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The Professions and Hierarchy of Nekhebu

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to examine the titles and professions of an Old Kingdom official particularly a sixth dynasty royal Architect who performed the tasks of his career under the sovereign Pepi I.

Mr(i)-PtH-anx-mry-Ra was the full name of that official who was also called Nekhebu, his tomb is located in Giza near king Cheop's great pyramid, his father was possibly khnementi the owner of tomb G 2374 but the name of his mother was still unknown.

The paper provides a general overview of Nekhebu's practical life through a detailed analysis of the different and various titles and epithets he held during his long resplendent career, as well as the diverse professions he occupied in the civil Egyptian Administration of the Old Kingdom.

Nekhebu was one of the most important civil officials in the sixth dynasty as a whole and particularly in the reign of the monarch Pepi I who executed many projects and expeditions for him.

The author depends in that paper on many scattered sources for Nekhebu's biography, this is due to the great destruction of his stone built mastaba which led to the cracking of the walls of his mastaba to several too heavy blocks found in a disordered heap of debris.

The two main sources for Nekhebu's biography were found by Reisner in the tomb complex of snDm-ib's family of the fifth and sixth dynasties at Giza, one of these two main sources is located in the Cairo museum while the other one is located in Boston museum, both texts record many projects that Nekhebu executed to the king, as according to their inscriptions he was responsible for directing four missions for the king Pepi I.

The first mission was directing the erection of the ka-mansions of Pepi in Lower Egypt and directing the Administration at the north in "city of Lakes", in "Akhbit of Horus" and the pyramid of Men-nefer-pepy (the pyramid of king Pepi I), the second mission was in Lower Egypt where he dug a canal between Akhbit and the residence, the third mission was in Upper Egypt as Nekhebu dug a canal in Ḳus while the fourth mission which is recorded in the Cairo text presented his responsibility in directing the works of a pyramid monument in Heliopolis.

After every mission Nekhebu executed for the king, he stated the praises and rewards offered to him as a gift from the king in appreciation of his efforts to achieve the mission successfully.

In addition to these two main sources there are some blocks from his mastaba preserved now in Boston museum which the author depends on them in the paper.These sources record many different titles for Nekhebu which helped to suggest an accurate topic concerning his promotion and Hierarchy during the reign of Pepi I.The paper examines all the titles and epithets held by Nekhebu from his various inscriptions, the reading of each title and the different opinions suggested by scholars concerning each title's reading, its transliteration and the translation as well as the functions and natures of each title and the different points of view suggested by

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scholars regarding each title whether it was an honorific title or an official one indicates an actual profession.

The paper concludes two distinct types of titles which indicate two different career tracks that Nekhebu passed by during his long career.

And finally, the paper suggests a proposed Hierarchy for Nekhebu according to these titles.

Keywords:

Nekhebu, Royal builder, King's Architect, Overseer of Royal works, Professions, Hierarchy, Royal service

Nekhebu[1] whose full name was *mr*(*i*)-*Ptḥ-ꜥnḫ-mry-Rꜥ*[2] was overseer of all works of the king[3], king's architect[4] and leader of at least three expeditions sent to wadi Hammamat[5].

His tomb is located in the western cemetery at Giza bearing the number G 2381[6]; it lies in the vicinity of king Cheop's pyramid[7].

Different opinions were raised concerning the monarch during whose reign Nekhebu held his career and titles. PM suggested that he served either Pepi I or Merenre I[8], while he was dated by Strudwick from the middle to the late of Pepi's I reign[9]. Yet, according to his biography it is clear that he was contemporary to Pepi I[10].

The tomb of Nekhebu had been destroyed and the blocks were found scattered in a messy heap of debris, but due to the heavy weight of the blocks, each block was photographed and the walls were reconstructed on paper[11].

The biography of Nekhebu was recorded on two sources; both were located originally on the jambs of a doorway in his chapel. The left jamb is now preserved in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston (MFA. No. 13. 4331) (fig.1), whilst the right jamb is preserved in Cairo Museum[12].

Both inscriptions were collected by Sethe in his Urkunden[13] and later Dunham offered a translation for both texts[14].

The biography starts from the left jamb, i.e. by the Boston text which contains an introductory phrase and a record of three missions carried out by Nekhebu for the king, two of which were in Lower Egypt and the third one was in Upper Egypt. Then, the biography continues on the right jamb, i.e. by the Cairo text where there is an allusion for a fourth mission at Heliopolis and then the titles and honours awarded to him by the king[15].

The titles and epithets of Nekhebu - mentioned in that paper - including those mentioned in Boston and Cairo texts were collected by Sethe[16]. Also, four other blocks of Nekhebu located in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston were collected by Dunham and bear the numbers: 13.4335 (fig. 2), 13.4348 (fig. 3), 13.4349 (fig. 4) and 13.4351 (fig. 5)[17], and the inscriptions of the expeditions of Nekhebu at Wadi Hammat[18].

The titles will be listed in alphabetical order and the number of times each title is mentioned through the sources listed above to present an insight of his professions and therefore shed light on his hierarchy.

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(1) PN I, p. 209 [14], was a usual name since the Old Kingdom.

(2) There are two different versions for the reading of that name, the author adopt the reading suggested by Ranke cf. PN I, p. 209 [14] and Kloth, cf. Kloth, N., Die (auto-) biographischen Inschriften des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, p. 16, whilst the other reading is *mry-rꜥ-mry-ꜥnḫ-Ptḥ* which is suggested by PM cf. PM III^2/1, p. 89 and Strudwick, cf., Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 113 (90).

(3) *imy-r kꜣt nbt nt nswt*, Jones, D., Index I, p. 262:950.

(4) PM III ^{2}/1, pp. 88-89.

(5) Urk I, pp. 93-94 [1-6].

(6) PM III ^{2}/1, p. 89; Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 113 (90).

(7) Urk I, p. 215.

(8) PM III ^{2}/1, p. 90.

(9) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 113 (90).

(10) Urk I, pp. 215-221; Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pp. 1-8; Baer, K., Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom, pp. 95-96 [286].

(11) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 1.

(12) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 1.

(13) Urk I, pp. 215-221.

(14) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pp. 2-6.

(15) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 1.

(16) Urk I, pp. 215-221.

(17) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pp. 6-7.

(18) Urk I, pp. 93-94.

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Title	Cairo text	Boston text 13.4331	13.4335	13.4348	13.4349	13.4351	H
(1) *imꜣḫw*	✓		✓			✓	
(2) *Ỉmy-r wpt nswt Mn-nfr-Ppy*			✓				
(3) *Ỉmy-r ḳdw*	✓						
(4) *Ỉmy-r kꜣt nbt nt nswt*			✓ twice	✓		✓	✓
(5) *ꜥꜣ-Dwꜣw*					✓		
(6) *mty-n-sꜣ*	✓						
(7) *mḏḥ nswt*	✓	✓ twice					
(8) *mḏḥ nswt ḳd(w)*	✓			✓			
(9) *mḏḥ nswt-ḳdw m prwy*	✓						✓
(10) *ḥry sšt3 n wꜥbty*						✓	
(11) *ḫrp šnḏ(w)t nbt*					✓		
(12) *ḫry-ḥbt*							✓
(13) *ḫry-ḥbt ḥry-tp*			✓		✓		
(14) *ḫry-tp nswt*	✓		✓				
(15) *sm*					✓		
(16) *smr-wꜥty*	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
(17) *smr-wꜥty n(y)* st *ib nb.f*			✓				
(18) *smsw snwt*			✓		✓		
(19) *sḥḏ n ḳdw*	✓						
(20) *ḳdw n ꜥšꜣt*	✓						
(21) *ḳd nswt m prwy*			✓			✓	
(22) *kꜣwty*		✓					

(1) *imꜣḫw*

It is attested in three sources for Nekhebu's biography that *imꜣḫw* is an epithet placed usually before the names of the deceased. Fischer believed that it means "being esteemed"[19], while Jones suggested several meanings for that epithet: "The honored one, revered, venerated, the one who has been provided for"[20]. It is worth mentioning that this epithet means the deceased merits offerings and supplies in the afterlife.

Barta defined this epithet as one who, on the basis of supplies and offerings, has the guarantee of rebirth[21].

Sometimes this epithet was followed by several prepositions as *n* or *ḫr*[22] then a name of a king or a god. Goelet explained that the epithet whereupon means that its holder is revered "in the presence of" or with a god or king[23].

(2) *imy-r wpt nswt Mn-nfr-Ppy*

This title is attested only once in all sources for Nekhebu's biography[24]. Jones translated it as "overseer of the royal commissions of Pepi I's pyramid or overseer of the royal commissions of the Beauty / perfection of Pepi-Abides"[25].

It is worth mentioning that Helck and Goedicke suggested the reading *imy-r wpt* and translated it as "overseer of the division"[26]. Martin-Pardey adopted the same reading but preferred the translation of "overseer of orders"[27], while Junker believed in the reading *imy-r ỉpwt*[28] and translated it as "overseer of expeditions or overseer of commissions"[29].

Fischer noted that the title in question is related to the phrase *wpt nswt*, which referred to expeditions, and argued that when the title *imy-r wpt* includes a geographical reference it is then possible to accept the translation "overseer of the apportionment or division of offerings", which was suggested before by Goedicke. However, in case of the absence of any reference to a temple or a funerary endowment it is then possible to accept the translation of "overseer of commissions"[30]. The title was attested in the titularies of expedition leaders who were overseers of commissions.

It is worth to note that the word *wpt* may refer to any project specially to those of Upper Egypt, but it always involved an official who is sent to another locality as in case of expeditions to Sinai and Nubia[31].

Jéquier stated that the title *imy-r wpt nswt* appeared also in connection with a royal pyramid[32], which appeared on the block MFA No. 13.4335 of Nekhebu. Consequently, this title is directly associated with the mission that Nekhebu carried out to King Pepi I for his Pyramid mentioned in Boston text[33], and probably reflected his responsibility in directing the construction of Pepi I's pyramid[34].

