Economic Units through El-Lahun Account Papyri

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Abstract:
As result of the great importance of the huge collection of hieratic papyri dated to the Late Middle Kingdom from El-Lahun, which included many mysteries and information both in their content, form, design, and the method of their writing. By using the expressions and formulas which serve the type of the manuscript and its content, we can reflect on these papyri as to what they tell us about the nature of El-Lahun society and the role of writing in the service of different institutions and elements in ancient Egyptian society. This prompted me to choose this paper to convey an interest in looking at and explaining the relationship between writing and a variety of social institutions, such as legal, medical, educational, religious and economic interests.

Keywords:
Hieratic, El-Lahun, Account, Papyri.

Introduction:
The economic activities undertaken in ancient Egypt belonged to the royal, or public domain, although there was always some scope for private activities.

The economy of ancient Egypt can be possible described as a ‘redistributive system’. And that is because it depended on collecting commodities and storing it in granaries for use as future

2 In other words, the “redistribution” implies that goods "which are collectively produced, centrally collected and stored" are returned "to the producers" see Renger, J., “On Economic Structures in Ancient Mesopotamia”, in Orientalia 63, (1994), 177. See also Polanyi, K., The Livelihood of Man, New York: Academic Press, (1977).
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rations to the Pharaoh’s subjects, provision for the royal palace and its dependants, to personnel attached to temples, and the workmen in the royal necropolis. Therefore this system expresses a centrally based bureaucracy that collected from its subjects only to redistribute to them later. C. Eyre argues that the term “redistribution” does not explain how the economy works; he also calls it a “misconception, or rather over-simplification”.

Accordingly, the accounting practices can be divided into the following:

1- The Royal Palace and the Temple

The royal palace and the temple constituted two influential institutions in the economy and society of ancient Egypt. The palace played a major role in administering the economy, but it was supported by a complex network of pious foundations or religious institutions. Each of these foundations enjoyed a quasi-autonomous status, and each was involved in collecting and storing revenues, then in distributing them in the form of rations or wages.

Through the El-Lahun Account Papyri especially papyri of temple archive, the temple was a critical part of the state economic apparatus, not only as places of worship, but also perhaps as a significant economic institution. It was the recipient of revenue and various commodities that were being offered as offerings to the goddess.

Those revenues of the temple were typically spent on three main items:

A-building and restoration projects;
B-maintenance of the temple priests as the offerings presented to the gods used to pay for temple overheads; such as payments in kind to priests and as wages to workmen.
C-offerings for daily rituals, monthly feasts, and annual festivals, for instance, UC32094B, http-ntr.. hbyt nt hrw[ptn] "god's offerings…festival offerings of [this] day", i3m htr 10-10 psn […] b[it...]

3Warburton, D. A., State and Economy in Ancient Egypt, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht Göttingen: University Press Fribourg Switzerland, (1997); Willems, H., in JEA LXVI, 42; Quirke, S., in Rde 37, (1986). The stela of Nebipusenusret (now BM 101) as Twelfth Dynasty source refers to the separation of i3wt “official positions” into two sectors, pr-nswt “estate of the king” = “central/royal administration” and hwt-ntr “temple”. However, the Nebipusenusret inscription only identifies for us where people are assigned to work in particular positions; it does not show how big the temple sector was in relation to the central administration. The relative scale of the temple economy is the crucial question for the Old and Middle Kingdom, and this question remains open for further research. For the stele see Blackman, M.A., “The Stela of Nebipusenusret: British Museum No. 101”, in JEA 21 (1935), 1-9.
5The El-Lahun papyri attested a well-defined group of deities, represented in Anubis who-is-upon-his-hill, Sobek of Shedet and Sobek, Lord of Ra-sehui, Sokar and the goddess Hathor. Through papyri also we can distinguish the presence of three temples in the range šm[n] su-nswt, the temple of Anubis who-is-upon-his-hill and that of a local form of Sobek, perhaps sbk nb rt-šh.wi, besides the valley temple of Senewerset II. Zoltán Horváth states that “Accounts from the archive reveal that the royal mortuary temple was also as ritually as economically bound to the temple of Sobek of Shedet and Hathor, Mistress of Atfih, but these temples of nationwide importance at that time are never found stated as belonging to the el-Lahun foundation”. See Horváth, Z., in Silverman, D. & Simpson, W. K. & Wegner, J. (edits.), in Archaisch and Innovation, 186.
7The temple does not seem to collect anything in an active way (i.e. with agents sent out to farm estates to collect revenue). Instead, the offerings are supplied through the mayor, who keeps in close contact with the temple accountant/manager Horemsaf (= the Horemsaf correspondence with mayors, the larger part of the material published so far from the temple papyri in Cairo and Berlin).
"favour-offerings (as) fixed. 10-10 psน loaves [...] b[lt-loaves]1. As the large quantities of goods collected for the god by the state are redistributed on a regular basis to the temple staff2. These daily entries or offerings which entered the temple served to stabilize the economy over time not only for the king and temple staff but also to the state in general.

