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The present article is concerned with the title hrp ʿḥ, Inspector of the Palace, and its holders during the Old Kingdom. The title belongs among those that were incorporated quite frequently into the titularies of officials related in some way to the king or his court in the Early Dynastic and the Old Kingdom periods. Its earliest attestations date from the Early Dynastic period, but most of its holders lived during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. The title enjoyed the greatest popularity during the Fifth Dynasty.

Burial stelae of several officials bearing this title date from the Early Dynastic period. They are known from Abydos (Setka – the reign of Djer, Jp – the reign of Den, Apermaa – the reign of Merneit, ... nuka – the reign of Semerkhet), Sabef and Djeserka – the reign of Qaa, and Merka from Saqqara (the reign of Qaa) [see Figs. 1-2]. It is interesting to note that nearly all of them originated from Abydos and date exclusively from the First Dynasty. The official Merka is the only known holder of this title from Saqqara. This is probably due to the fact that the Abydos cemetery still preserved its prestigious position during this period (this is indicated, above all, by the royal tombs at Umm...
Another interesting feature is the parallel occurrence of this title at Abydos and Saqqara during the reign of Qaa (Sobef and Djeserka at Abydos, and Merka at Saqqara).

Following the period of the Second and Third Dynasties from which there are no known instances of the title, it reappears at the beginning of the Fourth Dynasty. Its Old Kingdom holders are known from the pyramid cemeteries at Giza, Saqqara, Dahshur and Abu Roash. As this title has not been discussed in detail before, I shall give a list of its holders first and then discuss its particular features. I will show that the titles and their diachronic distribution convey major differences between the Fourth and Fifth Dynasty officials in terms of their rank and position in society.

Fig. 1: Burial stelae of Setka (1a) and Ip (1b) from Abydos [after Petrie, *Royal Tombs 1*, Pls. XXXI, Nr. 8 – stele of Setka; Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, Pl. XXXI, Nr. 23 – stele of Ip].

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Catalogue

This catalogue lists forty-five holders of the title hrp 'h in chronological order. It might be useful to remember them [for their titles see Table I]:

The Fourth Dynasty

– Akhtihotep
Giza, G 7650, Khufu – Khephren;⁴
– Kanefer
presumably from Giza, Khufu – Radjedef;⁵
– Khufukhaf I
Giza, G 7130-40, Khufu – the end of the Fourth Dynasty;⁶

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⁴ Careddu, Museo Barracco, Tav. 2; PM III², 1, p. 200.
⁶ W. K. Simpson, The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II. [Giza Mastabas, 3], Boston 1978, pp. 9-20; Pls. XV-XX. PM III², 1, p. 188.
Anonymous (perhaps Khnumbaf or Babaf)\textsuperscript{7}
Giza, G 7310-20, Khufu – the end of the Fourth Dynasty;\textsuperscript{8}
- Babaf (Khnumbaf)
Giza, middle to end of the Fourth Dynasty;\textsuperscript{9}
- Yunmin (Fig. 3)
Giza, the end of the Fourth Dynasty;\textsuperscript{10}
- Yunre
Giza, the end of the Fourth Dynasty;\textsuperscript{11}
- Sekhemkare
Giza, LG 89, Khephren to the early Fifth Dynasty;\textsuperscript{12}
because of his high ranking titles he is probably approximately contemporary with the preceding three persons;
- Kaemsekhem
Giza, G 7660, the late Fourth Dynasty;\textsuperscript{13}
- Seshathotep [I.]
Giza, G 5150, the late Fourth Dynasty;\textsuperscript{14}
- Kanefer
Dahshur, Mastaba Nr. 28, the late Fourth Dynasty;\textsuperscript{15}

\textbf{Fig. 3:} Doorway lintel from the tomb of Yunmin [after Hassan, \textit{Giza VII}, 17, Fig. 10].

\textsuperscript{8} For the titles see N. Strudwick, \textit{The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom}, London 1985, pp. 168-169, No. 170 (unpublished).
\textsuperscript{9} Hassan, \textit{Giza VII}, p. 7; \textit{PM III}\textsuperscript{2}, 1, p. 239.
\textsuperscript{10} Hassan, \textit{Giza VII}, p. 13; \textit{PM III}\textsuperscript{2}, 1, p. 237.
\textsuperscript{12} \textit{LD II}, pp. 41-42; Hassan, \textit{Giza IV}, p. 107, Fig. 54; p. 118, Fig. 63; \textit{PM III}\textsuperscript{2}, 1, p. 233.
\textsuperscript{13} \textit{LD II}, p. 32; \textit{PM III}\textsuperscript{2}, 1, pp. 201-220.
\textsuperscript{14} \textit{LD II}, p. 23; Junker, \textit{Giza II}, p. 182, Abb. 28; for dating see p. 174; \textit{PM III}\textsuperscript{2}, 1, p. 149 (early Fifth Dynasty).
\textsuperscript{15} De Morgan, \textit{Fouilles a Dahchour en 1894-1895}, p. 23, Fig. 54 and \textit{BM Hierogl. Texts P}, Pl. 9, Nr. 2 (BM 1345). \textit{PM III}\textsuperscript{2}, 2, p. 893.
The Title Inspector of the Palace during the Egyptian Old Kingdom

