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One Man, Two Names: A Case of Onomastic Strategies at the Beginning of the 19th Dynasty

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ABSTRACT

One Man, Two Names

A Case of Onomastic Strategies at the Beginning of the 19th Dynasty

José Miguel Serrano Delgado

In the area around the tomb of Djehuty (TT 11), a unique set of shabtis with two different names, Tutuia and Nebmehyt, has been found. This paper offers an in-depth study of both onomastic forms, understanding that one is dealing with a case of double names. The name Tutuia, despite a certain ambiguity and polyvalence, can be of foreign origin, possibly Semitic. Nebmehyt is instead typically Egyptian but may involve a metaphorical reference to Egypt's neighbouring peoples and countries from the north. The fact that both names were held by the same person could be interesting data that has to do with the image and integration of foreigners in the early Ramesside Period. This research aims to be a case study and contribution to understanding onomastic strategies and the role of double names in Egyptian society.

KEYWORDS

shabti, double name, New Kingdom, Drac Abu el-Naga

One Man, Two Names

A Case of Onomastic Strategies at the Beginning of the 19th Dynasty

Introduction. Set of Shabtis with the Names of Tutuia and Nebmehyt

¹ The Spanish archaeological mission working in the northern area of Dra^c Abu el-Naga (west bank, Thebes) has retrieved documents from several individuals of the 18th and 19th Dynasties¹. Among them is Tutuia, a high-ranking official of Amun's domain, contemporary with Seti I and belonging to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II. Tutuia first came to our knowledge through a series of inscribed mud bricks bearing the name *Twtwiz* (𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵𓏶𓏷), identified as *imy-r ihw n Imn*, »overseer of the cattle of Amun«². Through parallels, these building bricks can be dated between the late 18th Dynasty (post-Amarna Period) and the first half of the 19th Dynasty³. As they are mostly found scattered in the area south-west of Djehuty's tomb (TT 11), outside their original context or reused in later walls and shafts, they indicate a partial or total destruction of Tutuia's tomb. In any case, so far Tutuia's tomb cannot be located at present with certainty.

¹ This paper is part of the research project HAR2017-88671-R within the Spanish Plan Estatal de Investigación Científica y Técnica y de Innovación (PEICTI). We want to express our thanks to its director, José M. Galán, for his continued support and advice, and for his reviewing and comments to this article. We also want to extend our gratitude to Juan-Pablo Vita for his advice on Semitic onomastic. For a preliminary report of this research, see Serrano Delgado 2023.

² The dimensions of the mud bricks are 35 × 16 × 10 cm, with slight variations. The seal has a rectangular frame with an approximate size of 13 × 5.3 cm. Usually, the seal is aligned with the rectangular shape of the brick; in many cases, it is stamped superficially, resulting in some signs being unclear and difficult to read. For further information on Tutuia's mud bricks, of which around 50 units are currently preserved, see Galán 2008, 167–169; pls. 25–31. It is worth noting that the inscription of the title is unusual, as the marker for the plural is placed before the logogram *ihw*. The only parallel is found in the funerary cone in Davies – Macadam 1957, no. 384.2 (cf. Galán 2008, 168; see also Zenihiro 2019, no. 658/B.31). For a recent prosopographic research related with Dra^c Abu el-Naga south, see Jiménez-Higueras 2022.

³ These parallels are the mud bricks of Parennefer, high priest of Amun, royal scribe, and overseer of the treasury, Tia and Wadjet (the three of them buried in Dra^c Abu el-Naga), Djehutymose, steward of Amun (buried in Khokha), and Maya, also royal scribe and overseer of the treasury, whose tomb is located in Saqqara; cf. Galán 2008, 169–171 with references. See also Spencer 1979, 146; pl. 38.

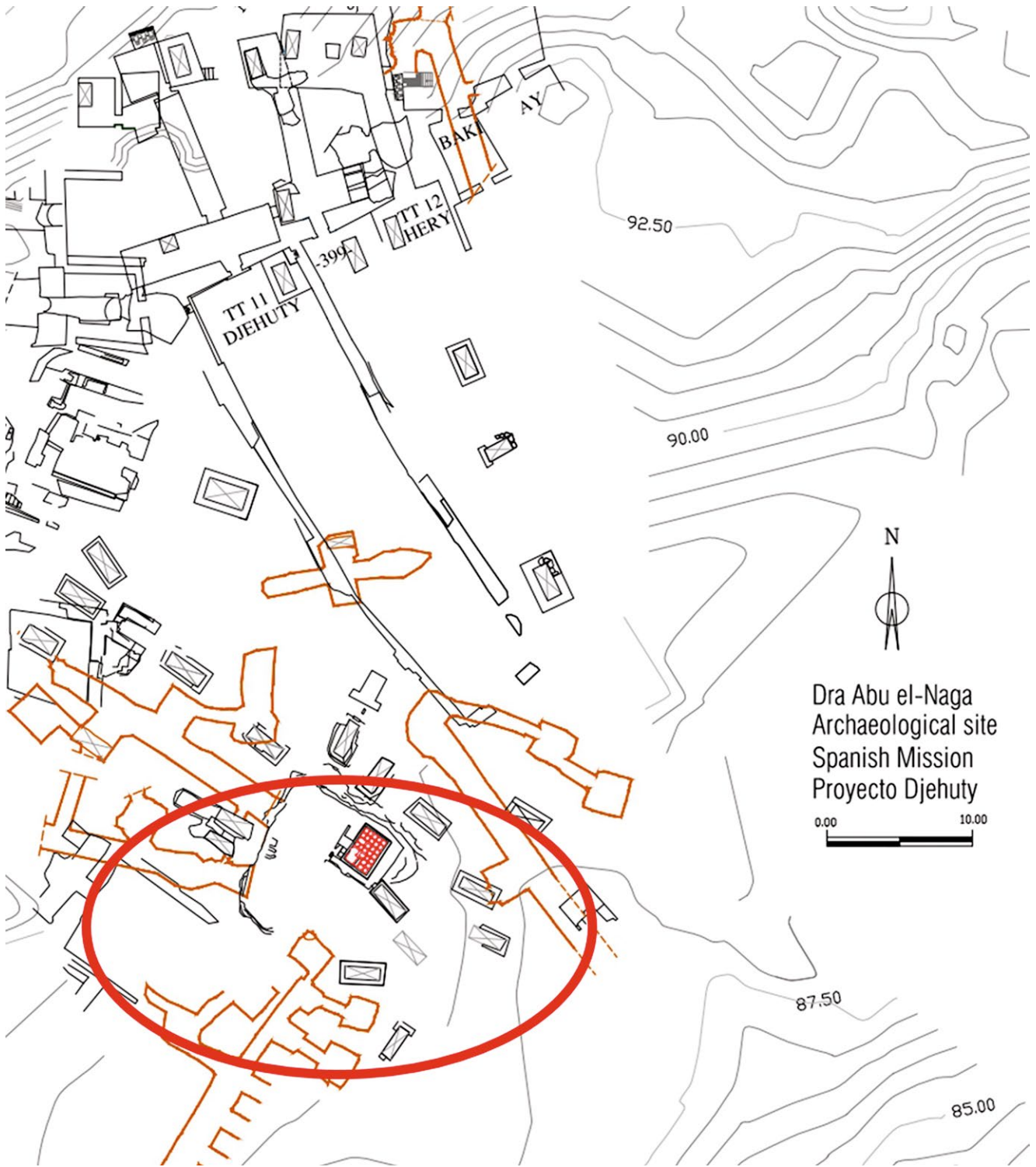
2 Since 2015, towards the south-west of the courtyard of TT 11, the archaeologists also discovered a large number of shabtis of Tutuia, almost 200 fragments, broken and scattered, mixed with a wide range of materials, and found in different levels, clear evidence of the looting and destruction of the original tomb (Figs. 1. 2. 4). The fragments belong to different shabti typologies. The majority is made of terracotta and was carefully equipped with polychrome decoration. The bodies are painted white, with a column of text in the front that runs from the waist to the feet. The text is written in black signs on a yellow background, and the column is flanked by red lines. On the chest and shoulders, the shabtis bear a series of yellow, red, and blue necklaces. On the head, they wear a tripartite black wig, although, in some of them, the colour is turquoise, with the lower part decorated with a horizontal band. The hands and faces were left undecorated, so they appear in the natural reddish tone of the clay. The face has a triangular shape with highlighted facial features, a broad nose, and eyes outlined in black. The arms are folded across the chest, holding the usual hoes carried by shabtis. The drawing of the mould used to make bricks can be seen, in yellow, at the back of some of the figurines (Figs. 3. 5. 6). There are two shabtis that are different, decorated instead with a series of horizontal text bands, with the signs written in black on a white background. These bear the ›shabti spell‹, chapter 6 of the Book of the Dead (Figs. 16. 17).

3 It is worth pointing out that this type of polychrome terracotta shabti is relatively rare, and parallels can only be found from the second half of the 18th Dynasty onwards. They are more frequent during the Ramesside Period, especially in the 19th Dynasty⁴. These types try to replicate wooden models (made of acacia or sycomore) in stucco and polychrome and with the same elongated shape typical of shabtis from the early Ramesside Period⁵. Wooden shabtis required more work and were more expensive, whereas the terracotta ones allowed for serial production through moulds, thus enabling their increase in number and mass production.

4 Our set of terracotta shabtis stands out because, when preserved and readable, they bear two different names. The majority (25 fragments) mentions Tutuia (Fig. 7), in some cases with the same title as on the mud bricks: *imy-r ihw n ĩmn*, »overseer of the cattle of Amun«, with the variant *imy-r ihw wr n ĩmn*, »senior overseer of the cattle of Amun« (Fig. 8). On other shabtis, Tutuia's title is *imy-r pr ĩmn*, »steward of Amun«, also with the variant *imy-r pr wr n ĩmn*, »senior steward of Amun« (Figs. 9. 10). The other name inscribed on the shabtis (16 fragments) is Nebmehyt/*Nb-mhyt* (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏), who bears the same titles as Tutuia: »(senior) overseer of the cattle of Amun« (Fig. 11) or alternatively »(senior) steward of Amun« (Fig. 12). It is worth highlighting that it is not possible to establish typological differences between the shabtis bearing Tutuia's name and those of Nebmehyt, neither in terms of form, measurements, or decoration nor in regards to their find-spot. There is no doubt that this is a single set of shabtis, made at

4 For parallels in polychrome terracotta, see Schlögl 2000, 48–50 nos. 11. 12 (both from the 19th Dynasty); Cavillier 2016, 67–69 nos. 27–29; 126 no. 64 (all from the 19th Dynasty). Further parallels can be found in the extensive collection of shabtis at the British Museum, London: EA 9448 (Ramesside), EA 9451 (Ramesside), EA 9454 (Ramesside), EA 9457 (19th Dynasty), EA 9469 (Ramesside), EA 9481 (Ramesside), EA 22809 (Ramesside), EA 33947 (19th Dynasty), EA 55256 (Ramesside), EA 71242 (Ramesside), and EA 71252 (Ramesside). Regarding the shabtis BM, EA 15760 and EA 15761 (19th Dynasty), both of Hat, high priest of Min, the close similarities in terms of form, decoration, and text make it clear that not only are they contemporary, but they could come from the same workshop. A similar but more cautious observation can be made with regards to shabti BM, EA 47082, since only the head of this fragment has been preserved.

5 For further information on wooden figurines from the Ramesside Period (which are very frequent), serving as models for the less frequent terracotta ones, see Schlick-Nolte – von Droste zu Hülshoff 1984, 55–57 no. IN 1690 (19th Dynasty); Reiser-Haslauer 1990, 18–22 no. AS 831*, 831. 837. 8492 (the three of them from the 19th Dynasty); Cavillier 2016, 337 no. 119 (19th Dynasty). See also BM, EA 8586 (19th Dynasty), EA 8594 (19th Dynasty), EA 8595 (19th Dynasty), EA 8615 (19th Dynasty), EA 8619 (19th Dynasty), EA 8623 (Ramesside), EA 8624 (Ramesside), EA 8630 (Ramesside), EA 8634 (Ramesside), EA 8648 (Ramesside), EA 18670 (19th Dynasty). The proliferation of these wooden shabtis in stucco, painted and polychrome, and notably elongated, is characteristic of the early Ramesside Period, and they are likely inspired by royal models, such as those of Seti I.