2- pr-HD "The Treasury"

The traditional designation of the treasury as pr-hd, literally meaning "white house", this term is well attested in the First, Second, and Third Dynasties3. The architectural form of the treasury is not recognized in El-Lahun, but it can identify the treasury architecturally through the tomb of Rekhmirea4. It was a walled enclosure inside which were contained three departments or vaults, each shaped like a beehive5. The treasury influenced a large portion of the administration of the state, and many economic entities who worked under its jurisdiction6. The principal function of the treasury was an entity that was expected to exercise large-scale control over the entire system. One of the responsibilities of the treasury was an obligation of ensuring the payment of wages and entitlements to state employee on a regular basis7. But from the Middle Kingdom sources, we do not recognise this description: the the bureau of the vizier seems to be the main “system co-ordinator”; the relation between the treasury and the food-supply officials (imy-r pr wr “high steward”) is not that clear8. The treasury stored both raw articles as well as processed ones9, namely covers all commodities, but there is a focus on the more precious ‘sealed’ items (items ‘sealed’, locked away, because of their value)10. Davies points out; nearly all products that went into the treasury come from outside Egypt11, but Balanda stated that the treasuries were also concerned with articles derived from Egypt proper12. According to the El-Lahun UC32181 articles made from wood were stored in the treasuries:

[...]
..50 in m pr-hd ḏ ṭ pr wr
[...]
(wood) 50 brought from the treasury given to the stores13.

The UC32145A verso, registers account of marsh with record of products received in according to specific documents. The line 16 states:

[...].ip.. lḥt snn iny m pr-hd in.n[...]
[......].reckon.. by document brought from treasury brought by [...].

Here there is the indication of a commodity that has been calculated through a document from pr-hd.

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1 Collier, M., & Quirke, S., The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 147.
2 Bleiberg, E., Understanding the Ancient Egyptian Economy, 6.
4 Davies, N., The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re’ at Thebes, Pls., XLVIII.
5 Balanda, S. Z., Society and Government in Ancient Egypt, 433.
6 Balanda, S. Z., Society and Government in Ancient Egypt, 433.
8 Quirke, S., Titles and Bureaux, 48, 49.
10 The treasury was concerned with metals, cattle, and other agricultural products such as flax. Ezzamel, M., in AHJ 29, (2002), 69.
11 Davies, N., The Tomb of Rekh-mi-Re’ at Thebes, Pls., XLVIII ff.
Alongside the central treasury in the capital, local treasuries also existed elsewhere in Egypt\(^1\), such as the one we find in El-Lahun as attested in UC32102A,I with the term \(pr-\text{hd}\ n\ \text{niwt\ tn\ ssp}…\)[…] “treasury of this town\(^2\), received….\], the \text{niwt\ tn} represents the town is \text{htp\ sn-wsrt}\(^3\). In the name-list on verso mentioned part of the title \(n\ pr-\text{hd}\ snb.f\ (?)\)[…] of the treasury Senbef\(^4\).

