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*Hwt, Hwt-wrt, and Hwt-<sup>ϵ</sup>nh*

*HWT*

In an important study, J.C. Moreno Garcia has investigated the character of the economy, administration, and territorial organization of rural Egypt in the Old Kingdom.<sup>1</sup> In the course of the investigation, he states his belief that the *hwt*-hieroglyph reproduces the image of a façade with a side entrance, that is to say an edifice viewed in elevation and not in plan, which to him explains the small rectangle normally in the lower corner of the hieroglyph.<sup>2</sup> He thinks that writings where *hwt* is drawn with a horizontal line in its upper part confirm his interpretation of the *hwt*-hieroglyph as the representation of the façade of an edifice. He points out that the same horizontal line appears frequently with signs representing edifices viewed from the front, such as *ḥ* or *zh*, in which cases the line probably corresponds to a cornice or frieze which surmounts the edifice. On the other hand, in the specific case of *hwt*, he supposes that the line has a relationship with the compound word *tp-hwt*, ‘roof, terrace,’ and represents a part of the *hwt* differentiated from the rest of the construction.<sup>3</sup> In other instances where the horizontal line occurs low down in the sign, it may be a question of a socle to the edifice.<sup>4</sup> Yet other representations of *hwt* present a double line at mid height, an epigraphic detail that also appears in representation of *ḥ* or *zh* edifices. J.C. Moreno Garcia thinks the double line may correspond to the existence of two stages or a terrace. What is significant to Moreno Garcia is that the line or double line at mid-height otherwise appears only in the *ḥ* or *zh* edifices, both of which are viewed in elevation.<sup>5</sup>

In fact, the horizontal line in the upper part of the examples of the *hwt*-sign cited by J.C. Moreno Garcia or for that matter those at mid-height may be explained in another way. The period from which the majority of the examples with the horizontal line derive is the First Intermediate Period to the early Middle Kingdom. This is a time when hieroglyphic signs are strongly influenced by hieratic.<sup>6</sup> This is certainly the case with the sign in question in which the letter *t* in hieroglyphic versions of the sign becomes a simple horizontal stroke in hieratic examples of the sign.<sup>7</sup> Many of the examples cited by J.C. Moreno Garcia derive from coffins from El-Hawawish (Akhmim), which have been dated by D. Magee and

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<sup>1</sup> J.C. MORENO GARCIA, *Hwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III<sup>e</sup> millénaire: Économie, administration et organisation territoriale*, Paris 1999 [= *Milieu rural*].

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

<sup>4</sup> *Loc. cit.*

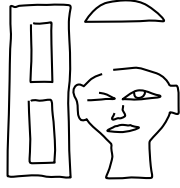
<sup>5</sup> O. GOELET, *Two Aspects of the Royal Palace in the Egyptian Old Kingdom*, PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1982 [= *Two Aspects*], observes that the spaces between the lines are painted blue or black in examples where the original paint has survived in the depiction of the *ḥ*-hieroglyph.

<sup>6</sup> See e.g. R. CAMINOS, H.G. FISCHER, *Ancient Egyptian Epigraphy and Palaeography*, New York 1976, p. 43; E. BROVARSKI, *The Inscribed Material of the First Intermediate Period from Naga-ed-Dêr*, PhD dissertation, the University of Chicago, 1989 [= *Naga-ed-Dêr*], pp. 827ff.

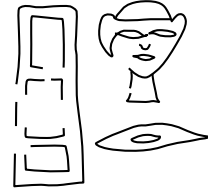
<sup>7</sup> H. GOEDICKE, *Old Hieratic Paleography*, Baltimore, Maryland 1988, p. 27a-b (M 6/7). For a hieroglyphic example with three signs conjoined for the plural, see N. DE G. DAVIES, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhthetep at Saqqareh I*, *ASE* 8, London 1900, Pl. 12 [228].