1

the same time, in the same workshop, and possibly intended for a single tomb or burial. Yet, they bear two different names.

5 Besides the terracotta shabtis, there are five fragments of a very different kind in terms of appearance, typology, and manufacture, but which belong to the same set⁶. These are of excellent quality and carefully elaborated. They are made of white faience,

Fig. 1: Plan of the area around the tomb of Djehuty (TT 11) under the excavation of the Spanish mission, with the main concentration area of the mud bricks and shabtis of Tutuia-Nebmehyt (scale 1 : 400)

6 The set consists of the upper half of a shabti (up to the waist) and four lower parts (one of the fragments is preserved from the waist down, the other three have only preserved the feet). They belong to five different shabtis, made in the same technique and style.



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Figs. 2–5: Terracotta shabtis
(scale 1 : 2)

with decorative elements, lines, and hieroglyphic signs incised and filled in a dark violet, almost black, colour. The face and hands, thoroughly detailed, have been added in red clay, conferring upon these figurines a rich use of colour and liveliness. They wear a tripartite wig drawn in parallel lines, with striations representing the hair; the arms are folded across the chest, holding the two hoes. They bear the text of the ›shabti spell, written in horizontal lines on the lower half of the figurines. The back features the typical basket, and two of the figurines have a mesh that runs from the waist to the feet.

⁶ Once again, parallels clearly point to the late 18th Dynasty and the early Ramesside Period, through the mid or late years of the reign of Ramesses II⁷. It is well-known that the faience manufacture and glazing techniques gained considerable momentum from the Amarna Period onwards. In regards to shabtis, this is particularly noticeable at the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th Dynasty. In this period, a white background was frequently combined with signs incised and filled generally in black colour. Details, especially on the hands and face, are often meticulously crafted and

⁷ For parallels in white faience with hands and face in red clay, see Dewachter 1986, 30 f. no. 11 (shabti of Nebwenenef, high priest of Amun, from the beginning of Ramesses II's reign); Reiser-Haslauer 1990, 49 f. no. ÄS 1323 a (first half of the 19th Dynasty; a royal scribe also called Nebmehyt); Schlögl – Brodbeck 1990, 108 f. no. 46 (late 18th–early 19th Dynasty); Decker 2005, 38 f. (a daughter of Ramesses II); Janes 2012, 159 no. 83 (19th Dynasty); Cavillier 2016, 127 no. 65 (late 18th–early 19th Dynasty); Janes 2016, 55–57 nos. 24. 25 (19th Dynasty); 103 f. no. 28 (another shabti of Nebwenenef).



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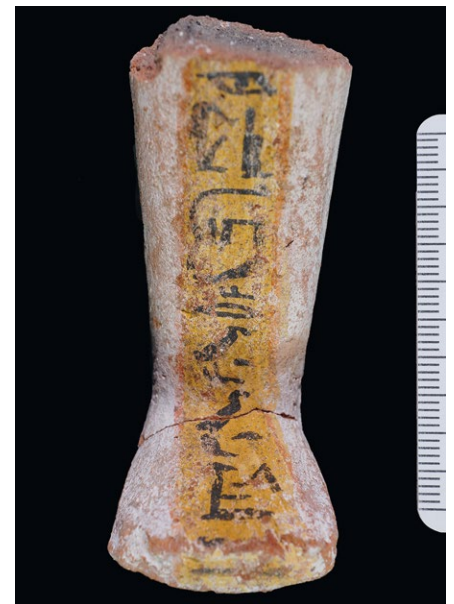
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applied separately in red clay⁸. Three of the white faience fragments bear the name of the owner. Once again, there is one fragment featuring Tutuia (Fig. 13) and two featuring Nebmehyt (Figs. 14, 15), all of them with the same title, *imy-r pr wr n Īmn*, «senior steward of Amun».

8 Petrie 1935, 12, is referring to the beginning of the 19th Dynasty. It is worth highlighting that the period stretching from the reign of Horemheb up to the first half of Ramesses II's reign is a singular time in the history and evolution of shabtis (Aubert – Aubert 1974, 76–92). The set of shabtis of Seti I, and previously those of Tutankhamun, are a clear example of this process. They served as model and inspiration for the white faience shabtis of the Tutuia-Nebmehyt set. For more information, see Bovot 2003, 76–79 no. 22 (white faience shabti of Tutankhamun); 88–100 nos. 26–32 (from the series of white faience shabtis of Seti I).

Fig. 6: Terracotta shabti (scale 1 : 1)

Fig. 7: Terracotta shabti for the «Osiris, Tutuia» (scale 1 : 1)

Fig. 8: Terracotta shabti for the «senior overseer of the cattle of Amun, Tutu(ia)» (scale 1 : 1)

Fig. 9: Terracotta shabti for the «senior steward of Amun, Tutuia» (scale 1 : 1)

Fig. 10: Terracotta shabti for the «Osiris, senior steward (of Amun), Tutu(ia)» (scale 1 : 1)



Fig. 11: Terracotta shabti for the »Osiris, senior overseer of the cattle of Amun, Nebmehyt« (scale 1 : 1)



Fig. 12: Terracotta shabti for the »Osiris, steward, Nebmehyt« (scale 1 : 1)

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12

7 The set of shabtis is completed with the fragments of two funerary figurines that were found in the same archaeological context. One consists of just the feet of a small calcite figure, preserving Nebmehyt's name (Fig. 18)⁹. There is also a wooden figurine, which is badly preserved. Originally, it bore a beautiful polychrome decoration including gold leaf. Typologically, it can be dated to the early Ramesside Period, and it bears the name of Tutuia (Fig. 19)¹⁰.

Previously Known Evidence of Tutuia

8 Tutuia, steward of Amun, was not a complete stranger before the mud bricks, shabtis, and figurines were found in Dra^c Abu el-Naga. Tutuia is mentioned in a papyrus in the Egyptian Museum Cairo, CG 65739, which contains the protocol of a lawsuit relating to slave trade¹¹. It is a significant and almost unique document, shedding light on the purchase and ownership of slaves during the New Kingdom. Moreover, it provides one of the few evidence of the ratio between the values of copper and silver, with the latter being used as the unit of value to set market prices. In this papyrus, a woman

9 The faded signs are painted in black. Although it is difficult to establish parallels, the robust finish of the feet and base resembles stone models also dating to the 19th Dynasty and broadly to the Ramesside Period. See, for instance, BM, EA 8706, EA 8710, EA 8833, EA 33920, EA 33924, EA 54396 (the latter is particularly similar, also made of calcite and with almost identical size, feet form, and base).

10 Only two fragments have been preserved. The painted decoration has largely vanished, although the necklace is still visible, as is a text in horizontal lines and black signs. Part of the three upper lines is legible, featuring the offering formula and two instances of Tutuia's name. The model and example for this type of shabti is again the set of Seti I, with plenty of wooden samples, although their text is usually incised (Schneider 1977, 32–34). The closest parallels also point to the 19th Dynasty or early Ramesside Period; cf. Schneider 1977, 34 f. nos. 3.1.1.1 (19th Dynasty). 3.1.1.2 (19th Dynasty); 40 no. 3.1.1.20 (beginning of the 19th Dynasty); 48–50 nos. 3.1.2.4 (19th Dynasty). 3.1.2.9 (Ramesside). See also BM, EA 8594, EA 8595, EA 8615, EA 8627, EA 8637, among the many parallels of the Ramesside Period that can be listed.

11 Gardiner 1935, 140–146; pls. 13–16; Mrsich 1995. See also Helck 1961, 811; KRI II, 800–802 no. 284.



13



14



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Fig. 13: Faience shabti for the »Osiris, senior steward of Amun, Tutu(ia)« (scale 1 : 2)

Fig. 14: Faience shabti for the »Osiris, senior steward of Amun, Nebmehyt« (scale 1 : 2)

Fig. 15: Faience shabti for the »Osiris, Nebmehyt« (scale 1 : 1)



16



17



18

Figs. 16, 17: Terracotta shabtis with the »shabti spell« (scale 1 : 1)

Fig. 18: Calcite figurine for Nebmehyt (scale 1 : 2)

Fig. 19: Wooden figurine for Tutuia (scale 1 : 1)



19

called Irytnefret (*Īryt-nfrt*) states that she has legally purchased a Syrian slave in exchange for a series of goods that are carefully listed, together with their equivalent price in silver. These goods include pieces of garment that belong to her and were likely of Irytnefret's own making or made at her workshop. The remaining goods, almost half of the slave's total value, include bronze or copper items that she claims to have purchased or have obtained, perhaps as loans, from certain people that are named so as to verify the authenticity of the statement¹². Named individuals include ꜥꜣꜣꜣ ꜥꜣꜣꜣ, »steward of

12 The difficulty lies upon deciding whether Irytnefret has purchased those copper or bronze goods prior to purchasing the slave, or whether it is a loan that has been arranged at the time of purchase. In this case, it is assumed that the woman incurs a debt with the people that, like Tutuia, have provided her with the goods that allow her to purchase the slave; cf. Janssen 1994.

Amun« (*imy-r pr Twtwīš n pr Īmn*). The papyrus can be dated with certainty to the first half of the reign of Ramesses II¹³. The text does not allow for a closer specification of the personal relationship between Irytnefret, Tutuia, and the other individuals mentioned in the papyrus. These could be friends, neighbours (as pointed out by Alan H. Gardiner), or maybe sustain other types of dependency links. It is nonetheless worth mentioning that the judicial proceedings involve high officials from the Theban elite at the time, such as a »chief of police« (*hry mdšiw*, in line 23), the »mayor of the west« (*hšty-c n ĩmntt*, in line 24), or our character, the »steward of Amun« (line 12), which agrees with the high quality of the papyrus, the calligraphy, and the text.

9 Moreover, there is a faience plaque with the following inscription on the front: *imy-r ihw n Īmn Twtwīš* (𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏), »the overseer of the cattle of Amun, Tutuia«. The back bears Ramesses II's throne name: *Wsr-mš-t-Rc stp-n-Rc*¹⁴. The piece could be part of Tutuia's funerary equipment. In any case, it helps to confirm the precise chronological context of Tutuia and the set of shabtis under study.

Tutuia/Twtwīš. An Onomastic Form of Possible Foreign Origin

10 Tutuia's name is written as 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 or 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏 in the vast majority of shabtis. With a slight variation due to the transposition of signs, it is written on mud bricks as 𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏𓂏. Alternatively, four shabtis feature the abbreviated form *Twtw*, with two variants, 𓂏𓂏𓂏 or 𓂏𓂏𓂏.

11 Tutuia is not a common name in Egyptian sources. It can be related to a series of anthroponyms like Tuia, Tia, Tiy, and similar ones that became popular in the second half of the 18th Dynasty and the Ramesside Period and later disappeared. Most of them were for women, without evidence of foreign origin. So it seems that for Egyptians, it was predominantly a female onomastic form¹⁵. Such is also the case with most of the

13 Gardiner 1935, 141: »As regards date, the probabilities point to the beginning or middle of Ramesses II; not later, for linguistic and orthographic, as much as for palaeographical reasons; and scarcely earlier, since what hieratic we possess from the reign of Sethos I and before seems to be crabbed and angular.«; Mrsich 1995, 296: »Es handelt sich um ein sorgfältig, wohl erst nachschriftlich redigiertes Prozessprotokoll, das dem Schrifttyp nach in die frühe bis mittlere Zeit Ramses' II datiert ist.«; line 5 of the papyrus mentions »year 15«, which in all likelihood refers to the year of reign and allows for a precise dating of this document and the persons cited. It is remarkable that both Gardiner 1935, 142, and Mrsich 1995, 294, transcribe the name of our character as Teti (although Tycho Q. Mrsich correctly transliterates *Twtwīš* in 292). Being Tutuia a relatively rare name, this probably leads them to assimilate it to better-known anthroponyms like Teti, a common name from the Old and Middle Kingdoms until the first half of the 18th Dynasty (not attested in the Ramesside Period). But it is also possible they understand this name as written in syllabic/group writing (see fn. 16).