The Staff of El-Lahun Treasury

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Papyri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(im\ yr\ htm)</td>
<td>Treasurer &quot;overseer of the seal&quot;</td>
<td>UC32105E, UC32105I, UC32100B, Berol.10035, Berol.10002B, Berol.10002C, Berol.10242A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ldnw\ n\ im\ yr\ htm)</td>
<td>Deputy of the overseer of what is sealed</td>
<td>UC32099B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hry-\text{s}\ n\ im\ yr\ htm)</td>
<td>The assistant to the treasurer</td>
<td>UC32167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(hry-\text{s}\ n\ im\ yr\ htm\ w\rt\ mht)</td>
<td>The assistant to the treasurer, northern sector</td>
<td>UC32167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(htmw)</td>
<td>Sealer</td>
<td>UC3201, UC32190, UC32173, UC32142A, UC32193, UC32189, UC32280A, UC32280JJ, UC32137H, UC32269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(htm\ hry-\text{s})</td>
<td>Sealer assistant</td>
<td>UC32158</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(htmw\ k\beta-ib)</td>
<td>Trustworthy sealer</td>
<td>UC32058</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(htmw\ k\beta-ib\ n\ hnp\ k\beta)</td>
<td>Trustworthy sealer of the director of works</td>
<td>UC32058, UC32293</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s\text{h}\ hry\ htm)</td>
<td>Scribe in charge of seal</td>
<td>UC32055, UC32137Ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s\text{h}\ hry\ htm\ n\ h\beta\ n\ dd\ rm)</td>
<td>Scribe in charge of the seal of the bureau issuing people</td>
<td>UC32167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(s\text{h}\ hry\ htm\ n\ gs-\text{iAb})</td>
<td>Scribe in charge of seal of Gesiab</td>
<td>UC32055</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table (1): The Staff of El-Lahun Treasury

The official in charge of the treasury was \(im\ yr\ htm\) "treasurer\(^5\) \(\equiv\) overseer of the seal\(^6\) as attested in the El-Lahun papyri\(^1\).

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\(^1\) Sealings constitute useful evidence for the existence of treasuries in different places. See Martin, G., *Egyptian Administrative and Private-Name Seals*, (1971).

\(^2\) The papyrus UC32301B, recto including \(pr\ h\), Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 79.

\(^3\) Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 165.


\(^5\) Stephen Quirke translated \(im\ yr\ htm\) “overseer of sealed goods”, and he is of high station than the \(im\ yr\ htm\text{tyw}\) "overseer of sealers". In his article Regular Titles of the Late Middle Kingdom, Quirke lists 45 titles related to the staff of the treasury. Quirke, S., in *RdE 37*, (1986), 118-119.

\(^6\) The Egyptian word \(\bigcirc\) could be read \(htm\) or \(sd\lt\) see the comments on these two terms in Peet, in *JEA II*, 192; Fischer, Fischer, H. G., *Inscriptions of the Coptite Nome*, (1964), Appendix B; Vernus, P., “Observations sur le Titre \(im\ yr\ htm\) "Directeur duTrésor" in Allam, S. (edit.), *Grund und Boden in Allägypten. Akten des internationalen Symposions, Tübingen*, (1994); Balanda, S. Z., *Society and Government in Ancient Egypt*, 437-454.
Helck erroneously considers that during the Middle Kingdom period the official in charge of the treasury was the *imy-r ḫnwty*, but Balanda identified the *imy-r ḫnwty* as royal auditors or inspectors, assigned to various departments in order to supervise their running on behalf of the royal secretariat to which they reported.

The High treasurer had deputies and assistants as attested in UC32099B, [Image 194x679 to 315x697]. The title "ḥry-suffix n imy-r ḫtmw wrt m. The title "ḥry-suffix n imy-r ḫtmw wrt m to the staff of treasury as it represented the treasurer within the northern area of El-Lahun’s administration.

