

# THE ADMINISTRATION OF HORSE STABLES IN ANCIENT EGYPT

By Aiman Ashmawy Ali, SCA

## Introduction

Three main titles connect officials with stables and horses; these titles provide details concerning the administration of the stables and the responsibilities of the title holders.<sup>1</sup> These titles are:

A- *ḥry iḥw* – Stable master.

B- *imy-r ssmt* – Master of the horses.<sup>2</sup>

C- *sš ssmt – sš n iḥw* – Scribe for the horses and stable.

Each title has different grades, notably, the Stable master and the Master of the Horses. In addition to these titles there are some which occur only once or twice; sometimes they may be parallel to the main titles mentioned above or represent a separate title with its own responsibilities.

This study collects together the majority of officials who were connected with stables and horses, as well as evidence for the scribes of the horses and stables. Most of these officials held further titles, in addition to those that connected them with the stables or horses. This evidence provides details on the social level of the stable masters and the higher ranks to which they were promoted. There is also evidence for the age at which a person could become a Stable master or Commander of the Horses.

The titles of the Stable masters through the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasties are presented here.<sup>3</sup> It is not sufficient to only discuss the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty evidence as at this time the administration of the horse stables was still in development, and thus did not have the actual or traditional importance that it would later attain. Furthermore, not all degrees of the title had developed by this time.

Examples of the title “Commander of the Horses” are provided for the entire New Kingdom, and this allows the title to be understood in greater detail.

## A. Stable master

### A.I 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Five grades are known of the title Stable master in the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. These are:

1- *ḥry iḥw* – Stable master.

2- *ḥry iḥw n nb tꜣwy* – Stable master of the Lord of the Two Lands.

3- *ḥry iḥw n ḥm.f* – Stable master of His Majesty.

4- *ḥry iḥw tpy n nsw NN* – Stable master of King NN.

5- *ḥry iḥw tpy n ḥm.f* – First Stable master of His Majesty.

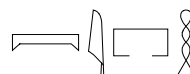
### A.I.1 Stable master

The evidence for Stable masters during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty will now be presented in chronological order:

#### A.I.1.1 Neb-en-Kemet

Reign of Tuthmosis III, Amenophis II.

Among the inscriptions in his tomb, TT 256, in western Thebes, it is recorded that Neb-en-Kemet held the title:



*ḥry iḥw*  
Stable master

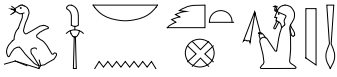
<sup>1</sup> This study is part of my M.A. thesis “Royal Stables and Two Snake Goddesses from the German Excavation at Qantir” under the supervision of Prof. Dr. Ali Radwan, Cairo University.

<sup>2</sup> In this article I follow Schulman’s classification of the titles in his study on military titles, ranks and organization; however, I have followed Faulkner’s translation of the title *imy-r ssmt* as “master of the horses” instead of Schulman’s translation “officer of the horses” which doesn’t

explain the commandership afforded by the word “*imy-r*”. See SCHULMAN, *Military rank, title, and organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, MÄS 6, 1964, p.5, 46, and FAULKNER, *JEA* 39, 1953, 43.

<sup>3</sup> For a complete list of the officials during the entire new kingdom and its different grades see CHEVEREAU, Pierre-Marie, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, EME 3, Paris 1994, 135–168 and the review in; PAMMINGER, Peter, *BiOr* 54 (1997), 5–31.

He also held the title:



*t3y iħw nb-n-kmt m3<sup>c</sup>-ħrw*

The Fan-bearer, Nebenkemet, Justified.<sup>4</sup>

#### A.I.1.2 Suemneut

Reign of Amenhotep II.

Among the inscriptions in his tomb, TT 92, in western Thebes, Suemneut held the title:



*ħry iħw sw-m-niwt m3<sup>c</sup>-ħrw*

The Stable master, Suemneut, justified.<sup>5</sup>

#### A.I.1.3 Paser

Reign of Amenhotep IV, Tutankhamun.

Paser, the son of Hui, is referred to in his father's tomb as:



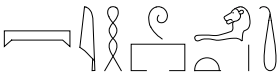
*s3.f ħry iħw t3y sryt p3-sr*

His son, the Stable master, the Fan-bearer, Paser.<sup>6</sup>

#### A.I.1.4 Haty

Reign of Amenophis IV, Tutankhamun.

In the tomb of Hui, Haty is referred to as:



*ħry iħw ħ3ty.*

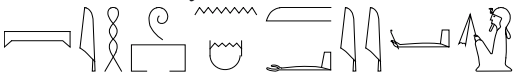
The Stable master Haty

Haty is also referred to in this tomb in connection with gold mining.<sup>7</sup>

#### A.I.1.5. Nehemay

18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

On his limestone stele in Cairo museum No. 34098, Nehemay held the title:



*ħry iħw nħm-ꜥy.*

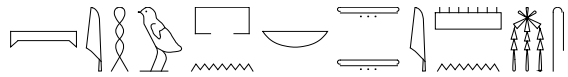
The Stable master Nehemay.<sup>8</sup>

### A.I.2 Stable master of the Lord of the Two Lands

#### A.I.2.1 Amenmes

Reign of Tuthmosis III, Amenophis II.

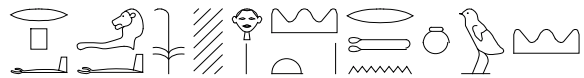
Among the inscriptions in his tomb, TT 42, in western Thebes, Amenmes held the title:



*ħry iħw n nb t3wy imn-ms*

Stable master of the Lord of the Two Lands Amenmes.

He also held the title:



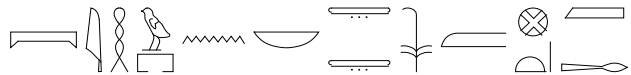
*rp<sup>c</sup>t ħ3ty-ꜥ ..... [wpwty] nsw ħr ħ3swt rtnw*

Hereditary prince, king's [envoy] to the land of Retenu.<sup>9</sup>

#### A.I.2.2 Suemneut

Reign of Amenophis II.

Among the inscription in his tomb, TT 92, in western Thebes, Suemneut held the title:



*ħry iħw n nb t3wy sw-m-niwt*

The Stable master of the Lord of the Two Lands, Suemneut, justified.

He also held the title:

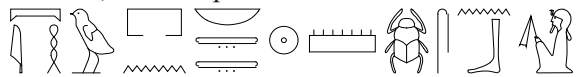
*Rp<sup>c</sup>t ħ3ty-ꜥ*

Hereditary prince.<sup>10</sup>

#### A.I.2.3. Menkheperresoneb.

Reign of Tuthmosis III.

On a black granite block statue, Cairo Museum No. 547, Menkheperresoneb is referred to as:



*ħry iħw n nb t3wy mn-ħpr-r-ꜥ-snb*

The Stable master of the Lord of the Two Lands Menkheperresoneb.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>4</sup> *Urk. IV*, 997.

<sup>5</sup> *Urk. IV*, 1452 ; CHEVEREAU, *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, 145.

<sup>6</sup> *Urk. IV*, 2067. CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 153.

<sup>7</sup> *Urk. IV*, 2069; CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 150.

<sup>8</sup> LACAU, CG, *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* 1. Nos. 34001–34064, 1957, 151.

<sup>9</sup> *Urk. IV*, 1507–1508; DAVIES, N. DE, *The tombs of Menkheperresoneb, Amenmose, and Another* (Nos. 86, 112, 42, 226), Theban Tomb Series 5, 1933, pl. XLVif.

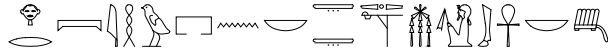
<sup>10</sup> *Urk. IV*, 1452 ; CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 162.

<sup>11</sup> BORCHARDT, CG. Nos. 1–1294, vol. 2, Berlin 1925, p. 92–93 ; CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 162

### A.I.2.4 Minmes

Reign of Tuthmosis IV.

Minmes was the son of *z̄itw-wsir*, known from a stela in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Here he is referred to as:



*hry ihw n nb t̄zwy min-ms wh̄m ḥnh nb im̄z̄h*.

