THE EXTERNAL ROYAL ENVOYS OF THE RAMESSIDES: A STUDY ON THE EGYPTIAN DIPLOMATS.*

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To Prof. K.A. Kitchen, with festal greetings

This paper aims to draw a comprehensive and fresh picture of the Egyptian diplomats of the Ramesside era (1). Its range is mainly restricted to those who were entitled only as wpwtyw nsw r h3st nb (or) r t3 nb; “Royal envoy to every foreign country (or) to every land”, either to a specified area or generally termed. Throughout this paper we shall use “ambassador” to cover the above relevant title of “Royal envoy”.

At the outset we would deal with each envoy individually in an attempt to outline his ambassadorial duties (if possible), then give some remarks on their functions and careers according to their titles in terms of the available dates in reigns of the Ramesside Kings.

At the time of Sety I specifically in year 8, ‘Asha-Hebu-Sed is the only diplomat, as far as I know, who would be considered with certainty as “Ambassador” besides being a “troop commander and royal butler” (2). His participation in mining expeditions at Sinai and inaugurating work at Abu Simbel (3) are obviously non-diplomatic missions owing to the nature of these missions and the involvement in these purely internal affairs. But holding this title would refer to a diplomatic function which is not revealed in his texts (4). As a matter of speculation, we may suggest that he was involved either in the inter-actions between Egypt and the princeloms on the Syrian coast or the negotiations that preceded the treaty with the Hittites. This treaty might have been ratified between Sety I and the Hittite King; Mursil II, after the confrontation between both sides probably at Sety I’s year 3, (5) since it is implied in the Egyptian-Hittite treaty of Ramesses II as a regular customary agreement that was formerly agreed between the two

(*) I am greatful to Prof. K.A. Kitchen for his usefill comments on the first draft of this paper and for letting me cite some of his forthcoming contributions.
(2) KRI I, 62; RITA I (1993), 62; He was also entitled as kny “valiant” of which the connotation in military titles is still vague, see A. R. Schuman, Military Rank, title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom, MAS 6, Berlin (1964), 67.
parties (6). Or he may have had the responsibility of bringing the Canaanite artisans from Canaan to the heart of Sinai for certain artifacts for the royal palace (7).

Another example would be Djhouty-mes, proposed by Valloggia to be dated to the reign of Sety I according to some stylistic criteria rather than historical ones (8). Although he held the title of “Ambassador”, it seems very odd at this era not to have had military background, since his other titles refer to the positions of a “scribe, high steward and chief of granaries” (9). Also during the Ramesside era the distinctive orthography of the title for “Ambassador” which ends with ⟨⟩, (10) like that of Djhouty-mes, characterizes the title’s spelling from the later part of Ramesses II’s reign up to the end of the 19th Dynasty, as shown infra (11). Thus we would discard Djhouty-mes as “ambassador” of Sety I leaving his dating open to question.

For the reign of Ramesses II, it is no wonder that we have to deal with the largest number of “Ambassadors” since the interrelations abroad of the Ramessides either militarily or peacefully reached their peak (12). This long and eventful reign required many royal envoys (ambassadors) of various ranks to fulfill the diplomatic affairs to the widest extent (13).

In fact, the treaty of Ramesses II with Hatti in his year 21 required the involvement of many envoys for its preliminary negotiations, ratification and consequences. It is conceivable that the period between the battle of Qadesh and the agreement of peace, i.e. from year 11 to year 21, witnessed intense discussions for setting up an external peace along with its final codification. The royal “ambassadors” undoubtedly shuttled between Pi-Ramesses and Hattusas many times until a satisfactory treaty was agreed (14).

A section at the beginning of the treaty clarifies the diplomatic role of the ambassadors (royal envoys) which they played in this event:

“...There came the royal envoy and lieutenant of chariotsry [...], the royal envoy [...], the royal envoy [...], and the envoy of the land of Hatti and of [...] Tili-Tesub, the second envoy of Hatti, Ramose, and the envoy of Carcamish, Yapusili, bearing the silver tablet,
which the great ruler of Hatti, Hattusilis III, has caused to be brought to Pharaoh, L.P.H., to request peace from the Majesty of the King of U-L. Egypt (Ramesses II)..." (15).

This friendly alliance described by “brotherhood” was reflected equally in the mutual congratulations between the two sides, not only on the part of the Kings but also the chief queens as well as crown princes and highest officials. The letters were also enhanced by mutual presents which were brought eventually by “ambassadors”. Moreover, the wide range of senders rather than only Kings suggests use of a large number of “ambassadors” in the royal court and administration, to serve Queen Nefertary, Queen mother Tuya, the current Crown-prince Sethirkhopshet as well as the Vizier Paser (16).

An eminent example of the effect of such diplomatic affairs on the career of the royal harim employees who became “ambassador” is Ptah-em-wia. He is a unique example in this present study whose background career was never a military one. According to his titles he became “ambassador” (royal envoy) after being active in scribal affairs of the Royal Harim and the offering table respectively (17). Therefore he might have been involved in his early career at the Royal Harim correspondences which qualified him to be as “ambassador” at the end of Ramesses II’s reign, since his title as diplomat is determined by $\text{\textalpha}$ sign.

