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Abstract

It is significant that in the New kingdom, the last and greatest Empire Age of Ancient Egypt, the architecture and illustration of the Royal Palace provide new insight into royal life and vast wealth aggrandized the ruler and honored some members of his family and court. In this study, I have investigated three terms used for royal structures associated with king since the Old kingdom including $C\text{ḥ}$, $stp-s3$, and $pr-nsw$ and defined their meaning and use during the New Kingdom. Although these three terms were in general used as designations of the “Royal Palace,” each one has specific reference to a particular type of royal structure with its own structure and purpose. This study concentrated in detail context and significance on these terms as they use during this period. Evidences were drawn from a variety of texts including commemorative autobiographical, narrative, and religious texts, besides pictured scenes from tombs, temples, etc. These evidences proved that the Royal Palace $C\text{ḥ}$ was functioned as a royal residence of the king and headquarter of the kingship where the king lived and practiced his authority as the legitimate ruler of Egypt. $Stp-s3$ was definitely an essential component of the Royal Palace associated with the king duties as a ruler. Unlike the $pr-nsw$ which seems to be connected with the vizier and government.

In additional to the three overarching terms for the Royal Palace informing the discussion adumbrated above, I conducted a taxonomic break-down of the physical components of the Royal Palace. These included architectural elements such as gateways, doors, window of appearance used to frame the power and authority of the ruler during his public appearance. In addition, the identity and arrangements of halls, courts and chambers
were investigated along with their functions. That included all the essential parts of the Royal Palace, both the residential area and headquarters of the kingship (stp-s3). The design and plan of the Royal Palace was purposely thought to provide segregation between the public and private areas of the Royal Palace while providing the king and inhabitant of the Royal Palace with all the means of luxury life. The location, design and even decoration of each hall and suite within the Royal Palace (whether of the headquarters or living area of the Royal Palace) associated with its function and use. Thus, the Royal Palace comprised various types of halls and suites that were investigated in this chapter using textual, pictorial and archeological sources pertaining to the period of study.

The focus of the third chapter is the royal income during the New kingdom. The various sources of the royal income were examined along with the Egyptian terms used for each type of the royal income. The sources of royal income varied during this period to include not only inland sources but also income from the foreign lands that certainly made the New kingdom fabulously wealthy.
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<td>ASAE:</td>
<td>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte, Cairo.</td>
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<td>CdE:</td>
<td>Chronique d’Égypte, Brüssel.</td>
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<td>CG:</td>
<td>Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire, Cairo.</td>
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<td>IEJ:</td>
<td>Israel Exploration Journal, Jerusalem.</td>
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<td>JARCE:</td>
<td>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt, Boston.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JEA:</td>
<td>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, London.</td>
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<tr>
<td>JNES:</td>
<td>Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MÄS:</td>
<td>Münchner Ägyptologische Studien, Berlin.</td>
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<tr>
<td>MIFAO:</td>
<td>Mémoires Pupliés par les Membres de l’Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale du Caire, Cairo.</td>
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<td>Oikumene:</td>
<td>Studia ad Historiam Antiquan Classicam et Orientalem Spectantia, Budapest.</td>
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RdE: Revue d’Égyptologie, Cairo/Paris.

RecTrav: Recueil de Travaux Rélatifs á la Philologie et á l’Archéologie Égyptiennes Et Assyriennes, Paris.


SAK: Studien zur Al tagsäytischen Kultur, Hamburg.


Urk I: Sethe, K., Urkunden des Alten Reiches, 2nd ed, Leipzig 1933.


ZÄS: Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde, Leipzig/Berlin
Introduction

Egypt reached the acme of its power, wealth and territory and obtained a time of international prestige in the New Kingdom (1570-1085 BCE), the last and greatest Empire Age of Ancient Egypt, as a result of several successful military campaigns. The spoils, brought to Egypt from the many successful military campaigns, as well as the tribute, from the many conquered cities and states, created enormous wealth that supported a large bureaucracy and rewarded Egyptians at many levels. Wealth and prestige also developed through diplomatic and trade relationships involving southern and northern foreign kingdoms. The rulers of Egypt during the empire age controlled and enjoyed vast wealth, and under specific rulers, Egypt was clearly the dominant power in the region. Besides the numerous and significant income from foreign countries, Egypt benefitted from her own advancement in the arts and literature as well as in technology applied to warfare, architecture and in agriculture as is evident in intensified and successful land use, production, food commodities, herds and numerous building projects.

The stability and prosperity of Egypt fostered monumental architecture and tremendous building activity evident in many parts of Egypt. Archaeological evidence permits us to study extant cities like Tel el-Amarna, royal cities and complexes such as Deir el-Ballas, Tell el-Daba and Malkata, and temple complexes (both god’s temples and king’s mortuary temples)

including priests’ residences and storerooms as well as ceremonial buildings, and temple palaces. Such a royal projects surely revealed the power and authority of the ruling king.

Stability, opulence, military success and strength, international power and prestige that Egypt enjoyed since the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty (1570-1450 BCE) had a great impact on supporting a high quality of life and well-being for ancient Egyptians in general, and the Royal Palace in particular. The king is the uppermost authority and in regular circumstances has under his control three other major institutions: the religious institution led by the high priest of Amun at Karnak, and the civilian administration under the supervision of the Vizier (Vizier of Upper Egypt or the south, and Vizier of Lower Egypt or the north and Delta), and the military institution led by the overseer of the army. The pharaoh, son of gods and their representative on earth, was in theory the owner of the whole land of Egypt (which had been bestowed to him by the gods). The importance of the visual image as a significant medium to display authority and power was emphasized in the many monuments commissioned by kings. It is special to the New Kingdom that the pharaoh, his family and his royal court depicted on the walls of major god’s temples (especially in the principle cities), king’s mortuary temples (temples of the million years) and also in the noblemen’s tombs reflected the authority and power which the pharaohs enjoyed during the New Kingdom. Also at the same time, the social, economic and political

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developments that the whole country of Egypt had benefited from are evident in the noticeable changes in artistic and architectural styles for this period.

This study focuses on the meaning and usage of three terms for the Royal Palace during the New Kingdom and assesses these terms against the broader context of extant remains of Royal Palaces as well as images of the Royal Palace presented in tomb and temple reliefs from the period. Previous studies have examined the role of the temple in the Egyptian economy during this period of great wealth and military conquest, and the terminology for the Royal Palace in the Old Kingdom (2780-2258 BCE), the first empire age or pyramid age. Ogden Goelet has examined five major terms for the king’s residence during the Old Kingdom with detailed examination of each single term by itself, including “pr-C3”, “pr-nsw”, “ḥnw”, “ḥḥ”, and “stp-s3”. In his “Two Aspects of the Royal Palace in the Egyptian Old Kingdom”, Goelet defined the meaning and function of each of these five terms during the Archaic Period (3200 – 2780 BCE) and Old Kingdom. During the course of my own study, I have observed that the use of these terms in the New Kingdom differed significantly from that in the Old Kingdom. The Royal Palace as known in the Old Kingdom pr-C3, identified the architectural structure, but in the New Kingdom, this term pr-C3 referred to the king himself. These changes were concomitant with developments in language, religion, art, architecture and building technology as well as the remarkable growth of the national income and the easy access to foreign materials and resources.

Hence, the central focus of this study and the opening chapter examines and defines the three terms that were employed for the Palace and named the vital administrative structures in

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the last great empire age, the New Kingdom. Principle themes of chapters 2 and 3 concern the
taxonomic break-down of the physical components of the Royal Palace and the economics
supporting the palace. The first chapter provides a critical lexicographical study of specific three
terms for the royal structures associated with king since the Old Kingdom including $C_h$, $stp-s3$,
and $pr-nsw$. This study defines the meaning and use of each term as well as the function of each
of these three royal installations during the New Kingdom and integrates textual information
with known plan of royal structures at specific sites such as Deir el-Ballas, Memphis, Malkatta,
and Amaran. Although these three terms had been in general use as designations of the “Royal
Palace” since the Old Kingdom, this careful scrutiny of each term within the original text reveals
that they contain specific reference to a particular type of royal structure with its own
components, plan, and purpose. An important contribution of this study clarifies and determines
the name and function of specific parts of the Royal Palace and how they were employed by
which members of the royal family, court or just the king. Sources of royal income, such as
agricultural products, taxes, gifts, war spoils and foreign tribute, are another special aspect of the
administration and proof of the king’s magnificence and power, presented in Chapter 3. The
internal and external revenue of the Royal Palace formed essential economic foundation
supporting the Royal Palace and its occupants, but most important, this income and public use of
this wealth provided and made actual to his people the king’s political and social supremacy.

The three terms, $C_h$, $pr-nsw$ and $stp-s3$ appeared in different types of textual sources
throughout the New Kingdom including titles, honorary titles, and important epithets serving the
gods, the king and members of the royal family and selected officials. It is very important to
recognize the wide range of texts and the context that each provides to these terms. These texts
are royal, biographical and religious in content, and define the roles and importance of each of
these terms and specify the function of three royal structures. I have collected and presented all of the extant published texts that employ each term, $^Ch$, $pr$-$nsw$ and $stp$-$s3$, and established the specific meaning of each term with this vital evidence. Starting with the term $^Ch$ in Chapter 1, its occurrence in the titles of New Kingdom’s officials, in the honorary titles and epithets, is presented in alphabetical order and followed by texts. Within each title and epithet, a chronological order is given of the named officials. This arrangement permits clarity of this complex and interacting data and provides the essential understanding of the function and use of the royal structure known as $^Ch$. I have applied this system for the other two terms $pr$-$nsw$ and $stp$-$s3$. It is worth noting that the term $^Ch$ had the widest usage in the honorary titles and epithets, but the term $pr$-$nsw$ was not employed in honorary titles or epithets of the royalty or the gods while the term $stp$-$s3$ had a limited use in royal epithets and honorary titles. A few examples from previous periods, Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom, are discussed in Chapter 1 in order to investigate linguistic development of each term and trace any functional change.

There have been helpful studies on ancient Egyptian titles, texts and administrative system from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom. Baer studied the system of ranking titles, which he found to be modified from time to time, during the Fifth Dynasty to the end of the Sixth Dynasty.\(^\text{13}\) Strudwick focused on a selective group of high civil administration offices of the Old Kingdom and their administration areas.\(^\text{14}\) Quirke’s new interpretation of Egyptian administration papyri of the Late Middle Kingdom, especially papyrus Boulaq 18, allowed him to clarify the social structure of the Middle Kingdom’s administration hierarchy.\(^\text{15}\) An invaluable and immense collection of evidence is presented in Helck’s study where he investigated the top

\(^{13}\) Baer, K., *Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom*, Chicago 1960.


\(^{15}\) Quirke, S., *The Administration of Egypt in The Late Middle Kingdom: The Hieratic Documents*, SIA Publishing 1990.
central administration of both the Middle and New Kingdoms, and indicated some of their social structure. Each of these studies has broader concerns and does not address the importance of the Royal Palace in the final and grand empire age, the New Kingdom, which is the purpose and focus of my study. Individual studies that concern specific titles have been consulted and I have found informative those by Jones, Ward, Fischer, Sethe, Helck, Kitchen, and Al-Ayedy.

The Royal Palace centered in every way on the king; it was not only the place where the king lived, but also the place from which he performed his duties as the ruler of Egypt and directed the affairs of Egypt, known as the two lands, Upper and Lower Egypt. The layout of the Royal Palace and its spatial syntax were deliberately designed to honor and aggrandize the lord of the Royal Palace, the King. The second chapter examines major architectural elements with a taxonomic definition of the physical components of the Royal Palace. Prominent and important, the gateways, doors, and the special feature known as the Window of Appearance which framed and emphasized the power and authority of the ruler during his public appearance. In addition, I have identified in this chapter specific halls, courts and chambers with their functions, special features and arrangement.

The Royal Palace was the place where the king lived, practiced his authority as ruler of Egypt, and presided over the affairs of the two lands. Certainly, the king would need a functional residence that awarded comfort, enjoyment and entertainment, while conveying his greatness and

16 Helck, W., Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches, Leiden/Köln 1958.
power as the king of Egypt. At the same time, the Royal Palace also comprised administrative area where the king would hold his court and perform his duties as a ruler while receiving influential individuals (whether they were Egyptians or foreigners). Thus, the design and layout of the New Kingdom’s Royal Palace had to fulfill its double function, as royal residence and seat of kingship, while providing all the royal needs. In this study, the layout of the New Kingdom’s Royal Palace and the arrangement of its halls, suites and rooms are examined using different examples including palaces that were part of the temple property.

Beside the layout of the Royal Palace, the terms used for the various architectural elements of Royal Palaces are also investigated using the numerous New Kingdom’s textual sources. My careful study of the textual sources from the New Kingdom provides information referring to specific features and function of particular parts of the Royal Palace. In addition, the textual evidence measured against the extant palaces clarifies the architectural and functional development along with subtle linguistic change and emphases. Thus, unlike the previous scholarship, this study interrelates the known archaeological, pictorial, and textual evidence.

First, I begin with significant parts of the architecture and assess their features and function. For example, the doors, gates and windows are presented for the whole palace. Then I proceed to the outer parts of the palace and administration; and then to the private residence. I introduce architectural design, main features and function of the public and administrative and the differences as they occur in the private residence. Unique architectural elements such as the Window of the Appearance were purposely designed and embellished to magnify the king and make visible his address to the officials and the selective public. Grand courtyards to small throne rooms help us suggest court life embracing larger audiences to those that provide small
space and could only serve selected meetings. Gates and doors varied in size and position may also have served to frame and emphasize his power and authority as the ruler. Of course the palace was built and planned to protect the king and the members of the royal family, and award privacy and control the access to more private areas.

There have been several valuable studies on the Royal Palace and the royal city, or specific parts of the Royal Palace. In addition to the publications of specific New Kingdom palaces, there is helpful study of Lacovara on the New Kingdom royal city. He reviewed data involving settlement pattern, reviewed some of the Amarna pictorial representations, and suggested overall community plans for the royal city.\textsuperscript{18} Spencer’s lexicographical study of the ancient Egyptian temples is of the great benefit for this study to compare the function and design of the shared architectural elements between the Royal Palace and temple.\textsuperscript{19}

The third and final chapter is devoted to the income of the Royal Palace during the New Kingdom. It is important to learn about the income of the Royal Palace and its economic resources that used during this period to support the Royal Palace and its occupants while providing the king with political and social power. The various sources of this income is examined along with the Egyptian terms used for each type. The sources of royal income varied during this period to include not only inland sources but also foreign products. The royal income within Egypt comes from royal properties such as the royal estates, fields, and gardens, and internal taxes and gifts from individuals and institutions. The pharaoh owned vast tracts of agricultural lands, domains and royal estates in different parts of the country, and he awarded


land properties to the royal harem, the queen, the queen mother, the princes, and princesses. This chapter defines the terms used for the royal fields, but also the royal income from these different types of agriculture. In addition to the agricultural products, these properties also supported domestic birds, herds and fisheries as well as some industries based on agricultural and animal products.

Taxes were a significant source of the royal income that are examined in this chapter including the various types of taxes imposed on individuals or institutions for the benefit of the king. Different types of taxes collected for the pharaoh during the New Kingdom included: the $b3kw$-tax imposed on various products of agricultural lands such as fruits, flowers, and some industries based on agricultural products like honey; the $\$3yt$ – tax imposed on the employees and officials of the various departments and institutions; the $tp\-drt$ tax; and annual obligations or taxes ($htri$) which included in the several references as a tax collected for the king. The focus here concerns taxes whose revenue was given to the pharaoh. In addition, gifts of different types of substances from officials, ordinary people and institutions formed yet another source of the royal income. This revenue provided all the requirements of court and private life in the Royal Palace and the various activities that the king was obliged to perform as the supreme political, religious and social authority in Egypt.

The New Kingdom textual sources, including papyri and ostraca, provide us with valuable data related to the various sources of royal income from both the income of the royal properties and taxes, gifts. Papyrus Wilbour is one of the most important New Kingdom sources listing the different types of royal land and has been the subject of different and broader studies. My study

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20 Papyrus Wilbour, §§ 38-9; 109-12; 153; 172; 193; 276-8.
concerns the revenue of the king from the different types of the crown lands. I employ tables in order to analyze the data relating to royal revenue from the royal lands listed in the papyri including not only the crown lands but also the land owned or managed by other royal individuals and institutions. Analyzing the data using tables is a substantial and valuable methodology that clearly designates different revenues and types of materials, amounts and changes over time, and gifts from individuals and institutions presented to the king.

Income collected from outside the country made the Egypt fabulously wealthy, and this final and great empire age, the New Kingdom, which was synonymous with wealth. The royal treasury received bounty, war spoils, gifts and tribute from the foreign lands. With the extensive military activities and numerous victories, starting with Ahmose I and huge expansion under Thutmosis III and certainly with Ramses II in Dynasty XX, war spoils and booty formed an important part of the Egyptian economy and the royal treasury in particular. Greatly valued were rare materials and substances, not found in Egypt. Presentation of gifts and products from different foreign countries were proof of international prestige and the supremacy of Egypt and particularly her king. These varied according to the region and circumstances from which they came.

Taxes were imposed on some foreign cities because they were part of the Egyptian Empire. These foreign cities gave extensively and provided agricultural products, herds, precious stones, gold, silver, different types of metals and people. Gifts sent to the king for specific occasions from various foreign countries, cities and kingdoms formed an important resource for the royal

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income during this period. During the New Kingdom, many merchant ships loaded with the precious products of Egypt sailed north or south to different foreign countries such as Lebanon and Punt, then returned to Egypt with the distinctive products from these foreign countries. This variable source of income that king received from foreign countries, cities and kingdoms in different forms and occasions are examined in the third chapter including the terms used for each source of foreign income.

There have been a number of valuable studies on the terms used for taxes and gifts, from inland and foreign countries. Bleiberg examined the two terms, b3kw and inw in two separate studies. Warburton investigated the fiscal regime for New Kingdom Egypt based on surveying terms that refer to categories of state revenue, and presented a fiscally based vision of the nature and historical development of the state in Egypt.

This study has advantage of assessing critical sources: the primary evidence from ancient texts (papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions), extant palaces, and scenes recorded on the temples and tombs walls. Together they reveal the importance of ceremonial, economical, and residential life in the Royal Palace of New Kingdom Egypt. My careful study of the textual sources from the New Kingdom provides information referring to specific features and function of particular parts of the Royal Palace. In addition, the textual evidence measured against the extant palaces clarifies the architectural and functional development along with subtle linguistic change and emphases. Thus, unlike the previous scholarship, I have interrelated the known archaeological,

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pictorial, and textual evidence, culminating in a careful synthesis that reveals the New Kingdom palace as vital to kinship.
Chapter One: New Kingdom Terms of the Royal Palace

The focus of this chapter is the terms that were used throughout the New Kingdom for the royal structures used by the sovereign in his daily life. Three terms will be examined in order to draw a picture of the different royal structures associated with the king during this period and their function. My examination of these three terms and comprehension of both their terminology and use in various textual sources including texts, titles and epithets, is intended to provide a comprehensive understanding of the function of each one of these royal structures, its nature and use. The three terms that will be studied in this chapter are $\text{Cḥ}$, $\text{pr-nsw}$ and $\text{stp-s3}$.

There are two other terms for structures associated with the daily life of the king (including both personal and official life) used during the Old Kingdom that will not be included in this study.\(^{25}\)

The first term is $\text{pr-C3}$. This term, was used during the Old Kingdom to refer to a royal structure that concerned with the daily life of the king, as Goelet concludes in his study of the term $\text{pr-C3}$. The $\text{pr-C3}$ seems to be more involved with the household functions and personal services, activities.\(^{26}\)

It is evident from Goelet’s study that the $\text{pr-C3}$ was associated with the personal life and activities of the king, in other words it referred to the residence of the king, the Royal Palace. This term had been developed during the New Kingdom and used to refer to the person who lives in this royal structure, the king. As both the use of this term and its meaning had been

\(^{25}\) Goelet, G., op.cit., p. XV
\(^{26}\) Ibid., p.650.
changed during the period of which this study is concerned, this study will not benefit from
including it and it will not be among the titles that will be studied in this chapter.

The second term, \(ẖnw\), is known from the archaic period. During the Old
Kingdom, the \(hnw\) appears to have played an important role in the management of the country as
a seat of government, from which the commands of the king were carried out.\(^{27}\) The \(hnw\)
continued to play the same role during the New Kingdom, but it was not associated directly with
the person of the king and his daily life. In other words, it was not a place from which the king
himself ran the affairs of Egypt; he did not hold his court or issue decrees from the \(hnw\).
Although the royal decrees and commands, related to the management of the country, were sent
to the \(hnw\) to be executed by its officials, but they were never issued from it. The \(hnw\) could be
described equivalent to today’s governmental buildings in any modern capital city from which
the affairs of the country run, but without the presence of the ruler. For that reason, it too will
not be included in this study.

As for the three titles that will be subject of study and analysis in this chapter, their occurrence in
various texts will be collected and examined along with their terminology and use. For each
term, its appearance in title, epithets and honorary phrases will be studied first and then be
followed by study of the term in royal, religious and biographical texts. That will be followed by
conclusion discussion for each term. The first term we shall discuss is \(Cḥ\), the Royal Palace,
followed by \(pr-nsw\), the King’s House, and finally \(stp-s3\) (the definition of which is one aim of
this study).

\(^{27}\) Goelet, G., op.cit., pp.155ff.
The Term Čḥ in Titles, Epithet and Phrases

The term Čḥ appeared in numerous titles throughout the New Kingdom. It is noticeable that these titles varied between official and honorary titles and the epithets and phrases held by officials, royalties and deities. The point of studying these titles and epithets is that it is an essential source that would allow for better understanding of the nature and function of the royal place during this period. In other words, studying the type of positions and titles related to the Royal Palace during the New Kingdom is essential if we want to acquire a comprehensive image of the Royal Palace and the various activities which took place daily within this royal structure (by the king, royal family, his court or even the officials belonging to it). Moreover, the holder of these titles varied to include not only officials but also royalty and the gods who would be associated with the role of the Royal Palace, each of which will be studied separately. Firstly, the focus will be on the official’s titles. These titles embrace a number of positions related to the Royal Palace, in which the term Čḥ was included. The kind of activities that were practiced within the Royal Palace by the king and the royal family will be clarified and illustrated through these titles. The type of positions and jobs at the Royal Palace are definitely connected to specific needs of the king, his family and the royal court. Then, the honorary titles and epithets held by officials, royalties and deities will be studied and analyzed. These titles and epithets will play also an important role in understanding the various aspects of the Royal Palace during the New Kingdom.
The Term $^C\text{ḥ}$ in Officials’ Titles

1- $^C\text{ḥ}$

imyw-ḥt $^C\text{ḥ}$

“Attendants of the Royal Palace”

The attendants of the palace are mentioned in the installation text of the High Steward Kenamun, Eighteenth Dynasty. The text begins with the appearance of the king on the great throne upon the dais of fine gold (which might have taken place in the audience hall)\(^{28}\) while the officials and courtiers were in two rows. The officials attended this event included the officials of the Privy Council chamber and attendants of the palace, the seal-bearers, entourage and the inspectors of the palace whom the king addressed in the audience hall.\(^{29}\)

The title imy-ḥt is known from the Old Kingdom and through Middle Kingdom. During the Old Kingdom, the holders of this title were associated with different institutions and departments, not including the Royal Palace $^C\text{ḥ}$.\(^{30}\) The examples of the title from the Middle Kingdom are limited and associated only with the treasury and police.\(^{31}\) There are not any known examples of this title from before the New Kingdom where the palace $^C\text{ḥ}$ is included in the title. Moreover, only the above mentioned example of Kenamun is known from the New Kingdom. Without resources, the duties of the attendants of the Royal Palace are obscure aside from Kenamun’s mention that they were among the officials and courtiers who attended the royal audience.

The title “Attendants of the Royal Palace” is known from the Old Kingdom, but the term used for the Royal Palace during this period was $^Cpr\text{-ḥ}$. There is no example known from this

\(^{28}\) Like the installation of the vizier Wsersatet, Urk IV, p.1380.
\(^{29}\) Ibid., p.1385
period with the term $C^h$. Throughout the New Kingdom, the term $C^h$ for the Royal Palace has replaced the Old Kingdom term $pr-C^3$ in a number of titles and epithets.

2- $\text{imy-r3 sḏwty (or ḥtmtty) } C^h$

“Chief Treasurer of the Royal Palace”

Khereuf held this title which was recorded among others, on one of the fragmentary inscriptions that were found in his tomb. He is recorded here as “……[steward of the principal wife of the king], beloved of him, Tiye, Khereuf. ………. Chief Treasurer of the Royal Palace and Royal Scribe, Chief Treasurer of the Royal Palace.”$^{32}$ Khereuf’s titles recorded here are related to the king, the royal family and the Royal Palace. Later, from the Ramesside period, the treasurers of the Royal Palace were mentioned in a text talking about bringing the tribute of the south and north countries along with the revenues of Egypt to be presented to the king Ramesses II during the Opet-festival. Among the high officials, both civilian and military, were the treasurers of the Royal Palace and who were mentioned at the beginning of the text, just after the vizier and the royal companions.$^{33}$ That prestigious position refers to the high status they enjoyed among the royal audience. The plural form of the title in the text indicates the existence of more than one treasurer for the Royal Palace and they might all be under the control of the chief treasurer of the Royal Palace. Unquestionably, the Royal Palace as a large and important institution would need a number of treasurers to manage its affairs. The title “Chief Treasurer of the Royal Palace” implied a higher position and management of the Royal Palace treasurers.

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$^{32}$ This fragmentary inscription was found in the west portico see, The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban tomb 192 by the Epigraphic Survey in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities of Egypt. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980, p. 67, pl. 66.

Once again, the title “Chief Treasurer of the Royal Palace” is known from the Old Kingdom, but the term used for the Royal Palace during this period was \textit{pr-}\textit{C}\textit{3}. On the other hand, there is no example of this title known from this period with the term \textit{C}\textit{ḥ}.

\begin{enumerate}
\item \textit{wr Cḥ / wr m Cḥ}
\end{enumerate}

“The Great One of the Royal Palace” / “The Great One in the Royal Palace”

The first known New Kingdom example of the title was held by Nehy, the Overseer of the Southern Lands during the reign of Thutmose III. He held the first known form of the title in the New Kingdom “The Great One of the Royal Palace”.\textsuperscript{34} Later during the reign of Thutmose IV, two of his two officials, the Overseer of the Granary Sobek- Hotep and the Royal Nurse Hekaerneheh, held the second form of the title “The Great One in the Royal Palace.”\textsuperscript{35} This title was not known from before the New Kingdom. It was found in association with the other royal institution of the Old Kingdom, the King’s House.\textsuperscript{36} It is noticeable that during the New Kingdom this title appeared in association with the \textit{stp-}\textit{s3} in the title “The Great Ones of the \textit{stp-s3}.”\textsuperscript{37}

Sobek- Hotep recorded this title in his tomb within the text accompanying a scene of Sobek-Hotep and his wife receiving offerings. In this text, Sobek-Hotep held some titles highlighting the remarkable status he enjoyed in both the Royal Palace and the King’s House:

\textsuperscript{36} Jones, D., \textit{op.cit.}, no. 1425, p. 385.
\textsuperscript{37} Urk IV, p. 1382.
“The Prince and Count, Father of the God, beloved of the god, confidant of Horus in his house, the Great One of the King’s House, the Great One in the Royal Palace…”

In addition to the previous examples, the title has appeared also in a number of texts throughout the New Kingdom but always in plural form, “The Great Ones of the Royal Palace,” which was not common before this period. The first example is from the reign of Hatshepsut when Ineni mentioned this title in his biography. In the part where he describes his good character (after he was rewarded by the queen), Ineni mentions that “My heart was not deceitful toward the great ones who are in the Royal Palace.” This phrase reflects the significance of the Great Ones of the Royal Palace and the Nineteenth Dynasty, Seti I’s Vizier, Nebamun, mentioned the Great Ones while he was talking about himself as a great official in the Royal Palace “Royal herald at the appearing of his Majesty, marshaling the Great Ones of the Royal Palace of the king and causing each man to know his (processional) order.” This text indicates that the Great Ones of the Royal Palace were part of the royal audience, and could be compared to the great ones of the $stp$-s who were part of the royal audience in the installation of the vizier Usersatet. This indicates the importance of the Great Ones since they were included among the royal audience. Another example from the reign of Seti I confirms this relationship. The Vizier Paser, addressed the courtiers in the text of his installation as a vizier saying “O’ Companions and Great Ones of the Royal Palace, Courtiers who are in the King’s House.”

Thus, there was a head of the great ones of the Royal Palace and who was mentioned in various texts. The earliest example is recorded in the tomb of the Overseer of the Royal Palace

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38 Urk IV, p. 1582:16-7.
41 Urk IV, p. 1380.
Nefersekheru who held the title “Leader of the Great Ones of the Royal Palace”.\textsuperscript{43} Other examples are known from the Ramesside period. The first is Seti I’s Vizier Nebamun, in the above mentioned text, where he held the title “Leader of the Great Ones of the Royal Palace in the Royal Presence.”\textsuperscript{44} Then later Ramsess II’s Vizier Paser, on his statue from Mentuhotep temple, held the following titles “Uniquely effective, at the head of the courtiers, Leader of the Great Ones of the Royal Palace.”\textsuperscript{45}

From all of the preceding titles and texts, we may conclude that the holder of the title “Great Ones of the Royal Palace” were high officials who might belong to different administration departments and institutions, but enjoyed the privilege of being part of the royal court and royal audience through the title that they held. Their function in the Royal Palace was limited to a specific important occurrence which is the royal audience.

\textbf{4.  \textit{wdpw Cḥ}}

“Butler of the Royal Palace”

The title “Butler” or “Royal Butler” is known from the Old Kingdom.\textsuperscript{46} The butler was an attendant of the king whose duties was associated with serving the reigning king. Although, the butler is one of the old offices associated with the king and serving his majesty in his palace, but the term “Royal Palace” was not included in butlers’ titles until the New Kingdom. In the Ramesside period and during the reign of Ramesses III, the term “Royal Palace” occurs in several butlers’ titles, in different scenes from Medinet Habu temple, the butlers of the Royal Palace were among the king’s retinue in different occasions. It is important to notice that from

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{43} Urk IV, p.1882: 3.
  \item \textsuperscript{44} KRI, I, p. 284:6.
  \item \textsuperscript{45} KRI, III, p. 18:6.
  \item \textsuperscript{46} Jones, D., op.cit., no. 194, p. 406; Al-Ayedi, A., op.cit., nos. 905-8, pp. 262-3.
\end{itemize}
the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty to the reign of Ramesses III, the term Royal Palace did not appear in butlers’ titles. The only known example of royal institution that was included in butlers’ titles during these years was the *stp*-s3. The title “Butler of the *stp*-s3” was held by one of Thutmose III’s officials, Nebamun.47

Although the duties of the royal butlers were associated with serving the king, but in different scenes from the temple of Medinet Habu, they were shown accompanying the king in various occasions outside the Royal Palace. In the scene depicting the king leaving the Royal Palace to attend the festival of Min, the butlers of the Royal Palace were among the king’s retinue which also included also the king’s sons, chamberlains and attendants following the king.48 The butlers of the Royal Palace must have enjoyed high status under the king as they were prominent in the king’s entourage. The royal butlers also appear when the king addressed his court before he went to see a temple that he erected for the god Amun-Re. Here, the royal butlers were the only officials who attended this occasion. They held the following title “The Royal Butlers who were in his majesty’s retinue in his place.”49 Once again, the butlers of the Royal Palace were in attendance the king’s followers in another scene from Medinet Habu temple. It is a scene depicting the princes who honor the enthroned King Ramesses III with banquets. This time the chiefs of the royal butlers of the august Royal Palace were the only officials who attended this occasion which took place at this temple.50 Then the king left the temple and returned to the Royal Palace. Besides the butlers of the Royal Palace, there were also the chief royal butlers of the royal place. This title reflects a higher as chief of the royal butlers.

48 KRI, V, p. 203.
49 Ibid., p. 191:12.
50 Ibid., p. 192.
On the other hand, the butlers of the Royal Palace were involved in other duties within the Royal Palace. In one of the hymns in honor of the king Ramesses VII, the butlers of the Royal Palace held duties related to the decoration of the Royal Palace “Their choicest, most brightly-colored ones are for the crowns which are upon your head. Their more abundant ….

They are made into vases to be set up by the butlers of the august palace of the Horus, the strong bull.”

Thus, the duties of the royal butlers of the Royal Palace were not limited to serving the king in his palace or their duties within the Royal Palace, but they also accompanied the king in various occasions outside the Royal Palace. As high officials of the Royal Palace, they were part of the king’s entourage following the king outside the Royal Palace. Moreover, there were often sent by the king to carry out missions outside the royal place.

5- ḥry-sšt3 Cḥ šps

“Privy Counselor of the August Palace”

The expression ḥry-sšt3 literally means, “He is the One Who is Over the Secrets” but could be translated as “Privy Counselor,” “Master of Secrets” or “Secretary.” Since the Old Kingdom, the title ḥry-sšt3 had appeared in association with different institutions and departments including various royal institutes except for the Cḥ. The only known example of the

52 During Amarna period, the butlers were frequently depicted in the scenes of the royal repast and which took place in different parts of the Royal Palace (in garden pavilion or in one of the palace’s halls) while serving the king and royal family and testing the wine before serve it to the king and the royal family, in the tomb of Meryra II and Huya and The chamberlain Ahmes see, RTA, II, pl. XXXII, pp. 34-6; III, Pls. IV-VII; XXXIII-IV, pp. 4-7; 29ff.
53 From Papyrus Anastasi V, the royal butler oversaw the transportation and installation of three stelae according to the king’s order, see papyrus Anastasi V, 23:8-25:2; Caminos, R.A., Late Egyptian Miscellanies, London 1954. pp. 265-6.
Privy Counselor of the Royal Palace $\text{C}h$ is in this title held by Sobek-Hotep from the Ramesside period.\textsuperscript{55} Although the Privy Counselor of the $\text{pr-}nsw$ and $\text{pr-}C3$ were known since the Old Kingdom, but no examples are known of the Privy Counselor of the Royal Palace $\text{C}h$ from either the Old Kingdom or Middle Kingdom or even from before the Ramesside Period.\textsuperscript{56}

Moreover, the use of the adjective $\text{šps}$ to modify the palace was not common in officials’ titles throughout the New Kingdom. There is another example of the using of the adjective $\text{šps}$ with the Royal Palace and which is also from the Ramesside period. Ramesses II’s Vizier, Khay, held the epithet phrase, “The one who pleases his Majesty in the august palace.”\textsuperscript{57} Another form of the title “Privy Counselor” associated with Royal Palace is known also from the Ramesside period (for the first and last time). The Chief Treasurer of Ramesses II, Panehsy, held the title “Privy Counselor of the Royal Palace’s Offices” which was recorded on his statue.\textsuperscript{58} For an important institution like the Royal Palace, the existence of Privy Counselor is expected and needed. The officials of the Privy Counselor chambers were part of the royal audience as mentioned in the text of Kenamun’s installation as the high steward.

On the other hand, as the term $\text{pr-}C3$ was not used during the New Kingdom to refer to the Royal Palace (as used to be during Old Kingdom) and was most likely replaced by $\text{C}h$, the title “Privy Counselor of the Royal Palace $\text{C}h$” can be seen as the new version of the Old Kingdom title “Privy Counselor of the Royal Palace $\text{pr-}C3$.”\textsuperscript{59}

\textsuperscript{56} Jones, D., \textit{op.cit.}, no. 2271-2; 74; 2306-7, pp.619-20; 629; Ward, A. W., \textit{op.cit.}, no. 1016, p. 120; Al-Ayedi, A., \textit{op.cit.}, no. 1404, p. 413.
\textsuperscript{57} KRI, III, p. 54:15.
\textsuperscript{58} Ibid., p. 137:13.
\textsuperscript{59} Jones, D., \textit{op.cit.}, no. 2271-2; 74; 2306-7, pp.619-20; 629.
“Director of the Royal Palace”

It is one of the oldest administrative titles, known since the archaic period. From the Old Kingdom, the holders of this title were always high-ranking officials, a situation which continued during the New Kingdom. It is also noteworthy that there is no example of this title known from the Old Kingdom with the term pr-ḥ3, from the first appearance of the title until the New Kingdom the term ḫḥ was used for the Royal Palace. Moreover, during the Old Kingdom, it also appeared in association with the King’s House in the title “Director of the King’s House.”

Two examples of this title are known from the New Kingdom (both are from the Eighteenth Dynasty). It was held by Senenmut, the High Steward of Queen Hatshepsut, and Khereuf, the High Steward of the Queen Tiye. Although, this title is an important title that reflected the importance of Senenmut in the Royal Palace, it was mentioned once only on his monuments. It is also noticeable that both officials who held this title were high stewards who enjoyed a significant status and played multiple important roles in the Royal Palace through the high positions they held.

Khereuf recorded this title several times in his tomb in association with different occasions. In one of the of the Sed- festival rituals, Khereuf held this title. It is in the scene depicting the king and queen along with attendants (Including Khereuf) in the night bark. In the text above

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62 Jones, D., op.cit., no. 2603, p. 713.
63 This title included on Senenmut statue from Mut-temple see, Urk IV, p. 411:8
64 The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban tomb 192 by the Epigraphic Survey in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities of Egypt. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980, pp. 53; 68-9, pls. 46; 67; 71.
Khereuf included three important titles of his that reflected his importance at the royal court including “Director of the Royal Palace,” “Royal Scribe” and “Steward of the Principle Wife of the King.” The title “Director of the Royal Palace” was also included in two offering texts from his tomb where he highlighted his high status by recording the extraordinary positions he held and his importance. From his titles, it is evident that Khereuf was an important figure in the Royal Palace during the reign of Amenhotep III. He held different high positions in the Royal Palace including the director of the Royal Palace, Steward of the Queen Tiye and also Chief Treasurer of the Royal Palace.

7. \( \text{smr tpy} \ C^ḥ \)

“The First Companion of the Royal Palace”

The companions appear to have been associated with both the Royal Palace and the King’s House, \( pr\text{-}nw\), since the Old Kingdom and then with the \( stp\text{-}s3 \) from the Middle Kingdom. Moreover, from the New Kingdom titles, it seems that the companions were only associated with the Royal Palace and \( stp\text{-}s3 \) and not with the King’s House. Once again, this title is another example proves the changing that the New Kingdom witnessed in replacing the term \( pr\text{-}C^3 \) by the term \( C^ḥ \) in official titles.

The first known example of the title “Companion of the Royal Palace,” \( C^ḥ \), comes from the New Kingdom. Once again in this case, the Old Kingdom term for the Royal Palace \( pr\text{-}C^3 \) has been replaced by the term \( C^ḥ \) to refer to the Royal Palace. This would explain the common

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66 The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban tomb 192 by the Epigraphic Survey in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities of Egypt. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980., p.53; Pl. 46.
use of the title “Companion of the Royal Palace ($C\text{ḥ}$)” during this period since this term replaced by Old Kingdom term for the Royal Palace $pr-C\text{ḥ}$.  

In his biographical text, Ramesses III’s Vizier, Paser, recorded this title in the following passage: “[Then my lord commanded this] his humble servant should be ele[vated to the rank of] first companion of the palace.” This text highlights the importance of this title and the high status its holder enjoyed.

The companions of the Royal Palace were also included in another title during the New Kingdom “Chief of the Companions in the Royal Palace.” Two officials held this title during the Eighteenth Dynasty; Thutmosus III’s Chief Treasurer, Sennefer, and the Mayor of Thebes during the reign of Amenhotep II, Sennefer. On one of the ceiling inscriptions from the tomb of Sennefer, the Mayor of Thebes, the following titles were recorded “Prince and Count, Companion Great of Love, Chief of the Companions in the Royal Palace.”

Throughout the New Kingdom, the companions appeared in association with the Royal Palace and $stp-s\text{ḥ}$ (to be identified), which is connected to their role at the Royal Palace as they were part of the royal court. Their existence among the royal audience is recorded in different examples from this period such as the installation text of the vizier Uesersatet, and the celebration of the Sed-festival from the tomb of Khereuf and more.

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68 Jones, D., op.cit., no. 3288, p. 896.
69 KRI, I, p. 9:5-6.
70 Urk IV, pp. 541:17;1429:6.
72 Ibid., p. 1380; The tomb of Kheruef: Theban tomb 192 by the Epigraphic Survey in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities of Egypt. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980, p.52, pls. 44-45.
sr tpy m ḫ

“First Official of the Royal Palace”

This title was held by the Viceroy of Nubia, Seti, during the reign of Siptah. It is the only known example of this title from the New Kingdom. It does not appear in any known texts from before this period. It is interesting that during the New Kingdom, some of the officials who held this title and were associated with the king and the King’s House, did not name this title concurrently with their affiliation to the Royal Palace.

On the other hand, officials of the Royal Palace are mentioned in text from the reign of Queen Hatshepsut from the red chapel, “After these things, his majesty (Amun-Ra) preceded doing wonders with his ennead in his following, making bi3ywt (wonders or oracles) at the stations of the king. The entire land falls silent. It was known by the king’s nobles. The officials of the palace, they bowed the head and they followed him saying “why’. Those who were satisfied of heart became destitute their hearts were trembling under his bi3ywt.”

Although this is thus far the only known example, Hatshepsut’s text provides a supporting evidence for the existence of this position at the Royal Palace. It is also makes clear that the officials of the Royal Palace were part of the royal audience and accompanied the royalty.

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74 For the examples of the title associated with the king and king’s house see, Al-Ayedi, A., op.cit., nos. 1692;1694;1701, pp. 500-503.
sšmw Čḥ

“Leader of the Royal Palace”

This is another title related to the administration of the palace which is known from the New Kingdom. It was held by the Overseer of the Treasury, Djehuty. In the text of his installation as a Leader of the Palace, he said: “He recognized me, as one doing that which is spoken, concealing my speech concerning the affairs of his Royal Palace Čḥ. He appointed me to be Leader of the Royal Palace knowing that I was instructed in work.” The text does not give any further information about the nature of the job or the functions of the holder of this title within the Royal Palace.

It is noteworthy that there are not any examples of this title related to any royal institution, such as Royal Palace, King’s House and stp-s3, known from before the New Kingdom. Although the term “Leader” is known from the Old Kingdom, it does not appear in any known titles related to the royal institutions before the New Kingdom.

šdt imy Čḥ

“The Nurse who is in the Royal Palace”

This title was held by the wife of the Deputy of the Army, Amenemhab, and was recorded in her husband’s Theban tomb. She held various titles that indicated that she was not

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76 Urk IV, p. 429:4.
77 Ibid., p. 429: 4.
79 Urk IV, p. 920:17.
an ordinary nurse but rather, the Great Nurse of the king, Amenhotep II. On the other hand, she was not the only nurse who held the title “Great Royal Nurse.” During the reign of Amenhotep II, six other nurses held this title. This apparently shared honor may result from the fact that they had all served as nurses of the crown prince and when Amenhotep II became the king of Egypt; his nurses were rewarded, or distinguished, through this title.

She also held various titles related to her job at the Royal Palace as a royal nurse, including ḫnṯ nsw “Royal Nurse,” ḫnṯ wrt nb-t3wy “Great Nurse of the Lord of Two Lands,” ṣdt ntr “Divine Nurse” and nfr ṣnk “The Beautiful Nurse” beside her title “The Nurse Who is in the Royal Palace.” The title ṣdt ntr, “Divine Nurse,” and its variation, the title ṣdt h₃w ntr, were held by a number of royal nurses during the New Kingdom and especially in the Eighteenth Dynasty. These titles might also be interpreted as possible reward from the king to his nurse (s) after his ascent to the throne.

Although there are not any examples of the title ḫnṯ nsw, “The Royal Nurse,” known from either the Old Kingdom or the Middle Kingdom, it has been suggested that, nurses has been attached to the royal court as early as the Old Kingdom. The practice of having a royal nurse attached to the royal court or Royal Palace is well attested for the New Kingdom. Holding a title that connected her directly to the Royal Palace is important and highlights the Royal

80 Urk IV, pp. 920ff.
81 Roehrig, C.H., The Eighteenth Dynasty Titles Royal Nurse (mn’t nswt), Royal Tutor (mn’ nswt), and Foster Brother/ Sister of the Lord of the Two Lands (Ṣn/Ṣnt mn’ n nb t3wy), University Microfilms International [Publisher], Ann Arbor 1993. pp. 320-1.
82 Urk IV, p. 920ff.
84 The only known title from the Old Kingdom that included the term mn’t is “mn’t pr-C3” Nurse of the Royal Palace, but no example of this title is known from the Middle Kingdom see, Jones, D., op.cit., no. 1605, p. 436.
85 Roehrig, C.H., op.cit., p. 3
Palace as the place where she practiced her function and job as royal nurse. In other words, the Royal Palace was the place where the king and the royal family lived.

The Term $C^h$ in Officials’ Honorary Titles, Epithets and Phrases

The term “Royal Palace,” $C^h$, was also included in numerous honorary titles that were held by different officials throughout New Kingdom (and especially during the Eighteenth Dynasty, as well as the titles of various royals and deities. In order to be able to study and examine these titles, they will be divided into three groups. The first will focus on the titles that reflect how these officials served the sovereign in the Royal Palace, such as following his orders and doing whatever would please and satisfy their lord. The second group of the honorary titles includes all the titles indicating that their holders were honored in the Royal Palace because they were able to gain the kings praise and satisfaction. These officials earned the kings praise by performing various tasks and functions in or outside the Royal Palace. In the third group, we shall focus on the honorary titles that imply the king’s presence in the Royal Palace. This group of honorary titles, epithet and phrases highlight the special connection between the king and the Royal Palace; the Royal Palace was a property of the king, and was, above all the place where the king was.

The First Group of Honorary Titles and Epithets

1. $C^n\hat{h}w\, n\, nsw\, n\, C^h.f$

“The Two Ears of the King in His Royal Palace”

This title was held by two officials through the New Kingdom. The first is Amenhotep III’s Overseer of the Royal Palace, Nefer-sekheru and Ramesses II’s Vizier Paser. Both recorded
this title in biographical text (in their tombs). This honorary title was common during the Eighteenth Dynasty, especially in its simple form without the term “in the Royal Palace” but most commonly in the one of the following forms: “The Two Ears of Horus” or “The Two Ears of the King.”

Holding this title reflected the high status these officials enjoyed in the Royal Palace or royal court. Of the two officials who held the title “The Two Ears of the King in his Palace,” one held a job related to the administration of the Royal Palace, as he was the overseer of the Royal Palace. On the other hand, the second official was not related to the administration of the Royal Palace but he was a vizier. But as a vizier, he would also be part of the royal court and that would connect him with the Royal Palace where the royal court had been.

\[\text{wb3-ḥr m w3t ħḥ} \]

“Clear-sighted upon the Road to the Royal Palace”

The high steward of Amenhotep III, Amenhotep, recorded this title on one of his statues among other titles and epithets that highlighted the special status he enjoyed in the Royal Palace as a high steward of the king. As the high steward of the king, his duties were related directly to the king and managing his properties. Thus, Amenhotep had held this title which connected him with the royal place where the king lived.

\[\text{rḥ sšt3 nb n ħḥ} \]

“The One who knows all the Secrets of the Royal Palace”

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87 Urk IV, p. 1794:4.
88 His statue from Memphis, Ibid., p. 1793-8.
Djhouty, Treasurer of Queen Hatshepsut held this title. Djhouty also held other important offices such as Overseer of the Treasury, Overseer of the Work, Overseer of the Double Houses of Gold and Overseer of the Double Houses of Silver. All of these titles reflect the high status he enjoyed in the Royal Palace and his importance to his queen. The title does not define a specific role or duties that he carried out in the Royal Palace but highlights his status as an effective high official for his monarch.

4. 4- 3p- ḥt ḥr sḥrw Cḥ

“One who Keeps Silence about the Business/Affairs of the Royal Palace”

Ramesses II Vizier, Paser, held this title which has been repeated with other groups of titles on his monuments as the following: “Dignitary who is effective, the one upright of heart who keeps silence about the business/affairs of the Royal Palace, one who arrays the king in his holy appearance.” Once again, the vizier who was a civilian official wanted to highlight the high status he enjoyed and his importance in the Royal Palace through his title.

Another form of this title is known from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty where the word sḥrw “business or affairs” is replaced by sšm “affairs”. Keres, High steward of the mother queen during the reign of Amenhotep I, recorded this title on his stela, where it was included in the self-praise section.

5. 5- ṣḥt sy r Cḥ n nb.s

“He is the One who presents Her (namely truth) at (to?) the Royal Palace to (for?) her Lord”

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89 Urk IV, p. 449:10.
90 His monuments include a stela (form amulet) from Pi-Ramzes, KRI, III, 11:5;13:10;16:5;17:5.
91 Urk IV, p. 47:10
In a scene depicting Ramose, Vizier of king Amenhotep III, receives offerings of sistra this title of Ramose was recorded. Once again, the vizier bears an honorary title that connected him to the Royal Palace and its lord, and which asserted the role he played in the Royal Palace, which was most likely associated with the royal court: the place from which the king ran the affairs of the land.

Another form of this title is known also from the New Kingdom and was held by two different officials. This title is “He is the One Who Promotes Right at the Royal Palace,” and was held by Amnhotep II’s High Steward, Kenamun, and Ramses II’s Vizier Khay. Thus, another Vizier and High Steward of the king held honorary titles that elevated as well as connected them to the Royal Palace.

6.

n s C r. i ḏ w r ḫ

“I did not Introduce Evil to the Royal Palace”

On the funerary stela of an unknown person, this phrase was recorded among other honorary titles and phrases that highlight the high status this official enjoyed under his Majesty in both the Royal Palace and King’s House. The inscription states his importance to the king in different royal institutions as he mentioned in his funerary text: “It was my heart that advanced my position and my excellence placed me in the council chamber. I did not go out with a confidential matter belonging to the King’s House L.P.H. I did not speak aloud regarding the internal affairs of the ….. I did not slander, not even concerning guilt, and I did not introduce evil

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92 Urk IV, p. 1780:1
93 On Kenamun’s funerary stela, Urk IV, p. 1405:8; KRI, III, p. 12
94 Urk IV, p. 1533:15.
to the Royal Palace. My heart was controlled and my body decent. I was beneficial in the opinion of Hours in his house.”  

This part of the funerary summarizes some of the most important qualities that high officials would have in order to be beneficial to their lord in any royal institute. This includes initially that any official who has a connection with a royal institution should not share this information nor speak of royal affairs in public. Moreover, he should be circumspect and no act of his should ever bring dishonor.

![Sharr Ḥm.f m Ḫ śps](image)

“Sharr Ḥm.f m Ḫ śps

“The One who pleases his Majesty in the August Palace”

There is the only one known example of this honorary phrase, mentioning that the king is in the Royal Palace from the Ramesside Period. Moreover, in this statement, which was held by the Vizier of Ramses II, Khay, the adjective “august” was used to modify the Royal Palace for the first known time in honorary title, phrase or even official title. Another version of this title was held by Amenhotep son of Hapu on one of his statues. On the back pillar of this statue he held the following titles: “For the ka of the hereditary prince and noble, the mouth which brings contentment [in] the Royal Palace (or the mouth which pleases [who is in] the Royal Palace).”

Satisfying and pleasing the royal king by acting according to his desire and doing all that makes him content, especially in the Royal Palace was one of the important qualities that any official who was connected to the king or any royal institution should meet.