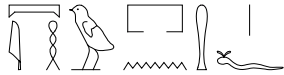
The Stable master of the Lord of the Two Lands Minmes, who repeats life, possessor of reverence.<sup>12</sup>

### A.I.3 Stable master of His Majesty

#### A.I.3.1 Amunhotep

Reign of Tuthmosis IV and Amenophis III.

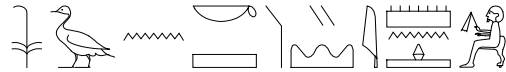
On an inscription on the Island of Sehel, Amunhotep is associated with the title:



*hry ihw n hm.f*

Stable master of His Majesty.

He also held the important title:



*s̄z nsw n k̄z̄š imn-htp*

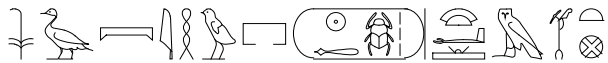
King's son of Kush, Amonhotep.<sup>13</sup>

### A.I.4 Stable master of King NN

#### A.I.4.1 Khemwast

Reign of Amenophis II.

On a graffito at Sehel prince Khemwast is associated with the title:



*ss̄z nsw hry ihw (ḥ h̄prw r̄) ḥ̄ḥ-m-w̄z̄st*

King's son, Stable master of Amenophis II, Khemwast.<sup>14</sup>

### A.I.5. First Stable Master of His Majesty

#### A.I.5.1. Meryptah

18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

On his painted limestone stela in Vienna, Inv.-No. 89, which he dedicated to his father, Meryptah is referred to as:



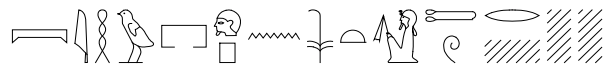
*hry ihw tpy n hm.f mry-pt̄h*

The First Stable Master of His Majesty, Meryptah.<sup>15</sup>

#### A.I.5.2 Tjuer

Reign of Amenhotep IV, Tutankhamun.

The son of Hui, and the brother of Paser, Tjuer is referred to in his father's tomb as:



*s̄z.f hry ihw tpy n nsw t̄wr*

His son, the First Stable master of the King Tjuer [...].<sup>16</sup>

### A.II 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Seven grades of this title are known during the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

They are:

- 1- *hry ihw* – Stable master.
- 2- *hry ihw n hnw* – Stable master of the Residence.
- 3- *hry ihw r ssmt n nb t̄zwy* – Stable master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands.
- 4- *hry ihw n p̄z ihw ḥ̄z n King NN n hnw* – Stable master of the Great Stable of King NN of the residence.
- 5- *hry ihw hnw n p̄z ḏ̄z̄dw n (r̄ḥ ms sw mri imn)* – Stable master of the Residence, of the Columned Hall of Ramesses II.
- 6- *hry ihw n shpr* – Stable master of the Training Stable.
- 7- *hry ihw tpy n hm.f* – First Stable master of His Majesty.

<sup>12</sup> *Urk. IV*, 1641; PETRIE, W.M.F., *Six temples at Thebes*, London 1897, pl. 9.1; CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 162.

<sup>13</sup> *Urk. IV*, 1637; REISNER, *JEA* 6 (1920), p. 32; DE MORGAN, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*. Série 1. Haute Égypte 1. De la frontière de Nubie à Kom Ombos, Vienna 1894, 92, No. 108.

<sup>14</sup> *Urk. IV*, 1507; DE MORGAN, J., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, 102, No. 228; GAUTHIER, *Le livre des rois d'Égypte*, MIFAO 19, 1912, 288.

<sup>15</sup> SCHULMAN, *JARCE* 2 (1963), 75f.

<sup>16</sup> *Urk. IV*, 2067.

The officials who held these titles during this period are:

### A.II.1 Stable master

#### A.II.1.1 Pa-Semsu

Reign of Seti I.

On the stela of his brother Nianuy, Louvre C. 93, Pa-Semsu is referred to as:



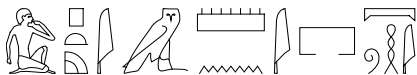
*sn.f hry ihw p3-smsw*

His brother, the Stable master, Pa-Semsu.<sup>17</sup>

#### A.II.1.2 Amunemipt

Reign of Ramesses II.

On an inscription at Sehel, Amunemipt is referred to as:



*hry ihw imn-m-ipt*

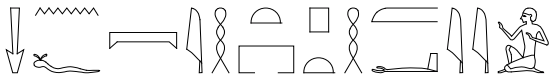
The Stable master Amunemipt.

In the same inscription, Amunemipt's father Amenhotep is said to belong to the stable of Ramesses II. in the residence. This may show that he worked as stable master at the same stable mentioned in the inscription.<sup>18</sup>

#### A.II.1.3 Ptah-ma<sup>c</sup>y

Reign of Ramesses II.

The son of Haunefer, Ptah-ma<sup>c</sup>y is mentioned on the limestone stele of his father, now in the British Museum, as:



*sn.f hry ihw pth-mcy*

His brother, the Stable master Ptahma<sup>c</sup>y.<sup>19</sup>

#### A.II.1.4 Bak-<sup>c</sup>A

Reign of Ramesses II.

The brother of Ptah-ma<sup>c</sup>y, Bak-<sup>c</sup>A is mentioned on his limestone stela in the British Museum No. 164

and also on the stela of his brother 'Imn-htp named *hryw* No. 166 as:



*hry ihw b3k-c3*

The Stable master Bak-<sup>c</sup>A.<sup>20</sup>

#### A.II.1.5 Pay

Reign of Ramesses II.

The brother of Ptah-ma<sup>c</sup>y and Bak-<sup>c</sup>A, Pay is referred to on his brother's stela as:



*sn.t sic.f hry ihw p3y.*

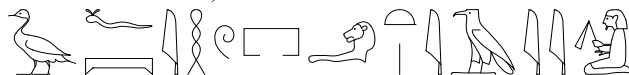
His brother, the Stable master Pay.<sup>21</sup>

*Note: the "t" is misspelling of the word "sn".*

#### A.II.1.6 Hatiay

Reign of Ramesses II.

Hatiay is referred to on his father's stela, British Museum No. 156, as:



*s3.f hry ihw h3t-isy*

His son, the stable master Hatiay.<sup>22</sup>

#### A.II.1.7 Pa-nefer

Reign of Ramesses II.

On the stela of the army scribe Neb-wa<sup>c</sup>, Pa-nefer said to be:



*hry ihw p3-nfr*

The Stable master Pa- nefer.<sup>23</sup>

#### A.II.1.8 Min-em-heb

Reign of Ramesses II.

On the stela of the army scribe Neb-wa<sup>c</sup>, Min-em-heb is referred to as:

<sup>17</sup> KRI I, 3466.

<sup>18</sup> DE MORGAN, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, 88, No. 63.

<sup>19</sup> LIEBLEIN, *Dictionnaire des noms hiéroglyphiques en ordre généalogique et alphabétique*, Leipzig 1871, No. 888.

<sup>20</sup> LIEBLEIN, *Dictionnaire*, No. 888; *British Museum, A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, London 1909, 169f.;

JAMES, T.G.H., *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, Part 9, London, 1970, 25–26, pl. 21–22.

<sup>21</sup> LIEBLEIN, *Dictionnaire*, No. 888.

<sup>22</sup> KRI III, 210.; JAMES, T.G.H., *Hieroglyphic Texts*, 32–33, pl. 28–28a.

<sup>23</sup> KRI III, 390.



*hry ihw min-m-hb*

The Stable master Min-em-heb.<sup>24</sup>

### A.II.1.9 Kay-iry

Reign of Ramesses II.

On the stela of the army scribe Neb-wa<sup>c</sup>, Kay-iry is referred to as:



*hry ihw k3y iry*

Stable master Kay-iry.<sup>25</sup>

The relation between Pa-nefer, Min-em-heb and Kay-iry to the owner of the stela, Neb-wa<sup>c</sup>, is not clear, but they may have been his sons-in-law since all his offspring are girls, and none of them held the epithet *sn* or *s3.f*.

### A.II.1.10 Djehuty-mes

Reign of Ramesses II.

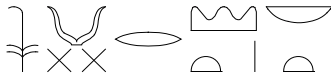
On his limestone group statue, now in the Egyptian Museum, No. 549, Djehuty-mes is referred to as:



*hry ihw dhwti-ms*

The Stable master Djehuty-mes.

