



---

---

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  $\Delta$ , (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 chariotry [...], 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,

---

(6) A. Spalinger, *Hittite Treaty between Egypt and Hatti*, **SAK** 9 (1981), 321-2; **KRI** II, 228; **RITA** II (1996), 81; W. Murnane, *The Road to Kadesh*, **SAOC** 42, Chicago; 2nd ed. (1990), 31-38.

(7) See I. Beit-Arieh, *Canaanites and Egyptians at Serabit El-Khadim*, in: A. F. Rainey (ed.), *Egypt, Israel, Sinai: Archaeological and Historical Relationships in the Biblical Period*, Tel-Aviv (1987), 65-6.

(8) M. Valloggia, *op. cit.*, 121-22: no. 66; J. Vandier, **Manuel III**, Paris (1958), 491, 522.

(9) L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten II*, Berlin (1825), 94-6, no. 549; cf. *infra*, Table I, 12.

(10) L. Borchardt, *op. cit.*, 95.

(11) See for further comparative examples **WB** I, 304: 9; **AEO** I, 26-7\*, D. Meeks, *Année Lexicographique I*, 87; *II*, 93; *III*, 67, Paris (1980-2); L. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian I*, Berkeley (1982), 29, 114.

(12) For the international policy of Ramesses II; see **CAH** II/2<sup>3</sup> (1982), 225-32; K. A. Kitchen, *op. cit.*, 43-95; *idem*, *Some New Light on the Asiatic Wars of Ramesses II*, **JEA** 50 (1964), 47ff.

(13) See for the functions of the “ambassadors” (Royal envoys) **LA** I, 846; **LA** IV, 289; M. Valloggia, *op. cit.*, 217.

(14) K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 75; cf. M. Valloggia, *op. cit.*, 266.

---

---

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 Sethirkhopshef 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 correspondances which qualified him to be as “ambassador” at the end of Ramesses II’s reign, since his title as diplomat is determined by  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 envoys “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).

(16) See K. A. Kitchen, *op. cit.*, 80-2; B. J. Kemp, *Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt (c. 1575-1087 B.C.)* in: P. Garnsey, C. Whittaker (eds.), *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, Cambridge (1978), 15-6.

(17) **KRI** III, 207; T. G. H. James, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae* 9, London (1970), 29-30, pl. 25: 25a.

(18) K. Bittel, *Hattusha: The Capital of the Hittites*, Oxford (1970), 126, updated fully by E. Edel, *Die Ägyptisch-Hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazkoi in Babylonischer und Hethitischer Sprache I-II*, Opladen (Westdeutscher Verlag) (1994), *passim*.

(19) H. Schmidt, *Foreign Affairs under Egypt’s “Dazzling Sun”*, **RdE** 44 (1993), 153-60; K. A. Kitchen, *Amenhotep III and Mesopotamia*, in: L. Cline (ed.) *Studies on the Reign of Amenophis III*, Wisconsin (Wisconsin Univ. Press), 1997, forthcoming; cf. for these examples and possible others before that reign A. Schulman, *Diplomatic Marriage in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, **JNES** 38 (1979), 77 ff.

(20) For the texts of the royal marriage and references see **KRI** II, 233-57; **RITA** II, 86-99; F. Pentore, *Il Matrimonio Interdinastico Nel Vicino Oriente Durante I Secoli XV-XIII*, Roma (1978), in: **OAC** 14, 33-46.

---

---

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 yemuat 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

---

(21) *KRI* III, 77-80.

(22) L. Habachi, *Four Objects Belonging to Viceroys of Kush*, *Kush* 9 (1961), 219 ff, fig. 5, pl.29; *idem*, *The Graffiti and Work of the Viceroys of Kush in the Region of Aswan*, *Kush* 5 (1957), 28-31, fig. 10, inscr. 25; *KRI* III, 79-80.

(23) *KRI* III, 80; L. Habachi, *Kush* 9 (1961), 220, fig. 5.

(24) *Ibid.*, 224.

(25) K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 83, 86, 242: chart 2; G. A. Reisner, *Vice Roys of Ethiopia*, *JEA* 6 (1920), 35: 8c.

(26) L. Habachi, *Kush* 9 (1961), 223.

(27) Cf. M. Vallogia, *Recherche sur les “Messagers”*, 253-5.

(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 Hishmi-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 *wꜣꜣꜣꜣ* with  $\triangle$  as used from the later years of Ramesses II, we 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.