14 Unfortunately, the piece lacks archaeological context or known origin. It is published in KRI III, 346 no. 155, with the note »kind courtesy of Dr. J. Málek«. The reference points to an antique dealer (Mileham, George and Mairs, Faversham Antiques and Coins, Delbridge House, Faversham, Kent) from where its trace is lost. It is likely that Málek had a chance to see the piece, copy the inscription and pass the information on to Kenneth A. Kitchen. We want to extend our gratitude to Francisco Bosch Puche for this information.

15 PN I, 377 no. 18 (*Tīš*, used mostly for women); 378 nos. 1 (*Tyš*, used mainly for women). 2 (*Tīy*, only found in women). 4 (*Ty*, predominantly feminine); 379 nos. 6 (*Twīš*, predominantly feminine). 8 (*Twy*, predominantly for women). 9 (*Twīw*, only seen in women). Cf. also EMC, CG 47646 (*Tīš*), CG 47710 (*Twy* or *Twīwy*, written in both ways), and CG 48500 (*Tyšy*), the three belonging to women (Newberry 1930–1937, 190. 214 f. 379); Davies – Macadam 1957, nos. 1 (*Twīw*, mother of the owner of the cone). 12 (*Twy*, songstress of Amun). All these references belong to the second half of the 18th Dynasty and especially the Ramesside Period. Some of the women bearing these names are known to belong to the highest elite or to the royal family itself, as is the case of Tiaa, mother of Thutmose IV, and also one of the daughters of this sovereign. Other examples are the famous Tiye, wife of Amenhotep III and mother of Akhenaten, or Tia, name of the grandmother or mother of Seti I. Tuya was Seti I's wife and Ramesses II's mother (see Vandersleyen 1995, 166. 498. 687; Dodson – Hilton 2004, 142–175; Obsomer 2012, 547). The case of Tia, daughter of Seti I, stands out because she was married to a high-ranking official with the same name (Martin 1997; Masquelier-Loorius 2013, 38. 229. 334. 341 f.).

attestations of the name Tutuia¹⁶: the Theban tomb of Samut-Kyky (TT 409), who was the royal scribe and chief accountant of the cattle of Amun during the reign of Ramesses II, features the name of a woman called Tutuia, possibly his mother¹⁷. This is also the name of Amenhotep-Huy's mother, with the variant *Twtwīš*; this man was high steward in Memphis under Amenhotep III and related to the well-known Ramose¹⁸. A 19th Dynasty stela located in Munich depicts a dozen individuals from the same family, including a woman called *Twtwīš*¹⁹. This name appears also in a female shabti preserved at the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung Berlin, ÄM 8579²⁰. After what we have just exposed, we think it would be interesting to analyse the few cases where the name Tutuia is applied to men.

12 It should be noted first that a name like *Twtwīš* or *Twtwīš*, and the shorter version *Twtw/Twtw*, could eventually be connected to a series of Egyptian hypocoristics like *Tt*, *Tti*, *Titi*, or similar. These are common names in the Middle Kingdom and the first half of the 18th Dynasty, but their use decreased later on²¹. Therefore, in the historical, social, and cultural context of the late 18th Dynasty and the Ramesside Period, these possible connections have to be taken with caution. Structural phonetic differences between these purely Egyptian onomastic forms²² and other names like *Twtwīš*, *Twtw*, or *Twtw* are very likely. As mentioned before, these last names are frequent from the Amarna Period up until the 20th Dynasty, with no prior or later evidence²³.

13 Another possibility to consider is that *Twtw/Twtw* was the outcome of the Egyptian rendering of foreign onomastics, perhaps Semitic names, as already suggested by Ranke²⁴. Thomas Schneider includes *Twtw* in his repertoire of Asiatic names in Egyptian sources of the New Kingdom linked to the basic form *Dudu/Dadu, leading to a wide range of hypocoristics in most of the Semitic languages of the Near East. However, he acknowledges a certain ambiguity, as this type of name can also be found in other linguistic contexts²⁵. *Twtw/Twtwīš* is indeed a good example of some of the methodological problems the study of the onomastics is facing with names from Syria-Palestine, and foreign onomastics in general, in Egyptian sources²⁶. Schneider clearly


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- 16 For the lemma, see Altägyptisches Wörterbuch 2023b. It should be noted that the transliterated form *Twtwīš* (𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏) is not listed in Hermann Ranke's corpus; cf. PN I, 385 no. 25, *Tti* being the transliteration entry; and it happens again in PN I, 385 nos. 24. 26 (reading *Tti* instead of *Twtwīš/Twtw*, maybe an alternative and better choice). See also fn. 13.
- 17 Muhammed 1966, 179; pls. 100. 101; Negm 1997, 32. 47; pls. 34. 35 b; Galán 2008, 168 no. 9; PM I, 462, 17.
- 18 We know of this woman mainly through a shabti bearing her name (Schlögl – Brodbeck 1990, 75 no. 23: »Die Totenfigur gehört zweifellos der Mutter des prominenten königlichen Domänenverwalters in Memphis, Amenhotep (Hui), der unter Amenophis III. tätig war.«). For more on the figure of Amenhotep-Huy and the preserved documents about him, including his kinship to *Twtwīš*, see Hayes 1938 (especially 20); PM III 2, 702. See also Dodson 2014, 48. 50. 245.
- 19 Dyroff – Pörtner 1904, 78; pl. 20.
- 20 Roeder 1924, 590. The name is written in abbreviated form (with reduplication of the *tw*-group), certainly in order to make the most of the space available on the shabti.
- 21 For a first approach to the casuistry of this kind of names, see PN I, 378. 383–386. 395.
- 22 Many of these Egyptian hypocoristics may be linked to names or abbreviations of names of certain deities, like Thoth (Barbotin 2008, 40). They may also be linked to onomastic compound names derived from the word *tw* (»image« or »statue«), and they often use signs like the loaf of bread and similar ones (Gardiner's sign list X2, X3, or X4), that rarely come up in the *Twtwīš/Twtw* anthroponymic group.
- 23 This study excludes theophorous names related to Tutu, as this god is attested very late, from the 26th Dynasty onwards, and is particularly worshipped in the Graeco-Roman Period; cf. Kaper 2003. Ranke ignored this data (PN I, 379 no. 17: *Twtw-ī-m-ḥtp*, from the Late Period), and it is anachronistic to link this divinity to the New Kingdom onomastics (as can still be seen in Hess 1984, 107).
- 24 In his presentation of hypocoristics (*Kosenamen*), Ranke considers that *Twtw* »scheint allerdings einen semitischen Namen wiederzugeben« (the transcription offered is *t.t.*: PN II, 166 no. 8), and links it, as well as *Twtw*, with the Acadian-Babylonian (PN I, 395 no. 22; PN II, 329 no. 11); see also Ranke 1920.
- 25 Schneider 1992, 243 f. no. N 521 (in 244, he refers to its Semitic character: »Zwar sind PN der Form *Dudu/Dadu [...] in den meisten semit. Onomastika gut belegt«). He offers a list of related hypocoristics, pointing out that they are mostly found in Semitic onomastics (Eblaite, Amorrite, Aramaic, Ugaritic, or Hebrew), but also in non-Semitic contexts, like Elamite or even Egyptian.
- 26 The ending *-īš* is very common in syllabic writing of the New Kingdom as part of hypocoristics and
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sets out these problems: on the one hand, some names allow for an »ambivalent interpretation«, i. e., names whose Egyptian script may conceal a name of Semitic (foreign) origin or a name of strictly Egyptian origin. On the other hand, there is evidence of frequent orthographic and formal similarities between foreign and Egyptian names in the New Kingdom documentation²⁷. These similarities, involving polyvalence and ambiguity, entail the difficulty in using onomastics exclusively as evidence of a certain ethnic or geographical origin. Therefore, names like *Twtw/Twtwīš* in Egyptian sources do not necessarily indicate a foreign/Asiatic origin of the person thus called, although such origin is highly likely. Research shall attempt to find other types of parallel evidence that, when compounded with the name, can sustain this hypothesis²⁸.

¹⁴ Tutu/*Twtw*, high-ranking official of Akhenaten, provides a fine example of this. He is well-known for his tomb at Amarna, which is one of the best and largest tombs in the necropolis, thus pointing to his high social and political standing²⁹. It is generally accepted that this Tutu is frequently mentioned in Amarna correspondence. He is the main interlocutor of Aziru, ruler of Amurru, using a language that, due to its closeness and familiarity, has always left the door open to the possibility that he had a special link to the Asiatic territories of Egypt or even a Syrian-Palestinian origin³⁰. The information conveyed on his tomb reinforces his image as a privileged intermediary between the pharaoh and the Syrian vassal rulers. In one of his audiences with the sovereign, in a text accompanying a scene of foreigners bearing tributes and addressing the king through an Egyptian interpreter, Tutu states: »the entire lands trip to thee: Syria, Aethiopia and all the nations«³¹. It is worth pointing out that Tutu boasts about being the conveyor of foreign subjects' messages in the royal palace, perhaps because he knew their language³². An additional and equally important piece of evidence is that this individual is mentioned in several ostraca from Amarna³³. In almost all of them, the

nicknames. It is also a common element in the Egyptian rendering of foreign onomastics, which often draws from that syllabic writing; cf. PN II, 141 f. 167–172; Schneider 1992, 364 f.


- ²⁷ Schneider 2003, 113 (»ambivalente Interpretationsmöglichkeit«). 114 (»ähnliche Notation ägyptischer und fremdsprachiger Namen«); cf. Schneider 1992, 1–6.
- ²⁸ This methodological approach can be extended to a significant amount of individuals of possible foreign origin, even members of the royal family, from the second half of the 18th Dynasty, such as Kiya, one of Akhenaten's wives. The name of this evasive female figure of the Amarna Period could derive from Egyptian onomastics, but it could also be of Hurrian origin. This would be in line with the tentative identification that has been made between Kiya and Taduḫepa. In any case, this suggestion is supported by the fact that she is referred to as »the noble lady (*špst*) of Naharina«; see Schneider 1992, 207–209 no. N 438; Dodson 2014, 130–132.
- ²⁹ Davies 1908, 7–15; pls. 11–20. For a general new approach on the Amarna rock-cut tombs, see Arp 2012.
- ³⁰ In the Amarna Letter EA 158, Aziru addresses Tutu in a way that he does not use with any other Egyptian official: »As you are my father and my lord, and I am your son, the land of Amurru is your land, and my house is your house«. It is true that this type of language and formulation are part of a protocol, reflecting diplomatic relations and international conventions, and it can be found in other similar documents (for instance, in Mari). However, in the Amarna Letters, this language is used specially to address the pharaoh. This shows the power and influence that Tutu holds in the eyes of Aziru, an influence that may be reinforced by the former's possible Asiatic origin (cf. Fensham 1971, 127 f.). For more on Tutu's figure in the Amarna documentation and the identification with the owner of the tomb, see Albright 1946, 22 no. *62; Janssen 1951, 53 f.; Hari 1976, no. 312 a; Hess 1984, 107 f.
- ³¹ We follow Norman de Garis Davies's translation (Davies 1908, 12).
- ³² Davies 1908, 27; pl. 19: »[as to] the ambassadors of all the foreign lands (*wḫwtw n ḥšwt nbt*), I announced their words to the palace«. This might be related to Tutu's role as »chief mouthpiece of the entire land« (Davies 1908, 15). For more on the role and status of interpreters in Egyptian diplomacy, see Galán 1995; Galán 2005, 49–94. 133–176; Galán 2011, 304–306.
- ³³ Hari 1976, no. 312 a; Schneider 1992, 403 (»Zur Determinierung fremder Personennamen in der Gruppenschrift«). For the original publication of these documents, see Pendlebury 1951, 179. 185–187. 189; pl. 91. There is another *Twtw*, with the name written in the same way (𓏲𓏳𓏴𓏵), who was a »royal scribe« (*sš nsw*) and »steward« (*imy-r pr*) of Ay, not to be mistaken with Akhenaten's minister (Davies 1908, 14 fn. 4; Hari 1976, no. 312 b). Among those cited in the ostraca from Amarna is a *Tw-tw-š*, whom Wolfgang Helck considers to be an Asiatic name. This figure appears also as *ḥri bḥ*, some sort of »chief vintner« (cf. Pendlebury 1951, 179; pls. 90. 145; Helck 1962, 360 no. 17). It is well-known that in the New Kingdom, there was a strong presence of Asiatics operating in the production and trade of wine, as it was a typical import from Syria.

name is written , with the determinative of a man holding a stick with both hands as if hitting something, which is one of the signs used for Asiatic names written in Egyptian script. All things considered, together with the name Tutu, there is enough evidence to suggest a possible foreign Asiatic origin for this high-ranking individual in the Amarna court. Moreover, recent studies have reinforced the traditionally accepted hypothesis of Tutu's foreign origin³⁴.




