnw; pure one of Sobek, Lord of Sumenu.</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>12th Dynasty or later</td>
<td>Michaelides Collection; Martin, <em>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</em>, 11 [64].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-219M</td>
<td>Wr-ni-nṯr</td>
<td>wˁb n Sbk nb Swmnw; pure one of Sobek, Lord of Sumenu.</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>12th to 13th Dynasty</td>
<td>NME 31; Patterson, &quot;Ägyptische Privatstelen,&quot; 20, fig. 6.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-220M</td>
<td>Snb-mi-3w (Son of Rn(.i)-sdb(w), 3-217M)</td>
<td>wˁb n Sbk nb Swmnw; pure one of Sobek, Lord of Sumenu.</td>
<td>Latopolis</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Bt. 8; Lutz, <em>Egyptian Tomb Steles</em>, 9 [87], pl. 44.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-221M</td>
<td>Wr-ni-nṯr</td>
<td>wˁb nm(?) n [Sbk] nb ṭdyt; processional pure one of Sobek, Lord of Crocodilopolis.</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Pierret, <em>Musée Égyptien du Louvre II</em>, 23 [C39].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-222M</td>
<td>Nh.ii</td>
<td>wˁb ˁ3 n Spd.w; great pure one of Sopdu.</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Mid-12th Dynasty</td>
<td>NME 29; Patterson, &quot;Ägyptische Privatstelen,&quot; 16, fig. 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-223M</td>
<td>Ihii-sdb(w)</td>
<td>wˁb n Spd.w; pure one of Sopdu.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical</em>, 122-123 [UC 32293 (lot II.13)].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-224I</td>
<td>Šf[…]</td>
<td>wˁb n Spd.w nb i3bt; pure one of Sopdu, Lord of the East.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical</em>, 112-113 [UC 32164 (lot I.4)].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-225M</td>
<td>Wḥ.w-ḥtp(w) II</td>
<td>iry pʾt, ḥ3tyʾ, ḥtm(ty)-bitty, smr wʾty, ḥm-nṯr, s3 ir ḥr ḥ3t, imy-r ḥm-w-nṯr, imy-r ḥm.w-nṯr n Ḥwt-ḥr nbt Qis, s(t)m, s(t)m n nb t3wy, ḥyḳ śndty nbt, ḥy-[ḥ-ḥ]-tp, sš md3t nṯr, wˁb ˁ3 n nbt pt, ḥww wʾ</td>
<td>Meir: Tomb-Chapel B, no. 2</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret I to Amenemhat II</td>
<td>Blackman, <em>Meir II</em>, 1-27, pl. 10; Gillam no. 121.</td>
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<td>3-226M</td>
<td>Wḫ.w-ḥtp(w)</td>
<td><em>nimy-r ḫm.w-nṯr, wḥb n nbt pt, ṭry pʿt, ḫṛty-ḥ, [ḥry] sšt3 sḥy-nṯr, s(t)m n nbt t3wy, smr ṭrv</em></td>
<td>Meir: Tomb-Chapel C, no. 1</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret II to</td>
<td>Blackman, <em>Meir</em> VI, 8-9, pl. 13; Gillam no. 123.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-227M</td>
<td>Wsr-inr</td>
<td>ḫtm(ty)-bity, wˁb ˤwy; overseer of the god's servants, pure one of the Mistress of the Sky, hereditary prince/nobleman, count, privy to the secret of the divine booth, s(t)m-attendant of the Lady of the Two Lands, sole companion, sealer of the King of Lower Egypt, pure of hands.</td>
<td>Thebes: Shatt er-Rigal</td>
<td>Senusret III</td>
<td>Winlock, <em>Rise and Fall</em>, 66, pl. 39 [I].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-228M</td>
<td>Rwḏ</td>
<td>ḥm-ntr, imy ḫnt, ˤ3 m t3 ḏsr, wˁb ˤ3 n T3-wr 3bdw, sšmw wbnt Rˁ dmd t3wy, mˁ3 ḫrw; god's servant, one who is in the forecourt, great one in the holy land, great pure one in the Grand Land Nome (U.E. 8) [and] Abydos, leader of the appearances of Re who unites the two lands, true of voice.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery, northeast district, at perimeter.</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20514a; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> II, 104-105 [A4].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-229M</td>
<td>Id.i</td>
<td>wˁb n 3bdw, wˁb ḥry-s3 n 3bdw, mˁ3 ḫrw; pure one of Abydos, pure one who provides the back support service in Abydos, true of voice.</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>First Intermediate Period to Early 12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Munro, &quot;Die beiden Stelen des Wnmi,&quot; pl. 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-230M</td>
<td>S3-in-hr.t</td>
<td>wˁb n 3bdw, mˁ3 ḫrw; pure one of Abydos, true of voice.</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>12th to 13th Dynasties</td>
<td>University of Liverpool, E. 30; Kitchen, &quot;An Unusual Stela,&quot; 15.</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>3-231M</td>
<td>Pṯḥ-ḥtp(.w)</td>
<td>$w^b\ wr$, $im\ h\ w$; great pure one, revered one.</td>
<td>Edfu: Tomb of Isi</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Alliot, &quot;Un Nouvel Exemple,&quot; 103.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-232M</td>