He also held the title:



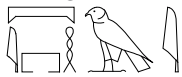
*wpwty nsw r h3swt nbt*

Kings envoy to all foreign countries.<sup>26</sup>

### A.II.1.11 Hori

Reign of Ramesses II.

The son of the Vizier Ra-hotep, Hori is referred to on a granite Naos from Sedment as:



*hry ihw hri*

The Stable master Hori.<sup>27</sup>

### A.II.1.12 Sheri-nefer

Reign of Ramesses II.

In the tomb of Mose at Memphis, Sheri-nefer is mentioned in the text of the southern wall as:



*hry ihw šri-nfr*

The Stable master, Sheri-nefer.<sup>28</sup>

### A.II.1.13 Herher-Sau-ef

Reign of Ramesses II.

On the Naos statue of Min-em-Re-em-heb from Abydos Herher-Sau-ef is referred to as:



*hry ihw hr-hr-s3w.f*

The Stable master Herher-Sau-ef.<sup>29</sup>

### A.II.1.14 Nefer-hotep

Reign of Ramesses II.

In pap. Bologna 1094, Nefer-hotep holds the title:

*hry ihw nfr-htp*

The Stable master Nefer-hotep.<sup>30</sup>

### A.II.1.15 Mes

Reign of Siptah/Tausret.

On the stela in Liverpool, City Museum, of Pa-Alsia, shipmaster, inv.13930M, Mes is referred to as:



*sn(t)<sup>sic</sup> f hry ihw ms*

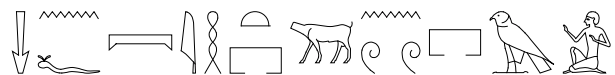
His brother, the Stable master Mes.<sup>31</sup>

## A.II.2 Stable master of the residence

### A.II.2.1 Hori

Reign of Ramesses II.

On the limestone stela of his brother, British Museum No. 132, Hori is referred to as:



<sup>24</sup> KRI III, 390.

<sup>25</sup> KRI III, 390; CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 158.

<sup>26</sup> BORCHARDT, CG Nos. 1–1294, vol. 2, Berlin 1925, 94f.

<sup>27</sup> KRI III, 61.

<sup>28</sup> KRI III, 434; CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 157.

<sup>29</sup> KRI III, 466.

<sup>30</sup> GARDINER, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, Bruxelles 1937, (3,3); CAMINOS, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, Oxford 1954, 12.

<sup>31</sup> KRI IV, 446.

*sn.f hꜣry iꜣw n hnw hꜣri*

His brother, the Stable master of the Residence, Hori.<sup>32</sup>

#### A.II.2.2 Nefer-<sup>c</sup>Abu

Reign of Ramesses II.

In a papyrus Cairo Museum. CG 58059, Nefer-<sup>c</sup>Abu is referred to as:



*hꜣry iꜣw nfr-<sup>c</sup>bw n hnw*

The Stable master Nefer-<sup>c</sup>Abu of the residence.<sup>33</sup>

#### A.II.2.3 Ti

Reign of Ramesses II.

On the granite Naos of the Vizier Ra-hotep from Sedment, Ti is referred to as:



*hꜣry iꜣw n hnw tꜣy*

The Stable master of the Residence Ti.<sup>34</sup>

#### A.II.2.4 Ptah-em-wia

Reign of Ramesses II.

On a stela in the British Museum, No. 167, Ptah-em-wia is referred to, among his different titles, as:



*hꜣry iꜣw n hnw pth-m-wꜣꜥ mꜣ<sup>c</sup>-hrw*

Stable master of the residence, Ptah-em-wia, justified.<sup>35</sup>

#### A.II.2.5 Bak-<sup>c</sup>A

Reign of Ramesses II.

On his stela No. 164 in the British Museum, Bak-<sup>c</sup>A is also referred to as:



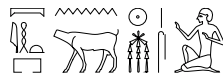
*hꜣry iꜣw bꜣk-<sup>c</sup>ꜣ n hnw*

The Stable master, Bak-<sup>c</sup>A of the residence.<sup>36</sup>

#### A.II.2.6 Ramose

Reign of Siptah/Tausret.

In the tomb of Iyory at Memphis Ramesses is referred to as:



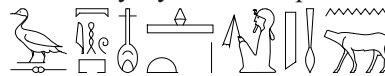
*hꜣry iꜣw n hnw r<sup>c</sup>-ms*

The Stable master of the Residence 'Ramose'.<sup>37</sup>

#### A.II.2.7 Nefer-hotep

Reign of Siptah/Tausret.

On a tomb fragment from Memphis belong to the tomb of Iyory Neferhotep is referred to as:



*sꜣ.s hꜣry iꜣw nfr-hꜣtp mꜣ<sup>c</sup>-hrw n hnw*

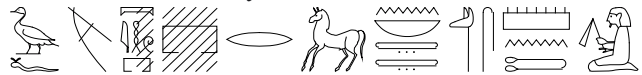
Her son, the Stable master Nefer-hotep, justified, of the residence.<sup>38</sup>

#### A.II.3 Stable master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands

##### A.II.3.1 Usermont

Ramesses II

From the tomb of his father Khonsu, TT. 31, at Thebes Usermont is mentioned on the right hand scene of the doorway to the second hall as:



*sꜣ.f mri(.f) hꜣry iꜣw r ssmt n nb tꜣwy wsr-mntꜣw*

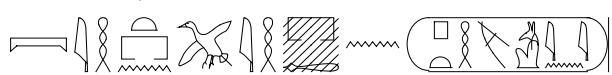
His beloved son, the Stable master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands Usermont.<sup>39</sup>

#### A.II.4 Stable master of the Great Stable of the King NN of the residence

##### A.II.4.1 Iuny

Reign of Seti I. and Ramesses II.

In the inscription in the temple of Redesah "Wadi Miah", Iuny is referred to as:



*hꜣry iꜣw n pꜣ iꜣw [ꜣ] n (sty mr n pth) (n hnw) iꜣwny*

<sup>32</sup> LIEBLEIN, *Dictionnaire*, No. 890 ; CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 164.

<sup>33</sup> KRI III, 251; CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 164.

<sup>34</sup> KRI I, 61.

<sup>35</sup> KRI II, 207; 169; *British Museum, A Guide to the Egyptian Galleries (Sculpture)*, London 1909, 169; JAMES, T.G.H.,

*Hieroglyphic Texts*, 29–30, pl. 25–25a; CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 162.

<sup>36</sup> KRI II, 386.

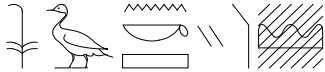
<sup>37</sup> KRI IV, 380.

<sup>38</sup> KRI IV, 380 ; CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 164.

<sup>39</sup> KRI III, 408.

The Stable master of the [Great] Stable of Seti I “of the residence” Iuny.

A further important title held by Iuny is:

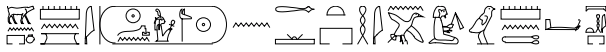


*s3 nsw n k3š*  
Viceroy of Kush.<sup>40</sup>

#### A.II.4.2 Nekht-Mont

Reign of Ramesses II.

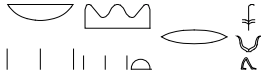
On a graffito at Elephantine, Nekht-Mont is referred to as:



*ḥry iḥw nḥt-mntw n p3 iḥw ʕ3 n (wsr m3ʕt Rʕ)*  
*mri imn n ḥnw*

The Stable master Nekht-mont of the Great Stable of Ramesses II beloved of Amun, of the residence.

Nekht-Mont also held the important title:

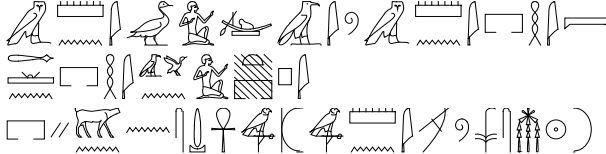


*wpwty nsw r ḥ3swt nb*  
King's envoy to all foreign lands.<sup>41</sup>

#### A.II.4.3 Amenmuia

Reign of Merenptah.