¹⁵ We shall apply now this approach to the use of *Twtwīš* as a masculine name in Egyptian sources. We will try to gather evidence that, when considered together with the name, may point to the possibility of a foreign origin. It should be noted that, to our knowledge, only four men called Tutuia have been documented in the context of the 18th Dynasty and the Ramesside Period.


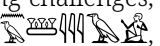

1. In Sennedjem's tomb (TT 1, Deir el-Medina), among the deceased's relatives, we find the representation of a man named *Twtwīš*. There has been some misunderstanding around this, since the first publications on this tomb featured him as a woman. However, it is clearly a man, whose kinship to the tomb's owner is not clear³⁵. Nevertheless, there is no evidence of a foreign origin, unless we consider as such the fact that he is depicted in a darker skin tone than the man sitting next to him³⁶.
2. There is another *Twtwīš* mentioned in a Ramesside stela from the Memphite area³⁷. In this case, he is an army officer who is depicted worshipping Ptah. The lower register features his wife and three children. Tutuia wears a special clothing: a loincloth opened at the front, with a sort of triangular apron, which is in fact a way of tying up the loincloth to allow for more freedom of movement for the legs. This type of garment comes up in the second half of the 18th Dynasty, and it is typical of soldiers and military officers³⁸. Indeed, this Tutuia was a *wꜣw n pꜣ sꜣ*, »(infantry) soldier«. The term *wꜣw* has


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- ³⁴ Albright 1946, 22 no. 62; Helck 1962, 178; Schlögl 1986, 54; Hirsch 2006, 139. This option is also warily accepted by Schneider 1992, 244 no. N 521 (»Ob die engen Beziehungen zwischen Aziru und Tutu in einer möglichen Herkunft des ägyptischen Beamten aus Amurru begründet liegen, ist daher zwar denkbar, muss aber hypothetisch bleiben.«).
- ³⁵ The misunderstanding arises from the first publications on this unique tomb, possibly due to an erroneous interpretation of the relation between the captions and the figures they accompany (cf. Toda 1920, 160). Georges Daressy reads *Twtwi* as the wife of Mesu, who is depicted immediately behind him. In fact, there is no such woman, and standing next to Mesu is another man, Tutuia (*Twtwīš*). Interestingly, this mistake in the reading and the gender has lingered on even to recent publications (see, for instance, Schneider 1992, 244). Yet, Ranke already listed it as a male character's name, relying on Kurt Sethe's revision of Sennedjem's texts, although with the transliteration *Tti* (PN I, 385 no. 25; cf. fn. 16). For a photo showing this Tutuia, see Benderitter – Hirst 2005–2023.
- ³⁶ The man depicted next to Tutuia, as told, is identified as »Mesu, his beloved brother«. It has been suggested, with no certainty, that both were sons or brothers of Sennedjem (Davies 1999, 45; chart 7). It should be noted that, unlike Mesu, Tutuia's name is not accompanied by any indication of kinship, neither to Sennedjem nor to any of the other individuals depicted in the tomb. In any case, the darker skin tone in which he is depicted compared to Mesu's is not a conclusive argument. However, it is worth mentioning that the Deir el-Medina community hosted a large group of foreigners, many of whom were Asiatics of Semitic onomastics. These mainly were specialised craftsmen who worked in the tombs at the necropolis (Menéndez Gómez 2008; Menéndez Gómez 2009). In TT 1, there are mentions of several individuals with foreign onomastics, like Tj(a)-(e)r/T-r (cf. Schneider 1992, 253 no. N 541) or Roma/R-m (Davies 1999, 43. 247; chart 7), who bears an ambiguous name that might be Egyptian but also belongs to Asiatic onomastics (Schneider 1992, 152 f. nos. N 321. N 322); cf. fn. 79.
- ³⁷ The stela is now kept at the Museum August Kestner, Hannover, 1935.200.207. Unfortunately, it lacks an adequate publication; see Munro 1971, 34 fig. 30, featuring a small picture; PM VIII, 257 no. 803-055-392. Once again, there are inconsistencies in the reading and transliteration of Tutuia's name. PM VIII, 257 no. 803-055-392 includes *Ttwīš*, which is striking given that in the original publication, Peter Munro provides the correct transliteration, *Twtwīš*. See also Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2020, ID 1662 <https://anneherz.github.io/ProM/detail/singleview_persons.html?ids=1662> (28.02.2020). We want to extend our gratitude to Anne Herzberg-Beiersdorf for providing information on this character and allowing us to study the inscription through her pictures. We have not been able to consult her recently published book: Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2023.
- ³⁸ There is substantial documentation starting from the Amarna Period, especially from the Ramesside Period, for instance, in the reliefs of the Battle of Kadesh or in Medinet Habu. For a description of this type of military garment, see Davies 1903, 10 f. (tomb of Meryre).
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been used from the beginning of the New Kingdom to refer to a new type of military corps, possibly made up of volunteers³⁹. For our research, it should be noted that the review of documents concerning these *wꜣw* yields plenty of evidence of individuals of foreign origin, most of them Asiatic⁴⁰. Such information is in line with the significant increase in the number of foreigners in the Egyptian army during the New Kingdom, especially in the Ramesside Period⁴¹. As told above, the aforementioned Memphite stela depicts three children in the lower register. Their names may in principle be considered Egyptian⁴², but the wife, who stands in a preferential spot and is probably the person responsible for the dedication of the stela, has a name of clear foreign origin: , *Hy-y-t*⁴³. The circumstantial evidence, taken as a whole, suggests that this Tutuia may have had a foreign origin.

3. Among the documents retrieved from around the Sphinx of Giza, there is a stela honouring *Twtwīš*, »scribe of the offering table of the lord of the two lands«. It dates to the early 19th Dynasty, possibly to the reign of Seti I. The wife and two brothers of the deceased are also depicted. As pointed out by

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- 39 Faulkner 1953, 45, points out that since the beginning of the 18th Dynasty, together with the traditional conscript troops (*ꜣḥw nw mšꜥ* or *ꜣḥt mšꜥ*), there was an increase in the number of volunteer soldiers, making up a professional corps called *wꜣw* (»it is perhaps permissible to conjecture that the word , another term for the ordinary soldier, refers to such volunteers«). See also Calice 1915; Schulman 1964a, 36 f. 136–138; Redford 1992, 215 (»The same period [i. e., the end of the 18th Dynasty] throws up our earliest examples of *wꜣu*, the »full time« soldier, in contradistinction to the old-fashioned draftees of the militia.«). There is some disagreement regarding the social standing and hierarchy behind the rank of the *wꜣw*. For Alan R. Schulman, this is »the lowest rank of the infantry« (Schulman 1964a, 37), whereas for Raymond O. Faulkner, »the rank of *wꜣw* was frequently borne for men of some social position [...]. It seems to have been from the ranks of the *wꜣw* that the officer corps was recruited« (Faulkner 1953, 45, points to Ahmose son of Ibana, among others).
- 40 Some examples can be found in: (1) BM, EA 292 (Hall 1925, 9; pl. 24; Schulman 1964a, 136 nos. 319. 320): a stela devoted to the *wꜣw* , *K3-r-y*, an Asiatic name (Schneider 1992, 277–285 nos. N 635–N 680; especially 280 no. N 661). The stela also shows two children, one bearing the same name as the father, and another one called *N(w)-r(w)*, possibly another Semitic name (Schneider 1992, 142 f. no. N 304). The *wꜣw* *K3-r-y* is depicted wearing the same military garment as Tutuia; (2) stela from the Musée Guimet, Paris, MG 2858 (Moret 1909, 39–41; pls. 16. 18; cf. Schulman 1964a, 136 no. 319 g): the stela is devoted to , *K-r-t*, who is featured as *wꜣw* and *wꜣw n ḥm.f*. Again, the anthroponym is clearly Semitic (Schneider 1992, 281 nos. N 668–N 671). His foreign status, or at least his foreign origin, is reinforced by the combination of signs T14 and N25 as determinatives (cf. Schneider 1992, 403). Moreover, the names of the mother (*T-r-ꜣ*) and the wife (*Ḥwy*) may also be considered Asiatic onomastic forms (cf. Schneider 1992, 164 f. no. N 350 [for the name of the wife], 253–255 nos. N 540–N 550 [for the name of the mother]); (3) stela from the Musée Guimet, MG 14375 (Moret 1909, 47–49; pls. 20. 22; Schulman 1964a, 136 no. 319 d): this time, there is a *wꜣw* (with the same type of garment as in the Hannover stela) called Parennefer, an undoubtedly Egyptian name. However, it is striking that some of the characters depicted in the lower register of the stela have foreign onomastics. The wife is called *Y-m*, a theophorous name derived from Yam, the Semitic name of the god of the sea. Two relatives are called *Tw-ty* (likely a variant of *Twtwīš*) and *M-y-t-r*, which also have a foreign background; (4) BM, EA 656 (Hall 1925, pl. 50; Schulman 1964a, 136 no. 319 a): the main characters in this stela, depicted in the lunette as deceased worshipping the Osirian triad, are *fy-m-sbꜣ*, whose title can be read as [*wꜣw*] *n nb tꜣwy*, and his son, priest of Serket, bearing a Semitic name: , *K-n-r* (Schneider 1992, 275 nos. N 624–N 632; 348 no. N 629). There are no less than 12 individuals in the lower part of the stela, most of them women, some of whom bear names that do not seem to be Egyptian.
- 41 For more on the relevance of Asiatic individuals, and foreigners in general, in the Egyptian military during the New Kingdom, see Schulman 1964a, 21–24; Schulman 1964b (especially 52 f.); Redford 1992, 214–221. There are plenty of Syrian or Canaanite loanwords borrowed by the Egyptian language of the New Kingdom which refer to weapons and issues pertaining to the military and war (Redford 1992, 226 f.); *wꜣw* could be among these terms (cf. Wb I, 280 s. v. *wꜣw*, pointing to an Acadian-Babylonian origin). In regards to the aforementioned triangular-shaped loincloth that Tutuia wears in the Hannover stela, it could have a foreign origin, since it is not found in the Egyptian iconography prior to the 18th Dynasty. Moreover, it should be noted that the sovereigns of the Ramesside Period frequently brought these groups of foreign soldiers into the Memphite region (from where our inscription hails), especially to the Delta. These soldiers were allocated lands to settle in (cf. Valbelle 1990, 189–192; Redford 1992, 226 f.).
- 42 From right to left, the depicted figures are called *Msw*, *Ḥwy*, and *P3-di-m-try-ꜣḥ* (?). As mentioned before, it is possible that *Ḥwy* might be the hypocoristic of an Asiatic name (cf. Schneider 1992, 164 f. no. N 350).
- 43 This name may have alternative transliterations (like *Ḥ-t* or *Ḥyt*). Rather than linking it to the Hittites (as in Helck 1962, 363), it should be related to a Semitic origin (Schneider 1992, 178 f. no. N 378). The name is erroneously read as Meryt in PM VIII, 257 no. 803-055-392.
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Selim Hassan, »the names of this family have a totally un-Egyptian sound and structure«⁴⁴. The wife is referred to as »his sister, the lady of the house« , *I-is*. One of the two brothers bears the same name, written identically. The name of the second brother poses some reading challenges, but it seems that, albeit with some doubts, it could be read as , *N3-s3-y-is*, or , *N3-hy-is*⁴⁵. The possible foreign origin of this family group is reinforced by the fact that the stela is devoted to the God *Hwr* (Hauron), who is here linked to Atum and referred to as »great god, lord of heaven, father of the gods, and ruler of eternity«. Hauron is a Canaanite god that became popular in Egypt from the second half of the 18th Dynasty, together with other deities like Anat or Reshep. This was made possible by the influx of Syrian-Palestinians hailing from the Asiatic territories of the empire, and who arrived in Egypt as artisans, soldiers, servants, etc. Thus, testimonials from his worship include many foreigners and concentrate on the Delta region, especially around Memphis, a major strategic and administrative hub. Here, Hauron was identified with the Sphinx of Giza⁴⁶. As a matter of fact, this stela was located *in situ* at the northern wall of the Sphinx's courtyard. The fact that the stela is devoted to this god, together with its date, find-spot, and the onomastic evidence, point to a very likely foreign/Asiatic origin of this *Twtw-is*.

