Contents

Miroslav Bárta, The Title Inspektor of the Palace during the Egyptian Old Kingdom ........................................... 1-20

Mansour el-Noubi, The Portico of the Temple of Ramesses II at
(A Description and Analysis of its Inscriptions) ......................................................... 21-44

Attallah El-Kholy, Quelques remarques sur le Ra-setaou ........................................... 45-50

Lukáš Pecha, Das Amt des ṣassukkum in der altbabylonischen Zeit ................ 51-71

Matthew W. Waters, ABL 268 and Tammaritu ......................................................... 72-74

Dagmar Marková, Love Marriage and Arranged Marriage in India ....................... 75-82

Mariola Offredi, The Hindi Poet Vinod Kumār Śukl .................................................. 83-94

Wolfgang Ommerborn, Atheismus im Neo-Konfuzianismus als Weiterführung
der konfuzianischen Tradition der Skepsis und Kritik gegenüber
dem Glauben an Götter und Geister ................................................................. 95-126

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES

H. Waetzoldt – H. Hauptmann (eds.), Assyrien im Wandel
der Zeiten. (Jana Pečírková) .......................................................... 127-128

E. Frahm, Einleitung in die Sanherib-Inschriften (Jana Pečírková) ................. 128-129

Roland Tefnin (ed.), La Peinture égyptienne ancienne.
Un monde de signes à préserver. (Barbora Krumpanzlová) ......................... 129-132

Maged Negm, The Tomb of Simut called Kyky. (Břetislav Vachala) ........ 132-133

Wspaniały świat Oceanu Indyjskiego Sulajmāna Kupca, Abū Zajda
as-Sirafiego i Buzurga Ibn Sahrijiara. Od literatury faktu do
przygody i fantastyki (IX–X w.) (Jaroslav Oliverius) .................................. 133-134

Alev Tekinay, Gülnaydın, Teil 3.: Türkische Texte. (Petra Sedmiková) .... 134-135

Apollon Davidson – Irina Filatova, The Russians
and the Anglo-Boer War 1899–1902. (Otakar Hulec) ...................................... 135-136

Karesa Schlosser (ed.), Zulu Mythology as written and illustrated
by the Zulu Prophet Laduma Madela. (Otakar Hulec) .................................. 136-137

Jon Kowallis, The Lyrical Lu Xun: A Study of His Classical-Style
Verse. (Olga Lomová) .................................................................................. 137-139

Françoise Bottéro, Sémantisme et classification dans l’écriture chinoise.
Les systèmes de classement des caractères par clés du Shuowen jiezi
au Kangxi zidian. (Lucie Olivová) ......................................................... 139-140

Chen Pingyuan, Ershi shiji Zhongguo xiaoshuo shi, 1897–1916. (Jana Horská) 140-142

Jing-shen Tao, Two Sons of Heaven. Studies in Sung-Liao
Relations. (Jakub Hruby) ............................................................................. 143-145

[Helmut Eimer (ed.)], The Brief Catalogues to the Narthang
and the Lhasa Kanjurs. (J. K.) .................................................................. 145-146

BOOKS RECEIVED .................................................................................. 147-148
The Title Inspector of the Palace during the Egyptian Old Kingdom*

Miroslav Bárta, Praha

The present article is concerned with the title hrp ẖ, 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, Ip – 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.


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, PIs. 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, PIs. 23b and 39.
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 – stele of Setka; Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, Pl. XXXI, Nr. 23 – stele of Ip].

---

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 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) Giza, G 7310-20, Khufu – the end of the Fourth Dynasty;

Babaf (Khnumbaf) Giza, middle to end of the Fourth Dynasty;

Yunmin (Fig. 3) Giza, the end of the Fourth Dynasty;

Yunre Giza, the end of the Fourth Dynasty;

Sekhemkare Giza, LG 89, Khephren to the early Fifth Dynasty;

because of his high ranking titles he is probably approximately contemporary with the preceding three persons;

Kaemsekhem Giza, G 7660, the late Fourth Dynasty;

Seshathotep [I.] Giza, G 5150, the late Fourth Dynasty;

Kanefer Dahshur, Mastaba Nr. 28, the late Fourth Dynasty.