The immense correspondences concerning the treaty and subsequent developments, however, is represented in 113 letters between Egypt and Hatti found in the archive of the Hittite capital; Bogazkoy. Among them sixty-seven letters from Ramesses II only (50 to the King and 17 to the Queen) (18), and it is conceivable that these active royal mutual contacts gave the royal envosys “ambassadors” a hectic life traveling from Pi-Ramesses to Hattusas and vice versa.

These diplomatic interactions reached their peak under Ramesses II by the first royal wedding as the first-known diplomatic marriage successfully practiced since Amenophis III and IV (19). This event which took place thirteen years after the ratification of the peace treaty was highlighted not only in the great temple at Abu Simbel (20), but also by the “Ambassador” Huy.

(15) KRI II, 226; RITA II, 80; Vallogia adopted the name ‘nty for the first Egyptian envoy, see M. Vallogia, op. cit., 124-5, no. (c).


who designated deliberately his extraordinary diplomatic mission in his monuments at Nubia along with his titles throughout his long career (21). The texts described him as “Noble, Count, Viceroy, Chief minister in Nubia, Fan bearer in the King’s right hand, (who is) praised by the goodly god, Troop Commander, Superintendent of horse of his Majesty, 1st Lieutenant of chariotry, Troop Commander in Sile, Royal envoy in every foreign country “Ambassador”, (and also) Overseer of gold of Amon, Superintendent of the stable of the Residence of the Hall of audience of Ramesses- Meramon, Royal scribe” (22).

He alludes to his greatest feat, describing himself as he “who returned from Hatti, and who brought back its great (Princess); (another) one who can report on (Hatti), where it is, has never existed…” (23).

No doubt that the texts speak for themselves, on his achievements in the North and the South, either military or civil. His delegation to Hatti, nevertheless, was outstanding amongst his other responsibilities, escorting the Hittite King’s daughter; Princess Maahorneferure. And most likely his title as “Ambassador” owed him a particular importance to accompany the Hittite bride (24). That might explain also the keenness of Huy to record this special event as an unusual trend of the relevant diplomats of his title.

We may comment further on Huy. Firstly, his trip North for the princess likely never exceeded Egypt’s border post, (probably near modern yemuaq Hermil) in South Syria, in the area of the Egyptian province of Upi (South Beqa’). Secondly, he was duly rewarded and promoted to be Vice-roy of Nubia (25), with the other honorary title as “chief minister in Nubia” which might refer to certain special tasks there (26). Thirdly, previous to all this, his qualified military background enabled him to achieve the position of troop commander in the fortified border town of Sile. Fourthly, his holding this strategic post may explain the king’s choosing him to fulfill this mission. His success in the latter would also explain in turn his exceptional award from amongst his colleagues (27). The need for high-powered envoys is reflected in the mutual correspondence between the two Royal courts when the Hittite King declared his decision to send his daughter and asked for a special Egyptian delegation bringing finest oil to anoint the bride and to accompany her as well as bring her precious dowry. Then Ramesses II responded and sent his delegation as an extensive escort (28).

It is worth noting that the aftermath of the Hittite treaty until the diplomatic marriage took place, witnessed intensive diplomacy on all sides as Babylon and Assyria became more involved in the theater of events, and controversies arose such as that of Urhi Teshub’s fate and the

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(21) KRI III, 77-80.
(23) KRI III, 80; L. Habachi, Kush 9 (1961), 220, fig. 5.
(24) Ibid., 224.
(28) KRI II 250; RITA II, 95.
border-adjustments sought by Ramesses II (29). Thus, the known examples of “ambassadors” would have been enmeshed in this interplay of diplomatic exchanges (and even misunderstandings) as they carried urgent messages from one court to another, in the troubled period before the stability created by the treaty and the first royal marriage (30). We do not know whether Hattusili III accompanied his daughter and visited Egypt or it was merely a rhetorical inclusion in the relief of Abu Simbel to heighten the glory of both rulers (31). There was also the eventual visit of the Hittite crown prince Hishni-Sharruma as well as the demand for Egyptian physicians at the Hittite court and finally the second royal marriage when cordial relations reached their peak (32). Ramesses II’s envoys (ambassadors) would have been engaged in all these proceedings, as well as all the political contacts with the states of Babylon, Assyria, Mitanni and Alashiya (33).

This event-intensive decade required incessant diplomatic delegations represented by the “ambassadors” whose ranking and careers varied greatly with the nature of the missions they dealt with. If we also adopt the epigraphic criterion which distinguishes the title of wwpwy with Δ as used from the later years of Ramesses II, we G may suggest the following “ambassadors” to be assigned to the decade which extended from year 34 to ca. year 44 of Ramesses II.

Paser who became a Viceroy of Nubia a few years after the Hittite treaty was a “royal envoy” (ambassador), and he might have been rewarded with this promotion at year 25 for some extraordinary contribution in the mutual negotiations and did not work as just a courier (34). The background of his career made him quite likely the right man to fulfill tasks of higher importance in either the North, or the South where he reached the top office. He therefore held the titles of “Subordinate, Superintendent of Southern desert lands, Fan bearer on the King’s right hand, Chief of works in Pi-Ramesses, and Royal scribe” (35).