4. The last parallel is the most relevant and noteworthy one for our study, as it is a remarkable example of onomastic strategies adopted by individuals with a possible foreign origin. It also illustrates the co-existence of an Egyptian and a foreign name for the same individual and on the same monument. Again, this parallel is a stela from the Ramesside Period, probably from the 19th Dynasty, also coming from the Memphis-Saqqara area⁴⁷. The stela is devoted to Meryptah, *nby n nb t3wy*, »goldsmith of the lord of the two lands«. Together with his wife, he is depicted in the middle register of the stela, worshipping Osiris-Khenty-Imentiu. In the lower register, three standing characters (a man and two women) worship another couple seated in front of them behind an offering table. They could be close relatives of the owner of this monument, but their kinship is not specified; this couple may well be Meryptah's parents, as is often the case in this type of stelae. The onomastics of these (possible) parents is remarkable. The woman has an apparently Egyptian name, , *My*⁴⁸. The man's name poses some reading challenges. Following the usual dedication formula (*n k3 n*), the first sign cannot be recognised. It is undoubtedly a sign that has been incorrectly depicted, one of several mistakes on the stela. However,




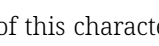
44 Hassan 1953, 261 f. fig. 197 (the piece is now located in the EMC, CG 72264). Unfortunately, the publication does not include a drawing of the stela or a copy of the text, and the single included picture, though useful, can be read only with difficulty. It would be tempting to identify this Tutuia with the one mentioned in the tomb of Nefersekeru at Zawyet Sultan (cf. Osing 1992, 36).


45 The reading *N3-hw-[...]* would be another option. Anyway, *N3-s3-is* could be related to a series of non-Egyptian names beginning with *N3-s3-[...]* (Schneider 1992, 144–146 nos. N 309. N 310). If read as *N3-hy-is*, it would be close to the toponym for Naharina. Helck includes this family group in his foreign onomastics of the New Kingdom, although with a slightly different reading (Helck 1962, 355 no. 20). For a different view on the name of Tutuia's wife, cf. Schneider 1992, 288 no. F 1 (linking it to the form *is-is*, which is different from the one in our stela).

46 For more on this god, see Albright 1936; Hassan 1953, 247–251 (including a literature review in 248 f.); van Dijk 1989. See also LGG V, 108.

47 The stela is kept in Berlin, ÄM 7279, <<https://smb.museum-digital.de/object/256424>> (21.08.2023), and unfortunately, it still lacks an adequate publication: Roeder 1913/1914 I, 145–147. PM III 2, 733, erroneously dated it to the 18th Dynasty. See also Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2020, IDs 394 <https://anneherz.github.io/ProM/detail/singleview_persons.html?ids=394> (28.02.2020); 2422 <https://anneherz.github.io/ProM/detail/singleview_persons.html?ids=2422> (28.02.2020). Again, we want to extend our gratitude to Anne Herzberg-Beiersdorf for providing pictures and information related to this document.

48 PN I, 146 nos. 1–12. There is a chance that it is a hypocoristic of an Asiatic name (Schneider 1992, 124 f. no. N 267; 374–376).


the rest of the reading is certain: [...] , [...]-*ty-r-ib*, a frequent sequence in foreign/Asiatic onomastics in Egyptian documents of the New Kingdom⁴⁹. An attempt was made to identify the first sign, albeit with reservations, with  (G48, or its variant G49)⁵⁰. However, we consider that it might be a cursive form of  (M8), whose hieratic script bears strong similarities with what may be seen in the stela⁵¹. Moreover, this is a recurring sign in the hieroglyphic transcription of foreign onomastics. It is often read as šš, but also š, occasionally as šw, and it is often featured as the start of an anthroponym⁵². Thus, for the name of this character, possibly Meryptah's father, we suggest: , Šš(š/šw)-*ty-r-ib*, which has a possible foreign structure⁵³.

16 Furthermore, the most relevant information for this research is found in the upper register of the stela. Two male figures are shown amid an act of worship, symmetrically flanking the central motif: a pyramidion where a human-shaped *djed* pillar lifts a solar disk with its arms. The figure on the left bears the name Meryptah, and the one on the right is called *Twtwib*, . In New Kingdom stelae or pyramidions, the deceased is often depicted twice, mirrored on both sides of the central motif⁵⁴. In some cases, the person bears two different names, thus constituting a clear case of double nomenclature. Pascal Vernus calls this a ›symmetrical alternation‹, where »la double identité peut être marquée par la simple alternance des deux noms, référant à la même personne, sur un même document ou dans le même ensemble monumental«⁵⁵. A good parallel can be found in the pyramidion of Amenhotep-Huy, the senior official previously cited above, now in the Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Firenze, Museo Egizio, 2610. It bears on its principal face two symmetrically facing figures worshipping Osiris, with two complementary hymns in terms of form, style, and religious content. On the left (as seen from the front), he is called Amenhotep, whereas the figure on the right bears the name Huy⁵⁶. Another parallel can be found in a seated statue of Ahmose-Aamethu, vizier during the time of Hatshepsut, a relative of Useramun and Rekhmire. The statue bears two parallel inscriptions, both with an almost identical text. However, one of them features the name Ahmose, and the other one Aamethu. It is worth noting in this case that Aamethu is almost certainly a Semitic name that seemingly balances the clearly Egyptian name Ahmose⁵⁷.

49 The three groups of signs (*ty*, *r*, *ib*) are frequent in the transcription of Asiatic names to Egyptian hieroglyphs (Schneider 1992, 364. 380. 394–396; cf. parallels in 25 nos. N 28. N 29; 76 no. N 145; 189–192 nos. N 399–N 405).

50 Roeder 1913/1914 I, 147. It should be noted that sign G48 – nestlings in nest – (and its variant G49) is always used as determinative or logogram, usually for šš »nest« and related words. However, it does not come up in Egyptian onomastics, and it is not documented in the hieroglyphic transcription of foreign names.

51 Möller 1909, 26 no. 274.

52 PN I, 324 nos. 15–31. For the recurrence of  in the syllabic writing of Asiatic names and their reading, see Schneider 1992, 196–200 nos. N 417–N 419. N 421–N 424; 388; cf. also Helck 1962, 357. 360. 363. 366.

53 It could even be a theophorous name, given that Šwty is one of the Egyptian onomastic forms for Seth (te Velde 1967, 1–3), whose connection to the Asiatic deity Baal is well-known. In New Kingdom onomastics, the Sethian animal is often used to transcribe the name of Baal (cf. Schneider 1992, 15 no. N 1; 85 f. no. N 160; 88 no. N 168).

54 See, for instance, the 19th Dynasty stela of Mernedjem, topped on a pyramidion shape (BM, EA 1188; see Bierbrier 1982, 23 f.; pls. 54. 55), or the pyramidion of the divine adoratrice Isis of the 20th Dynasty (BM, EA 1742; see Bierbrier 1982, 17; pls. 30. 31).

55 Vernus 1986, 99–103.

56 Huy is an onomastic form that leads to a certain degree of ambiguity (cf. fn. 27). It is a well-known hypocoristic related to Amenhotep's name, yet, in some cases, it may derive from a Semitic root (Schneider 1992, 164 f. no. N 350). For more on Amenhotep-Huy, see Hayes 1938 (11 for the pyramidion); Dodson 2014, 48. 50. 245; Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2020, ID 609 <https://anneherz.github.io/ProM/detail/singleview_persons.html?ids=609> (28.02.2020). Amenhotep-Huy's tomb was in the Memphite area (see Staring 2023).

57 For the publication of the statue, see Barguet – Léclant 1954, 142 f. fig. 136. For more on Aamethu as a Semitic name, see Schneider 1992, 71 f. no. N 129. It should be noted that the alternation of names is also found in his tomb (TT 83). However, the (foreign) name Aamethu prevails here, as well as in other monuments where he is mentioned (cf. Urk. IV 2, 489–494). Remarkably, his wife is called Ta-Aamethu, i. e., »the (wife) of Aamethu«.

17 Through these parallels, it is possible to adequately understand the Berlin stela, ÄM 7279. The upper register shows the same character twice, flanking the pyramidion and bearing two different names. One of them, Meryptah, is clearly Egyptian, the other, Tutuia, could have a foreign origin. Furthermore, it should be noted that both texts accompanying the names are complementary in religious and literary terms, thus constituting a single solar hymn. On the left, Meryptah (= Tutuia) worships the sun god at sunrise, facing the east. On the right, Tutuia (= Meryptah), the same person, worships the setting sun, facing the west⁵⁸. Both names are adequately preceded by the same title, *nby n nb tšwy*, »goldsmith of the lord of the two lands«⁵⁹. This title would also be in line with an eventual Asiatic origin, given the strong presence of foreigners who were metallurgy experts or goldsmiths in Egypt during the New Kingdom⁶⁰. It should be noted that the stela shows a preference for the Egyptian name, as Meryptah is featured up to five times as opposed to just one instance for Tutuia⁶¹.

18 In this part of our research, we have gathered evidence of the foreign origin of the characters bearing the name Tutuia. The Meryptah-Tutuia stela opens up a new approach: together with the onomastics of relatives, their titles, or the reference to certain deities, we should add, in this case, the evidence of a double nomenclature: a name of foreign undertones, Tutuia, combined with another typically Egyptian name, Meryptah. This constitutes a clear parallel with the onomastics found in the set of shabtis in Dra Abu el-Naga, near TT 11. It opens up here the possibility of another case of double nomenclature, where a single character bears two names: one of a possible foreign origin, Tutuia, the other clearly Egyptian, Nebmehyt.

Nebmehyt/Nb-mḥyt. Social, Cultural, and Geographical Connotations

19 Unlike Tutuia, Nebmehyt is a typically and relatively common Egyptian name. It may be read as *Nb(.i)-mḥyt*, »(My) lord is Mehyt (i. e., the north wind)«, or simply *Nb-mḥyt*, »The lord of Mehyt«⁶². It is important to make clear that Nebmehyt ought

an adopted name that may have replaced her original name (Schneider 1992, 230 no. N 488), perhaps also having a foreign sound.