It is worth commenting that the title *imy-r wpt nswt Mn-nfr-Ppy* was mentioned on the current block following the title *imy-r kꜣt nbt*

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(19) Fischer, H., "Marginalia", p. 22.
(20) Jones, D., Index I, p. 11:42.
(21) Barta, W., Das Selbstzeugnis eines altägyptischen Künstlers (Stele Louvre C14), pp. 50-52.
(22) Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, pp. 29, 571, 585.
(23) Goelet, O., "The Term *Śtp-sꜣ* in the Old Kingdom and Its Later Development", p. 92 n. 31.
(24) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 6 (MFA no. 13.4335).
(25) Jones, D., Index I, p. 96:398.
(26) Goedicke, H., "Die Laufbahn des *Mṯn*", pp. 38-39.
(27) Martin-Pardey, E., "Gedanken zum Titel", p. 251.
(28) Junker, H., Giza XII, p. 167.
(29) Junker, H., Giza II, p. 133; Giza VII, pp. 151-161.
(30) Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 222.
(31) Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 223.
(32) Jéquier, G., "Tombes de Particuliers de L'époque de Pepi II", p. 149, fig. 15.
(33) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pp. 1-2.
(34) Martin-Pardey, E., "Gedanken zum Titel", p. 238.

nt nswt[35]. The same title *imy-r kꜣt nbt nt nswt* was attested in Nekhebu's inscriptions in Wadi Hammat[36], thus led Martin-Pardey to conclude that when imy-r wpt nswt was held by senior officials in the residence it was then an honorary title and not official one[37].

So, this title may be honorary for Nekhebu due to his holding of the highest construction titles in the state even in the inscriptions of the expeditions at Wadi Hammat.

(3) ***imy-r ḳdw***

This title is attested in the Cairo museum's text of Nekhebu's biography[38]. Wilson translated this title as "chief builder"[39], while Gundlach suggested it means overseer of builders[40] and finally Jones mentioned two translations for that title: overseer of builders and overseer of masons[41].

Perhaps, Nekhebu held this title according to his efficiency and his success to demonstrate his abilities that led to his promotion from *sḥḏ n ḳdw* to *imy-r ḳdw* thus he became the supervisor of the builders.

Wilson quoted that in the early times of the sixth dynasty, Nekhebu's experience and performance counted more for him than the offices held by his father or grandfather[42].

Gundlach noted that the titles of the officials of the expeditions usually pointed out the location of the expeditions where the official participated in as *imy-r ḳdw* of a pyramid[43], but in case of Nekhebu the location of his mission was not mentioned, which might indicate that he performed his career in the residence. Furthermore, the title was not recorded in the inscriptions of the expeditions of Nekhebu at Wadi Hammat[44].

The holder of that title was responsible for the organisation of the builders and for putting together a body of builders that is suitable and sufficient for the construction of a specific building.

Strudwick argued that the overseer of works was in charge of organising all the work forces including the builders, craftsmen and those of agricultural work, but he suggested that the office of builders might have been a part of one of the other departments of the state rather than the overseer of works such as the treasury in order to control the finance of such projects[45]. He depended in his assumption on the fact that there is no text that referred to the direct supervision of the overseer of works on that office[46].

The office of builders, which is headed by *imy-r ḳdw*, was a permanent department to be capable for organising the architectural details of the planned and designed constructions[47]. Finally, it is worth commenting that such department had a complete hierarchy presided by an overseer who supervised the directors[48] and inspectors[49] in this office.

(4) ***imy-r kꜣt nbt nt nswt***

This title is attested six times on four sources for Nekhebu's biography: twice on the Boston museum block MFA No. 13.4335[50] and once on each of the following blocks MFA No. 13.4348 and 13.4351[51], while the last two are in the inscriptions of Nekhebu's expeditions at Wadi Hammat[52].

Helck translated the title as "overseer of all construction works of the king[53]. Strudwick suggested the translation of "overseer of royal

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(35) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 6.
(36) Urk I, pp. 93:7, p. 94:5.
(37) Martin-Pardey, E., "Gedanken zum Titel ", p. 251.
(38) Urk I, p. 216:2,12.
(39) Wilson, J., "The Artist of the Egyptian Old Kingdom", p. 238.
(40) Gundlach, R., "Expeditionswesen", p. 66.
(41) Jones, D., Index I, p. 258:935.
(42) Wilson, J., "The Artist of the Egyptian Old Kingdom", p. 238.
(43) Gundlach, R., "Expeditionswesen", p. 66.
(44) Urk I, pp. 93-94.
(45) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 249-250.
(46) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 249.
(47) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 249.
(48) Jones, D., Index II, p. 752: 2741 (*ḥrp ḳdw*).
(49) Jones, D., Index II, p. 970:3578 (*sḥḏ ḳdw*).
(50) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 6.
(51) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 7.
(52) Urk I, pp. 93:7, 94:5.
(53) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 76 n. 62.

works and workforces'[54], while Verner believed that it means "overseer of all works of the king"[55], Jones adopted Verner's translation as well[56] and recently Vymazalová translated it as "overseer of all the king's works"[57].

This title was developed most probably from the third dynasty title *imy-irty kꜣt nbt nt nswt*[58].

Smith showed that this title was held by a small number of officials in the fourth and early fifth dynasties, most of which were princes or at least members of the royal family[59]. While, during the late fifth and sixth dynasties it was held by a much larger number[60] from non-royal origin[61], but by the reign of Pepi I it was held only by viziers[62].

It was the most important position in the administration of work organisation[63], for it was associated with buildings, expeditions, agriculture and crafts works[64].

The holder of that title was in charge of organising and ordering works for execution[65], as he had a great experience derived from the working in previous construction projects for the king[66].

The title holder was responsible for implementation of the orders of the principal administrative departments, for organisation of the work forces either the builders, craftsmen or those who were involved in agricultural works, as well as for regulation of the irrigation works for a specific region[67].

Strudwick noted that the title holder included responsibility for construction works as well as the expeditions, as the mutual aspect between them is the need for organising work forces[68].

Vymazalová mentioned that the holder of the title was in charge of selecting the officials who led the expeditions to the quarries aided by soldiers, scribes, craftsmen and workers[69].

Finally, Verner and Vymazalová agreed that the overseer of the king's works was assisted by his subordinates who checked that his orders were carried out and the works were executed[70].

(5) ***ꜥꜣ-Dwꜣw***

This title is attested once in Nekhebu's biography which is on the block MFA No. 13.4349 at Boston Museum[71].

Helck mentioned that the reading of that title as well as its meaning are still obscure[72]. Wörterbuch did not give an accurate reading for the title as it was read as "*ꜥꜣ-…*"[73]. Junker[74], Pirenne[75] and Jones[76] believed in

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(54) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 250.

(55) Verner, M., Abusir II, p. 38.

(56) Jones, D., Index I, p. 262:950.

(57) Vymazalová, H., "The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes", p. 178.

(58) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 217; Vymazalová, H., "The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes", p. 178.

For that title (*i*)*m*(*y*)-*irty kꜣt nbt n*(*t*) *nsw*t cf. Jones, D., Index I, p. 49:246.

(59) Smith, W., A History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom, p. 357; Vymazalová, H., "The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes", p. 178.

(60) Wilson, J., "The Artist of the Egyptian Old Kingdom", p. 237.

(61) Vymazalová, H., "The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes", p. 178.

(62) Vymazalová, H., "The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes", p. 179.

(63) Eyre, C., "Work and Organisation of Work in the Old Kingdom", p. 26; Verner, M., Abusir II, p. 38.

(64) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 247.

(65) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 243.

(66) Vymazalová, H., "The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes", p. 178.

(67) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 249.

(68) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 243.

(69) Vymazalová, H., "The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes", p. 179.

(70) Verner, M., Abusir II, p. 38; Vymazalová, H., "The Administration of the Royal Funerary Complexes", p. 179.

(71) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 7.

(72) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 37.

(73) Wb I, p. 165 [4].

(74) Junker, H., Giza II, p. 189 (7).

(75) Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l'Ancienne Égypte III, p. 87.

(76) Jones, D., Index I, p. 351 :1308.

the reading *ꜣ-Dwꜣw*, while Hannig suggested two readings: *ꜣ-Dwꜣw* and *wn-ꜥ Dwꜣw*[77].

Different translations were presented for that title. Wörterbuch translated it as "*ꜣ* of the god"[78], and Firth and Gunn translated it by "Door keeper(?) of (the God) *Dwꜣw*"[79], while Pirenne suggested the translation of "head of the Letopolis gate"[80]. Helck offered the translation "helper of the morning"[81], on the other hand Kanawati[82], Jones[83] and Hannig[84] believed in the translation of "assistant of *Dwꜣw*".

The title consists of two words: and , the first word was read by: Wörterbuch[85], Gardiner[86] and Hannig[87] as "*ꜣ*", which means "the door wings"[88] or "door"[89], while Hannig suggested also a second reading for the same sign which is *wn-ꜥ*[90] and translated it as assistant[91].

While the second word is *Dwꜣw*, which is a god's name[92] who is attested since the archaic period[93], *Dwꜣw* was known as patron of Ophthalmologists (oculists) and god for the king's morning toilet[94]. The *Dwꜣ* sign was thought to be originated from the king's placenta[95], but later Kees suggested that the sign originally represented a throne cusion[96].

The title is known at least since the third dynasty[97], then it is attested in the fourth dynasty[98], while it became frequent during the fifth[99] and sixth dynasties[100]. Kees[101], Grdseloff[102] and Hannig[103] believed it was a priestly title. Kees depended in his opinion on the appearance of the title in question in the Re-sanctuary of Ni-User-Re among priests[104], while Grdseloff believed that *ꜣ-Dwꜣw* s were high officials who wore the emblem of *Dwꜣw* in religious ceremonies[105]. Helck argued that there was already the possibility that an annexation of a court title exists with a part of the local priesthood[106].

Consequently, that title might be a court or a palace title. It is worth commenting that the holders of *ꜣ-Dwꜣw* in the fourth dynasty were princes who were strongly emphasized and all of them were princes and *rpꜥt*[107], while it was less carried by the vizier princes who performed the duties of the vizierate[108].