Another man whose role as “ambassador” is explicit, since it was specifically “to the land of Hatti” (36), was (Pa)-Rehotep who finally became Vizier of the North in Ramesses II’s later years (probably year 50) (37). His titles tend to be civil and honorific since (among others) they include “Noble, Count, Great Chief, Chamberlain of the Lord of the Two Land in the halls of Jubilees, City Governor, and Vizier, Festival Leader of Jubilees for his Lord” (38).

(29) K. A. Kitchen, Pharaoh Triumphant, 81-3.
(33) B. Kemp, Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt, 16.
(35) KRI III, 74-7.
(37) K. A. Kitchen, Pharaoh Triumphant, 170, 243: Chart 2.
(38) KRI III, 54: 13, 65: 8; H. De Meulenaere, in CDE 41 (1966), 232: 5, no. 82; T. G. H. James, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae 9, 18-9, pl. 14.
His eminent title to Hatti among equals stimulated scholars to propose his exact embassy and its date, either as Vizier among the delegation for the treaty at year 21 (39), or else he had this office later from year 42 (40). The present writer is inclined to assign his delegation to the second Hittite marriage, he therefore being highly promoted as vizier within the next decade following this second auspicious occasion. The adoption of this view is based on the similarity of equally high award for Huy, envoy of the first marriage as shown supra.

The remaining known names of “ambassadors” in Ramesses II’s time will be considered in two groups according to the writing style of the title which would enable us to place the second group in the later years of the reign of Ramesses II. Each group also should be subdivided according to the region which is implied in the ambassadors’ titles (if available), or it would be demonstrated in general terms since it is conceivable that they were involved in several diplomatic affairs. This latter ambassadorial group may be mainly represented by the following names; Sety, Sutyemhab, Menkheper, Tjunuroy, Huy, and Nakht-Monthu.

Sety, who was also “Royal scribe, Chief of horse of the Lord of the Two Lands, personal attendant of the Lord of the Two Lands” (41), might have reached the position of “troop commander” in his career and the “1st charioteer of his Majesty” after being “overseer of chariots” (42). His chariots titles, however, refer to characteristic military service in the company of the King, then on diplomatic missions during the prelude to the treaty, most likely in the first two decades of Ramesses II.

Sutyemhab was also an “ambassador” after a career solely in chariots since he held also the titles of “1st charioteer of his majesty” and “lieutenant of chariots” (43). His missions would have been similar to the latter with a possibility of being of lesser importance, basing this on the difference in titles in the whole career of both. They may have been of similar date, since Sutiemhab does not use the later spelling of “envoy” with the legs-sign (44).

Another colleague of the latter is Menkheper who had only one title as “Superintendent of horse of the Lord of the Two Lands” (45). This title may refer to his role as ordinary “envoy” in keeping with. It possibly being equated with the rank of “stablemaster” as a scribal rank (46).

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(39) A. Weil, Die Viziere des Pharaonen-Reiches, Leipzig (1908), 96: no. 22.
(41) KRI III, 241.
(43) KRI III, 246; F. Petrie, Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos, London (1925), pl. 31:2.
(44) Petrie suggested that Sutiemhab was born when Ramesses II was Crown-Prince and Sety I’s corregent. But he has confused the name of Seth (Suti) in Sutiemhab’s name with that of Sety I; see ibid., 11-12.
(45) KRI III, 240-1, 847.
This last title (stablemaster), was held by the “Ambassador” Herti as the only title of his career (47) which gives the impression of another ordinary envoy.

The fifth example in this group is of Tjunuroy whose other titles are totally civil and religious as follows: “Chief of works in every monument, master of the secrets in heaven and earth, who foretells events, the Royal scribe and chief lector priest.” Habachi, Kitchen and Vallogia have all restored his title as wpwy-nsw [r h3st nbt]. But, in the context, there is no certainty about this restoration. There may have been some epithet of a civil of a civil nature- “Royal messenger, [...] who announces what will happen”- with no reference to international diplomacy at all. So, eventually Tjunuroy might have to be excluded from our series (48).

Yuy was “Royal scribe of the troops, High steward of the temple of the queen Nefertari”, while his relative Huy was “ambassador” (49). This Huy, therefore, can be dated to Ramesses II’s reign, perhaps even to its earlier half, as Queen Nefertari apparently died in the 20s of the reign. His tasks, however, might have not differed from his previous colleagues.

Finally, we have here Nakhtmonthu who was otherwise only the “stablemaster of the great stable of Ramesses II” (50). Since the provenance of his inscriptions is Elephantine, we would consider his sphere of travel as the South (Nubia) although this is not implicit in his text like the next group. His being of ordinary rank is because of the fully subordinated status of Nubia (51) in the Egyptian Imperial framework which differed from that in the North.

This would explain the few examples of “ambassadors” to Nubia with any role, comparable to those who were delegated to the North, especially because of the post of Viceroy as executive ruler with a settled regime (52).

The two most relevant examples are Meryu and Nakhtmin. The first was only a “Charioteer of his Majesty”, but his title as “ambassador” was complemented by “to this land of Kush” (53). His rank and title would truly reflect the sort of mission he fulfilled as ordinary emissary.