(30) For the interrelations between the ancient Near Eastern powers in the relevant period see: **CAH** II/2<sup>3</sup> (1982), 252-7, 274-84; K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 240-1: chart 2; E. Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East, I*, London (Routledge), (1995), 207-9, 214-7, 263.

(31) K. Bittel, *Hattusha*, 129-30; K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 90-1.

(32) **KRI** II, 282-3; **RITA** II, 110-12; F. Pintore, *Il Matrimonio*, 46; K. A. Kitchen & G. A. Gaballa, *Ramesside Varia II*, **ZAS** 96 (1969), 14-8; cf. A. Schulman, **JNES** 38 (1979), 192-3.

(33) B. Kemp, *Imperialism and Empire in New Kingdom Egypt*, 16.

(34) Cf. K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 135.

(35) **KRI** III, 74-7.

(36) **KRI** III, 65:9.

(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 chariotry” (42). His chariotry 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 chariotry since he held also the titles of “1st. charioteer of his majesty” and “lieutenant of chariotry” (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 Sutyemhab 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).

---

(39) A. Weil, *Die Viziere des Pharaonen-Reiches*, Leipzig (1908), 96: no. 22.

(40) J. von Bekerath, *Tanis und Thebe: Historische grundalen der Ramessidenzeit in Ägypten*, in *Ägyptologische Forschungen* 16, Gluckstadt (1951), 60; H. De Meulenaere, *CdE* 41 (1966), 230; cf K. A. Kitchen & G. A. Gaballa, *ZAS* 96 (1969), 18.

(41) *KRI* III, 241.

(42) J. Yoyotte, *Trois Généraux de la XIX<sup>e</sup> Dynastie*, *OR* 23 (1954), 228- 31.

(43) *KRI* III, 246; F. Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos*, London (1925), pl. 31:2.

(44) Petrie suggested that Sutyemhab was born when Ramesses II was Crown-Prince and Sety I's corregent. But he has confused the name of Seth (Suti) in Sutyemhab's name with that of Sety I; see *ibid.*, 11-12.

(45) *KRI* III, 240-1, 847.

(46) A. R. Schulman, *Military Rank, Title and Organization in the Egyptian New Kingdom*, in: *MAS* 6, Berlin (1964), 57, 86.

---

---

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 *wpyw-nsw [r ḥ3st 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 chariotry at the Residence. He would, then, very fittingly, have

---

(47) Herti is not included in *KRI*; thus see M. Vallogia, *Recherche sur les “Messagers”*, 146: no. 96.

(48) See and cf. L. Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten IV*, Berlin (1934), 58-9: no. 1105; L. Habachi, *Khata‘ na-Qantir: Importance*, *ASAE* 52 (1954), 498-9; *KRI* III, 479-80; *RITA* III, forthcoming (1996/7); M. Vallogia, *op. cit.*, no. 89.

(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 *Wpwtjw* 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-AI Rakham a few kilometers from Marsa Matrouh (57), to quell the probable Libyan and Sherden threat. Thus, the Royal envoy (Ambassador) there should be acquainted with these areas to fulfill his missions after the triumphant King succeeded to control this Western area since his regnal 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  $\text{𓂏}$  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-khaset who had both a military and civil career as “Deputy stablemaster of the Residence of the great stable of Ramesses II, high steward in Memphis, festival leader of all gods” (61).

---

(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)-Nht(w)*, see M. Valloggia, *op. cit.*, 137: no. 85.

(56) M. Cramer, *Ägyptische Denkmäler im Kestner-Museum zu Hannover*, **ZAS** 72 (1936), 96-8, pl.viii:l; **KRI** III, 143.

(57) **CAH** II/2<sup>3</sup> (1982), 230; **KRI** II, 471-5; A. Kadry, *Officers and Officials in the New Kingdom*, *Studia Aegyptiaca VIII*, Budapest (1982), 136; L. Habachi, *The Military Posts of Ramesses II on the Coastal Road and Western part of the Delta*, **BIFAO** 80 (1980), 13-30. The University of Liverpool is undertaking since 1994 an excavating work in the Ramesside fort site at Zawyet Um-AI Rakham, see L. Giddy, in: *Egyptian Archaeology No. 6* (1995), 28.

(58) K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 67; **CAH** II/2<sup>3</sup> (1982), 230.

(59) See *supra*, 4.

(60) **CAH** II/2<sup>3</sup> (1982), 230-1; K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 95; W. Murnane, *The Kingship of the Nineteenth Dynasty: A Study in the Resilience of an Institution*, in: D. O’Connor, D. Silverman (eds.) *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, New York (1995), 185-217.