95 Urk IV, p. 1533:15.
96 KRI, III, p. 54:15
97 Urk IV, p. 1836:4.
As discussed above, the first group of honorary titles reflects the high status that the holders of these titles enjoyed within the Royal Palace because of what they have done for the sovereign especially following the orders of the ruler and doing whatever would please and satisfy the lord. It is noteworthy that the only officials who held these titles during the New Kingdom were viziers and high stewards of the king. Although the Vizier was the head of the civilian administration, and his duties and functions were related to the King’s House, emphasized his connection with the Royal Palace through his honorary titles. As the head of the civilian administration, His connection with the place from which the king managed the affairs of the Egypt was important, especially since these titles reflect several important professional qualities of the vizier. In the case of the high stewards of the king whose titles connected them to the Royal Palace, these officials were in charge of the management of the king’s affairs and proprieties and held titles connected them with the place where the king lived and practiced his authority as legitimate ruler of Egypt.

**The Second Group of Honorary Titles and Epithets**

1-  

\[iw \, hswt.i \, mn\, ti \, m\, C\, \hat{h}\]

“My Praise Endured in the Royal Palace”

In his biography text, on the walls of his Theban tomb, Ineni recorded this title in the self-praise section along with other rewards he has received during the reign of Thutmose I. Prominent among his accomplishments were the building projects Ineni supervised for his lord. These included the erection of pylons, portal and obelisks at Karnak temple and the creation and

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98Urk IV, p. 58:7.
excavation of the royal tomb in the valley of kings. As a successful official serving his king, Ineni was praised at the palace, the place where his lord and ruler was.

\[2- \text{imhwy hr nsw m Cḥ} \]

“The Honored One by the King in the Royal Palace”

Amenemopet, the Vizier of Amenhotep II, is seen to hold this title among others, in the tomb of his brother, the Mayor of Thebes Sennufer, highlighting the high status Amenemopet enjoyed in the Royal Palace. The titles include the following: “Prince and Count, Sealbearer of the King of Lower Egypt, Sole Companion, Counselor of His Lord, the Honored One by the King in the Royal Palace, steadfast in favor and firm in love, possessor of graciousness in the stp-s3, the one who enters in quietude and goes out again with calm, the one who has attained the limits of excellence and integrity.”

All of the titles listed are honorary titles and epithets that emphasize the special status the vizier Amenemopet enjoyed in the Royal Palace and they contain no direct reference to specific occupations but emphasize the good deeds he performed throughout his career, as well as the distinctive personality that led him to receive royal preferment in the Royal Palace. Even though he was an official who did not actually work directly with the Royal Palace, he was connected through his honorary titles to the place where the king was.

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99 Urk IV, pp. 55-58.
100 Ibid., p. 1438:13.
Ramose, Amenhotep III’s Vizier, recorded this title in his tomb among other titles highlighting the stature he enjoyed in the Royal Palace. This title emphasizes the significant fact that as a vizier, he had access to the king in the Royal Palace. Vizier Usersatet expressed the same meaning in his installation text as he mentioned: “You (the vizier) approach the lord of the two lands when Horus is in his house, even the sovereign when the king is in his palace. The thoughts of the lord, L.P.H., are yours.” The vizier who was the head of civilian government had access to the king in his house.

Moreover, it was not only the vizier who had access to the king in his palace, but a number of officials held titles implying that they had access to the king, and were able to enter and leave the Royal Palace where the king was. These officials included mainly high stewards of the king or the queen and overseers of the Royal Palace. It is noticeable that most of these officials are from the reign of Amenhotep III. The first is Khereuf who recorded in his tomb the following titles: “Sole Companion who has access to his lord, the one who enters the Royal Palace.”

The Overseer of the Royal Palace Nefer-sekhereu expressed the same concept in two places on the walls of his tomb: “First Friend who approaches Horus in his palace,” and “Friend who approaches and enters the Royal Palace.”

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103 The tomb of Kheruef: Theban tomb 192 by the Epigraphic Survey in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities of Egypt. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980, p. 67, pl. 66.
Finally, the High Steward of Amenhotep III, Amenhotep, declared on one of his statues:

“I have grown old while I was a serf. I entered the Royal Palace …… to see Horus in his house, while (other) nobles proceeded out.”

During the following dynasty, the high steward of king Seti I, Ruru, held the title “One who enters the Royal Palace and sees the good god.”

All of the preceding examples indicate that the Royal Palace is the place where not only the king was but also where a number of high officials entered to approach the king while they performed their duties in either civilian or royal administration. A access to the king in his palace was limited to specific high officials who had reached distinguished and important positions allowing them to enter to this exclusive place.

4. ḫḥsy n nb t3wy m ẖ.

“The Praised one of the Lord of the Two Lands in the Royal Palace”

This is the only honorary title mentioned in the text accompanying an offering scene in the tomb of the Chamberlain of Amenhotep III, Amenhotep. In this scene a wab- priest of Khonsu is presenting offerings to the king Amenhotep III and his wife. The duties and functions of the chamberlain within the Royal Palace were related to the personal service of the king. He was involved in the daily morning rituals of the king where the king was cleansed, dressed and provided with the royal insignia. These rituals took place at the pr-dw3t, which was in the Royal Palace. The chamberlain was connected to the Royal Palace through his position and duties

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105 On his statue from Memphis, Ibid., 1794:13-14.
107 Urk IV, p. 1938:11.
that explain the honorary title he held and which reflect his importance in the Royal Palace as one of the officials of this royal institute who had direct contact with the king.

5. 

s C n nb-t3wy m C h

“The One Who the Lord of the Two Lands Aggrandized Within the Royal Palace”

The Royal tutor during the reign of Thutmose IV, Hekerneheh, held this title, which was mentioned in the text accompanying an offering scene where he presents offering to the god Amun-Ra. In this text Hekerneheh held the following titles: “By his (Amun-Ra) attendance in every place, the one who the good god praised, the one who the lord of the two lands aggrandized within the Royal Palace, Tutor of the Royal Children.” 109

He does not mention many other honorary titles in this text but other honorary titles of his were included in the different texts in his tomb, which will be discussed in this chapter. During the New kingdom, the royal tutor was usually a high and well established official who was put in charge of one of the royal children including both male and female children. 110 In some cases, he would be in charge of more than one child as was Hekerneheh who held the title “Tutor of the Royal Children.” 111 This position provided its holder with a special status within the Royal Palace. This explains the number of honorary titles associated with the Royal Palace that both Hekerneheh and his father the Royal Tutor, Djhoutmosi, held. 112 All these titles highlighted the high status both father and son enjoyed in the Royal Palace where they practiced their functions as tutors of the royal children who lived in the Royal Palace.

111 Urk IV, p. 1572.
112 Ibid., p. 1572
“No Complaint about you has reached the Royal Palace”

The father of the Vizier Usersatet bears this epithet in the text of the installation of his son Usersatet in the position of the vizier. In this part of the text where the king (Thutmose III) addresses the father concerning the good deeds he performed for the king as a vizier this phrase was included.\textsuperscript{113} Another official from the same period bore this epithet; he is Thenuna the High Steward of king Thutmose IV.\textsuperscript{114} It is worth noting that two very different officials held this phrase, one was the head of the government and the other was high official in the royal administration. Both of them highlighted one of their professional qualities, as they were excellent officials about whom no complaints reached the king where he was in Royal Palace.

“My Remembrance was within the Royal Palace”

Renny from the Reign of Amenhotep I recorded this phrase on his statue, now in Turin, in the self-praise section after the *htp-di-nsw* formula. It is the only known example of this title from the New Kingdom.

“The One Who Horus has Promoted within the Royal Palace”

\textsuperscript{113} Urk IV, p. 1383:2-3
\textsuperscript{114} Ibid., p. 1004:16
The High Steward of king Thutmose IV, Thenuna, held this title. As a high steward of the king, Thenuna who was in charge in the management of the royal proprieties was in direct connection of the king.\(^\text{115}\) The high status he enjoyed in the Royal Palace is reflected in number of titles he held, which appear in different texts. From the various parts of his tomb, in the texts accompanying scenes and also on the pillars, the term the Royal Palace was included in his titles, not only the Royal Palace but also the \textit{stp}-s3 and King’s House.\(^\text{116}\)

Another form of this title is known from the Reign of Hatshepsut. The title is “Whose Position was Promoted within the Royal Palace,” and was held by Djhouty the Treasurer of the Queen.\(^\text{117}\) This title was included in a text from his tomb. Although Djhouty was a civilian official, he was able to reach a significant position in the royal court and distinguished himself in the Royal Palace.

\[9.\]

\(\text{k}\text{d nfr m C}\text{h}\)

“Good Reputation in the Royal Palace”\(^\text{118}\)

Khereuf held this title, which was recorded in his tomb on one of the columns in the first columnned hall. Each column in this hall was inscribed with an offering formula. Each offering formula was followed by different titles of Khereuf. One the column which the title “good reputation in the Royal Palace” was included, other titles of Khereuf was mentioned as the following “A boon which the king gives to Re-Harakhti of the City ……good reputation in the

\(^{115}\) Urk IV, p. 1581:14.
\(^{116}\) Ibid., p. 1577-81.
\(^{117}\) Ibid., p. 449:14.
\(^{118}\) Kheruef from the reign of Amenhotep III, \textit{The tomb of Kheruef : Theban tomb 192} by the Epigraphic Survey in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities of Egypt. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980, p. 76, pl. 80.
Royal Palace, whose disposition promoted his rank, [true] scribe of the king, beloved of him, … steward in the estate of Amun…[Kheru]ef, justified.”\(^{119}\)

This title was included in the self-praise part of the text where Kheruef highlighted the high status he enjoyed in the Royal Palace and his importance as an excellent official who had gained a good reputation within the Royal Palace.

\[\text{id tr m imyw m} \overset{\text{C-h}}{\text{}}\]

“The One to whom the Praise of Those who are in the Royal Palace is Given.”

The High Lector Priest and Royal Scribe during the reign of Thutmose IV held this title and which was recorded in a text accompanying his presentation of gifts to the king.\(^{120}\) The titles in this text highlight the special and high stature he enjoyed in the Royal Palace. The titles he held in this text include the following: “The one who is summoned at every hour, one who hears of matters in private, the favorite of his Majesty, escort the king on water, on land, and in the southern and northern foreign lands, the beneficial one of the good god, the one who enters praised and goes out loved, the one to whom the praise of those who are in the palace is given, the one who does what contents the heart of his Majesty, one who is devoted to his lord …….. Heliopolis……….., Your mouth is opened by Ptah, your mouth is opened by Soker, with this implement of iron with which the mouth of the gods is opened, says the one with pure hands, the one who is excellent in the presence (of the king), the praised one of the good god, the one who is important in his office in the King’s House.”

\(^{119}\) The tomb of Kheruef : Theban tomb 192 by the Epigraphic Survey in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities of Egypt. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980, p. 76, pl. 80.

\(^{120}\) Urk IV, p. 1474:16.
Although the text is accompanying a religious scene, but the main focus of this text is on the importance of the high lector priest in the royal court and his significance to the king. As mentioned in the text, he was a vital official of the king at two different royal institutions, the Royal Palace and King’s House.

From all of the examples of the honorary titles that discussed above, the holders of these titles varied to include officials of both civilian and royal administration. Viziers and other civilian officials held honorary titles that reflected the high status they enjoyed in the Royal Palace. On the other hand and unlike the first group of honorary title, several officials connected to the Royal Palace held these honorary titles indicated that they were honored in the Royal Palace because they were able to gain the king’s praise and satisfaction. The officials of both civilian and royal administration were able to obtain the king’s praise by performing all their duties and functions in or outside the Royal Palace in order to please their lord and obtain his favor.

**The Third Group of Honorary Titles and Epithets**

As we have seen, group one is composed of phrases and titles addressing actions performed by the subject, while group two includes the positive responses from the king. Throughout the New Kingdom, in a number of honorary titles, epithets and phrases, the term \( C^h \) was included in several expressions that referred to the place where the king is or a place associated with the king. These expressions include the following: \( \text{imy-} C^h \) “Who is in the Royal Palace (the king),” \( nb C^h \) “The Lord of the Royal Palace (the king),” and \( hr nb C^h \) “Horus, the Lord of the Royal Palace.” Not only the previously
mentioned expressions, but other titles, which will be discussed below, expressed the same
notion and depicted the Royal Palace as the place associated with the king. In other words, these
expressions highlighted an important aspect of the Royal Palace by connecting it continuously to
the king who was therein as its lord.

A. 𓊳𓊨𓊝𓊩𓊣 imy-𓋱: “Who is in the Royal Palace (the king)”

1- 𓊢𓊝𓊣𓊩𓊩𓊣 imy ib n imy m 𓋱

“One who is in the Heart of He who is in the Royal Palace”

This title was held by number of high officials during the reign of both Queen Hatshepsut and
King Thutmose III including the Vizier Hebu-senb from the reign of Queen Hatshepsut 𓊭 and
Thutmose III’s Vizier Rekhmire 𓊫 as well as Sennefer 𓊭.

2- 𓊥𓊩𓊩𓊣 ir hpw n imy 𓋱

“One who makes the Laws for He who is in the Royal Palace”

This title is recorded on a statue of Amenhotep, son of Habu from Karnak temple. 𓊭 He was
Amenhotep III’s scribe of the recruits, was promoted to hold a civilian position as the overseer of
work. The text on the lower part of the statue is an offering formula (htp-di nsw) where this title
was included. Amenhotep, in the typical style of this formula during this period, listed different
titles and epithets of his in order to highlight his special connection with the king and his

121 Urk IV, p. 482:3
123 Ibid., p. 540:3.
124 Ibid., p. 1815:9.
extraordinary position within the Royal Palace as a high official of the king as the following exemplifies: “One who hears the speech of the secret chamber. The nobleman to whom minds are opened (in trust), pleasant in disposition, one true of counsel, one who makes the laws for him who is in the Royal Palace,……………His seat is promoted, (as) one who commands the royal friends by speech which comes forth within the Royal Palace.”

Throughout this text and through the different honorary titles he held, Amenhotep was able to show the special status he enjoyed in the Royal Palace, generally or in specific parts of the royal place such as the secret chambers. Although he was a civilian official as he was the overseer of works, but he was connected to the Royal Palace because it was the place where the king was.

3-  ḫs.ti imy  ḥ

“One who does that which He who is in the Royal Palace Praises”

This epithet was held by Kenamun and is recorded twice in his tomb. The first appears is in the text accompanying the scene of presenting the New Year gifts to the king. This took place at the Royal Palace as Kenamun mentioned at the beginning of this text: “the first occasion of making merry in the Royal Palace.” This phrase is mentioned once again in the text accompanying the scene showing inspection of agriculture products.

Amenhotep II’s Butler also bears this title in his Theban tomb. Later, Thenuna, Steward of King Thutmose IV, included this title a scene depicting him presenting golden
vessels to the king.130 Another form of the title is known from the Eighteenth Dynasty where the adverb “daily” was added as the following: “The one who does that which he who is in the palace praises daily”

Amenhotep II’s Butler Sw-niwt includes this title in the text accompanying the scene of inspection of the fruit harvest.131 During the reign of Thutmose IV, the treasurer Sobekhotep held this title, which was mentioned in the text accompanying the scene of inspection of the Granary of the King’s House.132

It is noticeable that the title appears twice during the Eighteenth Dynasty, by two different officials, in association with important events that were celebrated at the Royal Palace while presenting gifts to the king. Besides these special occasions at the royal place, this title was also appears in association with a number of events that all related to the king and were for his benefit especially the harvest and storing of the crops. In all of these different events and occasions, the holders of this honorary title were able to show their importance to the king who is in the Royal Palace by doing what pleases their lord in his palace.

4. 𓊅𓍗𓊁𓊂𓍛𓊁𓊂𓍥𓊁𓊂

Cḳ m hpw n imy Cḥ

“One who enters with Laws of He who is in the Royal Palace”

This title was recorded on the walls of the tomb of the Deputy of the Army Amunemhab (known as May) who served under Thutmose III and Amenhotep II.133 Amunemhab had a special connection with the king and the Royal Palace because of his mother who was a great

130 Ibid., p. 1578:13.
131 Urk IV, p. 1452:12.
132 Ibid., p. 1582:12.
133 Cairo 535, Ibid., p. 903,13.
royal nurse. The special status he enjoyed in the Royal Palace and his connection was the king is shown through this title (along with others).

5.  \[\text{w\textsuperscript{c} hr hw.f n imy C\textsuperscript{h}}\]

“Unique of his Kind for He who is in the Royal Palace”

Amenhotep son of Hapu recorded this title among other titles on his statue from Karnak temple that mentioned above.\(^{134}\) As previously mentioned, the titles on the lower part of the statue, where this epithet was found, comprise a *htp-di-nsw* formula followed by self-praise.

Amenhotep continued to highlight his extraordinary position in the Royal Palace.

“The real royal foster child of the king of Lower Egypt, firm of praise in the *stp-s3* L.P.H., sole one of the king of Lower Egypt, who loves him. Chief of chiefs, dignitary of the friends, unique of his kind for him who is in the Royal Palace.”\(^{135}\)

6.  \[\text{ns-mdw n imy C\textsuperscript{h}}\]

“Speaking Tongue of He who is in the Royal Palace”

The royal herald of king Thutmose III, Intef, recorded this title on his stela. After addressing the living, Intef listed his duties as the royal herald and highlighted his importance to the king who is in the Royal Palace through the honorary titles and epithets included in this text.\(^{136}\)

7.  \[\text{hr hr ib n imy C\textsuperscript{h}}\]

“One who makes Content the Heart of He who is in the Royal Palace”

\(^{134}\) Urk IV, p. 1816:12.

\(^{135}\) Ibid., p. 1816:8-12.

\(^{136}\) Ibid., p. 968:7.
Thenuna from the reign of Thutmose III recorded this title in his Theban tomb among other titles. In this text, he includes other titles that highlighted his importance and significance for his lord at the Royal Palace and stp-s3 as a beneficial official who was able to make his lord content because of all he had done for his lord.

8.  \( ḫsy n \ imb \ ẖ \)

“Praised One of He who is in the Royal Palace”

Four examples were found and all are from the Eighteenth Dynasty. The first is from the tomb of the Deputy of the Army Amunemhab (known as May) who served under Thutmose III and Amenhotep II. The rest of the examples are all from the reign of Thutmose IV including the Overseer of the Granary Sobekhotep, the Steward Thenuna and Djhutmosi (father of the royal tutor Hekernrheh).

9.  \( sḏ3-ḥr \ n \ imb \ ẖ \)

“One who Pleased He who is in the Royal Palace”

Only one example of this title found from the reign of Hatshepsut where it was held by the High Steward of the Queen, Senefer. This title was included in his Theban tomb. It was among other titles of Senefer included in a text accompanying the scene of presenting the New Year gifts to the queen. Presenting the New Year gifts to the Queen in her palace was done by her high steward in order to please her.

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137 Urk IV, p. 1016:12.
138 Ibid., p. 905:10.
139 Ibid., pp. 1584:19; 1581:6; 1572:13.
140 Ibid., p. 456:2.
wḥmw nsw tpy imy ẖ

“First Royal Herald of the One who is in the Royal Palace”

Khereuf holds this title in the scene depicting the king and queen receiving gifts during the celebration of the third jubilee of the king. In the lower register of this scene, Khereuf depicted leading two men and the text accompanying this scene: “Year 37, ushering in the god’s fathers to be placed in the (royal) presence in his majesty’s third jubilee by the noble, count, great companion of the lord of the two lands, [first] royal [herald] of the one who is in the royal place, royal scribe, and steward of the principal wife of the king Tiye, may she live, Kheruef, justified.”

“The Royal Herald” was not an honorary title as the holders of this title were officials in charge of the publication of the king’s orders and decrees. They played an important role in the communication between the king and his officials. However, the form of the title which was held by Khereuf is unique and it is different from the normal form of the title known during the New Kingdom. The simple form of the title is wḥmw nsw tpy “The First Royal Herald,” which sometimes followed by an epithet of the king such as “Lord of the Two Lands” or “His Majesty.” The only known example of the epithet “Who is in the Royal Palace” is the one held by Khereuf.

141 Khereuf, pl. 47, p. 57.
142 The first herald of king Thutmose III, Intef, recorded his duties as the first herald of the king see, Urk IV, 966 ff.
B. nb $^\text{C} \text{ḥ}$: “Lord of the Royal Palace (the King)

1. šndyt nbt dhn.sn n.i s $^\text{C} \text{r mdw [n nb]}$ $^\text{C} \text{ḥ}$ $^\text{r C} \text{nb}$

“All kilts bow down to me, (as) I forward Matters [to the Lord] of the Royal Palace daily.”

Ramose the Vizier of Amenhotep III included this phrase in his Theban tomb in offering text. In the self-praise part of this text, Ramose recorded the title among others of his titles that highlighted his high status.\(^{144}\) As part of his duties as the head of the government, the vizier had to report the matters of the two lands daily to his lord, the Lord of the Royal Palace. Using the term “Royal Palace” here to modify the word “Lord” could be intentionally used to highlight the role of the Royal Palace as the place where the king used to receive his vizier and discuss the affairs of the land.

2. 茚 $^\text{C} \text{ḥ}$

“Keen of Vigilance for the Lord of the Royal Palace”

It is one of the titles that Nehy, the Overseer of Nubia, held in the text accompanying the scene of presenting the tribute to king Thutmose III on the walls of the shrine in Kasir Ibrim.\(^{145}\)

3. mn $^\text{ḥsw ḫr nb}$ $^\text{C} \text{ḥ}$

“Firm of Praise under the Lord of the Royal Palace”

Sen-em-ıᶜḥ from the reign of Hatshepsut held this title.¹⁴⁶ This title was included on his statue which was found in Mut Temple. It is noticeable here that the official of Queen Hatshepsut included the masculine form of the word “Lord” not the expected feminine form of the term. It was intentional and part of the big campaign included inscriptions, reliefs, statues and texts that depicted the queen as a male in order to show her as a “male” pharaoh who rules the country.¹⁴⁷

**4.**

\[\text{ir } 3ḥt n nb Ḫḥ\]

“One who does Things of Benefit for the Lord of the Royal Palace”

The simple form of the title was held by Hatshepsut’s official Nakht-Men.¹⁴⁸ There are other forms of this title known from the New Kingdom including:

**4.**

\[\text{ir } 3ḥ n nb Ḫḥ n ṣ3 mnḥ.f n nsw\]

“One who does Things of Benefit for the Lord of the Royal Palace as he is Efficient to the King”

This title was included among other titles and epithets on the ceiling of the Mayor of Thebes Sennefer’s Theban tomb.¹⁴⁹ Various inscriptions from in this tomb are highlighting the importance of Sennefer and emphasizing the especial position he enjoyed in both the Royal Palace and the King’s House as a beneficial official of the lord of the Royal Palace.¹⁵⁰

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¹⁴⁶ Urk IV, p. 516:1.
¹⁴⁸ Urk IV, p. 466:2
¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 1428:15.
¹⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 1428-32.
“One who does Things of Benefit for the Lord of the Royal Palace in the Efficient Execution of each Mission of him.”

This title was included in the great funerary text from the tomb of the Deputy of Amenhotep II’s Army, Pehukhru, and was preceded with a number of titles and epithets that show his significance as a vital official of the king. 151

“Favorite (lit: who is in the heart of) of Horus, Lord of the Royal Palace”

Two examples of this title are known from the Eighteenth Dynasty. 152 Usersatet, Amenhotep II’s Viceroy, recorded this title on his statue from Deir el-Medineh. 153 On the both sides of the statue an offering formula is recorded and followed by self-praise where this title was recorded. Then, Amenhotep III’s General Nakht-Men also recorded this title on his statue among other titles that highlighted the special status he enjoyed in the Royal Palace including the following:

“Favorite (lit: who is in the heart of) Horus, lord of the Royal Palace, the pick of the lord of respect. The eyes of the king for his Horus, one who enters [the Royal Palace].” 154

“The Heart of the Lord of the Royal Palace”

151 Urk IV, p. 1523:3.
154 Ibid., p. 1908:9-11.
The Royal Herald of king Thutmose III, Intef, included this title on his stela.\(^{155}\) Intef was an important official during the reign of Thutmose III because of his position which allowed him to be in direct connection with the king in his place from one side, and with the different officials in both the royal place and the King’s House. The special status he enjoyed in the royal court is shown through the various honorary titles he held and which connected him with both the Royal Palace and the King’s House.

7. \[
\text{sw3š.n.f ūr nb Cḥ}
\]

“One who pays Honor to Horus, the Lord of the Royal Palace”\(^{156}\)

The Overseer of the Granary during the reign of Amenhotep III, Khaemhat, recorded this title in his Theban tomb. This title was included in the self-praise part of the great funerary text after he addressed the visitor of the tomb.

8. \[
\text{šmsw ūr nb Cḥ}
\]

“One who follows Horus, Lord of the Royal Palace”\(^{157}\)

Hatshepsut’s Vizier, Hebu-seneb, held this title which was included in the text from one of his status.\(^{158}\) Besides the official titles and epithets discussed above, the expression “Lord of the Royal Palace” was also included in the queen’s titles. From the reign of Ramesses I, Queen Sitre held the following titles: “Hereditary princess, rich in favors, praised by Horus Lord of the

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\(^{155}\) Urk IV, p. 968: 9.

\(^{156}\) Ibid., p. 1846:14.

\(^{157}\) Ibid., p. 484:4.

\(^{158}\) Bologna 1822 , Ibid., p. 480-5.
Royal Palace.” Moreover, Queen Nefertari and Queen Istnofert, from the reign of Ramesses II, both held the title “Chief of the Harem of Horus, Lord of the Royal Palace.”

C.  

\(\text{ḥr m} \text{ḥ.f: “Horus (the king) in his Royal Palace”}\)

1-  

\(\text{mḥ n ḥr m} \text{ḥ.f m ḥrt nt r} \text{nb}\)

“Upright Man of Horus in his Royal Palace Daily”

This title was recorded in the tomb of Thutmose III’s Treasurer, Sobekhotep. This title was included in the text accompanying a scene depicted the owner of the tomb, Sobekhotep, spearing fish. The text is short and listed only a few titles of Sobek-Hotep including “the prince and count, the praised one of the good god, the upright man of Horus in his palace daily, mayor of the lake of Sobek who belongs to Shedet, Treasurer, Sobekhotep.”

2-  

\(\text{mḥ } \text{ḥw} \text{ḥ ḥr m} \text{ḥ.f}\)

“One who informs the Ears of Horus in his Royal Palace”

This title was held by the Mayor of Thebes Sennefer and which was included in text in his Theban tomb. This honorary title was recorded among other titles of him and which show his importance as high official who was vital for his lord. The titles which he held in this text

\[^{159}\text{This title from the tomb of Sethos I, KRI, I, p. 5.12}\]
\[^{160}\text{This title was mentioned on the walls of Luxor temple, in a scene depicted the queen before the royal children, KRI, II, p. 849.}\]
\[^{161}\text{This title was recorded on a statue with prince’s figure, Brussels E.7500, KRI, II, p. 855:1.}\]
\[^{162}\text{Urk IV, p. 1584:14.}\]
\[^{163}\text{Ibid., p. 1584:13-15.}\]
\[^{164}\text{Ibid., p. 1430:7.}\]
connected him with two royal institutions, both the Royal Palace and the King’s House: “He is the one who informs the ears of Horus in his palace, great favorite of the King’s House, the one who enters to his lord in private and the one who keeps silent with regard to that which his eyes sees.”  

The above listed titles certainly highlighted the high status Sennefer enjoyed in two different royal institutions, in both the Royal Palace and King’s House. He was definitely one of the favorite high officials of the king, as his titles stated that he was allowed to approach his person and interact with him directly. This was special to specific officials who were able to gain the king’s trust. As a civilian official and Mayor of Thebes, he was able to reach a significant status not only in the King’s House but also at the Royal Palace also where he had access to his lord in his palace.

3. ḫnw ḫr m ḫnw Cḫ.f

“One who approaches Horus in his Royal Palace”

In his Theban tomb, the Overseer of the Royal Palace Neferskheru listed a number of titles and epithets that highlighted his duties as the overseer of the Royal Palace while focusing on his special connection with the lord of the palace, the king. One of them is this honorary title which reflected the high status he enjoyed in the Royal Palace. He was one of the officials allowed to approach the king in his palace because of position as the overseer of the Royal Palace.

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165 Urk IV, p. 1430:
166 Ibid., p. 1881:6.
“Pupil of Horus in his Royal Palace”

The High Steward of Thutmose IV, Thenuna, included this title in a prayer in which he listed titles showing the favor he enjoyed under his lord.\(^1^{67}\) It is evident through his titles that he was one of the high officials who had access to special parts of the Royal Palace such as the secret chambers: “sole friend of the king, his beloved, a unique and excellent one to whom the heart is opened, one who hears the affairs of the secret chamber, the pupil of Horus in his palace, a plummet of the king within the entourage.”\(^1^{68}\) As the high steward of the king he had a direct connection with his lord and through that he reached a high status and special position in the royal place and which is evident in his honorary titles and epithets mentioned above.

“Entourages of Horus in his Royal Palace”

The term “Entourages of Horus” was included in the installation of the Vizier Usersatet which took place in the audience-hall.\(^1^{69}\) These officials were associated with the Royal Palace and witnessed the installation of the vizier among other officials including: “officials, courtiers, royal noblemen, dignitaries of the private apartments, chamberlains, the great one of the \(stp-s3\) and entourages of Horus in his palace.”\(^1^{70}\)

\(^{167}\) Urk IV, p. 1580:6.
\(^{168}\) Ibid., p. 1580
\(^{169}\) Ibid., p. 1380:15.
\(^{170}\) Ibid., p. 1380: 14-15.
The term šnwt is known from the Middle Kingdom, with another from the New Kingdom šnyt, both of which mean the entourages or courtiers of the king or god. Sometimes, this title followed by the word nsw “entourages of the king” or nb “entourages of the lord (the king)”. The form of the title under discussion here is the only known example of the title where the phrase “Horus in his palace” (which also refers to the king) is used to replace the words nsw and nb. The text in which this title was mentioned is about the installation of the vizier, the event which took place in the royal audience-hall, most likely in the Royal Palace. All the officials attending this event were associated with both the king and his palace. Different parts of the palace are mentioned in this text including the private apartments, stp-s3 besides the Royal Palace itself which is described as the place where the king is.

Besides the three groups of titles discussed above where the king was mentioned in association of the Royal Palace, there are number of honorary titles in which the king (or sometimes Horus or lord of two lands) was included in association with Royal Palace. These titles including the following:

1. \( \text{name} \) \( \text{wr} \) \( \text{Cḥ swt m Cḥ n nsw} \)

“Great of Praise in the Royal Palace of the king”

The Prince and Great Commander of the army, Nakhtmin, included this title on his statue in Cairo museum. The text on the back of this statue is a prayer that is concluded by self-praise in which this title is mentioned. Here, the connection between the king and the Royal Palace is clear as the Royal Palace was a place that belonged to the king.

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172 Urk IV, p. 1909:16.
“He is his Eyes when the King is in his Royal Palace”

Kenamun, High Steward of Amenhotep II, recorded this phrase on a funerary stela from Thebes. In the self-praise section of this stela, Kenamun highlights the special position he enjoyed in the Royal Palace as the high steward of the king saying: “The praised one of his god, the one who the lord of the two lands loves because of his good character, praised one of his good god, confidant of Horus in his house, he is his eyes when the king is in his palace, he is the one to whom men say what is in the heart, the one who promotes rightness at the Royal Palace.”

It is evident from Kenamun’s honorary titles and phrase mentioned above that he wanted to highlight the significant and high status he enjoyed in the Royal Palace while serving his lord. His position as high steward of the king allowed him to be in direct connection with his lord who was in the Royal Palace.

The third group of the honorary titles, epithets and phrases highlight the direct connection between the king and the Royal Palace and which was special to the Royal Palace only. It is evident through the various honorary titles discussed above that the king was in the Royal Palace. Moreover, it also indicated an important aspect of the Royal Palace; that it was the property of the king and belonged to him. That is evident through the use of IDaafa construction \( Ch n nsw \) “The palace of the king” and which express possession. The king’s inhabiting of and personal presence within the Royal Palace \( Ch \) is unique to it, not to the so-called “King’s House”

174 Urk IV, p. 1405:5-8.
The difference between these two will be analyzed later. We will also see the same connection of the king to the *stp-s3* as he has to the Royal Palace.

**The Term ḫ in the Titles and Epithets of Deities and Royalties**

In addition to the titles, honorary titles and epithets that included the term ḫ and which were held by different officials throughout the New Kingdom, this term has also appeared in a number of deities’ and royalties’ titles and epithets during this period. It is noticeable that the number of titles and epithets of deities and royalties that included this term is limited especially when compared to the official titles and epithets. Certainly, it is limited in quantity but it has a significant importance to study and understand the various aspects of the Royal Palace. On the other hand, besides the deities’ titles, it is noteworthy that the term ḫ was included only in queens’ titles and epithets. These titles and epithets always focus on the role of the queen within the royal place as the lady or mistress of the Royal Palace. This special connection between the great wife of the king and the Royal Palace highlighted an important aspect of the Royal Palace; it was not a place related to the king only, but to the king and the royal family. In other words, the Royal Palace was the residence of the king.

1. ![Image]

   **bnr-mrt m ḫ n it.s r**

   “Sweet of Love in the Palace of her Father Re”

The Goddess Maat held this epithet on a stela of Seti I’s Vizier, Paser. It is the only known example of this title from ancient Egypt. There are no other examples of the title found

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175 KRI, I, p. 287:12.
from the before or after the New Kingdom even with other goddesses. The holder of this title, the Goddess Maat, along with the god Re who is mentioned in this title, were two important deities in the Egyptian mythology. Re was a prime element in most of the Egyptian creation myths, and especially in the Heliopolitan creation myth. Moreover, he also acted as divine father and protector of the king. The special connection between the king and the god Re was shown in the king’s official titulary; one of the five king’s names was the “son of Re”. On the other hand, from the New Kingdom, Maat has been known as daughter of Re and sister of the reigning king. This relationship between the reigning king and goddess Maat was vital to the king; goddess Maat personifying all the significant elements of cosmic harmony including truth, justice and moral integrity.

As this title implied, the term ‘ḥ’ used here for the residential place of the god Re and his daughter Maat. This residence was defined as “palace.” Thus, the term ‘ḥ’ was used for both the residence (or palace) of the divine father of the reigning king, the creator god Re (and his daughter Maat, celestial sister of the king), and that of the current living king of Egypt. As the king inherited his authority and power from the gods of Egypt and become the legitimate ruler of the whole land of Egypt under their protection, he also lived with his family in the ‘ḥ’ or Royal Palace as his divine father Re lived in the palace with his daughter Maat. It was the gods who granted the king the kingship and rule of Egypt which he conducted from the Royal Palace “The

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178 The official titulary of the ruler consisted of five names; Horus, Nebty, Golden Horus, Nomen, and Penomen. The nomen often followed the title Son of Re or the title Lord of Appearances
praising of Amun-Re made by king Hekmare-setpnamun after he had caused him to seat himself upon the throne, resting in the palace of the lord of eternity.”\textsuperscript{180}

The seat of the kingship which the gods granted to the king was in the Royal Palace. As the land of Egypt was property of the gods who chose the king that would rule it, the Royal Palace also was a god’s property and which is evident in this text as the Royal Palace was described as “The palace of the lord of eternity.”\textsuperscript{181} The gods would induct the chosen king into the Royal Palace to where his throne was, the place from which he would practice his duties as the legitimate ruler of Egypt.

\textit{nb sb3 w nfr m Çḫ}

“Lord of a Good Remembrance in the Royal Palace”

This is a title of the god Osiris which is known from the Middle Kingdom, from which several examples of the title were found.\textsuperscript{182} In the Eighteenth Dynasty, this title was included in the text accompanying a scene depicting the owner of the tomb and both his wife and son approaching a pavilion while adoring the deities sitting in the pavilion.\textsuperscript{183} Although there are several gods sitting in the pavilion, Osiris is the only god mentioned in this text, in which he held this title among other titles of his.\textsuperscript{184} Later, during the Ramesside period, Osiris held this title, which was recorded on a naos from the reign of Ramesses II and on the Herihor stela.\textsuperscript{185}

\textsuperscript{181} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{182} Leitz, C., op.cit., Vol. 3, p.739.
\textsuperscript{183} The owner of this tomb is called Djhutmose. This tomb is most likely from the reign of Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III see, Hegazy, E. A & Tosi, M., A Theban Private Tomb: Tomb No.295, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 45, Cairo 1983. p. 26.
\textsuperscript{184} Ibid., p. 15, pl. 3.
\textsuperscript{185} KRI, III, p. 484-9; VI, p. 846:15.
According to the ancient Egyptian mythology, Osiris was the mythological father of the god Horus - of whom the living king was the representative on earth. Undoubtedly, this title is significant in that it connects the god Osiris (the dead king and father of living King/Horus) with the Royal Palace from which the king supposed to practice his authority as the ruler of Egypt. His connection with the Royal Palace, the place where the reigning king lived, was important enough to Osiris to be included in one of his titles. Moreover, it is noteworthy that this title is known from the Middle Kingdom, where a number of examples were found. Is this related to development of this term and it is uses? Did the term ğḥ began to supersede the use of the term pr-C3 to specifically refer to the Royal Palace during the Middle Kingdom and eventually come to completely replace it (as pr-C3 changed usage) during the New Kingdom? A further study of these titles during the Middle Kingdom is needed to answer these questions.

3. \( nb \) ğḥ

“Lady of the Royal Palace”

In the palace of Merenptah, in the inner south-most apartment, this title was recorded on a lintel (of the north main door of a pillared hall). The name of the goddess who held this title was not mentioned in the text: “Horus falcon, lord of jubilees and epiphanies, Baienra Meriamun, L.P.H. beloved of the lady of the Royal Palace, mistress of the shrine.”

From the Old Kingdom until the Greco-Roman period, this title was held by several goddesses. During the New Kingdom, this title was commonly held by the following Goddesses: Weret-Hekau “Great of Magic,” (and also Mut-Weret-Hekau “Mother of Great of

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186 This palace is in Kom el-Qal’a, KRI, IV, p. 54.
187 Leitz, C., op.cit., Vol. 4, p. 32.
Magic," or possibly the goddess Mut, “Great of Magic”) and Sekhmet “The Powerful”. Although both Weret-Hekau and Sekhmet were associated with the king and were protectors and guardians of the reigning king, each one of them played her role in different ways, which related to specific aspects of each goddess.

As an independent deity, Weret-Hekau was a Cobra or lioness goddess who accompanied the king in various scenes and inscriptions from the New Kingdom. She was depicted with, or solely represented by, the title “Lady of the Royal Palace” on the walls of temples, on stela and statues, and in royal tombs and more. Her unique connection with the reigning king was shown through an inscription on the coronation statute of king Horemheb where she embraces the new king and established herself as the Uraeus on his brow during the coronation ceremony at Karnak temple.

On the other hand, the term “Weret-Hekau” was used as an epithet for several goddesses since the Old Kingdom. While Weret-Hekau was an epithet for major goddesses including Isis, Mut and Sekhmet, it was also a name associated with both the Crowns of the Upper and Lower Egypt and divine uraeus in the Pyramid Texts.

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188 Leitz, C., op.cit., Vol. 4, p. 32.
191 On a small golden shrine discovered in the tomb of Tutankhamun, the names of the king and the queen are linked to Weret-Hekau, who sometimes holds the title “Lady of the Royal Palace.” In addition, an amulet was found in the shrine showing Weret-Hekau as a Cobra with human body suckling the king. Also her title “Lady of the Royal Palace” was included in Liverpool palette (No. 24.9.00.92) see, Beinlich, H. & Saleh, M. , Corpus der Hieroglyphischen Inschriften aus dem Grab des Tutankhamun, Oxford 1989. p. 108; KRI, III, 14:5.
192 Hart, G., op.cit., p. 163.
The goddess Weret-Hekau was not only a guardian deity of the reigning king, but also had a special connection with the king through her name, which was associated with both the uraeus and crown; the royal insignia that the king used to wear all the time to protect him. Holding this title connected her with the Royal Palace where the king lived and ruled and is related to her role as the protector of the king who had to accompanied him all the time.

On the other hand, the goddess Sekhmet also held this title. She also was protector of the reigning king but in a different way because of the destructive aspects of her character (she also had an opposite aspect as a healing goddess). According to Egyptian mythology, Sekhmet was a daughter of the sun-god Re and also was one of his eyes that he used for punishment. Because of her power, Sekhmet was adopted by the pharaohs as their military patroness and the symbol of their heroism in the battle field. In addition, because of her power, she was a protective deity of the king.  

During the New Kingdom, Sekhmet held the title “Lady of the Royal Palace” which was recorded on several royal and private monuments from this period. The title was also found in the tomb of Senenmut and on the statue of the Vizier Paser. On this statue, she held the title “Great of Magic, Lady of the Royal Palace.” As for the royal monuments, the goddess Sekhmet held this title on a block statue of her and king Amenhotep III from Karnak temple.  

These two goddess, Weret-Hekau and Sekhmet, were guardians and protectors of the reigning king in two different ways, the first because of her magical protective power and the second goddess because of her destructive power, which was used to protect the king. The special connection both goddesses had with the royal king through their role as protective  

196 Louvre statue No. E.25980, KRI, III, 10:10.  
197 Urk IV, p. 1764:20.
goddesses necessitated that they were with the king and accompanied him in or outside the Royal Palace. Thus the title “Lady of the Royal Palace” which both goddesses held was related to their role as guardians and protectors of the king wherever he would be; in his palace with his family or his court or outside the palace.

4. 𓊫 𓊮 𓊫 𓊮 𓊳 𓊮 𓊳 𓊳 𓊳 𓊳
mḥ 𓊫 m nfrt.s

“Filling the Royal Palace with her Beauty”

Queen Tiye held this title and which was included in a tomb from Amarna.\textsuperscript{198} This title shows a direct connection between the queen and the Royal Palace as a place where she was, and where her beauty filled the whole place. That means the queen was at the Royal Palace where she lived along with the king and the royal family. Thus, the royal place was not a place associated with the king only, but with his family also. It was the residence of the king and his family.

5. 𓊨 𓊫 𓊨 𓊫 𓊨 𓊫 𓊨 𓊨 𓊨 𓊨
hnwt 𓊫

“Mistress of the Royal Palace”

Once again, another title included the term 𓊫 and held by both goddesses Sekhemet and Weret-Hekau (and also Mut-Weret-Hekau).\textsuperscript{199} Goddess Sekhemet held this title in text from the tomb of Thutmheb from the reign of Ramesses III.\textsuperscript{200} Likewise, goddess Sekhemet held this title also on Stela of an official called Haitia from Faras and on statue.\textsuperscript{201}

\textsuperscript{198} RTA, III, pl. XXVII, p. 15.
\textsuperscript{199} Leitz, C., op.cit., Vol. 5, p. 171.
\textsuperscript{200} KRI, III, p. 355:14.
Hence, again the two goddesses Sekhemet and Weret-Hekau, who were protectors and guardians deities of the reigning king held title that connected them with the royal place, the place where the king whom protected was.

Besides the goddesses, queens also held a similar title. Queen Nefertari held the title “Mistress of Maidens of the Royal Palace.” Here is another title that was held by a queen and connected her with the Royal Palace as the mistress of its maidens. This title highlights an important aspect of the Royal Palace as a residential place of the king where he had his mistress and maidens who would fill the Royal Palace with their beauty. Thus, another title indicated that the royal place was residential place for the king only but also for the queen and the royal family.

The Term Ḫ in Texts

From the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the Royal Palace was included in various texts including royal, religious, biographical texts and more. It has always appeared as a term not only for the place of the royal accommodation, but also as a place where the king was able to practice his authority as the ruler of Egypt. In other words, it was the place where he lived, was crowned as a king, held his court, received his officials to install them in various administration offices and more, as will be discussed below.

From the beginning of the life story of the king (the narrative of the life of any king in general), the Royal Palace was intimately entwined with his existence, being the place in which the future king was born. In his birth legend, King Amenhotep III, the Royal Palace was the place where he was conceived and then born. In the texts accompanying the various scenes of Amenhotep III’s birth legend from the temple of Luxor, it was at the Royal Palace where the god Amun met the Queen and the future king was created: “Amun was brought to the Royal Palace,

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face to face, nose to nose. It happened….great…what every man desires. Amun went to have intercourse with her.”

This connection continues from birth to coronation, which also took place in the Royal Palace, as Queen Hatshepsut mentions in Deir el-Bahari coronation text. The Royal Palace is mentioned more than once throughout this text and during various coronation ceremonies. Firstly, when King Thutmose I summoned his daughter to be crowned as the queen of Egypt:

There saw her, the majesty of her father, this Horus; how divine is her great fashioner. Her heart is glad, (for) great is her crown; she advocates her cause [in] truth, [exalter] of her royal dignity, and of that which her ka does. The livings were set before her in the Royal Palace of n- ist. Said his majesty to her: “Come, glorious one, I have placed (you) before me; that you may see (or inspect) the administration in the Royal Palace, and the excellent deeds of your ka that you may assume the royal dignity, glorious in your magic, mighty in your strength. You shall be powerful in the Two Lands; you shall seize the rebellious; you shall appear in the Royal Palace, your forehead shall be adorned with the double diadem, resting upon the head of the heiress of Horus

The Royal Palace was the place where Queen Hatshepsut was crowned as the legitimate queen of Egypt by her father, King Thutmose I in the presence of the royal court who witnessed this important event. In other words, the king held his court in the Royal Palace in order to celebrate the coronation of his daughter. Moreover, the king stated in this text that she would also practice her authority as legitimate ruler of the Egypt from the Royal Palace, and would appear in the Royal Palace wearing all the kingship insignia in order to perform these duties.

Then the Royal Palace is mentioned again in this text when king Thutmose I summoned his court after the coronation of the queen Hatshepsut as the text mentioned: “My majesty caused that there be brought to him the dignitaries of the king, the nobles, the companions, the officers

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203 Urk IV, 1714: 1-4.

of the residence, and the chief of the people, that they may do homage, to set the majesty of the daughter of this Horus before him in the palace of n-\_ist. There was a sitting of the king himself in the Audience hall of the West Side of the stp-s3, while these people prostrated themselves in the stp-s3.\textsuperscript{206}

Once again, the Royal Palace is described in this text as the place where the king held his court. This section provides more detailed picture about the royal court regarding the people who attended it and also its location. First, the members of the royal court were included here along with their titles, unlike the previous section where they were described as livings without any specification. The location of the royal court on the west side of the stp-s3 is also specified here.

Moreover, the name of the Royal Palace is included in the same Deir el Bahari text, preceded by the term $\text{C}_h$. The name of the Royal Palace is $\text{C}_h$ \textit{n-ist} “The royal Place of the Palace” (the name of this Royal Palace occurs only in this text). The word \textit{ist} is known from the Old Kingdom and means “Palace of the King,” or part of it, and was also used for the god’s residence.\textsuperscript{207} During the New Kingdom, whenever the name of the Royal Palace or its location is included in a text, it is preceded with the term $\text{C}_h$. This seems to be the case whether it was an independent structure or connected to a temple (both cult and mortuary temples). There is another example from the reign of Hatshepsut where the Royal Palace in Karnak temple is described: “The Royal Palace of the Broad-Hall of “I will not be Far from him (namely the god Amun).”\textsuperscript{208} The Royal Palace is connected to the temple, and there for the queen was not far from the god Amun as the name of the Royal Palace clearly stated. Not only the name of this royal place was included in the text but also its location within the temple “The

\textsuperscript{206}Urk IV, pp. 256:9-257:2.
\textsuperscript{207}WB, I, p. 127:7-9.
\textsuperscript{208}Lacau, P. & Chevrier, H., op.cit., p. 98
Royal Palace which is on the Side of the Way of Offering,” “which is on the Bank of the Turning Basin.”

Later on, during the reign of Amenhotep III, the name of his palace on the west bank of Thebes, known as Malkata Palace, was also preceded by the term $C’h$. In a text describing the rewarding the officials during the celebration of the king’s first jubilee from the tomb of Khereuf, the name of this Royal Palace is describing here: “The glorious appearance of the king at the grate double gates of his palace of House of Rejoicing.”

This Royal Palace, on the west bank of Thebes, was mentioned in another text from Sinai “Now his majesty was in the southern city (Thebes), [in his Royal Palace in the West] of Thebes (imy – wrt w3st).”

During the Ramesside period, the name of Royal Palace of king Merenptah was recorded in a letter where it is likewise preceded with the term $C’h$: “This letter is for the information of the king at the Royal Palace “Beloved of Maat,” the horizon in which Re is.”

Although the known names of the Royal Palaces of the New Kingdom are limited in numbers, it is evident from the several examples discussed here that the name of the Royal Palace was always preceded by the term $C’h$, “The Royal Palace.” It is noteworthy that this system of writing the names of the Royal Palaces was known before the New Kingdom. There is one known example from the Middle Kingdom where the name of the Royal Palace was also preceded by the term $C’h$. It is the name of King Neferhotep’s Royal Palace which was included on his Abydos stela “The Royal Palace of Bearer of Beauty.”

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210 Tomb of Kheruef : Theban tomb 192, by the Epigraphic Survey in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities of Egypt. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980, p. 43, pl. 28.
211 From the inscription of Amenemue in Sinai, see Urk IV, 1891: 6.
The location of the Royal Palaces was also included in several texts from the New Kingdom where the location of the Royal Palace was preceded by the term $C_h$. It is noteworthy that, in all the known examples from the New Kingdom, there was usually a palace located at Thebes – these could be on the east or west bank. The Royal Palace of King Thutmose III in Thebes ($iwnw\,\dot{s}m^C$, the southern city) is mentioned in the text of Imau-Nedjeh, which refers to “The royal appearance in the Great Royal Palace of Thebes.” Later, in two different texts from the Ramesside period, Thebes is also mentioned as the place where the royal place was. The first text is from the reign of Ramesses III, and describing how the king was sent forth from his Royal Palace in Thebes by his father Amun-Re to fight the Libyans. In another example from the same reign, the Third Prophet of Amun, Amenemopet, was rewarded by the king who was in his Royal Palace which is in Thebes. Although these two texts do not mention the exact location of the Royal Palace in Thebes, most likely the Royal Palace mentioned here is the Royal Palace associated with Medinet Habu Temple on the west bank of Thebes. The Royal Palaces which were on the west bank of Thebes are mentioned in several texts from the New Kingdom. They were palaces associated with the mortuary temples on the west bank of Thebes except for the Amenhotep III palace discussed above (Malkata Palace). During the Ramesside period a new capital, was erected on the Nile delta and was known as Pi-Ramesses. The reigning king lived in the newly erected capital and when he had to go south to Thebes in different occasion he lived in the Royal Palace associated with his mortuary temple on the west bank of Thebes.

The construction of a Royal Palace associated with the mortuary temple of the reigning king on the west bank of Thebes was known before the Ramesside period. Thutmose III had a

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216 From his Theban tomb, Ibid., p. 413:1.
Royal Palace on the west bank of Thebes which is mentioned on his Gebel Barkal stela “His majesty was in his Royal Palace on the west of Thebes (imnty niwt).”

Thus, it is evident from different New Kingdom texts discussed above that whenever the name of the Royal Palace was included in a text, it was preceded by the term $C^h$. The term $C^h$ was used in association with the name and location of the royal place was because it was the term used throughout the New Kingdom for the Royal Palace, the place where the king lived and practiced his authority as the ruler of Egypt.

Going back to the coronation of Queen Hatshepsut, the king summoned his court to witness the coronation of his daughter. Then the king addressed his court, saying:

This is my daughter, Khnemet-Amun, Hatshepsut, who lives, I put her in my seat; she is my successor upon my throne, she it assuredly is who shall sit upon my wonderful seat. She shall command the people in every place of the Royal Palace; she is the one who shall lead you; you shall proclaim her word, you shall be united at her command. He who shall do her homage shall live; he who speaks evil in blasphemy of her majesty shall die. Whosoever proclaims with unanimity the name of her majesty shall enter immediately into the royal chamber, just as it was done by the name of this Horus.

