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كلية الآثار



Fayoum University
Faculty of Archaeology



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EDITORIAL FOREWORD

On behalf of the editorial board and the administration of the faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University, we are proud to present the fourth issue of *SHEDET* (the Journal of the Faculty of Archaeology – Fayoum University). With this journal, we are opening a new era of scientific publication of Heritage and Archaeology in Egypt, designed to reach people all over the world, and to be judged according to international standards of excellence.

Presenting the fourth volume of *SHEDET* gives us – in the same context of our three previous volumes– happiness and challenge; happiness in being able to provide our readers with a volume of selected and refereed intellectual contributions, and challenge in trying to sustain this journal and provide publications of international quality. Of course help is needed from scholars and researchers all over the world in the field of heritage and archaeology, to be able to continue and sustain producing this publication. The continuation of this journal is vitally important, as it is one of the very few scientifically peer-reviewed journals dedicated to Archaeology in Egypt

The main scope of the *SHEDET* Journal is various aspects of ancient Egyptian, Islamic and Coptic archaeology, conservation, museology, and heritage (concerning language, literature, history, art, and related subjects), before the modern period. It aims to publish research that contributes to the enlargement of knowledge or the advancement of scholarly interpretation.

Finally, we would like to thank all contributors to the successful publication of this new journal for their support and collegial collaboration, and express our hopes for more successful issues to come. We must also thank all the editorial team, language editor, and advisory board for all their efforts.

Prof. Dr. Atef Mansour & Prof. Dr. Ahmed Tony

Fayoum, 2017

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ANCIENT ARCHAEOLOGY & EGYPTOLOGY

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
WHAT IS THE TITLE OF MERREW?

Islam I. AMER


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ABSTRACT

The title  was found on some vessels recovered from the pyramid of Djoser, followed by *Mrrw* (Merrew) the name of an unknown employee. This title is one of the mysterious and unclear titles. Researchers have offered various readings of this title (*rmn zh?*; *zh (w)?*; *zh hrt-?*), thus giving different meanings. The paper aims at identifying this employee through determining the most correct and closest reading of this title, deciding the time of its emergence, defining its meaning.

المخلص

يعتبر لقب  أحد الألقاب الغامضة والغير واضحة، حيث قدم الباحثون قراءات مختلفة لهذا اللقب (*zh (w)* ; *zh hrt-?* ; *rmn zh*) تعطى معاني مختلفة له . ويهدف البحث إلى تحديد القراءة الأقرب للصواب لهذا اللقب و تحديد وقت ظهوره ، وتحديد معناه ومهامه.



KEYWORDS

Djoser – Ninentjer – Mrrw (Merrew) – Scribe – Bearer – Records – Documents


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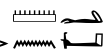
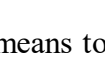
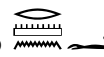
زوسر – نى نثر – مررو – كاتب – حامل – سجلات – وثائق

INTRODUCTION

The name *Mrrw* (Merrew) is inscribed in the Hieratic on vessels found in the Djoser pyramid. It noticed that the name is preceded in some vessels with unclear hieratic signs. Both Gunn and Lacau & Lauer mentioned that they constitute the title ¹. This title is written in red ink on the remains of a dark diorite vessel. (Fig.1). The first sign is unclear and cannot be explained. The second sign according to Lacau & Lauer is clear, a sign of *zh* scribe², and it follows this title with the name  *Mrrw*.

¹ P. Lacau et J.-PH. Lauer, *La Pyramide à Degrés, Inscriptions à L'encre Sur les Vases*, Tome V, (Cairo, 1965), 60-61, no.144, fig.95; Nr.145, fig.96 = (PD); B.Gunn, 'Inscriptions from the Step Pyramid Site, III Fragments of Inscribed Vessels', in: *ASAE*, 28, (1928), 169-170, fig.17.

points out that this title is unknown, and it is equal to the rank of the title  *zh hrt-c nswt*¹³ "Scribe of the writing material/ document-case of king"¹⁴ which was unknown in the archaic ages of the old kingdom¹⁵.

According to this point of view, the element  in this title constitutes the noun  *rmn*, which means "bearer"¹⁶, derived from IV infirmae verb  *rmni* which means to carry (function or rank)¹⁸. It is also read *rmn*; thus referring to "arm, shoulder, side" and meaning carrying (on the shoulder)¹⁹. So, It is concluded, from the meanings of this verb that it was probably used to refer to carrying the writing tools/ scribe's outfits including palette, usually with two concave places for inks, bag for the powdered pigments, and reed holder²⁰. The numerous pieces of the outfits carried together –as in Hieroglyphic – are tied by a rope. This is evident from the reliefs of the tombs of the nobles who were proud of their ability to write, and they were not usually illustrated with writing tool/ outfits in the form of scribes. The most important of these reliefs are the cedar wood panels of the employee *Hesy-Re* from the third dynasty. One of these wood panels shows *Hesy-Re* seated with his palette and water vessel hung to his shoulder - by the tied rope - in the same way these outfits were always carried²¹.