The second “Ambassador” here is Nakhtmin, son of Pennesuttawy, “Troop commander of Kush” (i.e., the military governor of Nubia, alongside the civilian viceroy). On his father’s monument (54), Nakhtmin appears as “Chief stablemaster of His Majesty”- so, may have been closely connected with the royal chariots at the Residence. He would, then, very fittingly, have

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(47) Herti is not included in KRI; thus see M. Vallogia, Recherche sur les “Messagers”, 146: no. 96.
(49) KRI III, 186; M. Vallogia, op. cit., 146: no. 97.
(50) He is not mentioned in KRI; hence see L. Habachi, Rock Inscriptions from the Reign of Ramesses II on and around Elephantine Island, in: M. Gorg & E. Pusch (eds.), Festschrift Elmar Edel, Bamberg (1979), 234-5, Tafel 3, fig. 5.
(51) See B. Kemp, Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt, 21-43.
(52) See A. Reisener, JEA 6 (1920), 28ff, 73ff.
(53) KRI III, 246-7. He is not included amongst the Wpwy in M. Vallogia’s book; Recherche sur les “Messagers”, HEO 6, Geneve (1976).
(54) KRI III 114: 7 (TT. 156).
become “ambassador” (Royal envoy), whether in the Levant or to his father’s domain in Nubia (which would justify grouping him here). His service was evidently distinguished (though we have no details), for two reasons. First, like some other “Ambassadors”, he was awarded the high honorific of “Fanbearer”; second, he was permitted to succeed his father as “Troop commander in Kush”, where he would have had good local knowledge of the region through his early upbringing. A knowledge which extended to his two succeeding generations represented in his son and grandson (55).

Meryatum was the one whose sphere of action as “Ambassador” might be unique, since he acted as “Lieutenant of chariotry of the Lord of the Two Lands in the western border of the Delta” (56). It is well known that Ramesses II built several forts in the Western side of the Delta from the nearby of modern Damanhour up to Zawyet Um-Al Rakham a few kilometers from Marsa Matrouh (57), to quell the probable Libyan and Sherden threat Thus, the Royal envoy (Ambassador) there should be aquainted with these areas to fulfill his missions after the triumphant King succeeded to control this Western area since his reign year 6 onwards (58).

It is worth noting that the next group of the “Royal envoys” (ambassadors) in Ramesses II’s reign is distinguished by the determinative ꞌ in their title, which would refer to his later regnal years as mentioned supra. But because of their texts are undated, the possibility of a closer dating of this later period stands beyond of our reach. It would be a possible speculation, however, for it to be dated in Ramesses II’s last 17 years (i.e. from year 50) since the proposed year of the installation of (Pa) Re-hotep as vizier was most likely at year 50 of Ramesses II as stated above, and his title as “Royal envoy” was written in the earlier fashion (59).

It is also important to know that this later part of Ramesses II’s rule enabled him to enjoy the fruits of his diplomacy that followed the turmoil of war in his earlier years and onwards (60). Thus, according to this latter view the missions of his “Ambassadors” would be kept in line with the dogma of their King’s policy.

Three “Royal envoys” (Ambassadors) of this group held the title in general terms, without allusions to any specific destinations they reached in their career. The first one is Ramses-sema-khasset who had both a military and civil career as “Deputy statelymaster of the Residence of the great stately of Ramesses II, high steward in Memphis, festival leader of all gods” (61).

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(55) KRI III, 115; L. Habachi, The Owner of the Tomb No. 282 in the Theban Necropolis, JEA 54 (1968), 110-3. His name might also be read as Mn(w)-Nḥt(w), see M.Vallioxia, op. cit., 137: no. 85.
(56) M. Cramer, Ägyptische Denkmaler im Kestner-Museum zu Hannover, ZAS 72 (1936), 96-8, pl.viii; KRI III, 143.
(59) See supra, 4.
(61) KRI III, 240. He is not included in M. Vallioxia’s book on WPWTYW; see H. De Meulenaere in the review on this book in CDE 53 (1978), 84.
The second one is Amenemone who fortunately left us an outline of his career on his statue from Deir el-Bahari (62). His career was dominated initially by several military posts. Thus he was appointed “Charioteer and superintendent of horse” under Ramesses II, “when he became Lord”, i.e., at the King’s accession as sole ruler. His first promotion after this was as “Principal troop commander”, perhaps in the warrior-years 1-10 of Ramesses II. His next promotion in this text was as “Royal envoy (Ambassador) to all foreign countries ... (who) repeated to him (=King) on the foreign countries in their every aspect”. This period may well have been about years 10-20, leading us to the Treaty when Amenemone may have shared in this diplomacy with other men we have already dealt with above. After this climax to his military and diplomatic career the Pharaoh appointed Amenemone to a civil post as “Chief of works in all Royal monuments”. With this went the title of “Chief of the Medjay-militia, often held by those in charge of royal building projects. After being chief of works at the Ramesseum, Amenemone finally was appointed “Soul-Priest of the royal statue”, his equivalent of a pensionary post (63). These civilian appointments would have fallen in the 30s and 40s of Ramesses II’s reign. Thus his statue of the envoy’s title with legs determinative would have been one of his last monuments, (ca. year 50?), perhaps set up in a Theban tomb-chapel. No doubt that Amenemone’s family background and its several dignitaries would explain his long and distinguished career.