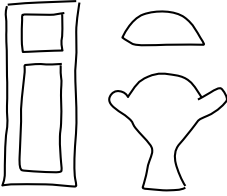
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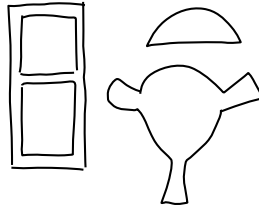
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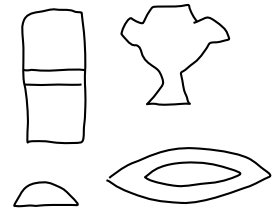
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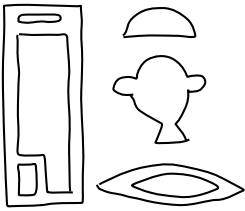
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e



f



g



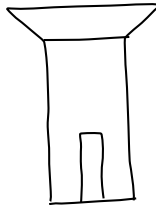
h



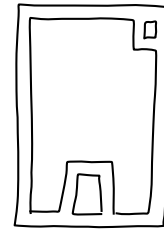
i



j



k



l

1. Different graphies of the *hwt*-sign from El-Hawawish/Akhmim (a–c); Deir-el-Bahri (d–g); Dendera (h); Naga-ed-Deir (i–j), and Dira Abu n-Naga (k–l). (Drawings: E. Brovarski).

the present writer to Eleventh Dynasty.<sup>8</sup> **Figs 1a-c** represents only a sampling.<sup>9</sup> D. Magee suggests a date toward the end of Eleventh Dynasty for one Akhmim coffin,<sup>10</sup> whereas the present writer has dated the coffins prior to the reunification of Egypt under Mentuhotep II.<sup>11</sup> Both **Fig. 1d** and **Fig. 1e** appear in private inscriptions of the reign of Intef II.<sup>12</sup> **Figs 1f-g** are found in the tomb of Queen Kemzit at Deir-el-Bahri, while **Fig. 1h** (*hwt-k3*) occurs in the Dendera chapel of Mentuhotep II.<sup>13</sup> The first example of the *hwt*-sign from the tomb of Kemzit actually has two lines at mid height, while an example from the 'Dog Stele,' of Intef II, **Fig. 1i** (*hwt-ntr*), has three. In the latter case, it seems unlikely that the three lines would indicate as many stories, especially since they are clumped towards the bottom of the sign. **Figs 1a-i** all antedate the reunification. It is interesting that none of the hieratic examples of the *hwt*-sign show more than one horizontal stroke, and the hieroglyphic examples with multiple lines very probably reflect the decorative impulses of the time which added inappropriate details to many signs.<sup>14</sup>

As we have seen, J.C. Moreno Garcia sees the traditional rendering of the *hwt*-sign as reproducing the image of a façade with a side entrance in one of the two lower corners of the hieroglyph.<sup>15</sup> He also recognizes that the rectangle appears in certain cases in the upper corners of the *hwt*-hieroglyph towards the end of the Sixth Dynasty.<sup>16</sup> H.G. Fischer was probably the first to notice that, from the middle of the Sixth Dynasty, a gradual tendency develops to shift the square to the less crowded space behind the falcon's head.<sup>17</sup> In itself this refutes the notion that the *hwt*-sign was thought of as representing a façade in the later Old Kingdom since, if one takes the placement of the square literally, the entrance would be suspended from the roof.

H.G. Fischer also remarks that it is probably as a result of this change that the *Hthr*-hieroglyph frequently has the small square in two corners (or even three corners) in the

<sup>8</sup> N. KANAWATI, Akhmim in the Old Kingdom, Part I: Chronology and Administration, *ACE Studies* 2, Marrickville 1992, pp. 53ff., continues to date these coffins to Sixth Dynasty.

<sup>9</sup> N. KANAWATI, The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish IV. The Cemetery of Akhmim, Sydney 1983, Fig. 30; *Id.*, The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish V. The Cemetery of Akhmim, Sydney 1985, Fig. 27; *Id.*, The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish VII. The Cemetery of Akhmim, Sydney 1987, Fig. 38c.

<sup>10</sup> D. MAGEE, An early Middle Kingdom Coffin from Akhmim in the Ashmolean Museum (No. 1911.477), *JSSEA* 13, 1983, pp. 241–248.

<sup>11</sup> E. BROVARSKI, Akhmim in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, [*in:*] P. Posener-Kriéger (Ed.), *Mélanges Gamal eddin Mokhtar* 1, Le Caire 1985, pp. 128–129.