However, this means that the noun *rmn* refers not only to the carrying of writing tool/ scribe's outfits on the shoulder but also to individuals who carry anything, especially the priests who carry the chapel or a picture of the gods²². The noun was also mentioned in the pyramids texts as part of the expression *rmn pt* "supports, the sky"²³/ "The bearer of the sky". It noticed that the expression is not a title but a special epithet of the priest in Dandera²⁴. The noun was also used to refer to priests who carried the god *rmn ntr*, and the sacred objects in the

¹³ P.Kaplony, *IÄF*, I, 490-491; *IÄF*, II, no.1839.1062.

¹⁴ D.Jones, *Index*, II, Nr. 3174; 867.

¹⁵ P.Kaplony, *IÄF*, I, 491.

¹⁶ *Wb*, II, 419,19-20; R.Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 1305; D. Meeks, *Alex* I, Nr. 77.2377, 216;II, Nr. 78.2395, 221;III, Nr.79.1747, 169.

¹⁷ Notes the determinative which constitutes the first part of the title  is an ideogram of forearm and  a arm. Handphona used as a substitute for many determinatives, different from the determinative  which is always used with the verb and name *rmn* which illustrates a forearm with the palm of hand downwards. Kahl mentions that the name *rmn* was written with this determinative  on stone vessels which were found in the pyramid of Djoser probably dating back to the second dynasty (?) and referring to a unit measurement (?). It was written with TA , but the meaning is unclear. See A. H., Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Sign-list D.36, D.41, 454-455; J.Kahl, *Fühägyptisches Wörterbuch*, (Wiesbaden 2002), 268; P.Lacau et J.-PH. Lauer, *PD*, V,29.

¹⁸ *Wb* II, 419, 4; A.Badawi& H.Kees, *Handwoerterbuch der Aegyptischen sprache*, (kairo 1958), 139.

¹⁹ A. H., Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar, Begin and introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, third edition, (London, 1973), 578.

²⁰ R.H. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art: A Hieroglyphic Guide to Ancient Egyptian Painting and Sculpture*, (London 1994), Y.3 A. H., Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, Sign-list, Y.3; 534;


²¹ R.H. Wilkinson, *Reading Egyptian Art*, Y.3. See. W. Wood, 'A Reconstruction of the Reliefs of Hesy-re', in: *JARCE*, 15, (1978).9-24.

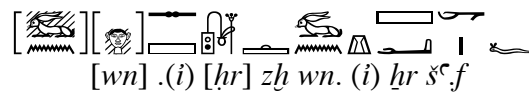
²² *Wb*, II, 419, 19-20; E. Naville, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie*, (Berlin 1886), 152,6;71,16/7; *Edfu*, I, 560; J. Dümichen, *Baugeschichte des Denderatempels und Beschreibung der einzelnen Theile des Bauwerkes nach den an seinen Mauern befindlichen Inschriften*, (Strassburg - Trübner, 1877), 31.

²³ K. Sethe, *Altaegyptischen PyramidenTexte*, vol II, (Leipzig, 1910) 31; 517= *Pyr*, 952d; 2122cd.see.1156b-c;1528a-c;2013a; R.O.Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, (Oxford, 1969), 164;301; S.A.B Mercer, *The Pyramid texts, in translation and Commentary*, (London 1952), Vol.I 268; 508; Vol II 486; Vol. III, 936.

²⁴ A.Mariette, *Dendérah : description générale du grand temple*, IV, (Paris ,1875), 34; A. Kamal, 'Le tombeau nouveau de Méir (1913-1914)', in: *ASAE*, 16, (1916), 94.








temple²⁵. It is noticed that the noun *rmn*, indicating to the "bearer", was not mentioned in the texts of the old kingdom and Middle kingdom as an element in one of the titles. Moreover, it rarely appeared as an element in the titles of the New kingdom; as most of them are religious titles²⁶.

This is confirmed by the fact that the dictionaries of administrative and religious titles of the old and Middle kingdoms²⁷, do not include any title in which the name *rmn* composes one of its elements, and it was not used in any text with writing tools or scribe's outfits. This indicates that Kaplony's view is incorrect and that the noun *rmn* is not an abbreviation of the first part  of this title. Therefore, it does not mean "bearer of the writing tool/ scribe's outfit"²⁸. This is confirmed in one of the texts which express the accompaniment of the young students to the educated artists in the old kingdom. Nekhebu says that he was the assistant of his brother, the overseer of workers, and he was writing and carrying his palette (scribe's outfit *š^c*)²⁹. It is noticed in this text that the verb *rmn* was not used to indicate carrying the scribe's outfit, but the prepositions *hr*³⁰ was used instead:



"(I) used to do the writing; (I) used to carry his palette (?)"³¹

zh^c(w)

One of the readings proposed for this title – in case this reading was correct - means "scribe of records /documents" on the basis that the first part of this title  is an abbreviation of the word ^c meaning record /document³² which always comes with the name *nswt* "king", ^c *nswt* "royal document / record"³³ in the title:     zh^c(w) *nswt* "scribe of the royal documents or records/ king's document scribe"³⁴. This title probably appeared in

²⁵ D. Meeks, *Alex II*, Nr.78.2395, 221; *Dendara*. VIII,5,13;;84,3;90,5.7;117,3.6;G. Vittmann, *Priester und Beamte im Theben der Spätzeit*, (Wien,1978), 125, 168, n.8.

