

ARCHÍV ORIENTÁLNÍ

Quarterly Journal of African and Asian Studies

Founded in 1929 by Bedřich Hrozný

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The Title Inspector of the Palace during the Egyptian Old Kingdom*

Miroslav Bárta, Praha

The present article is concerned with the title *hrp* 'h, Inspector of the Palace, and its holders during the Old Kingdom.¹ 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,² 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

* The abbreviations used throughout the footnotes conform to the rules of *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* (eds. W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf, Wiesbaden 1975–1992). This article was written with support of the Czech Academy of Sciences Grant Agency, Postdoctoral Grant No. 404/98/PO87. I am indebted to Ph.D. J. Malek and J. Jakeman for correcting the English of my article.

¹ Helck, "Palastverwaltung", *LÄ IV*, pp. 647–650. For the term 'h as a palace of the king, his residence, see the discussion by E. Martin-Pardey, "Das 'Haus des Königs' pr-nswt", in: D. Kessler, R. Schulz, eds., *Gedenkschrift für Winfried Barta*, Mainz am Rhein 1995, p. 269.

² Kaplony, *IÄF I*, p. 365; A. J. Spencer, *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities in the British Museum V. Early Dynastic Objects*, London 1980, No. 11, p. 16, Pl. 6; stele of Setka: Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, Pls. XXXI, Nr. 8 (Z 8) and XXXIV; stele of Ip: Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, Pl. XXXI, Nr. 23 (T) and XXXIV; Apermaa: Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, Pl. XXXI, Nr. 18 (Y); stele of ... nuka: Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, Pl. XXXI, Nr. 29 (U) and XXXV and Djeserka: Kaplony, *IÄF III*, Taf. 89, Abb. 336. In addition, there is also a stele of Sabef dated to the reign of Qaa and showing that he was *hrp* official in charge of two kings' palaces, see Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, Pl. XXX; Vandier, *Manuel I*, 2, p. 732; 733, Fig. 489. For the person of Sabef see Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, pp. 228–229 and recently also G. Dreyer et al., "Umm el-Qaab. Nachunter-suchungen im frühzeitlichen Königsfriedhof. 7./8. Vorbericht", *MDAIK* 52, 1996, pp. 75–76; 76, Abb. 28 and Taf. 15. For the stele of Merka from Saqqara tomb 3505 dated to the reign of Qaa see Emery, *Great Tombs III*, Pls. 23b and 39.

el-Qaab).³ Another interesting feature is the parallel occurrence of this title at Abydos and Saqqara during the reign of Qaa (Sabef 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.

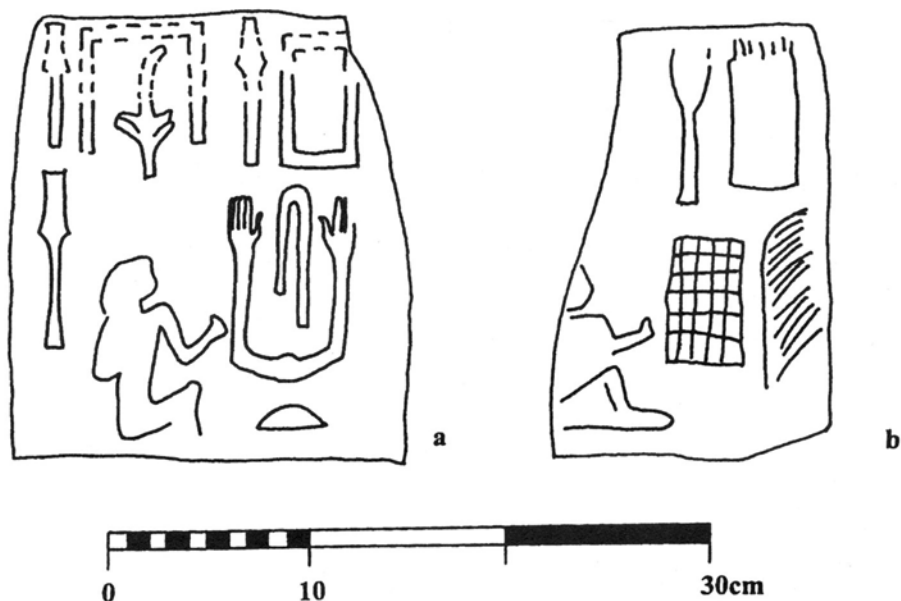


Fig. 1: Burial stelae of Setka (1a) and Ip (1b) from Abydos [after Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, Pls. XXXI, Nr. 8 – stela of Setka; Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, Pl. XXXI, Nr. 23 – stela of Ip].

³B. Kemp, "Abydos and the Royal Tombs of the First Dynasty", *JEA* 52, 1966, pp. 13-22; B. Kemp, "The Egyptian 1st Dynasty royal cemetery", *Antiquity* 41, 1967, pp. 22-32; recently also: Di. Arnold, *Lexikon der ägyptischen Baukunst*, Zürich 1994, pp. 12-13 and Di. Arnold, "Royal Cult Complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms", in: B. E. Shafer, ed., *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, London, New York 1997, pp. 32-40.



Fig. 2: Burial stela of Sabef from Abydos [after Petrie, *Royal Tombs I*, Pl. XXX].

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

⁴ Careddu, *Museo Barracco*, Tav. 2; *PM III*², 1, p. 200.

⁵ Chr. Ziegler, *Les Statues Égyptiennes de l'Ancien Empire*, Paris 1997, E 6854 (A 120), pp. 100-104.