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

---

9 Hassan, Giza VII, p. 7; PM III†, 1, p. 239.
10 Hassan, Giza VII, p. 13; PM III†, 1, p. 237.
12 LD II, pp. 41-42; Hassan, Giza IV, p. 107, Fig. 54; p. 118, Fig. 63; PM III†, 1, p. 233.
13 LD II, p. 32; PM III†, 1, pp. 201-220.
14 LD II, p. 23; Junker, Giza II, p. 182, Abb. 28; for dating see p. 174; PM III†, 1, p. 149 (early Fifth Dynasty).
15 De Morgan, Fouilles a Dahchour en 1894–1895, p. 23, Fig. 54 and BM Hierogl. Texts P, Pl. 9, Nr. 2 (BM 1345). PM III†, 2, p. 893.
The Title Inspector of the Palace during the Egyptian Old Kingdom

- 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;\(^{25}\)

---


\(^{18}\) *LD* II, pp. 35-36; for the earlier dating see *PM* III\(^1\), I, 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* \(^{2}\) and *jrj-nfr-h\(\text{iit}\)*, which are otherwise characteristic of the Fifth Dynasty. The title of *jrj-nfr-h\(\text{iit}\)* does not occur prior to the beginning of the Fifth Dynasty and the title of *hrp* \(^{2}\) is during the Fourth Dynasty obviously associated with the persons of a high social rank, like *jrj-p\(\text{t}\)*, *h\(\text{tij}\)^{24} and/or *tij\(\text{tij n zib})*. 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\(^2\), I, p. 274.


\(^{21}\) Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, Fig. 257; p. 438, Fig. 258; *PM* III\(^2\), I, p. 77.

\(^{22}\) Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, 214; *LD* II, p. 30; *PM* III\(^2\), I, p. 141.

\(^{23}\) Junker, *Giza II*, 159; *PM* III\(^2\), I, p. 78.

\(^{24}\) *LD* II, 27 and 29; *PM* III\(^2\), I, 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;\(^{28}\)

- Djadjiaemankh
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 B 1, the middle of the Fifth Dynasty or later;\(^{38}\)

\(^{26}\) Hassan, *Giza III*, p. 200; *PM III*, 1, p. 258.

\(^{27}\) Hassan, *Giza II*, pp. 104-105; p. 109, Fig. 116; p. 110, Fig. 117; p. 111, Fig. 118. *PM III*, 1, p. 263.


\(^{29}\) Martin, *CAA Bremen*, 1/18-20, block B 934; *PM III*, 1, p. 343; Borchardt, *Neuserre*, pp. 120-121; p. 121, Abb. 101.


\(^{31}\) Verner, *Ptahshepses*, p. 65, No. 69; p. 76, No. 95.


\(^{33}\) Reisner, *Giza Necropolis I*, p. 521; Pls. 74 b and 75 b. *PM III*, 1, p. 135.

\(^{34}\) Hassan, *Giza I*, pp. 2-3; *PM III*, 1, p. 265.

\(^{35}\) Hassan, *Giza II*, p. 179; *PM III*, 1, p. 281.

\(^{36}\) Hassan, *Giza V*, p. 289; *PM III*, 1, p. 254.


\(^{38}\) Mariette, *Mastabas*, pp. 88-89; *PM III*, 1, p. 482. For the dating of Tjenty into the late
The Title Inspector of the Palace during the Egyptian Old Kingdom

- Zaib
  Giza, G 2092+2093, the reign of Isesi;

- Neferkui
  Giza, G 2098, the reign of Isesi – Unas;

- Khuiwer
  Giza, the end of the Fifth Dynasty;

- Rahotep, the end of the Fifth Dynasty [Fig. 4]
  Abusir, tomb DD;

- Perneb
  Saqqara, the end of the Fifth Dynasty;

- Niuty
  Giza, the end of the Fifth Dynasty or later;

- Nikauradjedef,
  Abu Roash, Tomb F 15, the end of the Fifth Dynasty or later;

- Kaemneferet
  Giza, LG 63, the Fifth or the Sixth Dynasty;

- Hetepniptah
  Giza, G 2430 (LG 25), the late Fifth Dynasty (?);


39 A. M. Roth, A Cemetery of Palace Attendants Including G 2084–2099, G 2230+2231, and G 2240 [Giza Mastabas, 6], PIs. 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, PIs. 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. Bártá, 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 “Speisetischszene” in LD II, p. 71b indicates its late Fifth Dynasty date. Besides this, the co-occurrence of the jfr-jht-njswt and hntj-s titles equally supports the dating of the tomb into the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty – see Bártá, 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:
- Merefneref
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 šḥ 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[50], 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.