The Fifth Dynasty

- Debeheni
  Giza, LG 90, the early Fifth Dynasty;
- Kaunesut
  Giza, the late Fourth or early Fifth Dynasty;
- Merib
  Giza, G 2100, the early Fifth Dynasty;
- Kaneser
  Giza, G 2150, the early Fifth Dynasty;
- Tjenty
  Giza, G 4920 (LG 47), the early Fifth Dynasty or later;
- Kaninisut [I.]
  Giza, G 2155, the early Fifth Dynasty;
- Seshemnefer [I.]
  Giza, G 4940, the reign of Sahure or Neferirkare;
- Nenkhefetka
  Saqqara, D 47, the reign of Sahure or later;


17 Römer, Titulatur und Herkunft, pp. 47-48; Borchardt, Statuen und Statuette I, p. 123, Bl. 39. PM III², 1, p. 3.

18 LD II, pp. 35-36; for the earlier dating see PM III², 1, p. 235, time of Menkaure. There are, however, at least two features which contradict such an early dating and favour his early Fifth Dynasty origin: 1) the occurrence of the titles of ħrp 'h and ħrj-nfr-hšt, which are otherwise characteristic of the Fifth Dynasty. The title of ħrj-nfr-hšt does not occur prior to the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty and the title of ħrp 'h is during the Fourth Dynasty obviously associated with the persons of a high social rank, like ħrj-pʿt, hštj-ʿ and/or tštj tšt j n ʒb. 2) The offering list on the wall in his chapel is also typical of the lists of the Fifth Dynasty and does not seem to occur earlier, see Barta, Opferliste, p. 48ff. (Listentyp A). I tend, therefore, to modify even the dating suggested by Barta (Opferliste, p. 47, suggesting the late Fourth to early Fifth Dynasty date) and to place the tomb at the very beginning of the Fifth Dynasty.

19 Hassan, Giza II, p. 75; p. 82, Fig. 86; p. 85, Fig. 89. PM III², 1, p. 274.


21 Reisner, Giza Necropolis I, Fig. 257; p. 438, Fig. 258; PM III², 1, p. 77.

22 Reisner, Giza Necropolis I, 214; LD II, p. 30; PM III², 1, p. 141.

23 Junker, Giza II, 159; PM III², 1, p. 78.

24 LD II, 27 and 29; PM III², 1, p. 142.

25 Mariette, Mastabas, 304-309; PM III², 2, pp. 580-581.
- Nefer  
Giza, LG 99, the middle Fifth Dynasty or later; 26
- Kaemneferet  
Giza, the middle Fifth Dynasty or later; 27
- Kai  
Saqqara, perhaps the middle of the Fifth Dynasty; 28
- Djadjaemankh  
Abusir, reign of Neuserre – the end of the Fifth Dynasty; 29
- Ptahshepses  
Abusir, the reign of Neuserre; 30
- Hemakhty  
Abusir, son of Ptahshepses, the reign of Neuserre or slightly later; 31
- Kaemrehu  
Saqqara, tomb C 25, the middle of the Fifth Dynasty or later; 32
- Setju  
Giza, G 4710, the Fifth Dynasty; 33
- Rawer  
Giza, the reign of Neferirkare or later; 34
- Wepemneferet  
Giza, the middle to late Fifth Dynasty; 35
- Mesa (the father of Khuiwer)  
Giza, the middle Fifth Dynasty; 36
- Mernefu  
Abusir, the reign of Isesi; 37
- Tjenty (for his dating see below)  
Saqqara, tomb B1, the middle of the Fifth Dynasty or later; 38