⁶ W. K. Simpson, *The Mastabas of Kawab, Khafkhufu I and II*. [Giza Mastabas, 3], Boston 1978, pp. 9-20; Pls. XV-XX. *PM III*², 1, p. 188.

- Anonymous (perhaps Khnumbaf or Babaf)⁷
Giza, G 7310-20, Khufu – the end of the Fourth Dynasty;⁸
- Babaf (Khnumbaf)
Giza, middle to end of the Fourth Dynasty;⁹
- Yunmin (Fig. 3)
Giza, the end of the Fourth Dynasty;¹⁰
- Yunre
Giza, the end of the Fourth Dynasty;¹¹
- Sekhemkare
Giza, LG 89, Khephren to the early Fifth Dynasty;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;¹³
- Seshathotep [I.]
Giza, G 5150, the late Fourth Dynasty;¹⁴
- Kanefer
Dahshur, Mastaba Nr. 28, the late Fourth Dynasty;¹⁵

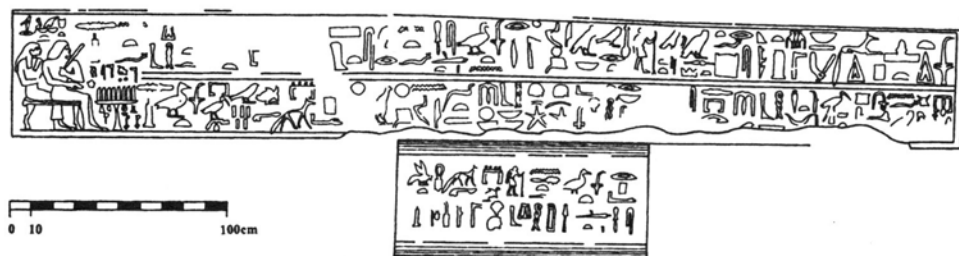


Fig. 3: Doorway lintel from the tomb of Yunmin [after Hassan, *Giza VII*, 17, Fig. 10].

⁷ See W. K. Simpson, "Topographical Notes on Giza Mastabas", in: *Fs. Edel*, pp. 492-493.
⁸ For the titles see N. Strudwick, *The Administration of Egypt in the Old Kingdom*, London 1985, pp. 168-169, No. 170 (unpublished).
⁹ Hassan, *Giza VII*, p. 7; *PM III*², 1, p. 239.
¹⁰ Hassan, *Giza VII*, p. 13; *PM III*², 1, p. 237.
¹¹ Hassan, *Giza VI*, 3, 31; *PM III*², 1, 243. For dating of Yunre into the Fifth Dynasty see now study by P. János, "Gab es Kronprinzen in der 4. Dynastie? 'Kronprinz' Yunre", *GM* 158, 1997, pp. 15-32.
¹² *LD II*, pp. 41-42; Hassan, *Giza IV*, p. 107, Fig. 54; p. 118, Fig. 63; *PM III*², 1, p. 233.
¹³ *LD II*, p. 32; *PM III*², 1, pp. 201-220.
¹⁴ *LD II*, p. 23; Junker, *Giza II*, p. 182, Abb. 28; for dating see p. 174; *PM III*², 1, p. 149 (early Fifth Dynasty).
¹⁵ De Morgan, *Fouilles a Dahchour en 1894-1895*, p. 23, Fig. 54 and *BM Hierogl. Texts I*, Pl. 9, Nr. 2 (*BM* 1345). *PM III*², 2, p. 893.

– Setkai

Abu Roash, the Louvre (E. 12631, E. 12629), the Fourth Dynasty;¹⁶

– Bakai

Abu Roash, Cairo, the Fourth Dynasty;¹⁷

The Fifth Dynasty

– Debeheni

Giza, LG 90, the early Fifth Dynasty;¹⁸

– Kaunesut

Giza, the late Fourth or early Fifth Dynasty;¹⁹

– Merib

Giza, G 2100, the early Fifth Dynasty;²⁰

– Kanefer

Giza, G 2150, the early Fifth Dynasty;²¹

– Tjenty

Giza, G 4920 (LG 47), the early Fifth Dynasty or later;²²

– Kaninisut [I.]

Giza, G 2155, the early Fifth Dynasty;²³

– Seshemnefer [I.]

Giza, G4940, the reign of Sahure or Neferirkare;²⁴

– Nenkhefetka

Saqqara, D 47, the reign of Sahure or later;²⁵

¹⁶ M. Römer, *Zum Problem von Titulatur und Herkunft bei den Ägyptischen "Königssöhnen" des Alten Reiches*, Diss. Berlin 1977, 46; *Un siècle de fouilles françaises en Égypte 1880–1980*, Le Caire 1981, pp. 50–51, No. 55. *PM III*², 1, p. 3.

¹⁷ Römer, *Titulatur und Herkunft*, pp. 47–48; Borchardt, *Statuen und Statuetten I*, p. 123, Bl. 39. *PM III*², 1, p. 3.

¹⁸ *LD II*, pp. 35–36; for the earlier dating see *PM III*², 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 *hrp* 'h and *jrj-nfr-h3t*, which are otherwise characteristic of the Fifth Dynasty. The title of *jrj-nfr-h3t* does not occur prior to the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty and the title of *hrp* 'h is during the Fourth Dynasty obviously associated with the persons of a high social rank, like *jrj-p't*, *h3tj-*' and/or *t3jtj t3tj n z3b*. 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 III*², 1, p. 274.

²⁰ *LD II*, pp. 19–22; Junker, *Giza II*, p. 132.

²¹ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, Fig. 257; p. 438, Fig. 258; *PM III*², 1, p. 77.

²² Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 214; *LD II*, p. 30; *PM III*², 1, p. 141.