²⁶ See.C. Zivie, *Giza au deuxième millénaire*, (Le Caire 1976), 172 (C); *rmni m HAt Imn* "Bearer in front of Amun". See. S.Glanville, 'Scribes' palettes in the British Museum' in: *JEA*, 18.(1932), 55; CG 932= L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten von Konigen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo*, (Berlin 1930)161; *rmni n Imn* "bearer of Amun. See. D.G.Norman .Davies& M.F. Macadam, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary*, (Oxford, 1957), 203; *Urk.IV*, 1374, 17; 1952,2; *rmni n imn Hr sA snnw*" bearer of Amun in the second Phyle" CG.1107=L. Manniche, *Lost Tombs. A Study of Certain Eighteenth Dynasty Monuments in the Theban Necropolis*, (London 1988), 85.

²⁷ See. D. Jones, *Index*, II, 490-494; W.A.Ward, *Index of Egyptian Administrative and Religious Titles of the Middle Kingdom*, (Beirut, 1982), 101-104.

²⁸ P.Kaplony, *LÄF*, I, 490-491; *LÄF*, II, no.1839.1062.

²⁹ *Wb IV*, 418, 8. See. D.Dunham, 'The Biographical Inscriptions of Nekhebu in Boston and Cairo, in: *JEA*, 24, (1938), 4, not.13.

³⁰ A. H., Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 166,128.


³¹ *Urk.I*, 216, 10; D.Dunham, *JEA*, 24, 4.

³² *Pyr.467c*; 1519; *Urk .I*, 60,2; P.Posener-kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï (Les papyrus d'Abousir). Traduction et commentaire*, Vol II., (Le Caire 1976), 374(52A, 3c); K.Baer, 'A deed of endowment in a letter of the time of Ppjj I?', in: *ZÄS*, 93,(1966),7; H.Goedicke , 'Ein Brief aus dem Alten Reich (Pap.Boulaq. 8)', in: *MDAIK*, 22, (1967), 4

³³ *Wb .I*, 158, 19; III, 480, 14; R.Hannig , *Handwörterbuch*, 1375.

³⁴ D. Jones, *Index*, II, Nr.3057, 838; H.Brugsch, *Dictionnaire géographique de l'ancienne Égypte*, V, (Leipzig ,1880), 230

the middle-late of the fourth dynasty and the beginning of the fifth dynasty³⁵. There are many holders of this title in the old kingdom³⁶. Many titles have been derived from this title, which are directly related to royal documents or records: *zh* ⲉ(w) *nswt 3ht* "scribe of royal documents of the field"³⁷, *zh* ⲉ(w) *nswt pr-ⲉ3* "scribe of the royal documents of the Great House"³⁸, *zh* ⲉ(w)(nw) *nswt pr-ⲉ3 m w^cb* "scribe of the royal documents of the Great House in the workshop"³⁹, *zh* ⲉ(w)(nw) *nswt pr-ⲉ3 m prwy-nbw* "scribe of the royal documents of the Great House in the two houses of gold"⁴⁰, *zh* ⲉ(w) (nw) *nswt hft-hr* "scribe of the royal records in presence, king's document scribe in the presence, personal scribe of the royal records."⁴¹, *zh* ⲉ(w)(nw) *nswt šnwt* "scribe of the royal documents of the granary"⁴², and *zh* ⲉ(w)(nw) *ntr* "document scribe of the god"⁴³. Some of these titles continued to exist until the Middle Kingdom⁴⁴ but with a little change.

This title is usually written without genitive *n*, but sometimes the genitive *n* is added there too. There are many opinions⁴⁵ concerning the position of the genitive *n* in this title. Some examples of this title were found in forms in which the position of the genitive *n* changes as a result of the honorific transposition. However, the confirmed reading of this title: *zh* ⲉ(w) *nswt* which means "scribe of the royal documents or records"⁴⁶. It is noticed that the word  ⲉ, a key element in all titles, is transcribed as ⲉ(w), indicating plural. Ward thinks that this must be correct even though the word never appears in plural in any form of the

³⁵ See. Inscriptions of the Xnw-kA and N-KA-anX in Tehna *Urk.I*, 31, 17; 32, 9. Lefebvre and Moret, present some reasons to believe the Xnw-kA called hti might well have been the father of N-KA-anX. Hti probably lived at the very end of the Fourth Dynasty and N-KA-anX during the reign of Userkaf. See N. Kanawati, *The Egyptian Administration in the Old Kingdom*, (Warminster 1977), 56. See also titles of Isi (Middle to late fourth dynasty), titles of Nfr (Reign of Khafre or little later.), N. Strudwick, *the Administration of Egypt in old Kingdom*, (London, 1985), 65-66; 109-110; 202.