The scribal functions represent the largest component of the treasury bureaucracy. As the treasurer had his own scribes and a scribe in charge of seal *sś hry htm*, there are also others in connection with sealing such as, *sś hry htm n ḫt n dd rmt* and *sś hry htm n gs-ib*,

Titles of seemingly lower rank, such as *ḥry-suffix n imy-r ḫtm and ḫtm hry-suffix* who worked as assistant to the treasurer.

It seems likely that the local treasurers in El-Lahun possessed their individual and respective office (ḥt) such as ḫt n imy-r ḫtm “Bureau of the treasurer”, and ḫt n imy-r ḫtm n ḫtp sn-wrt “Bureau of the treasurer of ḫtp sn-wrt” in which all documents were kept and all revenue and expenditure registered.

3- **Granaries and Storage Rooms**

a- [Image 411x698 to 495x715] “Granaries”

The granaries served as the foundation of the El-Lahun economy. In El-Lahun, each of the six granaries had a substantial capacity. Thus, it has been estimated that the six granaries would have stored grain sufficient to support a population ranging between 5,000 and 9,000 for a whole year. In addition to those large grids of six compartments, there were the houses with circular grain bins, found across the town. The majority of these smaller granaries (13 of 15) were found in the western quarter.

In the architectural design of granaries, shown through the models from the Meketra tomb, indications of the scribal activities could be seen. As the granary had a number of rooms located in

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1See the preceding table.
2Helck, W., *Zur Verwaltung des Mittleren und Neuen Reiches*, (1958), 180; *imy-r ḫnwty* attested in El-Lahun papyri UC32173, UC32201, UC32125; Stephen Quirke inserted the title *imy-r ḫnwty (sw) n imy-r ḫtm “(chief) interior overseer to the treasurer” to the treasury staff, but this title did not appear in El-Lahun papyri, for the title see Quirke, S., in RdE 37, (1986), 119. Papazian states that the ḫtmw-bity may have been leading treasury officials, but by virtue of their designation, could also be considered as personal representatives of the king in matters of treasury administration, Papazian, H., in García J. C. M. (edit.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 71-72; Strudwick, N., in JEA 71, (1985), 75; Quirke, S., in RdE 37, (1986), 61.
4See the *swnt* document UC32167, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Legal*, 119-120; but Balanda states that the name of the official and the assignment to the Northern-wrt refer to the swnt and not the High Treasurer, and he translated the title as "ḫt n ḫtm-N who -is-at-the-disposal-of-the-high-treasurer-assigned-to-the-northern wrt”. Balanda, S. Z., *Society and Government in Ancient Egypt*, 446.
5Papazian, H., in García J. C. M. (edit.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 71-72; Strudwick, N., in JEA 71, (1985), 75.
the inner and outer parts of the building with the inner part used to store grain and the outer part reserved as scribe's offices for the scribes who recorded delivered and issued the grain as well as, maintained regular stock control. Therefore the scribes worked to monitor the delivery of grain, and the distribution of grain from, these granaries, and estimate the rations required for a population of varying social order.

The Snwt and storage rooms attested in El-Lahun account papyri: Berol.10055 mentions $snwt\ ntw\ htpw-ntr$ “granary of divine offerings,” while Berol.100203 stats $nt\ hH\ m\ \snwt\ ntw\ m\ sHm\ [sn]-\wsrt\ \sHr\ \[m\]-\hrw$ concerns the deficit “which is outstanding in the granary which is in Sekhem-Senwosret-maa-kheru.” The term granary also appeared in the fragment papyrus Berol.10307b but appears to be related to Sobek, Lord of Ra-sehut, while Berol.10414b is a reference to the “granarygranary of the divine offerings of Anubis, Foremost of the West.”

In the temple accounts (papyri in Berlin), the granaries seems to be specified as relating to the cult of a god.

In town account papyri, the granaries are attested in three papyri; they were not connected to the gods, and presumably served to supply the households in the town. From the calculations by Kemp, cited above, the large six-compartment granaries would have been able to feed the whole town, but the papyri do not seem to provide any direct evidence on specific recipients inside or outside the town.