²³ Junker, *Giza II*, 159; *PM III*², 1, p. 78.

²⁴ *LD II*, 27 and 29; *PM III*², 1, p. 142.

²⁵ Mariette, *Mastabas*, 304–309; *PM III*², 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 III*², 1, p. 258.

²⁷ Hassan, *Giza II*, pp. 104–105; p. 109, Fig. 116; p. 110, Fig. 117; p. 111, Fig. 118. *PM III*², 1, p. 263.

²⁸ Dia Abou-Ghazi, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire Nos. 57001–57100. Denkmäler des Alten Reiches III. Altars and Offering Tables. fasc. 2: Nos. 57024–57049*, Le Caire 1980, p. 41, CG 57048; Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 144, No. 137.

²⁹ Martin, *CAA Bremen*, 1/18–20, block B 934; *PM III*², 1, p. 343; Borchardt, *Neuserre*, pp. 120–121; p. 121, Abb. 101.

³⁰ M. Verner, *Abusir I. The Mastaba of Ptahshepses. Reliefs I/1–2*, Prague 1986, p. 107, No. 162; p. 119, No. 183.

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, AIN 1271. *PM III*², 1, 690 (according to Jørgensen, the reign of Djedkare – Unas).

³³ Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, p. 521; Pls. 74 b and 75 b. *PM III*², 1, p. 135.

³⁴ Hassan, *Giza I*, pp. 2–3; *PM III*², 1, p. 265.

³⁵ Hassan, *Giza II*, p. 179; *PM III*², 1, p. 281.

³⁶ Hassan, *Giza V*, p. 289; *PM III*², 1, p. 254.

³⁷ Excavation of the Czech Institute of Egyptology at Abusir, Exc. Nos. 2/E/78, 3/E/78.

³⁸ Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 88–89; *PM III*², 1, p. 482. For the dating of Tjenty into the late

- Zaib
- Giza, G 2092+2093, the reign of Isesi;³⁹
- Neferkui
- Giza, G 2098, the reign of Isesi – Unas;⁴⁰
- Khuiwer
- Giza, the end of the Fifth Dynasty;⁴¹
- Rahotep, the end of the Fifth Dynasty [Fig. 4]
- Abusir, tomb DD;⁴²
- Perneb
- Saqqara, the end of the Fifth Dynasty;⁴³
- Niuty
- Giza, the end of the Fifth Dynasty or later;⁴⁴
- Nikauradjedef,
- Abu Roash, Tomb F 15, the end of the Fifth Dynasty or later;⁴⁵
- Kaemneferet
- Giza, LG 63, the Fifth or the Sixth Dynasty;⁴⁶
- Hetepniptah
- Giza, G 2430 (LG 25), the late Fifth Dynasty (?);⁴⁷

Fourth Dynasty see Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 153, Nr. 569; Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 26; for the late Fourth – early Fifth Dynasty date see H. G. Fischer, “A Scribe of the Army in a Saqqara Mastaba of the Early Fifth Dynasty”, *JNES* XVIII, 4, 1959, p. 255. E. Eichler in his *Untersuchungen zum Expeditionswesen des ägyptischen Alten Reiches*, GOF IV. 26, 1993, p. 230, Tab. 21, No. 39, prefers a Sixth Dynasty date. For the same dating of Tjenty into the Sixth Dynasty see P.-M. Chevereau, “Contribution à la prosographie des cadres militaires de l’Ancien Empire et la Première Période Intermédiaire (A – Titres militaires)”, *RdE* 38, 1987, p. 20, No. 52. For the position of his tomb see W. S. Smith, “Topography of the Old Kingdom Cemetery at Saqqarah”, in: Reisner, *Tomb Development*, Appendix C, p. 404, No. 71 (B1) and *PM* III², 2, Pl. XLVI. For the latest discussion of the person of Tjenty and its date see Ziegler, *Les Statues*, Nr. 41 (statue of Tchenti, E 10776), pp. 148-151, early Fourth Dynasty, reign of Khufu – Radjedef.

³⁹ A. M. Roth, *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. *PM* III², 1, p. 70, dated to the Sixth Dynasty.

⁴⁰ A. M. Roth, *Cemetery of Palace Attendants*, Pls. 105a, 109, Figs. 192, 196. *PM* III², 1, p. 70 – not included.

⁴¹ Hassan, *Giza V*, p. 240, Fig. 100; *PM* III², 1, p. 254.

⁴² M. Bárta, *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.

⁴³ *PM* III², 1, p. 497; Williams, *Perneb*, Pl. VI; Hayes, *Scepter I*, p. 92, Fig. 51; p. 95, Fig. 53.

⁴⁴ *PM* III², 1, p. 133.

⁴⁵ Bisson de la Roque, *Abu Roash 1922–1923*, p. 29, Fig. 16; Pl. XI. *PM* III², 1, p. 5.

⁴⁶ *LD* II, p. 91, b-c; *PM* III², 1, p. 208.

⁴⁷ *LD* II, pp. 71-72; *PM* III², 1, p. 94 dates this tomb into the Sixth Dynasty; nevertheless, the “Speisetischzene” in *LD* II, p. 71b indicates its late Fifth Dynasty date. Besides this, the co-occurrence of the *jrj-jht-njswt* and *hntj-š* titles equally supports the dating of the tomb into the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty – see Bárta, *Middle- and Lower-Rank Officials*, Excursus D, pp. 295-314.