<sup>12</sup> J.J. CLÈRE, J. VANDIER, Textes de la première période intermédiaire et de la XI<sup>e</sup> dynastie, *BÆ* 10, Brussels 1948, §§ 15, 19.

<sup>13</sup> E. NAVILLE, H.R. HALL, The Eleventh Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari 3, *EEF* 32, London 1913, Pl. 3; L. HABACHI, King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods, *MDAIK* 19, 1963, Fig. 5; cf. BROVARSKI, Naga-ed-Dêr, pp. 742–743.

<sup>14</sup> H.G. FISCHER, Dendera in the Third Millennium B.C., Locust Valley-New York 1968, p. 89 (13) and n. 408; MAGEE, *JSSEA* 13, 1983, pp. 245–247; E. BROVARSKI, A Coffin from Farshût in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, [*in:*] L.H. Lesko (Ed.), *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies in Memory of William A. Ward*, Providence, RI 1998, p. 68.

<sup>15</sup> MORENO GARCIA, *Milieu rural*, p. 22.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 20–21.

<sup>17</sup> H.G. FISCHER, A Daughter of the Overlords of Upper Egypt in the First Intermediate Period, *JAOS* 76, 1956, pp. 100–101.

Naga-ed-Deir inscriptions of the First Intermediate Period and that the *hwt*-sign is similarly abnormal even though it does not contain the falcon.<sup>18</sup> The placement of the rectangle in two or more corners of the sign has little basis in reality and is presumably just a calligraphic variant. This seems confirmed by another example of the *Hthr* sign from Naga-ed-Deir in which one of the squares is replaced by a triangle (**Fig. 1j**).<sup>19</sup>

J.C. Moreno Garcia illustrates two examples of the *hwt*-sign with entrances in the middle of the baseline (**Figs 1k-l**) which might seem to prove his case.<sup>20</sup> The first of these is actually surmounted by a cavetto cornice as well. It should be noted, however, that both signs date from the New Kingdom, some thousand years after the other examples of the sign we are discussing, and it is difficult to know what was in the minds of the scribes of the time.

It thus seems likely that the traditional interpretation of the *hwt*-sign as a rectangular enclosure with the small rectangle in the interior representing an edifice, a tower to protect the entrance of the enclosure or even an entrance of complex type aimed at limited access to the interior is the correct one. In the opinion of the present writer in origin it most probably represents a walled villa, like those that are still seen on the Saqqara Road today, often with gardens or even orchards inside the enclosure.

### HWT-WRT

*Hwt-wrt* has customarily been interpreted as ‘law court’.<sup>21</sup> In a recent study, N. Strudwick accepts the juridical nature of this institution.<sup>22</sup> E. Martin-Pardey has taken exception to this point of view and instead believes the *hwt-wrt* was the central bureau of the kingdom, charged with the organization of corvees and taxes due to the state.<sup>23</sup> Her opinion is shared by S. Quirke<sup>24</sup> and more recently J.C. Moreno Garcia.<sup>25</sup> To the latter the *hwt-wrt* was the central bureau of the vizier which controlled the governmental and administrative activities of the realm and which supervised the administrative personnel of Egypt.<sup>26</sup>

In my opinion, E. Martin-Pardey, S. Quirke, and J.C. Moreno Garcia have placed insufficient weight on evidence indicating that the/a *hwt-wrt* was indeed a law court. For example, the Abydos decree of Neferirkare contains the following passage: *As for any man of the nome who will take any priests who are on the god’s field on which they do priestly*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibidem*.

<sup>19</sup> BROVARSKI, Naga-ed-Dêr, p. 790, Fig. 75.

<sup>20</sup> *Urk.* IV, 14; G. FOUCART, Tombes thébaines, nécropole de Dirâ‘ Abû’n-Nâga. Première partie. Le Tombeau d’Amenmos, *MIFAO* 57, Le Caire 1935, Pl. 13.

<sup>21</sup> For example: *Wb* III, 4; W. HELCK, Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentitel des ägyptischen Alten Reiches, Glückstadt 1954, pp. 73–74.

<sup>22</sup> N. STRUDWICK, The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom. The Highest Titles and their Holders, London-Boston-Henley-Melbourne 1985 [= Administration], pp. 176–198.