---

[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:  for Hemakhty from Abusir and  for Hemakhty from Saqqara.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Titles/Officials</th>
<th>Ahhhotep</th>
<th>Khaufu Hor (Giza)</th>
<th>Anonymous</th>
<th>Bakai</th>
<th>Banaa</th>
<th>Nebhepethor I.</th>
<th>Nebhepethor II.</th>
<th>Nebhepethor III.</th>
<th>Nebhepethor IV.</th>
<th>Nebhepethor V.</th>
<th>Nebhepethor VI.</th>
<th>Nebhepethor VII.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jmj-jz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jmj-r nb njswt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jmj-w pps</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jmj-jpt nb njswt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k']lj-p't</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'q-mr Dp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'q-mr n zib</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'q-mr Dw sb hntj pt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'q-mr mh w'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w' wrw hb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr md Sm'sw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr ms's fwnw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wt Jnpw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mdw njswt r F nb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'lj-t f</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm-ntr B'tt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h'lj B't</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm-ntr Hr Dp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrj-w M wnh</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrj-sbt3 nb njswt (m jswef nbt)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrj-sbt3 nb njswt m hw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrj-sbt3 n jpsf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrj-sbt3 n pr-dw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrj-sbt3 m mdw rfr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrj-sbt3 n nbf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrj-sbt3 n njswt n jpsf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrj-sbt3 nb njswt n jpsf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrj-sbt3 nb njswt n njswt n jpsf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smr w'tf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smr w'tf n jpsf</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smr w'tf m mdw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrj-p't</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table I: A list of the most frequent titles attested in combination with the title
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Titles/Officials</th>
<th>Keenoforef</th>
<th>Koi</th>
<th>Djaigamath</th>
<th>Praniaghaa</th>
<th>Kamebhe</th>
<th>Sekju</th>
<th>Raver</th>
<th>Namemoforef</th>
<th>Menlu</th>
<th>Marnafu</th>
<th>Mafjuj</th>
<th>Mafkauh</th>
<th>Khouwer</th>
<th>Rohcap</th>
<th>Pameb</th>
<th>Nury</th>
<th>Nakaarutbodef</th>
<th>Keenoforef</th>
<th>Keenoforef</th>
<th>Keenoforef</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>jmj-fz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jmj-r k3t nb njswt</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jmj-r wpwt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jmj-nfr-h3t</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jmj-p3t</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-mr Dp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-mr n z3b</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-mr Dwi Hr htnj pt</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g-mr wh3c</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w3 wrw hb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr md Sm3w</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wr m3 Tjmw</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tjmw</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mdw rjji</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r P nb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h3lt-c</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm-ntr B3tt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h3k Bt</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hm-ntr Hr Sth</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrw-jwfb m hwt-nh</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrw-s3t3 n njswt (m jsmtf nbt)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrw-s3t3 n njswt m hnw</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrw-s3t3 (m jif)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrw-s3t3 n pr-dw3t</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrw-s3t3 n mdw nr3</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrw-s3t3 n nrf</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrw-s3t3 n 3tf</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrw-s3t3 3tf pr-n3</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrw-s3t3 njtp Nhb</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hrw-s3t3 njswt</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hjmtw w3j3 nr3</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hjmtw bftj</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hjw-hb</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hjw-hb n jif</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hjw-hb hjw-nj (n jif)</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z3 njswt</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z3 njswt n htf</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z3 njswt n htf smsw</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smr</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smr w3j</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smr w3j n jif</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>smr w3j n mrtw</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s3jwj stj n z3b</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>c</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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. 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 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 jrij-p‘ts (Khufukhaf I, Anonymous, Babaf, Yunmin, Sekhemkare, Seshathotep I, Kanefer, Setkai, Bakai), h3tj- (Anonymous, Babaf, Sekhemkare, Kanefer), t3tjt 3tjt n 3tb (Anonymous, Khufukhaf I, Yunmin, Sekhemkare, Seshathotep I, Kanefer) and 3 njswt n hft 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.

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 (also held by the vizier Ptahshepses of the Fifth Dynasty), jmj-jz (connected with the service to the king) and htmw

---


57 For the title of 3 njswt n hft 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.

bjjt ("treasurer", officials responsible for running and controlling the magazines of the king's residence). Finally, most of the priestly titles hm-ntr + god's name occurring in the titulories 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 mhjtj, nb Msn, km3-), 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.