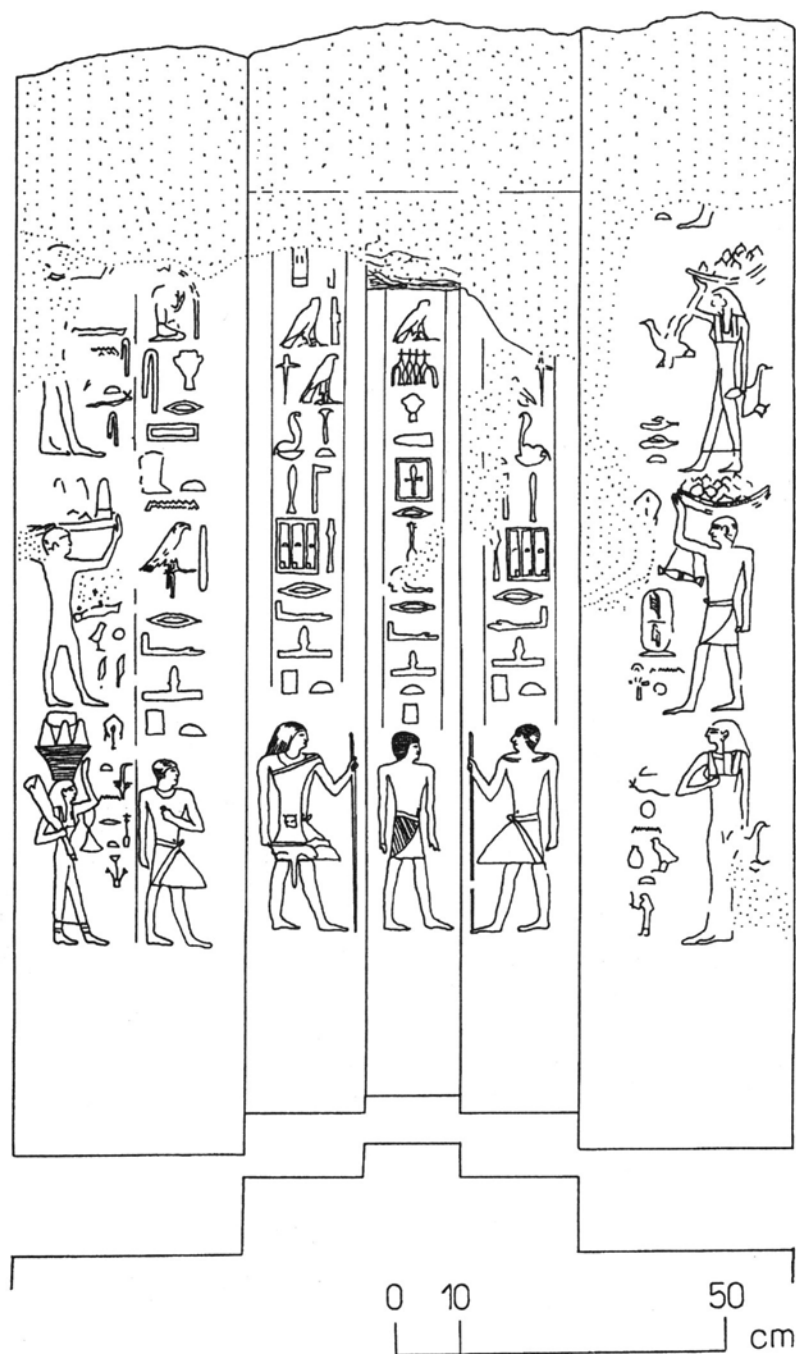


Fig. 4: False-door of Rahotep at Abusir
[Archive of the Czech Institute of Egyptology in Prague].

The Sixth Dynasty:

–Merefnebef

Saqqara, the early Sixth Dynasty (the list of his titles in Table I is incomplete);⁴⁸

Uncertain:

– Nikaankh (CG 136)

Old Kingdom.⁴⁹





The chronological distribution of the holders of the title *hrp ḥ* 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 found⁵⁰), 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,⁵¹ the viziers were buried in the vicinity of their kings.⁵² This feature suggests a very close relationship between the burial place of the king and that of the vizier.

⁴⁸ K. Myśliwiec, *Nowe oblicza Sakkary. Rewelacyjne odkrycia polskich archeologów w Egipcie*, Tuchowie 1998, pp. 11-15; Pls. 14-58.

⁴⁹ Borchardt, *Statuen I*, p. 101, *PM III*², 2, p. 723.

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   for Hemakhty from Saqqara.

⁵¹ A. M. Roth, "The Organisation of Royal Cemeteries at Saqqara in the Old Kingdom", *JARCE XXV*, 1988, pp. 201-214.

⁵² Junker, *Giza XII*, pp. 16-19; D. O'Connor, "Political systems and archaeological data in Egypt: 2600-1780 B. C.", *World Archaeology* 6, 1974, pp. 19-22; A. M. Roth, "Social Change in the Fourth Dynasty: The Spatial Organisation of Pyramids, Tombs, and Cemeteries", *JARCE XXX*, 1993, pp. 48-49.