Thus, after her coronation as king of Egypt, Hatshepsut became the lord of the Royal Palace, enclosed with the power and authority over all its affairs and inhabitants. All the officials belong to various departments of the Royal Palace had to follow her orders and rules. Moreover, she would also practice her authority as the ruler of Egypt from the Royal Palace.

After the coronation and having become the king of Egypt, the Royal Palace was also the place where the ruling king lived and practiced his authority as the legitimate ruler of the whole land of Egypt. Whether the king is in Egypt or in any foreign country, he would need a palace for his accommodation. In his biographical text, the First Herald of Thutmos III, Intef, provided an account of his military career and having followed the king in his wars, and also about the

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217 This Royal Palace was most likely associated with the mortuary temple of king Thutmose III, see, Redford, D. B., *The wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III*, Leiden/ Boston 2003. p. 128, note 110; Urk IV, p. 1243:8.
preparation of a proper place for the royal accommodation in the foreign countries, He reported that:

I followed the king of the two lands, I struck into his tracks in the countries, ….. the earth, I arrived at its end, being at the heels of his majesty L.P.H., my valor was like the lords of strength, and I captured like his brave ones. Every palace in a country…….. before the troops, at the head of the army. When my lord arrived in safety where I was, I had prepared it (the palace), I had equipped it with everything that desired in a foreign country, made better than the Royal Palace of Egypt, purified, cleansed, set apart, their mansions (ḏsr hwt), (each) chamber for its proper purpose, I made the king’s heart satisfied with which I did,……..219

From this text, it is understandable that the Royal Palace was the place for the royal accommodation within or outside the country. Moreover, keeping the focal set up of the Royal Palace was essential for the king even when he abroad. As a loyal official of his lord, he traveled before his king in order to prepare a palace for his lord in different foreign countries. Intef planned on providing his lord with all his needs when he was abroad by setting up palaces that included all the rooms and halls that the king would need.

Different texts from the Eighteenth Dynasty portray the Royal Palace as the royal residence. The first text is from the reign of Hatshepsut, on the Karnak obelisk. The text recorded that Queen Hatshepsut was at her Royal Palace when she thought of making an offer to god Amun, and decided to erect two obelisks in the Karnak temple, “I sat (the queen) in the Royal Palace, I remembered him who fashioned me, my heart led me to make for him two obelisks of electrum, whose point[s] mingled with heaven, in the august colonnade between the two great pylons of the king, the mighty bull, the King of upper and lower Egypt, Okheperkere (Thutmose I), the deceased Horus.”220

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219 Urk IV, p. 975.
220 Ibid., pp. 364:10-365:5.
Our second text comes from the reign of Thutmose III. On Gebel Barkel stela, and in the epilogue of the text, the Royal Palace was mentioned as the place where the king lives, “His majesty was in his Royal Palace on the west of (Thebes).” The third text is from the reign of Ramesses II, records the first Hittite marriage the Royal Palace is mentioned as the place where the king lived: “Then his majesty was filled with joy, entering the Royal Palace happily when he heard of this marvelous event (sending the daughter of Hittite king with inw), entirely unknown in Egypt. So, he dispatched the army and officials quickly welcome them.”

This text also highlights that the king lived in the Royal Palace with the queen: “She was installed in the Royal Palace and in the King’s House, accompanying the sovereign daily, her name being proclaimed in the [entire] land……ample villas in her name.”

Additionally, as the place in which the king and the royal family lived, the Royal Palace was the place from which the king left on wars and later returns to it. Two texts from the Ramesside periods describe that the Royal Palace as the place from which the king left to war and then return to it. The first text comes from the reign of Ramesses II, it is text of Battle of Qadesh, in which was mentioned that “After the battle, the king returned to the Royal Palace.” Also Ramesses III, in his mortuary temple on the west bank mentions that he departed from the royal place for the first Libyan war: “His majesty goes forth, stouthearted, in

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221 Urk IV, p. 1243:8.
222 For the Royal Palace on the west bank, Redford mentioned that the Royal Palace on the west bank might be the royal rest–house associated with the mortuary temple, Redford, D. B., The wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III, Leiden/ Boston 2003. p. 128, note 110.
223 KRI, II, p. 248.
224 Ibid., p. 255.
225 The text is recorded on different resources including Luxor temple, Karnak temple , Ramsseum, abu simbel and on Papyrus, KRI, II, p. 2.
226 KRI, I, p. 100:6-10.
valorous victory against this miserable land of Libya (Temehu) which is in the power of his majesty. It is his father who has sent him forth in peace from the palace of Thebes.”

From all the preceding evidence, it is obvious that the Royal Palace served as the royal accommodations where the king lived. On the other hand, other sources describe the Royal Palace as the place from which the king practiced his authority as the ruler of the whole land of Egypt and managed the affairs of the country from it. Without talking about any specific tasks, the general concept of a place from which the king ruled the land of Egypt was expressed in a text from the temple of Abydos. This text is a speech of goddess Seshet-Sefkhatabwy to king Seti I on his work at the temple:

“Atum himself speaks greeting: “I am happy with your plans. United in homage to you are south and north, set under your sandals. Homage to you has joined the reeds to papyrus, you having become king of south and north Egypt. You sail south as upper-Egyptian king and you face north as lower-Egyptian king. You have taken over two lands, (arrayed) in the double crown. You are seated in your inner sanctum and you enter your Royal Palace like Atum in the horizon. You sit enthroned at the head of your audience hall like Horus upon his throne.”

The previous text was general and expressed that the king would practice his power and authority from the Royal Palace. Other texts from the New Kingdom are more specific on portraying how the king ruled from his palace. This rule includes various activities such as the installation or rewarding of officials, and receiving products and gifts from inside and outside the country.

In his Theban tomb, the Deputy of the Amenhotep II’s Army Amunemhab records his installation in the office of deputy of the army by the king. This significant event took place at the Royal Palace as he was brought in front of the king and was promoted to become the deputy of the army as he mentioned: “I was brought to the midst of the Royal Palace one caused that I

228 KRI, I, p. 188:2-5.
should stand before [the king O] khepru [re] (Amenhotep II).” Then the King said to him “I commission you with the office that you shall be deputy of the army.”

Then, later and from the Ramesside period, there is a text that prescribes the rewarding an official at the Royal Palace. In the text accompanying the scene of rewarding the High Priest of Amun, Amenemope by a prince “……King…..Usi] mare Meri[amun]. [Son of Re, Ra]messes III,…… His majesty was ……. In his palace which is in Thebes.”

From the two preceding examples, the Royal Palace was the place in which the king received his officials in different occasions, to install them in higher positions or reward them. Rewarding these officials was an important occasion which took place at the Royal Palace as will be discussed later.

Moreover, the Royal Palace was also the place where all the marvelous, products and dues of the foreign countries were brought to the king. The first example comes from the reign of Hatshepsut who recorded on her fallen obelisk the bringing of the products of Punt to her palace when her expedition returned back to Egypt loaded with all the spectacular products of punt, “The myrrh of Punt has been brought to me…………… all the luxurious marvels of this country were brought to my palace in one collection.”

Another example comes from the Ramesside period, and describes how the dues of the foreign countries were also brought to the Royal Palace. It is included in the text of the Hittite marriage, “We will pay dues all that you wish. We will bring them to your august palace.”

Presenting the products and gifts to the king in his palace was not excluded only on the products and dues of the foreign lands but also the products of the land of Egypt and which included in the

229 Urk IV, p. 897.
230 KRI, V, p. 413:1-3.
232 KRI, II, p. 245.
text accompanying the scene of presenting the New Year gifts to the king Amenhotep II from the tomb of his High Steward Kenamun: “The first occasion of making merry in the great Royal Palace, presenting the New Year gifts: chariots of silver and gold, statues of ivory and ebony, collars of every kind of precious stone, weapons of war, all kinds of artifacts of the craftsmanship of lower Egypt.”\textsuperscript{233}

From the preceding examples, it is evident that the king was always in his Royal Palace when he received the products of the foreign countries whether it was gifts or dues. Moreover, the king was also at his palace for the New Year celebration and where he received the New Year gifts that were the Egyptian products.

Finally, the king also had issued royal decrees in the Royal Palace, which is evident in a text from the reign of Seti I. On the walls of Karnak temple, a text mentioned royal decrees that were issued in the Royal Palace. This text speaks of the royal campaign against Shasu and Canaan and then his return to Egypt and victory celebration: “Now, one came to tell His Majesty: the fallen of Shasu are plotting rebellion. Their tribal chiefs are united in one place, stationed on the mountain ridges of Kharru. They have lapsed into confusion and quarrelling; each slays his fellow. They disregard the edicts of the Royal Palace.”\textsuperscript{234}

The Royal Palace was a significant royal institution where the king along with the royal family lived and practiced his authority as the ruler of the land of Egypt and its properties. Throughout the New Kingdom, from the different examples discussed above, the Royal Palace was always associated with the king, his family, his court, which reflects the importance of this royal institution to the king. The special connection between the king and the Royal Palace and the importance of the Royal Palace to the king, which has been discussed above is also stated in

\textsuperscript{233} Urk IV, p. 1391.
\textsuperscript{234} On the north wall of the great hypostyle hall (east side of the northern wall), KRI, I, p. 9:3-5.
a text from the reign of Akhenaten. In a prayer from the tomb of the Overseer of All the Works of the King, May, he was adoring the king and -said: “An adoration of Horakhti[ -Aten, who give the life; of the King of South and North, living in Truth], Lord of the Two Lands, Nefer-kheperura-ua-en-ra, the son of the sun, living in truth, , Akhenaten, great in his duration; and of the heiress, great in the Royal Palace, fair of face, beloved of the Aten.” 235

Certainly, the epithets of the king that are included in this text, especially the epithet “Great in the Royal Palace”, show that the Royal Palace was important to the king and being “great within his palace” was a particular and distinct aspect of the king. In other words, the king was always prominent and distinguished in the royal place where he lived and practiced his power and authority as the king of Egypt, and this was a special aspect of the king to be included in his titles and epithets. The Royal Palace was important to the reigning king, it was the place in which he would sit upon the throne and rule the whole land of Egypt according to the desire and order of the gods. Ruling Egypt from the Royal Palace was a favor that was granted to the king by the gods as mentioned in the hymn to Amun-Re “I was chosen from the midst of his land. It was Amun who place me, it was the lord of gods who brought me in his hand to induct me into the Royal Palace.” 236

The king was brought to the Royal Palace to conduct his duties as the king of Egypt, this position which was granted to him by the gods, and according to their will he became the ruler of Egypt and his seat was in the Royal Palace.

235 RTA, pl. IV, p. 4.
A Summation of the Use of the Term $C\dot{h}$ “Royal Palace”

The term $C\dot{h}$ was included in different types of textual sources throughout the New Kingdom including titles, honorary titles, epithet of officials, royalties and deities, beside a wide range of texts that included royal, biographical and religious content. These sources have been studied and examined through this chapter, and allow for better understanding of the uses of term $C\dot{h}$ during this period. Through the various examples discussed here, it is evident that the term $C\dot{h}$ was the only term used for the Royal Palace throughout the New Kingdom. The Royal Palace here means the place where the king and some members of the royal family lived and also where the king practiced his authority as the ruler of Egypt. Thus, the Royal Palace had multiple functions as both residence of the King and the seat of power. Here, enthroned, the king held his court. These different functions of the Royal Palace were reflected on the types of offices and officials associated with it.

From the various official titles discussed above, it is clear that there were two different types of officials associated with the Royal Palace. Officials connected to king and his court, on the one hand, and officials whose duties were related to the management of this royal institution, on the other hand. Thus, officials such as Attendants of the Royal Palace, Great Ones of the Royal Palace, Butler of the Royal Palace and First companions of the Royal Palace were part of the royal court, and were connected to a specific part of the Royal Palace, the seat of the king where he held his court. But there were a number of officials associated with the Royal Palace who held titles related to the management of the Royal Palace itself as one of the important royal institutions of the era. These titles included Chief Treasurer of the Royal Palace, Privy Counselor of the Royal Palace, Director of the Royal Palace, First Official of the Royal Palace and Leader of the Royal Palace. Most of these titles were special to the Royal Palace and its function. The
type of titles and offices associated with the “King’s House” were different - highlighting the differences between these two institutions, the King’s House and the Royal Palace as will be discussed. On the other hand, there are number of common titles between the Royal Palace and the stp-s3. These titles are all related to the court of the king and his duties as the ruler of Egypt.

During the New Kingdom, the term $^C\text{h}$ replaced the term $pr.^C\text{3}$, and was used throughout the Old Kingdom, in several officials’ titles, including the Privy Counselor of the Royal Palace and the First Companion of the Royal Palace. The appearance of $^C\text{h}$ in these titles is associated with the development of its uses during the New Kingdom. $^C\text{h}$ has replaced the term $pr.^C\text{3}$ which was commonly used during the Old Kingdom for the place where the king lived, the Royal Palace. Throughout the New Kingdom, $pr.^C\text{3}$ was mostly used for the inhabitant of the Royal Palace, the king, but never for the Royal Palace. The term $^C\text{h}$, which was known also from the Old kingdom, replaced $pr.^C\text{3}$ during the New Kingdom for the place where the king lived and performed his various duties as the ruler of the land of Egypt and its properties.

The various honorary titles, epithets and phrases including the term $^C\text{h}$ which have been studied highlight some aspects about the Royal Palace, which are mainly related to its role as the seat of the king. The officials who held these honorary titles and epithets were varied, including not only the officials who were involved in the management of the Royal Palace, but also officials associated with the civilian and religious administrations. It was important to any high official, whether associated with the royal place or not, to show his connection with the Royal Palace and the royal court - the seat of kingship. Through their titles, these officials highlighted the high status they enjoyed in the Royal Palace because of they were beneficial officials of the king and followed his orders whether in or outside the Royal Palace itself. They were able to gain the king’s favor and their names were known in the Royal Palace, specifically in the royal
court where the seat of the kingship was and from which the king managed the affairs of Egypt and practiced his authority as the ruler of two lands, because of all that they did for their lord inside and outside the Royal Palace while carrying out their duties.

Moreover, there were a number of honorary titles and epithets that highlighted an important aspect of the Royal Palace which is unique to the Royal Palace only. These honorary titles which were held by various officials show a special connection between the king and the Royal Palace; the king was not only the lord of the Royal Palace but he was also in the Royal Palace. That includes a number of terms that were included in the officials’ honorary titles such as “Lord of the Royal Palace,” “Who (the king) is in the Royal Palace,” “Horus (the king) in His Royal Palace,” “The Royal Palace of the King,” and “the King is in his Royal Palace.” All these terms which were constantly included in officials’ honorary titles emphasized the fact that the king (or Horus) who was the lord of Royal Palace, was always in his Royal Palace. The Royal Palace was a very special structure of the king, he would be found in the Royal Palace the royal residence. Moreover, it is evident in these honorary titles that the king was the highest authority of the Royal Palace; he was the lord of the Royal Palace, because the seat of kingship was in the Royal Palace. The king lived (along with some members of the royal family) and performed his duties as the king of Egypt from the Royal Palace and which was evident in numerous New Kingdom texts.

These various types of texts including royal, religious, biographical texts depict the life of the king in his Royal Palace and the different activities that he conducted within it daily. The Royal Palace was associated with the king and both his personal and professional life from the day of his birth until his death. As a place where the king along with members of the royal family lived, the royal princes and princesses (including the future king) were born and grew up in the
Royal Palace. When it was the time for the coronation of the heir to the throne to become king of Egypt, this event also took place at the Royal Palace from which the reigning king would also conduct the affairs of the land of Egypt and its properties. Hatshepsut was crowned by her father and in the presence of his royal court in the Royal Palace. Throughout the New Kingdom, the king practiced his authority and duties as a ruler and managed the affairs of Egypt from the Royal Palace. This was where the royal court was held in which the king issued his royal decrees and orders, received his officials, celebrated the installation of officials in new positions or rewarded them, received gifts, tributes and taxes from both inside and outside the land of Egypt. The king was in the Royal Palace when received his new wife as king Ramesses II mentioned. Even during the war periods, the king left from the Royal Palace to fight his enemies and then returned back to it after his victories.

Thus and because the king and some members of the royal family, including the heir of the throne lived in the Royal Palace, a number of deities held titles and epithets connected them to the Royal Palace in different ways. It is important to notice that this aspect was limited to the Royal Palace only, as there are not any titles or epithets of gods or royalties including either the term King’s House or stp-s3. As we have seen, two goddesses who were known throughout the New Kingdom as protectors and guardians of the reigning king (each playing her role in her own way), held two titles connected them with the place where the king was, the Royal Palace. These two goddesses are Sekhmet and Weret- Hekau who held the titles “Lady of the Royal Palace” and “Mistress of the Royal Palace.” They both were connected to the Royal Palace through the important roles that they both played in the Egyptian methodology as protectors of the king. On the other hand, including the term ġḥ in the title “Sweet of Love in the Palace of her Father Re” which was held by goddess Maat, daughter of god Re, highlighted an important aspect of the
Royal Palace. It is evident through this title that term $C'h$ was used for both the palace (or residence) of the creator god Re and the residence of the king, the Royal Palace. As the king inherited his authority and power as the sole ruler of Egypt from the gods, he also lived in the $C'h$ like the creator gods.

From all this, it is evident that the term $C'h$ used throughout the New Kingdom to refer to the residence of the king and his family, the Royal Palace. Moreover, the Royal Palace was not only the residential place of the king, but also was the seat of his throne and where he held his court in order to manage all the affairs of Egypt while performing his duties as the lord of the Two Lands. That indicates a significant change in the use of the term $C'h$ from the Old Kingdom where it was used to refer to a relatively small structure that was part of another building or within a courtyard, according to Goelet who describes this structure and the use of the term to refer to it.237 During this period, again according to Goelet, the $C'h$ seems to have been associated with both gods and kings. However, as we have seen, the titles indicate this was also the case during the New Kingdom, the nature of the association was very different. As for the gods, in the Old Kingdom this term might be used for shrine or temple that included a statue of the god – not for the mythic residence of the deity as was seen in the New Kingdom texts. Further, when it was used in association with the king, there is no evidence that it was connected to the personal life of the king or his family, in contrast to what we have seen to be the case in the New Kingdom. Moreover, the $C'h$ was usually located away from the royal residence and the government headquarters, and instead was located around funerary complexes and other royal buildings. Thus, it has been suggested that the $C'h$ was used for a resting place or changing room.

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for the king where he would be able to use during the celebrations of specific occasions, ceremonies or conducting rituals required changing of cloth.\textsuperscript{238}

In contrast to the situation in the Old Kingdom, in several examples from the New Kingdom (mainly from the Ramesside period) the term $C\h$ was used for god’s residence, whether it was a temple, shrine or palace.\textsuperscript{239} In addition, it was regularly used during this period for the Royal Palace; the residence of the king, whether it was an independent large structure or a building connected to a temple. That indicates that the use of the term $C\h$ changed from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom, especially when associated with the king. From the beginning of the New Kingdom, the term $C\h$ was used for the Royal Palace, replacing the term $pr-C\h$ which was used throughout the Old Kingdom for the Royal Palace. Thus, during the New Kingdom, the term $C\h$ was not used for a resting or changing room that the king had to use during specific occasions, instead it had become the regular term for the residence of the king. The special connection between the king and the Royal Palace as the place associated with kingship was always evident during this period. The Royal Palace was the place where the king was resident. As stated by one of Akhenaten’s officials, “May he grant admission (lit. a place of foot) within the Royal Palace to see the king Ua-En-Re (Akhentaten).”\textsuperscript{240}

Although-the term $C\h$ replaced the Old Kingdom term for the Royal Palace, the $pr-C\h$ (which was used during the New Kingdom for the person of the king), it is not clear when this

\textsuperscript{238} Goelet, G., \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 389- 405.
\textsuperscript{239} Most of the examples are from the Abydos temple, and are from the reign of Seti I, in different parts of the temples the term $C\h$ was used for structures that the king built for gods in Abydos temple, see KRI, I, 131:10;132,10;133,3;135,11;152,5; 153,12;155,12;158,12; 161, 5; 164,15. Also in the Qurnah Temple from the reign of Seti I where the king is talking about the erection of the temple the term $C\h$ was used twice “He (the king) made as his monument for his fathers, the gods and goddesses who are within the temple “Beneficent is Seti I Merenptah” in the domain of Amun, on the west of Thebes, the making for them of an august palace $C\h$ as atemple and sanctuary for the gods when they rest in its sancturm $C\h$, ” see, KRI, I,216-7. Then later and during the reign of Ramsses IX, the term $C\h$ was included in the title titles of prince Nebmare “The greatest of seers who pleases Atum in his temple,” see, KRI, VI, 467:10.
\textsuperscript{240} From the tomb of Ahmes see, RTA, III, pl. XXVII, p. 32.
replacement happened. Did it take place during the Middle Kingdom or at the beginning of the New Kingdom? A further examination of these terms two terms, $C\hat{h}$ and $pr-C\hat{3}$ and their uses during the Middle Kingdom is the only way to answer this question. Even so, in a few examples from the Middle Kingdom, the term $C\hat{h}$ was used for the Royal Palace, making it evident that this shift had, at least, begun. On the stela of king Neferhotep from Abydos, the name of the Royal Palace is introduced by the term $C\hat{h}$; the same as the system of writing the names of the Royal Palaces throughout the New Kingdom.\textsuperscript{241} In another text from the same period, the king is talking about the early career of his official, “You have indeed grown up as a foster-child of my majesty (and as) unique pupil of my $C\hat{h}$.”\textsuperscript{242} Here, the term $C\hat{h}$ most likely refers to the Royal Palace, the place where the king lived and where the royal children and foster-children grew up.

Thus, from the beginning of the New Kingdom, the term $C\hat{h}$ was used for the Royal Palace, replacing the Old Kingdom term $pr-C\hat{3}$. On the other hand, this significant modification of the meaning and use of the term $C\hat{h}$ might have taken place before the New Kingdom, most likely during the Middle Kingdom.

\textsuperscript{242} Goelet, G., \textit{op. cit.}, p. 403.
The Term *pr-nsw* in Titles, Epithet and Phrases

As was seen before with the term ḫ, “the Royal Palace,” the term *pr-nsw* “King’s House” also was included in number of officials’ titles, honorary titles and epithets throughout the New Kingdom. Unlike the Royal Palace, the King’s House was not included in either royalties’ or deities’ titles. Studying and analyzing the various titles, honorary titles and epithets that were held by different officials will allow for a better understanding of the role and function of the King’s House during the New Kingdom and its connection with the king. As these official titles are related to the type of activities that had took place in the King’s House and are associated to the function of this important royal institution, they are significant to this research.

During the Old Kingdom, the King’s House appears to have been concerned with the administrative, economic and legal activities and affairs of the king. Did the King’s House continue to play the same role during the New Kingdom or not? The only way to answer this question is to examining the various official titles and epithets that included the term King’s House during this period along with texts in which this title was mentioned.

**The Term *pr-nsw* in Officials’ Titles**

1. 

   *imy-r3 ḫmwt nbt nt pr-nsw*

   “Overseer of all Craftsmen of the King’s House”
Sennefer held this title which was recorded on his statue. Here, the craftsmen were associated with the King’s House not the Royal Palace. The royal workshops along with the craftsmen and artist were depicted in the tomb of the high steward of queen Tiye, Huya. In his tomb in El-Amarna, Huya recorded his various functions as High Steward of the Queen; such as overseeing the foreigners who brought their *inv* (gifts) to King Akhenaton in year twelve of his reign. He was also depicted in the company of the Queen Tiye during her visit to the temple and during the banquet held upon her arrival to the city of El-Amarna. He was also pictured while overseeing some workshops, although the scene is unfortunately partially destroyed, we can see the workshop of the Sculptor Outa who was supervisor of the sculptors of the Queen Ty. In this part of the scene while Outa is depicted putting the finishing touches to the statue of Princess Bekt-Aton that he had completed, one of his students appears in the scene while he observes and studies what the teacher is doing. The rest of the scene is destroyed, but it is believed that the missing portion depicted other workshops such as carpentry workshops, jewelry industry, pottery manufacturing as well as some metal industries.

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244 RTA, III, pp. 9-12, pls. IV-XV.
245 Ibid., pp. 13-5, pl. XVII.
These royal workshops were depicted in the bottom register and above it are two further registers. In the top register, there is a reward scene in which the king and queen are depicted in the window of appearance as they reward Huya who is depicted below the window receiving the gifts. Then in the second register, Huya’s chariot and five servants are depicted. Below these scenes, the royal workshops were depicted in the bottom register. The separation between the Royal Palace where the king and queen were seen in the window of appearance and the place where the workshops are is made by depicting the chariot and servants of Huya who were waiting outside the Royal Palace as being between the Royal Palace and the place of the workshops (aka “the King’s House”). That implies that there is a traversable distance between the two and means that the royal workshops were not in the Royal Palace. It was outside the Royal Palace in the general proximity.

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246 RTA, III, pl. XVII.
imy-ṛ3 ḫtmw nw pr-nsw

“Overseer of the Treasurers of the King’s House”

Only one example of this title is known from New Kingdom (and none from before New Kingdom). Khereuf held this title among other titles in an offering text.247 The title *imy-ṛ3 ḫtm* is known from the Old Kingdom but it did not appear to be associated with the King’s House during this period but only with the *pr-C ḫ* the Royal Palace.248 During the Middle Kingdom, there is no example of this title known to have been associated with any royal institution or structure.249

The word *ḥtmw* appears in the inscription of the duties of the vizier as recorded in the tomb of Rekhmire in association with the King’s House: “The sealing of what is to be sealed *ḥtmw* is reported to him (the vizier) and their opening on time.”250

This text indicated that the *ḥtmw* was in the King’s House. The nature of the *ḥtmw* and its function in the King’s House was discussed by Van den Boorn as he said: “Within the particular frame work of Papyrus Boulaq 18, *ḥtm* evidently comes close to meaning “storehouse, magazine.”. We believe that the term is used here in the wider sense of “enclosure”, covering all types of rooms, houses and spaces that ought to be locked and opened on time.”251

Thus the *ḥtmw*, as enclosed places were associated with the King’s House under the authority of the vizier and were where various materials were sealed within. Not only were the

247 The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban Tomb 192 by the Epigraphic Survey in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities of Egypt. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980, p. 69, pl. 71.
249 The transliteration of the term used here is *imy-ṛ3 sdḥ3wr*, see Ward, A. W., Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, Beirut 1982, NOS. 364-7, p. 47.
enclosures, i.e. the storehouses and magazines, but also the officials who were in charge of them, connected to the King’s House. Moreover, the word ḫtmw has appeared in another two titles where it was also associated with King’s House.

\[ \text{ḥtmw ḫtm ṣpssw m pr-nsw} \]

“Seal- Bearer of the Seal of the Precious Materials in the King’s House”

This title was held by the Overseer of the Treasury during the reign of Hatshepsut, Djehuty.\(^{252}\) It is not unusual for the overseer of the treasury to hold such a title which relates to the seals of the stores where the precious materials of the King’s House were preserved. But it is significant to notice that through this title of Djehuty, once again the place where the precious materials were stored and sealed was associated with the King’s House.

\[ \text{ḥtmw nb m pr-nsw} \]

“The One who Seals Everything in the King’s House”

This title was held by the High Priest of Amun Mery and appears on funerary cones.\(^{253}\) It is noticeable that all Mery’s titles on this funerary cone are related to the administration of Amun’s temple except for this one title which is associated with the administration of the King’s House. Mery’s mother was the Great Nurse of the king (as he recorded in his tomb).\(^{254}\) Unquestionably, through her position and her direct connection with the king, she was a major supporter of her son in the royal court and she might also have played a significant role in his career.

Unfortunately, with the limited information, we cannot know when he held this job. Did he hold

\(^{252}\) Urk IV, p. 421:16.
\(^{253}\) Ibid., p. 1415:2.
\(^{254}\) Ibid., p. 1414:7.
it at the beginning of his career before holding any other positions related to the temple of Amun? Did he hold it while he was involved in the administration of Amun’s temple? Did the king choose him to be in charge of sealing everything at the King’s House because of the special connection Mery had with king through his mother, the Great Nurse of the king? It is not clear when he held this important position but it is evident that he was trustworthy enough to be chosen to fill this position and be in charge of sealing everything at the King’s House.

3- ḫry-sšt3 n pr-nsw / ḫry-sšt3 nt pr-nsw

“Privy Counselor of the King’s House”

Two versions of this title are known from the New Kingdom. The first version is with the singular masculine genitive particle n and is known throughout the Eighteenth Dynasty. The second version of the title shows the feminine singular genitive particle nt and was used only during the Ramesside period. Throughout the New Kingdom, this title was held only by viziers, except for two examples from the Ramesside period. The first vizier who held this title was Hatshepsut’s Vizier C3-Mtw.²⁵⁵ Then two viziers from the reign of Thutmose III held this title, the first being User son of Vizier C3-Mtw and the second Rekhmire. The Vizier User recorded this title in a text beginning with the offering formula htp-di- nsw. The importance of the title is indicated by its initial position in the title list.²⁵⁶ Rekhmire listed this title among other titles of his in his tomb.²⁵⁷ The third vizier who held this title is Ramose, under Amenhotep III, who included this title at the top of his titles and even before the title of the vizier.²⁵⁸ This version of

²⁵⁵ Urk IV, p. 439:2.
²⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 1030:5.
²⁵⁷ This title was mentioned in the text accompanying the scene depicting Rekhmire in the hall of the vizier, Urk IV, p. 1118:14.
²⁵⁸ It was enlisted in biographical text in his tomb, Urk IV, p. 1777:3.
the title was replaced with the second version during the Ramesside period—specifically in the reign of Ramsses II. Two viziers (one of them is a prince) and a viceroy of Nubia held this title during the reign of Ramsses II. The first vizier is Prince Set-hir-khopshef who included this title on his stela, again preceding the title of vizier. Additional examples include the Vizier Khay and Viceroy of Nubia and Vizier Setau also recorded this title on his stela. Later, during the reign of Siptah another Vizier, Hori, who held this title, included it on an ostracon found in West Thebes.

Through all the preceding examples, it is evident that this title was one of the important titles associated with the King’s House and was held by high officials, especially viziers, who were connected to the King’s House as will be discussed later.

“Director of all Works of the King’s House”

Sennmut, who was the Chief Steward in charge of all the works of the king during the reign of Hatshepsut, held this title along with others associated with department of works, including Overseer of the Works of Amun, Overseer of All [Works] of the House of Silver. During the next regime, Iamu-Nedjeh, the royal herald during the reign of Thutmos III held this title, which is recorded in his tomb.

The works department was one of the important departments that emerged since the Old Kingdom. It is noticeable that the New Kingdom witnessed the emergence of new branches

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259 Qantir stela, KRI, II, p. 915:12.
260 This title was mentioned on different monuments of the vizier Khay, KRI, III, pp. 38:15; 55: 6;15.
261 Abu Simbel stela, KRI, III, p. 106:16.
262 KRI, IV, p. 360:8.
263 See pp. 117-23.
264 Urk IV, pp.402:8; 405: 6; 411: 16.
265 Ibid., p. 956:16.
within the department of works. In other words, it reached the apex of its maturity during this period, and which is commensurate with the nature of this era. The primary role of this department was to oversee the various building projects within the country, whether religious, royal or civic. As a result, workers within this department had to carry out a number of tasks associated with the construction operations including obtaining materials for the construction such as stone, precious stones, precious metals, and also statues and obelisks. Besides that there were also agricultural works through which various agricultural projects were executed such as building canals and digging lakes in order to provide water to or adorn architectural structures. All of the officials belonging to the department of works, with its different divisions, had to carry out all the previously mentioned tasks to the fullest.266

Sennmut and Iamu-Nedjeh, were the two officials who held the title of Director of All Works of the King’s House during the New Kingdom. They both were in charge of carrying out all the works projects for the King’s House and they might have been under the command of the Overseer of All the Royal Works as the holder of this title might was the head of the department of royal works.

\[5\]

\textit{sm m pr-nsw}

“Sem-priest in the King’s House”

Although the \textit{sem}-priest is a well-known title from the Old Kingdom, the title \textit{sem}-priest of the King’s House is the first and only known example of the title which is associated with the King’s House. This title was held by Ramesses III’s Vizier, Paser, who recorded this title on a
statue found in XI Dynasty temple at Deir el-Bahari. On the back pillar of this statue, Paser recorded some of his titles which included both religious and civil titles. His religious titles included “the First Priest of Weret-hekat” and “Director of the Festival of Amun.” As for the civil titles, he held and mentioned on the back-pillar of this statue, these included the Mayor of the City, the Vizier, the Chief of the Work in the set-maat (Theban necropolis) and the Messenger of the North Wind.

The sem-priest had played a role in mortuary rituals since the Old Kingdom especially in the ritual of “opening the mouth”. In the mortuary rituals, the sem-priest played the role of Horus. On the other hand, the sem-priest also played a role in the Sed-festival.

From the Old Kingdom, beside the general form of the title which did not indicate the affiliation of the sem-priest with any specific institution, the sem-priests appear to have been associated with various temples and gods or specific cities including Memphis, Thebes and Heliopolis. It noticeable that other viziers (and other civil officials) from the New Kingdom held the title of sem-priest in its general form as well as a number of priests and that raises the question about the functions that were carried out by the holder of this title. Is the existence of the title of sem-Priest in the King’s House (held by one who is a civil official, the vizier) a sign that his duties as a sem-priest were associated with the king? If it is true, what were his duties? It could be assumed that the civil officials who held the title of sem-priest, who did not have any religious background, held this title because they participated in the celebration of the sed-

267 Naville, The XI Dynasty Temple at Deir El-Bahari, III, Egypt Exploration Fund 32, London 1913. pp. 5-6, pl.X.B.
268 Ibid.
271 Including the following viziers: Amen-em-opet, Ramose, Djhuty-mose, besides the High Steward Kenamun and the Mayor of Thebes Huy, see Al-Ayedi, op.cit., no.1649-50; p. 468-9.
festival as *sem*-priests. In other words, the civilian official (the vizier) might hold the title Sem-priest of the King’s House because he participated in the celebration of *Sed*-festival; but he did not perform any funerary rituals like opening the mouth.

“Great Official in the King’s House.”

The Royal Herald Iamu-Nedjeh held this title which was recorded in his tomb. As a royal herald, he was one of the officials whose duties were connected to two important royal institutions, both the Royal Palace and the King’s House. He was in charge of the communication between the king from one side and both the officials and the Egyptian people from the other side. In other words, he was the official who transferred the king’s orders and decrees to the officials at the King’s House, as Intef mentioned on his stela, when he described his duties as a royal herald and the role he played in both the Royal Palace and the King’s House. Certainly, through his job as royal herald, Iamu-Nedjeh had enjoyed high status in the King’s House as one of its more significant officials. Other titles he held reflected his high status such as “He is the one who is important in his office and great in his dignity.”

Thus, we see that the term *pr-nsw*, King’s House, was included in several official titles throughout the New Kingdom. It is less than the number of official titles that included the term Royal Palace. There were only two common titles between the Royal Palace and the King’s House; they are the Privy Counselor and the Official. Apart from these two titles, there were not any other common titles between these two royal institutions. It is noticeable that all the official

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272 Urk IV, p. 961:12.  
273 Ibid., pp. 966 ff.
titles including the term King’s House reflected the nature and the role of this important royal institution. It was the place where the various kinds of materials including the precious materials were stored in different type of storehouses and magazines and sealed. The seals of these enclosures were in the hand of officials associated with the King’s House. Parts of these materials were used by the craftsmen who were also connected to the King’s House for different purposes. Moreover, there was a department of works associated with the King’s House in order to oversee all the projects of this royal institution. It is evident from all preceded that the King’s House is different from the Royal Palace; it was an important administrative headquarter during this period which was concerned with the management and financial affairs more than the daily life of the king and the royal family.

**The Term pr-nsw in Honorary Titles, Epithets and Phrases**

The term *pr-nsw* King’s House was included in numerous of honorary titles held by officials throughout New kingdom (and especially during the Eighteenth Dynasty where most of the examples were found). In order to study and analyze these titles, they will be divided into three groups. The first group includes the honorary titles highlighted what these officials have done in the King’s House in order to obtain the king’s favor and which will illustrate some important aspects and special features of the King’s House. In the second group the focus will be on the titles which indicated that their holder enjoyed a special position and status in the King’s House. Finally, the titles highlighting the praise and favor these officials gained in the King’s House will be the focus of the third group.
The First Group of Honorary Titles and Epithets

1-  

$n\ pr\ h_{r}\ bs\ n\ pr\cdot nsw$

“I did not go out with a Confidential Matter of the King’s House”

This title is included in the funerary text of Thutmose III’s Overseer of the Granary Menkheper and the Deputy of the Army during the reign of Amenhotep II, Prhsukher. Another version of this title was held by Thutmose III’s vizier User\textsuperscript{274} where the word $bs$ “matter” was replaced by the word $mdwt$ that also means “matters.”\textsuperscript{275}

These two officials were connected to the King’s House through the different administrative positions they held. Through this title, they highlight an important quality of any official associated with the King’s House; they did not talk in public about the matters and affairs of the King’s House. As one of the important institutions in ancient Egypt, the King’s House had its own confidential matters and affairs that any high official associated with it would have access to. In order to obtain the king’s favor as one of his trusted he official, these high officials did not talk about all the confidential affairs of the King’s House in public.

2-  

$mḥ\ pr\cdot nsw\ m\ ḥḏ\ h_{r}\ nwb\ C\textsuperscript{3}t\ nbt\ špst$

“One who fills the King’s House with Silver, Gold, and all Kinds of Precious Stones.”

The High Steward of king Amenhotep II, Kenamun, held this title which was recorded in his tomb in the text accompanying the scene depicting Kenamun supervising the yearly delivery

\textsuperscript{274} Urk IV, p. 1031:14.  
\textsuperscript{275} For the word $mdwt$, see, Faulkner, R.O., A concise dictionary of Middle Egyptian, Oxford 1962. p.122.
of cattle to the temples of Amun. The Chief Treasurer Sobekhotep also held this title - in the text accompanying the scene depicting Sobekhotep inspecting the granaries of the King’s House.

There are two other versions of this title which appear in the Eighteenth Dynasty. The first is “Who fills the King’s House with Sustenance and Provision,” and which was held by the high steward Thenuna. Thenuna recorded this title in his tomb, in a text accompanying the scene of Thenuna receiving gifts. It is noteworthy that just before this title he held another title associated with collecting tax from Egypt as the following “He is the one to whom the taxes of the Two Lands and the dues of Upper and Lower are given.” There might be a connection between the two titles because Thenuna was a high steward of the king. He might have been involved in collection of taxes and dues from Egypt because it was one of his tasks as the high steward who had to supervise the income of the kings from different sources and which might be (in full or in part) stored in the King’s House.

The second version of the title is “One Who Fills the King’s House Daily with Every Good Thing,” which was held by the overseer of the Royal Palace Neferserkheru.

The King’s House was not only the place where the precious materials and provision were stored, but also was the place from which these materials were withdrawn to be used for different purposes in various places. Ineni mentioned that his income was from the King’s House: “She (Queen Hatshepsut) filled my house with silver and gold and with all the good things of the King’s House.”

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278 Ibid., p. 1578:17.
280 Ibid., p. 60:17.
From the above mentioned titles, it is evident that various kind of precious materials along with different type of provisions were stored in the King’s House (not in the Royal Palace as it was not included in any known text or title from this period). Moreover, as mentioned before when the title “Overseer of the Treasurers of the King’s House” was discussed along with the King’s House enclosures and storerooms, different types of materials including precious materials and provisions were stored in the King’s House.  

s3w iit.f m pr-nsw c.w.s r irt m ḥrw idbw

“Whose coming to the King’s House L.P.H is awaited to carry out the Affairs of the Two Banks.”

Sennefer, Thebes’s Mayor during the reign of Amenhotep II, included this title in his Theban tomb. As one of the high officials of his period, Sennefer practiced his functions and participated in running the affairs of the Egypt from the King’s House. This highlights an important aspect of the King’s House as the administrative place from which the high officials performed their tasks and functions that were related to the management of the affairs of the whole land of Egypt.

shpr tp-rd m pr-nsw c.w.s

“One who originates the Regulation in the King’s House L.P.H.”

The Royal Herald of Thutmose III, Intef, recorded this title on his stela from his tomb. On this stela, Intef listed his tasks as a royal herald of the king. The royal herald played a

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282 It is recorded among other titles of Sennefer on column in the pillar chapel see, Urk IV, p. 1431:10.
283 Ibid., p. 967:8.
significant role in the communication between the king on one side and people, officials and foreigners on the other side. He was the person in charge of delivering the royal orders or decrees to both officials and people. Likewise, he was in charge of reporting all the affairs of two lands to the king. As a part of his responsibility as royal herald, Intef held the above title which reflected his duties as the royal herald within the King’s House. Moreover, this title was followed by important titles of his “He is the one who makes every man to know his duties, he is the one who gives the administration….” Here, his role in originating the regulation in the King’s House and making each person knows his duties is necessary to carry out his duties as royal herald who had to make sure that all the officials are following the royal commands and decrees, not because he issued commands or orders to officials. Once again, the King’s House has been depicted here as a place connected directly to the administration of Egypt, as a place from which the high officials ran the affairs of the country by following the rules and regulations that issued by the king of Egypt at the Royal Palace.

The Second Group of Honorary Titles and Epithets

Most of the honorary titles in this group are focusing on the special positions that different officials enjoyed in the King’s House through highlighting the high status they were able to gain in the King’s House because they were important officials. Focusing only on the high status they enjoyed because of the jobs they held at the King’s House in these titles advocates a significant aspect of the King’s House as an important administrative unit. In other words, in the King’s House, the importance and greatness of any official would be shown through the high offices and administrative position he held. The King’s House was the place from which the affairs of the land of Egypt were run by a number of high officials.
“All the Offices of the King’s House, L.P.H, have been placed under my Authority.”

Amenhotep II’s Butler, Mentiwy, included this phrase on a stela found in his tomb. This phrase occurs in a self-praising part of the stela where he talks about the special status he enjoyed under the king: “I was placed among his courtiers and was advanced among his officials, all the offices of the King’s House, L.P.H, having been placed under my authority. I thank god for the favor of the king.”

Mentiwy was a military officer who grew up in the Royal Palace and then held the office of the royal butler where his duties were to serve his sovereign in his palace. Remarkably, when he wanted to express the special status he enjoyed under his king, he talked about his authority over all the offices in the King’s House, which was not related to the duties of his job as royal butler, (it is not known if he held other positions in the King’s House that he did not mention on this stela). On the other hand, it is remarkable that when he talks about these offices, he connects them with the King’s House and not the Royal Palace which highlights the important aspect of the King’s House, that it contains the administrative offices.

“"I was One whose Steps were known in the King’s House.”

Senenmut recorded this title on his statue. This title reflected the importance of Senenmut in the King’s House because it depicted him as an excellent official who knew his role

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284 Urk IV, p. 1468:8.
285 Ibid., p. 6-8.
286 Statue from Mut-temple see, Ibid., p. 412: 5.
and responsibilities in the King’s House. In other words he was aware of the tasks he had to carry out as high official in the King’s House. This phrase shows this by saying his steps are known there – this phrase is saying that he is present there, and his presence implies that he is present in the act of carrying out his duties.

Later, during the Ramesside period, the Chief of the Royal Harem at Memphis, Hormin, held this title, which was recorded in the text accompanying his reward scene. In the speech of King Seti I, the king addressed the high officials who were at his side saying: “Give plenty of gold to the favorite, the Superintendent of the Royal Harem, Hormin. His are long life, a happy old age, above reproach and without (any) misdeed in the King’s House, his mouth sound and his step in its (proper) place.”

Following the rules and regulations of the King’s House without a mistake and carrying out all the tasks rightfully was the way for the officials to get advocated at the King’s House.

3. [Diagram]

C3 m pr-nsw c.w.s

“Magnate in the King’s House L.P.H.”

A number of officials held this title during the Eighteenth Dynasty and at the beginning of the Ramesside Period (during the reign of Seti I only). All of them are civil officials except for the High priest of Amun during the reign of Amenhotep II, Amenemhat. The first appearance of this title was during the reign of Thutmosis III where it was held by the Royal Herald Iamuh-nedjeh, the Deputy of the Army, Amenemhab and the Royal Scribe, Amenemhat. During the

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287 KRI, I, p. 309:4-5.
288 Urk IV, p. 1413:2.
289 Ibid., pp. 938:9; 904:8; 1026:3-4.
reign of Amenhotep II, this title was held by the Mayor of Thebes, Sennefer. Then the Chief Treasurer Sobekhotep, the Chief of Police Nebamen and the Mayor of Tharu, Neby, held this title during the reign of Thutmose IV. Later, under King Amenhotep III five high officials held this title including two high stewards, a steward, a vizier and the overseer of the Royal Palace. The last known official who held this title was the Vizier Paser.

All the officials who held this title were high officials who included this title among other honorary titles most likely in the self–praise section in either their tomb or their stela. This title highlighted the importance of these officials in the King’s House. Other forms of this title (and which express higher status) are known from the New Kingdom as the following:

\[ \text{wr C3 m pr-nsw} \]

“Great One in the King’s House.”

This title held by one of Ramsses II’s sons was recorded on group statue of a queen and prince (whose names are missing).

\[ \text{ḥr-tp C3 m pr-nsw} \]

“Highest Magnate in the King’s House.”

This title was held by the High Priest of Amun Menkheperrasonb during the reign of Thutmose III and by Amenhotep III’s high steward Amenemhat-surer.

\[ ^{290} \text{Urk IV, p. 1428:6; 17.} \]
\[ ^{291} \text{Ibid., pp. 1528:13; 1622:12; 1635:7.} \]
\[ ^{292} \text{The high stewards Amenemhat (surer) and Meryptah, Steward, Mery, vizier Ptahmesu and Overseer of palace Neferskheru see, Urk IV, pp. 1899:10, 1901: 18; 1911:5; 1923:15; 1915:1; 1882:2.} \]
\[ ^{293} \text{KRI, I, p. 297.} \]
\[ ^{294} \text{KRI, II, p. 484:15.} \]
The title hr-tp$^C3$ is known from the Old Kingdom. It was commonly used during both Old and Middle Kingdoms to be followed by the name of a Nome to be translated as “Nomarch” or the “Greatest Man (the head) of the Nome.”$^{296}$ This title appeared in the Eighteenth Dynasty; there is not a known example of this title from before the Eighteenth Dynasty.$^{297}$

4. \[\begin{array}{c}
\text{w$^C$ tp m- kd pr-nsw}
\end{array}\]

“Unique one who is the First among the Personal of the King’s House.”

Khereuf recorded this title as a part of self-praise in his offering text.$^{298}$ Khereuf is one of the Eighteenth Dynasty officials who held titles connecting him to both the King’s House and the Royal Palace. In the King’s House, he held an important office, as he was Overseer of the Treasurers of the King’s House. The position he held at the King’s House allowed him to enjoy a high status that distinguished him among its officials.

5. \[\begin{array}{c}
\text{wr m i3wt.f m pr-nsw}
\end{array}\]

“One who is Important in his Office in the King’s House.”

Two examples of this title are found from the Eighteenth Dynasty. Firstly, Thanuro, the Chief Lector priest and Royal Scribe of Amenhotep II, held this title which was recorded in the text accompanying the scene of Thanuro presenting gifts to king (in the self-praise part of the text).$^{299}$ Although Thanuro held a religious title, as he was the chief lector priest, it was

$^{295}$ This title was recorded in the tomb of high priest of Amun Menkhèperrasonb and mentioned among other titles of the High Steward Amenemhat that recorded on his statue in Louvre A51 see, Urk IV, pp. 962:11; 1901:18.


$^{297}$ Ibid.

$^{298}$ The Tomb of Kheruef : Theban Tomb 192 by the Epigraphic Survey in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities of Egypt. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980, p. 69, pl. 71.

$^{299}$ Urk IV, p. 1475:4.
important to him to mention and highlight the high status he enjoyed at the King’s House while he was serving his king. In other words, even though his job and position was associated with the religious administration, he still one of the official who wanted to highlight their connection with the king and the distinguished status he enjoyed at both the King’s House and the Royal Palace. One the other hand, as civil official held this title. He is the Overseer of the Granary Kaemhat recorded this title in his Theban tomb in an offering text.

6- rdi.n.f wi r- ḫ3t smrw s C 3.n.f wi r wrw pr-nsw

“He placed me at the Head of Courtiers and made me Greater than the Noblemen of the King’s House.”

Amenhotep II’s Viceroy of Nubia, Usersatet recorded this phrase on his stela - highlighting his importance and the special status he enjoyed under his lord in the King’s House.

7- ḫnt-st m pr-nsw

“Foremost of Seat in the King’s House.”

This title was held by two officials, the High Steward of Amenhotep III, Amenemhat-sur, and the Overseer of All the King’s Work during the reign of Akhenaton, May. Certainly, both these officials were among the high officials during their period based on the titles they held. As high officials of the New Kingdom, they aimed to show their importance in the King’s House through this title. Both Amenemhat and May recorded other honorary titles which highlighted

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300 He included in this text a title that connected him to the Royal Palace also “He to whom the praise of those within the Royal Palace is given,” Urk IV, p. 1474:16.
301 Ibid., p.1845:3.
302 It is a sand stone stela from western Amarah see, Ibid., 1485:19-20.
303 Ibid., p. 1897:11; Davies, RTA, V, pl. IV.
their importance and the special status they enjoyed in the King’s House because they were significant officials.

\[8. \quad \text{špst m pr-nsw}\]

“Noblewoman in the King’s House.”

This title was held by the sister of the Overseer of Works, Amenemone (during the reign of Ramesses II) and is recorded in his tomb.\(^{304}\) It is not the only feminine form of an honorary title associated with the King’s House that is found in the New Kingdom.\(^{305}\)

**The Third Group of Honorary Titles and Epithets**

This group of titles and epithets shows the favor and praise the different officials were able to gain in the King’s House. It was important to these officials, with the variety of positions they held, to highlight the high status they were able to reach throughout their career by including various titles connecting them with the King’s House and showing the favors and praise they were able to get.

\[1. \quad \text{wr mrr m pr-nsw}\]

“Beloved Magnate in the King’s House.”

This title was held by the Second Priest of Amun during the reign of Amenhotep III, Anen, and was included in his statue.\(^{306}\) This title is followed by another title which shows his importance in another royal institution: “Firm of praise in the stp-š3”. Although Anen was an official in one of the religious institutions, showing his connection with different royal

\(^{304}\) KRI, III, p. 273:8.
\(^{305}\) The title Tiye, the daughter of Seti I’s vizier Paser held, See p.109.
\(^{306}\) Berlin statue see Urk IV, p. 1894:8.
institutions was vital to him because it highlighted the high status he was able to reach and enjoyed at these royal institutions.

Other forms of this title are known from the New Kingdom:

\[\text{mn mrt m pr-nsw}\]

“Firm of Love in the King’s House.”

Ahmose-Pen-Nekhbet held this title which occurs in a record of all the rewards he got throughout his career from the reign of Amenhotep I to Thutmose II.\[^{307}\] This text begins with honorary titles of Ahmose-Pen-Nekhbet and in which the title “Firm of love in the King’s House” is included and was followed by “Lord of praise in the \text{stp-s3}.”

\[\text{mrwt.f mn.ti m pr-nsw}\]

“Love of him is Fixed in the King’s House.”