<sup>23</sup> E. MARTIN-PARDEY, Verwaltung im Alten Reich, Grenzen und Möglichkeiten von Untersuchungen zu diesem Thema, *BiOr* 46, 1989, pp. 540–544; MORENO GARCIA, Milieu rural, pp. 48–49.

<sup>24</sup> S. QUIRKE, The Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom, *RdE* 37, 1986, p. 128, n. 60; *Id.*, The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom, New Malden-Surrey 1990, p. 69, n. 24.

<sup>25</sup> MORENO GARCIA, Milieu rural, pp. 48–53.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 52.

service in the nome for compulsory labor and any construction project of the nome, you shall send him to the *hwt-wrt*, he being put into the 'granite' (quarries)(?) and to cultivate barley and emmer.<sup>27</sup> N. Strudwick remarks that it is clear from the Abydos decree that the/a *hwt-wrt* dealt with disputes arising from infringements to the exemptions granted to temples by the crown.<sup>28</sup> Moreover, the text indicates that the/a *hwt-wrt* was where actual judgements took place and punishments were meted out.<sup>29</sup>

J.C. Moreno Garcia thinks a letter of the Old Kingdom<sup>30</sup> which, according to him, contains a complaint addressed by an official at the/a *hwt-wrt* by means of *wptyw*, 'messengers, envoys',<sup>31</sup> reveals once again the administrative, not juridical, nature of the *hwt-wrt*, since the document evokes the difficulties in organizing a corvée of transport and the delivery of provisions.<sup>32</sup> In fact, there is no evidence that the writer of the letter is an official at the/a *hwt-wrt*. The letter alludes to 'the register of those adjudged (*zš n wdꜣw*).' In the next line the writer asks: *Isn't it due to the magistrates of the portico of the hwt-wrt that I have returned?*<sup>33</sup> Thus, the letter has a clearly juridical aspect. It is not clear what matter brought the letter writer before the *hwt-wrt*, but P. Posener-Kriéger thinks perhaps he was seeking the remuneration which he mentions twice in the letter.<sup>34</sup> At any rate the case was not finally resolved because he complains through the envoys of the central government and takes an oath on the merit of his claim.<sup>35</sup>

A clearer statement as to the nature of the/a *hwt-wrt* appears in Inscription B from the tomb of Nebkauhor which contains the passage: *As for any person about whom I was aware that they were imprisoned on account of it in the hwt-wrt, or were beaten on account of it in the hwt-wrt, or who has been expelled from the bodyguard,<sup>36</sup> I did not [...].*<sup>37</sup> The text makes it clear that the *hwt-wrt* was both a place of confinement and of punishment. Both

<sup>27</sup> See H. GOEDICKE, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem Alten Reich*, *ÄA* 14, Wiesbaden 1967, pp. 22–36, Fig. 2; R.J. LEPROHON, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*, fasc. 2, *CAA*, Mainz a/Rhein 1985, pp. 49–53, with photograph and drawing; STRUDWICK, *Administration*, pp. 191–192; *Id.*, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, Atlanta 2005 [= *Texts from the Pyramid Age*], pp. 98–101, Fig. 4.

<sup>28</sup> STRUDWICK, *Administration*, pp. 192–193.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 193.

<sup>30</sup> P. POSENER-KRIÉGER, J.L. DE CENIVAL, *The Abu Sir Papyri*, London 1968, Pls 80, 80A; P. POSENER-KRIÉGER, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï (Les papyrus d'Abousir) 2*, *BdÉ* 76, Cairo 1976 [= *Archives d'Abousir*], pp. 451–465; A. ROCCATI, *La littérature historique sous l'Ancien Empire égyptien*, *LAPÖ* 11, Paris 1982, pp. 285–286 [§ 286]; E.F. WENTE, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, Atlanta 1990, pp. 55–56 [62].

<sup>31</sup> See M. VALLOGIA, *Recherche sur les "messagers" (wptyw) dans les sources égyptiennes profanes*, Geneva-Paris 1976. POSENER-KRIÉGER, *Archives d'Abousir*, p. 460 (r), prefers the translation 'envoys.'

<sup>32</sup> MORENO GARCIA, *Milieu rural*, p. 51.