Helck noted that the title was originally a name of a magically meaningful action that

(77) Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, pp. 140, 209.
(78) Wb I, p. 165 [4].
(79) Firth, C. and Gunn, B., Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I, p. 133 (38), 151 (10).
(80) Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l'Ancienne Égypte III, p. 87.
(81) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 37.
(82) Kanawati, N., The rock tombs of El-Hawawish X, p. 48.
(83) Jones, D., Index I, p. 351:1308.
(84) Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 209.
(85) Wb I, p. 164 [12-14].
(86) Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 496 (o31).
(87) Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 139.
(88) Wb I, p. 164 [12].
(89) Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 496.
(90) Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 209.
(91) Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 209.
(92) LGG VII, pp. 506-507.
(93) Firth, C. and Quibell, J., The Step Pyramid II, pl. 107 (2); LGG VII, p. 506.
(94) Kaplony, P., "Das Papyrusarchiv von Abusir (Fortsetzung)", p. 244.
(95) Blackman, A., "The Pharaoh's Placenta and the Moon-God Khons", p. 235.
(96) Kees, H., Die Götterglauben im alten Aegypten, p. 101.
(97) Firth, C. and Quibell, J., The Step Pyramid II, pl. 107 (2).
(98) Borchardt, L., Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo I, p. 123 (CG 176).
(99) as: *wꜣš-ptḥ / Ꞗsi*, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 79-80 (37).
(100) as: *Mrrw-kꜣi / Mri*, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 100-101 (68).
(101) von Bissing, F. and Kees, H., Das Re-Heiligtum II, pl. 7 Nr.17.
(102) Grdseloff, B., "Le dieu *Dwꜣw*", pp. 214, 216 fig. 31.
(103) Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 209.
(104) von Bissing, F. and Kees, H., Das Re-Heiligtum III, pl. 7 Nr. 17.
(105) Grdseloff, B., "Le dieu *Dwꜣw*", p. 216 fig. 31.
(106) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 37.
(107) Jones, D., Index I, p. 492:1836.
(108) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 37.

only princes of the highest rank could exercise. So, it might indicate an office that is related to the divine king and that *Dw3w* might refer to a morning toilet god[109].

In later Old Kingdom sources, the title *ꜣ-Dw3w* was found once with a royal ophthalmologist[110], also another ophthalmologist held the title *ḥm-nṯr Dw3w*[111], Furthermore, his name was *Ni-ꜥnḫ-Dw3w* i.e. his name is composed with this deity[112].

Consequently, Grdseloff wanted to establish a relationship between *Dw3* and the office of an ophthalmologist (oculist)[113]; this led Hannig to translate *ꜣ-Dw3w* firstly by oculist[114].

Kaplony indicated the exact tasks held by *ꜣ-Dw3w;* that he was in charge of putting the shiny eye shadow on the king as well as separating or trimming the king's beard, and that *Dw3w* was the god for the king's morning toilet[115].

If one adds to Kaplony's opinion that the title *ꜣ-Dw3w* was always held beside the titles: *sm*, *ḫrp šnḏ(w)t nbt* and *ḫry-ḥbt ḥry-tp*, which show direct contact with the living king, one might confirm Kaplony's opinion that *ꜣ-Dw3w* was responsible for adorning the eyelids of the king which interprets its association with the oculists. Also, the suggestions offered by Helck and Kaplony that *Dw3w* was the king's morning toilet god may be true so that *ꜣ-Dw3w* was "assistant" for that god probably responsible for preparation of the king in every morning.

(6) *mty n sꜣ*

This title is attested only once on the sources of Nekhebu's biography which is in the Cairo text[116].

Wörterbuch translated this title as "overseer of a priest's guild"[117], while Junker suggested that it means "director of a phyle"[118]. Jones believed in the translation of "regulator" of a phyle"[119], while Hannig assumed two different translations either "director of a priest phyle" or "director of a craftsman phyle"[120]. So, the title can reflect a priestly office or a civil one[121].

Roth noted that this office was first known during the reign of Pepi I[122] where it was held by *Mry-Tti*, Mereruka's eldest son[123], who undertook the responsibilities of this office in Pepi I's pyramid town.

The title was known since the reign of Pepi I till the end of the Old Kingdom. At that time this office was attached to the royal mortuary temples[124], unlike the Middle Kingdom where this title was associated with the temples of the gods[125].

In the Old Kingdom the holder of *mty n sꜣ* was attached to the royal mortuary temples. This was proven by the fact that the office was rarely held outside the Memphite Capital. It was held by two provincial officials only: *wni* of Abydos[126] and *Ppy-nḫt*[127] who started their careers in Memphis where they carried out the responsibilities of that office.

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(109) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 37.

(110) *Mdw-nfr*, who was *ḫrp swnw irty n pr-ꜣ*, cf., Hassan, S., Giza III, p. 115(4); which is translated as director of eye physicians of the Great House, Jones, D., Index II, p. 736:2680.

(111) Jones, D., Index II, p. 585:2142.

(112) Borchardt, L., Denkmäler des Alten Reiches im Museum von Kairo I, p. 138 (CG 1452).

(113) Grdseloff, B., "Le dieu *Dw3w*", p. 207.

(114) Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 140.

(115) Kaplony, P., "Das Papyrusarchiv von Abusir (Fortsetzung) ", p. 244.

(116) Urk I, p. 216:2.

(117) Wb II, p. 168 [12].

(118) Junker, H., Giza VI, p. 21.

(119) Jones, D., Index I, p. 452:1694.

(120) Hannig, R., Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II, p. 1155.

(121) Helck, W., "Arbeiter", p. 372; Helck, W., "Phyle", p. 1044.

(122) Roth, A., Egyptian Phyles in the Old Kingdom, p. 214.

(123) Nims, C., "Some Notes on the Family of Mereruka", pp. 638-645.

(124) Helck, W., "Phyle", p. 1044.

(125) Ward, W., Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, pp. 96-97:803-808.

(126) Fischer, H., "The Cult and Nome of the Goddess Bat", p. 10.

(127) Urk I, p. 132:2; Junker, H., Giza VI, p. 21.

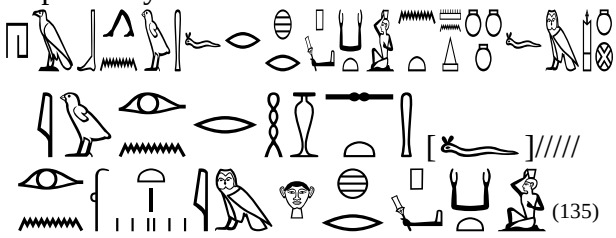
The holder of that title was responsible for managing the phyles of priests in the mortuary temple. This in case of it was held by a priestly individual, but for Nekhebu who was a civil individual, most probably according to that title, he was in charge of managing and administrating the Phyles of craftsmen which according to his biography were the builders[128] as well as regulating their shifts and directing their daily works.

(7) ***mḏḥ-nswt***

The current title is attested three times on two different sources for Nekhebu's biography: once in the Cairo text[129] and twice in the Boston text[130].

Different opinions were raised concerning the meaning of that title. Dunham and Verner believed that it means the king's architect or the master builder[131], while Wörterbuch, Fischer, Ward and Jones mentioned that it means royal carpenter[132], and finally Hannig suggested a third translation for the title as he noted that it means royal master[133].

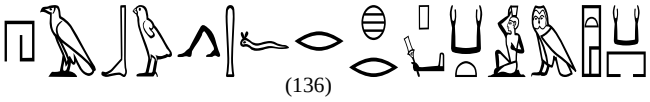
The holder of that title was the direct manager of the work in the construction site[134], as it was revealed from the autobiographies of Nekhebu and *Mrrw-kꜣ* respectively:



hꜣb.n wi ḥm.f r ḫrp kꜣt nt mnw.f m Ꜣwnw

iw ir.n r ḥst ḥm.f //// ir.n rnpt 6 im ḥr ḫrp kꜣt

His majesty sent me to direct the works of his monuments in Heliopolis, I acted to the satisfaction of his majesty and I spent six years there directing the work.



hꜣb wi ḥm.f r ḫrp kꜣt m ḥwt-kꜣ …

His majesty sent me to direct the works in temple …

These two biographies indicate the responsibilities of the holder of that title, as he was in charge of directing the building activities and expeditions as well[137].

Stadelmann suggested that the highest supervision of the buildings of the pyramid complex and the necropolis around it was in the hands of the rulers themselves, given the primary importance of these buildings according to the economic and social life of the country and in view of the need for the important ones, thus to make operational decisions related to the construction work[138].

The title *mḏḥ nswt* reflects a top position; as its owner was entrusted with the execution of the state buildings, but it was certainly not a pure administrative office in the construction department[139].

It is worth commenting that in lower administrative offices we will probably find only specialist, as the specialist had to learn from scratch, so the *mḏḥ nswt* also worked with a hammer and trowel albeit as an apprentice and not as a simple day laborer[140].

Finally, I am inclined to translate the current title as king's architect or the royal architect, supporting the translation given before by Dunham and Verner, as reflected from the texts of the biographies.

The holder of the *mḏḥ nswt* had direct supervision as well as active participation and real involvement in the royal works unlike

(128) Urk I, p. 216:2.

(129) Urk I, p. 215:9.

(130) Urk I, pp. 219:13, 220:12; Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pl. II.

(131) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 2; Verner, M., Abusir II, p. 38.

(132) Wb II, p. 190 [11]; Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 212; Ward, W., Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, p. 98:815a; Jones, D., Index I, p. 463:1728.

(133) Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 405; Hannig, R., Ägyptisches Worterbuch II, p. 1173[14557].

(134) Verner, M., Abusir II, p. 38.

(135) Urk I, p. 215:11-13.

(136) Urk I, p. 86:14-15.

(137) Urk I, p. 87:1-5.

(138) Stadelmann, R., "La ville de Pyramide à l' Ancien Empire", p. 76.

(139) Junker, H., Giza VI, p. 179.

(140) Junker, H., Giza VI, p. 179.

ỉmy-r k3t nbt nt nswt who had the general supervision of the works[141].

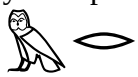
(8) ***mḏḥ nswt ḳd(w)***

This title is attested on two sources for Nekhebu's biography which are the Cairo museum text[142] and the block of Boston Museum MFA No. 13.4348[143].

It is translated by Pirenne as architect and royal builder as he considered *mḏḥ* a separate title meaning architect and read the rest of the title by *ḳd nswt* and translated it by royal builder[144], while Dunham suggested that it means king's architect and builder[145]. On the other hand, Verner noted that it means royal builder[146] and finally Jones mentioned that it means king's architect[147].