26 Hassan, Giza III, p. 200; PM III², 1, p. 258.
27 Hassan, Giza II, pp. 104-105; p. 109, Fig. 116; p. 110, Fig. 117; p. 111, Fig. 118. PM III², 1, p. 263.
29 Martin, CAA Bremen, 1/18-20, block B 934; PM III², 1, p. 343; Borchardt, Neuserre, pp. 120-121; p. 121, Abb. 101.
31 Verner, Ptahshepses, p. 65, No. 69; p. 76, No. 95.
32 Mariette, Mastabas, p. 161. For the false-door see M. Jørgensen, Egypt I (3000–1550 B. C.) Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen 1996, pp. 64-65, ÄIN 1271. PM III², 1, 690 (according to Jorgensen, the reign of Djedkare – Unas).
33 Reisner, Giza Necropolis I, p. 521; PIs. 74 b and 75 b. PM III², 1, p. 135.
34 Hassan, Giza I, pp. 2-3; PM III², 1, p. 265.
35 Hassan, Giza II, p. 179; PM III², 1, p. 281.
36 Hassan, Giza V, p. 289; PM III², 1, p. 254.
38 Mariette, Mastabas, pp. 88-89; PM III², 1, p. 482. For the dating of Tjenty into the late
– Zaib
Giza, G 2092+2093, the reign of Isesi;\textsuperscript{39}
– Neferkui
Giza, G 2098, the reign of Isesi – Unas;\textsuperscript{40}
– Khuiwer
Giza, the end of the Fifth Dynasty;\textsuperscript{41}
– Rahotep, the end of the Fifth Dynasty [Fig. 4]
Abusir, tomb DD;\textsuperscript{42}
– Perneb
Saqqara, the end of the Fifth Dynasty;\textsuperscript{43}
– Niuty
Giza, the end of the Fifth Dynasty or later;\textsuperscript{44}
– Nikauradjedef,
Abu Roash, Tomb F 15, the end of the Fifth Dynasty or later;\textsuperscript{45}
– Kaemneferet
Giza, LG 63, the Fifth or the Sixth Dynasty;\textsuperscript{46}
– Hetepniptah
Giza, G 2430 (LG 25), the late Fifth Dynasty (?);\textsuperscript{47}


\textsuperscript{39} A. M. Roth, \textit{A Cemetery of Palace Attendants Including G 2084–2099, G 2230+2231, and G 2240} [Giza Mastabas, 6], Pls. 67a-b, 68c, 69a-b, 69c-d, Figs. 170, 171, 173a, 175a-b, 176a-b. \textit{PM} III\textsuperscript{2}, 1, p. 70, dated to the Sixth Dynasty.

\textsuperscript{40} A. M. Roth, \textit{Cemetery of Palace Attendants}, Pls. 105a, 109, Figs. 192, 196. \textit{PM} III\textsuperscript{2}, 1, p. 70 – not included.

\textsuperscript{41} M. Bárta, \textit{Tombs of the Middle- and Lower-Rank Officials at Abusir South}, Ph. D. Dissertation, Charles University, Prague 1997, pp. 161-175 and Fig. 4. 2.

\textsuperscript{42} \textit{PM} III\textsuperscript{2}, 1, p. 497; Williams, \textit{Perneb}, Pl. VI; Hayes, \textit{Scepter I}, p. 92, Fig. 51; p. 95, Fig. 53.

\textsuperscript{43} \textit{PM} III\textsuperscript{2}, 1, p. 133.

\textsuperscript{45} Bisson de la Roque, \textit{Abu Roash 1922–1923}, p. 29, Fig. 16; Pl. XI. \textit{PM} III\textsuperscript{2}, 1, p. 5.

\textsuperscript{46} \textit{LD} II, p. 91, b-c; \textit{PM} III\textsuperscript{2}, 1, p. 208.

\textsuperscript{47} \textit{LD} II, pp. 71-72; \textit{PM} III\textsuperscript{2}, 1, p. 94 dates this tomb into the Sixth Dynasty; nevertheless, the “Speisetischszene” in \textit{LD} II, p. 71b indicates its late Fifth Dynasty date. Besides this, the co-occurrence of the frj-ḥḥt-njswt and ḫntṣ-š titles equally supports the dating of the tomb into the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty – see Bárta, \textit{Middle- and Lower-Rank Officials}, Excursus D, pp. 295-314.
Fig. 4: False-door of Rahotep at Abusir
[Archive of the Czech Institute of Egyptology in Prague].
The Title Inspector of the Palace during the Egyptian Old Kingdom

The Sixth Dynasty:
- Merefnebef
Saqqara, the early Sixth Dynasty (the list of his titles in Table I is incomplete),

Uncertain:
- Nikaankh (CG 136)
Old Kingdom.

The chronological distribution of the holders of the title hrp 'h shows its increasing frequency during the Fourth Dynasty (13 out of 45), with the majority of its holders dated from the Fifth Dynasty (30). The beginning of the Sixth Dynasty represents a sharp break in comparison with the previous period and is marked by the title's sudden disappearance (only 1 attestation). During the Fourth Dynasty ten holders of this title were buried at Giza, two at Abu Roash and only one in Dahshur. None of them, though, was buried at Saqqara, and this is quite in accordance with the Fourth Dynasty policy which largely neglected this cemetery.