In pap. Sallier I, Amenmuia holds the title:



*ḥry iḥw imn-m-wi3 s3 imn-m-ipt n p3 iḥw ʕ3 n*  
*(Rʕ ms sw mri imn) ʕnh wḏ3 snb n ḥnw*

The Stable master Amenmuia, son of Amenmipet, of the Great Stable of Ramesses-miamun (L.P.h.), of the residence.<sup>42</sup>

#### A.II.4.4 Hori

Reign of Seti II., regnal Year 3.

On a graffito in Buhen, Hori is referred to as:



*ḥri s3 k3-m3ʕ m3ʕ-ḥrw n p3 iḥw ʕ3 n (sty mr n*  
*pth) n ḥnw ir.f m ḥ3t-sp 3*

Hori, son of Kama, justified, of the Great Stable of Seti II of the residence. He made it in year 3.

Hori also held the important title:



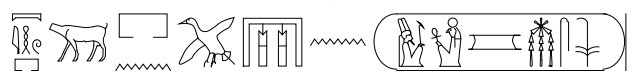
*wpwty nsw r ḥ3st nb*  
King's envoy to all foreign lands.<sup>43</sup>

#### A.II.5 Stable master of the Columned Hall of Ramesses II of the Residence

##### A.II.5.1 Hui

Reign of Ramesses II.

On a graffito in Aswan (on the military road between Aswan and Philae), Hui is referred to as:



*ḥry iḥw ḥnw n p3 ḏ3ḏw n (Rʕ ms sw mri imn).*

Stable master of the residence, of the columned hall of Ramesses II, beloved of Amun.

Hui also held the important title:



*wpwty nsw r ḥ3st nbt s3 nsw n k3š*  
King's envoy to all foreign lands, Viceroy of Kush.<sup>44</sup>

#### A.II.6 Stable master of the Training Stable

##### A.II.6.1 Bakenkhons

Reign of Seti I and Ramesses II.

Among the inscriptions on his statue in Munich, Bakenkhons mentions that he worked as stable master of the training stable when he was 11 years old. It reads:



*ʕry (n) i 11 n rnpt m ḥwn iw.i m ḥry n shpr n*  
*nsw (... Mn)*

When I completed 11 years as a child I became Stable master of the Training Stable of Seti I.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>40</sup> DARESSY, *ASAE* 20 (1920), 139; REISNER, *JEA* 6 (1920), 39; CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 166.

<sup>41</sup> *KRI* III, 252.

<sup>42</sup> Pap. Sallier I (9–2), see GARDINER, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 87 (9,2) and CAMINOS, *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, 326.

<sup>43</sup> *KRI* III, IV. 364.

<sup>44</sup> HABACHI, *Sixteen studies on Lower Nubia*, *CASAE* 23, 1981, 51, fig. 17; CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 165.

<sup>45</sup> *KRI* III, 298; BREASTED, *ARE* III, 1927, 234–236.

## A.II.7 First Stable master of His Majesty

### A.II.7.1 Titi

Reign of Seti I.

In the tomb of his father, No. 106 at Thebes, Titi is referred to as:



*s3.f hry ihw tpy n hm.f titi*.

His son, the First Stable master of His Majesty, Titi.<sup>46</sup>

## B. Master of the Horses

### B.I.1 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Five grades of this title are already known during the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, they are:

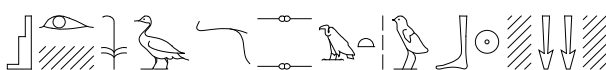
- 1- *imy-r ssmt* – Master of the Horses.
- 2- *imy-r ssmt n nb t3wy* – Master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands.
- 3- *imy-r ssmt n ihw r dr.f* – Master of the Horses of the Entire Stable.
- 4- *imy-r ssmt n (hm.f)* – Master of the Horses of His Majesty.
- 5- *imy-r ssmt nt nswt m sm'w mhtt* – Master of the Horses of the king in the south and north = upper and lower Egypt

### B.I.1 Master of the Horses

The title holders are arranged in chronological order.

#### B.I.1.1 Weben-senu

The son of Amenophis II and brother of Tuthmosis IV, Weben-senu held the title:



*s3 nsw imy-r ssmt wbn-snw*

King's son, Master of the Horses Weben-senu.<sup>47</sup>

#### B.I.1.2 Horemheb

Reign of Tuthmosis IV.

Horemheb held the title:



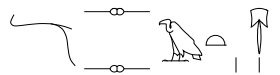
*imy-r ssmt hr-m-hb*

Master of the Horses Horemheb.<sup>48</sup>

#### B.I.1.3 YoYa

Reign of Amenophis III.

Among the inscriptions on his sarcophagus, Yoya bears the title:



*imy-r ssmt*

Master of the Horses.

Yoya also held the title:



*idnw n hm.f m ti nt htr*

Adjutant of His Majesty in chariotry.<sup>49</sup>

#### B.I.1.4 Paser

Reign of Amenophis IV and Tutankhamun.

In his father's tomb, TT 40, Paser, the son of Hui, is referred to as:



*imy-r ssmt p3-sr s3 s3 nsw hwy*

Master of the horses Paser, son of the king's son Hui.<sup>50</sup>

#### B.I.1.5 Aye

Reign of Tutankhamun.

From a Box in Berlin, No. 17555. The future king, Aye, is recorded as holding the title:



*imy-r ssmt iy*.

The Master of the Horses Aye.<sup>51</sup>

#### B.I.1.6 Parennefer

Reign of Horemheb.

From an inscription in the tomb of Maya at Saqqara, Parennefer is referred to as:

<sup>46</sup> KRI III, 296.

<sup>47</sup> GAUTHIER, *Le livre des rois*, 290; see also CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 46 and a review of his reading in PAMMINGER, P., (Contributions à la prosopographie militaire du Nouvel Empire) BiOr 54 (1997), 13.

<sup>48</sup> HELCK, *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie*, Leipzig 1939, 60.

<sup>49</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1894f.; ALDRED, *JEA* 43 (1957), 31–33; CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 46.

<sup>50</sup> *Urk.* IV, 2065.

<sup>51</sup> *Urk.* IV, 2002; CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 45.





*sn.f hry pdwt imy-r ssmt p3-rn-nfr*

His brother, the Commander of Archers, Master of the Horses Parennefer.<sup>52</sup>

### B.I.2 Master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands

#### B.I.2.1 Min-nekht:

Reign of Tuthmosis III.

Among the titles recorded in his tomb, TT 87, in western Thebes, Min-nekht is recorded as being:



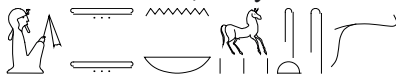
*sš nsw imy-r ssmt n nb t3wy min-nht*

King's scribe, Master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands Min-nekht.<sup>53</sup>

#### B.I.2.2 Ma ʿy

Reign of Amenophis IV.

In an inscription in the tomb of Ramose, TT 55, in western Thebes, Ma ʿy is referred to as:



*imy-r ssmt n nb t3wy*

The Master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands.

Ma ʿy also held the important title:



*wpwty n nsw hr h3st nbt*

King's envoy to all foreign lands.<sup>54</sup>

#### B.I.2.3 Aye

Reign of Tutankhamun.

In his tomb at el-Amarna, Aye bears the title:



*imy-r ssmt nb n nb t3wy*

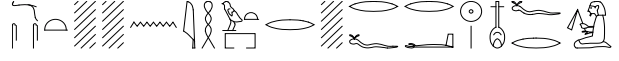
Master of all Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands.<sup>55</sup>

### B.I.3. Master of the Horses of the Entire Stable

#### B.I.3.1 Re-nefer

Reign of Amenophis IV.

On painted plaster from a niche in the northern loggia of house N. 49–18 at el-Amarna, Re-nefer is referred to as:



*imy-r ssmt n ihw r-[d]r.f rʿ-nfr*

Master of the horses of the [en]tire stable, Re-nefer.<sup>56</sup>

### B.I.4 Master of the Horses of His Majesty

#### B.I.4.1 Hekarneh

Reign of Tuthmosis IV.

On a cone from his tomb, TT 64, at Thebes, he bears the title:



*imy-r ssmt [n hm] f hk3 r nhh*

Master of the Horses [of] His [Majesty] Hekarneh.<sup>57</sup>

#### B.I.4.2 Aye

Reign of Tutankhamun.