<i>Titles/Officials</i>	Akhtihotep	Kanefer (Giza)	Khufukhaf I	Anonymous	Babaf	Yunmin	Yunre	Sehemkare	Kaemsekhem	Seshathotep I.	Kanefer	Setkai	Bakai	Debehani	Kaunesut	Merib	Kanefer	Tjenty (Giza)	Kaninisut I.	Seshemnefer I.	Nenhafetka	Nefer
<i>jmj-jz</i>				o	o			o		o	o											
<i>jmj-r k3t nb njswt</i>				o			o			o						x						
<i>jmj-r wpwt</i>		o								o							x					
<i>jrj-jht-njswt</i>										o						x				x		
<i>jrj-nfr-h3t</i>														x	x							
<i>jrj-p^ct</i>			o	o	o	o	o	o		o	o	o	o									
<i>ḥd-mr Dp</i>			o																x			x
<i>ḥd-mr n z3b</i>										o										x		
<i>ḥd-mr Dw3 Ḥr hntj pt</i>														x							x	
<i>ḥd-mr wh^c</i>										o						x						
<i>w^c wrw ḥb</i>			o							o	o								x			
<i>wr md Šm^cw</i>										o	o					x				x		
<i>wr m3^c Jwnw</i>										o	o					x						
<i>wt Jnpw</i>								o		o						x						
<i>mdw rhjt</i>											o	o										
<i>r P nb</i>				o							o					x			x			
<i>h3tj^c</i>				o	o		o	o			o											
<i>hm-nfr B3stt</i>				o						o	o											
<i>hk3 B3t</i>																		x	x			
<i>hm-nfr Ḥr Šth</i>										o												
<i>hm-nfr Ḥwfw</i>			o													x						x
<i>hrj-wdb m ḥwt^cnh</i>		o	o										o	x					x	x	x	
<i>hrj-sst3 n njswt (m jswtf nbt)</i>																				x		
<i>hrj-sst3 n njswt m ḥnw</i>																						
<i>hrj-sst3 (n jtf)</i>						o	o	o							x							
<i>hrj-sst3 n pr-dw3t</i>		o					o	o			o	o		x				x	x		x	
<i>hrj-sst3 n mdw nfr</i>																						
<i>hrj-sst3 n nbtf</i>																						
<i>hrj-sst3 n ntrf</i>																						
<i>hrj-sst3 st3w pr-ḥ3</i>																						
<i>hrj-tp Nhb</i>										o		o	x						x			
<i>hrj-tp njswt</i>										o										x		
<i>htmw wj3 ntr</i>										o						x						
<i>htmw bjtf</i>			o			o		o		o												
<i>hrj-hb</i>									o	o						x			x			
<i>hrj-hb n jtf</i>											o											
<i>hrj-hb hrj-tp (n jtf)</i>						o	o	o						x								
<i>z3 njswt</i>			o	o							o	o				x			x			
<i>z3 njswt n ḥtf</i>			o					o		o	o	o				x			x			
<i>z3 njswt n ḥtf smsw</i>						o	o	o			o	o										
<i>smr</i>	o									o	o	o				x	x		x	x	x	x
<i>smr w^ctj</i>		o	o	o	o		o			o	o	o	x			x	x	x	x		x	
<i>smr w^ctj n jtf</i>						o	o	o	o													
<i>smr w^ctj n mrwt</i>																						
<i>i3tj i3tj n z3b</i>			o	o		o		o		o	o											

Table I: A list of the most frequent titles attested in combination with the title

Titles/Officials	Kaemneferet	Kai	Djadjaemankh	Ptahahsepses	Hemakhty	Kaemrehu	Setju	Rawer	Wepenneferet	Mesa	Wernefu	Tjenty	Zaib	Neferkhu	Khuier	Rahotep	Perneb	Niuty	Nikauradjedef	Kaemneferet	Hetepnptah	Merefnepes
jmj-jz																						
jmj-r k3t nb njswt		x	x																			
jmj-r wpwt												x										
jrj-jbt-njswt												x										
jrj-nfr-h3t			x				x									x	x					c
jrj-p ^t																						c
g-mr Dp								x	x													
g-mr n z3b			x										x								x	
g-mr Dw3 Hr hntj pt	x					x		x	x		x							x				c
g-mr wh ^c	x																					
w ^c wrw hb			x					x														
wr m ^c Sm ^c w			x																			
wr m3 ^c Jwnw																						
wt Jnpw																						
mdw rhjt			x																			
r P nb																						
h3tj- ^c			x	x																		c
hm-nfr B3stt																						
hk3 B3t	x																					
hm-nfr Hr St ^h	x																					
hm-nfr Hwfw												x										
hrj-wqb m hwt- ^c nh	x	x	x	-		x	x		x	x	x	x			x	x						
hrj-sst3 n njswt (m jswtf nbt)			x																		x	c
hrj-sst3 n njswt m hnw														x								
hrj-sst3 (n jtf)						x		x													x	
hrj-sst3 n pr-dw3t		x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x					x	x				c
hrj-sst3 n mdw ntr		x	x					x								x						c
hrj-sst3 n nb ^f			x											x								
hrj-sst3 n ntr ^f											x											
hrj-sst3 st3w pr- ^c 3														x								
hrj-tp Nh ^b	x		x			x	x	x	x								x					c
hrj-tp njswt			x																			
htmw wj3 ntr												x										
htmw bj ^{tj}																						
hrj-hb		x	x					x													x	c
hrj-hb n jtf																						
hrj-hb hrj-tp (n jtf)			x																			
z3 njswt																			x			
z3 njswt n ht ^f																						
z3 njswt n ht ^f smsw																						
smr		x								x										x		c
smr w ^c tj	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x						x	x				c
smr w ^c tj n jtf																			x			
smr w ^c tj n mrwt		x				x		x	x		x							x				
t3tj t3tj n z3b			x																			c

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*⁵⁴ (Khufukhaf I, Anonymous, Babaf, Yunmin, Sekhemkare, Seshathotep I, Kanefer, Setkai, Bakai), *h3tj*⁵⁵ (Anonymous, Babaf, Sekhemkare, Kanefer), *t3jtj t3tj n z3b*⁵⁶ (Anonymous, Khufukhaf I, Yunmin, Sekhemkare, Seshathotep I, Kanefer) and *z3 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-Dw3w*⁵⁸ (also held by the vizier Ptahshepses of the Fifth Dynasty), *jmj-jz*⁵⁹ (connected with the service to the king) and *htmw*