Surprisingly, this tendency remained virtually the same during the Fifth Dynasty although the loss of prestige of the Giza cemetery was evident. During this time, the majority of the Inspectors of the Palace continued to be buried at Giza (19). A considerably smaller number of them was buried at Abusir (3 plus the possible tomb of Hemakhty which has not yet been found), Saqqara (4) and Abu Roash (1). One would expect that the majority of these Fifth Dynasty officials would have preferred to be buried near the centre of government which was, at this time, undoubtedly in the close vicinity of the Saqqara-Abusir pyramid field.

This is in marked contrast to the officials holding the rank of vizier. Their example helps to explain the relationship between the burial place of the king and those of the highest officials. The spatial distribution of the tombs demonstrates that, unlike the Inspectors of the Palace and some others, the viziers were buried in the vicinity of their kings. This feature suggests a very close relationship between the burial place of the king and that of the vizier.

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50 Also the position of his tomb at Saqqara must be taken into account, see tomb H 14, Mariette, Mastabas, p. 457, although the attested titles and palaeography of the name of these two persons differ: " or " for Hemakhty from Abusir and " or " for Hemakhty from Saqqara.
Table I: A list of the most frequent titles attested in combination with the title
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<th>Keasrahu</th>
<th>Sutju</th>
<th>Rezar</th>
<th>Keenafarast</th>
<th>Masa</th>
<th>Meretu</th>
<th>Tjenty</th>
<th>Zau</th>
<th>Nefirekhi</th>
<th>Khuiwer</th>
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Inspector of the Palace (o - the Fourth, x - the Fifth and c - the Sixth Dynasty).
There are 69 viziers known from the Old Kingdom buried in pyramid fields.\(^{53}\) With exception of one vizier of the early Fourth Dynasty at Meidum (Nefermaat) and another at Dahshur (Kanefer), most of them were buried at Giza (12) during the Fourth Dynasty.

The Saqqara-Abusir cemeteries reached the peak of their importance in the Fifth Dynasty – altogether thirteen viziers built their tombs there (13 at Saqqara and 1 at Abusir) whereas only eight viziers were buried at Giza. This trend continued in the Sixth Dynasty when a remarkable number of twenty-three viziers was buried at Saqqara, one at Abusir, but only four at Giza.

The cemeteries close to the residence preserved a high degree of exclusivity during their main phase of activity. This determined the siting of tombs of lesser officials of the Fifth Dynasty in a less prominent necropolis at Giza, which had declined from its importance in the Fourth Dynasty. I shall show that Inspectors of the Palace now belonged to the category of these lesser officials during the Fifth Dynasty.

A closer look at titles associated with that of the Inspector of the Palace shows that there was a major difference in rank between its holders during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties (see Table I). Most of the Inspectors of the Palace during the Fourth Dynasty belonged to the élite of society (Babaf, Yunmin, Yunre, Sekhemkare). They usually hold titles like \(jrj-p^t\)\(^{54}\) (Khufukhaf I, Anonymous, Babaf, Yunmin, Sekhemkare, Seshathotep I, Kanefer, Setkai, Bakai), \(hstj-c\)\(^{55}\) (Anonymous, Babaf, Sekhemkare, Kanefer), \(t^3jtj\ \ t^3tj\ \ n\ \ z^3b\)\(^{56}\) (Anonymous, Khufukhaf I, Yunmin, Sekhemkare, Seshathotep I, Kanefer) and \(z^3\ \ njswt\ \ n\ \ htf\ \ smsw\) (Yunmin, Yunre, Sekhemkare, Kanefer, Setkai and Bakai). These titles suddenly disappear from the titularies of Inspectors of the Palace at the outset of the Fifth Dynasty.\(^{57}\)

Beside these high-ranking titles, there are others which were granted exclusively to the holders of the title Inspector of the Palace during the Fourth Dynasty. These are \(3-Dw^m\)\(^{58}\) (also held by the vizier Ptahshepses of the Fifth Dynasty), \(jmi-jz\)\(^{59}\) (connected with the service to the king) and \(htmw\)


\(^{54}\) Kaplony, “Iripat”, \textit{LA} III, pp. 178-180.

\(^{55}\) Helek, “Hatia”, \textit{LA} II, p. 1042.


\(^{57}\) For the title of \(z^3\ \ njswt\ \ n\ \ htf\ \ smsw\) see Schmitz, \textit{Königssohn}, pp. 65-79; Tab. 1, 334 a-b and Tab. 3, 336 a-b.

\(^{58}\) Probably a religious title, see Helck, \textit{Beamtenantitel}, p. 37.