<td>In[-it].f</td>
<td>(Son of $Iwii-n-p[\ddagger?]$, 3-158M; father of $R[n].f-sn\b(.w)$, 3-236M)</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 80 [967]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 41 [12].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-233M</td>
<td>$Wsr-n\ht$</td>
<td>$w^b\ (n)\ Imn$, $s3\ m\ r\ y$; pure one of Amun, beloved daughter (sic).</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 44 [51].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-234M</td>
<td>Ni-PTH-wsr</td>
<td>$w^b\ (n)\ Imn$; pure one of Amun.</td>
<td>Saqqara</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 81 [968], 82 [981]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 44 [51].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-235M</td>
<td>Nfr</td>
<td>$w^b\ (n)\ Imn$; pure one of Amun.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 81 [968], 82 [981]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 44 [51].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-236M</td>
<td>$R[n].f-sn\b(.w)$</td>
<td>(Son of In[-it].f, 3-232M; grandson of $Iwii-n-p[\ddagger?]$, 3-158M.)</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 80 [967]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 41 [12].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-237M</td>
<td>Rn-snbii</td>
<td>$w^b\ (n)\ Imn$; pure one of Amun.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 81 [977]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 44 [52].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-238M</td>
<td>Dd.i</td>
<td>$w^b\ (n)\ Imn$; pure one of Amun.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Spiegelberg, Ägyptische und andere Graffiti, 80 [960]; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 44 [53].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-239M</td>
<td>Dd.w</td>
<td>$w^b\ (n)\ Imn$; pure one of Amun.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 44</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>240M</td>
<td>Ḥns.w-nfr</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>UC 11442; Martin, <em>Egyptian administrative and private-name seals</em>, 95 [1215], pl. 18 [16]; Petrie, <em>Scarabs and cylinders</em>, pl. XVI [13.AC].</td>
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<td>3-</td>
<td>241M</td>
<td>Imn-m-ḥ3t</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>13th Dynasty</td>
<td>Maspero, &quot;Monuments égyptiens,&quot; 117 [28].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>242F</td>
<td>Nn-nḥn</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>13th Dynasty</td>
<td>CG 887; Borchardt, <em>Statuen und Statuetten</em>, 137-139 [11-12].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>243M</td>
<td>Rn(.i)-sɨb(w)</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>13th Dynasty, reign of Wahibre Iaib</td>
<td>BM 279 [1348]; BM, <em>Hieroglyphic Texts</em> IV, 27.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>244M</td>
<td>Ibi</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20020b; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> I, 19-20.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>246I</td>
<td>Hp.w</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20695a; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> II, 322-323 [A1-4].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>247M</td>
<td>Snb-mi.f</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20450d; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> II, 45-46.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>249M</td>
<td>Wnml.w</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>University of Liverpool, E. 30; Kitchen, &quot;An Unusual Stela,&quot; 15,</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>$S[3\text{-}in\text{-}hr\text{-}t]$</td>
<td>$\text{w}^b\text{ n } In\text{-}hr\text{t}$; pure one of Onuris.</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>University of Liverpool, E. 30; Kitchen, &quot;An Unusual Stela,&quot; 15, fig. 2, pl. 3.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250M</td>
<td>Hnm.w-nḥt</td>
<td>sn.f, iry 't, w$^b$ Itm; his brother, hall-keeper, pure one of Atum.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Inv. No. 2851; Moret, <em>Musée Guimet</em>, 12-13 [C6].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>P3-nti-ni</td>
<td>w$^b$ (n) Itm, m$^f$ ḥrw; pure one of Atum, true of voice.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Pennsylvania University Museum E 16012; Miller, &quot;A Family Stela,&quot; pl. 3 [B].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252M</td>
<td>Hpr-k3-rˤ</td>