(61) **KRI** III, 240. He is not included in M. Valloggia’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 “1st. charioteer of his Majesty ..., and governor of foreign countries in the Northern/ many foreign countries” (66). While the second is Paenre<sup>C</sup> 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.

(63) **KRI** III, 272-77; **KRI** VII, 128; J. Lipinska, *Inscriptions of Amenemone from the Temple of Thutmosis III at Deir-el Bahari*, **ZAS** 96 (1969), 29; G. A. Gaballa, K. A. Kitchen, *Ramesseum Varia I*, **CdE** 43 (1968), 236-9.

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

(65) **KRI** III, 410; M. Valloggia, *Recherche sur les “Messagers”*, 162-4, no. 119; H. De Meulenaere in: **CdE** 53 (1978), 84.

(66) **KRI** III, 239-40; E. F. Wente, *Two Ramesseum 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 publiées par les membres de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire, t. 8, fasc. 2, Paris (1893), 293: no. 228, 315.

(69) **KRI** III, 270-1; C. F. Nims, *A Stela of Penre<sup>C</sup>: 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 civil 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 envoys' 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.

(74) Cf. A. Rosenvasser, *Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Aksha by the Franco-Argentinian Archaeological Expedition, 1962-63*, **Kush** 12 (1964), 97.

(75) K. A. Kitchen, *Pharaoh Triumphant*, 99, 135, 240: chart 2; cf. **KRI** III, 69-73; M. Vallogia, *Recherche sur les "Messagers"*, 127: no. 72.

(76) See for Merenptah's foreign policy and its main events, **CAH** II/2<sup>3</sup> (1982), 232-33; **KRI** IV, 1-24, 33-41; F. Yurco, *3200-Year-as Picture if Israelites Found in Egypt*, **Biblical Archaeology Review**, 16/5 (Sep./Oct. 1990), 20-38; G. A. Wainright, *Some Sea Peoples and Others in the Hittite Archives*, **JEA** 25 (1939), 148-53; *Idem.*, *Merenptah's Aid to the Hittites*, **JEA** 46 (1960); 24 ff; K. Bittel, *Hattusha*, 130; cf. A. B. Knapp, *Thalassocracies in Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean trade: making and braking a myth*, in *World Archaeology* 24/3 (1993), 336-7.

(77) J. B. Pritchard, **ANET** (1950), 258-9; **CAH** II/2<sup>3</sup> (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/2<sup>3</sup> (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 Stelae* 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; **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.

(85) Cf. **KRI** IV, 194- 340.

(86) See for the Queen Tawoseret and Siptah, **CAH** II/2<sup>3</sup> (1982), 238-9, 949-50; J. Vandier, *Ramses-Siptah*, **RdE** 23 (1971), 172-6.

---

---

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

Yuy, Kanakht and Anhornakht are of the latter group. The first ambassador Yuy was an “army lieutenant” (88). The second one is Kanakht, whose titles are of high military rank as “lieutenant of chariotry 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 chariotry” (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 “w<sup>c</sup>b-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 inspectoral 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 viceroys 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 Webekhsenu 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. Valloggia, *Recherche sur les “Messagers”*, 154-5: no. 108. The sign  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. xli; *KRI* IV, 378.

(90) *KRI* IV, 375:10; Valloggia does not date him in a specific Ramesside reign, cf. M. Valloggia, *“Recherche sur les “Messagers”*, 157-8: no. 113.

(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.

(96) *KRI* IV, 364: 13-4, 365: 4-5, 10; M. Valloggia, *“Recherche sur les “Messagers”*, nos. 104-6.

(97) D. Randall-Maciver, C. L. Woolley, *Buhen I*, 38; T. M. Davies, *The Tomb of Siptah*, xxiii; *KRI* IV, 364: 14.

(98) G. Reisener, *JEA* 6 (1920), 48-50; *KRI* IV, 365: 9.



---

---

*nsw r ḥ3st 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 chariotary. 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 chariotry would facilitate 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-ḥ3swt-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, Iuy, 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.

(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.

(106) Cf M. Abdul-Qader, *The Development of the Funerary Beliefs and Practices Displayed in the Private Tombs of the New Kingdom at Thebes*, Cairo (1966), 263.

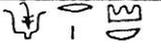
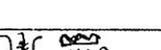
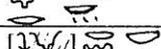
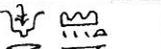
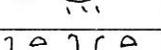
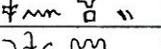
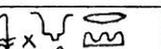
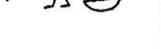
(107) M. Valloggia, "Recherche sur les "Messagers", 265.