Finally, most of the priestly titles \( \text{\textit{hm-nfr + god's name}} \) occurring in the titularies of Inspectors of the Palace are also limited to the period of the Fourth Dynasty. Three officials of the Fourth Dynasty (Khufukhaf I, Anonymous, Seshathotep I and Kanefer) had these titles included in their titularies. The deities which occur in these titles most frequently are Horus (in his various forms as \( \text{\textit{Hr mḥtj, nb Msn, km3-\textit{c}}} \), Seth, Sobdu, Bastet and Anubis. The most plausible explanation for their occurrence has been offered, namely that these priestly titles describe the nature of the service to the king, i.e., the duties of officials who were in charge of keeping the king’s regalia, garments and the like.\(^{62}\)

Although the titles of Akhtihotep do not suggest that he belonged to the class of top officials of the state, the position of his tomb in the East Field at Giza indicates his high status.\(^{63}\) Its location in the immediate vicinity of the tomb of Ankhaf (G 7510, reign of Khafre), Meresankh III (G 7540–7550, reign of Khufu-Shepseskaft), Kaemsekhem (G 7660, late Fourth Dynasty) and Duaenhor (G 7550, reign of Khufu-Menkaure) does not, in fact, allow a different interpretation.

The Fifth Dynasty, by contrast, was substantially different in regard to the previous period. During the Fifth Dynasty the holders of the title were usually associated with the offices and titles of lesser importance. Besides the fact that the most distinguished titles born by the Inspectors of the Palace of the Fourth Dynasty are completely missing (\( \text{\textit{jř-p’t, ḥ3ṭj-\textit{\textit{c}}, ṭ3ṭj ṭ3ṭj n z3b, ḣtmw bjtj}} \)), the titles of the middle and lower ranking officials prevail. Among those most frequently attested during the Fifth Dynasty are \( \text{\textit{smr}} \) and \( \text{\textit{smr w’tj, hrj-hb, hrj-hb hrj-tp, ṣ3-mr Dw3 Ḥr ḥntj pt, hrj-sšt3, hrj-sšt3 n pr-dw3t, hrj-tp Nh3, hrj-w’dḥ m ḥwt-\textit{\textit{ḥn}, jř-nfr-h3t}} \).

By far the largest group represents the variants of the \( \text{\textit{hrj-sšt3}} \) titles. The only title for which there is a clear Fourth Dynasty counterpart is \( \text{\textit{hrj-sšt3 n pr-dw3t}} \).\(^{64}\) This title, associated with the “Morning God” Dua,\(^{65}\) occurs both in the Fourth and Fifth Dynasty. During the Fourth Dynasty the title assumed the form of \( \text{\textit{ṣ3-Dw3}} \), occurred quite sporadically, and was associated exclusively with persons of the high social rank (princes).\(^{66}\) During the Fifth Dynasty, the

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\(^{60}\) This title is during the Fourth Dynasty attested also by vizier Nikaure – \( \text{LD II, p. 15.} \) See also Strudwick, \( \text{\textit{Administration}, p. 311; p. 310, Tab. 30.} \)

\(^{61}\) Attested from the reign of Den onwards – see a cylinder seal of Setka (S 3506) – Kaplony, \( \text{\textit{IAF III}, Taf. 49, pp. 182-185.} \) For the reading of this title see now H. G. Fischer, \( \text{\textit{\textit{On the Reading of Some Old Kingdom Titles}}}, \) in: \( \text{\textit{Egyptian Studies III. Varia Nova, New York 1996, pp. 50-52.} \)

\(^{62}\) Helck, \( \text{\textit{Beamtentitel}, p. 92;} \) Helck, \( \text{\textit{Thinitenzeit}, pp. 215 and 227.} \)

\(^{63}\) Helck, \( \text{\textit{Beamtentitel}, p. 41.} \)

\(^{64}\) PM \( \text{III², I, Plan XVIII.} \)

\(^{65}\) A. M. Blackman, \( \text{\textit{The House of the Morning}, JEA V, 1918, pp. 148-165.} \)

\(^{66}\) Otto, \( \text{\textit{Duai, LÄ I, p. 1147; Otto, Duawer, LÄ I, pp. 1147-1148; Otto, Duawer, LÄ I, p. 1151.} \)
title was probably changed to hrj-sšt that part of these various titles referred to the duties executed in the part of the palace where the king’s morning toilet took place. Generally speaking, the hrj-sšt part of these various titles referred to the duty of the officials to keep the secrets of the palace.

The title of hrj-wd b m hwr-nḫ was related both to priests with the duty to recite formulae during the offering ceremonies in the tombs, and to officials employed at the king’s court with responsibility for the feasting of the king. The same secular nature can be attributed to the title of jrj-nfr-hšt that appears only at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty. Its holders were, above all, stewards, hairdressers, and manicurists, executing their offices at court. The same association is apparent in hrj-tp, “chamberlain”, a title connected with food administration. The title ḍ-mr Dw3 Ḥr ḫntjpt responsible for supplies of wine for the king and his residence can be similarly interpreted. Regarding the role of Inspectors of the Palace, it seems logical, given the evidence above, that this title remained functional down to the end of the Fifth Dynasty. If it had an additional, symbolic meaning, it was on account of the personal service which its holders performed for the king.