<td>w$^b$ n W3ḏ.t; pure one of Wadjet.</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Pennsylvania University Museum E 16012; Miller &quot;A Family Stela,&quot; pl. 3 [B].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>D33</td>
<td>w$^b$ n W3ḏ.t; pure one of Wadjet.</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Pennsylvania University Museum E 16012; Miller &quot;A Family Stela,&quot; pl. 3 [B].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254M</td>
<td>Nfr-iw</td>
<td>w$^b$ n Wp-w3.wt; pure one of Wepwawet.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Gayet, <em>Musée du Louvre</em>, pl. 33 [C 178].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>In-bnn</td>
<td>w$^b$ n Bnn; pure one of the Bnw-bird.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>CG 20030h; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> I, 167-168 [H4].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>256M</td>
<td>Mr-Hr.(w)</td>
<td>w$^b$ n Pth, m$^f$ ḥrw; pure one of Ptah, true of voice.</td>
<td>Abydos: Middle Cemetery, eastern slope</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>RPM 4565; Kayser, <em>Roemer-Pelizaeus Museum</em>, 55, fig. 38.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>Nniw</td>
<td>w$^b$ n Mn.w; pure one of Min.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Genf. D51; Spiegelberg and Pörtner, <em>Aegyptische Grabsteine</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258M</td>
<td>Imn-m-h3.t</td>
<td>w$^b$ Mn$^f$.w, m$^f$ ḥrw; pure one of Montu, true of voice.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>13th Dynasty</td>
<td>BM 216 [903]; BM, <em>Hieroglyphic Texts</em> II, 47.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-261M</td>
<td>S3-dd.i</td>
<td>s3.f, wˁb Mnt.w; his son, pure one of Montu.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20432; Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine II, 30-31 [m].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-262I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>wˁb Mnt.w; pure one of Montu.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 222-223 [UC 32120D].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-263I</td>
<td>Ib(i)-iˤ(.w)</td>
<td>wˁb n Mnt.w m M3dw, whm ˁnh; pure one of Montu in Madu (Medamud), repeating life.</td>
<td>Matariya</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>JdE 41377; Martin, Egyptian administrative and private-name seals, 14 [97], pl. 17 [13].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-264I</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>wˁb Rˁ Hr(w)-3ḥ.ti; pure one of Re-Horakhty</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>S 946d; Winlock, Rise and Fall, pl. 44 [no. 62].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-265M</td>
<td>Nfr-tm-m-s3.f (Father of Nḏmw-snb(w), 3-266M)</td>
<td>imy-r wˁb.w Sḥm.t; overseer of the pure ones of Sekhmet.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat III</td>
<td>Jonckheere, Les médecins, 56 [53].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-266M</td>
<td>Nḏmw-snb(w) (Son of Nfr-tm-m-s3.f, 3-265M)</td>
<td>imy-r wˁb.w Sḥm.t; overseer of the pure ones of Sekhmet.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Amenemhat III</td>
<td>Jonckheere, Les médecins, 56 [53].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-267M</td>
<td>Snb</td>
<td>wˁb n Sḥm.t; pure one of Sekhmet.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20391l; Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine I, 386-388.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-268M</td>
<td>Snˁi</td>
<td>wˁb n Sḥm.t; pure one of Sekhmet.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20735c; Lange and Schäfer, Grab- und Denksteine II, 366-367.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-269M</td>
<td>Mrīi</td>
<td>wˁb n Sṭi.i nḥt 3bw; pure one of Satis, Lady of Elephantine.</td>
<td>Kumma: on rock below western rampart</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Dunham and Janssen, Second Cataract Forts I, 166 [RIK 119c, Lepsius E4].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>Snb.b</td>
<td>wˁb Ṯn(i); pure one of Thinis.</td>
<td>Thebes</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Papyrus Brooklyn 35.1446, recto,</td>
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<tr>
<td>270M</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>line 5b; Hayes, <em>A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom</em>, 25, 30, 144.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td><em>It-mr</em></td>
<td><em>wˁb n ḏrty</em>; pure one of Tod.</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Bolton 10.20/12; Donohue, <em>Bolton</em>, 19.</td>
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<td>271M</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td><em>Hr(.w)</em></td>