- 58 The text on the left reads as follows: *dwš Rꜥ m wbn.f in ḥsi n Pth nb mšꜥt nbwy n nb tšwy Mry-Pth*. The text on the right reads as follows: *dwš Rꜥ m ḥtp.f in smsw n imy-r n Mn-nfr ḥsi n nb nḥḥ nbwy n nb tšwy Twtwš*. The solar hymns in the stelae and stelophorous statues of the New Kingdom continuously repeat this praise of the sun god in the two most significant times of its daily cycle: at dawn and at dusk. For more on this type of texts, see Stewart 1966; Stewart 1967; Assmann 1969; Assmann 1983; Assmann 1995.
- 59 The descriptive epithet »follower of the (high) steward in Memphis« accompanying Tutuia's name and the title »goldsmith« are unusual and probably honorary titles since these expressions are usually related to the sovereign; cf. al-Ayedi 2006, 35 no. 114.
- 60 Cf. Helck 1962, 356 f.; Redford 1992, 225. For precedents during the Middle Kingdom, see Schneider 2003, 258 f. A stela of Abydos features a certain *nby n ḥmn* called *Y-tw-t(w)* (EMC, CG 34076; see Lacau 1926, 123 f.; pl. 39). The name is written in three different ways, and it might be an onomastic form linked to *Twtwš*. Moreover, the name of Meryptah-Tutuia's wife in the Berlin stela, *Nbw-m-wšḥt*, even when accepting it as a reference to Hathor, also includes a reference to gold, and we cannot overlook the possibility that this might be an adopted Egyptian name related to her husband's title. Thus, it would be similar to Ahmose-Aamethu and his wife Ta-Aamethu, as mentioned before (see fn. 57).
- 61 This asymmetry or unequal use of one of the character's two names in the monuments has been highlighted by Vernus, who deems that there is an underlying, well-thought onomastic strategy (Vernus 1986, 102 f.). As regards the monuments of Ahmose-Aamethu, there is a clear prevalence of the foreign name. In our case, what happens is the opposite: Meryptah-Tutuia insists on his Egyptian name, perhaps to highlight his »Egyptianisation«.
- 62 The first option would belong to a very frequent type of name, like Nebamun/*Nb(.i)-ḥmn* »(My) lord is Amun« and similar. For the second option, see the parallels *Nb-wšḥ-ib* »Lord of mercy«, *Nb-mrwtf* »Lord of his love«, *Nb-ḏww* »Lord of the mountains«, or *Nb-nḥwt* »Lord of the strength«; cf. PN I, 183–190 (for the mentioned examples, see 184 no. 1; 185 nos. 6. 24; 187 no. 1). The term *nb* (𓏏) is one of the most recurring elements
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not to be related to Mehyt (𓄏𓆑), the lion-headed goddess worshipped in Edfu and the Thinite region, consort of Onuris⁶³. It should also be pointed out that *mhyt*, »north wind«, does not appear as a deity, a single being subject of devotion, until Graeco-Roman times. Before the Late Period, it is occasionally cited in funerary contexts in relation to the deceased and his welfare in the afterlife; it usually appears in texts and other representations making up a divine group along with the other three winds (south, east, and west)⁶⁴. However, there is a clear connection between *mhyt* and the geographical concept of the north, referring not just to the cardinal direction but also to the territories, their peoples, and dwellers. The expression *mhtyw* »the northerners« became common from the early New Kingdom onwards, especially during the Ramesside Period, to refer to foreign peoples or states located north of Egypt⁶⁵.

20 A good example of the eventual connection between the term *mhyt* and Egypt's northern neighbours can be found in »The Story of Sinuhe«. Towards its end, Sinuhe returns to Egypt and is hosted by King Senwosret I, the royal family, and the entire court (B 248–282). Sinuhe arrives to the royal audience with a Syrian look, unrecognisable to those who dealt with him before he fled. In order to be taken in again by the elite and the royal entourage, he has to surrender everything linking him to that life as a foreigner, and be reborn as an Egyptian. Throughout this rite of passage, he receives a new second name, *S3-mhyt*, »Son of the north wind«⁶⁶. This name has been given several interpretations⁶⁷, but there is no doubt that there is a play on words with his original name *S3-nht*, »Son of the sycomore«, replacing the mention to the »sycomore« (*nht*) by the »north wind« (*mhyt*). Likewise, there is no doubt that there is a reference to Sinuhe's journey, his stay in Syria-Palestine, and his return to Egypt from the north, dressed in foreign fashion⁶⁸. This interpretation is compatible with a series of references implicitly pointing to Hathor: Sinuhe's name has a clear connection to this goddess, and, by extension, to the queen. It is likely that Sinuhe

of Egyptian onomastics of all periods (PN III, 71 f.). See also Altägyptisches Wörterbuch 2023a (*Nb-mhyt*, personal name).

- 63 This goddess was especially worshipped in the Late Period and Roman times. Her name is often accompanied by the determinatives used for goddess (a seated goddess, a cobra) or a lion, but never by the wind-filled sail (𓄏). Moreover, in theophorous names, these are only feminine and often feature the honorary transposition, a graphic device not found in the masculine anthroponym *Nb-mhyt* (for the Middle Kingdom, see EMC, CG 20566: Lange – Schäfer 1902–1925, 202 [b]; pl. 45; ÄMP, ÄM 12485: Königliche Museen zu Berlin 1904, 149). For more on the Goddess Mehyt, see LGG III, 371–373; RÄRG, 445 f.
- 64 LGG III, 279 f. These are found especially in some passages of the Coffin Texts, the Book of the Dead, and Books of the Afterlife. In funerary contexts, it is relatively common to find an expression wishing the deceased to enjoy the »sweet wind of the north« (*mhyt ndmt*). There is only one instance of *Nb-mhyt* being used as an appellative for a deity, Shu, but this reference in Dendera is from the Graeco-Roman Period (LGG III, 649).
- 65 Wb II, 126, 5 and Wb II Belegstellen, 182: in some cases, the word is accompanied by a determinative for foreigner, the throw stick (𓄏). It may also be linked to the Nine Bows and can be found in contexts referring to the Asiatic enemies of Egypt (cf. Lesko 1982, 234 f.). Likewise, the expression *rsyw* refers to the foreign peoples south of Egypt (Wb II, 453, 9 and Wb II Belegstellen, 684). Starting from the 18th Dynasty and during the Ramesside Period, it was common to refer to Egypt's foreign neighbours with the expression *ḥ3swt rswyt mhytyw* (𓄏𓆑𓄏𓆑𓄏𓆑; Wb II, 452, 10. 11 and Wb II Belegstellen, 682). Beginning from the mid-18th Dynasty, the title »overseer of the northern foreign lands« (*imy-r ḥ3swt mhytyw*) was frequently borne by high-ranking officials during the Ramesside Period (Hirsch 2006).
- 66 The entire passage included in B 268–275 is seen by John Baines as a »ritual of appeasement of the King« (Baines 1982, 34). Referring to the »performative act« carried out by the princesses, he states: »There seems little doubt that this ritual brings about the rebirth of Sinuhe as an Egyptian«, which shall be understood as a *rite de passage* (43 f.). See also Brunner 1955; Derchain 1970; Westendorf 1977; Westendorf 1986. For more on Egyptian-foreigner dialectics and their reflection on Sinuhe, see Loprieno 1988, 41–59.
- 67 In our view, some of these interpretations are hardly feasible, for instance, attempting to understand here a reference to the Goddess *Mhyt* or even to the mother of Sinuhe (Léfévre 1949, 23 fn. 113). Moreover, the idea that the new name is solely due to the northern wind pushing Sinuhe's ship to the capital does not seem to be in line with the significance and emphasis given to the name and its ritual bestowal (Allen 2015, 145).
- 68 This idea was already put forth by Gardiner 1916, 107: »The ›Son of the North Wind‹ [...] appears to be a playful allusion to the name of Sinuhe on the one hand, and to his wanderings in Northern Syria on the other«. Recently, Miroslav Bárta and Jiří Janák upheld this idea (Bárta – Janák 2021, 107).
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was her servant before fleeing Egypt. Upon his return, as described in the aforementioned scene, the queen, together with the king and the royal children, receives him. Hathor is referred to as the »lady of the north wind«, and she is well-known for being worshipped in Syria-Palestine. She had a remarkable temple in Byblos, one of the places mentioned in Sinuhe's journey⁶⁹. Ultimately, this scene in »The Story of Sinuhe« can provide an example of an Egyptian courtier's receipt of a second name that is reminiscent of a foreign origin. Thus, Sinuhe's experience could be related to the double nomenclature found in the shabtis of Dra' Abu el-Naga, which are part of this research⁷⁰.

21 There is further onomastic evidence linking Nebmehyt's name to the Syrian-Palestinian territories and a possible foreign origin. This time, the evidence does not come from a literary or religious document but from a letter: in one of the documents from the royal archive of Amarna, the pharaoh, Akhenaten, demands Aziru of Amurru to extradite several individuals that are expressly called »enemies of the king« (Amarna Letter EA 162)⁷¹. The list mentions eight persons, including Nimmaḥe, a name that has been explained as a transcription from the Egyptian Nebmehyt. In this document, he is referred to as »a brigand in Amurru«⁷². There has been general agreement that these eight persons would be fugitive Egyptians, with the argument that most have Egyptian names in a Semitic transcription⁷³. However, it seems striking that this relatively large group of »enemies of the king« would be entirely composed of Egyptians. It would be expected and possible for that group to also include Syrians or Asiatics, perhaps representing factions of Syrian-Palestinian cities or tribes oscillating between loyalty to Egypt and to some of the other powers in the Near East, particularly the Hittites. This is the case of Amurru, who eventually submitted to the latter and gave up obedience to the pharaoh⁷⁴. An individualised onomastic study of the summoned persons in Amarna Letter EA 162 leaves this question quite open. Out of the eight names, only three are undoubtedly Egyptian, including Nimmaḥe/Nebmehyt, whereas for the rest, there is at least the possibility of an Asiatic origin⁷⁵. Moreover, the fact that they bear Egyptian names does

69 Westendorf 1977, 302 f.; Parkinson 1998, 52 fn. 77.

70 It should also be noted that most of the copies that allow for the reconstruction of »The Story of Sinuhe« date from the New Kingdom, especially the 19th and 20th Dynasties, and many of them come from the Theban necropolis, especially ostraca from Deir el-Medina. This implies that the narrative and its details ought to have been popular and well-known at least for the Egyptian educated elite in the time of Tutuia-Nebmehyt; cf. Léfèbvre 1949, 3 f.; Koch 1990; Allen 2015, 55. For the case of the king granting a second name to an official, see fn. 96.

71 Amarna Letter EA 162, lines 55–77: »Now the king, your lord, has heard that you wrote to the king, saying, »May the king, my lord, send Ḥanni, the messenger of the king, once more, so I can have the enemies of the king delivered into his charge.« He herewith goes off to you, in accordance with what you said. So have them delivered, omitting no one. The king, your lord, hereby sends you the names of the king's ene(mi)es on [this] tablet given to Ḥanni, the messenger of the king. Have the[m] delivered to the king, your lord, omitting no one. Copper fetters are to be put on their *ankles*. Here are the men whom you are to have delivered to the king, your lord: Šarru along with all his sons; Tuya; Leya along with all his sons; Pišyari along with all his sons; the son-in-law of Manya, along with his sons, along with his wives; the *commissioner*, *who is expert in sacrilege, that fellow who has mocked a resident-alien*; Daašarti; Baaluma; Nimmaḥe – he is a brigand in Amurru.« (Moran 1992, 249 f.).

72 Albright 1946, 17 no. 37; Edel 1948, 24; Helck 1962, 433; Hess 1984, 195; Zorn 1991, 130 no. 3.

73 This interpretation by William F. Albright, and closely followed by Helck and Jeffrey Zorn (cf. fn. 72), has been repeated, without further research, up to current times (cf. Liverani 1998, 279).

74 When studying the presence of Egyptians in Asiatic domains, Helck highlights the uniqueness of the Amarna Letter EA 162 list as the sole mention of Egyptian fugitives in Asia. He tries to provide an explanation by associating this occurrence to the crisis of the Amarna reform (Helck 1962, 432–434).