The fragment UC32177 records a cargo of grain, dates and loaves which were brought from the granary for the domain of Upper Egypt (?)\textsuperscript{8}.

\begin{verbatim}
  
  "rnpt-sp 36 ibd 3 $smw[...]
    rht $tpw ini[...]
    m $snwt\ hr\ hwt\ m3ty\ (?)\ $snm\ (?)
    m\ hd\ r\ t3-mh\ [...]
    it\ $snm\ $h3ty\ 15\ 18\ 25[...]
    $h$\ $h3ty\ 5
    bH\ $h3ty\ 5
    t\ $snm\ 150
  "
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{1}Kemp, B., \textit{Ancient Egypt}, 125.
\textsuperscript{2}Ezzamel, M., in \textit{AHJ 29}, (2002), 78.
\textsuperscript{3}Kaplony-Heckel, \textit{Ägyptische Handschriften}, no. 43.
\textsuperscript{4}Kaplony-Heckel, \textit{Ägyptische Handschriften}, no. 243.
\textsuperscript{8}Collier, M., & Quirke, S., \textit{The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts}, 107.
Regnal year 36, month 3 of summer
amount of cargo brought…
from the granary for the domain of …of Upper Egypt (?) […] in sailing north to Lower Egypt […] processed barley, double barrel 15 18 25[…]
malted grain, double barrel 5
dates, double barrel 5
loaves, various 150

Also the UC32145d, states […] “di r šnwt nt w"rt mhht… hk3t […] 26”[…] placed in the granary of the northern sector… barrels […] 26”.1

The papyrus UC32109C which dated to year 1 of an unknown king2:

[rnpt-sp] 1, 3bd 1 3ḥt sw 29
nty…
…hk3t 100
…. hk3t 100
ḥwt (?) iy ḫnt šnwt

/year of reign] 1, month 1 of flood, day 29
[…..] barrels 100
[…..] barrels 100
[…..] of protected fields (?) Iy out of the granary

b- wd3 "Store"

This term is attested twice in the El-Lahun Account Papyri in UC32129A, part of a table including worksites (?), in line 6 mentioned the term wd3w […] stores3 and in UC32190C4, the papyrus states:

[rnpt-sp] 34 3bd 1 šmw sw 24
[…] mnwy niwt tn di r wd3[…]
[regnal year] 34 month 1 of summer day 24
[…] conscripts of this town, given to the store […]

Though papyri note that this term is not used as a place to store the grain effectively, but it was associated with areas of work where workers work.

1Collier, M., & Quirke, S., The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 129; Letter UC322212 mentions ir m inw šnwt tn.
4Collier, M., & Quirke, S., The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 15.
c- "Phr "Storeroom"

The papyrus UC32178 on recto mentioned works by masons on various days, from among the workplaces was the phrw as the phrase runs:

\[
\text{rnpt-sp 43(?) 3bd 3 $mw$ sw [\ldots]} \\
\text{k3t m n3t (?) n phrw [\ldots]} \\
\text{kdw m n3t lnwr}
\]

Regnal year 43 (?) month 3 of summer day [\ldots]
work in the stone-yards (?) of the storerooms [\ldots]
masons breaking stones

On the verso, listing accounts of grain allotted to various stores or shrines (?). The papyrus mentioned three types of phr "phrw rsw hnt\(^2\), phrw rsw, and phr hry"

\[
\text{(3) [\ldots]...di r phrw rsw hnt hktt...} \\
\text{(5) [\ldots]...phrw rsw in.. n..} \quad \text{hktt 10} \\
\text{(9) [\ldots]... phr hry} \quad \text{hktt 10}
\]

\[
\text{(3) [\ldots]...given to the southern storerooms of the canal...} \quad \text{barrels\ldots} \\
\text{(5) [\ldots]...southern storerooms brought by...} \quad \text{barrels 10} \\
\text{(9) [\ldots]... upper storeroom} \quad \text{barrels 10}
\]

The term phr is attested also in UC32180 and is a memorandum referring to stores, dated to year 44 (of Amenemhat III)\(^3\).