Naya is the third instance of this subdivision of “ambassadors”, but most likely of lesser importance in rank and consequently in his ambassadorial mission since he was “Chief stablemaster of the Lord of the Two Lands” (64), and “overseer of the cattle” (65).

For the Northern countries one would expect two “ambassadors” were in charge. The first one is Nui who was the “lst. charioteer of his Majesty ..., and governor of foreign countries in the Northern/ many foreign countries” (66). While the second is PaenreC who held the title that pertained to Khor (the Northern countries) as “Governor of foreign countries of Khor” (67), besides his military titles as “Chief of archers, chief of Medjay-militia, 1st. charioteer of his Majesty” (68), then the civil title as “Chief of works in the temple of Ramesses II in the Estate of Amon” (69). The study of his monuments may refer to a possible promotion as chief of Medjay after he had fulfilled his missions in Khor. There both as “ambassador” and (later?) as “Governor of foreign countries for the North”, especially along the Syrian Coast, he had to deal with tributary princes (70).

(62) KRI III, 274-5. His title of envoy was with two styles, one without the det. of legs (KRI III, 275:2; KRI VII, 128:5), and the other with it (KRI III, 277:14); J. Lipinska, List of the Objects found at Deir El-Bahari Temple of Thutmosis III Season 1961/62, ASAE 59 (1966), 67.


(64) KRI III, 409; M. Bierbrier, Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum X, London (1982), 40-1, pl. 94.


(66) KRI III, 239-40; E. F. Wente, Two Ramesside stelae Pertaining to the Cult of Amenophis I, JNES 22 (1963), 34.

(67) Khor (Kharo) is the name of Palestine and its adjunct areas, see A. Gardiner, Onom. I, 181 ff.

(68) G. Daressy, Recueil de Cones Funeraires; part of Memoires publies par les membres de la Mission Archæologique Française au Caire, t. 8, fasc. 2, Paris (1893), 293: no. 228, 315.

(69) KRI III, 270-1; C. F. Nims, A Stela of PenreC: Builder of the Ramesseum, MDIK 14 (1956), 146-7.

(70) Ibid., 149.
As for the borders of the Delta at this period of Ramesses II’s reign, Nedjem represents an “Ambassador” who was likely sent there since one of his titles is relevant to as “Chief of the granaries of the Western Border”, besides holding another two civic positions as “Royal scribe and great steward of the House” (71). His mission was most likely similar to that of Meryatum in relation to the Libyan tribes and the sea intruders (72).

As for the South, Heqa-Nekht is the only “ambassador” in this group who is attributed to Kush. His titles are “Noble, count, viceroy of Nubia, chancellor of King of Lower Egypt (treasurer), fan bearer at the right of the King, chief of the Southern foreign Land” (73). This latter title states without doubt his mission’s destination although it lacks mention of his specific task (74), as is usual in most of the envoy’s texts. Kitchen placed Heqa-Nekht in the office of Vice Royalty in the first decade of Ramesses II’s reign, but according to the legs-criteria of his title as envoy, as well as the non-dating of his monuments (75), the present writer is apt to consider him amongst the “ambassadors” (royal envoy) of the late regnal years of Ramesses II.

Dealing with the office of “ambassador” at the reign of Merenptah which lasted about a decade (ca. 1213-1204) encounters two significant points as a basic ground to their study. The first is the whole political atmosphere under Merenptah and his successors which dominates the stage of events in the Egyptian sphere of influence. Hence Merenptah was provoked to set a vigorous hand on the new threats that appeared on Egypt’s horizon: Libyan and Sea peoples from the West, rebellion in Wawat and unrest in Canaan (76). The Hittite alliance still held firm, so that the famine-stricken Hittites could appeal to Egypt for grain-supplies (77).

The second point is the holders of the title of “ambassador” (Royal envoy) are remarkably few (78), since the only three known examples of Merenptah’s reign so far, do not all reflect the scale of requirement for the diplomatic tasks of his reign.

The first example is Amenemopet who was the “the Royal envoy to the princes of Khor starting from Sile to Joppa … to the princes of the Asiatics” (and may be further north). He was

(71) D. Dunham, Four New Kingdom Monuments in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, JEA 21 (1935), 150-1, pl. 19; cf. M. Vallogia, Recherche sur les “Messagers” 147-8, no. 98. He is not included in KRI.
(72) See supra, 10.
(73) KRI III, 69.
(77) J. B. Pritchard, ANET (1950), 258-9; CAH II/23 (1982), 235.
(78) LA I, 846.
also “Fan bearer at the King’s right, 1st charioteer of his Majesty”, besides another functions as his embassy to every foreign land as well as being a governor of flat and hilly regions (79). Likely, his missions seem to be not always successful as pointed out by the scribe Hori without any detailed reference to it (80).

The second ambassador is Wennufer whose other title was “The 1st. charioteer of his Majesty”. The text relating to the latter suggests his dating at year 3 also like the previous example (81), but with nothing specific concerning his work.