<sup>33</sup> See WENTE, *Letters from Ancient Egypt*, p. 55 [62]. The word *r(w)t* is better translated 'door, portal, entrance' than 'portico'; see P. SPENCER, *The Egyptian Temple. A Lexicographical Study*, London-Boston 1984, pp. 196–203.

<sup>34</sup> POSENER-KRIÉGER, *Archives d'Abousir*, p. 464.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibidem.*

<sup>36</sup> On *stp-zš*, see GOELET, *Two Aspects*, pp. 443–474.

<sup>37</sup> S. HASSAN (re-edited by Z. Iskander), *The Mastaba of Neb-Kaw-Ḥer, Excavations at Saqqara 1937–1938 I*, Cairo 1975, pp. 38–41, Fig. 17, Pls 26, 28C, 29; H. GOEDICKE, *Die privaten Rechtsinschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, Wien 1970, pp. 94–99, Pl. 10; STRUDWICK, *Texts from the Pyramid Age*, p. 261 [195].

confinement and punishment were presumably the consequence of some transgression or offense and the end result of a hearing held in the *hwt-wrt* in the presence of the vizier as *imy-r3 hwt-wrt 6* or by an *imy-r3 hwt-wrt* for less serious offenses.

The juridical nature of the *hwt-wrt* is also apparent from titles held by members of the legal profession.<sup>38</sup> A number of these titles are compounded with the substantive *wḏꜥ-mdw*, ‘judgment.’<sup>39</sup> In addition to *hry-sšt3 n wḏꜥ-mdw (nb) (št3) n hwt-wrt*, ‘privy to the secrets of (every) (secret) judgment of the/a *hwt-wrt*,’ which occurs several times, there is a reference to *imy-r3 wḏꜥ-mdw (nb št3) n hwt-wrt 6*, ‘overseer of (every secret) judgment of the six *hwt-wrt*.’<sup>40</sup> Also compounded with *wḏꜥ-mdw is sm3ꜥ wḏꜥ-mdw n hwt-wrt*, ‘who sets right the judgments of the *hwt-wrt*.’ Then there are titles beginning with *wḏꜥ mdw*, ‘judge’:<sup>41</sup> *wḏꜥ mdw m hwt-wrt 6*, ‘judge in the six *hwt-wrt*,’ and *wḏꜥ mdw št3 n hwt-wrt*, ‘judge of the secret pleas of the/a *hwt-wrt*.’<sup>42</sup> Mehu-akhti of Giza tomb G 2375 has several of these titles, but unique to him is *hry-tp wḏꜥ-mdw št3 n hwt-wrt*, *hry-tp mdw (n) wḏꜥ-mdw št3 n hwt-wrt*, and *hry-tp mdw št3 n hwt-wrt*.<sup>43</sup> Finally, there is *hry-sšt3 n sḏmt wꜥ m hwt-wrt*, ‘privy to the secret of that which one judges in the/a *hwt-wrt*.’<sup>44</sup>

This is not to deny that *hwt-wrt* had an administrative aspect. The Abydos decree of Neferirkare makes reference to *these things which my majesty has ordained and which have been received in the/a hwt-wrt*. It thus seems that the king’s decrees were ‘received’ or registered in the/a *hwt-wrt*. W.F. Edgerton has pointed out for the New Kingdom that legislation in ancient Egypt *seems to have been the function of the Pharaoh alone*.<sup>45</sup> Presumably, this was also the case for earlier periods and the decrees deposited in the *hwt-wrt* represented the will of the king in written and codified form.<sup>46</sup> A number of scribal titles (*imy-r3 zš(w) n hwt-wrt*, *shḏ zš(w) n hwt-wrt*, *hrp zš(w) n hwt-wrt*, *zš smsw n hwt-wrt*, *imy-r3 zš(w) ꜥprw n hwt-wrt*, *z3b shḏ zš(w) n hwt-wrt* *imy-wrt nt hnw* are also concerned with the administration of a/the *hwt-wrt*.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>38</sup> See for example the citations in PM III<sup>2</sup>, p. 934.