During the reign of Ramesses II, the High Priest of Ptah Pahemnutjer held this title.\[^{308}\]

It is noticeable here and in other examples mentioned before that it was important to different priests to highlight their connection with both the King’s House and the Royal Palace and the high status they enjoyed in these royal institutions.

\[\text{imy-ib \text{3 m pr-nsw}}\]

“Great of Favor in the King’s House.”

\[^{307}\] Urk IV, p. 38:4.
\[^{308}\] KRI, III, p.411:12.
The First Herald of King’s Amenhotep II, Ramose, held this title, included in his Theban tomb.  

\[\text{C\k pr m pr-nsw hr hsw n ntr nfr}\]

“One who enters and leaves the King’s House under the Favor of the Good God.”

The Overseer of All the Works of the King, May, held this title which is recorded in his tomb in Amarna and shows the importance of this official who had access to the King’s House as one of the high the civil officials in the government.  

Moreover, the notion of having access to the King’s House and the ability to enter and leave the King’s House under the favor of the king was expressed in other honorary titles and phrases but in different forms as the following:

\[\text{di.sn C\k pr m pr-nsw hr hsw}\]

“That they may give entry and exit in the King’s House under the favor of the Good God”

This phrase is from the statue of Suti, Chief Treasurer of King Ramesses II and is recorded after an offering formula. A similar phrase is recorded by the High Priest of Bastet during the reign of Ramesses III, Iyroy: “[Adoring] the king in the horizon of eternity, Re glittering of crown, that he may grant me to enter and [leave] of the King’s House loaded with his favors.”

It is evident from the preceding titles that to enter and leave the King’s House under the favor of the king was significant to the officials regardless to the job they held. It was important

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309 Urk IV, p. 1465:16.
310 RTA, V, pl. IV.
312 KRI, V, p. 425:4-5.
to high officials of both religious and civil administration to show their connection with the
King’s House through their titles.

4.  

C§3 ḥsw m pr-nsw

“Plentiful of Praise in the King’s House.”

This title was held by the Divine Father Youiya (Amenhotep III’s father-in-law) from his
first coffin and which was among other honorary titles of him.313 Then, later the Chief Army-
Scribe, Seti held this title during the reign of Ramesses II.314

The word ḥst, which means favor or praise, is included in a number of honorary titles
where it was associated with King’s House throughout the New Kingdom including the
following titles:

wr ḥswt m pr-nsw

“This title was held by the Royal Scribe and Treasurer Sen-em-iah and which was
recorded in his tomb.”

315

315 Urk IV, p. 495:17.
di m ḥswt nt pr-nsw

“Granted as a Favor of the King’s House.”

This title was held by the Vizier Paser and which was recorded in his biographical text. 317

ḥr ḥswt nt pr-nsw

“[I] enjoyed the Favor of the King’s House.”

Paser, Seti I’s Vizier, recorded this title in his Theban tomb in praise to god Montu. In the self-praise part of the text this title was mentioned with other honorary titles and phrases reflecting the high status he enjoyed under his sovereign: “I have followed him (the king) daily, I have associ[ated with….], I acted [as a servant] useful to his lord, I enjoyed the favors of the King’s House.” 318

ḥsyt pr-nsw

“Favorite of the King’s House.”

Tiye, the daughter of Seti I’s Vizier Paser is another example of a female who held an honorary title connecting her with the King’s House as a female who was able to gain the favor of the king in the King’s House. 319 Tiye held this title which was recorded in her father’s tomb in a scene depicting his family Paser offering to the gods. Tiye was the Chief of the Harem

316 Leiden 7.287 see, Ibid., p. 1002:12.
317 During the reign of Ramesses III see, KRI, III, p. 8:16.
318 KRI, I, p. 301:4-5.
319 This title was recorded in the tomb of her father see, KRI, I, p. 296:4.
(musicians) of Amun. She might have held this position after her grandmother who held the same title, while her sister was Chantress of Amun, her brother was the lector-priest of Amun and her grandfather was the high priest of Amun. In other words, several members of Paser’s family (including both males and females) held priestly positions associated with the temple of Amun. The chief of the Harem of Amun was a leader of a musical group of female singers and musicians. These upper class women served in priestly activity in the temples of Amun. Specifically, they were involved in musical performances including dancing and playing music during religious festivals and other rites. Although Tiye held a high priestly position related to the cult of Amun and his temple, she also was connected to the King’s House through her honorary title. It is not the first time to see an official or priest belonging to a religious institution holding an honorary title associated with the King’s House, but it is the first time to see a female (who held a high priestly title) holding an honorary title connecting her to the King’s House.

After that, during the reign of Ramesses II, another woman held an honorary title connected her with the King’s House, as mentioned before. She was the sister of the Overseer of Works Amenemone, she held the title “Noblewoman of the King’s House.”

These two titles are the only known honorary titles of females associated with the King’s House during the New Kingdom. It is interesting to see women holding titles associated with the King’s House from which the affairs of the land were ran by different high officials. These two women were from well-established families whose members held high position in both civil and religious administration. Moreover, one of the two women held high positions: the Chief of the

320 KRI, I, p. 296:1-5.
322 KRI, III, 273:8.
Harem of Amun. Thus, the upper-class women who had participated in priestly activities and held high priestly positions were interested in showing their connection with the King’s House.

\[\text{sḥ3 nfr m pr-nsw}\]

“One who has Good Remembrance in the King’s House.”

The Overseer of All Works of King Akhenaton held this title and which he recorded in his tomb in Amarna.\(^{323}\)

The Term \textit{pr-nsw} in Texts

Besides the titles, epithets, honorary titles and phrases that were discussed above, the expression \textit{pr-nsw} was appeared in number of texts, including both religious and biographical ones. It is noticeable that the number of texts in which the \textit{pr-nsw} was mentioned during the New Kingdom is less than the number of texts employed the Royal Palace. As a result, through the available data, it is hard to draw a comprehensive picture of this royal structure and its functions. On the other hand, the available data (from both titles and texts) will allow us to understand its basic function.

From the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty the King’s House is mentioned in Ineni’s biographical text where he was talking about his status during the reign of Thutmose I: “My praise endured in the Royal Palace, my love among the court. His majesty endured me with peasant-serfs and my income was from the granary of the King’s House on each day.”\(^{324}\)

In this text Ineni indicates that his income was from the granary of the King’s House and not from the Royal Palace. Later, during the reign of Hatshepsut, Ineni stated that the queen

\(^{323}\) RTA, V, pl. IV.

\(^{324}\) Urk IV, p. 58: 9-10.
filled his house with silver, gold and all beautiful stuffs of the King’s House.\textsuperscript{325} Thus, Ineni indicates in two different occasions and from two different reigns that his income and his rewards came from the King’s House highlighting an important function of the King’s House as the place in which various materials including silver, gold and supplies were kept and then used for different purposes. It is important to notice that keeping and storing various types of supplies and materials was special to the King’s House where the granary (most likely the royal granary) and the enclosures were. That explains the number of titles related to the supervision of the treasure and seals of stores of the King’s House discussed above because it was the place in which different types of materials were preserved and stored.\textsuperscript{326}

The preceding texts show that the King’s House included places to store various materials and supplies; these storage places include the granary. These materials were most likely for the royal use. The royal granaries and storehouses (enclosures) might be depicted in the tomb of High Priest of Aten Meryra. Below the scene of the royal visit to the temple, there is another scene of Meryra’s reward. Unlike the common practice during the Amarna period (or even the other scene of Meryra being rewarded in his tomb), this did not take place in the Royal Palace where the king was normally depicted along with the royal family in the Window of Appearance rewarding his official. In this scene, the king and the royal family were depicted in front of a group of buildings, which were devoted to various purposes, while rewarding Meryra.\textsuperscript{327} The texts accompanying this scene do not mention the function of these buildings and their nature, or even whether they were royal structures or belong to the temple which is depicted in the upper

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item \textsuperscript{325} Urk IV, p. 60:17.
\item \textsuperscript{326} See pp. 88-9.
\item \textsuperscript{327} RTA, I, Pl.XXIX.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
register. They include granaries, storehouses, stables and accommodation structures which have gardens and pools besides what seems to be an open air altar.  

With the absence of any textual sources that mention these structures or describes their characteristic, it is hard to decide if they are royal or religious. Analyzing the nature, function and size of these buildings might lead to conclusions about them. First of all, looking at their size, they are ample, perhaps because they are royal structures, as Davies said: “The impression that one gains of this suite of five buildings is certainly that of royal demesne.” Secondly, the common practice through the New Kingdom and especially during the Amarna period was that the reward took place in the Royal Palace. There are no examples found of a reward in the temple (or any other places except royal structures) which supports the idea that Meryra’s reward took place (according to the common practice) in a royal structure. Finally, the buildings

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328 RTA, I, pl. XXXIII.
329 Ibid., pl. XXXI.
330 Ibid., p. 34.
depicted behind the great storehouses are important in determining the nature of these structures. The building on the top is separated and most likely Meryra’s house (according to the plan and architectural elements). Below Meryra’s house are a group of structures including a building with a garden, pool and stable connected to it, as well as an open air altar with its own storehouses. It looks like all these structures were one unit with one main entrance to the whole complex and separate entrances to each building. The main structure has two double gates which make the access to this building controlled, in other words, it was not accessible to common people. The two double gates lead to an open court that leads to halls and rooms around it. Nothing is depicted inside the building to give evidence about its nature and function. Was it an administrative court associated with the buildings depicted before it (the granaries and the storehouses)? Is this building connected to the previous structures or is it separated? Was it used for royal accommodation during the visit to the open air altar? Depicting the building empty like this, without any furniture, as the Royal Palace (or even the houses) used to be depicted in Amarna tombs fully furniture, could be because it was not used for accommodation of the royal family.
If this building is connected to the previous structures and was not used for royal accommodation, it might be an administrative building. Is what we have here a depiction of the King’s House in Amarna, including the administrative building, its granaries and storehouses? Unfortunately, no depiction of the King’s House is found from ancient Egypt that could be compared to Meryra’s structures and support the presumption that this group of buildings represented the King’s House.

Another example from the Eighteenth Dynasty talks about the King’s House and the different things and materials stored in it. The butler Suemmut, recorded in a scene depicting him overseeing the work in the kitchen and cellar that he was “Inspecting the good things in the King’s House.” Suemmut was a royal butler whose function and job was mainly related to the Royal Palace. Why in a scene related to the royal kitchen and cellar, is the text talking about the

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331 RTA I, pl. XXXII.
332 Urk IV, p. 1449: 14.
inspection of the good things of the King’s House? Is it because the royal kitchen was located in the King’s House or because the various kinds of foods and materials used in the royal kitchen had been stored at the King’s House and brought from the King’s House to the Royal Palace? Another text from the same tomb is accompanying a scene of Suemmut receiving people who bear food. This text talks about the food they are bearing and which were cultivated for the pharaoh: “Inspecting of all the good and pure things which please the heart, and sending vegetables which have been cultivated for pharaoh, L.P.H……….cattle.”

As a royal butler, he had to inspect the food that would be presented to his lord and he was involved in the various stages related to this process from the beginning, from receiving the cultivated crops (or even from the cultivation itself) to storing it and then bringing what they would need to the royal kitchen to be used and prepared for his lord. Inspecting the food items and beverage that would be presented to the king and the royal families on different occasions was done by other officials related to the royal house besides the butlers. In his tomb in El-Amarna, the steward of queen Tiye was among other palace officials who inspected the food and beverages before they were presented to the royal family.

While the preceding texts focused on the existence of the royal granaries, storehouses and magazines in the King’s House and from which various materials were withdrawn for different purposes, other aspects of the King’s House are mentioned in other texts. An important example is “The Duties of the Vizier” from the tomb of Rekhmire. Although the focus of this inscription is the vizier and his duties, it also highlighted an important aspect of the King’s

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333 Urk IV, p. 1450: 3-8.
334 RTA, III, pl. V.
335 Urk IV, pp. 1103-1117.
House as a vital administrative unit. It is noticeable that in this text, numerous of vizier’s duties were associated with the King’s House, and it depicts the vizier as the director of the King’s House and the high official who was in charge of its management. It seems from this text that the seat of the vizier who was the head of the civil administration of the country was in the King’s House, and also the King’s House was under his full control. The duties of the vizier which were associated with the King’s House and would provide information about it can be listed as the following:

1- The vizier was in charge of the overall control of the King’s House and its security:

In different parts of this text, the vizier is depicted as the director of the King’s House who had full control over this significant administrative institution and what would enter or leave it. To him only, reports concerning what enters and leaves the place were presented regularly, in order to keep him constantly updated with the affairs of the King’s House as the text mentions:

“The closing of the enclosures is reported to him (the vizier) and their opening on time. The condition of the southern and northern guard-posts are reported to him, (when) everything that leaving from the King’s House leaves is reported to him (when) everything that entering the King’s House enters is reported to him.”

It is evident from this text that the vizier was the director of the King’s House. He controlled what enters and leaves the King’s House and also the opening and closing of the royal store houses which were in the King’s House. Moreover, he had to check the condition of the guard – posts in regular bases and make sure they were safe and sound. But also, he received daily report from the chief treasurer concerning the condition and affairs of the King’s House as the following: “Then, the overseer of the treasury shall come to meet him (the vizier) and shall he

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336 For the complete discussion on the text from the tomb of Rekhemra see, Boorn, G.F.Van den, The Duties of the Vizier, Civil Administration in the New Kingdom, London 1988.
shall report him saying: all your affairs are sound and prosperous. Every responsible functionary has reported to me saying: all your affairs are sound and prosperous; the King’s House is sound and prosperous.”

After exchanging reports concerning the affairs of the King’s House and the Residence (\textit{ẖnw}) with the treasurer, the vizier will give his orders to open the gates of the King’s House:

“Now after both officials have reported to each other, the vizier shall send out to open every doorway of the King’s House to ensure that everything which has to enter enters and everything which has to leave (leaves).”

The vizier had the overall control of the King’s House and its affairs. He had to make sure that all the affairs of the King’s House were safe before opening the gates to the traffic coming in and out of the King’s House. When the vizier who was the head of the civil administration was in the charge of all the affairs of the King’s House that was because it was the place from which the vizier practiced his function and authority as the head of the civil wing of the ancient Egyptian government. In other words, it seems from the preceding that the King’s House might have been the place from which the vizier ran the affairs of Egypt and where the seat of his office was.

In connection with his previous function as the general director of the King’s House and being the person in charge of controlling all its affairs, the vizier was responsible to provide security in the King’s House and especially in the hall of the King’s House by choosing the

\footnote{Urk IV, p. 1105, 16-1106, 5; Boorn, G.F. Van den, op.cit., p. 55.}
overseer of the police in this hall as the text mentioned: “It is he (the vizier) who appoints the overseer of the police in the hall of the King’s House” 339

When the vizier himself chose the overseer of the police for the hall of the King’s House, it means that it was certainly a significant part of the King’s House that needs to be secured. Boorn suggested that it is a type of reception hall open to the people from the outside of the complex. 340 If it was a reception hall used to receive people, it would be associated with the function of the vizier. Hence, this would show an important aspect of the King’s House as a place in which public would be received for administrative purposes.

2- The vizier had to carry out the orders that were issued in the King’s House:

In different locations throughout this text, the vizier appeared to be in charge of carrying out all the administrative orders that were issued in the King’s House. It is not clear from this text who issued these orders, was it the king? Did the king issue-orders and decrees in the King’s House? Or did the vizier, acting according to the rules and regulations of the King’s House? In other words did the king play a role in the King’s House or was his appearance and practicing his authority as a legitimate king of Egypt particular to the Royal Palace only? Analyzing the different parts of the text in which the vizier were executing what the orders issued in the King’s House might help in finding answers to these questions.

The first example, which stated that the vizier had to act according to the instructions of the King’s House, is from the part that talks about assembling the army that would escort the king.

“It is he (the vizier) who assembles the army contingent that escorts the lord when [sailing downstream] and upstream. It is he who organizes the remainder (of the army) that stays behind in the southern city and in the residence according to what has been said in the King’s House.”

The order is issued in the King’s House but it is not clear who issued this order. Boorn commented on this issue saying, “It might even be maintained that he is not issuing orders on his own account but just passes on orders received from the King’s House.” According to Boorn, along with the text itself, the vizier did not issue the order but he only had to carry out the orders that were issued at the King’s House.

Another example from the same text is related to cutting wood for the King’s House as the following: “It is he (the vizier) who dispatches to cut down sycamores according to what has been said in the King’s House.”

The vizier was responsible in providing the wood supplies for the King’s House. Again and in the same text, the vizier had to act according to the instructions of the King’s House. It is not clear from the two preceded examples who issued these instructions. It is apparent from the text that the vizier is acting according to the royal’s decrees and orders, which was mentioned in the text in two other places. Firstly, in the part dealing with land measurement and dispatching scribes for this purpose, the vizier had to carry out this duty and send scribes in order to execute the instruction(s) of the lord. Then, in the part talking about the role of the vizier in the hall of the judgment, it is mentioned that “It is he (the vizier) who hears every decree [of the king].”

The two cases mentioned here are connected to the authority of the king. The king was theoretically, the owner of all the lands of Egypt (which were given to him by the gods) and the

343 Urk IV, p. 1113, 3; Boorn, G.F.Van den, op.cit., p. 234.
344 Urk IV, 1113, 14; Boorn, G.F.Van den, op.cit., pp. 234ff.
source of legislation in the whole land of Egypt. The vizier had to act concerning these issues according to the royal orders. But when it comes to the arrangements of the royal journey or providing the needs of the King’s House (administrative matters), they are not associated directly to the authority of the king. The vizier could act on these matters according to regular rules which would be kept in the King’s House itself.

Providing the needs of the King’s House by the vizier was implied in another text. This text is also from the reign of Thutmose III. The steward of the Vizier User talks about making statues, vessels and jewelry for the King’s House under his supervision as we read here:

“The Vizier User made a large jewel for the King’s House, consisting of silver and lapis lazuli’ Turquoise and every precious stone, silver and bronze vessels, ........ ebony and sesnedjem wood. The Vizier User made large numerous statues for the King’s House consisting of silver, bronze, ebony, .... every excellent and hard granite.”345

It is evident from the text that these statues, vessels and jewelry which were made of precious stones and various types of metals and materials, were for the King’s House, not the Royal Palace. No more information is provided from the text about the use of these things within the King’s House. Even though from the materials used in making, they sound like they were for royal use and could be compared to the gifts presented to the king especially in the New Year’s festival. Did the steward of the vizier make all these elaborate items to be presented to the king (maybe by the vizier himself as representative of this institution, the King’s House, during specific occasion)? Or were they used in the King’s House as decorative devices for this important institution?

345 Urk IV, 1046: 14-1047: 1.
3- The duties of the vizier associated with the King’s House:

A number of the vizier’s duties were associated with the King’s House and its administration. These duties highlight the King’s House as an administrative unit. The first of these duties of the vizier concerns the sending out the messengers of the King’s House to different local authorities (including the mayors and leaders of settlements) with the orders of the King’s House as the following notes: “It is he (the vizier) who dispatches every messenger of the King’s House sent to the mayors and the settlement-leaders. It is he who dispatches everyone who will circulate all messages of the King’s House.”

This text highlights an important aspect of the King’s House while indicating a significant role of the vizier within the King’s House. The vizier, who was the manager of the King’s House (as noted above), was in charge of sending out the messengers of the King’s House with the orders and commands of the King’s House (the administrative orders) to various local authorities. Once again, the King’s House is depicted as a high administrative unit concerned with issuing administrative commands and orders and who also had to publish it to different lower administrative officials.

Another and final aspect of the King’s House, is that it was the place where legal interrogation took place by the vizier himself, which took place in the hall of the judgment (c’ryt – hall) as the following text states: “It is he (the vizier) who appoints anyone to be appointed to the c’ryt. It is he (the vizier) to whom that anyone to be interrogated in the King’s House has to come.”

Throughout the various parts of the duties of the vizier’s text, the vizier has been depicted as the higher power at the King’s House, he was the manager and director of the King’s House,

347 Urk IV, 1114, 5-6; Boorn, op.cit., p. 276.
from which he carries out all his tasks and duties as a vizier. This also makes clear that the administrative nature of the King’s House and its connection with the vizier, the head of the civil administration, and the management of the land of Egypt. Moreover, and through the different textual sources discussed here, the King’s House did not seem to be connected directly to the person of the king and his duties as the ruler of Egypt, unlike the Royal Palace.

A Summation of the Uses of the Term *pr-nsw* “King’s House”

Unlike the Royal Palace which was associated with the king in both his personal and professional life, the King’s House does not appear to be directly connected with the king throughout the New Kingdom. The different types of textual resources that include the term *pr-nsw* highlight the role of the vizier in the King’s House. Undoubtedly, the vizier was the highest authority in the King’s House and was the manager of all its affairs. The authority and power that the vizier enjoyed over the King’s House was connected directly to the nature of this place and its functions. Since the vizier was the highest civil official in the ancient Egyptian administrative system, the King’s House was the place from which the vizier practiced his duties and managed the affairs of the Egypt. This significant distinction between these two institutions, the Royal Palace and the King’s House, is known from the Old Kingdom. While the Royal Palace (the *pr-C3* during this period) was concerned mainly with the daily personal life of the king and his family, the King’s House was more involved in legal, administrative and economic affairs.\(^{348}\)

This sharp divergence between these two institutions continued throughout and became more perceptible. Thus, while it seems that the king did not play any role in the King’s House, the vizier appears to have been the most powerful person in the King’s House. All the affairs of the King’s House were under the control of the vizier and under his authority; the management of

\(^{348}\) Goelet, op.cit., p. 647.
the affairs of the King’s House was part of his duties as the vizier. Whether these affairs were related to the security and protection or carrying out orders and regulations of the King’s House, they were the vizier’s responsibility.

Moreover, the titles of the officials associated with it emphasize the same aspects of the King’s House, namely its administrative and economic aspects. Through the official titles, along with other texts, it was evident that the King’s House included sealed enclosures that were used to store and preserve different types of materials used for different purposes inside and outside the King’s House.

But, there were other officials special to the King’s House and associated with its functions as well, including the Overseer of the Craftsmen of the King’s House and the Director of all Works of the King’s House. These two officials were at the head of two important departments concerned with two different but connected types of works. While the craftsmen produced different kinds of decorative devices using various materials including: statues, jewelry, furniture, vases, etc, the department of work conducted various building projects in which these decorative devices were often used. The different departments of the King’s House were connected, and they had to cooperate in order to perform their duties and fulfill their functions. The only odd and disparate title of the King’s House was the sem- priest that was held by a civil official, not a priest. Because the holder of this title was the vizier, that suggested that he might hold this title because of the role he played during the celebration of the sed-festival and he did not conduct any religious role in the King’s House.
The term *stp-s3* in Titles, Epithet and Phrases

The term *stp-s3* is known from the Old Kingdom. During this period and afterward, it was used to refer to a type of royal structure, which might be related to the meaning of the expression, since both root words are connected to protection and the providing of protection.\(^\text{349}\) In other words, the term was used to refer to a royal structure as it was a protected place and one which provided protection to royalty. The king and a number of high officials have appeared in association with the *stp-s3* during the Old kingdom. On the other hand, neither the queen nor any member of the royal family was associated to the *stp-s3*. That indicates an important aspect of the *stp-s3* which appeared from early times and continued throughout the New Kingdom as a royal structure special to the kings and his officials only.

Throughout the New Kingdom, and especially during the Eighteenth Dynasty, the term *stp-s3* was included in several titles and number of honorary titles and epithets that were held by different high officials. It is noticeable that all these titles are associated with the royal court and serving the royal monarch. It is important to note that, from different titles and texts that included this term, it appears that the function and role of the royal structure that was known as *stp-s3* changed throughout the period from the Old Kingdom to beginning of the New Kingdom.

\(^{349}\) In his study of this expression Goelet mentioned that “This complex expression consists of two words, both of which are relatively common as independent terms- the verb *stp* “to choose, select, cut up” and the noun *s3* “phyle, protection.” In many of the narrative passages in which it is found, the verbal form of the stp-s3 seems to signify something close to “protect” or “escort.” Goelet, op.cit., p.444.
Through the various titles and epithets that included this term during the New Kingdom, along with other texts from the same period, the different aspects of the *stp-s3* will be studied and will show the development (or may be the change) in its function during the New Kingdom.

**The Term *stp-s3* in Officials’ Titles**

1. \[\text{wrw nw *stp-s3*}\]

“The Great Ones of the *stp-s3*”

This title was mentioned in text of the installation of the Vizier Usersatet from his Theban tomb. The text describes the installation of the vizier in the presence of royal audience at the audience hall and the royal audience included the following “The Officials, the Courtiers, Royal Noblemen, Dignitaries of the Private Apartments, Chamberlains, the Great Ones of the *stp-s3* and the Entourage of Horus.”

As previously discussed, the Great One of the Royal Palace (and also the plural form “Great Ones”) were high officials who held various positions in the civil administration of Egypt. But at the same time they played a role in the royal court as they were among the royal audience and courtiers. Both the Great One(s) of the oyal Palace and of the *stp-s3* were part of the royal audience who attended the royal court on different occasions in the presence of the king. Their functions and duties whether they were in the Royal Palace or at the *stp-s3* was related only to the royal court remind reader of an example. As mentioned before, the Royal Palace was the place from which the king practiced his authority as the ruler of Egypt and was where he held his court; therefore, it is normal to find courtiers and officials of the royal court holding titles connecting them to both the royal court and the Royal Palace. Moreover, when a title like the Great One of the *stp-s3* is found in connection with the king and the royal

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350 Urk IV, 1380, 14-15.
351 See pp. 18-20.
court that means a royal court used to be held in the stp-s3. Did the king hold his court in
different places or were the two places, the Royal Palace and the stp-s3, connected?

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2- wdpw m stp-s3 c.w.s
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“Butler at the stp-s3 L.P.H”

Nebamun held this title during the reign of Thutmose III. Nebamun had a long career and
held a number of different positions related to both the king and the royal family which are
recorded in his tomb. During the reign of Thutmose II, he was “Overseer of the Hall of the
King”. Although, he does not provide any further information about the Hall of the King and
its location, but from it is name we may presume that it was royal hall associated with the king
and his activities. Then under King Thutmose III, Nebamun was promoted and held important
positions including the Steward of Queen Nebetu (one of Thutmose III’s wives) and the Overseer
of the King’s Ships besides being the Butler of the stp-s3.

The existence of a butler at the stp-s3 is definitely related to the nature and function of the
stp-s3. The butler was an attendant entrusted with the care and serving of the king and royal
family. Various scenes from Amarna depict butlers carrying out their functions in the royal
presence. They are frequently depicted in the scenes of the royal repast which took place in
different parts of the Royal Palace (in a garden pavilion or in one of the Royal Palace’s halls)
while serving the king and royal family and testing the wine before serving it to the king and the
royal family. Having a butler at the stp-s3 means that food or beverages would be served to
the king and the royal family (maybe also to members of the royal court). That gives us an idea

352 Urk IV, 152:12.
354 In the tomb of Meryra II and Huya and The chamberlain Ahmes see, RTA, II, pl. XXXII, pp. 34-6; III, pls. IV-VII; XXXIII-IV, pp. 4-7; 29ff.
about the type of activities that would take place at the stp-s3 and which included (but were not limited to) serving food and beverages in the royal presence.

3- \[ \text{smrw nw stp-s3 c.w.s.} \]

“Companions of the stp-s3 L.P.H.”

This title is recorded in the tomb of Kheruef, in one of the Sed-festival scenes. This scene depicts the ceremony of towing the night bark which took place after the king and queen left the Royal Palace. In two registers in front of the night bark that carries the king and queen, officials depicted hauling the bark of night (in the lower register) and group of princess and chantresses welcoming the royal couple (they are facing the night bark). On the lower register, a line of men facing towards the right (toward the Royal Palace in the direction opposite the travel of the night bark), hold the ropes to haul the night bark transporting the royal couple. Unfortunately, this scene is extremely damaged, but the text accompanying reads: “The companion of the stp-s3, L.P.H., officials and magnates of……[A]mon, as they tow the king in the evening bark.”

Throughout the New Kingdom, the Companions were only associated with the Royal Palace and stp-s3. There are not any known examples of the title “Companion of the King’s House” from the New Kingdom, but it is known to have existed during the Old Kingdom. Was this mainly because the role of the holders of this title was related directly to the royal court? During the New Kingdom the companions were connected to the Royal Palace and stp-s3, in other words they were part of the royal audience at the Royal Palace and especially in the stp-s3.

355 The tomb of Kheruef : Theban tomb 192 by the Epigraphic Survey in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities of Egypt. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980, p.52, pls. 44-45.
356 For the companion of the Royal Palace see p.
357 Jones, D., op-cit., no.3289, p.896.
“Officials of the *stp-s3* L.P.H.”

This title appears on a stela of Amenhotep II from Karnak Temple. Unfortunately, the inscription containing it is badly damaged, but it seems that the king is addressing his court and officials, “His majesty enjoins upon his noblemen, the officials of the *stp-s3* ……… courtiers who have access to the Royal Palace.” The inclusion of the officials of the *stp-s3* among other officials associated with the royal court such as the noblemen and courtiers might have been because they were part of the royal court. As discussed previously, the officials of the Royal Palace were part of the royal audience as mentioned in the text of Queen Hatshepsut.\(^{358}\)

“Inspectors of the *stp-s3*”

In the text of Ken-Amun’s installation as the steward of Peru-Nefer, the royal audience who attended this important occasions included a number of officials, including the entourage and inspectors of the *stp-s3* as the text mentioned “His majesty appeared on the great throne upon the dais of fine gold ……… (with) the officials and courtiers in two rows to either side of

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him. Thereupon, his majesty said to the officials of the privy council chamber and attendants of the Royal Palace, the seal bearers……., the entourage and inspectors of the stp-s3."

The title “Inspector” was wildly known and commonly used throughout both the Old Kingdom and the Middle Kingdom when these officials held duties in various institutions including the royal, civil and religious institutions. It is noticeable that within each of these three institutions, the Inspectors have been appeared to held functions and duties in different departments and which can be seen from the titles they held. During the Old Kingdom, the inspectors appear to have played a role in those different and important royal institutions, the Royal Palace, pr-C 3, the King’s House and the Cḥ palace. There were different departments within each of these royal institutions especially the Royal Palace. The Royal Palace was the royal institution that had the largest number of inspectors who held jobs related to the personal service of the king or the royal family such as the Inspector of the hairdressers, manicurists, oil of king’s adorners and barbers, or jobs related to the administration of the Royal Palace in general such as the Inspector of the Royal Palace, the Inspector of Scribes, Craftsmen, Physicians and Cultivators. In the King’s House and Cḥ- palace, the inspectors were involved in

359 Urk IV, 1385.6-9.
361 The inspectors held different duties in the Royal Palace (pr-C 3) as the term shd has been included in number of titles related to different departments within the royal place as the following: “Inspector of the Overseer of the Oil of the King’s Adorners of the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of the Overseer of Linen of the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of the Overseer of the Offices of the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of Manicurist of the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of Hairdressers of the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of Youth of the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of Cultivator of the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of Nubians of the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of Estate of the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of Craftsmen of the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of Singers of the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of Tenants of the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of Senior tenants the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of Barbers of the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of King’s Regalia of the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of wr Phyle of the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of Physicians of the Royal Palace,” “Inspector of Scribes of the God’s Archives of the Royal Palace,” “Inspectors of Scribes of the God’s Book of the Royal Palace,” see, Jones, op. cit, nos. 3342-4, 60-61, 64, 72; 3401,19, 31,87, 95; 3504, 12,17-18, 20, 40,48. Pp. 911; 14-17; 24; 28; 31;46; 48; 50; 52-4; 59; 62. It was also included in number of titles related to the king’s house, “Inspector of the King’s House;” “Inspector of Carpenters of the King’s House,” see, Jones, op. cit., nos.3406; 15, pp. 926, 28. Moreover there also inspectors of Cḥ who held the title, “Inspector of the Cḥ Palace,” see, Jones, op. cit., no. 3370, p. 917.
the administration of these two royal institutions as shown in the titles they held during this period. On the other hand, we may presume that there were no inspectors related to the *stp-s3* during the Old Kingdom since this term was not included in any of the inspectors’ titles. Unlike the Old Kingdom, only one example of this title was found during the New Kingdom (from the Eighteenth Dynasty); it is in the plural from and related to the *stp-s3*, the title “Inspectors of the *stp-s3*” mentioned above.\(^{362}\)

It is accepted to find inspectors associated with the Royal Palace during the New Kingdom (although there are not any examples of Inspectors of the Royal Palace or any other royal institution known from the Middle Kingdom). Surprisingly, the only title of inspectors known from the New Kingdom is related to the *stp-s3* as they were part of the royal audience. Is this because there was a connection between the Royal Palace and the *stp-s3*?

Once again, another group of officials connected to the stp-s3 are part of the royal audience who had to attend the installation of high official in the royal court. Both the Inspectors of the *stp-s3* and Great Ones of the stp-s3 were among the royal audience during the installation of high officials. That connects the stp-s3 with the place where these special occasions took place, the royal court.

\(^{362}\) Jones, op. cit., pp. 924 ff.
The Term *stp-s3* in Honorary Titles, Epithets and Phrases

In contrast to the two terms discussed before, the Royal Palace and the King’s House, the term *stp-s3* appears in small number of honorary titles, all from the New Kingdom. In fact, only four official titles are known to include the term *stp-s3*. Moreover, all of these titles, including official titles and honorary titles and epithets known to include the term *stp-s3* are from the Eighteenth Dynasty and most likely from the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, no examples are found from the Ramesside period. In addition, the term *stp-s3* was included in a royal epithet usually held by the reigning king only.

**The Term *stp-s3* in Officials’ Honorary Titles, Epithets and Phrases**

1- 𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕𓏺𓊕_xlim

*iw m* mrwt.i m *stp-s3*

“Love of me having been in the *stp-s3*.”

In his biographical text from his tomb at El-kab, Ahmose - Pen-Nekhbet recorded this honorary phrase among others in his self-praise section highlighting the high status he enjoyed throughout his career. Ahmose - Pen-Nekhbet in his biographical text with his military career under Ahmose I and his participation in various military campaigns during the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Then he summarizes his military career which endured from the reign of Ahmose I until the reign of Thutmose III and the royal favor he enjoyed when he reached old age.
in this text as he said: “I have attained a good old age, having had a life of royal favor, having had honor under their majesties and the love of me having been in the stp-s3.”\textsuperscript{363}

For Ahmose - Pen-Nekhbet, the status he was able to reach at the stp-s3 was important and reflected the high status he enjoyed in his old age after a long career from the beginning of eighteenth dynasty until the reign of Thutmose III. In other words, he chose the stp-s3 as a special and significant place where he was loved and had a significant status. Thus in this part of the text, the focus is on the significant status he enjoyed in the royal presence and in the royal court under the various kings he served. In order to convey his special connection with the royalties, he stated that his love was in the stp-s3, a place which would be linked directly to the king himself.

\begin{equation}
\text{Cₖ ḫr ḏsrw m stp-s3 c.w.s}
\end{equation}

“One who enters the Holy Place in the stp-s3 L.P.H.”

The Vizier Djehutymose included this phrase on his stela. It the only honorary phrase of Djehutymosi that is recorded there. The importance of this title is that it states the existence of a holy part of the stp-s3, and the fact that access to this part was limited to specific people. Moreover, Djehutymose proudly recorded this honorary phrase as the only statement on his stela, highlighting the fact that he was among a selective group of high officials who enjoyed the privilege of having access to the holy place of the stp-s3, which implies that was only because of

\textsuperscript{363} Urk IV, p. 34: 11-14.
the special and high status he enjoyed.\textsuperscript{364} Unfortunately, we have no additional information about the “holy place of the \textit{stp-s3}” such as its layout, function or even the type of activities that were held in this place because it was mentioned one time only when it was included on Djehutymose’s stela. At the same time, it is important to know that part of the \textit{stp-s3} was a holy place, which was accessible only by select high officials (such as the vizier Djehutymose who was the head of the civil-administration). These officials were able to get access to this especial place through the extraordinary and high status they enjoyed in the \textit{stp-s3}.

\begin{center}
3.- \textit{n iw sp.i m stp-s3}
\end{center}

“No Fault of mine came out in the \textit{stp-s3}.”

Hatshepsut Vizier, Hapu-seneb, included this honorary phrase on one of his status in his self-praise section where he recorded a number of statements and honorary titles that reflected his qualities as a high official who was beneficial to his lord.\textsuperscript{365}

\begin{center}
4.- \textit{nb ḫswt m stp-s3 C.W.S}
\end{center}

“Lord of Praise in the \textit{stp-s3} L.P.H.”

Once again, Ahomse-Pen-Nekhebet held another honorary title that connected him with the \textit{stp-s3} and which was included in a text of rewards.\textsuperscript{366} At the beginning of this text he lists both the titles and honorary titles he held, which show the high status he enjoyed in both the King’s

\textsuperscript{364} This stela at Florence no. 2565, Urk IV, 1913:13.
\textsuperscript{365} Ibid., 484:8.
\textsuperscript{366} Ibid., 38: 4.
House and the *stp-s3* as he mentions: “The love of me having been in the King’s House and I having been lord of praise in the *stp-s3* L.P.H.” Before listing the various rewards he obtained throughout his long career, he wanted to highlight his high status as an important figure in different structures, the King’s House and the *stp-s3* by including honorary titles that connected him with these royal institutions.

5- \[\text{\textbf{\textit{rḫ.n.s iḫrw.i m stp-s3}}}\]

“She recognized my Worth at the *stp-s3.*”

Another official from the reign of Hatshepsut included the term *stp-s3* in one of his honorary statements while he was talking about himself and the high status he enjoyed in the royal court. He is Ineni, who mentioned that, “Her majesty praised me, she loved me, and she recognized my worth at the *stp-s3.*”

Ineni was a high official who played an important role during the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty from the reigns of Amenhotep I to Hatshepsut. Besides being the architect responsible for major construction projects during this period through his positions as Overseer of the Royal Buildings and Overseer of the Workmen in Karnak, he was also Overseer of the Granaries. Through his titles and biographical text, we see that he was a significant official during this period. Besides his titles that reflected his importance as high official, he also used this honorary statement to highlight the extraordinary status he enjoyed under Queen Hatshepsut as one of the high officials who served his queen. He was able to reach a special place in the

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368 Ibid., p. 60:14.
royal court through his achievements that made him recognized by his queen and be
distinguished among other officials. As a distinguished official of the royal court, he enjoyed a
special status in the stp-s3.

The Term stp-s3 in Royal Epithet

1- .quantum

ḥm n stp-s3

“Majesty of the stp-s3”

Hatshepsut bears this title in one of the Punt expedition texts. In the scene depicting the
official announcement of the success of the expedition by the queen herself in front of the god
Amun, she held this title as the following: “The Majesty of the stp-s3 L.P.H made supplication at
the steps of the lord of gods.”369 Then King Seti I was also held this title in the Nauri Decree
“Decree announced from the Majesty of the stp-s3 on this day.”370

This royal epithet was frequently included in Eighteenth Dynasty texts in connection with
the issuing of royal decrees. In several royal and biographical texts, it was part of the
introductory expression “What was said by the Majesty of the stp-s3” that was usually followed
by a royal decree.371 Describing the living king as the “Majesty of the stp-s3” in different types
of textual sources reflects a special connection between the living king (who was also the lord of
the Royal Palace) and the stp-s3. In addition, the frequent appearance of this royal epithet at the
beginning of royal decrees highlights the stp-s3 as the place from which the king issued his

369 Urk IV, p.342: 9-17
371 The royal texts Include the annals of King Thutmosis III and a decree form the same king to the Viceroy of Nubia.
It was also recorded in Peret-nefer’s text. Urk IV, pp. 651:1; 194:1-2; 1021.
decrees and orders. In other words, the *stp-s3* seems to be a structure designated to be dedicated to the king and his duties as the ruler of Egypt.

**The Term *stp-s3* in Texts**

The term *stp-s3* was mentioned in number of texts throughout the New Kingdom. These texts include mainly two types of texts, royal and biographical. An important aspect of the *stp-s3* was highlighted through these texts; the *stp-s3* is always pictured as the place where the royal audience took place and where important decrees were issued by the king. These royal decrees were varied to include installations of officials in important positions, sending royal messengers, and sending officials for mining or trade inside and outside the country and more. Moreover, it is noticeable that all these texts are mainly from the Eighteenth Dynasty and beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

The term *stp-s3* appeared in the royal texts from the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, as it was mentioned in various royal texts from the reign of Hatshepsut. It is noteworthy that the first known appearance of the *stp-s3* in the New Kingdom in officials’ titles, honorary titles and epithets was during this period also.\(^{372}\)

In the coronation scenes and texts of the Queen Hatshepsut from Deir El-Bahari, the term *stp-s3* is mentioned in association with both the Royal Palace and the royal audience hall. This series of scenes records the coronation of the queen by the gods and then by her father Thutmose I before his court. Thutmose I summons his court in order to witness the coronation of his daughter Hatshepsut as a king of Egypt. The royal audience took place at the Audience Hall of the *stp-s3*: “My majesty caused that there be brought to him the dignitaries of the king, the

\(^{372}\) The term *Stp-s3* is known from the Old kingdom.
nobles, the companions, the officers of the residence, and the chief of the people, that they may
do homage, to set the majesty of the daughter of this Horus before him in the palace of mr-n- ist.
There was a sitting of the king himself in the western ḏ3dw-hall of the stp-s3, while these people
prostrated themselves in the stp-s3.”

The king summoned his court to the Royal Palace in order to declare his daughter as king
of Egypt in front of his royal court. This event took place at a specific audience hall within the
Royal Palace. It was at western ḏ3dw-hall and which was in the stp-s3. It is evident from this text
that the stp-s3 was part of the Royal Palace and that it also had comprised an audience hall (or
maybe halls) where the royal audience would take place. Thus, the stp-s3 was the place where
Queen Hatshepsut was crowned as the king of Egypt by her father, which highlights an important
aspect of the stp-s3 as the place associated with king and his appearance and where various
ceremonies and celebrations took place.

Beside the coronation of Queen Hatshepsut, the installation of officials (especially in
high positions) seems also to take place at the stp-s3. Thutmose III’s vizier, Rekhmire, was
installed as vizier in the stp-s3, as noted “The Mayor of the City and Vizier, Rekhmire, coming
from the stp-s3 L.P.H, where he had received the favors of the Lord of the Royal Palace and had
been made responsible for the policy of Egypt and for the execution of the affairs of Egypt.”

In this text, Rekhmira confirmed that the ceremonies of his installation as the vizier and
his receiving the responsibilities to manage the affairs of the land of Egypt took place at the stp-
s3. Furthermore, and from a different example that was mentioned previously, the text of the
Deputy of Amenhotep II’s Army, Amun-em-hab, it is evident that the installation of high

373 Urk IV, p.255-7; Naville, op.cit., III, 60-63.
374 Urk Iv, p. 1095-6
officials in new positions used to take place at the Royal Palace.\textsuperscript{375} As the text informs, he was brought to the midst of the royal place before the king in order to receive the royal trust and distinction as he was appointed the deputy of the army.\textsuperscript{376}

From these two texts, both Rekhmire and Amun-em-hab’s, it seems that the installation ceremony of a high official took place, not only at the Royal Palace, but at a specific part of the Royal Palace, the \textit{stp-s3}. Since Rekhmire is more specific and mentioned that the ceremony for his installation took place at the \textit{stp-s3}, it is clear that the \textit{stp-s3} was a place where the king used to hold his court in order to perform his duties as ruler. Moreover, the \textit{stp-s3} was not only located in the Royal Palace but more specifically in the midst of the Royal Palace. The central location of the \textit{stp-s3} in the focal area of the Royal Palace was certainly associated with its function that was connected directly to the king and his court. When the king held his court and summoned the royal court for any special occasion (or even to perform his daily duties as the ruler of Egypt daily), it was be held in a special place in the Royal Palace, which surely was among the most distinguished spaces there. The appearance of the king (even within the Royal Palace, in the royal court) was an important event, and must be planned to take place at special place that would be appropriate to the importance of the events in order to show the greatness of the Lord of Egypt. Other sources from the New Kingdom highlight this essential aspect of the \textit{stp-s3} as a special part of the Royal Palace where the king practiced his authority as the legitimate ruler of Egypt.

One of the important duties of the king as a ruler of the whole land of Egypt was to issue royal decrees. A number of texts from the New Kingdom depicted the \textit{stp-s3} as the place from which the king issued these decrees. The first example comes from the reign of Hatshepsut, from

\textsuperscript{375} Urk IV, p. 897.  
\textsuperscript{376} Ibid.
Der el-Bahri’s Punt scenes. After the queen’s messenger arrived to Punt and set up their tent, he made offerings from Egyptian products that he brought with him according to the royal decree: “Pitching the tent of the king’s messenger………. There are offered to them bread, beer, wine, meat, fruit and everything found in Egypt according to that which was commanded in the \textit{stp-s3 L.P.H.}.”\footnote{These Egyptian products were for trade with Punties, for the text see, Urk IV, p. 325:12-17.}

Another example, from around the same period, but related to royal building projects, is recorded on the statue of Senenmut from Karnak temple. In the part where he describes his career as an architect and lists some of the great and important projects that he conducted for the Royal Palace according to the royal decree, we read: “The Chief Steward, Senenmut, who conducted works of the king: in Karnak, In Hermonthis, in Der el-Bahari, in the temple of Mut, in Ishru, in southern Opet of Amun (Luxor temple), in ……of the august god, while maintaining the monuments of the Lord of Two Lands, enlarging, restoring works without deafness, according to all that was commanded at the \textit{stp-s3 L.P.H.}.”\footnote{Urk IV, p. 409.}

Although the building and restoration projects mentioned in Senenmut’s text were relatively minor, since they were to be done in various temples, they could have been permitted only by a royal decree. The text does not mention the queen but it is understandable that she was the only one who would be able to issue an order to initiate the work on such building projects. When these royal orders were issued by the queen for the work to be conducted in these projects, she was performing her duties as the ruler of Egypt at the \textit{stp-s3}.

There is another text from the tomb of Senenmut which is also talking about issuing a royal decree at the \textit{stp-s3} concerning the architectural project: “I was commanded from the \textit{stp-s3}........
L.P.H when the hearing of (the words of) his majesty was beneficial concerning the construction in……”

Once again, Senenmut included the *stp-s3* as the place from which he received the royal orders concerning royal building project. Here, it is clear that the queen issued the royal orders while she was discussing this building project at the *stp-s3*. The issuing of royal decrees concerning different architectural projects at the *stp-s3* aligns with what Queen Hatshepsut mentioned when she had inscribed her decision to erect two obelisks for her Father Amun, as she mentioned she was at the Royal Palace. In other words, issuing the royal decrees by the king was usually done at the Royal Palace but specifically at the *stp-s3*, the place where the ruler of Egypt held his court to manage the affairs of Egypt and issued the royal orders. Definitely, this is evident in all the previously discussed examples from the reign of Hatshepsut. Furthermore, the royal decrees that were issued at the *stp-s3* varied to include different types according to the diverse affairs of the country.

Other New Kingdom texts reveal the connection between the issuing royal decrees and the *stp-s3* but do so more indirectly. These texts, including both royal and biographical texts, describe the issuing of the royal decrees, and described the king as the Majesty of the *stp-s3* even when the decree was not issued at the Royal Palace (or even in Egypt in one case). This might be because the *stp-s3* was the place from which the king normally issued his orders and decrees. Apparently even when the king was outside the Royal Palace (and the *stp-s3*), or even outside the country, and issued any royal orders, the *stp-s3* was implied as the place associated with issuing decrees.

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The first example is a text from the tomb of Peret-Nefer, Thutmose III’s Butler. In this text Peret-Nefer describes a cow that was brought from Retnu and was donated to the funerary temple of the king and it was under his charge, in additional to seven ships that were also brought from Retnu, he said: “What was said by the Majesty of the stp- s3 L.P.H. They shall be under your charge throughout your lifetime.”\textsuperscript{380}

The second example also comes from the reign of Thutmose III but it is a royal text. In his Annals, from the part that describes the first campaign and when the war council was held in order to decide which road the Egyptian army should follow to reach Megiddo, the king decided to choose Aruna road as he said: “What was said by the Majesty of the stp-s3 L.P.H: I [swear] As surely as Re loves me, and my father [Amun] favors me, and my [nose] is rejuvenated in life and dominion. It is on this Aruna road that My Majesty shall precede.” \textsuperscript{381}

The last text is the Nauri decree of Seti I where this title is mentioned before the decree as the following: “Decree announced from the Majesty of the stp-s3 on this day to the Vizier, High Officials and Courtiers, the Judicial Council, Viceroy of Nubia, the Chiefs of Foreign Contingents, Superintendents of Gold, Mayors and Controllers of Camps of Upper and Lower Egypt, Charioteers, Stable- Chiefs, Standard-Bearers, every agent belonging to the King's Estate and all persons sent on mission to K[ush].”\textsuperscript{382}

It is evident from these examples that the stp-s3 was the place from which the king operated the affairs of Egypt, including the issuing of royal decrees. Even when the king was outside the Royal Palace (or the country) and had to issue a decree, the scribe made a connection

\textsuperscript{380} Urk IV, p. 1021:3; Redford, \textit{The Wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III}, Leiden-Boston 2003, p.167.
\textsuperscript{381} Urk IV, pp. 650, 15-16; 651, 1 ; Redford, op.cit., p. 21.
between the *stp-s3* and issuing the decree (as was mentioned in the previous examples) as the place from which the king used to issue the royal decrees and orders.

The *stp-s3* is also described in different New Kingdom texts as the place where the king both received products (or taxes) from foreign countries and sent gifts to foreign countries. Unsurprisingly, the first example known from the New kingdom is also from the reign of Hatshepsut. From Deir El-Bahari temple, in Punt reliefs, the *stp-s3* was mentioned twice in connection of receiving and sending royal gifts. Firstly, the *stp-s3* was included in the text as the place from which the king sent gifts of the Egyptian products to the people of Punt, specifically in the text accompanying the scene of the arrival of the king’s messenger and his soldiers to the god’s land. In this scene a pile of Egyptian products including necklaces, hatchets, and daggers, appears before the king’s messenger, to be used for trade with the people of Punt. The *stp-s3* was the place from which these products were sent as was mentioned in text: “The arrival of the king’s messenger in god’s land……. dispatched with every good thing from the *stp-s3* L.P.H.”

Upon his arrival to Punt, the king’s messenger sat up a tent by the sea shore in order to receive the chief of Punt who would present the products of Punt to the king’s messenger. Unfortunately, the text is damaged, but it is clear that these products would be presented to the queen of Egypt “Chief of Punt brings tribute……………. *stp-s3*.”

The *stp-s3* was depicted in the text as the place from which the queen sent her trade expedition to Punt loaded with products of Egypt and then received the products of Punt. Although, both these products were not stored or kept in *stp-s3* or even the royal place (the queen did not actually send or receive these products at the *stp-s3*), but the seat of the king was at the

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383 The Punt scenes are at south half of the middle terrace Urk IV, 323:14-17.
384 Urk IV, 326: 5-7.
where she ordered her official to prepare for this trip and then received a report about the products that they brought back with them.