<td><em>wˁb '3 ḫmy-wr.t</em>; great pure one of the West Side.</td>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20339b; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine I</em>, 350 [B1-4].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272M</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>wˁb ḫry-s3, ḫry-s3 n ṣpd.w nb iˁ3bt(t); pure one who provides the back support service in the procession, pure one who provides the back support service in the procession of ṣopdu, Lord of the East.</em></td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical</em>, 104-105 [UC 32058 (Lot I.1)]; Griffith, <em>Hieratic Papyri</em>, 31-35, pl. 12-13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td><em>Iḥii-snjb(.w) : W3h</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>273M</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>wˁb ḫry-s3, ḫry-s3 n ṣpd.w nb iˁ3bt(t); pure one who provides the back support service in the procession, pure one who provides the back support service in the procession of ṣopdu, Lord of the East.</em></td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical</em>, 102-103 [UC 32055 (Lot II.1)]; Griffith, <em>Hieratic Papyri</em>, 36-38, pl. 13; Theodorides, &quot;imyt-per&quot;, 88-91.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>274M</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>wˁb ḫry-s3, ḫry-s3 n ṣpd.w nb iˁ3bt(t); pure one who provides the back support service in the procession, pure one who provides the back support service in the procession of ṣopdu, Lord of the East.</em></td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical</em>, 102-103 [UC 32055 (Lot II.1)]; Griffith, <em>Hieratic Papyri</em>, 36-38, pl. 13; Theodorides, &quot;imyt-per&quot;, 88-91.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td><em>Sbk-Snfrw</em></td>
<td><em>wˁb ḫry-s3</em>; pure one who provides the back support service in the procession.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III to Amenemhat III</td>
<td>P. 10.069; Lüddeckens, <em>Ägyptische Handschriften</em>, 32 [54].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>275M</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>[...nb(?)-iry-r-3w*</td>
<td><em>wˁb ḫry-s3, ṣ3</em>; pure one who provides the back support service</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Papyri: Accounts</em>, 74-75 [UC 32186].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>276M</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>3-277M</td>
<td></td>
<td>$w^b hry-s3$, s3; pure one who provides the back support service in the procession, son.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Papyri: Accounts</em>, 44-45 [UC 32170 (Lot VI.14)]; Griffith, <em>Hieratic Papyri</em>, I, 40-42, II, pl. 14.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-278M</td>
<td>Wr-nb(.i)</td>
<td>$w^b hry-s3$; pure one who provides the back support service in the procession.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Papyri: Accounts</em>, 76-77 [UCL 32189 (XVI.1)]; Griffith, <em>Hieratic Papyri</em>, I, 54-55, II, pl. 21.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-279M</td>
<td>Ppi[...]</td>
<td>$w^b hry-s3$; pure one who provides the back support service in the procession.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Papyri: Accounts</em>, 210-211 [UC 32108C].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-280M</td>
<td>Ihy-snb(.w)</td>
<td>$w^b hry-s3$ n $Spdw nb i3bt$; pure one who provides the back support service in the procession of Sopdu, Lord of the East.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical</em>, 118-119 [UC 32167 (lot I.2)]; Griffith, <em>Hieratic Papyri</em>, 35-36, pl. 13 (first ed.).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-281F</td>
<td>Špsi.t</td>
<td>$w^b tnt Gs-i3by$; pure one of the East Side.</td>
<td>Lahun</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III</td>
<td>Collier and Quirke, <em>UCL Papyri: Religious, Literary, Legal, Mathematical and Medical</em>, 110-111 [UC 32163 (lot I.3)].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-282M</td>
<td>Rdi(.wi)-</td>
<td>$imy-r pr$, $w^b n rwd pr spss$, $im3hw$; overseer of the house, pure one of the noble stairway of the temple, provided one.</td>
<td>Dendera</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20543a; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> II, 164-167 [A22-23].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-</td>
<td>hmn(.w)</td>
<td>$w^b rmn H3byw$; pure one who</td>
<td>Provenance</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>CG 20409a; Lange and Schäfer,</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