In his tomb at el-Amarna, Aye bears the title:



*imy-r ssmt nb n hm.f*

Master of all Horses of His Majesty.

Other important title:



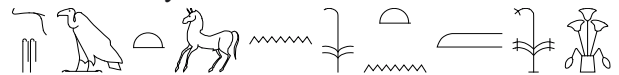
*t3y-hw hr wnmy n nsw*

Fan bearer to the right of the king.<sup>58</sup>

### B.I.5 Master of the Horses of the king in the south and north

#### B.I.5.1 Meri-Atum

On a funerary cone he is mentioned as:



<sup>52</sup> *Urk.* IV, 2164; CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 47.

<sup>53</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1179.

<sup>54</sup> STEINDORFF, *Die Kunst der Ägypter*, Leipzig 1928, No. 236.

<sup>55</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1998.

<sup>56</sup> PEET and WOOLEY, *The City of Akhenaten*, I, EES 38, 1923, pl. LX.

<sup>57</sup> MOND, *ASAE* 6 (1906), 91; HELCK, *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie*, 60. CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 54.

<sup>58</sup> *Urk.* IV, 1997 and 2001.

*imy-r ssmt nt nswt m šm<sup>c</sup>w mḥtt*

Master of the Horses of the king in the south and north<sup>59</sup> = upper and lower Egypt

### B.II 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Three grades of this title are known during the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. They are:

- 1- *imy-r ssmt* – Master of the Horses.
- 2- *imy-r ssmt n nb t3wy* – Master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands.
- 3- *imy-r ssmt nt King NN m pr imn* – Master of the Horses of King NN in the House of Amun.

#### B.II.1 Master of the Horses

##### B.II.1.1 Hui

Reign of Ramesses II.

On a limestone stela from lower Nubia Berlin No 17332, Hui is recorded as holding the title:



*imy-r ssmt*

Master of the Horses.

Hui also held the important titles:



*idnw n ḥm.f m tī nt ḥtry .....wpwty nsw ḥr ḥ3st nb .. s3 nsw n k3š*

Adjutant of His Majesty of the Chariotry, King's envoy to all foreign lands, Viceroy of Kush.<sup>60</sup>

##### B.II.1.2 Pa-re-her-wenm-ef = Re-her-wenm-ef

Son of Ramesses II.

In inscriptions at Abu-Simbel, the list of princes in the temple of Derr, the temple of Luxor, and the Ramesseum, Pa-re-her-wenm-ef is associated with the title:



*imy-r ssmt p3-r<sup>c</sup>-ḥr-wnm.f*

Master of Horses Pa-re-her-wenm-ef.

This prince also held the title:



*kḏn.tpy n it.f*

First charioteer of his father'.<sup>61</sup>

#### B.II.2 Master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands

##### B.II.2.1 Pa-Ramesses

Reign of Seti I.

In the inscriptions on the sarcophagus of Prince Pa-Ramesses from Medinet Habu, Pa-Ramesses bears the title:



*imy-r ssmt n nb t3wy*

Master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands.

Pa-Ramesses also held the important titles.



*rp<sup>c</sup>t ḥ3ty-<sup>c</sup> imy-r niwt t3ty*

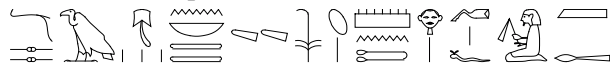
Hereditary prince, Governor, Overseer of the City, Vizier.

A prince Ramesses is known to bear the same titles on the 400 year stela, but it is not clear whether this Pa-Ramesses is Ramesses II, the future king, or the eldest son of Seti I, who died during his father's reign.<sup>62</sup>

##### B.II.2.2. Montu-her-khepesh-ef

Son of Ramesses II.

On a black granite statue, found at Tell Basta, Montu-her-khepesh-ef bears the title:



*imy-r ssmt n nb t3wy s3 nsw mntw-ḥr-ḥpš.f m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw*

Master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands, Prince Montu-her-khepesh-ef, justified.<sup>63</sup>

He also held the important title:



*kḏn.tpy n it.f*

First charioteer of his father.

<sup>59</sup> CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 53

<sup>60</sup> KRI III, 79; G. ROEDER, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, 2. Band, Leipzig 1924, 212–213.

<sup>61</sup> GAUTHIER, *Le livre des rois*, 83f.; KITCHEN, *JEA* 50, 1964, 60, fig. Vf.6.

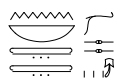
<sup>62</sup> BRUNTON, *ASAE* 43 (1943), 138.

<sup>63</sup> GAUTHIER, *Le livre des rois*, 91.

### B.II.2.3 Seti

Reigns of Ramesses II.

Among the inscriptions on his Naophorous statue, Louvre A. 70, Seti bears the title:



*imy-r ssmt n nb t3wy* .

Master of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands.

Seti also held the important title:



*wpwty nsw r h3st nb(t)*

King's envoy to all foreign countries.<sup>64</sup>

### B.II.2.4 Tuthmosis

Reign of Ramesses II.

On a door lintel from Hermopolis, now in Victoria Museum, Uppsala, Tuthmosis is referred to as:



*imy-r ssmt n nb t3wy dhwti ms m3c-hrw*

Master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands

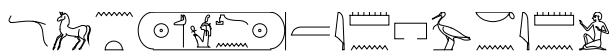
Tuthmosis, justified.<sup>65</sup>

### B.II.3 Master of the Horses of King NN in the House of Amun

#### B.II.3.1 Bakenamun

Reign of Ramesses II.

On a votive stele, Bakenamun is mentioned with the title:



*sn.f imy-r ssmt nt (wsr m3c t r c stp n R c) m pr*

*Imn b3k-n-imm*

His brother, the Master of Horses of (Ramesses II) in the House of Amun, Bakenamun.<sup>66</sup>

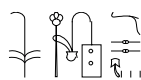
### B.III 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

Only the title “Master of the Horses” is known from this dynasty.

### B.III.1 Remes

Son of Ramesses III, the future king Ramesses VI.

In a list at the temple of Medinet Habu, Remes is mentioned with the title:



*s3 nsw imy-r ssmt*

Royal Scribe, Master of the Horses.<sup>67</sup>

### B.III.2 Ramesses Setukh-her-khepesh-ef

Son of Ramesses III, the future King Ramesses VIII.

In a list at the temple of Medinet Habu, Ramesses bears the title:



*imy-r ssmt ..... r c mss-sth-hr-hp3.f*

Master of the Horses Ramesses Setukh-her-khepesh-ef.<sup>68</sup>

He also held the title:



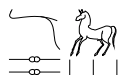
*imy-r ssmt wr*

This title was translated by Chevereau as “grand chef de la cavalerie ”<sup>69</sup>great stable master.

### B.III.3 Amun-her-Khepesh-ef

Son of Ramesses III.

Among the inscriptions in his tomb in the Valley of the Queens, Amun-her-Khepesh-ef bears the title:



*imy-r ssmt imn-hr-hp3.f*

Master of the Horses Amun-her-khepesh-ef.<sup>70</sup>

Other titles ;*imy-r ssmt wr nt nswt nht* – great stable master of the victories king

*Imy-r ssmt wr tpy n hm.f n t3 st (RIII)ti nt htri* – great stable master ,first one to his majesty in the place of (R.III) of Chariotry.<sup>71</sup>

In my opinion the title or epithet *wr* here is an addition to the main title– Master of the horses– to designate the high rank of its bearer who were of royal blood, it doesn't refer to a real rank in the

<sup>64</sup> KRI III, 241.

<sup>65</sup> KRI III, 253.

<sup>66</sup> LIEBLEIN, *Dictionnaire*, No. 890.

<sup>67</sup> GAUTHIER, *Le livre des rois*, 175.

<sup>68</sup> GAUTHIER, *Le livre des rois*, 176.

<sup>69</sup> CHEVEREAU, *op.cit.*, 53.

<sup>70</sup> GAUTHIER, *Le livre des rois*, 178.

<sup>71</sup> Chevereau, *op.cit.*, 53

military organization. It can be translated also as master of the great horses, the word *wr* here is an epithet for the horses, and this is meant to show that those persons were responsible for special horses which may belong to the king himself. So it was not introduced here as a separate title in the horse administration.