It is worth commenting that the word *mḏḥ* means working with the ax, i.e. carpentry and the noun carpenter[148], but Junker and Wörterbuch suggested that it means carpenter and stone builder[149]; the last one matches with Nekhebu's titles.

Junker argued that when *mḏḥ* is associated with other titles it has a completely different meaning other than carpenter or carpentry[150]. Wörterbuch also noted that reading the sign as *mḏḥ* is not always certain[151], also its reading in the following title , the current title, and its relationship with carpentry is unrecognizable[152].

Consequently, Junker believed that when *mḏḥ* is associated with other titles, it then should be translated as "overseer" or "head" provided that it was used for people who worked in the same business or a similar business as stonemasons and masons[153]. Helck also indicated that in the sixth dynasty the *mḏḥ* sign was certainly interpreted as the old spelling for  *ỉmy-r*[154]. Consequently, according to Junker and Helck the title *mḏḥ nswt ḳd(w)* is translated as overseer of royal builders[155].

So, the *mḏḥ nswt ḳd(w)* was a higher degree in the career of Nekhebu where he promoted from *ỉmy-r ḳdw* to *mḏḥ nswt ḳd(w)* to be in charge of the supervision of all the royal builders who worked in the projects of the sovereign Pepi I. At that time, Nekhebu obtained the title *ḫry-tp nswt*[156].

(9) ***mḏḥ nswt ḳdw m prwy***

The title is attested in two sources for Nekhebu's biography: the Cairo text[157] and the inscriptions of Wadi Hammat[158].

Pirenne translated it as "architect royal builder in the two houses"[159], and Verner mentioned that it means royal builder in the two administrations[160], while Jones suggested that it means king's architect in the two houses[161].

The two houses or the two administrations in the title are supposed to mean Upper and Lower Egypt[162]. Pirenne noted that it was the first time that the king's works department appeared to be divided into two departments or

(141) Helck, W., Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches, p. 25.
(142) Urk I, p. 216:3.
(143) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 7.
(144) Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de L'Ancienne Égypte III, pp. 89, 96.
(145) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 7.
(146) Verner, M., Abusir II, p. 39.
(147) Jones, D., Index I, p. 464:1732.
(148) Wb II, p. 190 [7-8].
(149) Junker, H., Giza I, p. 149; Wb II, p. 190 [12].
(150) Junker, H., Giza I, p. 149.
(151) Wb II, p. 190.
(152) Wb II, p. 190.
(153) Junker, H., Giza I, p. 150.
(154) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 75.
(155) Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l'Ancienne Égypte III, p. 89 (he translated *mḏḥ nswt* as royal constructor or builder).
(156) Urk I, p. 216:3; Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l'Ancienne Égypte III, p. 96.
(157) Urk I, p. 216:4.
(158) Urk I, pp. 93:8, 94:6.
(159) Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de L'Ancienne Égypte III, p. 96.
(160) Verner, M., Abusir II, p. 39.
(161) Jones, D., Index I, pp. 464-465:1733.
(162) Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l'Ancienne Égypte III, p. 96.

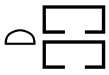
two administrations; one for the south and the other for the north[163].

According to Junker and Helck, the term *mḏḥ* here could be translated as "overseer"[164]. So, the title can be translated as "overseer of the royal builders in the two houses".

This title is supposed to mean that Nekhebu's activity extended to Upper and Lower Egypt[165].

Nekhebu, based on that title, became the supervisor of all the royal builders in Upper and Lower Egypt. Such promotion leaded Nekhebu to obtain the title *smr-wʿty*[166].

(10) [167]



ḥry-sšt3 n wʿbty

The title is attested once on one source for Nekhebu's biography which is the block MFA No. 13.4351[168].

Jones read the title as *ḥry-sšt3 n wʿbty*[169], and Dunham translated it as "Master of Secrets of the two *wʿbt*-chambers"[170], while Jones translated it as "privy to the secret of the two workshops"[171].

The title consists of two terms: *ḥry-sšt3* and *wʿbty*, for *ḥry-sšt3*: It is related to the surroundings of the king; *ḥryw sšt3* are those who protect the secret of the king from the eyes of the public, where *sšt3* (the secret) is the king's everyday actions as getting up, eating and drinking[172].

These actions had to remain "secret" as according to the magical thought, the one who knew these secrets could harm or damage the king and the world[173].

This role explains why the chamberlains[174] held the title of *ḥry-sšt3*. Helck noted that the *ḥryw-sšt3* knew the royal secrets not only because they were present with the king but also because they were guarding him at the same time[175].

Barta considered that *ḥry-sšt3* was applied to those non royal officials who occupied the positions which were formerly held by members of the royal family[176].

By the time, the title *ḥry-sšt3* spread out of the district of the king's personal service to other departments of the Egyptian administration as the legal department[177].

For *wʿbty*, Wörterbuch and Hannig stated many meanings for the term *wʿbt* which literally means "the pure place"[178], but for the meanings of that term in the Old Kingdom, Wörterbuch, Helck, Junker and Hannig revealed that it means workshop[179]or

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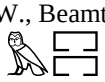
(163) Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l'Ancienne Égypte III, p. 96.

(164) Junker, H., Giza I, p. 150 ; Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 75.

(165) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 105.

The phrase  was also found alongside different titles as the top managers of the craftsmen and some craftsmen in the construction managers, but also among the heads of the field clerks and royal commissioners, Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 105; Jones, D., Index I, pp. 201:753, 207:772, 211:784, 270:972.

(166) Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l'Ancienne Égypte III, p. 96.

(167) The sign *wʿb* depicts a vessel pouring a liquid over a kneeling man whose two arms are raised in adoration posture, Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 442(A6), from the First Intermediate period until the end of the Middle Kingdom the sign is replaced by which depicts a vessel pouring liquid over the unilateral sign (b), Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 458 (D 60).

(168) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 7.

(169) Jones, D., Index II, p. 612:2247.

(170) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 8.

(171) Jones, D., Index II, p. 612:2247.

(172) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 43.

(173) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 43.

(174) Chamberlain was the official in charge of dressing, feeding and attending with the king, Redford, D., "The False-door of Nefer-shu-ba from Mendes", p. 128.

(175) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 43.

(176) Barta, M., "Kings, Viziers and Courtiers: Executive Power in the Third Millennium B.C.", p. 170.

(177) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 44, perhaps the legal administration particularly as the things took part in it as well as the Judicial matters must be kept secret.

(178) Wb I, p. 284 [1]; Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 198.

(179) Wb I, p. 284 [2]; Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 103 n.95; Junker, H., Die gesellschaftliche stellung der ägyptischen Künstler im Alten Reich, pp. 23-25; Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 198 [3].

embalming site[180]. Wörterbuch mentioned that *wʿbt* is a workshop for jewelry and is often found in dual form[181], while Hannig quoted that it is a workshop for jewelry, coffin or statue[182].

Junker and Strudwick believed that *wʿbt* was an institution involved in the construction and decoration of the tomb, as well as in the preparation of the deceased for burial[183].

Strudwick noted that *wʿbt* was centrally organized and was headed by *imy-r wʿbty*[184], whose function in the necropolises was performed by smaller localized institutions held the same title. The existence of local *wʿbt s* and their involvement in tomb design can be supported by the degree of variation apparent between tombs at different sites in the Memphite region, Strudwick also suggested that a separate *wʿbt* or some other workshops presumably existed for the design and construction of royal tombs. This *wʿbt* may have been then responsible for tombs granted by the king to his loyal and favored officials[185].

Strudwick believed that the term *wʿbt* could refer to the separation of this institution into tomb-building workshop and embalming workshop[186].

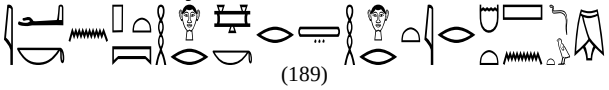
For Nekhebu, this title is mentioned on block MFA No. 13.4351 after two high construction titles which are *imy-r kꜣt nbt nt nswt* and (*mḏḥ*) *ḳd nswt m prwy* respectively. Thus, Nekhebu was in charge of the central department (administration) of *wʿbty* with its two workshops; the tomb building workshop and the embalming one.

(11) ***ḫrp šnḏ(w)t nbt***

The title is attested once on one source only for Nekhebu's biography, which is the block MFA No. 13.4349[187].

For the word *šnḏ(w)t*, Wörterbuch and Hannig translated it as "apron" or the "king's apron"[188].

It is worth commenting that such word *šnḏwt* was mentioned in the pyramid texts to indicate the royal office as a whole.


(189)

Ꜣʿ.k n pt ḥr.k r tꜣ ḥrt-ir ḥmt šnḏwt

You ascend to the sky, be far from the earth, from wife and apron[190].

Wörterbuch translated *ḫrp šnḏ(w)t nbt* as "director of all aprons"[191], while Gardiner believed that it means "master of every apron"[192], Helck noted that it means "director of all clothes"[193], while Hannig translated it as "overseer of all aprons"[194] and Jones offered the meaning of the title as "director of every kilt"[195].

From the previous translations, it is obvious that the holder of the title was a very close official to the sovereign, where he was concerned with the royal wardrobe and the king's clothing. This close relationship with the king made this office held initially by

(180) Wb I, p. 284 [4]; Junker, H., Die gesellschaftliche stellung der ägyptischen Künstler im Alten Reich, pp. 24-25; Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 198 [2].
(181) Wb I, p. 284 [2].
(182) Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 198 [3].
(183) Junker, H., Die gesellschaftliche stellung der ägyptischen Künstler im Alten Reich, pp. 23-25; Strudwick, N., "Some Remarks on the Disposition of Texts in Old Kingdom Tombs with Particular reference to the False Door", p. 35.
(184) Jones, D., Index I, pp. 87-88:374.
(185) Strudwick, N., "Some Remarks on the Disposition of Texts in Old Kingdom Tombs with Particular reference to the False Door", pp. 35-36.
(186) Strudwick, N., "Some Remarks on the Disposition of Texts in Old Kingdom Tombs with Particular reference to the False Door", p. 36 n. 3.
(187) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 7.
(188) Wb IV, p. 522 [1]; Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 899.
(189) Sethe, K., Die Altaegyptischen Pyramidentexte I, p. 192, sp. 267.
(190) Sethe translated it by: "you ascend to the sky, you remove yourself from the earth, removing the woman and the royal apron", cf. Sethe, K., Übersetzung und Kommentar zu den Altägyptischen Pyramidentexten II, p. 82, sp. 267, §§ 369.
(191) Wb IV, p. 522 [6].
(192) Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 40*.
(193) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 35.
(194) Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 899.
(195) Jones, D., Index II, p. 751:2737.

princes[196] then by vezirs and other senior officials[197].