⁵³ See Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 300-301 (Table 28). Tombs of five viziers are unknown. The figure includes also two only recently discovered tombs of viziers Qar (Czech Inst. of Egyptology, see V. G. Callender, M. Bárta, "A Family of Judges at Abusir South", *KMT* 7.2, 1996, pp. 32-39; M. Verner, "Excavations at Abusir. Seasons of 1994/95 and 1995/96", *ZÄS* 124, 1997, pp. 79-83) at Abusir and Merefnebef (Polish mission) at Saqqara both dated into the Sixth Dynasty (Myśliwiec, *Nowe oblicza Sakkary* and "A New Mastaba, a New Vizier", *Egyptian Archaeology* 13, 1998, pp. 37-39).

⁵⁴ Kaplony, "Iripat", *LÄ* III, pp. 178-180.

⁵⁵ Helck, "Hatia", *LÄ* II, p. 1042.

⁵⁶ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 134-142; Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 300-335; Martin-Pardey, "Wesir, Wesirat", *LÄ* VI, pp. 1227-1235.

⁵⁷ For the title of *z3 njswt n htf smsw* see Schmitz, *Königssohn*, pp. 65-79; Tab. 1, 334 a-b and Tab. 3, 336 a-b.

⁵⁸ Probably a religious title, see Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 37.

⁵⁹ For the term see Wb I, p. 127.2 – "Kammer o. ä. als Verwaltungsausdruck"; p. 127.4 – "Werkstatt"; p. 127.5 – "(Werkstatt) besonders für die Bereitung von Salben"; p. 127.7 – "Palast des Königs oder Teil desselben". *Jmj-jz* – Wb I, 127. 1 – "im Amts- und Priester- Titel

*bjtj*⁶⁰ ("treasurer", officials responsible for running and controlling the magazines of the king's residence).⁶¹ Finally, most of the priestly titles *hm-ntr* + 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 *Hr mhtj*, *nb Msn*, *km3-^c*), Seth, Sopdu, 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-Shepseskaf), 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 (*jrj-p^ct*, *h3tj-^c*, *t3jtj t3tj n z3b*, *htmw bjtj*), the titles of the middle and lower ranking officials prevail. Among those most frequently attested during the Fifth Dynasty are *smr* and *smr w^ctj*, *hrj-hb*, *hrj-hb hrj-tp*, *ḳ-mr Dw3 Hr hntj pt*, *hrj-sšt3*, *hrj-sšt3 n pr-dw3t*, *hrj-tp Nh3b*, *hrj-wdb m hwt-^cnh*, *jrj-nfr-h3t*.

By far the largest group represents the variants of the *hrj-sšt3* titles. The only title for which there is a clear Fourth Dynasty counterpart is *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 *ḳ-Dw3*, occurred quite sporadically, and was associated exclusively with persons of the high social rank (princes).⁶⁶ During the Fifth Dynasty, the

jmj-jz". This title is during the Fourth Dynasty attested also by vizier Nikaure – LD II, p. 15. See also Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 311; p. 310, Tab. 30.

⁶⁰ Attested from the reign of Den onwards – see a cylinder seal of Setka (S 3506) – Kaplony, *IAF III*, Taf. 49, pp. 182–185. For the reading of this title see now H. G. Fischer, "On the Reading of Some Old Kingdom Titles", in: *Egyptian Studies III. Varia Nova*, New York 1996, pp. 50–52.

⁶¹ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 92; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, pp. 215 and 227.

⁶² Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 41.

⁶³ PM III², 1, Plan XVIII.

⁶⁴ A. M. Blackman, "The House of the Morning", *JEA* V, 1918, pp. 148–165.

⁶⁵ Otto, Dua, *LÄ I*, p. 1147; Otto, Duai, *LÄ I*, pp. 1147–1148; Otto, Duawer, *LÄ I*, p. 1151.

⁶⁶ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 37.

title was probably changed to *hrj-sšt3 n pr-dw3t*.⁶⁷ This modified variant referred to the duties executed in the part of the palace where the king's morning toilet took place.⁶⁸ Generally speaking, the *hrj-sšt3* part of these various titles referred to the duty of the officials to keep the secrets of the palace.⁶⁹

The title of *hrj-wdb m hwt-ḥ* was related both to priests with the duty to recite formulae during the offering ceremonies in the tombs,⁷⁰ and to officials employed at the king's court with responsibility for the feasting of the king.⁷¹ The same secular nature can be attributed to the title of *jrj-nfr-ḥ3t* that appears only at the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty.⁷² Its holders were, above all, stewards, hairdressers, and manicurists, executing their offices at court.⁷³ The same association is apparent in *hrj-tp*, "chamberlain", a title connected with food administration.⁷⁴ The title *ḥd-mr Dw3 Hr hntjpt* responsible for supplies of wine for the king and his residence can be similarly interpreted.⁷⁵ 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.⁷⁶

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 vizier⁷⁷). 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 ḥ*, he also bore the titles *ḥ3tj-ḥ* and *t3jtj t3tj 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.⁷⁸

⁶⁷ For its Fourth and Fifth Dynasty holders see Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt*, p. 238.

⁶⁸ K. T. Rydström, "HRY SST3 'in Charge of Secrets'. The 3000-Year Evolution of a Title", *DE* 28, 1994, p. 65; N. Beaux, "La douat dans les Textes des Pyramides. Espace et temps de gestation", *BIFAO* 94, 1994, p. 5. For the astronomical association of Duat with the easter "morning" horizon see R. Krauss, *Astronomische Konzepte und Jenseitsvorstellungen in den Pyramidentexten*, ÄgAbh 59, Wiesbaden 1997, pp. 207-234.