\[
\text{rnpt-sp 44 3bd 2 $mw$ sw 26} \\
\text{di r mn m phrw rsw hnt}
\]

Regnal year 44 month 2 of summer day 26
given as fixed amount (?) in southern stores of the canal

The UC32181\(^4\) registered types of commodities given or brought from different places and stores:

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\(^1\)Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 55.
\(^2\)phrw rsw hnt mentioned also in UC32180.
\(^3\)Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 66.
In UC32144B, the title *try-t n pfr* "Keeper of chamber of patrol-stores" is mentioned.¹

The title *imy-r st* "Overseer of stores" is attested in UC32158, and title of *hm k3 n imy-r st* "kasanvart of the storeroom overseer" in UC32170.⁶

**4- *šn²* "Food-Productions Sector"**

The temple papyri attested the occurrence of a single area, *šn²* "pr šn² n ḫtpw-ntr" "the food production area of the god's offerings" may have provided for all the institutions of *šhm sn-wsr t m3-r-hrw*, whereas the grain was apparently stored in a separate granary for each cult (*šnwt*)².

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¹ Collier, M., & Quirke, S., The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 179.
² Wb, IV, 1.
⁴ Collier, M., & Quirke, S., The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 75.
⁶ His name is *sbk-hî-lîf šs m-sh f* who worked as *hm kî n imy-r st ipi (?), Collier, M., & Quirke, S., The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 45.
⁷ The earliest known mention of those institutions comes from a seal of the IInd dynasty; the seal belonged to prince Perneb Perneb from the reign of either Hetep-Sekhemay or his successor Raneb and may have been used to seal receipts for cloth (*šsr*) and metal brought to the pr-*šn²*. See Kaplony, P., Die Inschriften der Aegyptischen Frühzeit, II, 1142–3 fig. 367, Pl. 94; Balanda, S. Z., Society and Government in Ancient Egypt, 355. During the late VIth dynasty when it seems most of the major *šn²* were being incorporated within temple complexes, see URK, I, 131, 6; Quirke, S., Titles and Bureaux, 64-66.
Berol.10048 and Berol.10319 contains the "imy- rn.f mrt nt šn£ [htp]w-ntr [s]n-wsrt [m³]-hrw" 1
"name-list of estate workers of the food production area of šhm sn- wsrt m³- hrw". 2

The fragments in Berol.10003A, verso, mentions the food production area of the divine offerings (šn£ n htpw-ntr) 3, and Berol.10016 mentioned the title "imy-r šn£ "Overseer of the food sector". 4

Josef Wegner suggested that the production and processing area at South-Abydos was located on the eastern end of the temple of Senwosret III, according to the extensive ceramic forms, in addition to the architectural remains which may be related to the production and processing of temple offerings. 5 So according to Wegner's opinion the šn£ in šhm sn-wsrt should have been situated somewhere in the immediate surroundings of the royal temple. 6 However, Zoltan Horváth suggested that the food production area would most likely be located to the south, southeast of the temple site (considering a rise of the rock on the west and on the north), which conforms to the arrangement of the Senwosret III complex. 7

UC32137J is a fragment from journal entries recording festival and offerings: 8

(1) r npt-sp 41 3bd 3 śm [l…]
(3) šn£ n htpw-ntr [l…]
(1) Regnal year 41 month 3 of summer [l…]
(3) food-production sector of divine offerings [l…]

The UC32144A 9 and UC32143A 10 mention šn£ "food-production sector [l…]" 11, the UC32150A states [...] šn£ nty hr.s "[…] food-production sector which is in charge of it" 12, and the small fragment UC32171 was most probably a heading for the list of people attached to the šn£. 13

The papyrus UC32269 is a table of accounts concerning goats which are given to various officials and sectors, among them šn£ "food-sector" 15, and UC32168 verso, concerning livestock, we read in line 7 and 10 the expenditure given to the šn£ 16.