Although the titles of Akthihotep 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. 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 (jrj-p't, h3tj-ct, t3tj 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'tj, hrj-hb, hrj-hb hrj-tp, d-mr Dw3 Hr hntj pt, hrj-s5t3, hrj-s5t3 n pr-dw3t, hrj-tp Nh3, hrj-wdb m hwt-3nh, jrj-nfr-h3t.

By far the largest group represents the variants of the hrj-s5t3 titles. The only title for which there is a clear Fourth Dynasty counterpart is hrj-s5t3 n pr-dw3t. This title, associated with the "Morning God" Dua, occurs both in the Fourth and Fifth Dynasty. During the Fourth Dynasty the title assumed the form of Dw3, occurred quite sporadically, and was associated exclusively with persons of the high social rank (princes). During the Fifth Dynasty, the
title was probably changed to $hrj-sšt$ $n$ $pr-dw$ $št$. This modified variant 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 $hrj-wdb$ $m$ $hw$ $t$-$nh$ 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 $jrj-nf$-$r$-$hšt$ 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 $d$-$mr$ $Dw$ $Hr$ $ht$-$ipt$ 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 $hrp$ ‘$h$, he also bore the titles $hšt$-$f$ and $tšt$-$št$ $n$ $zšb$, 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.

---

67 For its Fourth and Fifth Dynasty holders see Begelsbacher-Fischer, Götterwelt, p. 238.
70 Junker, Giza II, p. 65.
72 Helck, Beamtentitel, p. 42.
73 M. Bártta, Middle- and Lower-Rank Officials, p. 164 with quotations.
75 Zibelius, Ägyptische Siedlungen, pp. 204-206.
76 Helck, Beamtentitel, pp. 32-33; Strudwick, Administration, p. 312.
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 viziriate 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 apparasus” (including individual offices and administrative units) as a whole. The apparent terminological difference between the Old Kingdom term cḥ 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 cḥ) 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 hpr cḥ.

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

---

79 Strudwick, Administration, pp. 339-340, reforms of Djedkare.
80 See Strudwick, Administration, pp. 328-332.
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. Some of Merefnebef’s titles relate to the preceding period (jrj-nfr-h3t, hrj-wdb m hwt-c-nh, hrj-šš3 n pr-dw3t) whereas others are identical with titles held by the Inspectors of the Palace during the Fourth Dynasty period (jrj-p’t, hrj-s&t i, t3jt j t3jt j 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 ‘h 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 jrj-nfr-h3t and Hemakhty hrp ‘h. 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.
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 so⁹³) 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 (jmj-r jzwj hkr t r jswt, jmj-r šnw t, hraj-nfr-hšt, hraj-sšt3 and its variants, hraj-sšt3 n pr-dwt, hrp hwt n, 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. All this shows that these changes started under Neuserre. Moreover, it was during Neuserre's reign that a new high administrative office was introduced, the jmj-r ṣmt, "Overseer of Upper Egypt". This was one of the steps preceding the office of the vizier. K. Baer suggested that the introduction of the title was due to the increasing power of the provincial officials, whereas E. Martin-Pardey believes that the reason for its introduction was probably a reform of the tax administration. 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.
⁹⁷ Helck, Beamittel, 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;\textsuperscript{100}
- D 13 (73) of Shepsy, probably the early Fifth Dynasty;\textsuperscript{101}
- D 12 (74) of Niankhakhmet, the reign of Sahure;\textsuperscript{102}
- D 10 (75) of Tepemankh I, the end of the Fifth Dynasty or the Sixth Dynasty;\textsuperscript{103}
- D 11 (76) of Tepemankh II, the middle of the Fifth Dynasty;\textsuperscript{104}
- D 9 (77) of Meruka, the Fifth Dynasty;\textsuperscript{105}
- D 70 (LS 15) of Pehenuika, the middle of the Fifth Dynasty or later.\textsuperscript{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 offi­
cials 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.\textsuperscript{107}

ad 2.:
The titles of Tjenty are as follows: \textit{jrj-jht-njswt, w\textsuperscript{\textit{c}}\textit{b Nmtj, hrp \textsuperscript{\textit{c}}\textit{h, jmj-r \textsuperscript{\textit{c}}\textit{h,}}}
\textit{hm-ntr Hwfw, hm-ntr Hnm hntj Hr-wr m jswtf nbt, nfr jdw, jmj-r m\textsuperscript{\textit{S}}, jmj-r wpwt, htmw ntr, hrp \textsuperscript{\textit{prw} nfrw.} The title of the priest of Khufu represents the

\textsuperscript{100} \textit{PM} III\textsuperscript{2}, 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., \textit{Études
sur l' Ancien Empire et la nécropole de Saqqara dédiées à Jean-Philippe Lauer, OrMonsp
IX}, Montpellier 1997, p. 75.