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<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Publication(s)</th>
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<tr>
<td>3-284M</td>
<td>Rdi-ni-pṭḥ</td>
<td>$sn.f$, $w^{ib} h r.t$; his brother, pure one of the tomb.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>12th Dynasty, reign of Senusret III</td>
<td>Brooklyn 39.602; Aldred, <em>Middle Kingdom Art</em>, 53 [75], pl. 75; Bothmer, &quot;Block Statues of the Egyptian Middle Kingdom,&quot; 26, n. 2, 29, n. V, fig. 10; Brooklyn Museum, <em>Egyptian Art in the Brooklyn Museum Collection</em>, 24; Cooney, &quot;A Souvenir of Napoleon's Trip to Egypt,&quot; 153-157, pl. 17; Hornemann, <em>Types II</em>, pl. 444; James, <em>Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum</em>, 59-60 [139]; Vandier, <em>Manuel d'archéologie III</em>, 236, 251, 254, pl. 80 [6]; Vernus, &quot;Encore une fois le titre $w^{ib} h r.t$,&quot; 7-8; Virginia Museum, <em>Treasures in America</em>, 38; Wolf, <em>Kunst Ägyptens</em>, 341, fig. 281.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-285M</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^{ib} h r.t$; pure one of the tomb.</td>
<td>Meir: Tomb-Chapel B, no. 4, inner room, east wall, south of entrance, registers 5 and 6</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Blackman, <em>Meir III</em>, pl. 24.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-286M</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>$w^{ib} h r.t$; pure one of the tomb.</td>
<td>Meir: Tomb-Chapel B, no. 4</td>
<td>12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Blackman, <em>Meir III</em>, pl. 24.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
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<tr>
<td>3-287M</td>
<td>³nh.w</td>
<td>(w^b n b3.w \text{ḥrt-nṯr}, m^3 \text{ḥrw}, nb \text{im3ḥw};) pure one of the (b3.w) (souls) of the necropolis, true of voice, possessor of reverence.</td>
<td>inner room, east wall, south of entrance, registers 5 and 6</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20050b; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> I, 59-60.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-288M</td>
<td>³n.ti-ḥtp(.w)</td>
<td>(w^b n b3.w \text{ḥrt-nṯr}, m^3 \text{ḥrw};) pure one of the (b3.w) (souls) of the necropolis, true of voice.</td>
<td>Abydos: Northern Cemetery</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>CG 20034b; Lange and Schäfer, <em>Grab- und Denksteine</em> I, 42-43 [B4].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-289I</td>
<td>W³[...]w³[...]</td>
<td>(w^b n \text{sh-nṯr};) pure one of the divine booth.</td>
<td>Between Mahatta and Aswan</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>de Morgan, <em>Catalogue des monuments</em> I, 38 [161].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-290M</td>
<td>Nḥt</td>
<td>(w^b n \text{sh-nṯr}, m^3 \text{ḥrw};) pure one of the divine booth, true of voice.</td>
<td>Between Mahatta and Aswan</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>de Morgan, <em>Catalogue des monuments</em> I, 38 [161].</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-291M</td>
<td>D³g.i</td>
<td>(\text{iry p}^t, \text{ḥ3ty-s}, \text{s(t)m, ḥrp śndyt nbt, [...] hs3t, [...]}, w^b \text{šnty} (200), \text{ḥm-nṯr Hr [...]}, \text{ḥm-nṯr, imy-r [...]};) hereditary prince/nobleman, count, (\text{s(t)m}-\text{priest (chief celebrant in the rite of opening the mouth), director of every kilt, [...]}) Hesat, [...]}, pure one of the (\text{šnty} (200),) god's servant of Horus [...]}, god's servant, overseer of [...].</td>
<td>Thebes: Tomb of Daga, South Wall</td>
<td>Early 12th Dynasty</td>
<td>Davies, <em>Five Theban Tombs</em>, pl. 34.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-292M</td>
<td>Mn.w-ḥtp.w</td>
<td>(w^b n k3;) pure one of the (k3.)</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>12th-14th Dynasty</td>
<td>Turin 94; Maspero, &quot;Rapport à M. Jules Ferry,&quot; 122; Müller, &quot;Des</td>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>3-293M</td>
<td>Tti</td>
<td>$w^b\ hr.t$; pure one of the tomb.</td>
<td>Provenance Unknown</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom, reign of Senusret III</td>
<td>Baltimore 22.163; Steindorff, <em>Catalogue</em>, 49 [No. 49], pl. 12 &amp; 91; Vernus, &quot;Encore une fois le titre $w^b\ hr.t$,&quot; 7.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3-294M</td>
<td>Ppii</td>
<td>$w^b\ hr.t$; pure one of the tomb.</td>
<td>Saqqara: Tomb of $Hry\f-nht$</td>
<td>Middle Kingdom</td>
<td>Quibell, <em>Excavations at Saqqara</em>, 73, pl. 11; Vernus, &quot;Encore une fois le titre $w^b\ hr.t$,&quot; 7.</td>
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