### C. Scribe of the Horses and the Stable

#### C.I Scribe of the stable

This rare title only occurs once, as the title of:

##### C.I.1 Haty

Reign of Ramesses I.

On a limestone stela in the Musée Guimet, Haty is referred to as:



*sš ḥꜣty n iḥw n (rꜥ ms sw)*

The Scribe Haty of the stable of Ramesses.<sup>72</sup>

#### C.II Scribe of the Horses

Two grades are known of this title:

1- *sš ssmt* – Scribe of the Horses.

2- *sš n pꜣ ssmt n pr ꜣ* – Scribe of the Horses of the Pharaoh.

##### C.II.1 Scribe of the Horses

###### C.II.1.1 ʿA-bau

19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty.

In the inscriptions in his tomb, TT 351, in western Thebes, ʿA-bau bears the title:



*sš ssmt*

Scribe of the Horses.<sup>73</sup>

##### C.II.2 Scribe of the Horses of Pharaoh

###### C.II.2.1 Ta

Reign of Ramesses II.

In the inscription on a wooden scribal palette, British Museum 5514, Ta is referred to as:



*sš tꜣ mꜣꜥ-ḥrw n pꜣ ssmt n pr ꜣ ꜥnh wꜣꜣ snb*

Scribe Ta, justified, for the horses of Pharaoh, L.P.H.<sup>74</sup>

### D. Other titles connected with the stables

In addition to the titles already mentioned there are also other titles connected with the stables and the horses. These are rare and occur only once or twice during the 19<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. They will be discussed here in order to give a complete overview of the stable administration. These titles are:

1- *tpy m iḥw* – Headmaster of the Stable.

2- *ḥry ssmt* – Commander of Horses.

3- *kꜣn n iḥw* – Charioteer of the Stable.

#### D.I Seti, the Headmaster of the Stable

Reign of Merenptah and Siptah

In an inscription at Abu Simbel, Seti bears, among different titles, the title:



*tpy m iḥw*

The Headmaster of the Stable.

Seti also held the important title:



*sꜣ nsw n kꜣš*

Viceroy of Kush.<sup>75</sup>

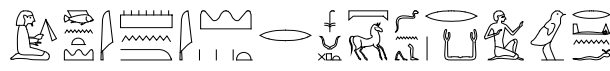
#### D.II Commander of Horses

This title was held by:

##### D.II.1. Amunemenet

Reign of Ramesses II.

Among the different titles on the right side of his statue, Luxor Museum No. 227 from Deir el-Bahari, Amunemenet relates:



*rdi.n.f wi r kꜣn ḥry ssmt .....wpwty nsw r ḥꜣst (nb) imn-m-int*

<sup>72</sup> KRI I, 325.

<sup>73</sup> FAKHRY, *ASAE* 46 (1946), 42.

<sup>74</sup> KRI III, 249.

<sup>75</sup> MASPERO, *ASAE* 10 (1910), 131ff.

He placed me to be Charioteer, Commander of Horses, and king's envoy to (all) foreign lands, Amunemet.<sup>76</sup>

### D.II.2 Men-Kheper

Reign of Ramesses II.

On a graffito at Sehel, Men-Kheper bears the title:



*wpwty nsw r ḥ3st nb ḥry ssmt n nb t3wy mn-ḥpr*  
King's envoy to all foreign lands, Commander of Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands, Men-Kheper.<sup>77</sup>

### D.III Charioteer of the Stable

The officials who held the title are:

#### D.III.1 Hui

Reign of Ramesses II.

In pap. Leiden I, 349, Hui is referred to as:

*kḏn ḥwi n p3 ḥw (r<sup>c</sup> ms sw mri ḥmn) ḥnḥ wd3 snb*

The Charioteer Hui of the stable of Ramesses II, L.P.H.<sup>78</sup>

#### D.III.2 Name lost

Reign of Ramesses II.

On a door jamb in Victoria Museum, the owner is referred to as:

*kḏn tpy n ḥm.f n p3 ḥw 3 n (wsr m3t r<sup>c</sup> stp n r<sup>c</sup>) mri ḥmn*

The First Charioteer of His Majesty of the great stable of Ramesses II, beloved of Amun.<sup>79</sup>

This man also held the important title:



*wpwty nsw r ḥ3st nb(t)*  
King's envoy to all foreign lands.

### D.III.3 Pareher-wenmef

Reign of Ramesses III.

Among the inscriptions in his tomb in the Valley of the Queens, Pareher-wenmef bears the title:

*kḏn n p3 ḥw 3 n (r<sup>c</sup> ms sw ḥk3 ḥwn) n ḥnw n pr (r<sup>c</sup> mss ḥk3 ḥwn)*

Charioteer of the great stable of Ramesses III, of the residence of Per-Ramesses.<sup>80</sup>

#### Discussion:

According to SCHULMAN the stable was considered an operational and administrative element of the chariotry. The titles collected here, however, connect special personnel with the stables, namely those who were probably not members of the military or soldiers, but rather were courtiers. As well as the personnel who belonged to high social rank, there are also the personnel of the chariotry, namely soldiers, including, for example, chariot-warriors "snni", and charioteers (*kḏn*) *etc.*<sup>81</sup>

#### I. Stable Master

##### A. The grades of the office of the "Stable master"

From the titles collected here, it is clear that there were different grades of Stable master during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. These are as follows:

##### A.1 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

- 1- *ḥry ḥw* – Stable master.
- 2- *ḥry ḥw n nb t3wy* – Stable master of the Lord of the Two Lands.
- 3- *ḥry ḥw n ḥm.f* – Stable master of His Majesty.
- 4- *ḥry ḥw tpy n nsw NN* – Stable master of King NN.
- 5- *ḥry ḥw tpy n ḥm.f* – First Stable master of His Majesty.

##### A.2 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

- 1- *ḥry ḥw* – Stable master.

<sup>76</sup> KRI III, 274.

<sup>77</sup> LIEBLEIN, *Dictionnaire*, No. 900; DE MORGAN, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*, 94, No. 138.

<sup>78</sup> KRI III, 250.

<sup>79</sup> KRI III, 253.

<sup>80</sup> GAUTHIER, *Le livre des rois*, 176.

<sup>81</sup> SCHULMAN, *JARCE* 2 (1963), 87.

Table 1: Analysis, of the Officials promoted to higher stable ranks:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Higher title</i>
<b>Suemneut</b>	Amenophis II	Stable master	Stable master of the lord of the two lands
<b>Horemheb</b>	Tuthmosis IV	Stable master	Master of the horses
<b>Pasur</b>	Amenophis IV/Tutankhamun	Stable master	Master of the horses
<b>Bak-<sup>c</sup>A</b>	Ramesses II	Stable master	Stable master of the residences

Table 2: Analysis of the officials who worked as stable master during their father's life:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Title</i>
<b>Pasur</b>	Amenophis IV/Tutankhamun	His son, stable master
<b>Thwr</b>	Amenophis IV/Tutankhamun	His son, stable master
<b>Minmes</b>	Tuthmosis IV	His son, stable master of the lord of the two lands
<b>Titi</b>	Seti I	His son, stable master
<b>Hatiy</b>	Ramesses II	His son, stable master
<b>Usermont</b>	Ramesses II	His son his beloved stable master
<b>Nefer hotep</b>	Siptah/Tausert	His son stable master of the horses

- 2- *ḥry iḥw n ḥnw* – Stable master of the Residence.
- 3- *ḥry iḥw r ssmt n nb tꜣwy* – Stable master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands.
- 4- *ḥry iḥw n pꜣ iḥw ʕ n King NN* – Stable master of the Great Stable of King NN, of the residence.
- 5- *ḥry iḥw ḥnw n pꜣ dꜣḏw n (r<sup>c</sup> ms sw mri imn)* – Stable master of the Columned hall of Ramesses II, of the residence.
- 6- *ḥry n šḥpr* – Stable master of the Training Stable.
- 7- *ḥry iḥw tpy n ḥm.f* – First Stable master of His Majesty.

It is possible that the titles Stable master of King NN, Stable master of the Lord of the Two Lands, and Stable master of His Majesty all refer to one and the same grade. The difference is probably the result of some officials preferring to mention the Pharaoh by name, while others preferred to use the king's title only.