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2Berol.10055 vso, see Kaplony- Heckel, Ägyptische Handschriften, no. 43; Berol.10203 vso, see Kaplony- Heckel, Ägyptische Handschriften, no. 243; Berol.10307b, Unpublished Temple Journal; see Kaplony- Heckel, Ägyptische Handschriften, no. 412, and Quirke, S., in Quirke, S. (edit.), The Temple in Ancient Egypt, 29; Berol.10414, Unpublished papyri; see Kaplony- Heckel, Ägyptische Handschriften, no. 622.
3Unpublished papyri, see Kaplony- Heckel, Ägyptische Handschriften, no. 38 and 429.
11Collier, M., & Quirke, S., The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 177.
12Attested also in UC32278D, šn£ "food-sector", Collier, M., & Quirke, S., The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 277.
13Fragment 1, col.1, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 39.
15UC32269, verso, fragment 4, line 4, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 61.
16Collier, M., & Quirke, S., The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, 57.
Expenditure out of this amount
Regnal year 9 month 3 (?) of winter day 23 given to food-sector in district of…
[day] 20 given to food-sector

UC32135B, states also the expenditure from out of the amount of a commodity is not mentioned as a result of the fragmentary condition of the papyrus, among officials and places given the expenditure is $sn^e$ "food-production sector" and temple of Sobek\(^1\).

*Staff of $sn^e$*

The head of $sn^e$ was "the overseer of the food sector"\(^2\)

He worked as the supervisor of the brewing of beer and baking of bread\(^3\) and supplies all the food for the tomb of $hnty$\(^4\).

The $sn^e$ titles are attested for its various $t$ "chambers" in which the various products or commodities were processed, Balanda mentioned 11 departments or chambers were in $sn^e$\(^5\), but the main chambers are those for $t$ "bread", $hnkt$ "beer", and $dkrw$ "fruits"\(^6\). Each of these chambers was supervised by an $imy$-$st$ "overseer of the storeroom"\(^7\). In the accounts of the El-Lahun papyri UC32158\(^8\), we find a record of some members of the "staff ($d3d3t$) of the $sn^m$" who receive some kind of food subsidy. Among them are two officials entitled $imy$-$st$:

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1 UC32135B (i and ii) recto, Collier, M., & Quirke, S., *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts*, 127.
7 UC32197, UC32158.
Name list of food production sector board which is in charge of the victuals for the banquet of this day
Overseer of stores Senebtyf, overseer of stores Senbef
Provisions secretary Kumnef, carrier of provisions secretary Res
Sealer assistant Sobekhotep, bodyguard Teti

There are also in each chamber of the $sn^r$ a number of $\text{iry-}^t$ "keeper of the chamber" and $\text{wdpw}$ officials or cupbearers\(^1\). The $\text{iry-}^t$ officials were the workers i.e. bakers, brewers, etc. who made the articles of food\(^2\), while $\text{wdpw}$ were servants who carried the ready-made food to their their places of destination\(^3\). These two types of functionaries were officials of low standing in the bureaucracy, little more, if that, than skilled laborers\(^4\).

The title related to $\text{sn}^r$ in El-Lahun papyri:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Translation</th>
<th>Papyri</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$\text{imy-r}$ $\text{sn}^r$</td>
<td>Overseer of the food sector</td>
<td>Berol.10016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{iry-}^t$ $\text{wdpw}$</td>
<td>Keeper of the Chamber and Cupbearer</td>
<td>UC32142C</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{wdpw}$</td>
<td>Cupbearer</td>
<td>UC32280J</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{iry-}^t$ $\text{n phr}$</td>
<td>Keeper of chamber of patrol-stores</td>
<td>UC32144B</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{imy-r}$ $\text{st}$</td>
<td>Overseer of the storehouse</td>
<td>UC32197,UC32158,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>UC32166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{imy-st-}^t$</td>
<td>Assistant</td>
<td>UC32115B,UC32194,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>UC32230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$\text{sS}$ $\text{kw}$</td>
<td>Provisions scribe</td>
<td>UC32158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\)Quirke, S., in *RdE* 37 (1986), 120.
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