³⁶ *Urk.I*, 94, 8; 119,17; 285,11; A. Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, (Paris, 1889), E15, 419; PM III2, O769; G. Daressy, *Le mastaba de Mera*, (Cairo 1900), 539; S. Hassan, *Excavations at Giza*, VI, part II (Cairo 1948), 118; VI, part III, 9(11), VII, 26, fig. 30; H. Junker, *Giza*, III, (Leipzig, 1938), 141(2), fig. 14,16; 219, fig. 42; 222(1); G. Daressy, 'La nécropole des grands prêtres d'Héliopolis sous l'Ancien Empire', in: *ASAE*, 16, (1916), 198; H. G. Fischer, "The Inspector of Youths Nfr-n-2wfw", in: *OMRO* 41, (1960), 6; n. 21; T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. in the British Museum*, part I², (London 1962), nos. 718, 1011, 1191, 1282; W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des ägyptischen Alten Reiches* (ÄF 18), (Glückstadt 1954), 71, n. 39, 145; 72, n. 42; W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Qar and Idu. G 7101 and 7102. (Giza Mastabas 2)*, (Boston 1976), 31, fig. 36; P. Piacentini, *Scribes*, III, 1395.

³⁷ T. G. H. James, *Corpus of Hieroglyphic Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum. I. From Dynasty I to the End of Dynasty XVIII*, (Wilbour Monographs 6), (Brooklyn 1974) 12[33], Pl. 18(33); N. Strudwick, *Administration*, 26, 212, n. 4; P. Piacentini, *Scribes*, II, 618; 670.

³⁸ G. Daressy, *ASAE*, 16, (1916), 195, 204; H. Junker, *Giza*, VIII, 168(2), fig. 88; A. Fakhry, *Sept tombeaux à l'est de la grande pyramide de Guizeh*, (SAE) (Cairo 1935), 12, fig. 5; N. Strudwick, *Administration*, 210-212; P. Piacentini, *Scribes*, III, 1395, 1413(97).

³⁹ N. Strudwick, *Administration*, 106(77); N. Strudwick, 'The Overseer of the Treasury Ny-kAw-PtH', in *RdE*, 38, (1987) 139ff; H. G. Fischer, *Egyptian Studies III. Varia Nova*, (New York 1996), 34(a); 35, fig. 4, 254; P. Piacentini, *Scribes*, II, 675; III, 1413(98).

⁴⁰ N. Strudwick, *Administration*, 106(77); *idem*, 38, 139ff; H. G. Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 34, n. 40, 254.

⁴¹ See D. Jones, *Index*, II, Nr. 3063, 839-840.

⁴² W. Helck, *Beamtentiteln*, 65, 145; N. Strudwick, *Administration*, 61(12); P. Piacentini, *Scribes*, I, 376.





⁴³ T. G. H. James, *HT I²*, 1319; D. Jones, *Index*, II, Nr. 3074, 843.

⁴⁴ *zx an nsw ;zx an nsw n xft-Hr* See. W. A. Ward, *Index*, nos. 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1364, 158.

⁴⁵ Jones reading this title *zx a(w) (nw) nsw* see. D. Jones, *Index*, II, Nr. 3057, 838; Strudwick mention: in the fifth dynasty the title *imy-r zx a n nswt* was evidently sometimes read *imy-r zx n a nswt*, with a extra *n* not belonging to the writing of *nswt*. The position of the *t* of *nswt* varies in the fifth dynasty but in the sixth is most frequently written after the sedge plant, above the *zx* sign. See. N. Strudwick, *Administration*, 203.

⁴⁶ See Ward's discussion of the position of the *n* in this title W. A. Ward, 'Old Kingdom *zx a n nsw n xft-Hr*, "Personal Scribe of Royal Records", and Middle Kingdom *zx an nsw n xft-Hr*, "Scribe of the Royal Tablet of the Court", in: *Or*, 51, (1982), 383.

numerous titles. He also states that the word, used primarily in ancient Egyptian texts, does refer to individual written documents and often to legal document⁴⁷ of one type or another⁴⁸.

The ϵ element is usually written , but it occasionally appears without the papyrus roll , or with the papyrus roll written after the zh sign⁴⁹. This indicates that this element is likely to be the one that forms the title  $\epsilon zh / zh \epsilon / zh \epsilon(w)$ with the sign zh , "scribe of the documents /records", which probably appeared in the second dynasty and continued in this form until the third dynasty⁵⁰, according to the date of the vessels on which this title was written. In the fourth dynasty, the word $nswt$ was added to it, so it became $zh \epsilon nswt$ "scribe of the royal documents /records"⁵¹. Although Piacentini suggested this reading ($zh \epsilon w?$) for this title, she mentions that this reading is still doubtful due to the difficulty of anticipating that element ϵ precedes element zh ⁵². However, Ward mentioned that this title was written in six examples in this form $nswt \epsilon zh$ ⁵³. Note that the element ϵ is written before the sign zh .