Officials that started their careers as stable master were promoted inside the administration to higher grades or to masters of horses, such as Suemneut and Paser, (see table 1).

## **B. The age of the stable master while holding this office**

Through first studying the age of the stable masters, as well as the role and status of the title-holders, the nature of this office can be better understood. The evidence for the officials' titles shows that most of the stable masters held this office during their father's lifetime, at the beginning of their careers (see table 2). The biography of Bakenkhons (see A.II.6.1) clarifies this as he mentions that he held the office of stable master when he was 11 years old. Therefore, it is possible to state that the office of stable master was given to the office holder in the second decade of his life.

This explains why SCHULMAN was confused as to whether the office should be identified as a military or civil one – it is obvious that the officials were still too young to join military service; thus, in this case, the office was a civil one at the beginning of the official's career. Once the official had become older he would be promoted to higher office – either military, civil or even religious, such as Bakenkhons (see A.II.6.1). The young age of the stable masters stands against SCHULMAN's argument that the office was held after leaving the military.<sup>82</sup>

<sup>82</sup> SCHULMAN, *Military rank, title, and organization*, 53; id., *JARCE* 2 (1963), 94f.

Table 3: Analysis of the stable masters, who worked as king's envoy:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Higher title</i>
<b>Amunmes</b>	Tuthmosis III/ Amenophis II	Stable master of the lord of the two lands	King's envoy to the land of Retenu
<b>Djehutymes</b>	Ramesses II	Stable master of the great stable of Ramesses II beloved of Amun	King's envoy to all foreign lands
<b>Hui</b>	Ramesses II	Stable master of the residence of the column hall of Ramesses II	King's envoy to all foreign lands
<b>Nekht-mont</b>	Ramesses II	Stable master of the great stable of Ramesses II beloved of Amun	King's envoy to all foreign lands
<b>Hori</b>	Seti II	Stable master of the great stable of Seti II of the residence	King's envoy to all foreign lands

### C. The Role of the Stable master

#### C.1 Inside the stable

The title “*hry*” shows that the stable master had command over the people working inside the stable, including grooms “*ꜥ n šmmt*” who were responsible for training horses, scribes of the stable administration, scribes of the horses administration, guards of the stable administration and persons who clean the stable rooms.

The stable master was responsible for the grazing and well-being of the horses.<sup>83</sup> In Pap. Sallier I (9–2, 4) Amenmuia, the stable master of the great stable of Ramesses II (see A.II.4.3), complains that 30 Arouras of fields, which had been given to him to produce fodder for the horses of the Pharaoh, had been taken away from him.<sup>84</sup> But, as is known from Pap. Bologna 1094 (9–3,5), the stable master could also serve as a military officer: the Stable master Paser served as a shield bearer in Asia for 5 years. He also participated in expeditions to Asia or other places, evidenced in Pap. Koller (1–1) and Wadi Hammamat inscription No. 12.<sup>85</sup>

#### C.2 Outside the Stable.

Besides his main function, a Stable master could also perform other jobs:

- In Pap. Turin it is stated that the Stable master was responsible for conscripts in Memphis.<sup>86</sup>

- Some of the Stable masters held the title “*wpwty nsw r ḥꜣst nbt*” (see table 3); showing that they served as king's envoy to foreign lands, most probably to buy horses for the king.
- The stable master could also participate in investigations in different places, as evidenced in the inscription of the Stable master Amunemopet, who was sent to investigate in Nubia.

### D. The standing of the stable master

In the Nauri decree the stable master is mentioned after the charioteer and before the standard-bearers. “..... *the charioteers, the stable chiefs the standard bearers, every agent belonging to the king's Estate*”.<sup>87</sup>

It was not a high office within the government, but in spite of this, it guaranteed that the one who held the position would be promoted to higher rank inside the government and the administration. Some of the stable masters were promoted until they reached the high office of King's Son of Kush (see table 4).

The stable masters of the residence must have been higher in rank than standard Stable masters. It seems that the aim of the office was to give the one who held it some kind of management training at the start of his career; following his time as stable master the official would be promoted to a

<sup>83</sup> FAULKNER, *JEA* 39 (1953), 43.

<sup>84</sup> SCHULMAN, *Military rank, title, and organization*, 52; id., *JARCE* 2 (1963), 110.

<sup>85</sup> SCHULMAN, *Military rank, title, and organization*, 51; id., *JARCE* 2 (1963), 240.

<sup>86</sup> SCHULMAN, *Military rank, title, and organization*, 52; id., *JARCE* 2 (1963), 110.

<sup>87</sup> EDGERTON, *JNES* 6 (1947), 221f.

Table 4: Analysis of the Stable masters who were promoted to the office “Viceroy of Kush”:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Higher title</i>
<b>Amunhotep</b>	Tuthmosis IV/Amenophis II	Stable master of his majesty	Viceroy of Kush
<b>Yuni</b>	Seti I/Ramesses II	Stable master of the great stable of Seti I of the residence	Viceroy of Kush
<b>Huy</b>	Ramesses II	Stable master of the residence of the column hall of Ramesses II beloved of Amun	Viceroy of Kush
<b>Hori</b>	Siptah, Setnakhte	Hori, son of Kama of the stable of Seti I of the court	Viceroy of Kush

higher ranking position in the civil, military or religious administration.

### In conclusion:

It is possible to say that Stable masters were not high officials; however, at the same time the office guaranteed that the one who held it would be promoted to higher positions. Also, it was considered a form of training for an official at the start of his career. It was a civil service connected with the residence – where the stable masters served – in which the office holder would sometimes be charged to undertake other roles in addition to his main function, such as investigating in Nubia or other places.

## II. Master of the Horses

### A. Grades of this office

#### A.1 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

- 1- *imy-r ssmt* – Master of the Horses.
- 2- *imy-r ssmt n nb t3wy* – Master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands.
- 3- *imy-r ssmt n ihw r-dr.f* – Master of the Horses of the Entire Stable.
- 4- *imy-r ssmt n hm.f* – Master of the Horses of His Majesty.
- 5- *imy-r ssmt nt nswt m šm<sup>c</sup>w mht* – Master of the Horses of the king in the south and north = upper and lower Egypt

#### A.2 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty

- 1- *imy-r ssmt* – Master of the Horses.

2- *imy-r ssmt n nb t3wy* – Master of the Horses of the Lord of the Two Lands.

3- *imy-r ssmt nt King NN m pr imn* – Master of the Horses of King NN in the House of Amun.

### B. The Standing and Activities of the Master of the Horses

SCHULMAN has stated that little is known about the nature, standing and activities of the Master of the horses. He argued that it is a common title showing that its bearer held a command in the chariotry without specific function, and that, when it is used, it could possibly refer to the adjutant of chariotry, the charioteer and chariot warrior.<sup>88</sup> HELCK, however, considered it a civil office, proposing that the person who held the title served inside the country, such as Min-nekht (see B.I.2.1). He also considered the title Master of the Horse an honorary one, given to those who ended their military life at the frontier.<sup>89</sup>

It is difficult to accept SCHULMAN’s opinion that the title refers to charioteers or chariot warriors, because the title “Master of Horses” is found side by side with the title charioteer and chariot warrior. This means that it was a separate title, and in addition, that the master of the horses could be promoted to charioteer or chariot warrior (see table 5).

While the role of charioteer appears to be an important one on the battlefield, it can be stated that the Master of the Horses played an active role in the administration of the stable itself. It seems that he was responsible for the horses and acted as a commander for the younger stable masters. He

<sup>88</sup> SCHULMAN, *Military rank, title, and organization*, 47; id., *JARCE* 2 (1963), 95.

<sup>89</sup> HELCK, *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie*, 61.



also controlled the “Scribes of the Horses and Stable”. It would appear that he acted as the head of the stable administration.

The titles in the stable administration can be arranged as follows in order of significance:

- 1 – Master of the Horses – *imy-r ssmt*
- 2 – Stable master – *hry ihw*

- 3 – Scribe of Horses – *sš ssmt*
- 4 – Scribe of the Stable – *sš ihw*
- 5 – Grooms – *ʿz n šmmt*.