<sup>39</sup> FAULKNER, *CD*, 76; R. HANNIG, *Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I*, Mainz a/Rhein 2003 [= *ÄgWb I*], pp. 401–402. For *wḏꜥ*, ‘to judge,’ see *Wb IV*, 404.10–405.3; R. VAN DER MOLEN, *A Hieroglyphic Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, Leiden 2000 [= *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*], p. 110; HANNIG, *ÄgWb I*, p. 400 (9084); L.H. LESKO, B. SWITALSKI LESKO, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian 1*, Providence, RI 2002<sup>2</sup>, p. 122; W. VYČIHL, *Dictionnaire étymologique de langue copte*, Leuven 1983, pp. 239, 242.

<sup>40</sup> N. KANAWATI, M. ABDER-RAZIQ, *The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara V. The Tomb of Hesi*, *ACE Reports 13*, Warminster 1999, p. 12 [10] and n. 11, 21, 45, Pls 40, 51, 63.

<sup>41</sup> VAN DER MOLEN, *Dictionary of Egyptian Coffin Texts*, p. 110; HANNIG, *ÄgWb I*, p. 401 [46233].

<sup>42</sup> D. JONES, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets and Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, Oxford 2000, Nos 1512, 1517.

<sup>43</sup> See [www.gizapyramids.org](http://www.gizapyramids.org) (access date: June 7, 2013) under G 2375.

<sup>44</sup> See H.G. FISCHER, *Marginalia II*, *GM 128*, 1992, p. 69. For titles incorporating the element *hwt-wrt (6)*; see STRUDWICK, *Administration*, p. 195, Tab. 11.

<sup>45</sup> W.F. EDGERTON, *The Government and the Governed in the Egyptian Empire*, *JNES 6*, 1947, pp. 152–160; see also W.C. HAYES, *A Papyrus of the Late Middle Kingdom in the Brooklyn Museum*, Brooklyn 1955, p. 135.

<sup>46</sup> See *ibidem*.

<sup>47</sup> See STRUDWICK, *Administration*, pp. 195, 196, and Tab. 11.

*HWT-ᵑNH*

To A.H. Gardiner, the *hry wdb* was the official who presided over the royal meals in the ‘Mansion of Life,’ the king’s living- or dining-room (*hwt-ᵑnh*). He was also the official in charge of the *htp-di-nswt*, the gifts given by the king to courtiers and officials of his entourage as well as to gods and the dead.<sup>48</sup>

J.C. Moreno Garcia disagrees with A.H. Gardiner’s identification of the *hwt-ᵑnh* as the king’s living- or dining-room.<sup>49</sup> He argues that the papyri of the Middle and New Kingdom which list the expenses and the deliveries of products for the banquets of the royal palace, the journal of the court of Sobekhotep II (?), for example, or the accounts of the palace of Seti I never mention the *hry-wdb (m) hwt-ᵑnh*. Elsewhere, the *hwt-ᵑnh* never figures in the inscriptions relative to the reversion of offerings, either among the departments of the State which deliver products to the funerary services of individuals or in the Abusir papyri as the source of revenues for the funerary complex of the king. On the other hand, the persons in charge of the *hwt-ᵑnh* are attested exclusively at Memphis, and the same circumstance characterizes in general the *hryw-wdb*. The *hwt-ᵑnh* then probably designates an institution of the capital, similar to the *hwt-wrt* and situated in the palace complex. In defense of his thesis, J.C. Moreno Garcia points to the official [Se]nedjemib who was *wr 10 hwt-ᵑnh* and *wr 10 hwt-wrt*. He compares also the titles *jmy-r3 10 pr-ᵑ3*, *imy-r3 10 hwt-ᵑ3t* and *imy-r3 10 wᵑb nswt pr-ᵑ3*. He concludes that these titles suggest a restricted circle of dignitaries and of courtiers who acted perhaps as a council to the sovereign.

J.C. Moreno Garcia largely discounts A.H. Gardiner’s argumentation regarding the nature of the *hwt-ᵑnh*. Gardiner observes that the title *hry-wdb m hwt-ᵑnh* usually occurs after those titles relating to the king’s toilet such as *iry nfr-h3t*, ‘keeper of the headdress,’ or *hry-s3t3 n pr-dw3t*, the *pr-dw3t* or ‘house of morning’ being the place where the king’s toilet was performed. As A.H. Gardiner points out, the toilet necessarily precedes the meal.<sup>50</sup> He also shows that the title *hry-wdb* was closely bound up with the notion of feasting and with supplies for feasting.<sup>51</sup> The bearer of the title was the official presiding over the king’s table, who saw to its supplies and who catered the wants of his guests and, by extension to the gods and to the dead.<sup>52</sup>