$shd nswt \epsilon(w) zh rh nswt N- \epsilon nh-ssi$

Inspector, the scribe of the royal documents/ records,

one know to the king $N- \epsilon nh-ssi$.⁵⁴



$Nswt \epsilon(w) zh imy-r pr khrw-mrt$

The scribe of the royal documents/ records, overseer of the house $khrw-mrt$.⁵⁵



$Nswt \epsilon(w) zh R- nfr$

The scribe of the royal documents/ records, $R- nfr$.⁵⁶

All this indicates that this title is the old form of the title $nswt zh \epsilon$, so it is derived from the title $zh \epsilon / \epsilon zh > nswt zh \epsilon / nswt \epsilon zh$ which was written in variant forms. Other titles related to records and documents were developed and derived from it⁵⁷. $zh \epsilon / \epsilon zh$

⁴⁷ H.Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente aus dem alten Reich*, (Wiesbaden 1967), 167; idem, *Die Privaten Rechts inschriften aus dem Alten Reich*, (Vienna 1970),188.

⁴⁸ W.A.Ward, *Or*, 51, (1982), 383.

⁴⁹ N. Strudwick, *Administration*, 203.

⁵⁰ P.Lacau et J.-PH. Lauer, *PD*, V, Nr.144, fig.95, 60; J. Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.-3. Dynastie*, 344[2680-2681-2682]; P.Piacentini, *Scribes*, I, 49.

⁵¹ N. Strudwick, *Administration*, 202- 203; D. Jones, *Index*, II, Nr.3057, 838.

⁵² P.Piacentini, *Scribes*, I, 49; 46.

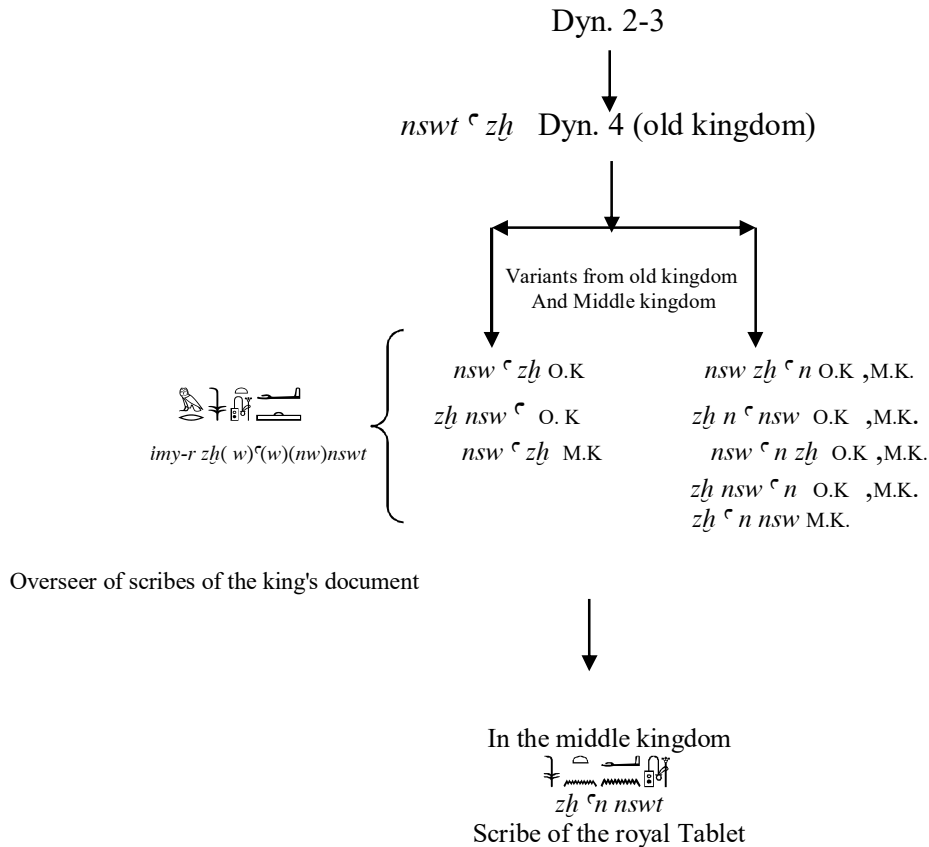
⁵³ W.A.Ward, *Or*, 51, (1982), 383.

⁵⁴ *Urk I*, 32,9





⁵⁵ L.Épron et F. Daumas, Avec un plan de. G. Goyon , *Le tombeau de Ti* , Fasc. 1, (Le Caire 1939), Pl. XXI.

⁵⁶ T. G. H .James, *British Museum. Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc.*, Part I. Second Edition, (London 1961), No. 1011.Pl. XX.

⁵⁷ D. Jones, *Index*, II, 838-843.



zh hrt-ϕ

The noun  *hrt-ϕ* means "writing material/document-case"⁵⁸. This noun is derived from the noun  *hr-ϕ* which appears in the coffins texts to indicate the tools bag⁵⁹. It appears to be derived from the compound preposition  *hr-ϕ* which means "under the hand of ...; / in the charge of ..."⁶⁰, a metonymy for keeping. The noun *hrt-ϕ* was used as an element in the ancient title  *zh hrt-ϕ nsw*⁶¹. Researchers suggested many different meanings for it⁶².

⁵⁸ *Wb* .III, 394, 1-2; D. Meeks, *Alex*, II, Nr 78. 3229, 298; III, Nr.79.2348, 231; H.G.Fischer, 'Five Inscriptions of the Old Kingdom, in: *ZÄS*, 105, (1978),54,n.64; A.Hermann, 'Buchillustrationen auf ägyptischen Bücherkästen', in: *MDAIK*, 15,(1957),112ff.