As with the Stable masters, the Masters of the Horses served as king’s envoy to the foreign lands (see table 6). The importance of the Master of the Horses can be seen in the names of the people who

Table 5: Analysis of the Masters of horses who held titles in chariotry:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Title connected with chariotry</i>
<b>Yoya</b>	Amenhotep III	Master of the horses	Adjutant of his majesty of chariotry
<b>Hui</b>	Ramesses II	Master of the horses	Adjutant of his majesty of chariotry, Charioteer
<b>Montu-her-khepesh-ef</b>	Ramesses II	Master of the horses of the lord of the two lands	Charioteer
<b>Pareher-wenemef</b>	Ramesses II	Master of the horses	Charioteer
<b>Amonemone</b>	Ramesses II	Commander of horses	Charioteer

Table 6: Analysis of the Masters of the horses who worked as king’s envoys:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Higher title</i>
<b>Ma ʿy</b>	Amenophis IV	Master of the horses of the lord of the two lands	King’s envoy to all foreign lands
<b>Seti</b>	Ramesses II	Master of the horses	King’s envoy to all foreign lands
<b>Amonemone</b>	Ramesses II	Commander of horses	King’s envoy to all foreign lands
<b>Menkheper</b>	Ramesses II	Commander of horses	King’s envoy to all foreign lands
<b>Hui</b>	Ramesses II	Master of the horses	King’s envoy to all foreign lands

Table 7: Analysis of the master of the horses who had relations to the royal family:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Title</i>	<i>Relation to the royal family.</i>
<b>Weben senw</b>	Master of the horses	Son of Amenophis II
<b>Yoya</b>	Master of the horses	Father-in-law of king Amenophis III
<b>Eye</b>	Master of the horses of the lord of the two lands	Brother-in-law
<b>Hekarenheh</b>	Master of the horses of his majesty	Teacher of Princes
<b>Pa ramesses</b>	Master of the horses of the lord of the two lands	Son of Seti I
<b>Montu-her-khepesh-ef</b>	Master of the horses of the lord the two lands.	Son of Ramesses II
<b>Pareher wenemef</b>	Master of the horses	Son of Ramesses II
<b>Remes</b>	Master of the horses	Son of Ramesses III., future king Ramesses VI
<b>Ramesses Setukh-her-khepes-ef</b>	Master of the horses	Son of Ramesses III, future king Ramesses VIII
<b>Amun her khepsh- ef</b>	Master of the horses	Son of Ramesses III

held the title, and their relation to the royal family (see table 7). Most of them were princes or crown princes; it can thus be regarded as a royal office. Due to the importance of those who held the office, HELCK considered it an honorary title given to some people by the king.

### III. Scribal ranks

The offices of Scribe of the Stable, Scribe of Horses and Scribe of the Pharaoh's Horses reflect that the chariotry and the connected stables had their own internal organization.<sup>90</sup> The information that the scribes documented most probably included:

- The names of the grooms working in the stable.

- The area of the pasture land and cultivated land for the horses, and the amount of fodder for the horses, each day.

The Scribes of Horses were most probably responsible for recording:

- The names of the horses and their family names.<sup>91</sup>
- The names of the people who received horses from the royal stables.
- Names of sick horses.
- The age of the horses.
- The date of fertilizing the mares.
- The number of horses in the stable.
- The number of horses and stable masters away on campaign.

### Bibliography

- ALDRED, C., The end of the el-'Amarna Period, *JEA* 43, 1957, 30–41.
- ASHMAWY, A. A., Names of Horses in Ancient Egypt, in: GOYON J.-Cl., CARDIN C. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists – Grenoble, 6–12 September 2004*, OLA 150, 665–676, Leuven 1997
- BORCHARDT, L., *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo* Nr. 1–1294: 2. Text und Tafeln zu Nr 381–653, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Cairo 1925.
- BREASTED, J. H., *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest* 3. Chicago 1927.
- BRUNTON, G., The Inner Sarcophagus of Prince Ramessu from Medinet Habu, *ASAE* 43, 1943, 133–148.
- BUDGE, E.A.W., *A Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum*, London 1909.
- CAMINOS, R.A., *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, Oxford 1954.
- CHEVEREAU, P.-M., *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, EME 3, Paris 1994.
- DARESSY, G., Un fils royal en Nubie, *ASAE* 20, 1920, 129–142.
- DAVIES, N. DE G., *The tombs of Menkheperasonb, Amenmose, and Another* (Nos. 86, 112, 42, 226), Theban Tomb Series 5, London 1933.
- DE MORGAN, J., *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique*. Série I. Haute Égypte I. De la frontière de Nubie à Kom Ombos, Vienna 1894.
- EDGERTON, W.F., The Nauri Decree of Seti I: A Translation and Analysis of the Legal Portion, *JNES* 6, 1947, 219–230.
- FAULKNER, R. O., Egyptian military organization, *JEA* 39, 1953, 32–47.
- FAKHRY, A., A Report on the Inspectorate of Upper Egypt, *ASAE* 46, 1947, 25–54.
- GARDINER, A.H., *Late Egyptian Miscellanies*, Bruxelles 1937.
- GAUTHIER, H., *Le livre des rois d'Égypte*, MIFAO 19, 1912.
- HABACHI, L., *Sixteen studies on Lower Nubia*, *CASAE* 23, 1981.
- HELCK, W., *Der Einfluss der Militärführer in der 18. ägyptischen Dynastie*, Leipzig 1939.
- HELCK, W., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Heft 18 bearbeitet von Wolfgang Helck. Biographische Inschriften von Zeitgenossen Thutmosis' III. und Amenophis' II., Berlin, 1956.
- HELCK, W., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Heft 22 bearbeitet von Wolfgang Helck, Inschriften der Könige von Amenophis III. bis Haremheb und ihrer Zeitgenossen, Berlin, 1958.
- LACAU, P., *Stèles du Nouvel Empire* 1. Nos 34001–34064, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*, Cairo 1957.
- JAMES, T. G. H., *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, Part 9, London, 1970.
- KITCHEN, K.A., Some New Light on the Asiatic Wars of Ramesses II, *JEA* 50, 1964, 47–70.

<sup>90</sup> SCHULMAN, *JARCE* 2 (1963), 95.

<sup>91</sup> For the names of horses see: A. ASHMAWY ALI in *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists*, OLA 150, vol. I, Leuven 2004, 665–675.

- KITCHEN, K.A., *Ramesseide Inscriptions, historical and biographical*. 1. Ramses I, Sethos I, and contemporaries, Oxford 1975.
- KITCHEN, K.A., *Ramesseide Inscriptions, historical and biographical*. 2, Oxford 1979.
- KITCHEN, K.A., *Ramesseide Inscriptions, historical and biographical*. 3, Oxford 1980.
- KITCHEN, K.A., *Ramesseide Inscriptions, historical and biographical*. 4, Merenptah and the late 19. Dynasty, Oxford 1982.
- LIEBLEIN, J., *Dictionnaire des noms hiéroglyphiques en ordre généalogique et alphabétique*, Leipzig 1871.
- MASPERO, G., Notes de voyage, § IV–IX, *ASAE* 10 (1910), 5–13.131–144.
- MOND, R., Report of work in the necropolis of Thebes during the winter of 1903–1904, *ASAE* 6 (1905), 65–96.
- PAMMINGER, P., review (Contributions à la prosopographie militaire du Nouvel Empire), *BiOr* 54 (1997), 5–31.
- PEET, T.E. and WOOLEY, L., *The City of Akhenaten*, Part I, EES 38, 1923.
- PETRIE, W.M.F., *Six temples at Thebes*, London 1897.
- REISNER, G.A., The Viceroy of Ethiopia, *JEA* 6, 1920, 28–55; 73–88.
- ROEDER, G., *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Staatlichen Museen zu Berlin*, zweiter Band, Leipzig 1924.
- SCHULMAN, A.R., The Egyptian Chariotry: A Reexamination, *JARCE* 2, 1963, 75–98.
- SCHULMAN, A.R., *Military rank, title, and organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, MÄS 6, 1964.
- SETHE, K., *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie* bearb. von Kurt Sethe. Leipzig, 1906–1909.
- STEINDORFF, G., *Die Kunst der Ägypter*, Leipzig 1928.