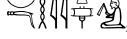

75 The three undoubtedly Egyptian names are Leya, Manya, and Nimmaḥe/Nebmehyt (cf. bibliographic references in fn. 72). As for the remaining five: (1) Baaluma is undoubtedly Semitic (Hess 1984, 81; Zorn 1991, 130 no. 3); (2) Pišyari might be Indo-Aryan or Hurrian (Albright 1946, 23 no. 67; Helck 1962, 433, points to the possibility of a Hurrian origin and insists on the difficulty to recognise Egyptian onomastics here; Hess 1984, 266); (3) Daašarti is also best understood as Indo-Aryan, albeit with reservations (Hess 1984, 102, referring to Albright, who prefers an Egyptian origin); (4) Šarru is an ambiguous form that might be Egyptian or, reasonably, Acadian (for »king«) or Hurrian (Hess 1984, 231; interestingly, this author seems to lean towards an Egyptian origin mainly due to »its context with other Egyptians who are being extradited«); (5) in regards










not guarantee their origin. The Amarna correspondence provides several instances of Syrian-Palestinian princes or dignitaries with Egyptian names. This is the case of Amenhotep, ruler of the Syrian town of Tušultu, or Raweser, Canaanite prince of Taanach⁷⁶. It is possible that the mention of Nimmahē/Nebmehyt in Amarna Letter EA 162 refers to a Syrian or an Asiatic individual, apparently accused of banditry. Moreover, he sheltered in Amurru, which is the northernmost territory of Egypt's zone of influence.

22 An exhaustive prosopographic study of the name Nebmehyt would be beyond the scope and specific objectives of a study such as the one we present. In any case, a quick review of the occurrences of this onomastic form provides additional arguments in relation to what we have so far exposed. Although it is a relatively common name, it is true that almost all the instances we can find date between the late 18th Dynasty and the Ramesside Period, especially the 19th Dynasty⁷⁷. Furthermore, a significant number of cases show signs that could point to a possible foreign origin⁷⁸. The Deir el-Medina documentation stands out due to its noticeable concentration of individuals featuring Nebmehyt and other similar compound names using *mhyt*. It is well-known that this settlement was particularly attractive for immigrants and foreigners, usually specialised craftsmen, who were recruited to work in monuments in Thebes, in tombs of nobles, kings, and members of the royal family⁷⁹.






to Tuya, as related to the Tutuia onomastic group, we can support the hypothesis of a non-Egyptian origin.

- 76 For Amenhotep of Tušultu, see Albright 1946, 9 f. no. 2 b («The name may have been given this native prince when he was being educated as a hostage in Egypt [...]»); Hess 1984, 52 f. For more on Rauser, see Albright 1944, 16 f. no. 20, suggesting the same historical explanation as for the previous case; Albright 1946, 20 no. 51. We may add Pi'eya, who is cited in Amarna Letters EA 292 and EA 294 and whose mother is Canaanite (Albright 1946, 19 no. 46), and other names such as Paḥura («The Syrian») or Pawura («The great one») which could point to a foreign origin (Albright 1946, 18 f. nos. 41. 45).
- 77 Without claiming to be exhaustive, we can present the following list as support for our argumentation: (1) PM I, 97 f.: in TT 51 of Userhat, dated to the reign of Seti I, there is a mention of Nebmehyt, priest of the cult of Thutmose I (the same title as the owner of the tomb); (2) PM I, 279: Nebmehyt is the owner of TT 170, bearing the title «scribe of the recruits of the Ramesseum in the state of Amun» during the reign of Ramesses II; (3) PM I, 283 f.: a priest of Amun assigned to the Ramesseum, also during the 19th Dynasty; (4) PM III 1, 552: a «goldsmith» (*nby*) from Saqqara from the Ramesside Period (cf. Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2020, IDs 462 <https://anneherz.github.io/ProM/detail/singleview_persons.html?ids=462> [28.02.2020]; 463 <https://anneherz.github.io/ProM/detail/singleview_persons.html?ids=463> [28.02.2020]); (5) Davies – Macadam 1957, nos. 208. 504: from the 18th and 19th Dynasties (Zenihiro 2019, nos. 208. 504); (6) a fragment of a canopic jar from the Ramesside Period (cf. Fábíán 2017, 23); (7) pBerlin P. 9784 from the late 18th Dynasty, mentioning two Nebmehyts: one is a herdsman, and the other a *wꜥw* «soldier» (Gardiner 1906, 28–32); (8) stela in Berlin, ÄM 7354 (Roeder 1913/1914 II, 203); (9) Nebmehyt is also the name of the father of vizier Usermontu from the reign of Tutankhamun (Habachi 1979, 36. 38 fig. 3; pl. 3); (10) a scribe-draughtsman in the Ramesseum is also called Nebmehyt (Legrain 1916, 162 f.). The information obtained from the shabtis is especially relevant, as there is a significant increase in the number of individuals named Nebmehyt: (11) EMC, CG 47257 (19th Dynasty; Newberry 1930–1937, 120); (12) a shabti from the early Ramesside Period in the Cleveland Museum of Art, 1914.729 (Berman – Boháč 1999, 349 f. no. 261); (13) shabti of a «scribe of the Lord of the two lands» (19th Dynasty; Aubert – Aubert 2005, 76 f. no. 12); (14) shabti of Nebmehyt, *hrd n kꜣp*, from the mid-18th Dynasty (Minault-Gout 2011/2012; Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2020, IDs 464 <https://anneherz.github.io/ProM/detail/singleview_persons.html?ids=464> [28.02.2020]; 465 <https://anneherz.github.io/ProM/detail/singleview_persons.html?ids=465> [28.02.2020]; Budka 2021, 340 tab. 11, 2); (15) shabti of a «scribe of the king» (*sš nswt*) from the first half of the 19th Dynasty (Reiser-Haslauer 1990, 49 f. no. ÄS 1323 a); (16) Nebmehyt is also the name of a «governor of the southern oasis» (*hꜣty-ꜥ n whꜣt rsyt*). A considerable amount of his shabtis have been preserved, dating from the early 19th Dynasty (Aubert – Aubert 1974, 64 f. 102; Giddy 1987, 81 f.); (17) an excellent-quality shabti from the Museo Egizio, Turin, Cat. 2666, dating from the early 19th Dynasty, is dedicated to Nebmehyt, high priest of Ptah, also called Didia (Maystre 1992, 284 no. 82; 447; see also § 23 and fn. 80). For a first approximation of the occurrences of the name Nebmehyt, see PN I, 185 no. 7; for the research on shabtis, see Chappaz 2020–2022; Altägyptisches Wörterbuch 2023a.
- 78 In pBerlin P. 9784 (cf. fn. 77 no. 7), one of the two mentioned Nebmehyts bears the military rank of a *wꜥw*, among whom it is frequent to find foreigners (see § 15, 2 and fn. 40). The «goldsmith» (*nby*) Nebmehyt, documented in Saqqara (cf. fn. 77 no. 4), could also be associated to the well-known presence of Asiatics in this profession, especially in the Memphite region, which is among the areas with strongest foreign presence during Egypt's New Kingdom (see § 17 and fn. 60). With regards to Nebmehyt, governor of the oasis (cf. fn. 77 no. 16), this title can only be found in the New Kingdom, and we can find here at least one Egyptianised native character (Fakhry 1974, 60 f. 85–89; Giddy 1987, 163; Auenmüller 2015, 695 f.). Finally, concerning the shabti of Nebmehyt, *hrd n kꜣp* (cf. fn. 77 no. 14), it is known that this title was in some cases held by children of dignitaries or rulers of foreign lands, subject to the authority of the pharaoh. In fact, this shabti was found in Nubia (for different interpretations of the title *hrd n kꜣp*, see Feucht 1985; Mathieu 2000).
- 79 Davies 1999, 35. 37. 237 f.; charts 21. 28. A good example is that of the family of Qaha, in which there are at

23 The most significant parallel for our study is a new clear case of double nomenclature, featuring a typically Egyptian name, Nebmehyt, and another one that may be of foreign origin. A high priest of Ptah called *Nb-mhyt*, , is known by just one shabti in Turin, Cat. 2666. The shabti is a high-quality one and is dated to the early 19th Dynasty⁸⁰. From its text, we know that Nebmehyt had a second name, , *Didia*. This detail has not drawn close attention and has led to some misunderstanding. A stela kept at the BM (in all likelihood coming from the Memphite area and dating to the reign of Ramesses II) features, among other people, the vizier of the north, Rahotep, and two high priests of Ptah, Pahemnetjer and Didia (alternatively transcribed as Dedia)⁸¹. It has been generally acknowledged that the latter and Nebmehyt-Didia from the Turin shabti were two different characters, and they were thus enumerated separately in the lists of priests of Ptah⁸². However, recent studies have come to the conclusion that there are no arguments supporting this differentiation and that, in fact, it is just one character, one single high priest of Ptah, with the singularity that he has two names⁸³.

24 We would like to point out that a name like Didia () , which seems to be Egyptian, may at the same time derive from foreign onomastic forms. In fact, we are once again facing a name with ambiguous interpretation. Its form in Egyptian texts may respond to both a native and a foreign origin⁸⁴. Yet, with all due caution, it is possible to distinguish between Egyptian onomastics built from the verb *rdi*, conforming names such as , *Ddw-Imn*, or , *Ddw-Sbk*, and their corresponding hypocoristic names, and other in principle similar names, in which the foreign origin is discernible. Examples thereof are , , or  and their variants  or . The appearance of this type of name in Egyptian documents has been linked to a Libyan or, alternatively, a Syrian-Palestinian or Semitic origin⁸⁵. Once again, if we were to study the characters bearing this type of name, we would come across evidence of foreign origins. Such is the case of Didu, a *wꜥw* »soldier«, bearing the title of »overseer of the desert hills on the west of Thebes«, a possible fit title for a Libyan⁸⁶. It is also the case of *Dydy*, , chief craftsman at Deir el-Medina in the early 19th Dynasty.

least six names with foreign sounds, among them *Sst-mhyt*, *T3-mhyt*, and other similar ones (cf. Davies 1999, chart 3). It is remarkable that on a stela in the BM, EA 191, Qaha is shown worshipping several Asiatic deities. Also, in Deir el-Medina, there are two Nebmehyts in the family of Nebenmaat, one of them married to a woman called Henutmehyt (Davies 1999, chart 21). On the population of foreign origin in Deir el-Medina, see Ward 1994, 61–85; Menéndez Gómez 2008; Menéndez Gómez 2009.

- 80 Maystre 1992, 141 (»Le style du monument le date de la XIX^{ème} dynastie, tandis que l'ordonnance des titres *sem* et »grand des chefs des artisans« permet de préciser que Nebmehyt a été en fonction au début de la dynastie.«); 284 no. 82 (= Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2020, ID 1036 <https://anneherz.github.io/ProM/detail/singleview_objects.html?ids=1036> [28.02.2020]).
- 81 BM, EA 183; see James 1970, pl. 15; Herzberg-Beiersdorf 2020, ID 826 <https://anneherz.github.io/ProM/detail/singleview_persons.html?ids=826> (28.02.2020).
- 82 Kees 1953, 64. 103. 111 f.; Wildung 1977, 1260 nos. 40 (Didia). 41 (Nebmehyt); Maystre 1992, 141. 284 no. 82 (Nebmehyt); 296 f. no. 102, 2 (Didia). There is particularly confusing information in el-Sharkawy 2008, 25–31: the author not only presents them as two different characters, Didia (28 no. 55) and Nebmehyt (30 no. 66), but also points out that Nebmehyt is Didia's grandson, without providing supporting arguments. Moreover, he erroneously identifies the high priest Didia with a chief draughtsman-painter namesake from the reign of Seti I, who is known from a series of documents (cf. commentary § 24 and fn. 90).
- 83 Dalino 2019, 138 no. 22, 1 (we have not been able to consult the recent publication by the same author: Dalino 2021). It should be noted that Caspar Kern already pointed out in the first publication of the Turin shabti that Didia was the nickname of Nebmehyt (Kern 1944, 60 f.; pl. 2). We want to extend our gratitude to Edwin Dalino for facilitating this information for our study.
- 84 Cf. fn. 27.
- 85 For a possible foreign origin, see Ward 1994, 61–85. There was a Libyan vassal king from the time of Merenptah called , var.  (cf. Helck 1962, 224; KRI IV, 2 f. 13. 16). Schneider considers these names to have a Semitic origin and that they can be related to onomastic forms from which Tutu or Tutuia are also derived (Schneider 1992, 261 nos. N 561–564).
- 86 For this character, see Davies – Macadam 1957, nos. 2. 22. 24; PM I, 303 f.; Urk. IV 4, 995 f. It should be pointed out that in his Theban tomb (TT 200), the name is written in up to three different ways, , , or . This could be likely due to the scribes' doubts when faced with an onomastic form that they were not sure about or not acquainted with.