\textsuperscript{101} \textit{PM} III\textsuperscript{2}, 2, 482. Baud, OrMonsp. IX, p. 75.

\textsuperscript{102} \textit{PM} III\textsuperscript{2}, 2, 483. Baud, OrMonsp. IX, p. 76.

\textsuperscript{103} \textit{PM} III\textsuperscript{2}, 2, 483. Baud, OrMonsp. IX, p. 76.

\textsuperscript{104} \textit{PM} III\textsuperscript{2}, 2, 483. Baud, OrMonsp. IX, p. 76.

\textsuperscript{105} \textit{PM} III\textsuperscript{2}, 2, 484. Baud, OrMonsp. IX, p. 76.

\textsuperscript{106} \textit{PM} III\textsuperscript{2}, 2, 491. Baud, OrMonsp. IX, p. 75.

\textsuperscript{107} See Y. Harpur, \textit{Decoration in Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom. Studies in Orientation
and Scene Content, London 1987, 315, Tab. 5. 1.}
The considerable number of Tjenty’s titles also favours a date in the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty. Moreover, the Fourth Dynasty holders of the military title of Overseer of the Army were of a very high rank. This does not, however, apply to Tjenty. His military titles (jmj-r m$\textcircled{f}$, htmw nfr, hrp ‘prw nfrw) indicate that Tjenty was also concerned with the leadership of royal expeditions. The title of Overseer of Orders (jmj-r wpwt) seems to have been connected with high state offices during the Fourth Dynasty. Chronological distribution of all these titles suggests a Fifth Dynasty date. Also the known attestations of the god Nemy (read also Anty) are dated exclusively to the Fifth or Sixth Dynasties.

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.

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. 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. 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 Problème 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. 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.
110 Eichler, Expeditionswesen, p. 231.
116 Begelsbacher-Fischer, Götterwelt, p. 221.
117 Cherpion, Mastabas et Hypogées, pp. 47; 46, Fig. 32c; M. Báta, “Archaeology and Iconography: bd$\beta$ 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.\footnote{\textit{Barta, Opferliste}, p. 59.}

ad 4.:  
The statue of Tjenty displays features which belong to the latter half of the Fifth Dynasty, too\footnote{\textit{Ziegler, Statues}, pp. 148 (frontal view), 149 (side views), 150 (back view) and 151 (details).}:

- the shoulder length wig resting only slightly on the back of the statue;\footnote{\textit{Cherpion, La statuaire}, p. 105.}
- the ears only partially exposed under the wig;\footnote{\textit{Cherpion, La statuaire}, p. 105.}
- the relatively large head, the large wide eyes, the pinched waist and poorly modelled muscles;\footnote{\textit{Russmann, \textit{A Second Style in Egyptian Art of the Old Kingdom}}, \textit{MDAIK} 51, 1995, pp. 269-270.}
- the well modelled knees and clear curve of the shinbone;\footnote{Compare, for instance, the similar shinbone line on the contemporaneous statue of Djadjaemankh from Giza, \textit{Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim. Die ägyptische Sammlung}, Mainz 1993, p. 29, Abb. 21.}
- the removal of negative space between the body and the limbs.\footnote{\textit{Russmann, Second Style}, p. 272.}

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.
Archív orientální
Quarterly Journal of African and Asian Studies

contains articles, occasional papers, review articles, book reviews and notes in English, German and French dealing with the history, economy, culture and society of African and Asian countries in the broad sense. (For further details of contributions see inside back cover.)

Reviews of books and annotations will appear regularly in each issue of Archív orientální. Authors and publishers of both books and periodicals concerning African and Asian studies are invited to send free copies of their works for review purposes.

Lists of contents available on
http://www.lib.cas.cz/knav/journals/eng/Archiv_orientalni.htm

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

ISSN 0044-8699