The third one is represented by Thuthotep whose career-titles as “Ambassador and chief of mškbw of the ship contingent of his Lord Merenptah” (82) are mixed with boastful epithets such as “The uniquely excellent one, truly reliable one, close to his master and handsome in his presence” (83). The association between both titles of “ambassador” and “mškb” suggests a strong position for Thuthotep as well as close company with the King (84).

The interval from the reign of Merenptah to that of Siptah was of ca. 12 years shared equally by two ruling Kings, the ex-vizier Amenemese and the legitimate Ramesside heir Sety II. This breakdown of the royal lineage had a negative effect on the diplomatic affairs which is strikingly reflected by the absence of examples of “ambassadors” in the contemporary documents of these rulers (85).

As for the times of Siptah and Tawoseret, although it is only 6 years of rule by Siptah with additional two years at the close of the 19th Dynasty under the Queen Tawoseret (86), this short period has several examples of “ambassadors” as compared to the period and importance of Merenptah’s reign. A fact which stands as a proof of how limited is the scale of usage of the title known from his reign on one hand.

On the other hand, it is noticeable that most of the “ambassadors” (royal envoys) of this short period were oriented significantly to the South since the Egyptian supremacy held sway in this

(79) This is dated at year 3; for his titles see and cf. A. Gardiner, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, in: Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca VII, Bruxelles (1937), 21, 29; R. A. Caminos, Late Egyptian Miscellanies, London (1954), 69, 103.

(80) CAH II/23 (1982), 235, citing Pap. Anastasi I. But this may be a different man, or a fictional “incident”.

(81) KRI IV, 123; T. G. H. James, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelaes 9, 32, pl. 27; cf. R. Caminos, op. cit., 103; M. Valloggia, Recherche sur les “Messagers”, 149-50: no. 101.

(82) For the various renderings of this undetermined title as “overseer, tax collector, transport-officer, Asiatic mercenary, and towing-man, or a certain type of soldier or employee of intra-service transfers of military personnel, see A. R. Schulman, Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom, 48; idem., M hr and Mškb, Two Egyptian Military Titles of Semitic Origin, ZAS 93 (1966), 131-2; Idem., Onom I,92.

(83) M. A. Murray, Some Fresh Inscriptions, AE II (1917), 66; KRI IV, 126.

(84) Cf. M. A. Murray, op. cit., 68.


region rather than the North-Eastern regions. Thus we would expect also that t-l-e examples of unnamed destination were most likely dispatched to the South rather than to Syria (87).

Yuy, Kanakh and Anhornakht are of the latter group. The first ambassador Yuy was an “army lieutenant” (88). The second one is Kanakh, whose titles are of high military rank as “lieutenant of charioteery and troop commander” (89). While the third example Anhornakht, was of strongly military background as “troop commander, 1st charioteer of his majesty, troop commander of the charioteery” (90).

The other group was mainly in charge of the installation of officials in Nubia. Rekhpehtuf who was “attendant to Lord of the two Lands and 1st charioteer of his Majesty”, states his mission explicitly since he “came with his (the King’s) command to install the viceroy of Nubia, Sety, in the year 1” (91). This installation was participated in the same year by another ambassador called Neferhor, who held in his career the titles of “wšt-priest of Moon-Thoth and scribe”. Since this mission was part of his delegation to the governors of Nubia for bringing favours to them, he might have had an inspector role there (92).

Aipy (Piay) dates his texts in year 3 of Siptah and refers to his mission as “to receive the tribute of the land of Kush” (93). Besides “establishing the viceroy in their positions and setting their functionaries in their positions” (94). After being “1st charioteer of his Majesty”, his career was mainly civil since he became “fan bearer in the King’s right, Royal scribe, treasurer, Royal scribe of the record office of the King, high steward of the house of Amon” (95).

Hori and his son Webekhnsenu represent the unique examples, as far as I know, for inheriting the title of “ambassador” after both being “1st charioteer of his Majesty” each in his specific year 3 and 6 respectively (96). Hori refers to his mission for “establishing the chiefs in their positions and pleases the heart of his Lord” (97). He was appointed later, however, as a Royal scribe and superintendent of Southern Deserts before reaching the higher position in the Southern administration as Viceroy in Kush (98).

(87) The only example of ambassador to Syria remains unanimous since the name is missing while the destinations were to Syria as well as Nubia, he became later “Fan bearer at the King’s right hand. See KRI IV, 348.
(88) KRI IV, 374; M. Vallogia, Recherche sur les “Messagers”, 154-5: no. 108. The sign \(\hat{\imath}\) in his title is missing accidentally as shown in his text either for erroneous or calligraphic reasons as it remains the only exception among all known.
(89) G. Daressy, Remarques et Notes, Rec. Trav. 11 (1889), 92: no. xii; KRI IV, 378.
(91) KRI IV, 362: 8-10; cf. G. Reisener, JEA 6 (1920), 48; T. M. Davies, The Tomb of Siptah, London (1908), xxi.
(92) Ibid., xxi-ii; KRI IV, 374.
(93) D. Randall-Maciver, C. L. Woolley, Buhen I, Philadelphia (1911), 26, 43.
(94) KRI IV, 375:1.
(95) KRI IV, loc.cit.; D. Randall-Maciver, C. L. Woolley, op. cit., 26.
(97) D. Randall-Maciver, C. L. Woolley, Buhen I, 38; T. M. Davies, The Tomb of Siptah, xxii; KRI IV, 364: 14.
(98) G. Reisener, JEA 6 (1920), 48-50; KRI IV, 365: 9.
The short interval between the end of the 19th. Dynasty and the accession of Ramesses III to the throne does not yield any evidence on ambassadors while internal power struggles supervened. Ramesses III, however, reigned for about three decades (ca. 1185-1154 B.C.) where his first eleven years were mainly engaged in warrior actions either in Libya and the Western border or the Levant. The latter was due to the devastating turmoil caused by the so-called Sea Peoples to whose intervention Hatti had fallen prey, and almost all of the Levant city-states. Their threat to Ramesside Egypt may have begun since the time of Sety I (99).