⁵⁹ *Wb* .III, 394, 4-5; W.V. Davies, 'Tutaankhamun's Razor-Box: A Problem in Lexicography', in: *JEA* 63, (1977), 109; K. Pflüger, 'The edict of king Haremhab', in: *JNES*, 5, (1946), 261; W.Helck, 'Das Dekret des Königs Haremheb,,in: *ZÄS*, 80 ,(1955), 117.

⁶⁰ A. H., Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*, § 178,132.

⁶¹ *Wb* .III, 394, 3. See. D. Jones, *Index*, II, Nr.3174, 867.

⁶² LD Text I, 12; A.Mariette, *Les mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*, D.25, 253; G. Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes*, II, (Paris 1893-1916), 216, and n.2; H.Junker, *Giza*, III, 219, fig.42; 222(2); H.F. Petrie & M.A.Murray, *Seven Memphite chapels*, (London 1952), pl.4; *Urk* I, 231,8; PM III², O7; L.Epron & H. Wild, *Le Tombeau de Ti*, I, (Cairo 1939) pl.3; P. Montet, *Les Scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire*, (Paris 1925), 245, 146-7; B.Gunn , *ASAE*, 28, 169-170, fig.17; C.M.Firth & J.E.Quibell, *The Step Pyramid*, II, (Cairo, 1939), Pl.90(1); W.Helck, *Untersuchungen zur Thinitenzeit*, (Wiesbaden, 1987), 255, (13) ; W. Helck, *Untersuchungen zu den Beamtentiteln des Ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, (Glückstadt, 1954) , 72, n. 42; A.Fakhry, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dashur*, II, (Cairo, 1961), 5,

Jones compared between this title and the title , and Kaplony mentioned that this title is equal in rank to title *zh hrt-^c nswt*. He also mentioned that the only employee who held this title *Mrrw* was mentioned with the title *zh hrt-^c nswt* in inscription on a diorite vessel found in the a pyramid Djoser ⁶⁴:

..... *imi is Nhn hrp ist df3*..... *hm ntr zh hrt-^c nswt mrr nb.f*

Overseer of the bureau of Nekhen, Director of the place of provisions Prophet of ...
Scribe of the writing material / document-case of king, beloved of his lord"⁶⁵

Kaplony regarded the verb *mrr*, meaning beloved and mentioned after *zh hrt-^c nswt*, as the name of employee *Mrrw*. He also considered it identical to the two names mentioned on the remains of a vessel and a bowl of diorite from the pyramid of Djoser with the title . He points out that *Mrrw* was *Imy-r is Nhn* as he is *hrp ist df3*. Moreover, he mentioned that the title *zh hrt-^c nswt* was unknown in the archaic ages of old kingdom, so it is possibly equal in rank to the title which he read as *rmn zh*, emphasized that the *zh hrt-^c nswt Ntr ^cpr.f* was an employee in the administration of districts, and the employee *hpt -n-f* was *Imy-r is Nhn* in an early period ⁶⁶.

Both Gunn and Helck disagreed with this view, and translated *mrr nb.f* "beloved of his lord"⁶⁷. Helck mentions that this text is the titles of an employee who donated vessels to corridors of the pyramid, as the employee *sp3* and the priest of funeral temple of king *Nb-k3 ^c3-ibhti* who was overseer of the tomb of king Djoser did⁶⁸.

This indicates that the reading of Kaplony *rmn s3* "bearer of the writing tool/scribe's outfit" of this title cannot be compared to or equaled to the title *zh hrt-^c nswt*. However, this title, *zh hrt-^c nswt*, can be compared to the reading *zh ^c /^c zh*, "scribe of the royal documents /records", due to their association with records and documents.

This name with determinative or without any determinative *hry-^c* also means "Assistant"⁶⁹. It is probable that the first part of the title is an abbreviation of

fig.283;idem, 'The Excavation of Snefru's Monuments at Dahshur. Second Preliminary Repot' in: *ASAE*, 52,1954, 563-594; W.Ward, *Or*, 51, 383, n.9; N. Strudwick, *Administration*, 61 (12); 139 n.130; 158 n. 157; 166 n.167; G.T. Martin, *The Tomb of Hetepka and Other Reliefs and Inscriptions from the sacred Animal Necropolis ,North Saqqara 1964-73*, (London, 1979), Pl.34 (98); D. Meeks, *Alex I*, Nr. 77.2373, III, Nr.79.2348; H.G. Fischer, *ZÄS*, 105, (1978),54 n.64; P.Kaplony, 'Der Schreiber, das Gotteswort und diepapyruspflanze Mit neuen untersuchungen zum unter ägyptischen Königtum', in: *ZÄS*, 110, (1983),167; J.Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.-3. Dynastie*, 616, 736, 833, nn. 1458, 2316, 2319; J.Assmann, *Die Mastaba II / I zu Dachschr-Mitte*, (Heidelberg, 1992), 91, fig. 26.

⁶³D. Jones, *Index*, II, Some Incomplete \ Unclear Titles, Nr.32, 1023.