The title is known since at least the fourth dynasty[198] where it was held by two princes *snb-snfrw*[199] and *ni-kꜣ-nswt*[200] and continued in the fifth dynasty[201], becoming frequent in the sixth dynasty[202].

It is worth noting that the title was not exclusively Memphite as it was attested in many provinces such as: Abydos as *Ḏꜥw*[203] and *Nḫt-Ppy*[204], Meir as *Ppy-ꜥnḫ* / *Ḥry-ib*[205] and *Ny-ꜥnḫ-Ppy* / *Ḥnni-km*[206], Akhmim as *špsi-pw-min* / *Ḫni*[207] and *Tti-kꜣ-ḥb*[208] as well as in Deir el Gebrawi as *Ḥm-rꜥ* / *Ꜣsi*[209].

It is well known that all *ḫrp šnḏ(w)t nbt* were also *sm* priests[210], which will be explained later. The two offices of *ḫrp šnḏ(w)t nbt* and sm priest were also associated always with the office of *ḫry-ḥbt* and *ḫry-ḥbt ḥry-tp*[211] as well as other offices related to the service of the king.

[196] Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 35.
[197] Wb IV, p. 522 [6]; Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 35.
[198] Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 35.
[199] Reisner, G., A History of the Giza Necropolis I, pl. 57; PM dated him by the middle of the fourth dynasty to the early of the fifth dynasty cf., PM III^2/1, p. 125.
[200] PM dated him by the early of the fifth dynasty, cf., PM III^2/1, p. 78.
[201] for example *Ny-mꜣꜥt-rꜥ*, cf., PM III ^{2}/2, p. 480.
[202] as: *nfr-sšm-ptḥ* / *ššỉ* / *wḏꜣ-ḥꜣ-tti*, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 111(87), *mry-rꜥ-mry-ꜥnḫ-ptḥ* / *ptḥ-špss* / *Ꜣmpy*, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 96-97 (62), *sꜣbw-ptḥ* / *Ꜣbbi*, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 130-131 (117).
[203] PM V, p. 95; Borchardt, L., Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, pp. 111-112 (CG 1431).
[204] PM V, p. 50; Borchardt, L., Denkmäler des Alten Reiches I, pp. 51-52 (CG 1573).
[205] Blackman, A., The Rock Tombs of Meir IV, pp. 1-3.
[206] Blackman, A., The Rock Tombs of Meir V, 1-2.
[207] Kanawati, N., The rock tombs of El-Hawawish II, p. 7.
[208] Kanawati, N., The rock tombs of El-Hawawish III, p. 8.
[209] Davies, N. de G., The Rock Tombs of Deir El Gebrâwi II, pl. xvii.
[210] Wb IV, p. 119 [8]; Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 35; Gardiner, A., AEO I, pp. 40*-41*.
[211] Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 41*; Kees, H., "Der Sogenannte oberste Vorlesepriester", pp. 122-124.

According to that title *Nḫbw* was in charge of dressing the sovereign and arranging his royal wardrobe.

(12) *ḫry-ḥbt*

This title is attested once on one source for Nekhebu's biography which is his inscriptions at Wadi Hammat[212].

Sethe believed that the reading of the title in question should be *ḫrw-ḥbt*[213]. He based his opinion on the fact that was an abbreviation for the full writing of that title which is and noted that in the usual spelling of the title the feminine ending t is usually omitted in the second word *ḥbt*[214].

Sethe translated the title as "the one who has the tight roll"[215], while Gardiner suggested that it means "the one who carries the ritual-book"[216], Kees mentioned that it means "lector priest"[217] and finally, Jones believed in two translations which are "lector priest" and "He who carries the ritual-book"[218].

The title *ḫry-ḥbt* was known since the second dynasty, as it was usually carried by the crown prince[219], while it was held by the high officials since the third dynasty at least[220].

Since he carried the ritual book, he was depicted in both mortuary temples as well as the private tombs which made the *ḫry-ḥbt* a prominent member in the ceremonies[221].

Wilson referred to the responsibilities of the *ḫry-ḥbt* as performing two functions of

[212] Urk I, p. 93:9.
[213] Sethe, K., "Miszelle", p. 134.
[214] Sethe, K., "Miszelle", p. 134.
[215] Sethe, K., "Miszelle", p. 134.
[216] Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 55*.
[217] Kees, H., "Der Sogenannte oberste Vorlesepriester", p. 119.
[218] Jones, D., Index II, p. 781:2848.
[219] Kaplony, P., Kleine Beiträge zu den Inschriften der Aegyptischen Frühzeit, p. 518.
[220] Kaplony, P., Kleine Beiträge zu den Inscriften der Aegyptischen Frühzeit, pp. 403-404, 449-450, Abb. 324.
[221] Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 55*.

feeding and beatifying the actual food and goods which were being presented by mortuary priests, He was also in charge of the recitation and direction of the daily rituals either in temples or private tombs[222]. Perhaps his knowledge of the ritualistic use was his primary and main qualification.

Despite that such lectors were often priests, it is by no means proven that they always were[223], as in case of Nekhebu.

Nekhebu held this title beside the titles *sm* and *ḫrp šnḏ(w)t nbt*, and consequently Nekhebu as a *ḫry-ḥbt* was in charge of recitation of the appropriate spells during dressing the sovereign Pepi I.

It is worth noting that most of the Old Kingdom *ḫry-ḥbt* were also *smr-wʿty*[224] as Nekhebu.

(13) ***ḫry-ḥbt ḥry-tp***

The title is attested two times in Nekhebu's inscriptions for his biography on the blocks MFA No. 13.4335 and MFA No. 13.4349[225].

Gardiner and Bianchi translated the title as "chief lector"[226], and Fischer and Weber translated it as "chief lector priest"[227], whilst Goedicke and Jones offered two translations for the title in question which are: "chief lector priest" and "lector priest in charge"[228].

There seems to be additions to the title *ḫry-ḥbt*; the most common of these additions is *ḥry-tp* which was often attested since the late of the Old Kingdom with the highest civil officials and princes[229].

As for the term *ḥry-tp*, it is known since the pyramid texts. The term is sufficiently common during the Old Kingdom in combination with various titles[230]. Fischer noted that its regular use independently may well have escaped notice[231].

It is worth commenting that Goedicke stated that *ḥry-tp* in the title *ḫry-ḥbt ḥry-tp* was not used to indicate a rank with commanding or administrative power but it denoted a position of charge or entrustment rather than complete authority[232], i.e. it reflected a position of leadership but not of authority. Brovarski adopted Goedicke's view where he considered the title *ḫry-ḥbt ḥry-tp* showed length and extent of the service rather than degree of command[233].

The title *ḫry-ḥbt ḥry-tp* was attested with the title "*sš mḏꜣt nṯr*"[234] as they were responsible for the production and recitation of the holy documents, These documents should protect and preserve the life of the king[235].

As for Nekhebu, he was *ḫry-ḥbt* then he was promoted to *ḫry-ḥbt ḥry-tp*[236], perhaps according to his experience which enabled him to be *ḥry-tp*.

It is worth mentioning that *ḫry-ḥbt* and *ḫry-ḥbt ḥry-tp* were directly linked with the king so as to recite the suitable spells during dressing the king (*ḫrp šnḏwt nbt*) also to recite him during the different stages of the king's ornamenting.

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(222) Wilson, J., "Funeral Services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom", pp. 215-216.

(223) Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 56*.

(224) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 226, 315.

(225) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pp. 6-7.

(226) Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 56*; Bianchi, R., "Petamenophis", p. 991.

(227) Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 236; Weber, M., "Gottesbuch", p. 791.

(228) Goedicke, H., "Review of E.Martin-Pardey, Untersuchungen zur ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches, HÄB I, Hildeshem, 1976", p. 122; Jones, D., Index II, p. 784:2860.

(229) Otto, E., "Cheriheb", pp. 941-942; Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 315, He also noted that the title was frequently attested with the viziers other than the holders of other administrative title.

(230) Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millenium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 74; for examples for titles where Ḥry-tp participated in them in the Old Kingdom cf., Jones, D., Index II, pp. 647-650:2370-2381.

(231) Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millenium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 74.

(232) Goedicke, H., "Review of E.Martin-Pardey, Untersuchungen zur Ägyptischen Provinzialverwaltung bis zum Ende des Alten Reiches, HÄB I, Hildesheim, 1976", p. 122.

(233) Brovarski, E., "Tempelpersonal I", p. 389.

(234) Jones, D., Index II, pp. 857-858:3132.

(235) Weber, M., "Gottesbuch", p. 791.

(236) Strudwick mentioned that *ḫry-ḥbt ḥry-tp* was a higher rank than *ḫry-ḥbt*, Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 315.

(14) *ḫry-tp nswt*

The title is attested two times on two different sources for Nekhebu's biography: the Cairo text[237] and the Boston Museum block no. 13.4335[238].

It is known since the Archaic period[239], but it became a ranking title under Zoser[240] and continued in use till the end of the Old Kingdom[241].

Goedicke suggested its reading as "*tpy-ḫrt nswt*" and translated it as "one who is upon the royal property"[242], while Fischer[243], Kahl[244], Altenmüller[245] and Jones[246] read it as *ḫry-tp nsw*(*t*) and finally Jones translated it as "royal chamberlain"[247].

Gunn argued that the chamberlain was an officer who attended with the king in his bedroom[248]. Fischer also believed in that explanation and noted that it indicated an official who was under the head of the king[249]. Anyways, this title holders were in close connection with the king whether as personal attendants or servants for him[250].

Helck noted that *ḫry-tp nswt* was a court title in the Old Kingdom awarded principally to legal officials[251]. Strudwick also adopted Helck's opinion but he added that the title was found frequently in the titularies of scribes and builders as well[252].

It is worth commenting that the title by the sixth dynasty changed from a ranking title attached generally to specific administrative functions[253], to a more general one.