Sending the products of foreign countries to the Pharaoh (as a gift or tribute) is mentioned few years later in a text from the reign of Thutmose III, Gebel Barkal stela. Part of the content of this stela cites products from different countries, most likely as yearly levy, sent to the Pharaoh. Throughout this part, the stp-s3 is presented as the place to which all the foreign countries’ levies would be sent, only because the king ran the affairs of the country from the stp-s3 and it was connected to the king. Although these foreign products were collected and sent from south and north, they were sent to one place in Egypt, the stp-s3. Cedar of Lebanon was the first product that was sent from Djahy to the place where the king of Egypt was, as the text mentions: “Each and every year true cedar of Lebanon hewed for me in Djahy, and brought to the stp-s3 L.P.H, lumber comes to me, to Egypt, brought south […] true [cedar] of Negau, the best of God’s land, sent off with its ballast in good order, to make the journey to the Residence, without missing a single season each and every year.” 385

But it was not only the cedar of Lebanon that was sent to the stp-s, but other products, as the king stated in this text: “[…] the chiefs, the lords of Lebanon, fashioned royal ships to sail south in them, to bring all the marvels [of Kh]enty-she 386 to the stp-s3 L.P.H.” 387

When the various foreign products were sent to the pharaoh, they were sent to the place where he was and from which he ran the affairs of Egypt and practiced his power and role as the legitimate king of Egypt, the stp-s3. Another reference from the same part of this stela highlights this aspect of the stp-s3, as the place from which the king ruled the country; it was in the part

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385 Urk IV, pp. 1236, 17- 1238, 2.
386 It is on the Phoenician coast see, Redford, op.cit., p.155, note 50.
387 Urk IV, pp. 1236, 17- 1238, 2.
talking about the levy of the south. The tax of the south, and especially of Wawat, was brought to Egypt in ships and vessels made for this reason and as the text mentioned they made for the stp-s3. The stp-s3 here is used as the place associated with the king, the ruler who runs the affairs of the state: “Taxed (ḥtr) in products of labor on a million varied things of the ‘Horn of the Earth’ (including) the plenteous gold of Wawat without limit or number. There, each and every year, ‘Eight’-ships and many ordinary vessels to (be manned by) crews of sailors, are constructed for the stp-s3 L.P.H, over and above the labor quotas of the barbarians in ivory and ebony. Lumber comes to me from Kush in the form of planks of dom- palm without limit (for) woodwork, and native acacia.” 388

During the Eighteenth Dynasty, and especially during the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmosis III (this period from which most of the titles and texts including the term stp-s3 are found), the king held title that connected him directly to the stp-s3 “The Majesty of the stp-s3.” This title was included in several texts from this period including both royal texts and biographical text. AS we have seen, it was included in Hatshepsut Punt text (in two different palaces). 389 This title was also included in three texts from the reign of Thutmosis III, in text from Semna, in his annals and in the retirement text of the chief of police, Nebamun. 390

The stp-s3 was special to the reigning king as was the Royal Palace. As discussed previously, the connection between the king and the Royal Palace was shown in numerous officials’ titles where the king was described as “The Lord of the Royal Palace” “The One who is in the Royal Palace” “The King of the Royal Palace” and “Horus of the Royal Palace.” On the other hand, the king does not proclaim such a connection with the King’s House through titles or

388 Redford, op.cit., p.155
389 Urk IV, pp. 342:10; 354: 15.
390 Ibid., 194:1; 651:1; 1618: 6-7.
texts, which indicates that the King’s House was not as directly connected to the king, while both the Royal Palace and the stp-s3 were.
A Summation of the Uses of the Term *stp-s3*

With the diversity of the texts in which both the Royal Palace and *stp-s3* were mentioned from New Kingdom, it becomes evident that the *stp-s3* was always associated solely with the king and his role as the ruler of Egypt. As we have also seen before, the Royal Palace was depicted during the New Kingdom as the place where the King of Egypt and the royal family lived and also where the king performed his various duties as head of state. The pharaoh was born, grew up and crowned king of Egypt at the Royal Palace. Following his coronation, the Royal Palace was the place from which he ruled his kingdom including Egypt and all of its territories in south and north. On the other hand, the *stp-s3* also appears as a place from which the king ran the affairs of the country. Did the king practice his power and function as a ruler from two different places? Did he need two different places from which he would perform the same duties? Was there any connection between these two places? The Hatshepsut coronation text answers all these questions, particularly in the part where Thutmose I summoned his court to witness the coronation of Hatshepsut. This event took place at a Royal Palace called “*n-ist*”, but the text specifies that this event took place at the audience hall of the *stp-s3*. The *stp-s3* was part of the Royal Palace; it was the place from which the king conducted his duties as a ruler. It was the place from which he issued the royal decrees, received gifts and taxes, and sent gifts or products for trade. The *stp-s3* was the place where officials were installed in new positions, given promotion and the royal audience held.

It noticeable that of all the official titles, from the New Kingdom, associated with the *stp-s3*, refer to courtly service, since it is the place where the royal court was held. Unlike the Royal Palace where a variety of official tiles associated with it can be found, the term *stp-s3* was cited

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only with specific official titles, including “The Great Ones of the stp-s3,” “Butler at the stp-s3 L.P.H.,” “The Companions of the stp-s3 L.P.H.,” “Officials of the stp-s3 L.P.H.,” “Inspectors of the stp-s3.” These titles, of both the Royal Palace and King’s House, are related to the nature of each place and the activities that were practiced in each one. While the Royal Palace was the place where the king and his family lived and where the king practiced his authority as the legitimate ruler of Egypt, the stp-s3 was special to the king only and his duties as the ruler of Egypt who ran its affairs. In short, the stp-s3 was a special part of the Royal Palace and which was only associated with the king and his duties.

Moreover, unlike the Royal Palace, the term stp-s3 is commonly followed by the an expression exclusive to the living king, L.P.H. “May he live, prosper and be healthy” and which follows the word nsw “king” whenever that term is mentioned, whether by itself or part of expressions such as “King’s House.” Although the word nsw was not included in the term stp-s3, it used to be followed by the expression L.P.H. which was associated with the king. That means the stp-s3 was directly connected with the person of the king. While the Royal Palace appears throughout the New Kingdom as the residential place for both the king and the royal family, the stp-s3 does not hold the residential aspect but was more a place from which the king performed his duties as the ruler of Egypt. Does this distinction reflect a development in the use of the term from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom?

In his study of the different terms used for the Royal Palace during the Old Kingdom, Ogden considers the term stp-s3 in his study and discussed the meaning of the term and its use during this period. At the end of this chapter, Ogden summarizes the use of this term during

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392 Goelet, op. cit., pp.441 ff.
this period as the following: “At the outset, it should be noted that in this period there is little evidence for the existence of words comparable to the later noun *stp-s3* “palace,” which is encountered in later texts starting with the Middle Kingdom. Nevertheless, it is easy to see how that word for the royal residence developed from the Old Kingdom concept of the term as a kind of protection, usually offered to a king. In fact, because this term is sometimes connected with the monarch’s decisions and because several high officials were associated with the *stp-s3*, the “residential” quality is by no means absent from the pre-dominantly verbal examples of the *stp-s3*.\(^{393}\)

Thus, the two important aspects of the noun *stp-s3* during the Old Kingdom are that it was associated with the monarch and his decisions, and also that there were a number of high officials connected with it. These aspects did not change during the New Kingdom, when it was still a place associated with the king and its decisions (his orders and decrees) and number of high officials did show a connection with the *stp-s3*. Because of these two unique aspects of the *stp-s3*, Ogden viewed the *stp-s3* as royal residential unit. However, these two aspects are evident in various New Kingdom texts discussed above and which provide more details regarding these two aspects and show that it was not a royal residential unit, but most likely was the place where the king held his court and managed the affairs of the Egypt. There is not any textual evidence from the period of this study to support the use of the *stp-s3* as a residential place for the king.

\(^{393}\) Goelet, op. cit., pp. 441ff.
Chapter Two: The Different Parts of the Royal Palace

The Royal Palace centered in every way on the king; it was not only the place where the king lived, but also the place from which he practiced his authority as ruler of Egypt and presided over the affairs of the two lands. In other words, the Royal Palace was not just a residence. It was the seat of kingship where the king held his court in order to perform his duties as the ruler of the whole land of Egypt along with all its properties in foreign lands. Thus, the Royal Palace was designed to fulfill all the needs of the king. The layout of the Royal Palace and the arrangement of its halls, suites and rooms were intended to provide a luxurious life for the king and demonstrate his power and dominion. Certainly, the king would need a functional residence that awarded comfort, enjoyment and entertainment, but at the same time, this royal residence had to convey his greatness and power as the king of Egypt. Especially important were the places where the king (alone or sometimes with members of the royal family) would appear to perform his duties as a ruler and receive influential individuals (whether they were Egyptians or foreigners).

Particular parts of the Royal Palace will be addressed in this chapter. We shall begin by providing of all the attested terms, and the layout and function of these parts of the Royal Palace. We shall begin with the gates and doorways.
Gates, Doors and Windows of the Royal Palace

1- *rwty wrty* “The Great Double Gates”:

In hieroglyphic inscriptions, different determinatives were used for the term *rwty* throughout the New Kingdom to mark the general meaning of the word including:  ḫ a house,  two doors or  two gateways besides  the sky.⁵ Although, the term *rwt* for door is known from the Old Kingdom, but it seems that the dual form of the term *rwty* was not known before the Middle Kingdom. This duel form “The Double Gates” appears in different Middle Kingdom texts in association with the King’s House.⁶ From the New Kingdom, the adjective *wrty* was commonly used with the term *rwty*; hence the expression *rwty wrty* was used for the great double gates or the main entrance of different structures, especially the Royal Palace and the temple (or the pylon of the temple).⁷ Although, in almost most of the New Kingdom texts, the term *rwty wrty* was used for the monumental gateway of the Royal Palace, but in few examples the term *rwty* was used by itself (without the adjective *wrty*) to refer to the entrance the Royal Palace.

From the reign of Hatshepsut the double gates of the Royal Palace are associated with the Karnak temple. The double gates of the palace is mentioned twice in the texts on her red chapel

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¹ Urk IV, p.1105:16.
² The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban tomb 192 by the Epigraphic Survey in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities of Egypt. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980. pl. 28.
³ Papyrus Anastasi I, 15:1.
⁴ Papyrus Beatty V, 1:2-5.
⁵ WB I, p. 404:7-10.
as the inscription following: “His majesty (god Amun) arrived at the turning basin, very great bi3ywt before the double gates of the king’s Royal Palace which is on the side of way of offering.”

Thus, the god Amun came from the inner parts of his temple, the sanctuary, and reached the outside. Then the text continued: “His majesty (god Amun) of eternal lord was turned his face to East to the double western gate of the Royal Palace of the broad hall “I will not be far from him”.”

God Amun left the temple through side door and headed east toward Royal Palace which stood outside the temple, most likely to the north of the fourth pylon, and faced the western double gates of the Royal Palace. It is noticeable that this gateway is not described as the great double gates of the Royal Palace, but only the double gates of the Royal Palace. Is this because it was not the main entrance of the Royal Palace? If the Royal Palace was oriented in alignment with the temple east-west, then its western double gates should have been the main entrance of the Royal Palace. Otherwise, if the orientation of the Royal Palace was different or even if the main entrance was not on the western side of the Royal Palace, it would mean the western double gates were not the main entrance of the Royal Palace. On the other hand, this western entrance of the Royal Palace was significant because it was the entrance connected to the temple, from which the king would leave the Royal Palace to enter the temple.

The great double gates became a regular and distinct architectural element in both temples and Royal Palaces during the New Kingdom. Moreover, the structure of the great double gates was the same whether it was the monumental entrance of temple or Royal Palace, as is evident from both pictorial and architectural sources. The monumental gateway is composed of two tapering towers each usually surmounted by cornice framing the entrance (which at Amarna is an

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9 Ibid., line. 10-11, pp. 98-9.
opening, not a door frame as seen at Karnak since the Aten, disk was given an open space to illuminate as the sun disk yes but the side palace at Medinet Habu has no pylons). Although, many towers of the great double gates of the temples have recesses in which huge wooden masts were installed, from which brightly colored flags could be flown, but it seems that the use of this element, the flags, was limited to the temples.\textsuperscript{11} Comparing the images of the Amarna temples and Royal Palace, the great double gates of the temples are always depicted with flags, while the great double gates of the Royal Palace are not.\textsuperscript{12}

This monumental gateway was an important architectural element of the Royal Palace showing the greatness and power of the inhabitants of this royal structure and especially the king. In other words, the height, size, design and decoration of the great double gates including its towers and doors celebrated the king. Repeatedly the king is shown victorious and all-powerful on the reliefs of the preserved pylons of major temples (Karnak, Luxor, Medinet Habu, Edfu, Philae). Although, unlike these temples, none of the great double gates of the Royal Palaces have survived, various scenes from the New Kingdom, especially from Amarna private tombs, present the tall double gates of the palace. In the Amarna scenes, the great double gates of the Royal Palace were depicted in scenes representing on two different occasions. First, the great double gates are depicted in the scenes showing the king leaving the Royal Palace for the temple. In addition, it was included in the scenes depicting the king in the window of appearance or in kiosk in the open court of the Royal Palace rewarding his officials. Two areas were shown: the area

\textsuperscript{11} The flags are vital, reaching back to creation, where the god rested upon or marked the primeval mound, god’s presence on that mound and as its creator. Also the hieroglyph sign used for god is the flag. LÄ, VI, pp. 874 ff; Shafer, B., \textit{Temples of Ancient Egypt}, Cornell University, 1997. p. 4 and his note 30; Rosalie, A. D., \textit{The Ancient Egyptians: Religious Beliefs and Practices}, London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul 1982. p. 32; this symbolism is evident in texts inscribed on the Temple of Horus at Edfu as mentioned by Shafer p.8 note 55: Reymond, E.A.E, \textit{The Mythical Origin of the Egyptian Temple}, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1969.

\textsuperscript{12} In scenes from the tombs of Meryra and Panhesy see, RTA, I, pls. X-XVIII; II, pls. XV- XVIII; III, pl. XIII.
behind this monumental gateway inside the Royal Palace and the area in front of it, outside the Royal Palace. Activities and architectural elements accompany both areas.

The great double gates of the Royal Palace depict in the scenes of the king leaving the Royal Palace to the temple appear in several Amarna tombs. In the tomb of Meryra, the Royal Palace was depicted twice, once in the scene of the king leaving the Royal Palace to the temple and then in the scene of the king in the temple. The first depiction of the Royal Palace is a section (Fig. 4) while the second one is a plan (Fig. 5).

Fig.4
The Royal Palace from the Tomb of Meryra

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13 TWICE IN THE TOMB OF MERYRA, IN THE TOMB PANHESY AND IN THE TOMB OF HUYA, RTA, I, pls. XVIII; XXVI; II, pl. XIV; III, pl.XIII.
14 RTA, I, pl.XVIII.
The great double gates of the Royal Palace are depicted along with certain telling elements in each scene; its two tapering towers with cornice and the less elevated section with the doors. Besides this monumental entrance, there were two other entrances to the Royal Palace, one on each side of the great double gates. These two gates are not as elevated as the great double gates and included a window for the porter to communicate with the outsiders. The two doors might have served as entrance and exit for the servants and officials of the Royal Palace. These three entrances led to open courtyard with the Window of Appearance in the middle of the back wall, and two side doors. This open courtyard was used for the celebration of various

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15 RTA, I, pl. XXVI.
16 Ibid., p.23.
ceremonies in the Royal Palace in the presence of the king and some members of the royal family. Inside the open courtyard, two servants are shown cleaning it by sprinkling water and sweeping the floor. Outside the Royal Palace, and in the area in front of the great double gates, offerings are set out in two groups including piles of food and sensors for incense. There are a tables filled with different kind of provisions and two figures associated with the Royal Palace.

Moreover, the celebration of high officials’ reward and promotion took place in the Royal Palace, in the court extending between the great double gates and the window of appearance. The celebration of such important occasions were not excluded on the activities took place inside the Royal Palace where the officials were rewarded, but it was continued outside the Royal Palace in front the great double gates. The celebrations of rewards and promotions of high officials are depicted in different Amarna private tombs. In these scenes the king (alone or frequently with members of the royal family) appears either in the Window of the Appearance, or sitting in the open court in front of the Window of Appearance. 17 Inside the Royal Palace, the open courtyard between the Window of Appearance and the great double gates of the Royal Palace, the open courtyard, was always full of the participants in this event including not only officials, courtiers, and attendants of the Royal Palace but also some foreigners who witnessed the celebration of reward and/or promotion of high officials. 18 Outside the great double gates, the festivities continued where the official’s friends celebrated this special occasion. In his tomb, Tutu is shown out at his celebration, with his friends outside the great double gates of the Royal

17 The scenes of the king in Window of Appearance are in the tombs of Huya, Parennefer, Tutu, and Ay see, RTA, III, pl. XIII; VI, pls. IV; XIX; XX; XXI; XXIX. The scenes of the king in the courtyard are in the tombs of Tutu and Meryra II see, RTA, II, pl. XXXX; VI, pl. XVII.
18 They usually depicted in the top register of the reward scene, they might had to enter the Royal Palace from the side door which has appeared behind them in some scenes. They were depicted in the tombs of Meryra II, Parennefer, Tutu and Ay, see RTA, II, pl. 35; VI, pls. IV, XIX, XXIX.
Palace in the middle registers on his tomb wall (Fig. 10A).\(^{19}\) Great pride in advancement of his career performed and recognized at the Royal Palace also rewards us with details of activities.

![Image of the Royal Palace from the Tomb of Tutu](image)

**Fig. 6**
The Royal Palace from the Tomb of Tutu\(^{20}\)

In Tutu’s reward scene, the top and two bottom registers show the area in front of the Royal Palace’s gates (both the great double gates and the two sides’ gates). The guard posts of the Royal Palace were depicted in the top register; sentries are in their guard duties while their standers are displayed on two platforms and two horses have been unharnessed from the chariots and are feeding. On the way leading to the Royal Palace, a number of military posts were erected outside the gates, to guard its inhabitants.

\(^{19}\) The military posts outside the walls of the Royal Palace were also depicted in the tomb of Ay, RTA, VI, pl. XXX; pp. 22-3.

\(^{20}\) RTA, VI, pl. XX.
The bottom two registers depict various activities in front of the side entrances of the Royal Palace. They seem to take place before Tutu’s reward. In front of the side entrance, different substances and provisions were piled up outside the door; it is not clear whether it would be used in the Royal Palace during the celebration or as rations for the guards. A group of soldiers and attendants of the Royal Palace are either going toward the Royal Palace or leaving it in various missions which suggest that the attendants of the Royal Palace had to use the one of the two side gates of the Royal Palaces. Use of the side doors of the Royal Palace by officials and attendants of the Royal Palace is mentioned in one of Horemheb titles “Chief of all troops and of those who transact business at the gates of the Royal Palace.” Entering and leaving the Royal Palace through the main gate or one of the side gates was controlled and organized under the supervision of Royal Palace’s officials.

On the other hand, the great double gates of the Royal Palace, which faced the Window of Appearance, permitted entry for the entire king’s invited guests to the Royal Palace during the celebration of special occasions. Entering from the great double gates guests would directly view the king, who is located above all in the Window of Appearance. The monumental entrance of the Royal Palace was purposefully designed in alignment with the Window of Appearance to enhance the king displayed in his Royal Palace and frame his power.

The area in front of the great double gates of the Royal Palace played an important role in the communication of the Royal Palace with the outside world. In a scene in the tomb of Tutu,

21 RTA, VI, p. 13.
22 Similar to the offerings depicted outside the gates of the Royal Palace in the scenes of the king leaving the Royal Palace to the temple discussed above.
attendants and officials of the Royal Palace are shown entering and leaving the Royal Palace on various missions, while others are communicating or exchanging messages in front of the gates of the Royal Palace. The vizier also had to meet every morning with the overseer of the treasury at the great double gates of the Royal Palace in order to exchange information and reports about all the affairs of Egypt before informing the king about the condition of the two lands “Now, he (the vizier) shall enter to greet the lord L.P.H. when the affairs of the two lands have been reported to him in his house daily. He shall enter to the Royal Palace\textsuperscript{24} when the overseer of the treasury was at the northern flagstaff. The vizier proceeds from the east from the doorway of the great double gates. Then the overseer of the treasury shall come to meet him and shall report to him saying: All the affairs are sound and prosperous.”\textsuperscript{25} Thus, the vizier had to exchange reports concerning the affairs of Egypt at the great double gates of the Royal Palace before entering to his daily meeting with the king in the Royal Palace. During the Ramesside period, an official who was sent on a mission to Elephantine reports that he had to come at the great double gates and report concerning his mission “Behold, I am come to make a report at the side of the great double gates.”\textsuperscript{26}

The vital importance of the palace, particularly of the great double gates, is expressed well concerning Amenhotep III’s celebration of his \textit{sed}- festival. In this royal festival, the king, Amenhotep III, appeared at the great double gates of his palace to reward his officials: “At the time of the celebrating the first jubilee of his majesty, the glorious appearance of the king at the great double gates of his palace of “The House of Rejoicing” and ushering in the officials, the

\textsuperscript{24} The Old Kingdom term for the Royal Palace \textit{pr-\textcircled{C}3} is used here.
king’s friends, the chamberlain, the men of the gateway, the king’s acquaintances, the crew of
the bark, the castellans, the king’s dignitaries. Rewards were made of the gold of praise, ducks
and fish of gold and they received ribbons of green linen, each person being made to stand
according to his rank. They were fed with food of the king’s breakfast: bread, beer, oxen and
fowl."  

Although, neither the Royal Palace nor the great double gates of the Royal Palace is
depicted in this scene, the text makes clear that the great double gates of the Royal Palace
conveyed the magnificence of the king and provided a monumental setting for presenting the
awards and other demonstration of the king benevolent power.

Another text, from the Ramesside period, records the reward of the vizier in front of the
double gates. The vizier Paser was rewarded in the presence of the king, who was enthroned in
baldachin and attended by the goddess Maat: “The grandees and courtiers are at the double gates
[of…..] in the royal presence; no one laid complaint; and there were none there who acted as
superior to me.” The accompanying text does not identify the gates as belonging to the Royal
Palace. The superior position claimed and appropriate to the vizier may suggest that the palace
gates could be the desired setting to match this honor. The public appearance of the king in front
of double gates (or in the window of appearance or the open court of the Royal Palace) was
apparently a familiar event during the New Kingdom.

\[27\] The reward of the officials at the Royal Palace took place before ritual of towing the evening bark, see The Tomb
of Kheruef: Theban tomb 192 by the Epigraphic Survey in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities of Egypt.
Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980, p. 43, pl. 28.

\[28\] From his Theban tomb no.106, see Wilkinson, J. G., _Manners and customs of the Ancient Egyptians_, Vol. III,
2- *sb3* “Door”:

Although, there are number of terms used throughout the New Kingdom for the doors, doorways and door-leaves in general, but only the term *sb3* has appeared in association with the Royal Palace and its halls during this period. The term *sb3* is known from the Old Kingdom for door, gate, and doorway of different types of structures including houses, temples and palaces. From the Ramesside period it was also used for double door-leaves. Unlike the temples, the Royal Palace’s doors and doorways, whether they were of the double gates or halls, were included in few New Kingdom’s texts. The doorway of the Royal Palace’s double gates are mentioned in the duties of the vizier; when the vizier would enter daily to the Royal Palace in order to report on the affairs of the two lands to his majesty “The vizier proceeds from the east from the door of the great double gates.” The doors of the Royal Palace might be included in Horemheb’s decree; in the section describing the prohibition of arrogant behavior among officials within the Royal Palace “They say: I am an official. They enter the doors of the [royal house], riding on horseback to the sacred place. A dog is there on foot, following behind them ……………… the *Crryt* - portico.” Here, the

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29 Urk IV, p.1073: 3.
32 For the different terms of doors and door-leaves see, Spencer, P., op.cit, pp. 179-216.
33 WB IV, p.83: 9-17.
34 Spencer translated as doorway or door frame and used for door-leaves from the Nineteenth dynasty see, Spencer, P., op.cit., p. 211.
35 Urk IV, p.1105:16.
36 The structure mentioned here was most likely the Royal Palace as it is included a sacred place in its inner parts. Urk IV, p. 2160:1- 4.
text is talking about the officials who would enter the Royal Palace through its doors and passing from its $Crryt$ - portico.

The $Crryt$ - portico, which seems to be at the entrance of the Royal Palace, is a part of the Royal Palace door of which is mentioned in New Kingdom texts. In his autobiography, describing his installation as vizier, Rekhmira mentions entering the Royal Palace through the doors of $Crryt$ - portico “I reached the door of the $Crryt$ - portico, courtiers were bowing their back."37 With the exception of these two texts (Horemheb and Rekhmira), the $Crryt$ - portico was not included in any other New Kingdom texts in association of the Royal Palace. However, the $Crryt$ - portico of both the King’s House and temple appears in several texts from this period. 38 Whether it was associated with temple, Royal Palace or King’s House, the $Crryt$ - portico was an entrance or reception area in front of important building (most likely at the front of the double great gates) for the communication between the inside and outside. 39

The term $sb3$ was also used for the doors of different parts of the Royal Palace, including the $d3d3$ -hall and the private apartments of the king. During the Middle Kingdom, the door of the $d3d3$ -hall of the Royal Palace was included in text “Erecting a door of the $d3d3$ -hall of the Royal Palace of Amenemhat.”40 Later during the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the Horemheb’s decree mentioned above, the doors associated with the private apartments of the Royal Palace is

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37 Urk IV, p. 1073:3.
38 For the temple $Crryt$- portico see, Spencer, P., op.cit., pp. 147-55. On the hand, the king’s house $Crryt$- portico was included several times in Rekhmire’s duties of the vizier see, Van den Boorn, G.P. F., op.cit., pp. 77,81-4,86, 89, 97, 109, 110, 212, 275, 278-81, 285, 302-3, 310, 312-6, 319-20.
40 Spencer, P., op.cit., p. 208.
described: “The sandal-bearers follow into the courts of the private apartments in which they can move freely, by coming and going through its doors.”

Like the textual sources, artistic rendering of the doors of the Royal Palace do not provide much detail regarding their construction and design. It seems that doors were not an important architectural element of the Royal Palace to capture the artists’ interest. Small details however are given for specific doors of the Royal Palace at Amarna, in particular the doors of the two side entrances, which appeared on both sides of the great double gates of the Royal Palace. Each door included a window for the porter to communicate with the visitors, which was essential since these gates were used for the entrance and exit of servants and officials of the Royal Palace (Fig. 4).

Moreover, the middle doorway of the dining-hall, which connected to the Window of Appearance was depicted in some Amarna tombs (Fig. 7). Here, the transom of the doorway was elaborate and has two doorways. This elaborate middle doorway framed by two doors reflected the importance of this dining-hall.

Fig. 7
The Middle Doorway of the Dinning-Hall from the Tomb of Tutu

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41 Urk IV, p. 2159:16.
42 RTA, I, pl. 18.
43 RTA, VI, pls. IV; XVII; XXVIII.
44 Ibid., pl. 1.
Except for the doors and doorways discussed here, the rest of Royal Palace’s doors were depicted as undecorated rectangle usually closed but open in few scenes (Fig. 7). Unlike of the temples, the doors and gateways were not the focus for either texts or scenes during the New Kingdom. Unfortunately, the details of the Royal Palace’s doors and gateways are not described in New Kingdom resources any others, for that matter. We therefore do not know materials, measurements, or any other features of the doors of these palaces, which contrasts to the well described doors of the temples, known in from number of texts throughout the New Kingdom. We may conclude from this that while the doors of the temples were a significant architectural element that revealed the wealth and splendor of the temple and bore the name of the donors (the king who erected these elaborated doors made of luxurious materials and decorated with various types of precious stones from local and various foreign territorial. As for the doors of the Royal Palace, it seems that they were not significant as thus far none are known with details in either textual or pictorial sources from the New Kingdom.

3- sšd- hÊw “Window of Appearance”:

The Window of Appearance was a unique architectural element of New Kingdom Royal Palaces. During the Amarna period, the window of appearance emerged as a significant component of the Royal Palace, where the king was able to reveal himself to public in various

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45 RTA, VI, pls. IV; XVII; XXVIII.
46 Papyrus Harris I, 4:11-12; KRI, V, 23:13.
47 KRI, IV, p. 8:1.
occasions.\textsuperscript{49} This innovation is probably connected to the religious changes instituted during this period, and the desire to enable a staging of royal power.\textsuperscript{50}

Thus, the location, design and decoration of the Window of Appearance were carefully conceived to frame the authority, strength, and holiness of the king: the ruler and representative of gods on earth. The Window of Appearance was located in the middle of the Royal Palace’s façade, at the end of an open court and opposite to the great double gates of the Royal Palace. At Medinet Habu, the Mortuary Temple of Ramses III, Dynasty XX, preserves the Royal Palace, which was attached to the temple on the Southside of an open court of the main structure, the temple, and the Window of Appearance occupies the middle of the open court’s sidewall or south wall.\textsuperscript{51} A direct, axial alignment is suggested in the reliefs in tombs at Amarna. With this direct alignment, the Window of Appearance would be the initial, and manifest architectural element that confronted visitors to the Royal Palace entering from the great double gate (entering from the great double gates was controlled and limited to particular people during specific occasions). In other words, this well-chosen and prominent location of the Window of Appearance in the middle of the royal façade and opposite to the great double gates of the Royal Palace was intended to draw the attention of the Royal Palace’s guests directly to the place where the king appears.

\textsuperscript{49} The first known scene depicted of the Window of Appearance is from the tomb of the Vizier Ramose who served under Amenhotep III and the early reign of Amenhotep IV. Davies, N. de G. \textit{The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose}, London 1941, pl. xxxiii.

\textsuperscript{50} The connotation of the window of appearance to Amarna religion was suggested by Vomberg, P., \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 275; 277-84. He believes that the Window of Appearance is an expression of the king’s new religion and as such is an invention of Amarna period that developed out of the kiosk (the kiosk however was still around at that time as well). He regards as cyclical the development from kiosk into Window of appearance and its reversal, back to kiosk.

In addition to the Central placement, the Window of Appearance has a magnificent design and decoration, successfully to frame the king and elevate him, and articulate the power and authority of the king during his public appearance (Figs. 4-6). Two tall jambs (taller than the wall of the Royal Palace’s façade itself) and four columns above it, two on each side, were used to frame the Window of Appearance and the space in which the king would appear. The window also has two shutters that would open inward when the window was in use and be closed afterwards (for the closed shutters of the window see Figs. 4&5). Both the two jambs and the adjoining wall of the façade were topped with uraei. The two jambs were also lavishly decorated with different motifs.

![The Window of Appearance from the Tomb of Vizier Ramose.](image)

Fig. 8
The Window of Appearance from the Tomb of Vizier Ramose.

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52 The Window of Appearance is usually depicted open during the king’s appearance (along with some members of the royal family) where the focus of the scene is the king and his participation in specific occasion. But it is usually shown closed in the scenes depicted the king leaving the Royal Palace to the temple or during his returning to the Royal Palace. See, Figs. 4-6, 22.


54 Davies, N. de G., op.cit., pl. xxxiii.
Although the Window of Appearance is known from the Eighteenth Dynasty, but the term $s\ddot{d}-h^Cw$ are not included in any Eighteenth Dynasty textual sources. All known examples of this term are all from the Ramesside period.  

$^{55}$ Papyrus Harris includes a description of the Royal Palace of Medinet Habu: “I made for you an august palace of the king in its midst, like the great house of Atum which is in heaven. The columns, doorposts, and doors were of electrum; the great window for appearance was of fine gold.”  

$^{56}$ It is evident from this text that the Window of Appearance was a key architectural component of the Royal Palace.

The Window of Appearance is mentioned in other Ramesside textual sources that focus on the royal appearance in specific occasion, the celebration of victory. According to the inscription of the great Libyan war at Karnak temple, king Merenptah came to the Window of Appearance to review the tribute (or war spoils) as a part of victory celebration.  

$^{57}$ Celebrating a victory was also the occasion that brought king Ramesses III to the Window of Appearance to review the captives from the first Libyan war while the chiefs of the foreign countries were assembled according to the text of the first Libyans war at Medinet Habu.  

$^{58}$ This agrees with the decoration theme and motif of the two jambs of Window of Appearance at Medinet Habu’s Royal Palace where the king depicted smiting captives.  

On the other hand, the New Kingdom pictorial sources depicted the public appearance of the king in the Window of Appearance during the celebration of different occasion. The reward of high officials at the Royal Palace (which was part of the celebration of other occasions such as

$^{55}$ WB, IV, p. 302:3.  

$^{56}$ Papyrus Harris I, 4:11-12.  

$^{57}$ KRI, IV, p.7:15.  

$^{58}$ KRI, V, p. 23:11-4.  

$^{59}$ Although the well-known Egyptian motif of bound foreign captives used as decorative device in some windows of appearance depicted in Amarna private tombs (but not on the two jambs, only on the lower part of the window ). RTA, VI, pls. IV, XIX; Hoelscher, U., op.cit. , p. 44, Fig. 32.
the *Sed*-festival or receiving the products of foreign lands\(^{60}\) was the typical occasion for the royal appearance in Royal Palace’s window recorded in several private tombs at Amarna.\(^{61}\) Although these high officials recorded these celebrations of their reward in their tombs as benchmark of their official life and career, the appearance of the king is always highlighted. The king (along with some members of the royal family) shows himself to the public in the elevated window of appearance. The Window of Appearance was definitely unique architectural tool that used to frame the royal appearance in order to show the greatness and power of the king to all the visitors of the Royal Palace including Egyptians and foreigners. The public appearance at the Royal Palace Window of Appearance was not limited to kings along with some members of the royal family, queens are also depicted in their own windows of appearance (at their own palaces) while rewarding their subordinates.\(^{62}\)

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\(^{60}\) See chapter three under *inv*.

\(^{61}\) Such as the tomb of Meryra I, Panehesy, Meryra II, Huya, Parennefer, Tutu and Ay, RTA, I, pl. VII; II, pls. X, XIV, XXXIII-XXXV; III, pls. XVI-XVII; VI, pls. IV, XIX, XXIX.

\(^{62}\) For example, Queen Tiye is depicted in the Window of Appearance at her palace while rewarding a female subject in the presence of her harem and coutiers. See, Davies, N. de G., *The Tomb of Nefer-Hotep at Thebes*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, New York 1973, pl. XIV.
Courts and Halls of the Royal Palace

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Royal Palace was not only a residential place for the king and other members of the royal family, but was also the place from which the king performed his duties and practiced his authority as ruler of Egypt. The designated area within the Royal Palace from which the king ran the affairs of the two lands was called the *stp-s3*. Since the Royal Palace combined these dual functions both residence and seat of kingship, it included two separate areas to serve these two different roles of the Royal Palace. The separation between the residential part of the Royal Palace and the administrative headquarters is evident in the depiction of the Royal Palace from the tomb of Ahmes (Fig. 9).\(^6^3\) In the scene of a royal repast, the Royal Palace is depicted behind the dining room. Two separated parts of the Royal Palace are included here. The private residence of the king (the inner parts of the Royal Palace) include two designated areas, the king private rooms include a large anti-large hall which led to series of halls and courts and finally to the king’s bedroom, and the harem suite on one hand. On the other hand, there are the outer parts of the palace including only halls and courts suggesting that it is these are the spaces where the king conducted the affairs of the state.

\(^6^3\) RTA, III, pl. XXXIII, pp. 29-30.
The design and layout of the halls and courts included in each section of the complex were designed to meet the needs of the king and the royal family. For the purpose of this study, the courts and halls of each part will be studied separately.

A. The Courts and Halls of the stp-s3: (The King’s Administrative Headquarters)

The designated administrative headquarters of the Royal Palace, the stp-s3 was the place from which the king performed his duties as the ruler of Egypt daily. This part of the Royal Palace included different types of halls, courts and rooms. Location, size, architectural elements,

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64 RTA, III, pl. XXXIII, pp. 29-30.
and decoration of these different spaces of the \textit{stp-s3}, were related to their function, which always connected to the king and his duties as the ruler of Egypt. The \textit{stp-s3} included the place from which the king held his court and practiced his authority as the king, \textit{d3dw}-hall or the throne room. From the main entrance of the Royal Palace located in the façade of the Royal Palace, number of halls, courts and anti-rooms with different functions associated with the duties of the king led to the throne hall; the especial and more private part of the administrative headquarters of the king. At these different broad halls and courts of the \textit{stp-s3}, the king would appear on his throne in the presence of his courtiers and high officials to hold the royal audience or/and celebrate different occasions and events. The administrative headquarters of the king, the \textit{stp-s3}, occupied the outer parts of the Royal Palace to which the royal audience would have access in various occasions, while access to the residential area was apparently much more restricted. It is important to note that some of the halls and courts of the \textit{stp-s3} were unique to it, while others could be found in both parts of the Royal Palace; both the \textit{stp-s3} and the king’s residence.

\textbf{I- \textit{w3ḥy} “Columned Forecourt”:

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=0.8\textwidth]{columned_forecourt.png}
\caption{Columned Forecourt}
\end{figure}

Since its first known appearance in the Middle Kingdom, the \textit{w3ḥy} – the columned forecourt was associated with the Royal Palace only.\textsuperscript{68} The determinative often used for the term \textit{w3ḥy

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{65} Urk IV, p. 1086:11.
\item \textsuperscript{66} KRI, II, p. 925:8.
\item \textsuperscript{67} Ibid., p. 855:6.
\item \textsuperscript{68} The term \textit{w3ḥy} has not been found in any texts earlier than the Middle kingdom and since then. It was a forecourt of the Royal Palace see, WB I, p. 259:12-13.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
throughout the New Kingdom was a hall of columns associated with its structure.\(^{69}\) The term \(w\text{š}h\text{y}\) was included in the installation of the Vizier Rekhmire which took place at the Royal Palace “Leading of the council at the \(w\text{š}h\text{y}\)-columned forecourt of the pharaoh L.P.H. and causing Vizier Rekhmire to be brought in and appointed for the first.”\(^{70}\) From this text, it seems that the \(w\text{š}h\text{y}\)-hall was a kind of antechamber where the council was assembled before proceeding along with the Vizier Rekhmire to the presence of the king. In other words, it was an anterior hall of the Royal Palace (specifically of the \(stp\text{-}s\text{š}\)) at which the high officials gathered before preceding to the king’s presence. Leading the official(s) to the \(w\text{š}h\text{y}\)-columned forecourt and then to the presence of the king at the Royal Palace and using verb \(st\text{š}\) “to lead or usher”, was common phraseology used since the Middle Kingdom.\(^{71}\) Other than its columns, no further features of this forecourt are mentioned in New Kingdom texts. However, during the late Middle Kingdom, the \(w\text{š}h\text{y}\) - columned forecourt is mentioned in Papyrus Boulaq 18 where some of its features are described.\(^{72}\) It is described several times as a hall in which numbers of officials were gathered to receive provision and also as a place where offerings were presented to the god Mentu and Horus- avenger of his father.\(^{73}\) Hence, the \(w\text{š}h\text{y}\) - columned forecourt appears in this text as place associated with serving food to officials. We may assume that, the \(w\text{š}h\text{y}\) - columned forecourt which used to accommodate number of officials and where they were

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\(^{69}\) This determinative has been changed in the New Kingdom to replace the house of the Middle Kingdom see, WB I, p. 259:12-13.

\(^{70}\) Urk IV, p. 1086:11-13.

\(^{71}\) This expression “leading official to \(w\text{š}h\text{y}\)” was included in story of Sinuhe 250-252: “The courtiers were led to the \(w\text{š}h\text{y}\)- hall as I was placed on the way to the inner of the palace.” Also in papyrus Westcar 8, 9-12: “his majesty then proceeded to the \(w\text{š}h\text{y}\)- hall of the Royal Palace and Djedi (the magician) was ushered to him.”


\(^{73}\) Scharff, A., op.cit..., 16, 25, 36, 60, 65, 74; pls. 6**,8**,10**, 18**, 20**, 22** , Quirke, S., op. cit, p. 40.
provided with provision, must have had it is own keeper, was a significant anterior hall in the Royal Palace. 74

Rekhmire’s text is the only known text from the Eighteenth Dynasty in which the w3ḥy-columned forecourt is mentioned. However, during the Ramesside period, the term w3ḥy is included in both queens and princesses’ epithets. On the statue of queen Istnofert she the following epithets are added: “She who fills the w3ḥy-columned forecourt with the scent of her perfume; her fragrance is like (that of) Punt, even the ointment of her limbs, [the queen Istnofert] ………….. , for her at the Royal Palace; her beauty pervades the Cḥnwty (the inner parts of the Royal Palace) while her fragrance fills the w3ḥy-columned forecourt. Sweet-scented alongside her father who, at seeing her, rejoices, [the queen Istnofert].” 75 The contrast between the Cḥnwty (the inner parts of the Royal Palace) and the w3ḥy-columned forecourt, the inner parts of the Royal Palace and the outer parts, is used here to convey an important meaning: the beauty and sweet scent of the queen fills the whole Royal Palace. The w3ḥy-columned forecourt is also included in an epithet of another royal female during the reign of king Ramesses II, princess Meryamun: “Who fills the w3ḥy-columned forecourt with the scent of her perfume.” 76 When the scent of the princess perfume, who supposed to be in the residential part or inner parts of the Royal Palace, reaches the outer parts or the w3ḥy-columned forecourt; this means her sweet scent filled the whole Royal Palace, the same concept that was expressed by her contemporary queen Istnofert.

74 The title ḫmr ē-Ct n w3ḥy “Hall-Keeper of the columned forecourt” is known from the Middle Kingdom see, Ward, A. W., Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, Beirut 1982. no. 460, p. 58.
75 On her statue with a prince’s figure see, KRI, II, p. 855:3-6.
76 KRI, II. p. 925:8.
Using the available information about the w3ḥy - columned forecourt, its identification with specific room or hall in the stp-s3 (or even the Royal Palace in general) is not easy, but possible. It has been suggested that in the Middle Kingdom Royal Palace: “It was an audience- chamber at the point where the outer and inner sectors of the main palace building meet.” It is evident from the various textual sources discussed above that the w3ḥy - columned forecourt was an columned court of considerable size and which might have been located before the hall where the king would appear to perform his duties and held his court including the promotion of high official (such as Rekhmire). Moreover, the Ramesside queen’s titles indicate that this columned forecourt was located not only in the outer parts of the Royal Palace, the administrative headquarters of the king, but in the outer parts of the stp-s3 as well.

The anterior columned hall that was depicted in number of Amarna tombs was apparently located behind the Window of Appearance; that is to say, outermost part of the Royal Palace. It was the first hall to be accessed from a main door below the window of appearance (while the two side doors led to stores full of food and provisions) (Figs. 4&5). From this, we may presume that it was the outermost columned forecourt of the Royal Palace, but associated almost entirely with the royal family. In the images, two elevated chairs (or thrones) for the king and queen are depicted in the dining-hall. This significant aspect of the w3ḥy- columned forecourt is not described in any of the textual sources; although officials mentioned to be provided with food in it. The appearance of the king and members of the royal family here to have meals in it is also not included in any textual sources. The size of this columned hall and its location beside the amount of food and provision stored on its two sides highlighted its importance in the Royal Palace as very special forecourt associated with food. Was it a special dining-hall for the use of

77 Quirke, S., op. cit, p. 40.
78 RTA, I, pls. XVII, XXVI.
royal family only during the celebration of special occasions? Or did the king invite some particular guests to be provided with food in the presence of the king and the royal family in specific occasions and they were not depicted in the royal repast scene where the focus was only on the royal family?

Even in the more detailed representations of the royal repast that took place at the dining-hall behind the Window of Appearance from the talatat of Karnak, only musicians and singers are depicted in the royal presence. However, several food items and beverages along with a number of officials are placed in the colonnaded area in front of the window of appearance (in the open court of the Royal Palace). While the royal family were celebrating and enjoying the royal repast inside the royal (in the dinning-hall connected to the window of appearance), the officials were provided with food and beverages from the Royal Palace at the colonnaded area beneath the window of appearance. Thus, this colonnaded area in the open court of the Royal Palace and right beneath the window of appearance, where the king reveals himself to public in various occasions, was designated to held feasts for the visitors of the Royal Palace during the celebration of special occasions. It is also the same place where the king sometimes appears in the court to reward his official. This colonnaded open area at the main entrance to the Royal Palace is probably the $w3\dot{h}y$ – columned forecourt known as the place for providing food to officials or gathering area before entering in the royal presence.

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79 Redford, D.B., op. cit., pp. 133-4, Fig. 24, pls. 61-7.
80 Ibid., pls. 63-4; 65:2, 82: 4.
2- *wsḫt* “Broad-Hall and Forecourt”:

Since the Old Kingdom, the term *wsḫt* is attested in association with the different types of residences; private houses, the Royal Palaces or even temples.\(^{88}\) Moreover, the King’s House (which was an administrative headquarters) also included *wsḫwt*-forecourts.\(^{89}\) The term *wsḫt* is used for a variety of broad halls and forecourts as it is derived simply from the root *wsḥ* “breadth”.\(^{90}\) It is noteworthy that the *wsḫt*-halls and forecourts were found in both the outer and inner parts of the Royal Palace; the *stp*-s3 and the residence of the king.

The term *wsḥt* appears in few titles throughout the New Kingdom including: “Hereditary prince over the limits of the broad –hall of the Royal Palace,”\(^{91}\) “Hereditary prince of the broad –hall of the Royal Palace,”\(^{92}\) and “Keeper of the broad-hall of his Majesty.”\(^{93}\) It seems that the broad-hall of the Royal Palace included in these titles was a specific and important hall of the

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\(^{82}\) Urk IV, pp. 1512; 1881:1; 1897:10.
\(^{84}\) Urk IV, p. 976:13; KRI, III, p. 219:70
\(^{85}\) KRI, III, p. 182:7.
\(^{86}\) KRI, IV, p. 9.
\(^{87}\) KRI, V, p. 386:7.
\(^{88}\) WB I, p. 366: 5-9.
\(^{89}\) It was mentioned in the tomb-chapel of the mayor of Ramsses III, Paser. The text is accompanying a scene of presenting statues “presentation of statue at the *wsḥwt* –courts of the king’s house.” See, Schott, S., *Wall Scenes from the Mortuary Chapel of the Mayor Paser at Madinet Habu*, Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 30, Chicago 1957. pl. I; KRI, V, p. 386:5-7; 10-15.
\(^{90}\) WB I, p. 364-5.
\(^{91}\) This title was held by the Treasury Scribe Min-hotep, Overseer of the Royal Palace Nefer-sekheru and High Steward Amenemhat see, Urk IV, pp. 1513:13; 1881:4; 1897:10.
\(^{92}\) Seti I’s Vizier held this title, KRI, I, p.287:10.
\(^{93}\) Royal-Table Scribe, Amenmose, held this title, KRI, III, p. 219:7.
Royal Palace. Unfortunately, these titles do not provide any further information about the location and function of this hall within the Royal Palace. On the other hand and from the New Kingdom texts, the term \textit{ws\textit{h}t} is applied to different types of halls and forecourts associated with two parts of the Royal Palace. The broad- hall of the headquarters of the king depicted in these texts as principal hall in which the celebration of different occasions and special events took place.

The broad- hall of the Royal Palace was included in texts from the red chapel of Queen Hatshepsut. The Royal Palace of Queen Hatshepsut which was associated with Karnak temple had a broad-hall “The Royal Palace of the broad-hall of I will not be far from him……… Then, the lady of the two lands came to it (the broad-hall) from the interior of the private apartments of the Royal Palace”\textsuperscript{94} Here, the contrast between the location of the inner parts of the Royal Palace, the private apartments and the broad- hall, highlighted the location of the broad-hall in the outer part of the Royal Palace, the \textit{st\textit{p}-s\textit{3}}. Moreover, in the broad- hall of her Royal Palace, Queen Hatshepsut adored the lord of gods and received from him the ornaments of her kingship.

Celebration of such a special occasion in the broad-hall of the Royal Palace was referred to again in a text from the Ramesside period. In the tomb of the High Steward of King Ramesses II, Nebsumenu, there is a scene depicting a figure of the king and the text accompanying the scene: “King was in the broad-hall upon the throne……… They go around the king four times, and they go around the throne-dais four times.”\textsuperscript{95} Beside the celebration of special occasions (although it is not clear from the text the type of event celebrated here), it is evident from this text that the broad- hall included a throne-dais for the king.

\textsuperscript{94} Lacau, P. & Chevier, H., op.cit.., line.11-13, pp. 98-9.
\textsuperscript{95} KRI, III, p. 182:7-8.
Another special event was celebrated in the broad-hall of the Royal Palace; it is the victory of the king over his enemies. King Merenptah gave his victory speech in the broad-hall of the Royal Palace “Their lord, the king, appeared L.P.H.in the broad-hall of the Royal Palace, while……… the courtiers acclamining] His majesty, L.P.H., rejoicing at seeing him, when what he had done had succeeded. The servants of the Pharaoh L.P.H. rejoiced to the skies.”96

From the preceding examples, it appears that the broad-hall was always associated with the king and his appearance in his Royal Palace especially during the celebration of important events. The connection between the king and the broad-hall as a place special to the king is evident in another text from the Ramesside period. The Nubian viceroy of Ramesses II, Huy, in his autobiographical text included the broad-hall “I was [subordinate servant] whom his majesty himself instructed in the broad-hall of the Twin Truth itself of the Royal Palace.”97

A text of the prince Amenhotep describes him as “Taking enjoyment in being taught to shoot in a broad-hall of the Royal Palace of Thinis.”98 This type of royal activities required a large and open hall. Another significant feature of the broad-hall of the royal-palace is touched upon in this text; besides being large enough to accommodate the function and type of royal activities held in the broad-hall, sometimes it was also an open hall. In her study of the Ancient Egyptian temple, Spincer concluded her study on the term wsḥt “Although it was probably first applied to open courts, it came to refer to all principle halls, including main hypostyle hall and the forecourts, of the temple.”99 Hence, the broad-hall was definitely a large hall that would be

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96 KRI, IV, p. 9.
97 The text is on his stela, Cairo JE. 41395 see, KRI, III, p. 9.
98 Urk IV, p. 976:13; Spencer, P., op.cit., p. 78.
99 Spencer, P., op.cit., p. 79.
proper for the celebration of special occasions (whether of the Royal Palace or temple), it was a large hall, and in the case of the Royal Palace only it included a throne-dais.

Looking at the plan of the Royal Palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata, the description of the broad-hall of the Royal Palace corresponds to two wide fore-halls associated with the audience hall of the Royal Palace. The first is opposite to the entrance corridor, it is a large hall (Fig. 10-Y) with raised dais and flanked by tree pits and which was connected to the audience-hall through suite of rooms behind the throne-dais. The other hall (Fig. 10-F) can be reached through a small chamber (Fig. 10-B) and which included a decorated throne-dais at its far end. To the south of the large colonnaded hall, there was a room (Fig. 10-G) with a painted false-door niche and stairways to the roof. Did the room G with the false-door niche mark the boundary between the two parts of the Royal Palace; the public and private areas or the seat of kingship and the residence of the king?

On the other hand, the inner parts of the Royal Palace, the living quarters of the king, comprised *wshwt*-forecourts which seem to be different from the broad-hall of the king’s headquarter. The *wshwt*-forecourts appear in New Kingdom text in the plural form unlike the broad-hall which is always in singular form. Moreover, the *wshwt*-forecourts of the inner part of the Royal Palace were not included in New Kingdom’s titles. These forecourts were mentioned only in Horemheb Decree “The sandal-bearer follow into the *wshwt*-forecourts of the private apartments in which they can move freely, by coming and going through its doors.”

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102 Urk IV, p. 2159:16.
3- $d3dw$ “Throne-Hall”:

Similar to the $wsh-t$-hall and forecourt, the $d3dw$-hall is found in both temples and Royal Palaces, but with two totally different functions and locations within each institution. While the $d3dw$ of the temple was a room or resting-place outside the temple, sometimes beside a lake or canal, and which was used during the temple procession. The $d3dw$-hall of the Royal Palace seems to have had a different function.