Dealing with “ambassadors” in Ramesses III’s reign raises two significant points. The first is the re-adoption of the title’s orthography without the leg determinative 𓊭, which had most likely marked the first five decades of Ramesses II’ time. The second is the rarity of ambassadors in this reign (only two, so far), since it is inconceivable to have only two in this long reign with eventful foreign affairs. Thus it might be possible that a readoption of messengers not titled as ambassadors took place in Ramesses III’s reign either similar to that of Merenptah, or they continued to fulfill the same tasks since the reign of Siptah (100).

The two available and clear examples of this reign are Pahemmeter and Djhuty-ms(w), who both were stabelemasters of Ramesses III (101). It is worth commenting that the first one states his ambassadorial task generally without any further detail as “who the victorious King sent to <every> foreign country” (102).

The second one Djhuty-mos(w) has been suggested as that of Sety I’s reign (103), which was not accepted at the beginning of this study on the ground of the title spelling with 𓊭. But if we would accept that both are identical, we would suggest placing him amongst those ambassadors at the end of Siptah’s reign and the beginning of Ramesses III’s reign such as Nakhtamon for instance.

The continued pursuit of further examples of “Ambassadors” (Royal envoys) up to the close of the 20th. Dynasty proves fruitless. In fact it is conceivable that the Ramessides maintained diplomatic affairs as essential part of their rule, but the lack of attested examples from Ramesses IV’s reign to that of Ramesses XI is striking and problematic (104). Since the officials who undertook exploitation of resources beyond the Nile valley or carrying the internal royal correspondence are not supposed, according to the scope of this paper, to have been wpwtw


(100) Examples for both kinds are Nakhtamon and Wesermaatrenakht as non-title holders, while Repektuef and Hori as of Siptah’s reign, cf. P. Grandet, op. cit., 88-9; supra, 9.


(102) KRI V, 393: 5-6

(103) G. Loud, The Megiddo Itervies, 12; cf. supra, 1. He is not mentioned in KRI.

nsw r h3st nb / r t3 nb (ambassadors), we would consider that non-use of the title within this period had come into vogue in the Egyptian diplomacy at this time.

Conclusions:

We may sum up on the study of the remarkable Ramesside ambassadors as follows:

1. The majority of them are of military background, particularly the charioteers. That would eventually go in with the social mobilization in the 19th. and 20th Dynasties where the new military class became part of the aristocracy. Being in the charioteers would facilitate their application of their expertise on the external routes as well as their administrative skills (105).

2. Apart from the few examples stated in the text above who refer to their precise missions, the majority give no details in their accounts. This might be either to keep with the Ramesside funerary vogue which replaced the detailed autobiographies of the officials by religious sentiments (106), or because of the secrecy of diplomatic affairs which might prompt us to suggest that they had strict commands not to disclose them.

3. The allusion to certain regions such as Kush, Khor, Khatti and the Western border might mean that the ambassador’s mission was restricted to these regions specifically perhaps only once, while those with general reference may have had the experience of traveling many times and to many areas.

4. Valloggia’s view which consider the embassy “to every land”; r t3 nb as a designation of the Northern region (107), would support the present writer’s viewpoint which considers the diplomatic affairs of Siptah were oriented mainly towards the South. Since all of his ambassadors qualified their titles with r-h3swt-nb rather than r-t3-nb.

5. So long as the ambassadors were essentially active outside the Egyptian borders, it is obvious that their tasks were vitally affected by the international circumstances either warlike or peaceful. Moreover, because of the difference in nature of the Egyptian diplomacy towards Kush and the Levant, the missions to Kush seem rather executive than negotiative; e.g. the installation of the viceroys.

6. The few exceptions of the high promotion of ambassadors after achieving their tasks, such as Paser, Iluy, Parehotep and Hori would imply a certain importance of their missions. The clue of this view, however, is derived from Huy’s career as such.

7. The recognition of the sign ▲ in the titles of Ramesside ambassadors (royal envoys), would appear to be useful to some extent in dating them and their contemporaries in the late years of Ramesses II up to the end of the 19th. Dynasty.

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(105) Cf A. Kadry, Officers and Officials in the New Kingdom, 148-55; A. R. Schulman, Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom, 81-6; B. Kemp, Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt, 20; LA IV, 289.


8. The sequence of the career titles of each ambassador as stated in the texts is insignificant in pointing out an order of his successive posts.