The main change seen in state administration during the Fifth Dynasty is its ‘individualisation’, either intentional or spontaneous. Many prestigious positions were assumed by officials of non-royal origin (a trend well reflected in the office of the vizier). This situation is also seen in titles linked to Inspectors of the Palace during the Fifth Dynasty (see above). Their large numbers may have been required to define the precise nature of their duties.

The vizier Ptahshepses was the only exception to this rule during the Fifth Dynasty. Beside the title hrp ḫ, he also bore the titles hštj- and tšjtj tšjtj n z3b, i.e., those that are in this combination otherwise attested only during the Fourth Dynasty. This results from the exceptional position of Ptahshepses at the royal court of king Neuserre which was the result of his marriage to the royal daughter Khamerernebty.
Major change in palace administration occurred at the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty and was heralded by the sudden disappearance of the title Inspector of the Palace. This was probably connected with important changes which were about to take place in state administration. These probably had in turn a considerable impact on officials entrusted and associated with the administration of the king’s palace. Of course, this does not necessarily imply that the need for an office managing the palace became redundant. I would like to argue that this function was incorporated among the duties of the Sixth Dynasty viziers. This is attested in the vizirate from the late Middle or early New Kingdom and described in the Duties of the Vizier.

One has to remember, however, that the residence of the king referred to in the Duties is pr-njswt. Pr-njswt was not only the royal residence but also the “administrative apparatus” (including individual offices and administrative units) as a whole. The apparent terminological difference between the Old Kingdom term ‘ḥ and the term pr-njswt in the Duties may have been the result of Early Dynastic tradition. At that time it was the palace of the king (termed ‘ḥ) that was essential for administration of the country and this Early Dynastic policy may have found its reflection during the Old Kingdom in the form of the title hrpr ‘ḥ.

With the steady weakening of the central authority it seems possible that Sixth Dynasty viziers assumed some of the duties, which had previously been assigned to lower officials. The change in palace administration could have also been influenced by the transfer of the Sixth Dynasty residential area close to the Sixth Dynasty royal graveyard at South Saqqara. Another factor may have been the increasing influence of the provincial officials in the country’s administration. The dominant role played by the viziers in palace administration would then be a mere response to this development. The dominance of the vizier’s office during the Sixth Dynasty would thus have been a result of the struggle of the king to limit and control the increasing independence and power of the officials.

The first indication of this newly pursued policy are the titles from the tomb of the vizier Merefnebef recently discovered at Saqqara. His titles show that he had executed the duty of an Inspector of the Palace before he was promoted to the office of the vizier. Therefore, his titles represent a “missing link” between lower ranking Inspectors of the Palace in the Fifth Dynasty and the viziers of

84 This trend is noticeable already at the end of the Fifth Dynasty, probably during the reign of Djedkare and during the rule of Teti, see N. Kanawati, *Governtmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, London 1980, pp. 11-28.
the Sixth Dynasty. Some of Merefnebef’s titles relate to the preceding period (ia*j-nfr-h3t, hrj-wdb m ḫw.t-‘nh, hrj-sšt3 n pr-dw3t) whereas others are identical with titles held by the Inspectors of the Palace during the Fourth Dynasty period (ia*j-p‘t, h3tj-‘, tštj tštj n z3b).

The summary of titles associated with Inspectors of the Palace during the Fifth Dynasty shows clearly the main aspects of this office: to take care of the personal service to the king, of his person, dress and crowns, feasting, daily supplies to his palace and the like. This is a picture similar to that known from the later composition of the Duties of the Vizier. In this light, therefore, the hypothesis that the title of Inspector of the Palace was incorporated in the duties of the viziers already during the Sixth Dynasty seems quite likely. This was probably a reaction to the Fifth Dynasty policy in administration which proved inefficient in terms of the state authority and enabled an undesirable rise in bureaucracy; this in turn instigated profound changes in the vertical hierarchy of the state apparatus.

The very high frequency of these titles during the Fifth Dynasty requires some explanation. Assuming that the Fifth Dynasty lasted for 158 years, each of the thirty holders would have stayed in his office for five years on average. This period may have been even shorter since we cannot be sure there were no other holders of this title during the Fifth Dynasty. In one case we are informed that one of the sons of the Abusir vizier Ptahshepses, Hemakhty, was probably appointed to the office of hrp 3h as a young man. This might indicate that the office was one of the first steps on the way to higher office. It was probably associated with young officials who, after gaining appropriate experience at court, were appointed to higher posts. In fact, several sons of the vizier Ptahshepses started their careers at court:

- most of them bore the title hm-jzt (Kahotep, Ptahshepses Junior I and II, Hemakhty, Nisuked);
- in addition to this, Ptahshepses Junior II was also appointed ia*j-nfr-h3t and Hemakhty hrp 3h. All these titles show close affinity of their holders to the king.