⁶⁹ Helck, "Palastverwaltung", *LÄ* IV, p. 649.

⁷⁰ Junker, *Giza II*, p. 65.

⁷¹ A. H. Gardiner, "The Mansion of Life and the Master of the King's Largess", *JEA* XXIV, 83-91, p. 1938; H. Goedicke, "Titles for Titles", in: Sch. Allam, ed., *Grund und Boden in Altägypten*, Tübingen 1994, p. 234.

⁷² Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 42.

⁷³ M. Bárta, *Middle- and Lower-Rank Officials*, p. 164 with quotations.

⁷⁴ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 60 and Goedicke, "Titles for Titles", pp. 227-228.

⁷⁵ Zibelius, *Ägyptische Siedlungen*, pp. 204-206.

⁷⁶ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, pp. 32-33; Strudwick, *Administration*, p. 312.

⁷⁷ Martin-Pardey, "Wesir, Wesirat", *LÄ* VI, p. 1227.

⁷⁸ M. Verner, *Forgotten Pyramids, Lost Pharaohs. Abusir*, Praha 1994, pp. 173-192.

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.⁷⁹ 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.⁸⁰ This is attested in the vizirate from the late Middle or early New Kingdom and described in the Duties of the Vizier.⁸¹

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.⁸² 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 country⁸³ and this Early Dynastic policy may have found its reflection during the Old Kingdom in the form of the title *hrp 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.⁸⁴ 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

⁷⁹ Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 339-340, reforms of Djedkare.

⁸⁰ See Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 328-332.

⁸¹ G. P. F. van den Boorn, *The Duties of the Vizier. Civil Administration in the Early New Kingdom*, Studies in Egyptology, London 1988, p. 54 ff. and pp. 310-315.

⁸² See Martin-Pardey, "Haus des Königs", pp. 270-285.

⁸³ Kaplony, *IÄF* I, pp. 364-367; Helck, *Palastverwaltung*, *LÄ* IV, pp. 647-650; Helck, *Thinitenzeit*, pp. 212-221 (Die Entstehung der Verwaltung).

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, *Governmental Reforms in Old Kingdom Egypt*, London 1980, pp. 11-28.

the Sixth Dynasty.⁸⁵ Some of Merefnepf's titles relate to the preceding period (*jrj-nfr-h3t*, *hrj-wdb m hwt-^cnh*, *hrj-sšt3 n pr-dw3t*) whereas others are identical with titles held by the Inspectors of the Palace during the Fourth Dynasty period (*jrj-p^ct*, *h3tj-^c*, *t3jtj t3tj 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.⁸⁶ 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;⁸⁷ this in turn instigated profound changes in the vertical hierarchy of the state apparatus.⁸⁸

The very high frequency of these titles during the Fifth Dynasty requires some explanation. Assuming that the Fifth Dynasty lasted for 158 years,⁸⁹ 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^ch* as a young man.⁹⁰ 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 court⁹¹:

- 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 *jrj-nfr-h3t* and Hemakhty *hrp^ch*.⁹² All these titles show close affinity of their holders to the king.

⁸⁵ Myśliwiec, *Nowe oblicza Sakkary*, Pls. 27b, 28, 29, 32, 34, 35, 39, 41, 42, 45, 53, 54.

⁸⁶ D. M. Doxey, *Egyptian Non-Royal Epithets in the Middle Kingdom. A Social and Historical Analysis*, Leiden 1998, pp. 177-180, parallels some other early Middle Kingdom vizier titles with the later Duties of the Vizier. See also W. K. Simpson, "Mentuhotep, Vizier of Sesostri I, Patron of Art and Architecture", *MDAIK* 47, 1991 (Festschrift für W. Kaiser), pp. 331-340.

⁸⁷ Helck, *Politische Gegensätze*, 20.

⁸⁸ R. Müller-Wollermann, "Das ägyptische Alte Reich als Beispiel einer Weberschen Patrimonialbürokratie", *BES* 9, 1987/88, 33-39.

⁸⁹ J. von Beckerath, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten. Die Zeitbestimmung der ägyptischen Geschichte von der Vorzeit bis 332 v. Chr.*, MÄS 47, Mainz 1997, 155.

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 so⁹³) and towards an attempt to consolidate (i. e., to centralise) the administrative affairs of the state. Titularies of the Sixth Dynasty viziers including titles that were during the previous period reserved for the lesser officials (*jmj-r jzwj hkrt njswt*, *jmj-r šnwt*, *jrj-nfr-ḥ3t*, *hrj-sšt3* and its variants, *hrj-sšt3 n pr-dw3t*, *hrp ḥwwt nt*, *hrp šndjt 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 *jmj-r šmꜥw*, "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 B1, 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, *Chronologie*, 188.

⁹⁴ Goedicke, *Königliche Dokumente*, pp. 231–248.

⁹⁵ The official Kai is the oldest holder of this title known so far, see Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 142–144.

⁹⁶ Kees, *Provinzialverwaltung I*, 87; Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 109; Goedicke, H., "Zu *jmj-r3 šmꜥ* und *tp šmꜥ* im Alten Reich", *MIO IV*, 1, 1956, p. 1ff.; Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, p. 152.

⁹⁷ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 109. Strudwick, *Administration*, pp. 308–309, Tab. 29. In his table, Kai and Rashepses are not included so that Strudwick's number of Overseers of Upper Egypt who became viziers amounts to nine only.