The $d3dw$-hall of the Royal Palace provided a significant and vital venue for the reigning king, which is evident in the Seti I text from the Abydos temple. It is a speech of Goddess Seshet to Seti I on his building project “You have taken over two lands, (arrayed) in the double crown. You are seated in your inner sanctum and you enter your Royal Palace like Atum in the horizon. You sit enthroned at the head of your $d3dw$-hall like Horus upon his throne. You appear upon your palanquin for the jubilee, like Re annually.” In this text, the $d3dw$-hall of the Royal Palace is described as one of the essential royal installations associated with the king and a symbol of his kingship equal in importance to the double crown, the Royal Palace and the throne. Moreover, one of the important features of the $d3dw$-hall mentioned in this text is that it had a throne which is associated with its function.

103 Urk IV, pp. 257:17-257:1; 349:10; 1251; 1380
104 Ibid., p. 26:11.
105 KRI, I, p. 188:4.
108 This text is from the stairway corridor, KRI, I, p.188.
From the Old Kingdom on, the $d3dw$-hall appears in various texts in association with the verb $hms$ “to sit,” as in the expression $hpr\ hms\ m\ d3dw$ “There was a sitting (of the king) in the $d3dw$-hall (during the New kingdom the verb $sndm$ was also used).”\(^{109}\) In the Middle Kingdom, King Senwosert I appeared in his $d3dw$-hall “Regnal year 3 of Senwosert I….. The King has appeared in the double crown sitting in his $d3dw$-hall.”\(^{110}\) The king appeared in the $d3dw$-hall wearing his royal insignia and summoned his court including the companions of the Royal Palace to discuss the construction plans of the temple of Atum at Heliopolis. The appearance of the king in the $d3dw$-hall was always associated with the performance his duties as ruler of Egypt and conducting the affairs of the two lands. Meeting with his court to discuss the construction plans or even issue a royal decree to undertake a building project was one of the king’s duties, which used to take place at the $d3dw$-hall. Later during the New Kingdom, king Thutmose III recorded his appearance in the $d3dw$-hall of the Royal Palace to announce his building projects at Karnak temple including the erection of the great festival hall “Regnal year 23, the first month of summer, day 2, an audience of the king took place in the western $d3dw$-hall in his Royal Palace.”\(^{111}\)

From the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, King Ahmose I appeared with his wife, Queen Ahmes-Nefertari, at the $d3dw$-hall to discuss his plans for special donations to his grandmother queen Tetisheri “There was a sitting of his majesty in the $d3dw$-hall of the king Nebpechty-re, son of Re Ahmose, May he live”\(^{112}\) Here, the royal assembly at the $d3dw$-hall

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\(^{109}\) The oldest example of this expression is recorded on an Old Kingdom sarcophagus, Urk I, p. 22:14.


\(^{112}\) Urk IV, p. 26.
included the king and the queen in private to discuss a personal issue related to the king’s grandmother and his plans for special offerings for her.

Two important events of Hatshepsut’s reign took place in the $d3dw$-hall of the Royal Palace. The first was her coronation, which was held in the $d3dw$-hall of the Royal Palace: “My majesty caused that there be brought to him the dignitaries of the king, the nobles, the companions, the officers of the residence, and the chief of the people, that they may do homage, to set the majesty of the daughter of this Horus before him in the Royal Palace of $mr-n$- ist. There was a sitting of the king himself in the western $d3dw$-hall of the $stp-s3$, while these people prostrated themselves in the $stp-s3$.”

According to this text from her temple at Deir el Bahari, part of the coronation ceremonies of Queen Hatshepsut took place in the Royal Palace; she was crowned by her father King Thutmose I in the $d3dw$-hall in the presence of the royal courtiers.

Later Hatshepsut announced formally the success of her expedition to Punt in the $d3dw$-hall of the Royal Palace “Regnal year 9, There was a sitting in the audience-hall. The appearance of the king in the Atef-crown on a throne of electrum within the $d3dw$-hall in the midst of the splendors Royal Palace, sending for the great ones and companions of the $stp-s3$” Once again, the king (Queen Hatshepsut) appeared formally in the royal insignia, the Atef-crown, in the $d3dw$-hall of the Royal Palace in the presence of courtiers for an announcement concerning an important affair of Egypt, the final report on the royal expedition to Punt.

Another important administrative event related to the duties of the king and his role in running the affairs of Egypt took place in the $d3dw$-hall of the Royal Palace, it is the installation

114 Urk IV, p. 349,10-14.
of vizier. Vizier Usersatet was promoted to be a vizier at the $d3dw$-hall “Now the royal audience took place in the $d3dw$-hall of the western bank with the king of upper and lower Egypt, Menkheperre, given life. The Officials, Courtiers, Royal Noblemen, Dignitaries of the Private Apartments, Chamberlains, the Great Ones of the $stp$-$s3$ and Entourage of Horus in his Royal Palace were ushered in order to pay respect to the king, L.P.H. Thereupon the vizier entered to take counsel concerning the affairs of the two lands.”115

From all of the preceding texts referring to the term $d3dw$, several specific features of this hall can be elicited. The king appears formally in this hall wearing the royal insignia to perform his duties as the ruler of Egypt, including discussing building projects, giving instructions to perform specific tasks or celebrating important occasion such as the coronation of the king or promotion of an official. This hall included a throne for the king to upon sit; “The sitting of the king” was an expression associated with the $d3dw$-hall since the Old Kingdom and which was definitely related to the initial function of this hall. The $d3dw$-hall was the seat of the king from which he practiced his authority as a legitimate ruler of Egypt. This explains the appearance of special group of officials in association with this hall; they were the courtiers of the king who had to attend his court.

In her study of the $d3dw$-hall, Hirsch concluded on this term: “It is not to held audience, to receive foreign messengers or officials or to promote subordinates. It seems to be a multifunctional hall inside the Royal Palace in which the king resided.”116 Although, the $d3dw$-hall never was used to hold public audience of the king or receive foreign messengers, but it is

115 Urk IV, p.1380.
certain that the promotion of officials took place at this hall. The $d3dw$-hall was not a place for the king’s appearance in large audience; his audience in this hall was mainly his courtiers who were involved in the various activities held in this hall. The $d3dw$-hall seems to be the royal office or bureau of the king at which he appeared formally in his royal emblem and in the presence of his courtiers, or sometimes with the queen only to practice his authority as the legitimate ruler of Egypt. Middle Kingdom text from Wadi el-Hudi highlights the function of the $d3dw$-hall as a royal office of the king from which he issued his decrees “I came for amethyst, on behalf of His Majesty, together with a dignitary of the King’s entourage, (he) belonging to the $stp\text{-}s3$, w…………His Majesty made command for [this] dignitary[….at a session,.....] in the $d3dw$-hall.”

From the various textual sources discussed above, it seems that the $d3dw$-hall was not a large space like the broad -hall. The excavations at Malkata revealed a room in the Royal Palace of Amenhotep III which has some features of the $d3dw$-hall. It is the room (Fig. 10-E) in the east-south part of the Royal Palace connected to anti-room (Fig. 10-E1) and hall (Fig. 10-E). This room is not large columned hall like the halls Y and F (Fig. 10) discussed above, but it is a medium size hall with throne and four columns. The appearance of the king on his throne was the focus of this hall, thus the architectural elements were used here to emphasize and frame this area. The two south columns along with the throne dais draw the attention to the throne where the king would be. The $\text{t\text{-}n}\text{3t}\text{-}l$ or the elevated throne-dais with two columns framing its face was essential architectural element associated with the king appearance whether

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118 For the different forms of this term see, WB, V, pp. 356; 384-5.
in or outside the Royal Palace (except when the king appeared in Window of Appearance) (Fig. 7).

Fig. 11
The Appearance of the King Throne-Dais from the Tomb of Parennefer

Several New Kingdom texts highlight the importance of this architectural feature associated with the king’s appearance in various occasions and places. The viceroy of Nubia, Usersatet, describes the appearance in the king to receive the products of Nubia “His majesty appeared in the residence of Thebes on the great throne-dais to proclaim the wonders of his army.” Installation of high official was another occasion in which the king has appeared on his throne dais as Kenamun reports: “His Majesty appeared on the great throne upon the dais of fine gold,” Besides the Sed-festival where the king appeared upon the throne-dais. Amenhotep who was rewarded during the Sed-festival was seated on a golden chair in front of the throne-dais.

119 RTA, VI, pl. VI.
120 Thutmosis II also mentioned that he has appeared on the throne dais to review the war spoils. Caminos, R.A., The Shrines and Rock-inscriptions of Ibrim, Egypt Exploration Society 32, London 1968. p. 67; Urk IV, p. 140:15.
121 This occasion used to take place at the Royal Palace. Urk IV, p. 1385:6
In addition, the daughters of king Amenhotep III stood at the feet of the throne in front of the throne-dais during the celebration of Sed-festival.\(^{123}\) Moreover, it seems that some of these throne-daises had names; Tutankhamun recorded the name of one of his throne-daises on a shield from his tomb: “His Majesty appeared in Thebes upon the throne-dais of the “Prophecy of Wonder”.\(^{124}\)

Furthermore, the throne-dais was also included in honorary titles and phrases held by several New Kingdom officials such as “One who Informs the Ears of Hours upon the Throne-Dais,”\(^{126}\) “Adoring the king who has Appeared upon the Throne-dais.”\(^{127}\) The connection

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\(^{123}\) Urk IV, p. 1869:17.
\(^{124}\) Perhaps the throne-daises outside the Royal Palace where the king appeared in public were named because they were autonomous structures used of the royal appearance in specific occasions. Urk IV, p. 2059:14.
\(^{125}\) Caminos, R. A., op.cit., pl. 29.
\(^{126}\) Urk IV, p. 1431:9.
\(^{127}\) KRI, II, p. 901.
between the king and the throne-dais is evident here; the throne-dais was significant royal emblem that the king inherited from the gods. The throne-dais belongs to Horus the living king as Thutmosis I in his coronation text “He (the king) has assumed the throne-dais of Horus.”

Returning to the Malkata palace and its room E whose floor was paved and decorated with a scene of a pool with swimming ducks and fish surrounded by a border of papyrus with flying birds. The throne-dais had two steps decorated with the captive and bow pattern. Even the ceiling of this room was decorated.

Another small throne room with throne-dais and four columns is located in the middle of the Malkata palace; in the inner parts of the Royal Palace or the king’s residence. It is the room south of the broad colonnaded hall H (Fig. 10) and which could be another possible ḏ3dw-hall of the Royal Palace. The design of the throne room with usually four columns, two of them flanked the throne, and which was connected with anti-room or broad –hall was repeatedly found in the plan of the New Kingdom Royal Palaces (even the Royal Palaces of mortuary temples, pls. I and II). The ḏ3dw-hall (s) was essential part of the Royal Palace and which was connected with larger hall(s) for public appearance of the king in different occasions. It was not the audience-hall of the Royal Palace, but most likely a throne-room or the seat of the kingship.

B. The Suites, Courts, and Halls of the Royal Palace’s Residence

The residence of the king within the Royal Palace, which was in the inner parts of the Royal Palace, included several suits, courts and halls for the king, the royal family and the royal harem.

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128 Urk IV, p. 83:2.
130 Beside the Malkata Royal Palace, the Amarna North Palace, The Memphite palace of Merenptah and Ramesses III palace at Medient Habu mortuary temple see, Lacovara, P., op.cit., pp. 89-104.
Unfortunately, most of the structures of the king’s residence are not described in detail in the textual sources. The inner part of the Royal Palace (the king’s residence) was associated mainly with the king and described as the holy-place. In a text from the red chapel coronation describing the appearance of Queen Hatshepsut at the broad-hall “Then, the lady of the two lands came to it (the broad-hall) from the interior of the holiness of her palace.”

Later and during the Amarna period, Akhenaton’s governor, Nefer-Kheperu-Her-Sekhper, included the holy-place of the Royal Palace in one of his honorary titles “The one who enters the presence in the holiness of the Royal Palace.”

The holiness of the Royal Palace was also included in Horemheb decree, in the section related to the Royal Palace and its regulations “They say: I am official. They enter the doors of the [Royal Palace], riding on the horseback to the holiness.” The interior of the Royal Palace, the residence of the king was considered as the holy part of the Royal Palace as was the residence of the god at most inner part of the temple “The holy of holies”. Similar to the temple, in the Royal Palace

There was a separation between the public and private areas. The outer parts which comprised the administrative headquarters of the king were the public area, while the inner of the Royal Palace or the holiness was the residence of the king included his private apartments.

Moreover, the inner parts of the Royal Palace were also known as the $C\text{ḥnwty}$ “The inner part”. Since the first appearance of this term in the Middle Kingdom, it was not used for specific hall or court within the Royal Palace, but for the inner sector of the Royal

\[\text{131} \quad \text{Lacau, P. & Chevier, H., op.cit., lines. 12-3, p. 99.}\]
\[\text{132} \quad \text{RTA, IV, pp. 23,31; pl. XXXVII.}\]
\[\text{133} \quad \text{Urk IV, pp. 2159:9 -2160:2. Here there is kind of exaggeration in describing the behavior of the officials and their carelessness that they enter the Royal Palace riding on the horseback until the inner of the Royal Palace or the holiness.}\]
\[\text{134} \quad \text{This term is known from the Middle Kingdom as part of the Royal Palace see, WB, I, p. 226: 16-19.}\]
That continued during the New Kingdom where this term appeared in several texts and titles. It was included in Horemheb decree “The sandal-bearer follow into the courts of $C_{hwty}$ (the inner of the Royal Palace) in which they can move freely, by coming and going through its doors. There are none who say: O that I had…………………”

Access to the inner parts was limited to selected officials related to the Royal Palace. However, even for those officials who were allowed to this inner part of the Royal Palace, they had to follow the rules and regulations while they were in this special and private part of the Royal Palace. So that, Horemheb had to put a set of regulations for all the officials of the inner of the Royal Palace “I have instructed the regulations related to $C_{hwty}$ (the inner of the Royal Palace).”

As for the titles, this term was included in queen Istnofrt honorary titles discussed above where she described her beauty “For her, at the Royal Palace; her beauty pervades the inner of the Royal Palace.” It was important for her to show her beauty in the inner of the Royal Palace, in the king’s residence.

The inner section of the Royal Palace or the king’s residence embraced a number of courts, halls and suites for the king, his family and the royal harem. Some of these structures were included in textual sources including both texts and titles or depicted in scenes especially in private tombs. These various structures of the inner of the Royal Palace will be discussed in this section.

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135 This term was included in the story of Sinuhe for the inner of the Royal Palace, in the part talking about receiving Sinuhe at the Royal Palace “The courtiers were led to the $w^{3}h_{y}$-columned forecourt as I was placed on the way to the inner of the Royal Palace.”

136 In the same section mentioned above about the regulations of the Royal Palace see, Urk IV, p. 2159:14-15.

137 Urk IV, p. 2160.

138 She was one of the wives of king Ramesses II. This title was among others of her included on her statue see, KRI, II, p. 855:4.
1 - *ipt- nsw* “Royal Quarters of Women”:

![Image](image_url)

The term *ipt* used to be written with the sign of a hut with a door opening on the corner which might represent the primitive hut inhabited by the women of the royal harem. Although the royal harem later occupied quarters within the Royal Palace, the *ipt* sign continued to be used during the New Kingdom for both the royal harem and their quarters. During the Eighteenth Dynasty and afterward, the sign *nst* also used for royal harem and their quarters which could be associated with the architectural development of the Royal Palace which located the royal quarters of women close the throne room of the king.

The women’s residence was the part of the Royal Palace where selected women lived in separated quarters. It was in the inner parts of the Royal Palace connected to the king’s private apartments. The term *ipt-nsw* is known from the Old Kingdom; appearing in both titles and

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139 Urk IV, p.1880:16
141 RTA, II, pl. XXX.
142 KRI, I, p. 313:15.
143 RTA, II, pl. XXIX
145 KRI, III, p. 485.
146 KRI, VI, p. 86.
149 Ibid., p. 176.
150 From the surviving New Kingdom palaces, it seems that the royal quarters of women were usually connected to the king’s private apartments which is evident in various Royal Palaces such as Malkata palace and Medinet Habu Royal Palace, see Figs. 6;8.
texts151 and which continued during the New Kingdom. The title “Overseer of the Royal Quarters of Women” was the most common title which included the term ipt-nsw throughout the New Kingdom.152 A number of other forms of this title are known from this period which include references to location or association with specific royal installations such as: “Overseer of the Royal Quarters of Women of/ in Memphis,”153 “Overseer of Royal Quarters of Women of the Queen,” “Overseer of the Royal Quarters of Women of the Great Queen,” “Overseer of the Royal Quarters of Women of the Great Queen, Mistress of the Two Lands,” and “Overseer of the Royal Quarters of Women of the Queen Duatenhotep (wife of king Ramsses IV).”154 Thus, the royal quarters of women were not only found at the Royal Palaces of the capital city, they were established at different Royal Palaces in various locations outside the capital such as Memphis and Fayoum where the king would visit or reside for period of time.155 In addition, it is evident through these titles that it was not only the king who had his own harem and royal quarters of women, but queen’s also (especially the great king’s wife) had their own harem and quarters for them. Moreover, the scribe of the royal quarters of women or scribe of the royal quarters of

153 Two different term were used for Memphis, ḥwt-k3- pth and mn-nfr, Al-Ayedi, A. , Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious and Military Titles of the New Kingdom, Ismaillia 2006.nos. 29,30, p.9.
154 Al-Ayedi, A. , op.cit., nos. 31-3, 35-6, pp. 10-11.
women of the harem was another important title included the term *ipt-nsw* and where the different locations of the royal quarters of women were also mentioned.\textsuperscript{156}

From these titles (besides the titles including the term \( pr-hnrt \))\textsuperscript{157}, it is evident that the royal harem was an independent institution, even when they were at the Royal Palace, with their own administration. In addition to the high officials of the royal quarters of the women such as the overseer of the royal quarters of the women, there were also attendants and door keepers. These attendants and doorkeepers were depicted in number of Amarna tombs (Fig. 13).\textsuperscript{158} As an independent administrative unit within the Royal Palace (whether it was the palace of the king or of the queen at the capital city or in any other location), the royal harem had its own sources of income. Tracts of agricultural land in various places and herds of cattle were designated for the royal harem of Memphis and *Mr-wr*.\textsuperscript{159} Moreover, they received their daily needs of food and cloth on a regular basis. As for food, it is evident through number of New Kingdom texts that the royal harem received all their needs such as fish, fowl, oil and grain for bread and beer.\textsuperscript{160} In addition to food, the royal harem also received cloth and precious stones for their daily use.\textsuperscript{161} Hence, the royal harem should be understood as an independent institution.

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\textsuperscript{156} Both *hwt-k3-pth* and *mn-nfr* were included see, Al-Ayedi, A., op.cit., nos. 1718- 20; 1823, pp. 507; 551.

\textsuperscript{157} The term *pr-hnrt* was included in official’s titles such as “Deputy of the Royal Harem” and “Inspector of the Royal Harem” see, Gardiner, A., op.cit., A43:5-6; B21; Davies, N. de G., *The Tomb of the Vizier Ramose*, Mond Excavation at Thebes I, London 1941, pl. XXXII; Reiser, E., *op.cit.*, pp. 79-82; Helck, W., Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches, Leiden 1956, p. 264.

\textsuperscript{158} They were depicted in the tombs of Tutu and Ay in the scenes depicted the royal quarters of women, RTA, VI, pls. XVI, XIX, XXXII.


\textsuperscript{160} Fish and fowl were included in Horemheb decree “The [harem] is provided with its portion, catches of fish and [fowl] in each season.” Papyrus Gurob mentioned that the royal harem get their needs of fresh fish and oil. While the ration of grain for making bread and beer was mentioned in papyrus Petersburg 1116A see, Urk IV, p. 2155; Gardiner, A.H., *Ramesside Administration Documents*, Oxford 1948, pp. 15:9, 26:19-27:2; Golenischeff, W., *Les Papyrus Hieratiques No.1115,116A et 1116B de l’Ermitage Imperial a St-Petersbourg*, 1913. p. 1 8, Pl. XVIII.

within the Royal Palace, which had its own sources of income and received rations for the daily needs of its residents. 162 This is inconsistent artistic representations of the royal quarters of women within the Royal Palace as secluded suites, which included both residential halls for the women, depicted engaged in various activities and stores for their rations (Fig. 13). 163

Fig. 13
The Royal Quarters of Women from the Tomb of Ay 164

The existence of the royal harem and their quarters within the Royal Palace was essential for the reigning king; they were customary part of being a king in ancient Egypt. When king Ramesses II was crowned a king (during the coregency with his father Seti I), he was provided with his own royal harem and royal quarters for them “When my father rose up before the people, I being (yet) a child in his arms, [he] said concerning me: Raise him up as a king so that I

162 The royal harem was definitely an independent institution. Even when the royal harem accompanied the king in his journeys, the officials of the royal harem had to provide them with rations and supplies for the journey “Now as for this other deed of wrong doing, the occurrence of which was [heard] throughout the land. [when the agents] of the queen’s house and the scribes of the harem go behind the mayors and oppress them, and seek out contribution for the northward and southward journeys.” Urk IV, pp. 2149:15- 2150:4.
163 RTA, VI, pls. XVI, XIX, XXXII.
164 Ibid., pl. XXXII.
[may see] his beauty while I am alive. [He caused to be summoned] the chamberlains to affix the diadems on my brow. ‘Place the great one [that is the crown] on his head.’ So he said concerning me when he was on earth ……. He equipped me with a Harem and royal quarters of women, who were like the beauties of the Royal Palace. He selected for me women throughout [this land], charioteeresses ? for ………… Harem women and female companion.” The establishment of royal harem for the recently crowned king was a necessary step in the process of his elevation. The women of the royal harem were chosen from the most beautiful girls of the country to be honored by living in their own quarters within the Royal Palace. Nefr-Seres, one of the women who lived in royal quarters of women during the Old Kingdom, highlighted the importance of the royal harem and their direct connection with the king daily: “She was in the royal quarters of women because she was very honored by the king daily, the ornament of the king, his beloved, overseer of the royal harem, the one who sees the beauties of her lord daily.” The selected beautiful girls (and women) who lived in the royal quarters of women included singers, musicians, and dancers for the king’s entertainment as Kenamun reports “Taking recreation, looking at pleasant things, singing, dancing and music-making, jubilation and rejoicing in delight, when watching the harem of his majesty in garden of Peru-nefer.” The women of the royal harem were depicted in Amarna private tombs while playing music, singing and dancing. Different types of musical instruments including lute, lyre and harp were depicted in their quarters (Fig. 13).

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165  *pryt* is a term used for Harem during the Nineteenth Dynasty, WB I, p. 518.
168  *Urk IV*, p. 1396:2-4.
169  The musical and artistic performance was not the only function of the royal harem at the Royal Palace. They played a role in the education of the royal children (besides some selected children of high officials and foreigners
Besides the royal harem of the king who lived at the inner parts of the Royal Palace (the royal quarters of the women), there was also a royal harem of the queen (especially the great royal wife) who resided in her own palace or villas. It is evident through both textual and archaeological resources that the great royal wife and other queens lived in their own palaces or villas and which were usually connected to the king’s palace. In addition to the various forms of the title titles “Overseers of the Royal Quarters of Women of the Queen” discussed above, the residence of the queen was mentioned in a text of the first Hittite marriage of king Ramesses II. Upon her arrival, the Hittite princess was promoted to the title of queen in both the Royal Palace and the King’s House, she was also provided with an ample villa. Hence, the queen had her own villa(s) or palace where she lived along with her own royal harem and it seems that she did not live in the royal quarters of women.

The palace of the queen is depicted in the tomb of Neferhotep (Fig. 14). In this scene, the queen is shown in the Window of Appearance at her own palace rewarding Neferhotep’s wife, Merit-Ra. The queen’s palace is depicted as an independent structure adjacent to the Royal Palace but connected to it through a side door. Unlike the rewarding scene of Neferhotep at the Royal Palace (on the same wall), a number of females appear at the open court of the queen’s palace; these females might have included the queen’s harem besides Merit-Ra’s friends.

leaders). The royal harem also involved in weaving and making cloth not only for their own use but also part of their production was stored to be distributed later during festivals. Redford, S., The harem conspiracy: The murder of Ramesses III. DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2002. pp. 50-2; Gardiner, A., op.cit., p. 20:6-15; Heب مصطفى كمال نوح ، المنسوجات فى مصر القديمه ، دراسه لغوية ، رسالة ماجستير - لم تنشر بعد - القاهرة 1987 ص. 322
170 This royal quarters of women were depicted in the tombs of Tutu and Ay see, RTA, VI, pls. XVI, XIX, XXXII.
171 WB I, p. 471:6-8. The term bḥn is known from the Dynasty Eighteenth and means fortified place, it was used for both castle and palace, P. Anastasi II, 1,1; 1,5.
172 Sometimes the royal harem of the queen was part of her dowry that she brought with her to the Royal Palace like the Mitanni princess Giluchepa who was sent to the king Amenhhotep III with 317 women see, Urk IV, p. 1738.
174 Davies, N. de G., op.cit., pls. IX- XIII.
Moreover, the open court of the queen’s palace comprised a garden with different kinds of fruit trees, unlike the Royal Palace, which does not appear to have had garden in its open court. This garden is associated with the women’s activities at the queen’s palace, as could also be found in the royal quarters of women of the Royal Palace such as the central Royal Palace of Amarna (Fig. 13).

![Fig. 14](image)

The Queen’s Palace from the Tomb of Neferhotep

A numbers of queens’ palaces could be found in various royal cities such as the precinct of Malkata, which included three palaces beside the Royal Palace, the south palace, the middle

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176 The different depictions of the open court of the Royal Palace (the area between the great double gates and the Window of Appearance) especially from Amarna private tombs, did not show a garden at this part of the Royal Palace see RTA, I, pls. XVIII, XXVI; II, pls. XXXX; III, pl. XIII; VI, pls. IV, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI, XXIX
177 In the center of the royal quarters of women at the great palace of Amarna, There was a large garden and swimming pool see, Pendlebury, J. D. S., The City of Akhenaten, Part III, The Central City and the Officials Quarters. Egypt Exploration Society 44, London 1951.
178 Davies, N. de G., op.cit., pl. XIV.
palace, the north palace and number of villas. The south palace comprised a colonnaded hall with throne dais surrounded by living quarters. It has been suggested that this palace was queen’s Tiye palace at the royal city of Malkata.

The area assigned for the women quarters differed from one Royal Palace to another according to the size and function of the Royal Palace (permanent or temporary residence of the king). In the permanent residences of the king such as the great Royal Palace of Amarna in the center of the city or the Malkata Royal Palace, the space designated for of the royal quarters of women is bigger especially when compared to women’ quarters at Royal Palace of the Medinet Habu temple (which was a temporary residence of the king). At Amarna, the royal quarters of women of the great Royal Palace was accessed from the royal road through a monumental gateway (Fig. 15-K) in the east wall of the Royal Palace. This monumental gateway led to an open court (Fig. 15-L) that divided the royal quarters of women into northern and southern quarters. Both the northern and southern quarters of women included a garden, storerooms and living quarters. At Malkata, the royal quarters of women are set of rooms and halls paralleled to the king’s private apartments, on the opposite side of the central colonnaded – hall (Fig. 10-H), almost the same size as the private apartments of king.

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179 Another example of suggested queen palace can be found in Amarna; it is villa U25.11 on the opposite side of the north riverside palace which might was the actual residence of the king at the city. This villa which included vast garden and large lake was suggested as the palace of Nefertiti see, Lacovara, P., *New Kingdom Royal City*, Studies in Egyptology, Columbia University Press, New York/London 1997. p. 31; Kemp, B. J. “The Window of Appearance at El-Amarna and the Basic Structure of This City,” *JE A* 62 (1976), pp. 81-96.


The size and layout of the royal quarters of women in the Royal Palace associated with Medinet Habu temple is depart significantly from the these earlier examples. As a temporary residence for the king during his visits to Thebes in different occasions, this Royal Palace accommodated the royal family including the king, the queen and their harems. Thus, the royal quarters of women included the residence of the queen along with her harem, as well as the king’s harem. The royal quarters of women were accessed through a side door from the temple’s court (Fig 11-A) or from outside the temple, from the eastern side door (Fig.16-E). The entrance temple’s led to a court (Fig.16-I) that has a Window of Appearance in its northern end (opens to the temple’s court). A door at the western-south end of the court led to a reception-hall that included a throne (Fig.16- K). The women apartments are located in the southern end of the

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183 Pendlebury, J.D.S., op.cit., pl. XXX.
palace (behind the king’s apartments) and comprised of three similar suits (Fig. 16-M). Each suit includes two rooms with bath and dressing room. The women quarters of this palace were designed like a miniature replication of the queen’s palace (but without the garden) in order to meet the needs of its inhabitants and accommodate the queen and the royal harem at the same time.

2- pr-dw3t “Robing - Room(s)”: 

The term pr-dw3t literally means “House of Morning,” as the word dw3t that was frequently written with sun-disk determinative since the Fourth Dynasty, would be rendered in this expression as “Morning.” The name of this structure (whether it was in a temple or a Royal Palace) is directly connected to its function. This time of the day was significant in the solar theology; particular rituals were performed each morning in the eastern sky. The sun god Re had to be cleansed daily by holy water before rising in the eastern sky (or rebirth in the morning).

The connection between cleanse by water and rebirth was established as early as the pre-

185 Ibid., p. 1408ff.
186 Ibid., pp. 1897:12; 1904:6.
187 Ibid., p. 1063.
188 KRI, I, pp. 218:3; 219:8.
189 Ibid., p. 352:12.
dynasties period. During this period also the concept of rejuvenation and rebirth through water cleanse was transferred from solar theology to the kingship theology. Therefore, the pr-dw3t was not only associated with the sun temples, but all temples where the king had to be purified before entering in the presence of gods. Although, an actual structures was not found in the Pharaonic temples (but later during the Ptolemaic period), but was included in various textual sources. King Piye talks about his visit to temple of Ptah in Memphis “His majesty proceeded to the house of [Ptah], his purification was performed in the pr-dw3t, and every custom that is practiced upon a king was fulfilled upon him.” Then, the king proceeded to visit the temple of Re in Heliopolis “He came, proceeding to the house of Re, and entered into the temple with great praise. The chief ritual priest praised the god, that rebels might be repelled from the king. He (the king) entered the pr-dw3t so that the sedeb-garment might be fastened on; and he (the king) was purified with incense and libations.” Thus, it is evident from this text that function of pr-dw3t (of the temple) was associated with the purification of the king before entering in the gods presences.

As for the pr-dw3t of the Royal Palace, there is not any available information about its function or the rituals performed in it. All of the textual and pictorial sources (except for the several titles will be discussed below) included only the pr-dw3t of the temple (with few references form tombs). Blackman suggested that the function and rituals performed in the pr-

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193 Ibid., p. 38.
194 The information about the pr-dw3t from this text aligns with the scenes and texts recorded in the pr-dw3t at various Ptolemaic temples especially Edfu temple and Dendera Temple. Chassinat, E., Le Temple D’Edfou, T. III, Memoir Poubies par Membres la Mission Archéologique Francaise, Cairo 1928. p. 329 ; Mariett, A., Dendera : Description Générale du Grand Temple de cette Ville, T. I, Paris 1870. pls. 9-22
The dw3t of the Royal Palace were similar to that of the temple. The king’s daily rituals included cleansing and purification with holy water, incense, and natron, were performed upon his awaking in the morning. Then the royal cloth and insignia had to be fixed on him. This means the pr-dw3t of the Royal Palace served as kind of robing-room for the king’s daily use. Furthermore, there were a number of officials associated with the pr-dw3t, the purification and adornment of the king daily in the morning.

The High Steward of Amenhotep III, Amenemhat, held the title “Chief of the Robing Room.” Later, during the reign of Tutankhamun, General Horemheb (who would eventually become a king) held the same title. This title appeared for the first time during the New Kingdom. Another title included the term pr-dw3t is “Privy Councilor of the Robing Room” which was held by several officials during the New Kingdom such as Sennemut from the reign of Hatshepsut, Iuny and Tnnu from the Ramesside period. The title “Privy Councilor of the Robing Room” is known from Old Kingdom onward. The duties of the holder of this title was associated was the rituals performed in robing-room as the privy councilor of the robing.

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196 According to Blackman, the connection between the pr-dw3t of the temple and Royal Palace were established in early period when Heliopolis was the capital and the Royal Palace was near by the sun temple. Daily the king, who was also the high priest of sun god, was purified before entering to the temple to perform his duties as high priest. The pr-dw3t, the place where the king was purified, was somewhere between the Royal Palace and the temple. Later when the Royal Palace was not near by the sun temple, it kept some room(s) known as pr-dw3t where the daily rituals of purifying and adorning the king were performed. Blackman, A. M., op.cit., p.153.

197 Ibid., p. 155.

198 Because of the magic powers of the king, only his sons were allowed to perform the purification and adornment rituals to the king. Later with the increase of number of duties associated pr-dw3t, high officials and courtiers were participated in these rituals.


room during the reign of Senwosret III mentioned on his stela “I dressed the king when he appears through my office as Privy Councilor.”

Perhaps the functions and duties exercised by both Horemheb and Amenemhat through their position as “Chief of the Robing Room” were similar to that of the “Privy Councilor of the Robing Room” which became less commonly used during the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Moreover, Horemheb held another title associated with the robing-room and the rituals performed daily in it “The Privy Councilor of the Two Goddesses (Wadjet).”

Number of high officials held this title during the New Kingdom and especially the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Another title which perhaps was also related to the robing room (although the term pr-dw3t did not include in it) is the Chamberlain. During the pharonic period, this title appeared in association with the most sacred things in Egypt: the king, the temple and the cemetery. It has its first appearance in the royal court (in the Old Kingdom), then in the temple and the cemetery since the Middle Kingdom. It is noticeable that existence of the title in these three areas was always balanced; one of them did not affect the others. Literally, the title imy- hnt means “Who is in the hnt”; different translations of the word “hnt” in this title based on the place to which the title linked (Royal Palace, temple or cemetery). In the Royal Palace the “hnt” might refer to secret places in the Royal Palace, including group of the private rooms in the Royal Palace and thus the title imy- hnt translates “Who is in that Particular Area in the Royal Palace” or

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203 Urk VII, p.71.
204 The two goddesses were associated with the royal crown and protruded above the forehead in the most royal crowns and headdresses. Martin, op.cit., pls. 56, 62, 70, 97.
205 This title was held by priests including Hapuseneb and Menkheperseneb, High Stewards such as Kenamun and Thenuna, Vizier Ramose and Paser, beside three officials of Akhenaton, Tutu, Pentu and Paser. Urk IV, pp. 480ff; 972; 1581:3; 1787; KRI, III, p.18:8; RTA, VI, pls. XII-III,XIX,XX; Pomorska, L., Les Flabelliferes a la Droit du Roi en Égypte Ancienne, Varosovie 1987. p. 128 ; Urk IV, pp. 2002 ; 2008 :12; 2015 :16.
“Chamberlain”. The holder of this title was a prominent figure to be in the company of the king and is responsible for especial duties associated with the king.\textsuperscript{206}

The duties of the Royal Palace’s Chamberlains are described in several New Kingdom texts, where they were also associated with the king performance of specific duties related to the personal service of the king. For example the text of King Ramesses II “I caused that the chamberlains were called to fix the crown on my eyebrows, put the great one (the crown) on his head.”\textsuperscript{207}

Moreover, the term \textit{pr-dw3t} was also included in several honorary titles and royal epithet. King Seti I held the epithet “Living royal spirit, Presiding over the Robing room.”\textsuperscript{208} Beside honorary title held by the high priest of Amun, Amenemhat “The One Who Knows All the Procedures of the Robing Room.”\textsuperscript{209}

As for the location of the robing room of the Royal Palace, unlike the robing room (or house of morning) of the temple which was in the outer parts of the complex, specifically at the entrance of the great hypostyle hall,\textsuperscript{210} it was in the inner parts of the Royal Palace (the king’s residential area). Whether the Royal Palace was an autonomous structure or associated with temple, the royal suite(s) usually comprised of bedroom, bath and toilet and possibly an ante-room. These unique elements of the royal suite(s) are evident in the Malkata palace where a number of identical royal suites are located east to the central hall (Fig. 10- H). Each of these

\textsuperscript{208} From Qurneh temple, in a scene depicting the king and his ka and behind them these royal epithets were recorded among others. KRI, I, pp. 218:3; 219:8.
\textsuperscript{209} It is not clear here whether it is the robbing room of temple or Royal Palace, Urk IV, p. 1408:8.
\textsuperscript{210} Such as Edfu and Dandara temples, Chassinat, E., op.cit., p. 329 ; Mariett, A. , op.cit., pls. 9-22.
suites consisted of a bathroom (Fig. 10-N) connected to a central room with raised dais flanked by two columns (Fig. 10-K). That would be the robing room of royal which is usually including a bathroom, toilet connected to a room. The central room led to bedroom and anteroom. Thus, it is evident that the robing room was a significant component of the royal suite, where important rituals were performed daily to the king (especially in the morning) including purification and adornment.

3- \(st-w^{CC}w\) “Private Chamber”:

The term \(st-w^{CC}w\) appears in a number of officials’ titles during the New Kingdom in association with the king and Royal Palace. Although it is evident from these titles that there was a private chamber of the king at the Royal Palace, neither the location nor the function of such a chamber is known from the available data. The official of the private chamber is mentioned among other officials of the Royal Palace who attended the celebration of officials’ installation in higher positions. In the text of the installation of Usersatet in the position of the vizier “Now a royal audience took place in the \(d3dw\)-hall of the western bank with the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre, given life. The Officials, the Courtiers, Royal Noblemen, Dignitaries of the Private Chamber \(st-w^{CC}w\), Chamberlains, the Great Ones of the \(stp-s3\) and Entourage of Horus in his palace were ushered in order to pay respect to the king L.P.H.”

212 The same set is found also in Medinet Habu Royal Palace, Fig 11-H.
213 Urk IV, pp. 479:4; 1072:12; 1151:15; 1380:12-16.
214 This term is known from the Eighteenth Dynasty see, WB I, p. 278:3.
215 Urk IV, p. 1380: 12-16.
Officials of the private chamber are also mentioned in the text of the installation of Kenamun as the steward of the king at Pru-Nefer “His majesty appeared on the great throne upon the dais of fine gold…… (with) the officials and courtiers in two rows to either side of him. Thereupon his majesty said to the Officials of the Private Chamber and Attendants of the Royal Palace, the Seal Bearers … the Entourage and Inspectors of the Royal Palace.”

The officials of the private chamber (including the dignitaries of the private chamber) were included among other officials of the Royal Palace who attended the royal court to celebrate the installation of the officials at the Royal Palace.

The officials of the private chamber were members of the royal court, and participated in the celebration of special occasions at the Royal Palace. When the king sought for advice from his court regarding his construction projects, the officials of the private chamber were among the royal court: “One (the king) asks his entourage for advice, the Companions of the stp-s3 and the Officials at the office of the….. , were ordered while, they heard it.”

This term was also employed in a number of honorary titles held by high officials. Vizier Rekhmire held the title “Advanced in place at the private chamber.” Vizier Hepu held the title “The sole companion who may approach his lord, and his attendant in the private chamber.” Another example of high official who held an honorary title associated with the private chamber is the high priest of Amun Hepuseneb “He is the trusted one of the king in the whole land. He is

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the one who was summoned to the private chamber.”\textsuperscript{220} Here, both civilian and religious high officials (vizier and high priest) show special connection with the private chamber. It was essential for these high officials to highlight their importance to the king and the special privilege they enjoyed at the Royal Palace; not only because they had access to the private chamber at the Royal Palace, but also because they were known there as trusted officials of the king. That reflected the importance of the private chamber as distinguished place associated with the king at the Royal Palace.

Unfortunately, the available data for the private chamber of the Royal Palace during The New Kingdom, it is not likely to define its location in the Royal Palace. It could be part of the king’s headquarters, the \textit{stp}-\textit{s3} (the outer parts of the Royal Palace), from which the king manage the affairs of Egypt. However, it is possible also that it was located in the inner parts of the Royal Palace, the living quarters of the king which included reception and throne halls. Including the term \textit{w}^{CC} in the name of the chamber would support the presumption that it belongs to the inner parts of the Royal Palace, the private apartments of the king.

\textbf{4- \textit{k3p} “Private Apartments”:\textsuperscript{221}}

\begin{center}
\includegraphics[width=0.5\textwidth]{k3p_diagram.png}
\end{center}

Besides the common title “Child of \textit{k3p}” which was held by a number of New Kingdom high officials, the term \textit{k3p} appears in a few honorary titles during this period. The title child of \textit{k3p} or child of the inner palace was held by high officials who were selected, brought up, and educated

\textsuperscript{220} These titles were recorded on his statue see, Urk IV, 479:
\textsuperscript{221} Urk IV, pp. 1580:5; 1815:5.
\textsuperscript{222} Ibid, pp. 1343:12; 1390:2.
alongside the royal princes in a specific part of the Royal Palace, the k3p or inner of Royal Palace. The term k3p refers to a secluded suite within the inner parts of the Royal Palace and which included a royal Nursery. The royal Nursery was the place where the royal princes were brought up and educated along with carefully selected children (including both Egyptian and foreigners, especially the sons of the chiefs of some foreign land who brought to Egypt to be raised according to ancient Egyptian costumes).

On the other hand, the term k3p was included in a few honorary titles of New Kingdom high officials. It seems from these titles that the function of the k3p was not limited to the royal children but might be extended beyond that. The first honorary title is “Great of favor in the k3p” held by the High Steward of king Amenhotep II, Kenamun. It was one of Kenamun’s titles included in his installation in the position of steward of Peru-nefer. The two other stewards of the Eighteenth Dynasty held honorary titles connecting them with the k3p: “The one who hears the secrets of the k3p.” This title held by the High Steward Theunna appears in a text among other honorary titles connecting him to the king and his palace “Prince and count, sole friend of the king, his beloved, a unique and excellent one to whom the heart is opened, the one who hears the secrets of the k3p, pupil of Horus in his Royal Palace, a plummet of the king within the entourage, balance of common people, the High Steward.” All of the titles that Theunna held in this text are associated with the king and his palace. Amenhotep son of Hapu the Steward of the king’s wife included this title on his statue among other titles connecting him to the king and

Quirke suggested that the term K3p used for the private quarters at the rear of the main palace building. Quirke, op.cit., pp. 39-41.
Urk IV, p.1390:2.
From his Theban tomb, Urk IV, p.1580:5.
the Royal Palace. The high stewards of the king (and queen also) were high officials whose duties associated them with the king and the royal family. They were in charge of properties of the king and the royal family, necessitating direct access to the king and the royal family. That explains the number of honorary titles the high stewards held which highlighted the special position they enjoyed at the k3p of the Royal Palace.

In several new Kingdom texts, the term k3p appears to be associated with the king and his residence at the Royal Palace. On his stela, king Amenhotep II recalls that he was at the k3p drinking to celebrate the coronation festival “Regnal year 23, month 4 of the Inundation, day 1, the day of the coronation festival. A copy of the stela that his majesty made with his own hands for the viceroy, Usersatet “Now his majesty was in the southern city in the private apartments (k3p) of the pharaoh L.P.H. He was sitting drinking and spending holiday.” Thus, the king was in the k3p or his private apartments celebrating the coronation festival and drinking.

In the Horemheb decree, in the part related to the behavior of the officials at the Royal Palace the term k3p was included “I have instructed the regulations related to Cẖnwty (the inner part of the Royal Palace), and the routines related to the interior of the private apartments. I have put my house……..” In his decree that aimed to reform and reorganize the affairs of the two lands and its different departments, the residence of the king (his private apartments in the inner parts of the Royal Palace) was also included.

227 Statue from Karnak temple now in Cairo Museum (583), Urk IV, p. 1815:5.
228 Ibid., p. 1343:12-3.
229 For the translation of the term k3p in this text, Cumming suggested “private apartments,” as she explained “k3p usually refers to the royal nursery. Here it must mean a secluded area of some kind because of its derivation from the verb k3p “to conceal, to hide,” hence the translation private apartments.” See, Cumming, B., Egyptian Historical Record of the later Eighteenth Dynasty, Fascicle I, Warminster 1982. p. 46.
230 Urk IV, p. 2160.
Thus, during the New Kingdom the $k3p$ has been appeared frequently in association with the king. From the various New Kingdom texts and titles that included the term $k3p$, it seems to refer to the private area within the Royal Palace where the king was and celebrated special occasion in privacy and which the king also included in his decree and set up regulations for it because it was a significant part of the Royal Palace. The access to this secluded part of the Royal Palace associated with the king was limited to specific high officials; the stewards of the king who were the only officials included this term in their honorary titles during this period. That means that it was in the inner parts of the Royal Palace.

The Royal Palace of Ramsses III Royal Palace at Medinet Habu mortuary temple included living quarters for the king. This Royal Palace, which was used as a royal temporary residence, as we have seen, included number of rooms and halls designed to meet the king’s (and the royal family) needs during his stay at Thebes (Fig. 16). The king’s suite in this palace included a throne room (Fig. 16-F), bedroom (Fig. 16-G) and robing-rooms included bath and toilet (Fig. 16-H).\textsuperscript{231} The king’s suite located in the inner parts of the Royal Palace and was connected to the other set of reception-halls consisted of a throne room and anti-hall (Fig. 16 I, K, L, M) through a corridor (Fig. 16-L1).\textsuperscript{232}

\textsuperscript{231} Hoelscher, U., op. cit., p. 45.
\textsuperscript{232} Ibid.
A similar group of rooms can be identified (at larger scale) in the Malkata palace. This king’s suite was also in the inner parts of the Royal Palace and consisted of throne room accessed through a central colonnaded – hall (it might was a dinning-hall) Fig. 10-H, to the east of this hall the reduplicated royal-suites (Fig. 10- N, K, L), the harem-suites located west to the central hall, the king’s bedroom (or suite) behind the throne room (the southern far part of the

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234 The main features of the Royal Palace can be seen in different Royal Palaces associated with the Theban mortuary temples throughout the New Kingdom see, Lacovara, P., op.cit., pp. 98-9; Stadelmann, R., “Tempelpalast und Erscheinungsfenster in den Thebanischen Totentemplen” MDAIK 29 (1973). pp. 221-242.

235 Only small part of this hall was covered with plaster pavement. Thus, Tytus suggested that “A certain part of the dining hall, reserved for the king and was comfortably furnished, while the reminder, intended for the use of the retainers and being spread with mats or rugs.” See, Tytus, R. de P., op.cit., p. 20.
Royal Palace). Thus, king’s living quarters which were usually in the inner parts of the Royal Palace comprised of throne room, robing-suite(s) and bedroom (or suite).

Hence, the k3p might apply to the living quarters of the king or part of it. With the limited information provided from the New Kingdom texts, it difficult to determine exactly whether it refers to the whole king’s quarters or part(s) of it. On the other hand, it is clear that the term k3p was connected to the king and his living quarters; it was the place where the king held a private celebration of his coronation within his palace. Moreover, the importance of this part of the Royal Palace is made clear from the Horemheb decree where the king put rules and regulations to organize its affairs.
Conclusion

The design and plan of the Royal Palace was purposely designed to provide segregation between its public and private areas, while providing the king and the inhabitants of the Royal Palace with all the means of luxury life. The location, design and even decoration of each hall and suite within the Royal Palace (in both the administrative headquarters and living areas) was associated with its function and use. It is evident through the layout of the several New Kingdom Royal Palaces that the most of Royal Palaces’ design correspond with the dual function of the Royal Palace: a residence of the king and some members of the royal family and seat of the kingship (whether were independent structures or associated with temples). The outer parts of the Royal Palace comprised the administrative headquarters of the king from which he practiced his authority as the ruler of Egypt. This particular section of the Royal Palace included halls and courts typically arranged on one axis from the initial hall (often colonnaded hall) to the throne-room (sometimes the throne-hall is on semi-axial).  

Thus the halls and courts of the Royal Palace’s administrative headquarters were arranged from public to more private: from outer major halls and courts such as the wsḥt broad-hall in which the king would hold public audience and celebrate specific occasions, to special places such as the ḏ3ḏw throne-hall or the seat of king, where he held his court. This logical progression and emphasis on large halls as audience halls to throne rooms that differ in size is partially preserved in extant palaces: the palace of king Amenhotep III at Malkata, and best evident in the north and south palaces at Amarna for his son and successor Akhenaten. With the

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latter axial symmetry marks the plans, monumental gates lead to and through courtyards to the hypostyle halls (columned halls) to accommodate and lead the members of the court and audience to the throne. Hence, Amarna created a successful design and space syntax for the enthroned king and his administrative headquarters. Vast columned halls when peopled with courtiers to visiting elite could make apparent their limited position with regard to the king’s vast power and curb if not cancel possible jockeying for royal notice among the competitive foreign elite. The modest sized throne rooms at Medinet Habu, part of the mortuary temple of Ramses III Dynasty XX, had a throne-hall 5 x 10 m in the chamber directly west and immediately behind the main colonnaded hall, 15m depth. The symmetrical, axial plan favored for each throne room preserved at Malkata and Medinet Habu does not organize the whole palace, nor as yet lead to a favored throne-audience hall. Granted, Malkata has been fully revealed from the excavations and there is no claim that complete excavations will find the complete palace fully preserved but the known throne rooms are placed on opposing axes in contrast to those at Amarna. Also unlike Amarna, its successor, there is as yet no monumental entry or double gated entry at Malkata or in the smaller palace attached to the mortuary temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. It is possible that there may have been favored plans and developments, and thus far, the central Royal Palace at Amarna may be considered as the best of these preserved monumental palaces, and most probably a ceremonial palace. Will future excavations reveal features that help us differentiate the palaces: permanent residential palaces, temple palaces, and ceremonial palaces? Amarna does reward us with helpful correspondence in extant architecture to the functions of the palace and parts of the palace attested in texts and inscriptions (presented here in Chapters 1 and 2), and partially visualized on the reliefs known as Talatat from Akhenaten’s temple at Karnak and the reliefs in tombs at Amarna, his subsequent city sacred to his favored god, the disk, the Aten (Figs
4&5). To claim axial symmetry as the ‘typical palace plan’ in the New Kingdom simplifies incorrectly the extant architecture, but this principle is evident in each of the preserved throne-halls and colonnaded broad halls. It also organized the major parts of the pylon-temples at Karnak, Luxor and later well preserved temples at Edfu and Philae.

This typical design and space syntax of the administrative headquarters of the king is evident in several New Kingdom Royal Palaces including the permanent residential palaces, temple palaces, besides ceremonial palaces. In several surviving palaces, from as early as the suggested prototype of the temple with palace: the palace at Deir el-Bahari consisted of a colonnaded hall behind the Window of Appearances to the best preserved is the palace at Medinet Habu. The Royal Palace of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu is attached on the south side to the mortuary temple, the Window of Appearances overlooks and opened to the first courtyard of the temple and is on axis with the main colonnaded broad-hall and throne-room. Two doorways of the Royal Palace frame the Window of Appearance in the first courtyard of the temple, while the main entrance to the palace is that of the temple-towering pylons. Carefully articulated and axial plan was employed in the ceremonial palace of Merenptah at Memphis. This is also true in several residential Royal Palaces such as the north Royal Palace of Deir el-Ballas, the Royal Palace of Thutmosis III at Memphis, Malkata Royal Palace and Amarna central and north palaces. The residence as seen in the Royal Palace of Amenhotep III at Malkata

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237 Including a number of temple palaces on the west bank of Thebes such as Eje/Horemheb, Seti I and Ramesses II. See, Stadelmann, R., op.cit., pp. 221-242.
239 Lacovara, P., Deir el-Ballas: preliminary report on the Deir el-Ballas Expedition, 1980-1986, American Research Center in Egypt Reports, vol.12, Indiana 1990; Lacovara, P., op.cit., pp. 7-9; Fig.4.
reveals separation between the large audience halls, 30 m in length, in contrast to the labyrinthine approach to the private or residential section where the throne and its hall were on a different axis and accessed through anti-rooms provided it with privacy and controlled entry. Readily recognized features from the preserved architecture are the throne base, halls evident from size and column bases, bathrooms and platforms which may have served as couches and/or beds. In particular halls (particularly the throne-hall), the throne-dais was framed with two columns enhancing the king’s appearance, his power and authority and possibly adding coolness and light if the ceiling was higher and had high windows.