Finally, it was likely awarded merely for the goods and the materials that came with it and it was lower ranking than the sole companion *smr-wʿty*[254].

(15) *sm*

The title is attested once in Nekhebu's biography: on the Boston Museum block MFA No. 13.4349[255].

Sm, which is translated by sem-priest[256], was written in different forms as or and [257]. Wörterbuch adopted the reading of *sm*[258], James read it by *smt*[259], while Fischer preferred the reading of *stm*[260].

James noted that *smt* was the late form of the title *stm* and that the early variants suggested that the original reading was *smt*[261].

Despite these different readings, the title was almost written with the two uniliteral signs which are *s* and *m* without any determinatives[262], There are some exceptions

(237) Urk I, p. 216:3.
(238) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 6.
(239) Kaplony, P., Die Inschriften der Ägyptischen Frühzeit III, p. 72:267.
(240) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 60.
(241) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 185.
(242) Goedicke, H., "Titles for Titles", pp. 227-234.
(243) Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 236.
(244) Kahl, J., Das System der ägyptischen Heiroglyphenschrift in der 0-3. Dynastie, p. 2318.
(245) Altenmüller, H., Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara, p. 40 (41).
(246) Jones, D., Index II, p. 788:2874.
(247) Jones, D., Index II, p. 788:2874.
(248) Gunn, B., "Notes on Egyptian Lexicography", p. 145.
(249) Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 115.
(250) Redford, D., "The False-Door of Nefer-shu-ba from Mendes", p. 128.
(251) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 60.
(252) Strudwick, N. The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 183, 205, 310.
(253) i.e. which seem to have been primarily legal, despite it was attested with builders and scribes also, cf., Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 183.
(254) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 231, 310.
(255) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 7.
(256) Jones, D., Index II, p. 885:3241.
(257) Wb IV, p. 119.
(258) Wb IV, p. 119.
(259) James, T. and Apted, M., The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi, p. 9(7).
(260) Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, p. 137 n. 600.
(261) James, T. and Apted, M., The Mastaba of Khentika called Ikhekhi, p. 11.
(262) Wb IV, p. 119; Gauthier, H., "Le Sarcophage n° 6007 du Musée du Caire", p. 176.

where the title in question was written with determinatives, In the temple of Ni-User-Re the title is attested with two different determinatives: one of a standing man holding a staff and the second of a standing priest with leopard skin[263], while the third one is attested in *Rᶜ-wr*'s biography as a standing priest holding a baton[264].

The office of *sm* priest was known since the first dynasty[265]. Wörterbuch indicated that it was a priestly office[266], while Helck mentioned that although the meaning of the title is unknown, the functions of its holder are better known[267].

The duties and responsibilities of *sm* priest in the Old Kingdom were many, Both Gardiner and Helck referred to these responsibilities as being in charge of dressing the living king and putting on his clothes[268], in another meaning clothing the king[269] and taking care of his royal appearance. Thus, he was responsible for organizing and arranging the royal wardrobe.

Gardiner mentioned that *sm*-priest was responsible for adorning the god, perhaps the king, He was also depicted in permanent attendance with the king in Sed festivals[270], which confirms his role of clothing and fitting the king's clothes. He also served as the king's representative while offering to gods[271], which may indicate his responsibility in leading processions.

Another allusion offered from *Rᶜ-wr*'s biography is that he as *sm* priest was in charge of carrying the ceremonial items as the scepters[272], beside setting and fitting the king's cloth[273]. It is worth commenting that all *sm*-priests were, without exceptions, *ḫrp šnḏ(w)t nbt*, which ensures their responsibility with the king's clothes.

While for the dead king, *sm* priest was involved in execution ceremonies for him[274]. From the previously mentioned analysis, Nekhebu was responsible for clothing king Pepi I as well as managing and arranging his wardrobe.

(16) ***Smr-wᶜty***

This title is attested on all sources for Nekhebu's biography. Two similar translations are suggested for that title; the first one is "Sole friend" suggested by Junker[275], Dewit[276], Wörterbuch[277] and Hannig[278], while the second one is "Sole Companion" believed by Fischer[279] and Jones[280].

The title might have appeared for the first time in the reign of Cheops[281] and continued in use till the end of the Old Kingdom in the Memphite capital as well as the provinces[282].

Wörterbuch mentioned that *smr-wᶜty* was a very common title of the highest persons[283], while Strudwick noted that it became more common with all categories of officials[284] not only the highest persons. *Smr-wᶜty* was a very common title in the Old and Middle Kingdoms[285].

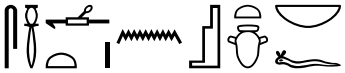
Different opinions were raised concerning the nature of this title; either it was honorific or a real office with specific tasks. Strudwick believed it was an honorific title that

(263) von Bissing, F. and Kees, H., Das Re-Heiligtum III, nos. 7, 13, 23-24, 193-194.
(264) Urk I, p. 232:6.
(265) Schmitz, B., "Sem (priester)", p. 833. As a successor for the official *ṭt* shown on Narmer palette, Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 16.
(266) Wb IV, p. 119 [3-5].
(267) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, pp. 16-17; Schmitz, B., "Sem (priester)", pp. 833-834.
(268) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 18.
(269) Schmitz, B., "Sem (priester)", pp. 834-835.
(270) Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 41*.
(271) Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 41*.
(272) Urk I, p. 232.
(273) Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 40*.
(274) Wb IV, p. 119 [4].
(275) Junker, H., Giza XII, p. 175.
(276) dewit, C., "Enquête sur le titre de smr pr", p. 90.
(277) Wb I, p. 278 [18].
(278) Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 766.
(279) Fischer, H., The Tomb of I'P at El Saff, p. 21.
(280) Jones, D., Index II, p. 892:3268.
(281) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 117 (96).
(282) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 310 tb.30.
(283) Wb IV, p. 138 [11] as princes and vezirs.
(284) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 225.
(285) Ward, W., Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, p. 151:1299; Jones, D., Index II, p. 892:3268.

represented a man's status and his relationship with the king rather than being an indicator of a particular office[286], whilst Fischer suggested it was the lowest of the titles of rank[287] but he did not refer to a specific task that the title's holder performed.

It is worth commenting that there is an allusion from the royal decrees that the holders of *smr-wʿty* might have served as royal envoys[288]. So, *smr-wʿty* was not an honorific title but it indicated a real office.

S*mr-wʿty* and *ḫry-tp nswt* were frequently attested in the sixth dynasty. By the early times of this dynasty they were attested sporadically but by the reign of king Pepi II it was much expected that a man holding *ḫry-tp nswt* was awarded the rank *smr-wʿty*[289].

(*17*)  ***Smr wʿty n*(*y*) *st-ib nb.f***

This title is attested once on one source for Nekhebu's biography which is his block No. 13.4335 in Boston Museum[290].

Jones read the title as *smr wʿty n*(*y*) *st-ib nb.f* and translated it as "sole companion and favorite of his lord"[291].

The current title consists of two parts; the first part is the usually *smr wʿty* title, previously discussed, while the second part of the title is *n*(*y*) *st-ib nb.f*.

As for *n*(*y*) *st-ib nb.f*, Blackman[292], Firth and Gunn[293] translated it as "favorite of his lord", Simpson translated it as "He who belongs to the place of his lord's desire"[294], while Brovarski suggested the translation "belonging to his lord's affection"[295]. Finally, Jones believed in two meanings for that title: "favorite of his lord" and "belonging to his lord's affection"[296].

It is worth commenting that the nisba n(y) usually appeared introducing epithets as well as titles, but it was very much attested with epithets other than titles for example:

n(*y*) *st-ib nb tꜣwy* "one who belongs to the heart of the lord of the two lands"[297], *n*(*y*) *st ḫntt* "who belongs to a preeminent place"[298], *n*(*y*) *stp-sꜣ* "the one belonging to the escort"[299] and *n*(*y*) *ḏt.f* "he who belongs to the *ḏt*-estate"[300].

As for *n*(*y*) *st-ib*, Fischer noted that it was always followed either by *nb.f* or *nṯr.f*, which means, of course, the king[301].

Jones argued that *n*(*y*) *st-ib nb.f* was an epithet often used in close association with other titles[302].

I know at least three titles where the epithet *n*(*y*) *st-ib nb.f* was associated with them beside the current title: *imy-r pr n*(*y*) *st-ib nb.f*[303], *imy-r pr-ḥḏ n*(*y*) *st-ib nb.f*[304] and *imy-r ḫnty-š pr-ꜥꜣ n*(*y*) *st-ib nb.f*[305].

As for the title *smr wʿty n*(*y*) *st-ib nb.f*, the addition of the epithet *n*(*y*) *st ib nb.f* may have pointed to a degree of distinction for Nekhebu rather than any regular *smr wʿty* or possibly that he really was the sole companion or friend of the king in the palace as reflected from Simpson's translation for the epithet[306] and

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(286) Strudwick, N., The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 175.

(287) Fischer, H., The Tomb of I'P at El Saff, p. 21.

(288) Eyre, C., "Weni's Career and Old Kingdom Historiography", p. 110.

(289) Strudwick, N., the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 182.

(290) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 6.

(291) Jones, D., Index II, p. 895:3285.

(292) Blackman, A., the Rock Tombs of Meir IV, p. 3 (5).

(293) Firth, C. and Gunn, B., Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I, p. 151 (4).

(294) Simpson, W., The Offering Chapel of Sekhem-Ankh-Ptah, p. 4 (11).

(295) Brovarski, E., The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr II, p. 503 n. 270.

(296) Jones, D., Index I, p. 474:1765.

(297) Fischer, H., Inscriptions from the Coptite Nome, no. 49.

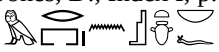
(298) Fischer, H., Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C. down to the Theban domination of Upper Egypt, pp. 99 n. 451, 235.

(299) Jones, D., Index I, p. 475:1766.

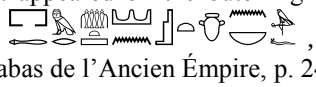
(300) Junker, H., Giza III, p. 182 (6); Jones, D., Index I, p. 475:1767.

(301) Fischer, H., "A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty", p. 268 (24).

(302) Jones, D., Index I, p. 474:1765.

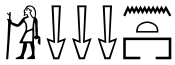
(303)  , cf., Blackman, A., The Rock Tombs of Meir IV, p. 3 (5).