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85 Mysliwiec, Nowe oblicza Sakkary, Pls. 27b, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 39, 41, 42, 45, 53, 54.
87 Helck, Politische Gegensätze, 20.
90 Verner, Ptahshepses, 65, No. 69; 76, Nos. 94-95.
91 For the general discussion see Verner, Ptahshepses, 43-45, Pls. 24-25, Photos 38-40, Doorway between Room 3 and 4 – South wall; 92-97, Pl. 51, Photos 87-88, Room 10 – East wall; 98-103, Pl. 54, Photo 94, Room 10 – North wall.
92 Verner, Ptahshepses, 65, No. 69; 76, Nos. 94-95.
Ptahshepses's sons were people of a distinguished origin and high social status, and they started the trend leading to the reappearance of the high officials at the king’s court by the end of the Fifth Dynasty (i.e., within the following 40-60 years, or so\(^93\)) and towards an attempt to consolidate (i.e., to centralise) the administrative affairs of the state. Titularies of the Sixth Dynasty’s viziers including titles that were during the previous period reserved for the lesser officials (\(\textit{jmj-} \text{r} \text{ jzwj hkr} \text{t njswt}, \textit{jmj-} \text{r} \text{ swnw}, \textit{jrj-nfr-h3t}, \textit{hrj-sšt3}\) and its variants, \(\textit{hrj-sšt3 n pr-dw} \text{t}, \textit{hrp hwwt nt}, \textit{hrp šnqj} \text{t nbt}\)), provide the most reliable evidence for this.

I suggest, therefore, that the process of gradual loss of central control and royal authority was already discernible several decades before the end of the Fifth Dynasty. This assumption can be further supported by an increasing number of exemption documents from the second half of the Fifth Dynasty onwards.\(^94\) All this shows that these changes started under Neuserre. Moreover, it was during Neuserre’s reign that a new high administrative office was introduced,\(^95\) the \(\textit{jmj-} \text{r} \text{ Šm} \text{w}, “\text{Overseer of Upper Egypt}”\),\(^96\) This was one of the steps preceding the office of the vizier.\(^97\) K. Baer suggested that the introduction of the title was due to the increasing power of the provincial officials,\(^98\) whereas E. Martin-Pardey believes that the reason for its introduction was probably a reform of the tax administration.\(^99\) In any case, it represented one of the major innovations during the Fifth Dynasty. Also, the reason for its existence can be seen in an attempt to restore the central authority. The changes which can be seen in the title Inspector of the Palace make perfect sense within such a historical framework.

Appendix

Remarks on the date of tomb MM BJ, tomb of Tjenty, at Saqqara

Saqqara tomb B1, of Tjenty, usually dated from the Fourth to Sixth Dynasties, presents serious dating problems. The following criteria can be used:
1. the position of the tomb in the cemetery and its architectural features,
2. the titles preserved on the false-door,

\(^93\) Beckerath, \textit{Chronologie}, 188.
\(^95\) The official Kai is the oldest holder of this title known so far, see Strudwick, \textit{Administration}, pp. 142-144.
\(^97\) Helck, \textit{Beamtentitel}, p. 109. Strudwick, \textit{Administration}, pp. 308-309, Tab. 29. In his table, Kai and Kashepses are not included so that Strudwick’s number of Overseers of Upper Egypt who became viziers amounts to nine only.
\(^98\) Baer, \textit{Rank and Title}, p. 301.
3. the scene of a funerary repast and its iconography and, 
4. the statue of Tjenty kept in the Louvre.

ad 1.:

The position of the tomb of Tjenty within a clearly delineated cluster of tombs to the north of the Djoser’s Step Pyramid complex favours the hypothesis that these tombs could be roughly contemporary. The following tombs are in its close vicinity:

- C 18 (72) of Tjenty, the middle Fifth Dynasty or later;¹⁰⁰
- D 13 (73) of Shepsy, probably the early Fifth Dynasty;¹⁰¹
- D 12 (74) of Niankhsetkhat, the reign of Sahure;¹⁰²
- D 10 (75) of Tepemankh I, the end of the Fifth Dynasty or the Sixth Dynasty;¹⁰³
- D 11 (76) of Tepemankh II, the middle of the Fifth Dynasty;¹⁰⁴
- D 9 (77) of Meruka, the Fifth Dynasty;¹⁰⁵
- D 70 (LS 15) of Pehenuika, the middle of the Fifth Dynasty or later.¹⁰⁶

Therefore, the location of Tjenty’s tomb at Saqqara exclusively among those of the Fifth Dynasty suggests that they are of the same date, most likely the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty. Moreover, virtually no tombs of the Fourth Dynasty are known at Saqqara. The great majority of the Fourth Dynasty officials were buried at Giza whereas Saqqara burial ground fell into disuse and become once again popular only at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty.