9. Among the extensive documentation on ambassadors, only one example so far reflects the inheritance of the title of “ambassador”, (i.e. Hori and his son Webekhsenu).

10. Although “ambassador” remained a title rather than a rank or position, the distinction between it and the internal “royal envoy” (or courier) should be adopted for study reasons.
Table 1.- Ambassadors as classified in the text above.

(**) refers to special missions cited in their texts.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reign</th>
<th>Ambassador’s name</th>
<th>Title- Spelling</th>
<th>Other Titles and Career</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2- Djhouty-mes?</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>Scribe, high steward, chief of granaries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramesses II</td>
<td>3- Three lost names of the delegation for the silver tablet of the treaty.</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>For the first one only: Lieutenant of chariots.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4- Ptah-em-wia</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>Scribe of the Royal Harem, scribe of the offering table.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5- Huy**</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>Noble, count, viceroy, chief minister in Nubia, Fan bearer on the King's right hand, troop commander, superintendent of horse of his Majesty, 1st lieutenant of chariots, troop commander in Nile, overseer of gold of Amon, superintendent of stable of the Residence of the Hall of audience of Ramesses-Meramon, R. scribe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6- Paser</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>Subordinate, viceroy of Nubia, superintendent of Southern desert land, fan bearer on the King's right hand, chief of works in Pi-Ramesses, royal scribe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7- (Pa)-Rehotep**</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>Noble, count, great chief, chamberlain of the Lord of the Two Land in the halls of Jubilees, city governor, vizier, festival leader of Jubilees for his Lord.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8- Sety</td>
<td>![Image]</td>
<td>R. scribe, chief of horse of the Lord of Two Lands, personal attendant of the Lord of Two Lands, overseer of chariots, 1st charioteer of his Majesty, troop commander.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
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<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Sutyemhab</td>
<td>1st charioteer of his Majesty.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Menkheper</td>
<td>Superintendent of horse of the Lord of Two Lands.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Herti</td>
<td>Stablemaster.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Tjunuroy?</td>
<td>Excluded for the uncertain restoration of his ambassadorial title.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Huy</td>
<td>???</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Nakhtunothu</td>
<td>Stablemaster of the great stable of Ramesses II.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Meryu°</td>
<td>Charioteer of his majesty.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Nakhtunnin</td>
<td>Chief stablemaster of his majesty, fan bearer in the King’s right hand, troop commander of Kush.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Meryatum</td>
<td>Lieutenant of chariotsry of the Lord of Two lands in the Western border of the Delta.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ramses-sema-khazet</td>
<td>Deputy stablemaster of the residence of great stable of Ramesses II, high steward in Memphis, festival leader of all gods.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Amenumone</td>
<td>Charioteer, superintendent of horse, principal troop commander, chief of works of Royal monuments, chief of Medja-militia, soul priest of Royal statue.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Naya</td>
<td>Chief stablemaster of the Lord of Two Lands, overseer of the cattle.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Nui</td>
<td>1st charioteer of his Majesty, governor of foreign countries in the N./many countries</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Paenre&lt;sup&gt;8&lt;/sup&gt;</td>
<td>Governor of foreign countries of Khor, chief of archers, chief of medjay-militia, 1st charioteer of his Majesty, chief of works in the temple of Ramesses II in the estate of Amon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Nedjem</td>
<td>Chief of the granaries of the W. borders. R. scribe, great steward of the House.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rank</td>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------</td>
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<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24-</td>
<td>Heqa-Nekht</td>
<td>Noble, count, viceroy of Nubia, chancellor of King of U.L. Egypt (treasurer), fan bearer at the right of the King, chief of the S. foreign land.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25-</td>
<td>Amenemopet</td>
<td>Fan bearer at the King's right, 1st charioteer of his Majesty, governor of flat and hilly regions.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-</td>
<td>Wennufer</td>
<td>1st charioteer of his Majesty.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27-</td>
<td>Thothiotep</td>
<td>Chief of msbkhw of the ship contingent of his Lord Merenptah.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28-</td>
<td>Name lost?**</td>
<td>Fan bearer at the King's right hand.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29-</td>
<td>Yuy</td>
<td>Army lieutenant.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-</td>
<td>Kanakht</td>
<td>Lieutenant of chariots, troop commander.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-</td>
<td>Anhornakht</td>
<td>Troop commander, 1st charioteer of his majesty, troop commander of the chariots.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32-</td>
<td>Rekhechtuf**</td>
<td>Attendant of the Lord of Two Lands, 1st charioteer of his Majesty.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33-</td>
<td>Neferhor**</td>
<td>Wtḥ-priest of Moon-Thoth, scribe.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34-</td>
<td>Aipy**</td>
<td>1st charioteer of his Majesty, fan bearer on the King's right, R. scribe, treasurer, R. scribe of the record office of the King, high steward of the house of Amon.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35-</td>
<td>Hori**</td>
<td>1st charioteer of his Majesty, R. scribe, superintendent of S. deserts, viceroy in Kush.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36-</td>
<td>Webekhsenu</td>
<td>1st charioteer of his Majesty.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37-</td>
<td>Pahem-neter</td>
<td>Stablemaster.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38-</td>
<td>Djhuty-ms(w)</td>
<td>Stablemaster.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>