There is plenty of documentation about him⁸⁷, and his name is always written in a coherent manner, accompanied by the T14 sign (𓏏), determinative for a foreign origin. A »chief vintner« (*hry-bꜥḥ*) found in the Amarna documentation is also called 𓏏𓏏𓏏. The name of this character is sometimes written 𓏏𓏏𓏏, *D(i)diš*, alternative writing for *Dydy*, which is practically the same onomastic form found in the Turin shabti⁸⁸. There are other parallels that could be presented⁸⁹, but we ought to consider the special case of 𓏏𓏏𓏏, *Didiš*, »chief draughtsman-painter of Amun« (*imy-r sš ḳdwt n Ḳmn*), also dated to the early 19th Dynasty, whose name is written in the exact same way as the high priest of Ptah from the Turin shabti. A series of documents from this official shed light on his high status, his complex personal piety, and, primarily, on his family⁹⁰. Didia makes a thorough list of relatives and ancestors, all of whom were draughtsmen-painters, and many of whom had clearly Semitic names. One of them was the forefather in the lineage, *Pt-bꜥr*, Petj-Baal, a foreigner that arrived in Egypt possibly in the mid-18th Dynasty⁹¹. Together with an assimilation and integration into the Egyptian society, Didia's family tree shows the apparent keeping of a mixed identity, where the foreign – in this case Semitic – origin of onomastics is passed down the generations. In this context, the presence of Didia's name shall be understood as an onomastic form that ultimately points to a foreign origin which, although remote, does not seem to fall into oblivion⁹².

25 All that has been exposed above helps to understand the double nomenclature of the Turin shabti, honouring the high priest of Ptah, Nebmehyt, whose second name is Didia. This would be a case akin to that of Meryptah-Tutuia from Berlin. The same person bears two onomastic forms: a clear Egyptian name, Nebmehyt, and a possible foreign one, Didia. This also seems to be related to the possibility that a certain number of individuals named Nebmehyt could have had family ties to foreigners, as well as a more or less remote origin in Egypt's neighbouring territories. All this builds a significant contribution to the understanding of the evident coexistence of two names, Tutuia and Nebmehyt, borne by the same character, in the set of shabtis found around TT 11 at Dra^c Abu el-Naga.

87 Davies 1999, 63. 65. 67. 155; chart 8; Menéndez Gómez 2008, 380–398.

88 Frankfort – Pendlebury 1933, pl. 58, 15; Pendlebury 1951, 179; pl. 87; Helck 1963a, 522; Helck 1963b, 720. It is well-known that high-quality wine was largely imported from Syria-Palestine, besides other areas like the oases and the Nile Delta. As stated above, many Asiatics arriving in Egypt were associated with the work at vineyards and wine-related activities (cf. Helck 1962, 396 f. and fn. 33).

89 See, for instance, Schneider 1992, 261 no. N 563 (cf. Menéndez Gómez 2008, 398 fn. 605) or stela Musée du Louvre, Paris, C 211/E 3121.

90 Didia's list of documents includes: (1) a unique block statue kept at the EMC, CG 42122, with a high biographical component (Legrain 1906, 71–73; Frood 2007, 133–136 no 21); (2) a scribe's tablet mentioning Seti I (KRI I, 327); (3) a fragment of a stela from Deir el-Bahari, currently at the BM, EA 706 (Budge 1922, pls. 48. 49); (4) a second stela, preserved in excellent condition, possibly coming from Abydos, where Didia presents his ancestry. The stela is kept at the Louvre, C 50 (KRI I, 327–329; Ziegler 1982, 119 f.). There is an excellent publication of this set of documentation, with a translation of the inscriptions and a social and onomastic study in Lowle 1976. It should be emphasised that in this series of documents, there is no evidence pointing to a connection between this character and Nebmehyt-Didia, the high priest of Ptah (the Turin shabti, Cat. 2666, and the stela BM, EA 183, correspond with him); cf. fn. 82. 83.

91 Cf. the onomastic study by Lowle 1976, 98–102 (with the collaboration of Kitchen); Schneider 1992, 19 no. N 12 (*ibr-kꜥr*); 20 f. no. N 15 (*im-mi*); 49 f. no. N 86 (*Ḳtw*); 120 nos. N 257–259 (*Pt-bꜥr*); 254 no. N 548 (*Ḳw-ry*).

92 In Didia's family, the frequency of men with purely Egyptian names marrying women with foreign names could be explained by their close links to other Egyptian lineages of foreign origin. It is possible that, upon arriving in Egypt, Didia's ancestors settled in the Delta, in the Memphite area – like so many other foreigners, especially Asiatics, did during the 18th and 19th Dynasties (cf. Lowle 1976, 101 f.). This would explain the repetition of theophorous names formed from Ptah (Meryptah, Ptahhotep) or the possible use of Memphite funerary formulae on monuments of Didia (Frood 2007, 243 no. 33).

Conclusions

26 The finding of the shabtis of Tutuia-Nebmehyt at Dra' Abu el-Naga is unique in many aspects: typology, texts included, archaeological context, and others, each of which merits a proper study. This set has allowed us to identify and study a case of double nomenclature from the early Ramesside Period. The fact that a person may bear two different names is a relatively common Egyptian practice across different periods. This may be due to a wide range of individual and social reasons⁹³. Onomastic strategies are furthermore subject to circumstances, uses, and determining factors that change throughout the course of Egyptian history⁹⁴. In this case, the fact that one of the two names, Tutuia, has a foreign origin can be decisive for its proper understanding. It was frequent for foreigners who settled in Egypt, joined the public service, and served the pharaoh to adopt a second, typically Egyptian name. There were several options from which to choose the Egyptian name in these cases. During the New Kingdom, it was common to adopt basilophoric names (i. e., names that mention the sovereign or a royal name). Such is the well-known case of Benia, whose second name is *P3-ḥk3-mn*, or the case of several royal stewards (*imy-r pr nsw*) during the Ramesside Period⁹⁵. In some cases, it seems that individuals who served the pharaoh directly were granted this second name by the sovereign himself⁹⁶. Nevertheless, Tutuia's typically Egyptian second name, Nebmehyt, is not explained through a connection with the sovereign. Following our research, it could be an indirect evocation to a foreign origin or extraction, *mḥyt* being a veiled reference to Egypt's northern neighbours⁹⁷. Likewise, Nebmehyt's name could include typically Egyptian references that, in the high-elite context of Tutuia, could be easily recognised. Hence, the parallel with Sinuhe and his adoption of a second name, »Son of the north wind« (*S3-mḥyt*) upon returning from Syria, or the literary and religious reference to the »sweet wind of the north«, is an idea commonly found in funerary prayers and wishes of welfare for the deceased. It should be noted that there is no will to renounce or conceal the foreign name. In the set of shabtis studied, there is a clear prevalence of the onomastic form Tutuia, which furthermore is the only one found on the mud bricks⁹⁸. This could be linked to the foreigner's rapid integration into the high echelons of official service, and the possible relative low significance of ethnicity among the members of the Egyptian elite during the Ramesside Period, at least in relation to social assimilation. All things considered, we do not intend to and cannot

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- 93 See de Meulenaere 1966; Vernus 1986; Broux 2015. However, there is a lack of a specific study for the New Kingdom, which is striking given that this period of Egyptian history provides plenty cases of double nomenclature and varied onomastic strategies. This is especially due to Egypt's strong imperial and international projection and its rich and complex social structure in the 18th and 19th Dynasties. As a matter of fact, for the New Kingdom, there is no literature that can be compared to the corpus made by Katrin Scheele-Schweitzer on the Old Kingdom (Scheele-Schweitzer 2014). For a good example of the possibilities that this field of study offers, see Rummel 2002; Rummel 2003 (especially 370 f. for the second name).
- 94 For a general overview, besides Ranke's classic work (cf. fn. 15), see Vittmann 2013b. As rightly pointed out by Vernus: »Dans son ouvrage fondamental, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, H. Ranke n'était pas parvenu à élucider la signification de ces noms propes yuxtaposés.« (Vernus 1986, VI).
- 95 Helck 1958, 272–274; de Meulenaere 1966, 31; Darnell 2013, 818 fn. 151 (with references); Vittmann 2013b, 6. For Benia's case, see Guksch 1978.
- 96 Gardiner 1948, 59 f. Here, pVarzy expressly states that the pharaoh has conferred a new name upon a servant that had previously borne another name of humble origin (»the name of a servant of lowly birth«). pBrooklyn 35.1446 is an extraordinary document listing slaves of foreign origin bearing an Egyptian name; see Hayes 1955; Schneider 1987. According to Günter Vittmann: »At the lowest levels, foreign servants and slaves often received an additional Egyptian name that often did not differ fundamentally from names held by »genuine« Egyptians.« (Vittmann 2013a, 4).
- 97 pCairo JE 65739, besides including the mention of the »steward of Amun, Tutuia«, states that the Syrian slave who was the motive of the litigation had received the Egyptian name *Gm.n.i-ḥr-imntt* (»I found [her] in the west« or perhaps »[She] whom I found in the west«). This is likely a topographic reference that might be related to her origin or the circumstances surrounding her purchase. Cf. Gardiner 1935, 141; Vittmann 2013a, 4.
- 98 Specifically the use of Tutuia in pCairo JE 65739, which records a judicial proceeding, seemingly points to the fact that this was the name by which our character was usually known in his daily life.
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assert a direct foreign extraction for Tutuia-Nebmehyt. The sole evidence of the name is not enough. In cases like this, it is common to find persons born in Egypt, perhaps sons or grandsons of foreigners who were fully integrated into Egyptian society. In any case, the assimilation of foreigners into the Egyptian elite of the New Kingdom is a complex matter with many ramifications that go beyond the objective of this specific study⁹⁹. Our intention was not to draw overarching conclusions, but to study a single case and provide a model of research and scientific approach to the important issue of individuals with two names, as well as the underlying onomastic strategies in one cosmopolitan period of Egyptian history.

99 Cf. Vittmann 2013a, 4: »At a higher level, Egyptianized foreigners would often adopt an Egyptian name to underscore their (partial?) assimilation [...]. Such visible examples are somewhat rare; unless there is clear genealogical or iconographical evidence, it is practically impossible to recognize an individual's ethnic background. This is, however, in keeping with the Egyptian concept that an assimilated foreigner had (more or less) ceased to be a foreigner and was considered an Egyptian.« For more on the issue of status and integration of foreigners in the Egyptian elite, see the contributions of Schneider 2006; Schneider 2010; Schneider 2018.

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One Man, Two Names

A Case of Onomastic Strategies at the Beginning of the 19th Dynasty

José Miguel Serrano Delgado

عُثر في المنطقة الواقعة حول مقبرة جوتي (TT 11) على مجموعة فريدة من تماثيل الأوشابتي تحمل اسمين مختلفين، هما توتويا ونب-محيت. يقدم هذا المقال دراسة متعمقة لكلا الاسمين مع إدراك أننا أمام حالة من حالات الأسماء المزدوجة. قد يكون الاسم توتويا، على الرغم من غموضه وتعدد معانيه إلى حد ما، من أصل أجنبي، ربما اسم سامي. وعلى الرغم من ذلك، فإن اسم نب-محيت فهو اسم مصري تقليدي، ولكنه قد ينطوي على إشارة مجازية إلى الشعوب والبلدان المجاورة لمصر من جهة الشمال. قد تقدم حقيقة كون كلا الاسمين لنفس الشخص معلومات مثيرة للاهتمام تتعلق بالصورة الذهنية عن الأجانب واندماجهم في أوائل عصر الرعامسة. يهدف هذا البحث إلى أن يكون دراسة حالة وأن يسهم في فهم استراتيجيات التسمية ودور الأسماء المزدوجة في المجتمع المصري القديم.

الكلمات المفتاحية

تماثيل أوشابتي، اسم مزدوج، الدولة الحديثة، ذراع أبو النجا

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