Architecture was tantamount the king’s possession and served his self-glorification, most apparent in extant architecture in stone, his gifts to the gods and his mortuary temples. His palaces were made in mud brick moderating well the extremes of temperature in Egypt and had brightly decorated painted interiors suggesting pools and gardens as evident at Amarna, north palace and Malkata. The throne rooms may surprise us as they varied in size from the nearly closet size space for the smallest one at Medinet Habu (5 x 10 m in width) to 30 m in length for audience halls at Malkata and suggest a range of possibilities from the direct contact with the king in a small space to the more formal long halls. It is evident from the textual evidence that courtiers and high officials (Chapter 1) were proud of the public ceremonies and recognition awarded from the king in and near the palace. The longer texts often connect parts of the palace and palace to temple as with Hatshepsut’s. The massive size, elaborate design and decoration and coordinated locations of three distinctive architectural components of the New Kingdom Royal Palaces conveyed the authority and magnitude of the ruler. Whether the king appeared in front of the monumental double gates of his Royal Palace, in the open court with colonnade or in the elevated and embellished window of appearance, his splendor and impressive image was
emphasized and framed through the various architectural elements of the Royal Palace, most obviously, the Window of Appearance.

As for the residential part of the Royal Palace or its interior, it is described in several New Kingdom texts as “The Holy Place.”\textsuperscript{241} This section of the Royal Palace, where the king lived, was considered to be a holy place like the residence of the god at most inner part of the temple “The Holy of Holies.” Another shared aspect between the Royal Palace and the temple is between the public and private areas. The outer parts which comprised the administrative headquarters of the king (the public area) designed to be segregated from the inner of the Royal Palace (or the holiness) comprised the residence of the king. The residential area is typically accessed through a side door of the outer parts, or labyrinthine approach. The off-axis entrance to the residential area was a key element in providing privacy of its inhabitants while controlling access to it.

The design of the residential area was another significant element in preserving the privacy of the inhabitants of this part of the Royal Palace. This area included the throne-hall and the audience-hall within a series of corridors, awarding privacy and protection, rather than immediate access or grand view of the king on his throne.\textsuperscript{242} The easiest parts to identify in the preserved architecture are the throne-hall, the bathrooms, and the platforms that may have served as couches and/or beds. Hence, the harem of Amenhotep III at Malkata might be the suite of 8 symmetrical chambers (Fig. 10) that frames the inner colonnaded hall and throne-hall in the private area of the palace. It is evident from New Kingdom archaeological and pictorial sources

\textsuperscript{241} From the red-chapel, Lacau, P. & Chevier, H., op.cit., lines. 12-3, p. 99.
\textsuperscript{242} That is evident in a number of Royal Palaces including permanent residential palaces and temple palaces such as Malkata, Medinet Habu.
that the royal harem (whether at the Royal Palaces or even queens’ palaces) undoubtedly enjoyed a comfortable life in their own quarters.
Chapter Three: The Economy of the Royal Palace

Theoretically, all the lands of Egypt and its products were considered royal possessions of the pharaoh who was the representative and partner of the gods on earth.¹ The gods endowed the pharaoh with the lands of Egypt and its produce in order to provide prosperity and happiness to his people: “I grant to you the mighty Nile-flood bearing provision, that you may endow the lands with wealth, provisions and noble sustenance, food in every place that you tread, I grant to you grain and cereals, to provision the Nile land in your time, their grains being like the sands of the (sea) shore, granaries approaching the sky, their corn-heaps like mountains. People rejoice and are satisfied at seeing them, food, festivity, and affluence are at your feet”.²

Thus, all of Egypt and its material and agricultural wealth were given to the king. However in practice, the pharaoh was not the only owner of Egypt’s land. Beside the crown lands, the domains and estates from which came the crops and livestock that provided the food supply and support for the royal administration and all of its departments, there were the state lands and temple lands. These lands contributed to the overall economic activity of the country and supported their own staff as well. Taxes (of commodities such as grain, fowl, cattle, oil and vegetables, etc.) derived from produce of royal, state and temple lands were stored in their granaries and treasuries. Then later, it was distributed to meet the variety of obligations of each department such as salaries of officials, provision for the workmen and the army.³ In other words, there were three divisions of the New Kingdom administration: royal, state and temple, each with granaries, treasuries and sources to serve their staff, needs and obligations. For this

study, the focus will be only on the royal income. The various sources of the royal income will be studied in this chapter including both income from inside the country and income from foreign countries.

The Internal Revenue of the Royal Palace

The sources of the internal income of the Royal Palace varied during the New Kingdom to include the revenue from royal estates, fields, vineyard, beside taxes and gifts. The pharaoh owned vast tracts of agricultural lands, estates with their vineyards and orchards in different parts of the country (and also the royal harem, the queen, the queen mother, the princes and princesses and various royal institutions had their own properties).\(^4\) Besides the agricultural products of these lands, they also supported domestic birds, herds and fisheries. They are often depicted on the walls of noblemen’s tombs in western Thebes especially the tombs of the high stewards of the king. For example, Dua-er-neheh, the High Steward of king Thutmose III, mentioned, on a stela from his tomb, the royal properties and wealth that he administered through his office as High Steward of the king , “I was appointed as steward in order to administrate slaves, cattle, lands and vineyards.”\(^5\) On another part of the same stela, he mentions the different kind of cattle and birds which were under his control. The scenes in New Kingdom’s tombs of the high stewards and the stewards are consistent with Dua-er-neheh’s text. Agricultural scenes described in texts and depicted in the tombs were shown with herds of cattle and birds. Moreover, the act

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\(^4\) Papyrus Wilbour, §§ 38-9; 109-12; 153; 172; 193; 276-8.

\(^5\) Urk IV, p. 1397, 15-17.
of receiving products from the Delta, described in the text of the stela, was depicted on the walls of some high stewards and stewards’ tombs.  

1. Agricultural Lands and Their Products

The different types of crown lands and estates were included in papyrus Sallier I as the following: “You shall demarcate for him fields of the estates of Pharaoh L.P.H, of the enclosures of Pharaoh L.P.H, of the property of Pharaoh L.P.H, of the enclosures of Pharaoh L.P.H, of the property of Pharaoh L.P.H, of the mine-land of Pharaoh L.P.H, of the khato-land of Pharaoh (L.P.H), of the harvest-tax lands of Pharaoh L.P.H, of the domain-lands of Pharaoh L.P.H, provided that they are untended, wherever he desires.”

It is evident from this text that there were three types of the crown’s lands: the estates of Pharaoh included the enclosures of the pharaoh and the property of Pharaoh, the khato-land of Pharaoh, and the mine-land of Pharaoh. The khato-land and the mine-land were under the authority of officials who were independent of each other, including the priests and officials of temples who received a prominent share from this property. In other words, both the khato-land and mine-land of the pharaoh were managed by secular, religious and military officials, while the estates of the pharaoh were overseen by the high stewards of the king. Likewise, there were

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7 It is a letter from the chief of the record-keepers of the treasury of pharaoh to a scribe about fields for horses that was given to a stable master see, Gardiner, A.H., *op.cit.* p. 87; Caminos, R.A., *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, London 1954. pp. 326 ff.

8 Papyrus Wilbour, 19,31-7; 38-49; 72,21-33.

other royal institutions which owned lands, such as the royal harem, the royal treasury, and the landing places of pharaoh. Also, there were lands assessed for feeding the horses which were under the supervision of the stable-masters.

A. pr “Royal Estate”:

Although the term pr is used for “house”, whether it was private, royal or even the house of a god (temple), it was also used for an area of property. At the same time, it was also used with the wider meaning of an “estate” (including royal, temple and private estates). This term was included in one of the titles known from the Old Kingdom; the Steward or Overseer of the Estate, “myr3 pr,” and later, the High Steward, “myr3 pr wr”. The duties of the holder of this title were associated with the management of the royal estate and its wealth which varied, according to the New Kingdom textual and pictorial sources.

As for the tasks assigned to the incumbent of this position, there are some references from the Middle Kingdom, but texts and scenes recorded on the walls of tombs of the officials occupying this position during the Eighteenth Dynasty provide a comprehensive picture of the duties of the High Steward of the King and the royal proprieties that they managed. From the Twelfth dynasty, Steward Montu-wesr describes the wealth that he administered as a steward: “I was the supervisor of thousands of people, I was supervisor of the cows, cattle, donkeys and pigs

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10 Papyrus Wilbour, 19, 10-13; 43,1-8; 101,19-24; 102,1-4.
11 Ibid.
12 Ibid.
13 In the Pyramid Texts, the term pr was used for property: “Likewise, Horus takes the property of his father.” That continued during the New Kingdom where it appeared in the text of WB, I, pp. 511:7-514:1.
and I made clothes for the treasury.”\textsuperscript{16} Later, during the reign of Thutmosis III, his steward Dua-er-neheh recorded on the aforementioned stela that he controlled all the royal properties including land, slaves and herds through his position as royal steward.\textsuperscript{17} He also provides a detailed description of the wealth he controlled as high steward of the king: “I controlled the long-horned and short-horned cattle, $ht\textsuperscript{C}3$ fowl and $sd$-fowl without limit and a large amount of products (consisting) of the finest white linen, fine linen, royal linen and red linen, linen of all kind”.\textsuperscript{18}

In other words, the High Steward of the king administered the royal property, comprised of gardens, vineyards, orchards and all their products. The product of the royal estates included crops of vegetables and fruits, different types of livestock and birds, as well as some industries based on agricultural and animal products.

The scenes from the tombs of the New Kingdom high stewards are compatible with these texts, in that they were depicted conducting various activities associated with the royal estates and its management. The scenes of agriculture and the overseeing of the harvesting and storing the crops of the royal estates were repeatedly depicted in the tombs of high stewards.\textsuperscript{19} The High Steward of Queen Nebtu, Nebamun, was depicted with his wife in a scene of the overseeing of the Delta products, in which different agriculture activities were included.\textsuperscript{20} Then, Kenamun, High Steward of King Amenophis II, was depicted receiving the products of the Delta estates.

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item[\textsuperscript{16}] Sethe, K., \textit{Ägyptische Lesestücke zum Bebrauch im Akadischen Unterricht}, Leipzig 1928. p.79.
\item[\textsuperscript{17}] Urk IV, p. 1379,15-7.
\item[\textsuperscript{18}] Ibid., p. 1380: 1-4.
\item[\textsuperscript{19}] Whether the steward was in charge of king, queen or even temple’s estates.
\item[\textsuperscript{20}] Wreszinski, W., \textit{Atlas zur Altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte}, I, Leipzig 1923. pl. 97 ;Urk IV, p. 153.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
and their herds.\textsuperscript{21} Moreover, scenes of the grape harvest, wine industry, and wine offerings to the Goddess Renenut (Goddess of harvest)\textsuperscript{22} were recorded in the tomb of the High Steward of King Amenhotep III, Parennefer.\textsuperscript{23} The majority of the scene is destroyed, but through reading of the remainder of the hieroglyphic text, the scene is believed to show Parennefer presenting a report to the king about the grape harvest.\textsuperscript{24}

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{fig17.png}
\caption{Vintage Scene from the Tomb of Parennefer.\textsuperscript{25}}
\end{figure}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{21} Receiving the Delta products by the high steward was also depicted in the tomb of the Dwanehh, high steward of Amun during the reign of Hatshepsut. Davies, N. de G., \textit{The Tomb of Ken-Amun at Thebes}, I, PMMA 5, New York 1930. pp. 32-5, pls. XXV-VI; FM I, 238-20; Hayes, W., \textit{The Scepter of Egypt,III}, Cambridge 1959. pp. 164f; Fig. 90.
\textsuperscript{22} Wine was a significant product of the royal estate based on New Kingdom ostracon, see p. 228-9.
\textsuperscript{23} He is the owner of tomb No.188 in Western Thebes. Besides this scene, he also recorded the harvest and store of wheat and the subsequent reporting to the king. This scene probably associated with his position as overseer of the granary. Davies, N. de G., “Akhenaten at Thebes,” \textit{JEA} 9 (1923). p.144; Redford, A. F, \textit{Theban Tomb No.188 (The tomb of Parennefer) : A Case Study of Tomb Reuse in the Theban Necropolis}, Ph. D. Thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 2006.
\textsuperscript{24} Davies, N. de G., \textit{op.cit.}, p.143f, pl. XXVI.
\textsuperscript{25} Redford, A. F, \textit{op.cit.}, pl.17.
\end{flushright}
Besides the agriculture scenes, a number of high stewards of the Eighteenth Dynasty were depicted presenting New Year gifts to the king.²⁶ The New Year gifts presented to the king at his Royal Palace included statues of the king and queen, sometimes with cult images of deities, jewelry, weapons and chariots. These items were produced at the workshops and departments of His Majesty.²⁷ Within the same framework and as a part of his duties as high steward, Khereuf, the High Steward of Queen Tiye, presented gifts from the products of the royal workshops (probably from the queen’s estates) to the king during the celebration of Sed-festival.²⁸

Fig. 18
Khereuf Presenting gifts to the King during Sed-Festival.²⁹

²⁶ Such as Amenhotep, the high steward of the Queen Hatshepsut, Kenamun, Thennuna, and Amunemhat-serer, PM I², 143-4; Säve-Söderbergh, T., Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs, Private Tombs of Thebes I, Oxford 1957. pp. 2-6, pls. I-V,IX. Säve-Söderbergh, op.cit., pp. 50-1, pl. LXXII; Davies, op.cit., pp. 23ff, pls. XV-XVIII.
²⁸ Urk IV, p. 1859, 7-13. Compare the text of Amunemhat-srr the High Steward and Uasrhat the Overseer of the Royal Harem from the reign of Amenophis III see, Urk IV, pp. 1906.18;1907,1-6; 1880, 6 – 11.
²⁹ The Tomb of Kheruef: Theban tomb 192 by the Epigraphic Survey in cooperation with the Department of Antiquities of Egypt. Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1980, p. 56, pl. 51.
The gifts presented to the kings included pectorals (within which cartouches carry the kings coronation name, “Neb-Maat-Ra” and his birth name, “Amenhotep”), gold necklaces and pendants. Beside a fascinating dish (probably made of a precious metal such as gold or silver) with the youthful pharaoh seated in the middle of a marsh (lotus and papyrus plants representing Lower and Upper Egypt) at the center. Hence, the gifts Khereuf presented to his lord were personal (depicting the king himself or his royal names) and associated with this special occasion celebrating the rejuvenation of his kingship, the Sed-Festival.

Beside the texts and scenes of several high stewards of the king discussed above, the royal estates and their various products were also included in a number of New Kingdom ostraca. The dockets (inscribed clay labels) of jars were found in various places including Royal Palaces (in both Thebes and Delta), temples and also the city of workmen at Deir el-Medineh. The known ostraca (dockets) included the royal estates from the reign of Amenhotep III and Ramesside period are collected in the following tables:30

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30 In addition to the various supplies and provisions delivered to the Royal Palace from the royal estates, it is evident from the ostraca that the Royal Palace received various supplies from other royal departments and institutions such as fat from the storehouses of the pharaoh “šnC pr-C3.” See Pendlebury, J.D.S., The City of Akhenaten, Part III, The Central City and the Officials Quarters, Egypt Exploration Society 44, London 1951. pls. XCIV-V.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wine Estate</th>
<th>Vineyard</th>
<th>Ale Estate</th>
<th>Fowl</th>
<th>Fat Estate</th>
<th>Meat</th>
<th>Honey</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wine of estate of Nebmaare L.P.H is the splendor of Aton.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ale vessels of the estate of Nebmaare L.P.H.</td>
<td>Fresh fat of the estate of Nebmaare L.P.H.</td>
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<td>for the first Sed-festival of his Majesty L.P.H.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wine of estate of Amenhotep L.P.H.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Ale vessels of the estate of Amenhotep L.P.H.</td>
<td>Fresh fat (product) of the estate of king Amenhotep L.P.H.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dried meat of the Opet-festival made by the butcher Huy of the estate of Amenhotep.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine of the west river of estate of Nebmaara L.P.H is the splendor of Aton.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine of estate of Habyt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine of estate of the king's wife may she live.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good wine of estate of the….</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Ostracon from the Reign of Amenhotep III

31 Hayes, W.C., “Inscriptions from the Palace of Am. III,” *JNES* 10(1951), fig. 4 ; 5 ; 6 ; 7, nos. 9; 30 ; 42 ; 67.
32 Ibid., fig. 7, no. 60.
33 Ibid., fig. 8, no.91
34 Ibid., fig. 10, no. 127.
35 Ibid., fig. 6, nos. 43-4.
36 Ibid., fig.9, no.111.
37 Ibid., fig. 4; 5; 6, nos.10; 18; 20; 21; 54; 55
38 Ibid., fig. 10, no. 121.
39 It is a name of town in Delta (*Bahbet el Hager*) see, Wb III, p.60.
40 Hayes, op.cit., fig. 6, no. 41.
41 Ibid., fig. 10, no. 128.
42 Ibid., fig. 4, nos. 7; 18.
43 Ibid., fig.8, no.94.
44 Ibid., fig13, no.174.
45 Ibid., figs. 10; 11, nos. 129; 147.
46 Ibid., fig.14, no.207.
47 Ibid., fig. 8, nos.95-7, 112.
48 Ibid., fig. 11, nos. 137; 9.
49 Ibid., Fig. 6, no. 49.
50 Ibid., fig. 10, no. 120.
Table 2: Ostracon from Ramesside Period

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estate</th>
<th>Wine</th>
<th>Vineyard</th>
<th>Oil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wine of the vineyard of the estates of Ramesses II.</td>
<td>Wine of the vineyard of Pt-Ramesses which the king established newly at the west of Pi-Ramesses.</td>
<td>Good fresh oil of Egypt … of the estates of Ramesses II beloved of Amun L.P.H. the great vineyard of …</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine of the vineyard of Ramesses II which is on the lake “the west canal” north “Her-Shnut”.</td>
<td>Wine of the vineyard which his majesty L.P.H. established on the west shore.</td>
<td>Powered wine of the vineyard of Pi-Ramesses which the king established newly at the west of Pi-Ramesses.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine of the vineyard of Ramesses II which is west to the estates of king Ramesses II.</td>
<td>Good wine of the day six of the great vineyard of Ramesses II which is west to the estates of Ramesses II.</td>
<td>Good fresh oil of Egypt of the great orchard of his Majesty L.P.H. in the estates of Ramesses II beloved of Amun L.P.H.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine of the vineyard which his majesty L.P.H. established on the west shore.</td>
<td>Good wine of the day eight of the Syrian trees of the great vineyard of Ramesses II which is west to the estates of king Ramesses II.</td>
<td>Good wine of the day eight of the Syrian trees of the great vineyard of Ramesses II which is west to the estates of king Ramesses II.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine of the vineyard of the estates of Ramesses II which is on the lake “the west canal” north “Her-Shnut”.</td>
<td>Good wine of the day six of the great vineyard of Ramesses II which is west to the estates of Ramesses II.</td>
<td>Good wine of the day six of the great vineyard of Ramesses II which is west to the estates of Ramesses II.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine of the vineyard which his majesty L.P.H. established on the west shore.</td>
<td>Good wine of the day eight of the Syrian trees of the great vineyard of Ramesses II which is west to the estates of king Ramesses II.</td>
<td>Good wine of the day eight of the Syrian trees of the great vineyard of Ramesses II which is west to the estates of king Ramesses II.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine of the vineyard which his majesty L.P.H. established on the west shore.</td>
<td>Good wine of the day eight of the Syrian trees of the great vineyard of Ramesses II which is west to the estates of king Ramesses II.</td>
<td>Good wine of the day eight of the Syrian trees of the great vineyard of Ramesses II which is west to the estates of king Ramesses II.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine of the vineyard of the estates of Ramesses II which is west to the estates of king Ramesses II.</td>
<td>Good wine of the day six of the great vineyard of Ramesses II which is west to the estates of Ramesses II.</td>
<td>Good wine of the day six of the great vineyard of Ramesses II which is west to the estates of Ramesses II.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wine of the vineyard of the estates of Ramesses II which is west to the estates of king Ramesses II.</td>
<td>Good wine of the day eight of the Syrian trees of the great vineyard of Ramesses II which is west to the estates of king Ramesses II.</td>
<td>Good wine of the day eight of the Syrian trees of the great vineyard of Ramesses II which is west to the estates of king Ramesses II.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

52 It is a wine docket of year 52 from Qantir, the capital which Ramesses II established in Delta. There are other incomplete dockets, but it seems that they were similar to this one. See KRI, II, 463:3-13; 462:15-463:1.
54 From year 55. It was found at the food storage area of the Royal Palace at the capital Pi-Ramesses. Hamza, M., “Excavations of the Department of Antiquities at Qantir (Faqus District) (Season: May 21th – July 7th 1928),” *ASAE* 30 (1930) p. 44.
55 Koenig, Y., op.cit., II, pl. 61, no. 6479; KRI, VII, 62:8-12.
57 It is the only example where the term bştir used for orchard. Koenig, Y., op.cit., I, pls. 5-7-8, nos. 6034; 6056; 6060; 6075; KRI, VII, p. 80:8-11.
58 The Syrian trees were probably brought from Syria and planted in Egypt in the king’s vineyard, KRI, II, 677:14-5.
59 Year 26 from Ramesseum, KRI, II, 697:4-5.
60 Koenig, Y., op.cit., pl. 44, no. 6361-2.
61 It is a name of wine district in Delta, Spiegelberg, W., “Bermerkungen zu den hieratischen Amphoreninschriften des Ramesseum,” *ZÄS* 58 (1923). p.31.
62 Some dated year 6 and 32 while others are without dates. On some dockets (dated year 6 and 55), it was mentioned that the vineyard was under the authority of the steward of the mortuary temple of the king. Moreover, wine dockets from the same vineyard were found at mortuary temple of the king. For Deir el-Medineh see, Koenig, Y., op.cit., II, pls. 33; 36; 50; 51; 53, nos. 6291; 6239; 6310; 6408; 6404; 6420; Nagel, G., op.cit., p. 15:2; KRI, VII, 52:14-53:7; 64:4-5. For Ramesses ostraca see, Spiegelberg, W., op.cit., pp. 25-36; KRI, II, 681:1-683:16.
63 Ostracon from the Ramessus. Amun canal was in Delta, Spiegelberg, W., op.cit., p.30; KRI, II, 680: 1-5.
64 Unknown canal in Delta, Spiegelberg, W., op.cit., p.30.
65 From Ramessus, Spiegelberg, W., op.cit., p. 29.
68 Found at the mortuary temple of queen Ta-Wesert, KRI, IV, 354:10.
Comment on the Tables:

1- The royal estates were located in various places, and sometimes the name of the royal estate or its location was included in the docket.

2- Although the vineyards were mentioned in association with the royal estates in several ostraca, sometimes they have appeared as autonomous units with description of their names and locations. It seems that there were two types of the royal vineyard, one associated with the royal estates, the other being independent vineyards.

3- The products of the royal estates and their vineyards, gardens and orchards varied to include different types of agricultural products (vegetables and fruits, but not grain) and animal products. This agrees with the scenes and texts recorded in the tombs of the high stewards of the king discussed above where agriculture scenes and herds of animals and birds were depicted in association with the royal estates.

4- Some products of the royal estate were manufactured to produce different important supplies for the king such as wine, ale, oil, honey and dried meat.

5- Besides the king, members of the royal family also owned their own states including the queen and princess (probably also the princes).

6- The gardens, vineyard and orchards of the royal estates were generally managed by civilian officials, but also sometimes officials of the temple were involved in the administration of the gardens of the royal estates (most likely when it is in the temple territory) such as the overseer of estates of the mortuary temple.

7- The various products of the royal estates were one of the sources used to supply the Royal Palace with provision. These provisions were for both of the Royal Palace daily use and the celebration of special occasions such the sed- festival. On the other hand, the king sometimes donated from the products of his estates to temples (especially wine); numbers of ostracon were found at mortuary temples on the west bank of Thebes especially the Ramesseum. Moreover, they were also used to provide provision/salary for the workmen of Deir el-Medineh. In other words, the royal income from the royal estates was used for various purposes; for the Royal Palace itself, donations to temples, and also to pay some expenses of the most important royal project: the erection of the royal tomb on the west bank of Thebes. 69

Thus the royal estates were an important source of the royal income that was used to cover different royal expenses especially provision for the Royal Palace. On the other hand, it is noticeable that the royal estates did not produce grain, which was a significant component in the daily life of ancient Egyptian, and from which different types of bread, cakes, and also beer

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69 Beside the provisions delivered to temples and workmen of Deir el-Medineh from the royal estates, there were several other royal departments and institutions involved in this process including oil delivered to the Ramesseum temple from the royal treasury and slaughter-court of pharaoh “ḥḥy ṣ ṭ pr-ḫy,” fat from the slaughter-court of pharaoh, and Unguent of the slaughter-court of pharaoh to the workmen, see, KRI, II, p.672:7; Koenig, Y., op.cit., pls. 12,15-6; 29, nos. 6104; 6106; 6131-2; 6142; 6257; KRI, VII, p.86:4-7; 12.
would be made. A different type of the crown properties were designated for producing grains; it is the crown land, including both the khato-land and the mine –land of pharaoh.

B. khato-Land of Pharaoh:

The Term $h3-t3$ literally means “A Thousand (land cubit) of land of pharaoh”, that Egyptian designation referred to a plot of 10 aroura.\(^{70}\) Aroura is a Greek measuring unit equal to 2756.5 square meters.\(^{71}\) Spiegelberg has described the Khato-land as a kind of crown land. Although the term $h3-t3$ is sometimes used without the expression “of pharaoh”, it is difficult to judge whether there were khato-lands which were not a royal fields, or whether the specification was simply omitted. There were two types of khato-land of pharaoh, as it is inferred from papyrus Sallier I, the first type is harvest-tax land ($šmw$), and the second type is domain-lands ($rmnyt$).\(^{72}\) The king’s revenue from his khato-land was not based on its type, whether it was harvest-tax land or domain-land, but mainly based on who administrated and cultivated the land.

The khato-land of pharaoh was included in Papyrus Wilbour (recto- text A) under both the apportioning domains and non-apportioning domains.\(^{73}\) In the “apportioning paragraphs” entry there are three figures, the first figure in black ink is for the size of the plot measured in aroura.

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\(^{72}\) Gardiner explains the term $šmw$ as: “It used concretely to mean the principal produce of the summer, yields the sense ‘harvest’, employed primarily no doubt of the entire crop gathered in by the owner of fields. Secondary, however, it signifies that part of the crop which had to be delivered as harvest-tax to the crown, or to the temple as landlord”.

\(^{73}\) The Wilbour Papyrus, dated year 4 of king Ramesses V, documents the administration of cultivable land throughout middle Egypt. These lands were under the administration of both religious and secular institutions located throughout Egypt. This land might be surveyed in order to estimate the imposed tax see, Gardiner, op.cit., pp.; Haring, B.J.J., Divine Households: Administration and economic Aspects of the New Kingdom Royal memorial Temples in Western Thebes, Leiden 1997; Janssen , J.J., “Agrarian Administration in Egypt during the Twentieth Dynasty.” Bibliotheca Orientalis 43 (1986). pp. 351-66; Katary, S. L. D., Land Tenure in the Ramesside Period, London 1989.
The second figure in red ink is also a value in *aroura*, but very much smaller than the first one, it is the area assessed for taxes. The third figure which is also in red is a measure of grain; it is always \(1^2/4\) which could be *khar* or *oipe*.\(^{74}\) Menu believes it represents a small area of taxation, “The Tax here is trivial, but adequate. Though it does not bring justice, the person who has 5 *aroura* produced 25 *khar* will pay \(\frac{3}{4}\) *khar* tax \([1^2/4\text{ khar} \times \frac{1}{2}\text{ aroura} = \frac{3}{4}\text{ khar}]\), while the other who has 3 *aroura* produced 15 *khar* will pay also \(\frac{3}{4}\) *khar*. We do not know the reasons identified on the basis of each individual areas”.\(^{75}\) All the *khato*-lands, which are under this type from papyrus Wilbour, are collected in the following table:

---


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain of Temple</th>
<th>Harvest-Taxes of the Temple</th>
<th>Area of plot (in aroura)</th>
<th>Assessed plot</th>
<th>Tax (in khar)</th>
<th>Total Tax</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great seat of Ramesses-Miamun in the House of Path</td>
<td>House of Arsaphes, King of two lands</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>11½</td>
<td>6:12-14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Osiris Khant-Aru</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>7½</td>
<td>10:7-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Thoth of P-Wadjo</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>7½</td>
<td>38:9-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Nephys of Ramessse Miamun in house of Seth</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>7½</td>
<td>39:13-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Seth, Lord of Pi-Wayana</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>7½</td>
<td>40:7-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Ramesses-Miamun in House of Amun-Ra</td>
<td>Mansion of the Millions of years of King of upper &amp; lower Egypt Usimara Skheperenra in House of Amun</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>46:3-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>7½</td>
<td>46:37-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>7½</td>
<td>49:12-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Thoth, Taking Pleasure in Truth in Na-Usimara-Miamun</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>54:43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansion of Ramesses-Miamun in the House of Ra</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>56:2-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>7½</td>
<td>57:13-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Ptah, the Great, south of his wall, lord of Aankhtowe</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>¾</td>
<td>58:12-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansion of Ramesses-Miamun in the House of Ptah</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>¾</td>
<td>59:15-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>¾</td>
<td>59:17-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>¾</td>
<td>59:22-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Har-Min &amp; Isid</td>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>2½</td>
<td>61:33-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Seth, lord of Spermeu</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>7½</td>
<td>63:37-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>¾</td>
<td>63:40-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>¾</td>
<td>63:45-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Amun-Tjay (e) which is in the Village of Tjayef</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>¾</td>
<td>64:36-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herbage of the Mansion of Ramesses Miamun, beloved like Ra</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>¾</td>
<td>68:2-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansion of Ramesses Miamun, beloved like Ra</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>7½</td>
<td>87:40-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>7½</td>
<td>87:40-1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Seat in the House of Ptah</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2½</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>¾</td>
<td>88:17-8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 3**

*Khato- land under Apportioning Paragraphs*

**Comment on the Table:**

8- The area assessed for taxes is ¼ *aroura* for each *aroura* of land. The only exception is line 49:12-3 where the plot area is 5 *aroura*, but the assessed plot is ½ *aroura*, it means that the cultivator had to pay $3_{/4}$ *khar* as tax instead of $1_{/2}^3_{/4}$ *khar*. We do not know the reason for this exception, but the one who was cultivated this plot is a slave; he is the only slave, the rest are priests, cultivators, and military officers.

9- The areas of plots are generally 5, 10, and 20 *aroura*, but 7, 8, and 30 *aroura* plots have appeared one time for each amount.

10- The total area of *khato*-lands under this category in P.Wilbour is 345 *aroura*, that
would possibly produce at least 1725 khar [345 aroura* 5 khar per aroura]. The pharaoh’s revenue from it is 128,25 khar (around $\frac{1}{13}$ of the land production).

The second type of khato-land included in papyrus Wilbour, is the category of lands located within the territory of temple under the Non- Apportioning paragraphs, where the head of the paragraphs is “Khato-land of pharaoh under the authority of (the name of the official)”. In other words, it was a crown land within the temple’s territory but was not under its authority; it was administered by civilian, religious and military officials. This type of entry is identified by the occurrence of three numerical figures written in red, the first refers to the land’s area; the second figure is the estimated production of each aroura, the third figure is the total estimation of the plot’s production.\(^76\) That means the Non- Apportioning paragraphs recorded the net profit for the institution that this land cultivates for its interest and utility.\(^77\)

All the khato-lands included under Non-apportioning paragraphs are in the following table:

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\(^76\) Gardiner believes that the figures are out of proportion to what should be taxes paid by the temple to the king. If the measure is oipe, it means that they pay five for each aroura as tax, this equivalent of $\frac{1}{7}$ of crop, and if it is 5 khar, it would be more than half of the crop. On the other hand, for Menu the numbers 5; 7; 10 khar represented the actual production of the aroura after deducting the production expenses such as seed and wages of workers (farmers) and cost of animals used in the cultivation and transport, food for animals. There are three estimations for the aroura production here: 5 khar for the high lands, 7 or 5 khar for tired lands, and 10 khar for the fresh lands. See, Gardiner, A.H., Wilbour II, pp.72-2; 201-4; Menu, op.cit... 82.

\(^77\) Menu, op.cit... 82.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of plot (in aroura)</th>
<th>Production of plot (in khar)</th>
<th>Out (in khar)</th>
<th>For the Temple of</th>
<th>Under the Authority of</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>$1^{1/2}$</td>
<td>House of Ra</td>
<td>Standard-bearer of</td>
<td>20:6-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>$1^{1/2} \times 3/4$</td>
<td></td>
<td>Residence Merenptah</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>$3/4$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>$9^{1/2} \times 1/8$</td>
<td>Great Seat in the House of Ptah</td>
<td>Mayor of Mi- wer</td>
<td>20:16-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>$3^{1/4}$</td>
<td>Mansion of Usimara Miamun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>$3^{1/4}$</td>
<td>Great Seat in the House of Ptah</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mayor of Southern She</td>
<td>20:34-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>$7^{1/4}$</td>
<td>House of Arsaphes</td>
<td>Prophet of House of Arsaphes Nufe</td>
<td>20:37-21:3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>$11^{1/4}$</td>
<td>Mansion of Usimara Miamun</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>$3^{1/4}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>$7^{1/4}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>$7^{1/4}$</td>
<td>Mansion of Usimara Miamun in the House of Aman</td>
<td>Overseer of the king’s Apartments</td>
<td>21:4-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Mansion of Pharaoh</td>
<td>Prophet of House of Suchus Hori</td>
<td>21:8-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td>Prophet Sunero</td>
<td>21:12-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>$7^{1/4}$</td>
<td>Mansion of Pharaoh in the domain of Hardai</td>
<td>Chief Taxing-master</td>
<td>72:37-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>$1^{1/2} \times 3/4$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>73:5-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>$3^{1/4}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>73:14-16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>$7^{1/4}$</td>
<td>House of Thoth lord of P-[Wadj]oi</td>
<td>Standard-bearer of the Residence Merenptah</td>
<td>43:12-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>$7^{1/4}$</td>
<td>House of Seth, [lord of Pt]-Wayna</td>
<td>Overseer of prophets</td>
<td>43:16-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Mayor Hardai</td>
<td>43:20-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>$11^{1/4}$</td>
<td>House of Nephthys</td>
<td>Prophet Merybarse</td>
<td>43:25-28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>300</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>72:34-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>75</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>73:29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>$1^{1/2} \times 3/4$</td>
<td>House of Thoth, Taking Pleasure in Truth</td>
<td>Chief Taxing-master</td>
<td>73:9-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>73:11-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22:26-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>$3^{1/4}$</td>
<td>Mansion of Ramesses- Miamun, beloved like Ra</td>
<td>Mayor of Spermeru</td>
<td>73:23-25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>73:30-36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>$3^{1/4}$</td>
<td>Mansion of Ramesses- Miamun in the House of Ptah</td>
<td>Overseer of the Cattle of House of Ptah</td>
<td>73:37-74:4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>$3^{1/4}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>$3^{1/4}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Overseer of Cattle of the Mansion Ramose</td>
<td>74:5-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>$3^{1/4}$</td>
<td>House of Seth, lord of Spermeu</td>
<td>Huy, Prophet of the House of Seth, lord of Spermeu</td>
<td>74:11-27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>$1^{1/4} \times 3/4$</td>
<td>House of Seth, lord of Spermeu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>$3^{1/4}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>$7^{1/4}$</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prophet of House of</td>
<td>74:28-33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 4

*Khato-* land under Non-Apportioning Paragraphs

**Comment on the Table:**

1. The area of plots is more diverse here when compared to the first type; it varied from 3 to 80 *aroura*. Generally in the Non- Apportioning paragraphs, the common areas are 5, 10, 20 *aroura* and the plots larger than 40 *aroura* are rare.

2. In this type of entry, the production of each *aroura* is always estimated by increments of (or multiples of) 5 *khar*.

3. Sometimes pharaoh donated part of the land’s production to the local temples with a fixed percentage for each *aroura*, it is $\frac{2}{3}$ *khar*.

4. The amount that the king sometimes donated to the temples from this type of *khato*-land is equal to the king’s income (tax) from the *khato*-land administrated and cultivated by the temples. In other words, the king’s donations to the temples from the *khato*-lands administrated by various officials were a fixed amount for each *aroura* of land; it is $\frac{3}{4}$ *khar* for each two *aroura*. Although, it is a different formula used here but the final total for each plot is equal to the final total of the tax of *khato*-land’s plot in the apportioning paragraphs.

On the other hand, Papyrus Wilbour B (verso) deals only with the *khato*-land of the pharaoh. On this part of the papyrus the listing of the *khato*-land of pharaoh is divided into 53 paragraphs, at the head of each one is the name of the official who oversaw the lands included in the paragraph. Part of these lands was belonging to and worked by temples while the other was not. Sometimes on the head of the paragraph, a number of sacks is included. Unfortunately due to the incomplete nature of the document it is not clear what these sacks represent, is it the total produce or the taxes rendered? The following table collects all the number of sacks on the papyrus.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>20</th>
<th>100</th>
<th>$\frac{7}{4}$</th>
<th>Mansion of Ramses- Miamun in the House of Ra</th>
<th>Nephthys Merybarse</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{4}$</td>
<td>Amun Tjayet</td>
<td>74:28-33</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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79 With or without the *khar* sign see, Gardiner, A.H., Wilbour II, pp.161-196.
80 Ibid., p. 181.
Table 5
The Production of Khato- Land from Papyrus Wilbour B (verso)

Comment on the Table:

1- Among the fifty three paragraphs, the quantity of grain appeared only in nineteen paragraphs.

2- In four paragraphs (§ 29, 35, 37, 38) the number of sacks agree with the production of the area of khato-land of pharaoh (5 sacks per aroura), this means that the lands in this paragraph were worked by cultivators only, not by the temple.

3- But for the rest of paragraphs the numbers of sacks are less than the land’s production (sacks given to what? Also, how do we know what the land’s production was?); probably because some plots were administrated by temples. Moreover, it is not clear here whether the numbers of sacks represented the balance or the rest of balance that the official had to deliver.

The income of the pharaoh from his lands, specifically the khato-land of pharaoh, was recorded on papyrus Turin 1895+2006. It is a report about the collection of taxes from various places of south Thebes by the scribe of the Necropolis Dhuutmose, including the royal income from the khato-land of pharaoh. The khato-land of pharaoh was included from the beginning of the papyrus:

“Year 12, 2nd month of Inundation (3ht), day 16….. Documents of receipts of corn of khato-land of pharaoh from the hand of the prophet(s) [of the temples of Upper Egypt which ?] the fan-bearer on the right of the King, the Royal scribe, the general, the overseer of granaries of [pharaoh, the King's son of] Kush, the commander of southern lands, the leader of the troops [of Pharaoh] Penhasi [ordered to be delivered?].
Done by Dhutmose, the scribe of the great and noble necropolis of millions [of years of pharaoh.

[Brought] to the necropolis [of] the corn of khato-lands of pharaoh by the hand of the prophet of Such[us Pheni]. [Summery] of receipt of it:…………..”81

The royal revenue from the khato-land of pharaoh was collected and stored in the royal granaries under the supervision of the overseer of the royal granaries. Then, part of the royal income was used for rations or/and wages of the workmen at the royal necropolis. For that specific reason, Dhutmose, the scribe of the royal necropolis, was involved in collecting the grain from different places south of Thebes. The grain was the product of lands owned by both the royal crown and temples; and which was delivered to different officials including both civilian and religious officials as the following:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grain collected from</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Sacks</th>
<th>Delivered to</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Town of Imiortu</td>
<td>Year12,II 3hr-16</td>
<td>134 2/4, 54 3/4 of Khato-land &amp; 80 harvest-tax land</td>
<td>Mayor of West Thebes</td>
<td>2:1-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town of Agni</td>
<td>Year12,II 3hr-19</td>
<td>Corn 33 1/4, Barely 3 1/4</td>
<td>Scribe and Chantress of Amun</td>
<td>2:8-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town of Imiortu</td>
<td>Year12,III 3hr-29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Cultivator Pbeki</td>
<td>2:12-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mont temple</td>
<td>Year12,IV 3hr-12</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Scribe and Chantress of Amun</td>
<td>3:1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shrine of Ramesses III</td>
<td>Year12,IV 3hr-13</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Scribe and Chantress of Amun</td>
<td>3:4-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mont temple</td>
<td>Year12,IV 3hr-14</td>
<td>8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town of Esna</td>
<td>Year12,IV 3hr-20</td>
<td>Corn 8 3/4, Barely 2 1/4</td>
<td>Scribe of Amun</td>
<td>4:6-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scribe of Amun temple</td>
<td>Year12,IV prr-5</td>
<td>Corn 8 3/4, Barely 2 1/4</td>
<td>Chantress of Amun</td>
<td>4:9-5:4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towns of Npimu &amp; Imiortu</td>
<td>Year12,IV prr-13</td>
<td>18 3/4, Corn 12 - Barely 6 3/4</td>
<td>Chantress of Amun</td>
<td>5:5-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple of Khnum &amp; Nebu</td>
<td>Year12,IV prr-13</td>
<td>55 3/4, Corn of the store of pharaoh</td>
<td>Chantress of Amun</td>
<td>5:7-9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scribe Sahmune</td>
<td>Year12,II 3hr-16</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>Temple of Khnum &amp; Nebu</td>
<td>3:1-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scribe of Amun temple</td>
<td>Year12,III 3hr-10</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Priest of Mut</td>
<td>1:1-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town of Smen</td>
<td>Year12,III 3hr-11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>2:1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town of Imiortu</td>
<td>Year12,II 3hr-16</td>
<td>20 2/4 + ...</td>
<td></td>
<td>2:7-15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple of Khnum &amp; Nebu</td>
<td>Year12,II 3hr-10</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td>3:1-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple of Khnum &amp; Nebu</td>
<td>Year12,II 3hr-11</td>
<td>24</td>
<td></td>
<td>2:1-6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temple of Khnum &amp; Nebu</td>
<td>Year12,III 3hr-20</td>
<td>150</td>
<td></td>
<td>3:1-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6
Grain Collected by the Dhuutmose, the Scribe of the Royal Necropolis

The khato-land of pharaoh was included in other New Kingdom sources such as Papyrus Valençay I.82

“To this effect: Ptuneament, the scribe of the House of the Adoratress of Amun, has come, he has arrived in Elephantine to demand the corn which has been fixed for the

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House of the Adoratress of Amun, and he said, “Let 100 sacks of barely be given”; so he said to me, but there are no fields bearing that amount. And he said to me, “They are being demanded from you on account of a holding of kha(n)to-land in the Gezirah of Ombi”, so he said to me though, I had not cultivated (any) holding of kha(n)to-land in the Gezirah of Ombi. […] It is a holding of some private persons (nemehiu) who pay gold into the treasury of pharaoh which those private persons have cultivated, and they regularly hand over its gold to the treasury of pharaoh, and I have never touched (any) holding there.”

Thus the king’s income from his land was not only grain, but sometimes the cultivators had to pay gold to the royal treasury.

**C. Mine -Land of Pharaoh:**

The second type of crown land is the mine-land, which was also included in P. Wilbour under both the apportioning and non-apportioning paragraphs (similarly to the khato-land of pharaoh). The mine-land of pharaoh, in the possession of temples, that was included in P. Wilbour (A) is in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain of Temple</th>
<th>Harvest-Taxes of the Temple</th>
<th>Area of plot (in aoura)</th>
<th>Assessed plot</th>
<th>Tax (in khar)</th>
<th>Total Tax</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Great Seat of Ramesses-Miamun in the House of Ptah</td>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>7½</td>
<td>2.x-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sushade of Ra-Harakhti</td>
<td></td>
<td>40</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1½</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6:12-3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7

*Mine - Land under Apportioning Paragraphs*

From the above table, the mine-land of pharaoh is seen to be assessed with the same amount of tax as the khato-land of pharaoh; the assessed plot was ¼ aoura for each aoura. On the other hand, there was also a mine-land of pharaoh within the territory of the temple and collected in the following table:

83 Stuchevsky connected the term mine with the word mint that means “type bodies of water” and suggested that the mine-land was originally an area covered by water. In other words, this term was probably used for a piece of land for which good inundation see, Janssen, J.J., *op. cit.*, p. 363.
Similarly to the *khato*—land of pharaoh (as we saw in tables 4), it seems that in this type of entry the pharaoh would get the whole production of the plot (which is 5 *khar* for every *aroura*). The pharaoh also gave some donations from the land crops to the different temples.

Thus, the king’s revenue from his land (especially during the late Ramesside period) depended on who administrated this land; the temple or others. The type of land, whether it was *khato*-land or *mine*-land, harvest-tax land or domain-land, was not an effective factor in the estimation of the imposed tax. For all the lands administered by (or maybe donated to) the temples, there was a fixed tax that had to be given to the king. It is evident from P.Wilbour that imposing tax on the lands given to temple by the king (or even as reward for an official) was a common practice during the New Kingdom.\(^{84}\)

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\(^{84}\) Not only was the land donated to the temple taxed, but also the land which the king had given to his officials as a reward. They had to pay annual tax: grain to the royal granary and all other products had been given to the royal treasury. See,
**D. Lands Assigned for other Royal Institutions:**

Besides the lands and estates of the pharaoh and members of the royal family, plots of land were assigned for a number of royal institutions including the royal harem, the landing-places of pharaoh, and the treasury of pharaoh and also fields designated for feeding horses. The size of plots and imposed tax varied from institution to another. The income from the land owned by these different royal institutions was used to cover some their expenses.

1. **The Royal Harem:**

The royal harem of both Memphis and Gurob (mr-wr) owned small plots which were in cubits.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Plot Area (cubit)</th>
<th>Production of plot</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harem of Memphis</td>
<td>50.(\frac{1}{2})/,(\frac{5}{6})/1</td>
<td>(\frac{3}{4}) (\frac{1}{16}),(\frac{1}{23})</td>
<td>19:10-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>300.(\frac{1}{2})/,(\frac{5}{6})/1</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>43:1-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.(\frac{1}{2})/,(\frac{5}{6})/1</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2}) (\frac{1}{6}),(\frac{1}{16})</td>
<td>101:19-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.(\frac{1}{2})/,(\frac{5}{6})/1</td>
<td>(\frac{1}{2}) (\frac{1}{6}),(\frac{1}{16})</td>
<td>101:19-24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harem of mr-wr</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>(\frac{3}{4}) (\frac{1}{16}),(\frac{1}{23})</td>
<td>43:5-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>...................</td>
<td></td>
<td>102:1-4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100 + .........</td>
<td>(\frac{4}{6}),(\frac{1}{16})</td>
<td>102:1-4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Table 9**
Small Plots of the Royal Harem from Papyrus Wilbour

However, the royal harem of *mr-wr* (Gurob) owned also some bigger plots, measured in *aroura*. These lands of the royal harem of *mr-wr* followed the same system as the *khato-*land of pharaoh and *mine* -land of pharaoh which was within the temple territory; the production of an *aroura* was 5 *khar*. The royal harem donated part of their crops to temples.

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85 That is evident in papyrus Wilbour where these various royal institutions had areas of lands.
86 The king’s son also owned plots of lands see, papyrus Wilbour, 37:14-17.
It was a fixed amount, $\frac{3}{4}$ khar for each two aoura.\(^\text{87}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of plot (in aoura)</th>
<th>Production of plot (in khar)</th>
<th>Out (in khar)</th>
<th>For the Temple of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{4}$</td>
<td>House of Amun- Ra, King of Gods</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>$\frac{7}{2}$</td>
<td>Mansion of Usrimara-Miamun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{4}$</td>
<td>Sunshade in She</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>$\frac{7}{2}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 10
Land Belongs to the Royal Harem of Gurob from Papyrus Wilbour

2- Landing - Places of Pharaoh:

A number of landing places of pharaoh was included in P. Wilbour as owner of plots of land; the area of plots varied between 2, 3, 5, 10 aoura. These lands were cultivated by various civilian, religious and military officials beside ordinary people, including women. They did not pay a fixed amount of tax as the areas of plots assessed for taxes varied between $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ and 1 aoura of a plot.\(^\text{88}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2 Aoura</th>
<th>3Aoura</th>
<th>5Aoura</th>
<th>10 Aoura</th>
<th>Assessed area</th>
<th>Tax (in khar)</th>
<th>Total Tax</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td>$\frac{1}{4}$</td>
<td>$1\frac{3}{4}$</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{4}$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$\frac{1}{2}$</td>
<td>$1\frac{3}{4}$</td>
<td>$\frac{3}{4}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>$1\frac{3}{4}$</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 11
Land Belong to the Landing-Places of Pharaoh from Papyrus Wilbour

3- The Treasury of Pharaoh:

The treasury of pharaoh also had its own lands. The production of the treasury’s lands used to feed animals. In papyrus Wilbour, two types of animals were included; the northern oasis

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\(^{87}\) Papyrus Wilbour, 19:14-30.

asses and white goats. They were included in separate accounts and different system of management. The land for making provender for northern Oasis asses:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Area of plot (in <em>aroura</em>)</th>
<th>Production of plot (in <em>khar</em>)</th>
<th>Out (in <em>khar</em>)</th>
<th>For the Temple of</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>105</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>3(\frac{7}{8})</td>
<td>Mansion of Pharaoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>3(\frac{7}{8})</td>
<td>Mansion of Pharaoh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>3(\frac{7}{8})</td>
<td>Mansion of Pharaoh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 12
Land for Making Provender for Northern Oasis Asses from P. Wilbour

That means the production of one *aroura* was 5 *khar*. Sometimes, donations (or taxes?) to the mansion of pharaoh were made from the crops of the lands of the royal treasury. On the other hand, the lands assigned for feeding the white goats of the treasury of pharaoh were only 5 *aroura* plots. The assessed area for each plot was \(\frac{1}{2} \text{*aroura*}\) with the total tax of \(\frac{3}{4} \text{*khar*}\) of each plot.

4- Fields of Horses:

The fields of horses are mentioned in papyrus Sallier I: “30 *aroura* of fields have been given to me (to) make into fodder for the horse-team of pharaoh L.P.H which in my charge; and now, look, they have been taken away from me and given to Nodjem, the Steward of the mansion of the King of Upper and lower Egypt Usimara-setepenra L.P.H in the House of Amun.”  

Then the Chief of the record-keeper of the treasury of Pharaoh ordered the Scribe to demarcate fields for him in the fields of pharaoh.