(304) , cf., Petrie, H. and Murray, M., Seven Memphite Tomb Chapels, pl. 14.

(305) it appeared on the outer right jamb of Ssi's false door:  , cf., Mariette, A., Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Émpire, p. 240.

(306) Simpson, W., The Offering Chapel of Sekhem-Ankh-Ptah, p. 4 (11).

from the other titles of Nekhebu which show his direct relation with the king.

(18)  ***Smsw snwt***

This title is attested twice in two different sources for Nekhebu's biography which are the blocks MFA No. 13.4335 and MFA No. 13.4349[307].

Despite that the title was read by Wörterbuch[308], Kees[309], Junker[310], Fischer[311], Jones[312] and Hannig[313] as *smsw snwt*, there were two different translations for that title; the first one was suggested by Wörterbuch[314], Firth[315], Jones[316] and Hannig[317] as "elder of *snwt*", while Kees and Helck believed in the second translation of "elder of the snake stone house"[318].

The title *smsw snwt* belongs to the group of titles which were formed with the word [319] *smsw* which means "elder"[320] and the word *snwt* which Wörterbuch stated that it was either synonymous with *itrt*[321] which means palace or that it means sanctuary of Re or Min or other deities[322].

This caused the variations in the translations of the title. The opinion offered by Kees and Helck as it means: "elder of snake stone house" was due to their translation of the word *snwt* as palace, where the royal palace was originally designated as it: "which was magically secured by the installation of two snake stones in front of the entrance"[323], but Helck was uncertain about when this name came up and what the relationship of that palace with other palaces was. He also noted that the exact meaning of *snwt* even with that translation "elder of snake stone house" was uncertain[324].

On the other hand, Gauthier argued that the group signs *sn*(*w*)*t* must have been used originally to designate a group of pillars, a wooden colonnade then when stone was used for the construction of the columns, the word spread to the stone pillars and served to designate any colonnade without distinction[325].

Gauthier then concluded that *snwt* was a building mentioned in the tombs of the Old Kingdom, which was to be a building with columns and which undoubtedly was in Memphis and that title holder was in the Old Kingdom a priest of the Memphite cult[326].

Kees believed that *snwt* house was actually first and foremost attested as a place of worship of Re, and he also suggested that *snwt* "sanctuary" would belong to Lower Egypt and that Heliopolis was its location[327].

The *snwt* probably had its counterpart in Upper Egypt[328], which perhaps was the *ꜥḥ-nṯr šmꜥ*[329], i.e. God's palace of Upper Egypt[330].

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(307) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pp. 6-7.

(308) Wb IV, p. 153 [1].

(309) Kees, H., "Die Schlangensteine und ihre Beziehungen zu den Reichsheiligtümern", p. 126.

(310) Junker, H., Giza II, p. 190.

(311) Fischer, H., Varia Nova, pp. 81, 254.

(312) Jones, D., Index II, p. 904:3318.

(313) Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 774.

(314) Wb translated it as "elder of snwt" cf. Wb IV, p. 153 [1].

(315) Firth, C. and Gunn, B., Teti Pyramid Cemeteries I, pp. 151 (9), 281 (27), translated it by: "Elder of the *snwt*-house".

(316) Jones, D., Index II, p. 904:3318, translated it as: "Elder of the *snwt*-shrine / house".

(317) Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 774, translated it by: "Elder of *snwt* sanctuary".

(318) Kees, H., "Die Schlangensteine und ihre Beziehungen zu den Reichsheiligtümern", p. 126; Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 38.

(319) It is difficult to distinguish between the sign A21 which appeared in the biography of Nekhebu and A 20 which appeared with the same title in other tombs, Junker, H., Giza II, p. 190; Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 444.

(320) Wb IV, p. 142; FCD, p. 229; Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 767.

(321) For *itrt* cf., Wb I, p. 147 [10-13] (it was originally probably the palace of the king or a temple or small chapel).

(322) Wb IV, p. 152 [15-18].

(323) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 38.

(324) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 38.

(325) Gauthier, H., "Notes Géographiques sur les Nome Panopolite", p. 53.

(326) Gauthier, H., "Notes Géographiques sur les Nome Panopolite", p. 55.

(327) Kees, H., "Die Schlangensteine und ihre Beziehungen zu den Reichsheiligtümern", pp. 124-125. Who also noted that this building was known since the fifth dynasty.

(328) Kees, H., "Die Schlangensteine und ihre Beziehungen zu den Reichsheiligtümern", p. 125.

As for *smsw snwt*, Gauthier noted that this title was undoubtedly a title of a religious leader[331]. Kees mentioned that the title holder had a relationship with the god[332], while Helck believed that its holder might have been assigned as the administrator of a royal palace[333].

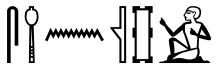
smsw snwt was known since the fourth dynasty where it was held by princes[334], but Helck and Strudwick believed that it was an honorary title[335], so a closer examination of the title holder can give a clear view concerning such title.

As far as I know, *Nb-m-ꜣḫt* was the first *smsw snwt* in the Old Kingdom, who is dated by the end of the fourth dynasty[336], then it became frequent in the fifth and sixth dynasties. It was held in the fifth dynasty by *Bꜣ-Bꜣf*, *wꜣš-ptḥ/Ꜣsi* and *Ptḥ-ḥtp*[337], whilst in the sixth dynasty it was held by: *Mrrw-kꜣi / Mri*[338], *Nfr-sšm-Ptḥ/šši*[339], *Mry-tti*[340], *Rꜥ-wr*[341], *Ḥtp-Ḥr-n-ptḥ*[342], *Ḫꜥ-bꜣw-ḫnmw/biw*[343] and *ṯṯw*[344].

As for the holders of that title, it is clear that all of them were without exceptions *ḫry-ḥbt ḥry-tp* and some of them were also *ꜥꜣ-Dwꜣw*.

Kees believed it was a court and honorary title and that the title holder was taking part in the service of the living king. Also, Kees noted that the title may reflect priestly functions at the sanctuaries of the Old Kingdom as reflected from its frequent position with series of priestly titles[345].

The *smsw snwt* was mentioned at all times side by side with the title *ḫry-ḥbt ḥry-tp*, so I suggest that Nekhebu according to this title was in direct relation with the living king either in the palace or in the royal funerary complexes[346].

(19)  ***sḥḏ n ḳdw***

This title is attested in one source for Nekhebu's biography which is the Cairo text[347]. Wilson translated it as "Assistant builder"[348], while Fischer believed that it means "inspector of builders"[349], Helck suggested the meaning "sub-head of construction workers"[350], and finally Jones mentioned three possible meanings for the current title which are "inspector of builders or

(329) McFarlane, A., The God Min, p. 254.

(330) Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, p. 165.

(331) Gauthier, H., "Notes Géographiques sur les Nome Panopolite", p. 55.

(332) Kees, H., "Die Schlangensteine und ihre Beziehungen zu den Reichsheiligtümern", p. 126.

(333) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 38.

(334) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 38.

(335) Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 38; Strudwick, N., the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 311.

(336) Strudwick, N., the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 108 (81).

(337) *Bꜣ-Bꜣf* who is dated by early fifth dynasty, Strudwick, N., the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 82 (42).
wꜣš-ptḥ/Ꜣ'si who is dated by mid to late reign of Neferirkare, Strudwick, N., the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 79-80 (37).
Ptḥ-ḥtp who is dated by the late reign of Djedkare, Strudwick, N., the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 87 (49).

(338) is dated by end of Teti's reign, Strudwick, N., the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, pp. 100-101 (68).

(339) is dated by the end of Teti's reign to the early reign of Pepi I, Strudwick, N., the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 111 (87).

(340) is dated by the reign of Pepi I, Strudwick, N., the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 97 (63).

(341) is dated by the late reign of Pepi I, Strudwick, N., the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 115 (93).

(342) is dated by the early to the middle of the sixth dynasty, Strudwick, N., the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 119-120 (100).

(343) is dated by the late reign of Pepi II, Strudwick, N., the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 121 (102).

(344) is dated by the very late of the Old Kingdom, Strudwick, N., the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 160 (160).

(345) Kees, H., "Die Schlangensteine und ihre Beziehungen zu den Reichsheiligtümern", p. 127.

(346) *snwt*-shrine was mentioned several times in the royal funerary complexes, Ćwiek, A., Relief Decoration in the Funerary Complexes of the Old Kingdom, pp. 72-73 n. 299.

(347) Urk I, p. 216:2.

(348) Wilson, J., "The Artist of the Egyptian Old Kingdom", p. 238.

(349) Fischer, H., Varia, pl. 21 (6).

(350) Helck, W., "Laufbahn", p. 940.

inspector of potters or inspector of masons"[351].

Pirenne believed that *sḥḏ ḳdw* was a step to the *ỉmy-r ḳdw*[352] then the official got promoted to *mḏḥ-nswt*, as in case of Nekhebu. Another example for that promotion was that of Khemiset who was *sḥḏ-ḳdw*, *ỉmy-r ḳdw* before he ended his career as *mḏḥ-nswt* under Teti[353].

Pirenne noted that the current title does not indicate that its holder has gone through the rank of *ḳd*[354] i.e. it might be held by an official who was not associated with the department of *ḳd*(*w*).

However, in case of Nekhebu, he held this title as a direct promotion in the department of *ḳd*(*w*) as he was *ḳdw n ꜥš3t* that enabled him to be promoted in his department as *sḥḏ n ḳdw*.

(20) ***ḳdw n ꜥš3t***

This title is attested in one source for Nekhebu's biography which is in the Cairo text[355]. Jones translated it as "ordinary builder"[356], which means a simple worker. This title is suggested by Wilson and Helck to be the first profession in Nekhebu's long career and offices[357].

(21) ***ḳd nswt m prwy***

This title is attested twice in Nekhebu's biography, which are the two blocks of Boston Museum MFA No. 13.4335 and MFA No. 13.4351[358].

Jones read the current title as *ḳdw m prwy* and translated it as "sculptor or builder in the two houses"[359], for he omitted in his reading and translation the word *nsw*.

These two examples of Nekhebu are the only known examples for that title, as far as I know, in the Old Kingdom.