In fact, the *hwt-ᵑnh* itself is never mentioned as the source of offerings, even in the Old Kingdom. But the *hry wdb* is depicted in tombs making his characteristic gesture

<sup>48</sup> A.H. GARDINER, The Mansion of Life and the Master of the King’s Largesse, *JEA* 24, 1938, pp. 83–91. For the dates of the individuals cited in nn. 99–101, see K. BAER, Rank and Title in the Old Kingdom. The Structure of the Egyptian Administration in the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties, Chicago 1960, pp. 50ff. and Y. HARPUR, Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in orientation and scene content, London-New York 1987, pp. 265–282. Y. Harpur (*op.cit.*, pp. 274, 276) disagrees with Baer’s assignment of Ankhmaka and Kaemnefret (Rank and Title, pp. 92 [268], 142, 294 [523]) to Sixth Dynasty, and instead dates the two individuals to the end of the Fifth Dynasty, I believe correctly.

<sup>49</sup> MORENO GARCIA, Milieu rural, pp. 44–48.

<sup>50</sup> GARDINER, *JEA* 24, 1938, pp. 84–85.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 85–88.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 88.

(one arm raised in invocation),<sup>53</sup> the legend that accompanies this gesture being *hꜥp-di-nswt* or *pr(t)-hrw* or *wdn ht* or *wdi ht*.<sup>54</sup> The first legend more than adequately describes the source of the offerings, while the other legends rather describe the nature of the ritual act itself.

While the title *hry-wdb* continues to appear sporadically in the Middle<sup>55</sup> and New Kingdoms,<sup>56</sup> the officiant of that name no longer participates in funerary rituals. In the reign of Senusert I, the High Priest of Ptah at Memphis, Senusert-ankh is *hry-wdb m hwt-ꜥnh*,<sup>57</sup> but this is probably an archaism, like his titles of *sꜥ Mhty* and *hm-nꜥr* of the ‘Double Axe’, and thereafter the *hwt-ꜥnh* itself disappears from the record. Its absence probably explains why that institution does not figure in the court journal of Sobekhotep II(?). In the New Kingdom, according to the *Wb Zetteln*, the *hwt-ꜥnh* appears only once, and then in the course of a funerary spell.<sup>58</sup> By that time, the character of the *hwt-ꜥnh* may well have been transformed, as is definitely the case in Ptolemaic era, when the term comes to mean a temple or part of a temple, for example, Chamber II, of the ‘Geburtsaus’ at Philae.<sup>59</sup> If so, this might explain why the *hwt-ꜥnh* did not deliver products for the banquets of the palace of Seti I.

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<sup>53</sup> E.g., LD II, 23–25, 30, 86b; N. KANAWATI, Tombs at Giza II. Seshathetep/Heti (G5150), Nesutnefer (G4790) and Seshemnefer II (G5080), *ACE Reports* 18, Warminster 2002, Pls 43a, 46.

<sup>54</sup> H. JUNKER, Giza II. Die Mastabas der beginnenden V. Dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof, Wien-Leipzig 1934, pp. 62–65; GARDINER, *JEA* 24, 1938, p. 86.

<sup>55</sup> W.A. WARD, Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom, Beirut 1982, Nos 974–976; see also Nos 774 and 1381.

<sup>56</sup> W. HELCK, Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches, *PdÄ* 3, Leiden-Köln 1958, p. 450.

<sup>57</sup> D. ARNOLD, Middle Kingdom Tomb Architecture at Lisht, *PMMA* 28, New York 2008, p. 14, Pl. 25.

<sup>58</sup> Florence statue 1505; see <http://aaw2.bbaw.de/tla/serviet/TiaLogin> (access date: June 7, 2013), DZA 21.875.760.

<sup>59</sup> See <http://aaw2.bbaw.de/tla/serviet/TiaLogin> (access date: June 7, 2013), DZA 21.875.820, 21.875.820, 21.875.840; cf. *ibid.*, DZA 21.875.930 (Dendera); DZA 21.875.880, 21.875.890, 21.875.900 (Edfu).