⁹⁸ Baer, *Rank and Title*, p. 301.

⁹⁹ Martin-Pardey, *Provinzialverwaltung*, p. 55.

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 Niankhsakhmet, 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*, *w^cb Nmtj*, *hrp ^ch*, *jmj-r ^ch*, *hm-ntr Hwfw*, *hm-ntr Hnm hntj Hr-wr m jswtf nbt*, *nfr jdw*, *jmj-r mš^c*, *jmj-r wpwt*, *hmtw ntr*, *hrp ^cprw nfrw*. The title of the priest of Khufu represents the

¹⁰⁰ PM III², 2, p. 482. Now also M. Baud, "Aux Pieds de Djoser. Les mastabas entre fossé et enceinte de la partie nord du complexe funéraire", in: C. Berger, B. Mathieu, eds., *Études sur l'Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqâra dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer*, OrMonsp IX, Montpellier 1997, p. 75.

¹⁰¹ PM III², 2, 482. Baud, OrMonsp. IX, p. 75.

¹⁰² PM III², 2, 482. Baud, OrMonsp. IX, p. 76.

¹⁰³ PM III², 2, 483. Baud, OrMonsp. IX, p. 76.

¹⁰⁴ PM III², 2, 483. Baud, OrMonsp. IX, p. 76.

¹⁰⁵ PM III², 2, 484. Baud, OrMonsp. IX, p. 76.

¹⁰⁶ PM III², 2, 491. Baud, OrMonsp. IX, p. 75.

¹⁰⁷ See Y. Harpur, *Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*, London 1987, 315, Tab. 5. 1.

ante quem non limit for its dating.¹⁰⁸ 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 (*jmj-r mš*,¹¹¹ *htm w ntr*,¹¹² *hrp prw nfrw*¹¹³) indicate that Tjenty was also concerned with the leadership of royal expeditions.¹¹⁴ The title of Overseer of Orders (*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

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-

¹⁰⁸ For dating of Tjenty into the reign of Khufu see N. Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées d'Ancien Empire. Le Probleme de la datation*, Bruxelles 1989, p. 225 (Index IA) and Ziegler, *Statues*, pp. 150-151 (Khufu-Radjedef).

¹⁰⁹ The same opinion was expressed by Baer, *Rank and Title*, pp. 295 and 240, Tab. I 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.

¹¹⁰ Eichler, *Expeditionswesen*, p. 231.

¹¹¹ Eichler, *Expeditionswesen*, Tab. 21, pp. 224-230; Cheverau, *RdE* 38, 1987, pp. 14-21.

¹¹² Eichler, *Expeditionswesen*, Tab. 24, pp. 243-250; P.-M. Cheverau, *Contribution a la prosographie des cadres militaires de l'Ancien Empire et de la première Periode Intermédiaire (B – Titres nautiques)*, *RdE* 40, 1989, pp. 3-11.

¹¹³ Cheverau, *RdE* 40, 1989, pp. 24-28.

¹¹⁴ Helck, *Beamtentitel*, p. 101. Already Helck made the observation that Tjenty represents an exceptional case within the Fourth Dynasty title holders context, see *Beamtentitel*, p. 95. For the title of *nfr jd w* see H. G. Fischer, "The Inspector of Youths *NFR-N-HWFW*", *OMRO* 41, 1960, pp. 1-13.

¹¹⁵ M. Valloggia, *Recherche sur les „Messagers“ (WPWTYW) dans les sources Egyptiennes Profanes*, Genève 1976, 29-31; see also E. Martin-Pardey, "Gedanken zum Titel *ḥm.w*", *SAK* 11, 1984 (Fs Wolfgang Helck), p. 234.

¹¹⁶ Begelsbacher-Fischer, *Götterwelt*, p. 221.

¹¹⁷ Cherpion, *Mastabas et Hypogées*, pp. 47; 46, Fig. 32c; M. Bárta, "Archaeology and Iconography: *bdj* and *prt* bread moulds and „Speisetischszene development in the Old Kingdom", *SAK* 22, 1995, p. 25 (Stage iii).

¹¹⁸ Harpur, *Tomb Decoration*, pp. 79, 5. 3. 8. 8.

¹¹⁹ Barta, *Opferformel*, p. 9.

ing formula and reduced offering list, is typical of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties.¹²⁰

ad 4.:

The statue of Tjenty displays features which belong to the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty, too¹²¹:

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

¹²⁰ Bárta, *Opferliste*, p. 59.

¹²¹ For the complete photographic documentation of the statue see Ziegler, *Statues*, pp. 148 (frontal view), 149 (side views), 150 (back view) and 151 (details).

¹²² N. Cherpion, "La statuaire privée d'Ancien Empire: indices de datation", in: N. Grimal, (ed.), *Les critères de datation stylistiques à l'Ancien Empire*, Le Caire 1998, p. 104.

¹²³ Cherpion, *La statuaire*, p. 105.

¹²⁴ E. Rusmann, *Egyptian Sculpture. Cairo and Luxor*, Cairo 1989, p. 45; E. Rusmann, "A Second Style in Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom", *MDAIK* 51, 1995, pp. 269-270.

¹²⁵ Compare, for instance, the similar shinbone line on the contemporaneous statue of Djadjaemankh from Giza, A. Eggebrecht, ed., *Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim. Die ägyptische Sammlung*, Mainz 1993, p. 29, Abb. 21.

¹²⁶ Rusmann, *Second Style*, p. 272.

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Editorial Office:

Pod vodárenskou věží 4
182 00 Praha 8 – Libeň
Czech Republic
e-mail: aror@orient.cas.cz

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