⁶⁴ P.Kaplony, *IÄF*, I, 490-491; B.Gunn, *ASAE* 28 (1928), Pl. III, 1,2. 162.

⁶⁵ W. Helck, 'Die Datierung der Gefäßaufschriften aus der Djoserpyramide', in: *ZÄS*, 106, Heet 2, (1979),130; B.Gunn, *ASAE* 28, 162.

⁶⁶ P. Kaplony, *IÄF* I, 490-491.

⁶⁷ B.Gunn, *ASAE* 28, 162; W. Helck, *ZÄS*, 106, Heet 2, (1979), 130.

⁶⁸ W. Helck, *ZÄS*, 106, Heet 2, (1979), 130

⁶⁹*Wb* .III, 393, 9-12; R.Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 495 D. Meeks, *Alex I*, Nr. 77.3272,295; II, Nr 78. 3228, 298; III, Nr.79.2347, 231; P. Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï (Les papyrus*

this name, so the meaning of the title is "Assistant scribe" who is under his hands. Thus; this name literally means "under the hand of"/ Assistant of, but there is no evidence that the name is the first part of this title. According Jones this name was used individually as a title in this meaning in the old kingdom⁷⁰. It was also used in the Middle kingdom and New kingdom as a title referring to "Apprentice"⁷¹, who was receiving more advanced education in a specific office or profession in order to take up the same profession as their lords⁷².

It is noticed that the various readings proposed for this title agree that the second element of this title is *zh*⁷³. This indicates that *Mrrw* (Merrew)⁷⁴ who held this title belonged to the class of scribes. However, due to lack of agreement reading a specific reading for this title, it is not possible to determine to which class of scribes Merrew belonged. The following readings *rmn zh*, *hry-^c zh* of this title refer that he was a young scribe, an assistant, apprentice for a great scribe and holder of his tools⁷⁵. While discovering the Merrew vessels carrying this title inside the pyramid of Djoser indicates that Merrew was a major scribe and one the major employees and priests who donated their vessels to the pyramid of Djoser.

However, the date of these vessels, which goes back to King Ninertjer⁷⁶ of the Second Dynasty, indicates that the title's holder was an employee in the reign of this king, during which the government organization developed, and different administrations emerged⁷⁷. Many inscriptions that were found carved on many stone vessels dating back to the reign of this king inside the corridors of the pyramid of Djoser, mentioned the names of employees and the names of buildings. It is possible that some of these corridors, located at the bottom of the Djoser group, especially those in the western pyramid, were originally the lower buildings of the large tombs of the second dynasty that King Djoser removed⁷⁸.

d'Abousir), I, (Caire, 1976), 113; H.G. Fischer, *ZÄS*, 105, (1978), 54 ; G.T Martin, 'Private-Name Seals in the Alnwick Castle Collection', in: *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 217.

⁷⁰ D. Jones, *Index*, II, Nr.2827, 777; P.E Newberry, *Egyptian antiquities : scarabs; an introduction to the study of Egyptian seals and signet rings*, (London 1906), 262 (2599), 116, Pl.8 (8); P. Posener-Kriéger, *Archives Abousir*, II, 659; N. Strudwick, *Cylinder Seals of the Old kindom*, (Oxford ,1978), 45 (78), 75,78 and Pl.7, 5.19, 5.20; P.Kaplony, *Die Rollsiegel des Alten Reiches. II: Katalog der Rollsiegel*, (Bruxelles, 1981), Pl. 55(32); W. Kaiser, &Others, 'Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. 13./14. Grabungsbericht', in: *MDAIK*, 43, (1987), 109.

⁷¹ See. W.A.Ward, *Index*, no. 1194,139; P.A.A. Boesser, *Beschreibung der Aegyptischen Sammlung der Niederländischen Reichsmuseums der Altertümer in Leiden* , II, (Leiden 1909), no.33; T.G.H. James, *The Hekanakhte Papers and Other Early Middle Kingdom Documents*, (New York, 1962); no.XII, 5; CG 20026, 20720. See. xry-a n Hm.f M. Sandman, *Texts from the time of Akhenaten* , (Bruxelles, 1938), 175.14; P. Anastasi IV, 1a,1= A.Gardiner, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, (Bruxelles, 1937), 34.

⁷² A.Gardiner, 'The House life', in *JEA*, 24, (1938), 159; J. Baillet, 'Les noms de L'esclave en Égyptian' in: *RT= RecTrav*, 28, (1908), 124.

⁷³ D. Jones, *Index*, II, Some Incomplete/ Unclear Titles , Nr.32, 1023; P.Kaplony , *IÄF* , I, 490-491; *IÄF*, II, no.1839.1062; P.Lacau et J.-PH. Lauer, *PD*, 60-61, no.144, fig.95; Nr.145, fig.96; B.Gunn, *ASAE*, 28, (1928), 169-170, fig.17; P.Piacentini, *Scribes*, I, 49; 46.


⁷⁴ Kaplony mentions that his name means beloved and can be compared to the name Mrr and also the name Mrrw.see P.Kaplony, *IÄF* , I, 490-491;see.H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen* , Band. I, (Glückstadt ,1935), 162,17; 26.