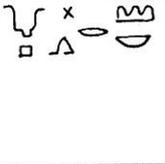
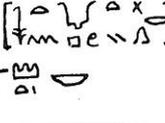
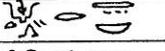
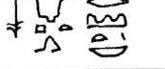
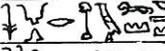
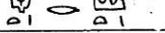
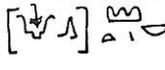
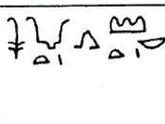
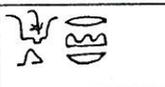
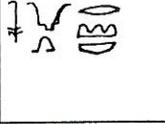
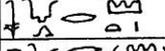
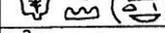
- 
- 
8. The sequence of the career titles of each ambassador as stated in the texts is insignificant in pointing out an order of his successive posts.
  9. Among the extensive documentation on ambassadors, only one example so far reflects the inheritance of the title of “ambassador”, (*i.e.* Hori and 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.

Reign	Ambassador's name	Title- Spelling	Other Titles and Career
Sety I	1- °Asha-Hebu-Scd**		Troop commander, Royal butler.
	2- Djhouy-mes ?		Scribe, high steward, chief of granaries.
Ramesses II	3- Three lost names of the delegation for the silver tablet of the treaty .**		For the first one only: Lieutenant of chariotry.
	4- Ptah-em-wia		Scribe of the Royal Harem, scribe of the offering table.
	5- Huy**		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 chariotary, troop commander in Sile, overseer of gold of Amon, superintendent of stable of the Residence of the Hall of audience of Ramesses-Meramon, R. scribe
	6- Paser		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.
	7- (Pa)-Relhotep**		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".
	8- Sety		R. scribe, chief of horse of the Lord of Two Lands, personal attendant of the Lord of Two Lands, overseer of chariotry, 1st charioteer of his Majesty, troop commander.

9-	Sutyemhab		1st charioteer of his Majesty.
10-	Menkheper		Superintendent of horse of the Lord of Two Lands.
11-	Herti		Stablemaster.
12-	Tjunuroy?		Excluded for the uncertain restoration of his ambassadorial title.
13-	Huy		???
14-	Nakhtmonthu		Stablemaster of the great stable of Ramesses II.
15-	Meryu		Charioteer of his majesty.
16-	Nakhtmin		Chief stablemaster of his majesty, fan bearer in the King's right hand, troop commander of Kush.
17-	Meryatum		Lieutenant of chariotry of the Lord of Two Lands in the Western border of the Delta.
18-	Ramses-sema-khaset		Deputy stablemaster of the residence of great stable of Ramesses II, high steward in Memphis, festival leader of all gods.
19-	Amenemone		Charioteer, superintendent of horse, principal troop commander, chief of works of Royal monuments, chief of Medja-militia, soul priest of Royal statue.
20-	Naya		Chief stablemaster of the Lord of Two Lands, overseer of the cattle.
21-	Nui		1st charioteer of his Majesty, governor of foreign countries in the N./many countries
22-	Paenre°		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.
23-	Nedjem		Chief of the granaries of the W. borders. R. scribe, great steward of the House.

	24- Heqa-Nekht		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.
<b>Merenptah</b>	25- Amenemopet**		Fan bearer at the King's right, 1st. charioteer of his Majesty, governor of flat and lilly regions.
	26- Wennufer		1st charioteer of his Majesty.
	27- Thuthotep		Chief of <i>mskbw</i> of the ship contingent of his Lord Merenptah.
<b>Siptah</b>	28- Name lost?***		Fanbearer at the King's right hand.
	29- Yuy		Army lieutenant.
	30- Kanakht		Lieutenant of chariotry, troop commander.
	31- Anhornakht		Troop commander, 1st charioteer of his majesty, troop commander of the chariotry
	32- Rekhpehtuf**		Attendant of the Lord of Two Lands, 1st charioteer of his Majesty.
	33- Neferhor**		<i>W<sup>b</sup></i> -priest of Moon-Thoth, scribe.
	34- Aipy**		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.
	35- Hori**		1st charioteer of his Majesty, R. scribe, superintendent of S. deserts, viceroy in Kush.
	36- Webekhsenu		1st charioteer of his Majesty.
<b>Ramesses III</b>	37- Pahem-ncter		Stablemaster.
	38- Djhuty-mis(w)		Stablemaster.