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90 It is a letter from the Chief of the Record-Keepers of the Treasury of Pharaoh to a Scribe about fields for horses that was given to a stable–master see, Gardiner, A.H., *op.cit.*, p. 87; Caminos, R.A., *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, London 1954. pp. 326 ff.
Thus, the plots designated for feeding the horses were crown lands, which could be within the temple’s territory, as the other types of pharaoh’s land. In P. Wilbour, the fields of horses appeared in the temples domain. The following table contains a list of the fields of horses from papyrus Wilbour:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Domain of Temple</th>
<th>Harvest-Taxes of the Temple</th>
<th>Area of plot (in aroura)</th>
<th>Assessed plot</th>
<th>Tax (in khar)</th>
<th>Total Tax</th>
<th>Line</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>House of Seth, Lord of Pi-Wayana</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>¼</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>3/₄</td>
<td>40.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Ramesses Miamun in House of Amun- Ra</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>44.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>½</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>3/₄</td>
<td>45.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>½</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>3/₄</td>
<td>45.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>45.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansion of Usimara-miamun in the House of Amun</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>½</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>3/₄</td>
<td>48.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>½</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>3/₄</td>
<td>48.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Thoth, Taking Pleasure in truth</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>54.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansion of Ramesses - Miamun, in House of Ra</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>54.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>½</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>3/₄</td>
<td>57.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>½</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>3/₄</td>
<td>57.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mansion of Ramesses-Miamun in the House of Ptah</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>58.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>½</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>3/₄</td>
<td>58.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>½</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>3/₄</td>
<td>58.41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>59.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harvest Mansion of Ramesses - Miamun, beloved like Ra</td>
<td></td>
<td>[57]</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>59.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Ramesses-Miamun in the House of Amun</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>¾</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>3/₄</td>
<td>60.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sunshade of Ra-Harakhti</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>½</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>3/₄</td>
<td>62.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House of Amun, Lord of sharope</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>½</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>3/₄</td>
<td>65.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harbage Mansion of Ramesses - Miamun, beloved like Ra</td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>½</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>3/₄</td>
<td>68.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>½</td>
<td>1/₈</td>
<td>3/₄</td>
<td>70.17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 13
Fields of Horses from P. Wilbour
Comment on the table:

1- All the plots designated for feeding horses were of 5 aroura.
2- The assessed plots are varied between $\frac{1}{4}$, $\frac{1}{2}$, 1 aroura, as a result the total tax was also varied between $\frac{3}{8}$, $\frac{3}{4}$, $1 \frac{3}{4}$ khar per plot.

2. Internal Taxes

In addition to the royal income from the products of royal estates and agricultural lands, including the taxes imposed on the crown land which were administered by temples or officials (which was in form of grain or gold), there were other types of taxes collected for the pharaoh during the New Kingdom. In addition to the specific taxes imposed on products and offices that were collected for pharaoh and included in a number of New Kingdom sources, there are also several references to the annual obligations or taxes ($htri$) that had to be paid to the king. In papyrus Mallet, wood and coal were the annual obligation (tax) of an official, which was recorded in the documents of the royal treasury. This means this tax was for the king, as its record was kept at the royal treasury and was collected by the Overseer of the Royal Treasure. This annual obligation or tax was imposed on Egyptians as well as some foreign countries that were under the control of the pharaoh as the Retainer of king Thutmose III, Min-msw, mentioned. In his text, Min-msw stated that he assessed Retenu, Nubia and the servants of the Royal Palace.

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91 As discussed above, the private persons (nemehiu) who cultivated a crown land paid their taxes in form of gold not grain. It was suggested that private persons (nemehiu) were not probably associated or work with any institution (whether it was civilian, religious or royal institutions) see, Bakir, A., Slavery in Pharaonic Egypt, Cairo 1952, p. 48.
93 Urk IV, p. 1442:4-11.
94 The taxes or obligations varied from place to another to include wide variety of products such as precious metals and stones, cattle, horses, wood, ebony etc.
As for the specified taxes collected for the pharaoh, there were three different types of taxes; b3kw-tax, š3yt – tax and tp-ḏrt tax. The b3kw-tax was imposed on various products of agricultural lands such as fruits, flowers, and some industries based on agricultural products like honey, incense, wine, and textiles besides livestock production and fishing.\(^95\) The š3yt – tax seems to be a particular type of tax that was imposed on the employees and officials of the various departments and institutions including the royal institutions (possibly there was a fixed tax rate of each job but it is not known. On the other hand, the tp-ḏrt tax is another tax collected for the royal crown and which was known from the Ramesside period.\(^96\)

A. b3kw – Tax:

The term b3kw has been appeared in numerous New Kingdom administrative documents where it was used for different types of obligatory payment including (but not limited to) taxes.\(^97\) For this study, the focus will be only on the examples in which this term is used to refer to a tax collected for the royal crown.

From the Middle Kingdom, the term b3kw was used for a tax associated with royal institutions: “Lower Egypt weeps. The storehouse of the king became a public property for everyone and the King’s House became without his b3kw (tax?).\(^98\) To it belong wheat and barley, geese and fish. To it belong white cloth and fine linen, bronze and oil. To it belong carpet and


\(^98\) It could also be translated here as “product,” or “revenue”.
It is evident through this text that the $b3kw$ of the royal crown was received in various agricultural and mining products (including metals), besides product of some industries such as textiles, carpets and mats and continued throughout the New Kingdom. Several New Kingdom sources affirmed that $b3kw$-tax was payable in from of various products. In papyrus Harris I, the king donated the $b3kw$-tax of various products including different types of flowers, figs and water fowls to the temples, but also this tax would be paid in silver, “Silver as the things of the $b3kw$-tax of people.” The annual $b3kw$-taxes of two guardians and a mat weaver were recorded in the royal canon of Turin (Papyrus Turin 1874 recto); 5.000 fish was the tax of one guardian, 1000 deben of gold for the second guardian while mat weaver had to deliver textiles for his annual tax. Moreover, we know from communication between the steward of the royal treasury and the high priest of Amon rason ther that paints (especially high quality paints) were taxable material for the $b3kw$-tax of the king. Hence, the $b3kw$-tax was payable in from of various agriculture, mining and industrial products it might have been a sort of “production tax.”

On the other hand, through several New Kingdom references, it is evident that the $b3kw$-tax was collected for the royal crown; these references include the Horemheb decree, the royal canon of Turin and Papyrus Harris I. According to the royal decree of Horemheb, there was a $b3kw$-tax on the $smw$-plant of the private persons’ ($nemehiu$) gardens and which was collected for the

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The king issued a royal decree to cancel this tax on the private persons, and ordered that the smw -plant had to be collected only from the gardens of pharaoh. Moreover, papyrus Harris I recorded the royal donations to various temples from the š3yt and b3kw taxes of the people and servants (smdt) of the temple which included various supplies of agriculture, manufacturing, mining products and more. Although the taxes of the temple’s officials and servants were revenue of the king, it seems that the king used to give part of it to or share it with (sometimes the whole royal income from the temple taxes) the temple.

A number of the pharaoh’s officials affirmed that they participated in collecting the b3kw-tax from different parts of Egypt. The high steward of Queen Hatshepsut, Sennenmut mentioned that the b3kw –tax of the whole land was under his control. Also, the High Steward of king Thutmose III, Intef, stated that he oversaw the collection of the b3kw-tax from the overseers, mayors, and villages chiefs of Upper and Lower Egypt. Then later and during the Ramesside period, one of Ramesses II’s officials affirmed that he was accountant of the b3kw-tax of the lands and deserts for the royal treasury. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that officials of the state also involved in the collection of the b3kw –tax including Vizier, Overseer of the Treasury and Overseer of the Granary. Although it is evident that this tax was collected for pharaoh, it is not clear whether it was a personal wealth of the king or if it were for him as representative of

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105 The wC bwt was not a kitchen was the modern understanding of the term. Not only food and beverages were prepared in the royal wC bwt, but also fat, perfumes, incense, cloth and all the needs of pharaoh. Moreover, stables of cattle were associated with it and probably the smw-plant was used to feed the animals.
108 Urk IV, p. 412:2-4. For the high stewards of the king participated in levying the tax and receiving it as Kenamun stated in, see Urk IV, p. 1394:1-3.
109 Urk IV, p. 973:3-4.
the state and the revenue of this tax was considered a state income especially with the involvement of state’s officials in collecting the tax.  

**B. š3yt – Tax:**

The š3yt – tax was a special type of tax that was imposed on the officials of various institutions (probably including the officials of the Royal Palace itself) and was collected by the head of institutions, mayors, and chiefs, as can be interfered from several New Kingdom examples including the Biglia Stela, the royal canon of Turin and more. On the Biglia Stela, the commander of the fortress says, “I am an officer advantageous to his lord, paying his harvest tax and his š3yt – tax in full.” In addition, a honey docket from the Ramesside period recorded that it is the š3yt – tax of an official. Not only the civilian officials, but also the officials of various temples had to pay this tax to the royal crown, which would be collected by the high priest of the temple and then rendered to the king. The High Priest of Ramesses IX, Amenhotep, recorded in his tomb that he collected the š3yt – tax and b3kw- tax of the people of the temple, which would be given to pharaoh. The High Priest Amenhotep, one of Akhenaten’s officials included this tax in his reward text and highlighted the fact that it was a tax for the pharaoh:

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112 Similar to b3kw and inw of the foreign countries which was presented to the king but used to supply both the temple and state departments as will be discussed see, p. 257-67.

113 From different new Kingdom texts, it is evident that the š3yt – tax was an employer tax. Moreover, Papyrus Turin 1874 recto (known also as the great royal canon) is a record of taxes including š3yt – tax that had to be given by several officials see, KRI, II, pp. 815-27; Warburton, D. A., op.cit., pp. 278-80.

114 A text relating to collecting taxes from Retenu, Nubia is also mentioned taxes imposed on the officials of the Royal Palace, Urk IV, p. 1442: 4-11.

115 Pahery, nomarch of Nekheb and Anyt, collected this tax from the controllers of the town and Renni who was praised because of his reported on the š3yt – tax. Urk IV, 75:17; 126:1


117 KRI, VII, p. 84:8-18.

118 The tax was for the pharaoh, but it was kept in the temple. Donating from the royal income to temples was a common practice during the New Kingdom; the king would allow the temple to keep the tax as a royal donation. In P. Harris I there are examples of the royal donations to temples from the š3yt – tax of the dependts of the temples including the temples of Thebes, Heliopolis, Memphis P. Harris I, 12a:1-13b:3; 32a:7-32b:6; 51b:2-52b:3; Warburton, D.A., op.cit., pp. 186-7; 194-5; 322 note 1194;
“Pharaoh L.P.H, his good lord, has given command (to) all the noblemen and the chiefs of the entire land to give him (Tutu) silver and gold ….. clothing and bronze jars, which are (laid) upon you as the š3yt-tax[es of pharaoh L.P.H].” Other New Kingdom texts, such as P. Turin 1874 recto and P. Harris I, indicate that this tax was collected for the royal crown.

The royal canon of Turin (Papyrus Turin 1874 recto) recorded different types of taxes including š3yt – tax, b3kw- tax and tp-rd, which were probably for the pharaoh. As mentioned before, on papyrus Harris I, the š3yt – tax, b3kw- tax of the temple people and servant were royal revenues, which the king donated to the temple. Moreover, the granary of the pharaoh was the place where the documents related to collecting š3yt – tax were kept, which suggest that this tax was a royal income and that all the documents related to this tax had to be kept at the royal granary.

Although it was suggested that the š3yt – tax was paid in form of gold only, it is evident that it was collected in other materials such as silver, gold, bronze jars and clothing as mentioned in Tutu’s text. Also, Sennefer contended that he received the š3yt – tax in “gold, ……, and all precious stones.” Honey and animals, specifically bull, have appeared also as dues of the tax. The dues of this tax could be collected in different forms and materials as mentioned in papyrus Harris I where the š3yt-tax (and b3kw –tax) of the people and servants of the temple

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119 RTA, VI, pls. XXII-III; Urk IV, pp.208-209; 2009:2.
120 The pharaoh is the only person (or institution) appeared in this papyrus to whom the tax due, most likely because this side of the papyrus (recto) is a record of the royal tax. See, P. Turin 1874, 3:14.
121 See p. 250.
122 It is a letter sent from a scribe who collected the š3yt – tax from his controllers to the chantress of Amun. KRI, VII, pp. 190-1; Warburton, D. A., op.cit., p. 278.
123 Urk IV, p. 536:11-2.
124 Papyrus Turin 1874 3:19.
included different type of materials and supplies.\textsuperscript{125} Beside gold and silver, the $\tilde{s}3yt$ – tax or the office tax was collected for the royal crown in different materials probably related to the type of job that the tax payer occupied.

\textit{C. \textit{tp-dbh} -Tax:}

This is another type of tax known form the Ramesside period that seems to have been collected for the pharaoh. It was included in the Royal Canon of Turin and was the most recurring type of tax in the text comparing to the other type of taxes; $b3kw$ and $\tilde{s}3yt$ taxes.\textsuperscript{126} In this text, the \textit{tp-dbh} tax was payable to the pharaoh in different materials including silver, gold, and some animals (donkey and bull).\textsuperscript{127} The \textit{tp-dbh} tax was due from several officials including mayors, controllers and deputies.\textsuperscript{128} This tax was also included in the reward text of the High Priest of Amun, Imenhotep. He stated that he collected the \textit{tp-dbh} tax for the pharaoh, and then it was sent to the royal storehouses.\textsuperscript{129}

Thus, these two texts indicate that the \textit{tp-dbh} tax and the $\tilde{s}3yt$ – tax shared a number of common features. Both were taxes imposed on officials including both civilian and religious officials and was collected for the name of the pharaoh and stored in the royal storehouse. The \textit{tp-dbh} tax was payable in various type of materials from metals to animals (beside other materials especially cloth) like the $\tilde{s}3yt$ – tax.\textsuperscript{130} Hence, the \textit{tp-dbh} could be another type of

\textsuperscript{125} Papyrus Harris I, 12a:1-13b:3; 32a:7-32b:6; 51b:2-52b:3.
\textsuperscript{126} KRI, II, pp. 815ff.
\textsuperscript{127} Papyrs Turin 1874 recto 2.5; 3.6-7; 3.13; 4.5; 6.14; 6.19; KRI, II, pp.815-825.
\textsuperscript{128} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{129} KRI, VI, pp. 457-8; Warburton, D. A., \textit{op.cit.}, pp. 186-7.
“office-tax” known from the Ramesside period and was collected by the head of the institution, departments and administrative units such as mayors, controllers and others.\footnote{As was suggested by Helck and Warburton, Warburton, D. A., \textit{op.cit.}, p. 291.}

3. Gifts from Persons and Institutions

In addition to the various sources of the royal income including the royal revenue from crown lands, royal estates and taxes, the king also received supplies of specific substances from officials, ordinary people and some institutions. Certainly, it was not a significant source of the royal income comparing to the royal revenue from the other resources discussed above. On the ostracon of Malkata Royal Palace a number of officials, ordinary people and also temples delivered different supplies to the Royal Palace.\footnote{It is not clear whether it was delivered to the Royal Palace during the celebration of special occasion or for the daily use. Hayes, \textit{op.cit.}, figs. 4-9;13-15, nos. 3; 6;17; 23-4; 27; 37-9; 45; 48; 51; 53; 58; 76-81; 101-2; 109; 118; 175; 188; 190-2; 199=8; 203; 205-6; 208-9; 211-3; 220.}
Moreover, the royal festivals were special occasions where the king usually would receive gifts from various institutions and departments and officials affiliated with those institutions. The *Sed*-festival was one of the special occasions during which the king would receive gifts of specific substances associated with the celebration of the festival from different officials and their institutions. Different products of the royal estates’ workshops were presented to the king.

Table 14
Ostracon from Malkata on West Thebes

Moreover, the royal festivals were special occasion where the king usually would receive gifts from various institutions and departments and officials affiliated with those institutions. The *Sed*-festival was one of the special occasions during which the king would receive gifts of specific substances associated with the celebration of the festival from different officials and their institutions. Different products of the royal estates’ workshops were presented to the king.

\[ \text{Table 14} \\
\text{Ostracon from Malkata on West Thebes} \]

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\[ \text{Table 14} \\
\text{Ostracon from Malkata on West Thebes} \]
during the celebration of the *Sed*-festival. On the other hand, gifts of various types of provisions were presented to the king for the *Sed*-festival:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Officials</th>
<th>Ale</th>
<th>Fat</th>
<th>Fowl</th>
<th>Oil</th>
<th>Meat</th>
<th>Wine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chief treasurer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overseer of the treasury</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal herald</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal scribe</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vizier</td>
<td>**</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greatest of seers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High priest</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priest and Steward of mortuary temple</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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| Temples                       |     |     |      |     |      |     |
| Mortuary Temple of Thutmosis IV |   |     |      |     |      | *    |

Table 15
Ostracon from Malkata Recorded Gifts for the *Sed*-Festival

**Comment on the two tables:**

1- The substances delivered to the Royal Palace varied to include some agricultural and manufactured products that were needed for the daily use of the king and the inhabitants of the Royal Palace (comparable to the product of the royal estates).
2- The various products were presented to the Royal Palace by different officials including both civilian and religious officials. It is not clear here whether it was a personal gift from them to the king or they were representative of their institutions.
3- Temples were the only institutions that appeared on the ostracon to present supplies to the Royal Palace, the other supplies all came from individual donors. It is noticeable that wine was the only substance that the temple gave to the Royal Palace whether for the daily use or for the *Sed*-festival.
4- Elite persons also presented products to the Royal Palace.
5-

There are other ostraca from the Ramesside period that recorded gifts from officials to the king for the *Sed*-festival.  

These ostraca were found at the workmen’s village, Deir el-Mehen. Hence, the king reused/redistributed some of the gifts presented to him during the celebration of

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134 From Malkata palace, Hayes, *ap. cit.*, figs.4-5; 7-10; 12-3, nos. 15-6; 31; 34; 59; 92-3; 100; 103-4; 124; 161; 171; 184-6.
135 A Goose from Chief Treasurer Dhotmes and oil from the priest of the mortuary temple of Ramesses II. Koenig, J., *op. cit.*, I, pls. 13/a; 19, nos. 6117; 6166; 6167; 6171; 6176-7; KRI, VII, pp. 87:4-5; 91:10.
the *Sed* -festival to cover some of the royal expenses, the provision of the workmen (or, possibly, only the containers of the gifts were reused, as holders for other substances delivered to the workmen).

**The External Income of the Royal Palace**

The income from outside the country contributed significantly to the great wealth accumulated by the state during New Kingdom fabulously wealthy. The king received a wide variety of foreign products as war spoils, gifts, tax, and tribute or through trade. These products included scarce materials and substances that were not obtainable in Egypt. With the extensive military activities and numerous victories, starting with Ahmose I and huge expansion under Thutmosis III and certainly with Ramses II in the Nineteenth Dynasty, war spoils and booty formed an important part of the Egyptian economy generally, and the royal treasury particularly, then later was distributed by the Vizier.\(^{136}\) The annals of Thutmose III show the diversity in the spoils, which included military equipment such as chariots, ships (with their sailors and loads of slaves, copper, and all good things),\(^ {137}\) weapons, and horses beside the slaves.\(^ {138}\) The defeated foreign lands also gave extensively and provided agricultural products, herds, precious stones, gold, silver, different types of metals and also people.\(^ {139}\)

On the other hand, products from different foreign countries were presented to the pharaoh as taxes, tribute and gifts, and were significant sources of the royal income during this period that varied according to the region from which it comes. Nubia in particular provided


\(^{137}\) Urk IV, p. 686;13-6.

\(^{138}\) Ibid., pp. 690: 17; 691, 1-8.

\(^{139}\) Ibid., pp. 664: 9-14; 666: 6-10; 687: 10-15; 705: 1-10.
gold, agriculture products especially grains, cattle and slaves; ebony, ivory, ostrich eggs and some animals, including lions, ostriches, monkeys and tigers.\textsuperscript{140} The Retenu, in Syria, presented chariots, horses, cattle and precious stone, while Djahy, in Lebanon, annually gave grains to the king.\textsuperscript{141}

Moreover, trade was another way through which the pharaohs were able to get products which they needed and were not available in their own land. During the New Kingdom, many trade ships loaded with the precious products of Egypt sailed north or south to different foreign countries such as Lebanon and Punt, then returned back to Egypt with the distinct products of these foreign countries.

1. \textit{inw} - Gifts:

The term \textit{inw}, which literary means “what was brought,” was used during the New Kingdom for internal and foreign products that could be gift, tribute, and trade and sometimes for war spoils and booty.\textsuperscript{142} For this study, the focus will be only on the \textit{inw} of the foreign countries which was frequently presented to the pharaoh as gift (or tribute?), whether brought to Egypt to be presented to the pharaoh in a solemn celebration or during his annual visit to foreign country.\textsuperscript{143} It is evident through several New Kingdom sources that the foreign gifts to the king were to be considered a royal revenue for the royal treasury, for example Vizier Paser stated that

\textsuperscript{140} Which is recorded in Thutmosis III’s annals and also on the wall of noblemen especially the scenes of bringing the tribute of the foreign countries including Nubia see, Urk IV, 1472-3; RTA, II, pl. XXIX, p. 38; III, pl. XIII, p.9.

\textsuperscript{141} Papyrus Koller, 3.5-8; Gardiner, A.H., \textit{Egyptian Hieratic Texts, Transcribed, Translated and Annotated}, Series I, Literary Texts of the New Kingdom, Leipzig 1911. 93-4; Urk IV, 671-2; 690; 702-3; 708-9; 719.


\textsuperscript{143} Although the foreign gifts to the pharaoh were usually presented or sent to his majesty in Egypt, but also it was presented to him during his visit to foreign countries. King Ramesses II recorded that the ruler of the foreign countries presented gifts to him during his annual visit to Naharin. Stela Louver C. 284, KRI, II, p. 285:1-4.
“I was appointed as mayor and vizier…., in charge of receiving the gifts (inw) of the foreign southern and northern countries for the royal treasury.” On the other hand, the scenes of receiving gifts of the foreign countries were not only recorded in the tombs of the officials associated with the king and the Royal Palace. A number of high officials held prominent positions in the executive divisions of the Egyptian government and temples as well recorded this momentous event in their tombs, most likely because they played a role associated with the usage of these foreign gifts presented to the king.

Throughout the New Kingdom, gifts from various foreign countries, kingdoms and cities were presented to the king and members of the royal family including diplomatic gifts, marriage gifts besides dowries. The diplomatic gifts exchanged between kings were a significant tool used during this period to maintain the peaceful relationships between Egypt and the other powerful kingdoms such as Mitanni, Hittite, Cyprus and Babylon. Also rulers and princes of several foreign cities in north and south, which were under the pharaoh’s authority and control used to bring their inw to the pharaoh in order to show their submission to the legitimate ruler of Egypt, their lord.

144 He was a vizier of King Ramesses III. Other officials from this period stated that the inw of the foreign lands was for the royal treasury. KRI, I, p. 299-9-11; KRI, III, p. 9-9-10; Urk IV, p. 975:11
The royal gifts from several kingdoms were recorded in Amarna letters and varied to include different types of materials and substances based on the place from which they were sent to the pharaoh. For instance, copper was the most important component sent from king of Cyprus (Alasiya), lapis lazuli from king of Babylon, silver from Hittite and valuable metal crafts including jewelry and vessels inlaid with precious stones from Mitanni.\textsuperscript{146} In addition, other common items such as horses, chariots, weapons and servants were sent from various foreign countries to the pharaoh.\textsuperscript{147}

Besides the royal gifts sent to the pharaoh, gifts were also sent to other members of the royal family especially queens and princesses. The Babylonian king sent 20 chairs made of true lapis lazuli to the Lady of the Palace (the queen).\textsuperscript{148} Queen Tiye received royal gifts from the Mitanni king, Tushratta, included vessels of sweet oil, jewelry and precious stones; it was the same type of gifts Tushratta sent to his daughter, one of the king Amenhotep III’s wives.\textsuperscript{149} Also, princess Meryamun, daughter of king Amenhotep III, received a necklace inlaid with 1048 pieces of lapis lazuli.\textsuperscript{150} The royal gifts were also sent from foreign queens to the queen of Egypt, perfume was sent to Queen Tiye as a royal gift from a foreign queen.\textsuperscript{151} Sending the royal gifts to the pharaoh and other members of the royal family continued throughout the New Kingdom. During the Ramesside period, royal gifts were sent from the Hittite king to the king Ramesses II and his foreign wife, the daughter of the Hittite king.\textsuperscript{152}

\textsuperscript{146} Moran, Amarna letters, EA 2; 8-11; 17; 19-21; 27; 29; 33-5; 37; 41, pp. 6, 16- 22; 41- 50; 86-99; 104-115.
\textsuperscript{147} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{148} Moran, \textit{op.cit.}, EA 11, pp. 21-2.
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid., EA 17; 26-7, pp. 41-2; 84-90.
\textsuperscript{150} Ibid., EA 10, pp.19-20.
\textsuperscript{151} Ibid., EA 48, p. 120.
Besides the gifts from the above mentioned kingdoms intended to retain a diplomatic relationship with Egypt, gifts were also brought from other southern and northern cities which were under the Egyptian control such as Nubia in south (Wawat and Kush), Djahy, Retenu, Lebanon and others. The presentation of a wide variety of gifts to the king was a repetitive subject in private tombs, especially during the New Kingdom. In this type of scene, the king usually is depicted receiving foreign gifts from various foreign countries. A unique depiction of this glorious and solemn event is from the tomb of the Overseer of the Double Treasury of Akhenaton, Meryre II (Fig. 19).

![Image of the King Receiving Gifts of the Foreign Lands from the Tomb of Meryre II](image)

**Fig. 19**
The King Receiving Gifts of the Foreign Lands from the Tomb of Meryre II

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153 The annual gifts of brought by the rulers and princes of these cities was included in the annals of King Thutmose III and also in number of high officials tombs, Urk IV, pp. 669:4-15; 671: 8-9; 689:16-690: 1; 691:13-691:13; 699:4-701: 14; 712:8-16;717:9-712:16; 715:13-4; 721:15-723:1; 724:10-13;726:12-727: 6; 731:7-732:4; 732:11-733:1.

154 For the first time, the date of this event is included in the text accompanied the scene, it is year 12 of King Akhenaton. The date is recorded in this tomb and also in the tomb of another contemporary official, the Overseer of the Treasury Huya. The reason for including the date here is not clear, was it because the two officials were promoted in this year to hold their high positions associated with overseeing the treasury? Was year 12 their first time to attend the presentation of the foreign gifts to the king in their new positions?

155 RTA, II, pl. XXXVII, pp. 38ff.
In the center, the king appears enthroned on an elevated platform reached by two sets of stairs (one on each side) and accompanied with the royal family. In six registers, in front and behind him, foreigners from the southern and northern foreign countries and cities are depicted bearing their gifts to be presented to the king with illustrations of their gifts in the topmost register. In front of the king, the gifts of the southern countries include gold (raw and rings), leather, and ostrich feathers. Horses and weapons are depicted behind the king as exemplification of the most important gifts of the northland. The gifts included different types of precious metals, animals, weapons and slaves. In addition to the gift bearers, there are individuals depicted while performing some sportive activities in front of the king including wrestling, singlesticks and boxing (the first two registers in front of the king). In the three registers below the king’s pavilion, more foreigners are depicted bearing their gifts. This could be a depiction of the crowd waiting to get into the king’s presence. It is evident from this scene (beside Huya’s depiction of the same subject), that this magnificent event did not take place at the Royal Palace.

It seems that this annual occasion was part of the celebration of a bigger and more important event; the New Year festival where gifts were presented to the king from inside and outside the palace. The different groups of foreigners are labeled unlike Rekhmire’s scene. See, Davies, N.de G., Painting from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re at Thebes, Publications of the Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition10, New York 1935. pls. XXIX- XXXV. Similar sport scenes are depicted in Medinet Habu, in the frieze below the Royal Palace’s window of appearance. It seems that such sportive active was used to be performed in the presence of the king during the celebration of special occasions. Breasted, J.H, Medinet Habu Reports: I the Epigraphic Survey 1928-31, Oriental Institute Communications, Chicago 1931.

The king was not depicted in this scene and group of building were depicted including an elevated platform and another three structures two of them contain supplies of food and provisions. RTA, III, pl. 14; Kemp, B.J., Ancient Egypt : Anatomy of a Civilization, London & New York 1989. pp. 286-7. Two different locations were suggested for the tribute hall. The first is the building in the northern wall of the great temple at Amaran. The second is group of structures located in the desert; in the area between the northern palace and northern toms known as “Desert Alters”. Pendlebury, J.D.S., The City of Akhenaten, Part III, The Central City and the Officials Quarters, Egypt Exploration Society 44, London 1951. Pp.22-5, pl. X; Kemp, B.J., op.cit., p. 287.
outside the country. The First Prophet of Amun during the reign of Thutmosis III, Menkheperresenb, was depicted in his tomb while presenting bouquet to the king during the celebration of the New Year festival and then he introduced to the king the representatives of various foreign countries as well as groups of Egyptians bearing their gifts to be presented to the king during the celebration of this significant occasion. Undoubtedly, the opening of the New Year wp rnrpt, which was associated with the Nile inundation, formed an ideal moment for renewal and rejuvenation. Although the transitional period of the time of the New Year (or the transition from old to new) was unstable and life–threatening time for the whole land of Egypt, the arrival of the new year would restore the land and bring renewal and rejuvenation to Egypt.

Thus, The New Year’s day constituted the most ideal period for the confirming the ruler in his power and rejuvenation through certain rites performed for both the king and statues of the gods. After the presentation of the New Year gifts (from both the inland and foreign countries) to the king, he would be prepared through specific rituals at the Royal Palace to lead the celebration of the New Year in the temple (where he presented offerings (gifts) to gods of the temple from the goods previously presented to him). Not only to the gods, but it seems that

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160 In the scene depicting the steward of king Amenhotep II, Kenamun, presents gifts to the king; he stated that “The first occasion of making merry in the great palace, presenting the New Year gifts: chariots of silver and gold, statues of ivory and ebony, collars of every kind of precious stone, weapons of war, all kinds of artifacts of the craftsmanship of lower Egypt.” Thus, presenting gifts to pharaoh from both Egyptian and foreigners was part of the celebration of the New Year festival. While Egyptian high officials (especially High Stewards of the King) presented their gifts at the Royal Palace; foreigners had to bring their gifts to a specific hall or structure in the residence designated for this purpose. Urk IV, 1391.

161 Panagiotopoulos, D., Foreigners in Egypt in the Time of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, in O’Conner, D., Thutmose III: A New Biography, Ann Arbor RTA, II, pl. XXXIII.

162 Thutmosis III mentioned 2006.

163 Also special rituals were performed for the deceased who dwelled in the west bank, Bleeker, C.J., Egyptian Festivals: Enactments and Religious Renewal, Leiden 1967.

164 According to papyrus Brooklyn 47.218.50a specific rituals included the purification and clothing of the king were performed in the Royal Palace before his journey to the temple on the New Year day. Coppens, F., The Wabat: Tradition and innovation in Temple of the Polemic and Roman Period, Prague 2007.

165 In the great hypostyle hall of the Karnak temple, King Seti I is depicted while offering to god Amun-Re as part of the celebration of the New Year festival at the temple. Moreover, the royal gifts to the king were depicted in the
selected high officials would also receive royal gifts and be rewarded during this celebration. The appearance of a number of selected foreigners (most likely the chiefs of several foreign states) in the reward scene of the Meryre II indicates that there was a connection between the reward and receiving the gifts (Fig. 20).\textsuperscript{165} In other words, Meryre II was rewarded during the celebration of the New Year festival at the Royal Palace by his lord in the presence of his Egyptian colleagues and friends, and some foreign rulers.\textsuperscript{166}

![Reward of Meryre II at the Royal Palace\textsuperscript{167}]


\textsuperscript{165} RTA, II, pl. XXXIII.

\textsuperscript{166} The royal reward of the high officials in (or at the double gates) of the Royal Palace during the celebration of specific royal festivals was a common practice during the New Kingdom. Several officials were rewarded as part of the celebration of the \textit{Sed}-festival of king Amenhotep III. Urk IV 1837; 1866-7; 1891-3; Robichon, C. & Varille, Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep fils de Hapou , Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Cairo 1936. pl.35; Epigraphic Survey, the Tomb of Kheruef, Chicago 1980, pls.24 right; 25-30; pp. 41-5. Gardiner, A.H. & Peet, E., \textit{The Inscriptions of Sinai}, Part I, Introduction and Plates, 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed., London 1933. no. 211.

\textsuperscript{167} RTA, II, pl. XXXIII.
pharaoh. Besides the servants and harem who usually accompanied the foreign princess from her homeland to Egypt, the foreign bride brought all her personal items for her daily use from cloth to jewelry and furniture. Moreover, the foreign princess had to bring astonishing and valuable royal marriage gifts from her homeland to the pharaoh. Although these royal marriage gifts varied according to the country from which the foreign bride came, there were some fundamental items to be included, especially chariots with their accessories, horses and servants. Other invaluable items such as jewelry, cloth, furniture, appliances, oil, perfumes and more were brought by the foreign bride to be presented to the pharaoh in the celebration of his marriage. King Ramesses II listed the marriage gifts that the daughter of the Hittite king brought with her: “He (the Hittite king) allowed his eldest daughter to come, in front of her precious gifts (imw) of gold, silver, a great amount of bronze, serfs, horses, cattle, goats and sheep of ten thousands.”

These royal gifts, including both the diplomatic and marriage gifts, brought to the pharaoh and other members of the royal family from several foreign countries, were significant in highlighting the power and prominence of the pharaoh (as a legitimate ruler of Egypt) to whom the royal gifts were sent (along with other members of the royal family) from different influential and weighty foreign countries, kingdoms and cities, in order to retain diplomatic and peaceful relationships or to show their obedience to the king of Egypt.

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168 Thutmose III mentioned that the Retenu princess came to Egypt accompanied by 30 servants. Then later and during the reign of Amenhotep III, another foreign princess came with 317 women. Urk IV, pp. 669:1-3; 1738:6-14.

169 A list of all the items daughter of Mitanni king Tushratta brought with her are found in the Amarna archive. It is a long list including everything that the future queen would need for her daily life. Moran, op. cit., EA 25, pp.72-84.

170 These specific items were included in the Amarna letters and Ramesside sources. They were among the items the Mitanni king sent to the pharaoh with his daughter. In another Amarna letter, the king ordered one of the foreign rulers to send his daughter with a marriage gift included “20 of the best servants, silver, chariots, best horses.” Moran, op.cit., EA 22: 97, pp. 51-61; 171-2; KRI, II, pp.83; 247:1-9; 257: 11-12.

2- b3kw -Tax:

Besides the b3kw-tax (production tax) collected from Egypt for the pharaoh, there was also a b3kw- tax brought from specific foreign lands to be presented to the king. After the successful military campaigns of king Thutmosis III in northern and southern foreign lands, the term b3kw continuously appeared in texts throughout his reign in association with specific northern and southern cities. These cities included Retenu, Djahi, Lebanon in the north and Wawat, Kush (later the term t3-sty was used for Nubia in general) in the south. Later, during the Ramesside period, the b3kw of the foreign lands was also brought from Syria (ḥ3rw). Thus, this tax was imposed on specific foreign cities which were under the pharaoh’s control and were Egyptian properties. In other words, they were considered as Egyptian administrative units managed just like any Egyptian province and which had to send their annual tax to the pharaoh.

In the Gebel Barkal stela, Thutmosis III listed the foreign provinces that had to send the annual b3kw-tax to the Royal Palace, specifically to the stp-s3 where the seat of the kingship was. There different places were included in this text: Wawat, Kush and Djahi. In addition to their tax, ships had to be built and equipped with sailors in order to transport their annual tax to the Royal Palace in Egypt.

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172 It was suggested that the b3kw of the foreign lands could be used for tax or trade. Bleiberg, E., “The Redistributive Economy in New Kingdom Egypt : An Examination of b3kw (t),” JARCE XXV (1988)168.
173 These cities were included in different sources form the reign of Thutmosis III including his annals, Gebel Barkel stela, Buto stela and a text from the tomb of Min-msw. Urk IV, 1442, 4-11; Bedier, S., “Ein Stiftungsdekret Thutmosis III.” Bulletin of the Center of Papyrological studies 10 (1994). pp. 1-23.
174 Asian b3kw were included in dedicatory inscription of Amenhotep III in Karnak temple and which couldbe translated as the product of Asia. Also Libyan b3kw was included in a text from the reign of Merenptah. URK IV, 1668:30-5; KRI, IV, p. 10:2.
176 The tax had to be sent to the Royal Palace and the residence.
The products brought from these foreign cities as *b3kw*-tax varied to include different types of agricultural, mining and manufactured products. Each foreign city had to annually send its tax from its production, which varied from city to another. For instance, the products brought from Retenu included “silver, gold, lapis lazuli and all (kinds of) precious stones, chariots and horses without number, cattle and small livestock in their multitudes,”\(^{178}\) while grain, incense, oil and wine were brought from Diahy and cattle from Syria.\(^{179}\) Similar products were sent to the pharaoh from Wawat and Kush including gold, cattle, as well as items particular to this area such as ivory, ebony, wood, panther skins and exotic animals.\(^{180}\)

![Fig. 21](Image)

**Fig. 21**
Presenting the Nubians Products to the Pharaoh\(^{181}\)

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\(^{178}\) As mentioned in Min-msw’s text, Urk IV, p. 1442.

\(^{179}\) The products of Djahy listed in the annals of Thutmosis III as the harvest-tax of Djahy. Urk IV, pp. 713:6-7; 719: 9-10; 723: 7-9; 727:11; 723: 8; papyrus Harris I, 12b:8

\(^{180}\) It was recorded in annals of Thutmosis III and Min-msw’s text, Urk IV, pp. 695:9- 696: 12; 702: 9 – 703:14; 708: 1-709: 12; 716; 4-9; 720: 9-721: 6; 725:1- 17; 727: 16- 728:16; 734: 2-10; 1442-3.

As depicted in this scene, gold was an important item to be brought to the pharaoh, and would be rough or formed in rings. Other significant local products were brought from Nubia, especially various kinds of cattle and panther skins.

Hence, the annual b3kw-tax that was of the product of different foreign cities and was payable in wide variety of agricultural, mining and manufactured products (similar to the b3kw-tax from Egypt), was likely to have been a production tax imposed on specific foreign cities that were under the Egyptian control during the New Kingdom. These cities which were under the authority of the pharaoh and considered Egyptian properties were taxed like any Egyptian province.  

### 3- h3kt - War Spoil and Booty:  

Although the term h3kt was commonly used throughout the New Kingdom for war spoils and booty, there are other terms used occasionally for them. That includes two specific terms kʃC and inw. As for the term kʃC, it was used during the reign of Thutmotic III interchangeably with the term h3kt in his annals. In several New Kingdom texts, the term inw replaced h3kt and was used for war spoils. The first example is from the annals of Thutmotic III where the king talks about the war spoils of year 29. The text headline is “The total of inw his...
Majesty brought from this campaign,” which connected the *inw* with the military activities.\(^{186}\)

Then later, during the Ramesside period, the term *inw* was used twice for war spoils in the Battle of Qadesh’s text. The part where the king presents the war spoils to the gods is titled “Presenting what was brought (the war spoils).”\(^{187}\)

As a result of the extensive military activities and numerous victories from the very beginning of the New Kingdom, starting with Ahmose I and continued throughout the New Kingdom with, war spoils and booty formed an important part of the Egyptian economy and significant source of income. However, war spoils of other countries were sometimes sent to the pharaoh; the Mitanni king sent part of the booty he obtained during his war with the Hittite king to the pharaoh.\(^{188}\) The war spoils included a wide variety of items, materials beside war captives that enriched the Egyptian economy during this period. War captives including males, females, and children of both the ruler’s families and ordinary people formed a significant portion of the war spoils lists.\(^{189}\) These captives labored in various institutions and departments including civilian, religious and royal institutions.\(^{190}\) Others were assigned for serving the royal family or nobility.\(^{191}\) Unquestionably, different types of weapons, military equipment, chariots, horses and sometimes military ships along with their crew composed another important part of the war

\(^{186}\) It is also possible that the *inw* was gifts presented to the king from other cities during his travelling to or returning from this battle.


\(^{188}\) From Amarna letters, EA 17.


\(^{191}\) From the beginning of the Eighteenth dynasty, High officials and military officers were rewarded with war captives, beside other things. Urk IV, pp. 1-10; 59; 1369: 5-10; 1660: 11-17; 1735: 18; 1821: 6-7; KRI, I, p. 53: 1; 104:3-5; 119-121.Gunn, B.& Gardiner, A.H., “New Renderings of Egyptian texts,” *JEA* 5 (1918) pp. 36-56.
spoil lists. Besides these things, there were enormous amounts of other products, including herds of cattle, agriculture products and harvest of various cities, precious stones and metals such as copper, silver and gold, as well as furniture.

Fig. 22
King Ramesses II Presents the War Captives to God Amun-Ra from Karnak Temple

Although the war spoils and booty were brought to the land of Egypt through the different military campaigns that the pharaohs led in various countries which make them royal revenue, it seems that the pharaoh did not keep all this royal income. The war spoils were redistributed and used for different purposes. While weapons and other military equipment were most likely used for arming the Egyptian army, offerings were also made from this booty to the

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193 Ibid.
gods of Egypt. Moreover, the Vizier was in charge of distributing part of the war spoils to all the Egyptian provinces.

Moreover, the Vizier was in charge of distributing part of the war spoils to all the Egyptian provinces.

Beside gifts, taxes, war spoils and booty, trade was also a way to obtain foreign products. Throughout the New Kingdom, pharaohs sent trade expeditions to various countries with Egyptian products and they returned back loaded with marvels and special products of these foreign countries, especially Punt and Byblos. One of the most famous trade expeditions in this period is Queen Hatshepsut’s Punt Expedition. Queen Hatshepsut sent trade expeditions to the God’s land “Punt,” which returned to Egypt with all the marvelous products of the “God’s land” especially myrrh, frankincense, and fragrant ointments that the Egyptians used for religious purposes and cosmetics. Queen Hatshepsut recorded this important event on the walls of her unique terraced temple at Deir el-Bahri. Moreover, trade expeditions were sent to Byblos in order to bring cedar wood for Amun’s temple. King Thutmosis III sent Sen-Nefer to bring cedar wood for Amun’s temple.

194 Presenting the war spoils to temples was included in various New kingdom texts and which included beside the different types of booty discussed here cities. See, Urk IV, pp.757:14-15; 761:5-763:10; 762:2-9; 762: 16-763:1;763:4-10; 1649; KRI, V, p. 53:14- 54:8; papyrus Harris I, 10:15; 51a:9 ; Redford, D.B., The wars in Syria and Palestine of Thutmose III, Leiden/ Boston 2003.pp. 138-9.
195 From the duties of the vizier, Urk IV, p. 113: 13.
196 The expedition was depicted from the time the ships loaded with the Egyptian products left Egypt until they returned back loaded with the unique products of Punt and then the presenting of offerings from Punt’s products to Amun-Ra king of gods was shown. Trade expeditions continued to be sent to Punt after the reign of Hatshepsut. In the annals of Thutmosis III, Punt products were included. Then, Amenmose recorded in his tomb a trade trip to Punt during the reign of Thutmosis III or Amenhotep II. Also King Ramesses III sent trade expedition to Punt while King Ramesses II was depicted receiving its products. Naville, E., The temple of Deir el Bahari, Part III, Egypt Exploration Fund 16, London.; Nina, M. & Davies, N. de G., “The Tomb of Amenmose (No.89) at Thebes,” JEA 26(1940). pp. 131-6; Wreszinski, W., Atlas zur Altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte, I, Leipzig 1923. Pl. 374; Urk IV, pp. 323:17-329; 695: 5-7; 702:4-6; 1472:17-20; KRI, II, p. 215:6-8; papyrus Harris I, 77:9-78.
197 The other known trip to Byblos was at the end of 20th Dynasty when Wenamun was sent to Byblos to bring cedar wood for Amun’s temple. Eichler, S.S., Die Verwaltung des “Houses des Amun” in der 18th Dynasty, Hamburg 2000. p. 317; Urk IV, pp. 534-5; Schipper, B. U., Die Erzählung des Wenamun, OBO 209, Göttingen 2005.
Conclusion

Based on all of the preceding information, the royal income from both internal and external sources such as the king’s own properties, different types of gifts, taxes in addition to the war booty and spoils could be divided into two main categories. The first is the personal income of the king, which mainly came from the revenue of his own properties such as the crown lands, the royal estates, and some gifts (gifts from Egyptians, temples, as well as foreign kings and princess in special royal occasions such as the celebration of the Sed-festival or the royal marriage). The second is the wide variety of products that the king received or that were brought to Egypt through his power and authority as the ruler of Egypt, especially taxes (both internal and external taxes), foreign gifts and war booty.

The royal income from the king’s own properties and lands, used by the king only, and he did not share it with any other institutions or departments whether they were religious or of the state. The king’s revenue from the crown lands (khato-land and mine- land) formed the main royal source of grain that was stored in the royal granaries and used to cover specific royal expenses, especially provisions for the inhabitants of the Royal Palace (the king, some members of the royal family, the royal harem as well as different officials of the Royal Palace) and the workmen of Deir el-Medineh. Even when the crown lands were administrated by (or donated to) temples or were rewarded to an official, the king received income from these lands in form of annual tax (sometimes the king chose to donate this income to the temples). At the same time, the royal estates provided the king with other types of products needed for use in daily life such as crops of vegetables and fruits, different types of livestock and birds, industries based on agriculture and animals products. Also the products of royal workshops associated with the royal
states varied to include statues, vases, jewelry, furniture and weapons that were presented to the king in during the celebration of important royal festivals especially the New Year festival and the *Sed*-festival. Although, the royal income from the royal estates was used mainly in the Royal Palace, a portion of it was also used by the king to cover other royal expenses especially rewarding officials during the celebration of special royal occasions, offerings to temples (it might be also used to provide supplies of specific substances for the workmen of Deir el-Medineh in special occasions).\footnote{As discussed before, it is not possible to know if the workmen received what was recorded on the container or it was used for different substances.}

As we have seen, the king received other types of income through his position as the ruler including taxes, foreign gifts and war booty. It seems that the king did not enjoy this income by himself; he had to share it with the state and temples. That explains the involvement of different officials (of royal, civilian and religious institutions and departments) in the process of collecting or receiving these various types of obligations. Different types of taxes were collected for the name of the king from inland and some foreign lands (that were considered Egyptian properties like any Egyptian province) such as internal and external production tax, and local office taxes (§3yt-tax and *tp-ḏrt* tax). Although these taxes were collected for the king as recorded in various New Kingdom texts, they were not used by the king only. Temples and state benefited from the revenue of these taxes and their officials were involved in collecting, receiving and storing the revenue of these different types of taxes. Gifts also were sent to the pharaoh during the celebration of special occasions (especially the New Year festival) from different foreign kingdoms and cities. This special event, receiving the foreign gifts, was recorded in the tombs of different high officials including not only the High Stewards of the king, but also priests and
other officials of the different departments of the Egyptian government to show this event that they participated in and to acknowledge their occupation. Indubitably, through various New Kingdom textual and pictorial sources, the king was depicted as the only recipient of these gifts as the ruler of the whole land of Egypt and all its properties in different foreign lands; the king is the representative of both the gods and people of Egypt. On the other hand, state and temples also received a share of these various and distinctive foreign products. The gods and their representative on earth, the ruler, surely received a greater portion than those whom he ruled. The same can be said about the war booty and spoils of different products that were brought to Egypt by the mighty king, part of it was distributed by the vizier to the different districts while the king offered to temples from it (once again the state and temples shared with the king the foreign products that were brought to Egypt by the king and his victorious army).

The income of the pharaoh, whether it came from inside Egypt or beyond, was used to cover the various royal expenses for his personal life, as well as the activities that he conducted as ruler of Egypt including social, religious, political activities. More specifically, the royal revenue was used to cover two different types of royal expenses: personal and public (the dual function of various objects of the king is interesting, from his Royal Palace that was divided into two separated areas: public related to his position as ruler that included the seat of kingship and the private residence where the king lived, to the sources of the royal income that included personal sources from his own properties and land and public sources associated with his function as a ruler, and also included the royal expenses which included personal expenses for his daily life as well as public expenses associated with his various responsibilities and obligations as a ruler toward both the gods and people).
The personal expenses of king included provisions for all the inhabitants of the Royal Palace (the king, members of the royal family, the royal Harem and all the people who were working in the Royal Palace.)\(^{199}\) and notable were provisions of cloth and jewelry especially for the royal harem.\(^{200}\) In addition, the expenses for the royal building projects were one of the royal activities which were covered by the income of the Royal Palace (in some cases other institutions shared in the expenses of specific royal projects especially the royal tomb). The royal tomb was one of the most important building projects for the living king, the expenses of this project can be divided into two types. The first one is the wages of the workmen, who were paid in kind in order to allow them to support their families, and included grains from the royal Granary.\(^{201}\) However, they also received daily amounts of beer, bread from the royal magazine in Thebes and sometimes from the funerary temples on the west bank which could give them cloth also.\(^{202}\) The second type of expenses included the different materials which were used in building the tomb, such as fat and copper.\(^{203}\) The royal tomb was not the only royal building project which the Royal Palace conducted. There were others such as building ships, whether for peaceful (especially trade) or military purposes\(^{204}\), but also included restoration, expansion and ornamentation (through scenes, statues, stela) of existing temples and building new temples, Royal Palaces.

\(^{199}\) For example, The total of grain which was issued for the staff of the Royal Palace and which was recorded on papyrus St- Petersbourg 1116 A, was about 1646 sacks of barely and 6500 sacks of wheat, Golenischeff, W., Les Papyrus Hieratiques No.1115,1116A et 1116B de l’Ermitage Imperial a St-Petersbourg,1913. pl. 18, pp. 105-9.

\(^{200}\) The women of the Harem also used to get all their needs of food and cloth, which was mentioned on Papyrus St-Petersbourg 1116 A. In this text the amount of grain for making beer and bread were issued for the royal Harem was recorded in addition to oils. Also, cloth in different sizes and precious stones for were given to the royal harem. Ibid. pl. 17.76; P.BN 205, 19-23; KRI, I, p. 260, 9-13.


\(^{202}\) KRI, V, pp. 437- 8; 491-557, 609.


In addition to all the preceding royal expenses, there were also the endowments and offerings to the various temples. The offering scenes were depicted on the walls of various temples all over the land of Egypt, in order to show the king’s power and authority, while performing his one of his functional tasks (as the king of Egypt) which aimed to satisfy and please the gods who gave him the whole land of Egypt and the foreign countries through the numerous offerings which he gave to the temples. The royal endowment to the temples varied between the fields, gardens, herds of cattle and birds, slaves and captives, parts of the gifts and tribute from the foreign lands and even the presentation of a whole city along with all its products to specific temple.\(^{205}\) The royal offerings to the temples included food products (such as bread and beer), cattle, incense, wood, precious stones.\(^{206}\)

Finally, the preparing of military campaigns and equipping the army and supplying it with weapons and gear was one of the king’s major responsibilities, as depicted on walls of different temples during the New Kingdom. On the walls of Medinet Habu temple, preparing the troops before the war was depicted, where a group of soldiers is waiting to enter the royal arsenal under the supervision of some officers, while some officials are handing the weapons to the soldiers inside the arsenal and under the supervision of the military scribes.\(^ {207}\) Besides the spoils of war, which included weapons used to equip the Egyptian army, the New Year’s gifts to the king also included weapons and which the king probably represents to the army.\(^ {208}\) Moreover, the Royal Palace also participated in providing rations to soldiers. The deputy of the army, Horemhab, recorded this event on the walls of his tomb where the soldiers were brought to the Royal Palace.

\(^{205}\) Papyrus Harris I, 29, 9-10; Grandet, op.cit., 263; Urk IV, pp. 133; 743; 795; KRI, V, p. 270.
\(^{206}\) Urk IV, pp.754-771.
to have bread, beef and all the good vegetables. King Horemhab also mentioned in his decree that the ration for the soldiers were issued from the royal estates.

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209 Urk IV, p. 911, 5-11.
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