⁷⁵ R.Hannig , *Handwörterbuch*, 495 D. Meeks, *Alex* I, Nr. 77.3272,295; II, Nr 78. 3228, 298; III, Nr.79.2347, 231; P. Posener-Kriéger, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakaï (Les papyrus d'Abousir)*, I, (Caire, 1976), 113; H.G. Fischer, *ZÄS*, 105, (1978),54 ; G.T Martin, *MDAIK* 35 (1979), 217; see Notes 67; 68; 69.



⁷⁶ J.Kahl, *Das System der ägyptischen Hieroglyphenschrift in der 0.-3. Dynastie*, 344[2680-2681-2682];P.Piacentini, *Scribes* 49.

⁷⁷ W.Helck, 'Ninertjer', in: *LÄ* IV, (1982), 509.













⁷⁸ A.J., Spencer, *Early Egypt. The Rise of Civilisation in the Nile Valley*, Translated to Arabic by A.Aldali, review by T.Hindusa, (Cairo 1991), 129-130.

Helck also mentioned that the large part of the ink inscriptions on the stone vessels, found in the pyramid of Djoser, were written during the reign of king Ninetjer especially in Hebsed festival, but apparently these vessels were not used. Then, they were later placed in the eastern corridors of the tomb by Djoser. This indicates that reign this king witnessed the development of ruling and administrative systems⁷⁹. It was previously mentioned that Merrew's vessels carrying the title  and found in the pyramid of Djoser date back to the reign of king Ninetjer; therefore these vessels could have been among the vessels of Hebsed festival which were located in the area of the large tombs of the second dynasty to the west of the pyramid of Djoser and they reused by Djoser inside his pyramid. Therefore it was concluded that Merrew was a great scribe in the reign of this king. Accordingly, the closest reading of his title is *zh* ^ϕ / ^ϕ *zh* which means scribe of the royal documents/ records. Thus, he was a scribe of the records or documents in the administration of records and documents in the reign of king Ninetjer.

CONCLUSION

According to the above mentioned, Merrew was a scribe in the administration of records and documents during the reign of Ninetjer of the second dynasty, it was clear, By analyzing the proposed readings of this title that the closest reading of it was *zh* ^ϕ / ^ϕ *zh* meaning scribe of the royal documents /records. The first sign  of this title is an abbreviation of the word  ^ϕ (*w*) which means documents /recodes. The element ^ϕ forms with *zh* the title *zh* ^ϕ (*w*) / ^ϕ *zh* /*zh* ^ϕ which appeared in the second dynasty and continued in this form until the third dynasty. In the fourth dynasty, the word *nswt* was added to it, so it became *sš* ^ϕ *nswt* / *nswt* *zh* ^ϕ "scribe of the royal documents /records". This indicates that the title *zh* ^ϕ (*w*) ^ϕ *zh* /*zh* ^ϕ is the old form of the title *nswt* *zh* ^ϕ which was written in variant forms. The latter title developed, and other titles were derived from it in the Middle Kingdom related to records. This title can also be compared to the title *zh* *hrt*-^ϕ *nswt*.

Paleographic between the sing pr and sing zx

Ref. Möller Vol. 1	SINGS	FORMS				
340,32						
		<i>ASAE</i> ,28, fig.17.	<i>PD</i> V, Nr.144	P.Abusir Berl 4 Dyn.5	P.Elephantine 3 treb, 5 Dyn.6	P. Hatnub 14,11; 24,3 Dyn.11/1
537,51						
		<i>ASAE</i> ,28, fig.17	<i>PD</i> V, Nr.144	P.Abusir Berl7/A.6 Dyn.5	P.Elephantine p 8869,5;str6 Dyn.5	P. Hatnub 25,19; 21,1 Dyn 11/12

⁷⁹ W.Helck, *LÄ* IV, 509.

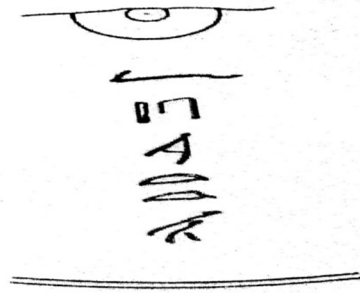


Fig.1
P.Lacau et J.-PH. Lauer, *PD*, V, Nr.144, fig.95, 60.

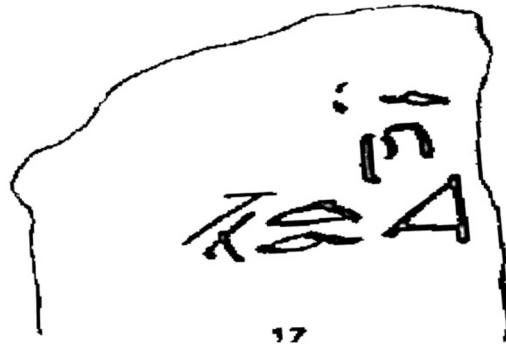


Fig.2
B.Gunn , *ASAE*, 28, 1928, 169-170, fig.17 .



Fig.3
Lacau et J.-PH. Lauer, *PD*, V, Nr.145, fig.96, 61

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