Consequently, one had two possibilities: either the current title *ḳd nswt m prwy* was a profession that means royal builder in the two houses which was never held by any official in the Old Kingdom other than Nekhebu, while the second possibility is that *n* in the word was a scribal or typographical error for *mḏḥ* thus the title which appeared in that form:

Ḳd(*w*) *nswt m prwy*

shall be written in that form

mḏḥ nswt ḳd(*w*) *m prwy*

Consequently, these two examples will be considered as other examples for the title *mḏḥ nswt ḳdw m prwy*.

(22) ***k3wty***

This title is attested in Boston text MFA No. 13.4331[360]. It is read as *k3wty*[361], which was a professional title[362]. Both Spiegelberg and Goedicke noted that *k3wty* was a nisba adjective from *k3t*[363].

Spiegelberg suggested firstly the translation of *k3wty* as "worker" or particularly "construction worker"[364], but he then changed his mind to suggest two translations for the

(351) Jones, D., Index II, p. 970:3578.

(352) Urk I, p. 216:11-12; Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l'Ancienne Égypte III, p. 95.

(353) Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l'Ancienne Égypte III, p. 95

(354) Pirenne, J., Histoire des Institutions et du Droit Privé de l'Ancienne Égypte III, p. 95

(355) Urk I, p. 216:1, 11.

(356) Jones, D., Index II, p. 997:3692.

(357) Wilson, J., "The Artist of the Egyptian Old Kingdom", p. 238; Helck, W., Beamtentiteln, p. 104.

(358) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pp. 6-7.

(359) Jones, D., Index II, p. 997:3693.

(360) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pl. II. This title isn't recorded by Sethe in his Urk who suggested *b3k* instead of *k3wty* cf., Urk I, p. 119:14 but Dunham believed that there is no alternative to the reading *k3wty* for that lacuna. Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 2.

(361) Jones, D., Index II, p. 997:3694.

(362) Spiegelberg, W., "Demotische Miscellen", p. 37; Helck, W., "Arbeiter", p. 371.

(363) Spiegelberg, W., "Miszellen", p. 151; Goedicke, H., "A Provision-Jar of the Time of Asosis", p. 71.

(364) Spiegelberg, W., "Demotische Miscellen", p. 37.

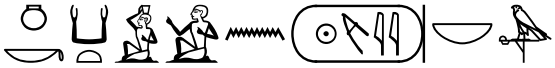
title either "worker" or "porter"[365]. Gardiner mentioned that the title literally means "builder's workman"[366] but he preferred the meaning of "porter"[367], Goedicke refused to call the title "workman"[368], Ward believed in the translation of "porter"[369], and Jones translated it as "workman"[370], while Hannig adopted the two translations suggested before by Spiegelberg and Gardiner as worker or porter[371].

Wörterbuch and Goedicke considered *kꜣwty* a high rank[372], and the latter believed that *kꜣ(w)ty* is the man concerned with the execution of the task denoted as *kꜣt*[373].

Helck noted that manual work, whose execution was carried out by workers, was implemented in the Old and Middle Kingdoms by the entire population unless some of the workers were exempted from it by royal decrees to be assigned for other tasks[374].

Workers performed their careers in field work or pushed out according to a royal order for construction work, campaigns and quarry expeditions[375].

Kꜣwty was usually followed by a name of a god or a temple[376]. In case of Nekhebu, *kꜣwty* was followed by *n*[377] + the king's name.


(378)

Ỉnk kꜣwty n Mry-rˁ nb.i

I am workman (porter) of *Mry-rˁ*[379] my lord

From the previous analysis, this title has two indications; either this office summarizes metaphorically the responsibilities of Nekhebu held under the reign of Pepi I as he was in charge of the expeditions and the construction activities for that sovereign or that Nekhebu carried out the tasks of that office as a regular workman or porter. If this view is correct, this office might be the first profession in Nekhebu's long career hierarchy.

Conclusion:

(1) Two distinguishing groups of titles are attested from the different sources of Nekhebu's biography, Both groups of titles can help in reconstructing the long career of Nekhebu. The first group of titles links him with the construction and the work organisation administration which is shown from titles Nos. 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 19, 20, 21, and 22; while the second group of titles links him with the court and the direct service of the king which is shown from titles Nos. 5, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18, beside the honorific epithets and titles Nos. 1 and 2.

(2) It is likely that Nekhebu began his career in the builders' office and then got promoted till he reached the highest office in the work organisation administration. Then, after his successful career, he was attached to the royal palace due to his loyalty to monarch Pepi I and due to his achievements which he executed to the king as a civil official as well.

(3) Nekhebu most probably started his career in the builders' office and then he was attached to the royal palace and not vice versa, This is clear from his serving alongside his elder anonymous brother

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(365) Spiegelberg, W., "Miszellen", p. 151.

(366) Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 59*.

(367) Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 60*, Gardiner depended in his point of view on another title which is *kꜣwty ḥbs* which means "clothes-porter", Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 96*.

(368) Goedicke, H., "A Provision-Jar of the Time of Asosis", p. 71.

(369) Ward, W., Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, p. 180:1553-1554.

(370) Jones, D., Index II, p. 997:3694.

(371) Hannig, R., Handwörterbuch, pp. 945-946.

(372) Wb V, p. 102 [7-8]; Goedicke, H., "A Provision-Jar of the Time of Asosis", p. 71.

(373) Goedicke, H., "A Provision-Jar of the Time of Asosis", p. 71.

(374) Helck, W., "Arbeiter", p. 371.

(375) Helck, W., "Arbeiter", p. 371.

(376) Spiegelberg, W., "Demotiche Miscellen", pp. 37-38; Gardiner, A., AEO I, p. 59*; Ward, W., Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, p. 180:1553-1554.
For the association of that title with temples and the relationship of *kꜣwty* with the *iry-ˁꜣ*, cf., Spiegelberg, W., "Miszellen", p. 151; Gardiner, A., AEO I, pp. 59*-60*.

(377) genetival adjective, cf., Gardiner, A., Egyptian Grammar, p. 66.

(378) Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pl. II.

(379) King Pepi I; von Beckerath, J., Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen, p. 56.

whom Nekhebu assisted[380] and succeeded him in most of his professions[381].

(4) As for the hierarchy of Nekhebu, it is worth noting that he climbed the ladder of work organisation administration from the very beginning where he started his career as a workman *kꜣwty* (*22*), then he entered to the *ḳd* department as *ḳdw n ꜥšꜣt* (*20*). After that he got promoted to *sḥḏ n ḳdw* (*19*), then *ỉmy-r ḳdw* (*3*), *mty n sꜣ* (*6*), *mḏḥ nswt ḳdw* (*8*), *ḫry-tp nswt* (*14*), *ḥry sštꜣ n wꜥbty* (*10*), *ḳd nswt m prwy* (*21*)[382], *mḏḥ nswt ḳdw m prwy* (*9*), *smr wꜥty* (*16*), *mḏḥ nswt* (*7*), *ỉmy-r kꜣt nbt nt nswt* (*4*) respectively, and later Nekhebu was attached to the royal palace where he served in the personal and direct service of the king that enabled him to hold the titles *ḫry-ḥbt* (12) then the titles which show very close connection with the king *ḫry-ḥbt ḥry-tp* (*13*), *sm* (*15*), *ḫrp šnḏ*(*w*)*t nbt* (*11*), *ꜥꜣ-Dwꜣw* (*5*), *smsw snwt* (*18*) and *smr-wꜥty n*(*y*) *st ỉb nb.f* (*17*).

(5) The offices *ꜥꜣ-Dwꜣw* (*5*), *ḫry-ḥbt* (*12*), *ḫry ḥbt ḥry-tp* (*13*), *sm* (*15*), *ḫrp šnḏ*(*w*)*t nbt* (*11*), *smsw snwt* (*18*) reflect Nekhebu's presence and attendance in the king's suite.

(6) Nekhebu according to his direct contact with the king and his titles *smr wꜥty* (16) and *smr wꜥty n*(*y*) *st ỉb nb.f* (*17*) might have carried out the responsibilities of the royal envoys.

(7) Nekhebu never held the vizierate title *tꜣyty sꜣb tꜣty*.

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(380) Strudwick, N., the Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom, p. 170 (171).

(381) UrK I, pp. 216-217.

(382) The arrangement of the titles *ḥry-sštꜣ n wꜥbty* and *ḳd nswt m prwy* are arranged in that place after *ḫry-tp nswt* and before *mḏḥ nswt ḳdw m prwy* as reflected from the same arrangement of the title on the block MFA no. 13.4351, Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 7.

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Fig. (1)
MFA No. 13.4331
Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", pl. II.

Fig. (2)
MFA No. 13.4335
Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 6.

Fig. (3)
MFA No. 13.4348
Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 7.

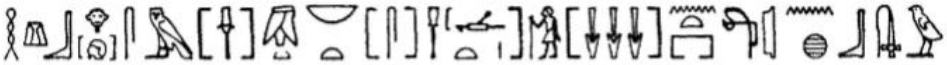

Fig. (4)
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Fig. (5)
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Dunham, D., "The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo", p. 7.

مهن "نخبو " وتسلسله الوظيفي

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الملخص :

يهدف هذا البحث إلي إلقاء الضوء حول ألقاب و وظائف أحد موظفي الدولة القديمة بوجه عام و الأسرة السادسة بوجه خاص و هو المعماري الملكي و المشرف علي كل الأشغال الملكية " نخبو" و الذي مارس مهام وظائفه المختلفة تحت حكم الملك بيبي الأول، و تُقدم الورقة البحثية تحليلاً مفصلاً لألقاب " نخبو " و نعوته المختلفة و التي حملها طوال مسيرته المهنية الطويلة و ذلك اعتماداً علي النقوش المختلفة لسيرته الذاتية المتناثرة، و بناءً علي تحليل هذة الألقاب المختلفة لنخبو يقترح الباحث مسارين مهنيين مختلفين مر بهما نخبو خلال مسيرته المهنية الطويلة، كما يناقش البحث طبيعة هذة الألقاب و قراءاتها المختلفة و ترجماتها و وظائفها بالإضافة إلي اقتراح تسلسل وظيفي لهذا الموظف.

الكلمات المفتاحية:

نخبو، المعماري الملكي، المشرف علي كل الأشغال الملكية، التسلسل الوظيفي، الخدمة الملكية، ألقاب، وظائف .