The true cruciform chapel of the tomb, with a serdab situated to the south of it, shows strong affinities with early Fourth Dynasty tombs at Saqqara and Meidum when this layout was at stake. Nevertheless, a short revival of this layout also occurred in Giza tombs during the Fifth Dynasty.¹⁰⁷

ad 2.:

The titles of Tjenty are as follows: *jrj-jht-njswt, wcb Nmty, hrp *h, *mj-r *h, *hm-ntr Hwfw, *hm-ntr Hnm hntj Hr-wr m jswtf nbt, nfr jdw, *mj-r mS, *mj-r wpwt, htmw ntr, hrp *prw nfrw*. The title of the priest of Khufu represents the

¹⁰¹ *PM III*, 2, 482. Baud, *OrMonsp. IX*, p. 75.
¹⁰² *PM III*, 2, 482. Baud, *OrMonsp. IX*, p. 76.
¹⁰⁵ *PM III*, 2, 484. Baud, *OrMonsp. IX*, p. 76.
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ante quem non limit for its dating. The considerable number of Tjenty's titles also favours a date in the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty.109 Moreover, the Fourth Dynasty holders of the military title of Overseer of the Army were of a very high rank.110 This does not, however, apply to Tjenty. His military titles (\textit{jmj-r mŠ}, \textit{htmw ntr}, \textit{brp 'prw nfrw}) indicate that Tjenty was also concerned with the leadership of royal expeditions.114 The title of Overseer of Orders (\textit{jmj-r wpwt}) seems to have been connected with high state offices during the Fourth Dynasty.115 Chronological distribution of all these titles suggests a Fifth Dynasty date. Also the known attestations of the god Nemty (read also Anty) are dated exclusively to the Fifth or Sixth Dynasties.116

\textbf{ad 3.:}

The height of the loaves placed on the offering table reaches the owner's shoulders and is therefore to be classified as a stage c in their development, dated by N. Cherpion to the Fifth Dynasty down to the reign of Unas.117 The motif of the tomb owner and his wife seated at opposite sides of an offering table seems to belong to the Fifth Dynasty, with no clear precursors in the Fourth Dynasty.118 Relatively earlier is the offering formula on the false-door containing W. Barta's "Bitte 2". It occurs in Egyptian tombs from the Fourth Dynasty onwards.119 However, the "Speisetischszene" on the false-door, with the offer-

\begin{footnotes}
108 For dating of Tjenty into the reign of Khufu see N. Cherpion, \textit{Mastabas et Hypogées d'Ancien Empire. Le Probleme de la datation}, Bruxelles 1989, p. 225 (Index IA) and Ziegler, \textit{Statues}, pp. 150-151 (Khufu-Radjedef).
109 The same opinion was expressed by Baer, \textit{Rank and Title}, pp. 295 and 240, Tab. 1 who despite dating of Tjenty into the mid Fourth Dynasty or later (p. 154, No. 569) suggests that his titles conform to the second half of the Fifth Dynasty.
117 Cherpion, \textit{Mastabas et Hypogées}, pp. 47; 46, Fig. 32c; M. Báta, "Archaeology and Iconography: \textit{bdβ} and \textit{prt} bread moulds and \textit{Speisetischszene development in the Old Kingdom}", \textit{SAK} 22, 1995, p. 25 (Stage iii).
118 Harpur, \textit{Tomb Decoration}, pp. 79, 5. 3. 8. 8.
\end{footnotes}
ing formula and reduced offering list, is typical of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties.\textsuperscript{120}

ad 4.:

The statue of Tjenty displays features which belong to the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty, too\textsuperscript{121}:

- the shoulder length wig resting only slightly on the back of the statue;\textsuperscript{122}
- the ears only partially exposed under the wig;\textsuperscript{123}
- the relatively large head, the large wide eyes, the pinched waist and poorly modelled muscles;\textsuperscript{124}
- the well modelled knees and clear curve of the shinbone;\textsuperscript{125}
- the removal of negative space between the body and the limbs.\textsuperscript{126}

To round up the discussion above, the majority of the criteria used here support the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty as the most plausible date of the tomb of Tjenty.

\textsuperscript{120} Barta, \textit{Opferliste}, p. 59.
\textsuperscript{121} For the complete photographic documentation of the statue see Ziegler, \textit{Statues}, pp. 148 (frontal view), 149 (side views), 150 (back view) and 151 (details).
\textsuperscript{123} Cherpion, \textit{La statuaire}, p. 105.
\textsuperscript{126} Russmann, \textit{Second Style}, p. 272.
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